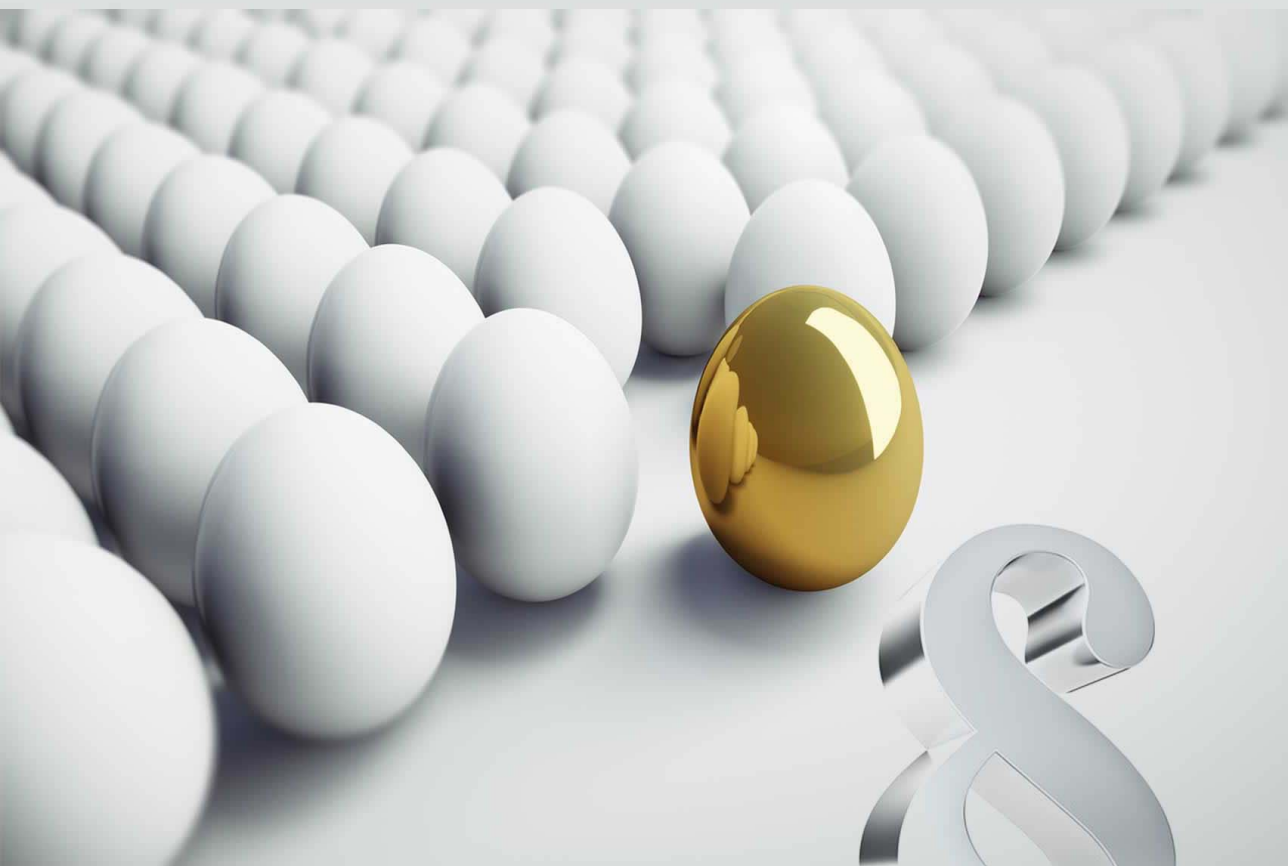


# VIRTUE OR OBLIGATION



30<sup>th</sup> International Biblical Conference Szeged  
26–28 August, 2019

Edited by Benyik György

## VIRTUE OR OBLIGATION



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30<sup>th</sup> International Biblical Conference Szeged  
26–28 August, 2019



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## INTRODUCTION

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Since the United States Bill of Rights (1789), the monstrosities of the Second World War and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UNO (1948), it has become general in Europe to think about societies independent from God and personal rights independent from obligations. Although when considering the Antiquities, we can talk about a hierarchy within the society in the communities of Jews and Christians but taking responsibility before God, the teaching of virtues and obligations and religious sanctioning were generally accepted since the appropriate practice of these fundamentally define the quality of the society and that of community life, too. The pureness of heart and the cleanliness of one's conscience, taking part in the cult and the conditions for taking the sacraments, the personal spiritual responsibility in front of God were all very important to the whole of the society since "Because a person who eats and drinks without recognising the body is eating and drinking his own condemnation." (1Cor 11:29)

In his opus called Republic, Plato defines four cardinal virtues: justice, temperance, courage and wisdom. In his opinion, "The price good men pay for indifference to public affairs is to be ruled by evil men." The religious foundation of theological virtues (faith, hope and love) was also rather important in the Antiquities.

Szeged International Biblical Conference 30 saw 27 lecturers, who approached the topic of virtue and duty from quite different points of view. Akiyama Manabu János from Tsukuba University, Japan is a returning guest of ours and we were delighted to see Martin Meiser from Halle and Schimanowski Gottfried from Tübingen who also visited the conference. Wittkowszky Vadim arrived in Szeged from Berlin. Jutta Hausmann, despite her German origins, is already considered to be a Hungarian lecturer. Barscevszki Taras and Mario Cifrák from Zagreb gave their lectures as representative of Croatian theology. Pázmány Péter Catholic University was represented by Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi, Mihály Kránitz and Mihály Laurinyecz. Sapientia University of Religious Brothers and Sisters was represented by Laura Baritz. Lehel Lészai arrived from Cluj Napoca, Rumania and Endre Horváth came from Subotica, Serbia. György Benyik and György Kocsi enriched the conference as lecturers of Gál Ferenc Theological College, Szeged. We were really pleased to welcome our colleagues from the Reformed Church: Ottó Pecsuk from Budapest, Viktor Kókai-Nagy from Debrecen and Sándor Enghy from Sárospatak. Károly Bácskai and Virgil László gave

lectures at our conference from the Lutheran Theological University. Erik Kormos and Imre Tokics represented the Adventist College from Budapest.

Dear Reader, now you may hold a written version of this special biblical interconfessional dialogue. The lectures that were given in Hungarian at the International Biblical Conference which has been held in Szeged 30 times are now published in German or English and these lectures approach the subject of virtue and duty in very diverse ways, and contain important statements not only for theologians but also for economists.

Szeged, 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2020 – Sunday of the Divine Word

Dr. György Benyik PhD  
director of SZNBK

## WE HAVE HAD A GREAT LOSS – AN EXCELLENT BIBLE TRANSLATOR HAS PASSED AWAY

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10<sup>th</sup> December, 2019, at the age of 90, Lutheran pastor, teacher of theology and one of the most prominent figures of Hungarian Bible translation Dr. Sándor Cserháti died. Born 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1930, he went to secondary school in Mohács and Pécs. He attended Lutheran theology first in Sopron and then in Budapest until 1953. In 1973, he was awarded a doctorate in theology at the Lutheran Academy of Theology. The title of his thesis is: “A world beloved in Christ”. He served as a pastor for several churches; however, the fifteen years that he spent in Szeged between 1968 and 1983 was a particularly important period of time for him. From then on he taught several generations of pastors as a professor of the New Testament Department at the Lutheran Academy of Theology (which later became the Lutheran

Theological Seminary). Until recent years, even as a professor emeritus, he assisted in teaching and research at the Lutheran Theological Seminary.

The issue of translating the Bible into Hungarian was very important in the life and work of Sándor Cserháti. It is no exaggeration to say that he had an unquenchable thirst for a clear and accurate translation of the Bible. He saw the importance of this both as a pastor and as a scholar of the New Testament. As a practicing pastor, he joined the work of New Translation the Bible in 1966, and then he became a prominent figure, organizer and coordinator of the work process of the revision of 1990 of the New Testament translation. In the nineties, he collaborated as a translator in the publication of the deuterocanonical books of the Bible.

He wrote a number of important commentaries on the New Testament books, especially on the epistles of the Apostle Paul, which also served as an important point of reference for the Hungarian Lutheran and, in a broader sense, Christian generations of priests. He regarded his commentary on the two letters to the Corinthians to be the peak of this exegetical and Bible translation work, in which he put an equal emphasis on the correct and communicative Bible translation and on the explanation of the Word inspired. It is especially instructive that he struggles with the textual solutions



of the New Translation Bible in the work translations of his commentary, trying to improve and surpass them, while knowing and fully respecting the arguments behind the accepted or received translation.

As an excellent Lutheran New Testament scholar, he was always mindful of the whole Christian Mother Church, he wanted to serve the true ecumenism with all his knowledge and faith. I will always remember the way he showed a critical but warm and caring attention to my New Testament thesis at my graduation exam on the Reformed Theological Faculty. This attention later was formed into some collegiality of encouragement when I was privileged to work together with him on the Committee of Revision of the Hungarian Bible Society. We could be the witnesses to the fact that, similarly to the Emmaus disciples, his heart would always burn within him whenever he saw that others had been also captured and apprehended by the love of the Divine Word. It was great to learn from him, to work with him and to follow him. “Remember your leaders, who preached the word of God to you, and as you reflect on the outcome of their lives, take their faith as your model.” (Hebrews 13:7)

Ottó Pecsuk

Manabu AKIYAMA, John

**“PRAISE TO GOD” AS VIRTUE IN THE *BOOK OF SECOND ISAIAH*:  
WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION**

---

**INTRODUCTION**

When we hear the word “virtue” (gr. “ἀρετή”), we think, besides the three theological virtues (faith, hope and charity), usually of the cardinal virtues, or the four virtues of the ancient Greek origin: prudence (“σοφία”, “φρόνησις”), justice (“δικαιοσύνη”), temperance (“σωφροσύνη”) and fortitude (“ἀνδρεία”).<sup>1</sup> In the works of Platon there was no difference between σοφία and φρόνησις, but Aristotle distinguished φρόνησις and σοφία, in order that he may differentiate the practical virtue (“φρόνησις”) from the theoretical one (“σοφία”).<sup>2</sup> Therefore, in the political work of Aristotle we can find the four virtues under the names of ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις (e.g., *Politica* 7,1323a28–29).<sup>3</sup>

In the New Testament, by contrast, the word “virtue” (“ἀρετή”), is not used so often; in the whole text of the New Testament, except the *Letters of the St. Peter* (2Pt 1,3. 1,5; in 1Pt 2,9 the author quotes the *Isaiah* 43,20 according to LXX, i.e. the Greek version of the Old Testament),<sup>4</sup> it is used only once: *Phil* 4,8,<sup>5</sup> where the words “ἀρετή” and “ἔπαινος” are used together. Among the so-called deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, on the other hand, we can find the contents of the “virtue” in the 8<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Book of Wisdom*, in the same way as in the Aristotle: “if it be the uprightness (“δικαιοσύνη”) you love, why, virtues (“ἀρεταί”) are the fruit of her labours, since it is she who teaches temperance (“σωφροσύνη”) and prudence (“φρόνησις”), justice (“δικαιοσύνη”) and fortitude (“ἀνδρεία”); nothing in life is more use-

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<sup>1</sup> cf. art. “Virtues and Vices” etc., in Léon-Dufour, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet, 1911: 62.

<sup>3</sup> Rackham, 1932: 532.

<sup>4</sup> Aland, <sup>27</sup>1993; Schmoller, <sup>8</sup>1989.

<sup>5</sup> “Finally, brothers, let your minds be filled with everything that is true, everything that is honourable, everything that is upright and pure, everything that we love and admire – with whatever is good (“εἴ τις ἀρετή”) and praiseworthy (“εἴ τις ἔπαινος”). In this paper, passages from the Bible are generally cited from the English Translation of the *New Jerusalem Bible* (Wansbrough, 1985).

ful for human beings” (*Ws* 8,7).<sup>6</sup> Thus, in the *Book of Wisdom*, which is one of the literatures in the Hellenistic era, the four cardinal virtues are quoted. Now, in the Greek version of the text of the Old Testament in a narrow sense, according to the LXX version, although the word “virtue” (“ἀρετή”) is not used so often, but in the Book of the so-called “*Second Isaiah*”, i.e. the sections from the 40<sup>th</sup> chapter to the 55<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Book of Isaiah*, according to the LXX version, we can find such passages in which the word “*ṯhillâ*”<sup>7</sup> (“praise”) was translated as “ἀρετή” (*Is* 42,8; 42,12; 43,21; cf. also 63,7). Needless to say, “praise” is not the same virtue as the cardinal ones or the virtues of the ancient Greek origin. In this paper, we would like to consider what a meaning can we find in the fact that the word “*ṯhillâ*” (“praise”) was translated as “ἀρετή” (“virtue”) in the LXX version of the *Book of the Second Isaiah*, with special regard to the *Book of Genesis* and the *Gospel according to John*.

### 1. BOOK OF THE SECOND ISAIAH

In the first place, in the *Book of the Second Isaiah*, there are so-called four passages of the “Songs of the Servant of Yahweh”: 1) *Is* 42,1–9, 2) *Is* 49,1–9a, 3) *Is* 50,4–9, 4) *Is* 52,13–53,12. From the Christian viewpoint of the “typological interpretation”, we can find the incarnated figure of this “Servant of Yahweh” in Jesus Christ. With the interpretation remaining inside the Old Testament, however, we can relate this “Servant of Yahweh” to the people of Israel (*Is* 41,8; 44,1–2; 45,4). The so-called “Second Isaiah” was a person who acted as a prophet during the Babylonian captivity. Basic tone of this prophet was “consolation” (“*nāḥam*”: *Is* 40,1; 51,3.12.19) and “promise of salvation” (“*môšîa*”: *Is* 43,3.11.12; 45,15.21; 47,15; 49,25.26). Yahweh is the Holy One, the Creator of heaven and earth; this sole and living God redeems his own people and leads them home in a triumphal procession. This is the new Exodus, which surpasses the Exodus from Egypt (*Is* 43,16–21; 52,1–12). Babylon falls, but Jerusalem and the temple will be built. In connection with this, the Persian king Cyrus, whom this Second Isaiah calls “the Servant of the Lord, the anointed one”, will be an instrument of God (*Is* 45,1 sqq.).

Although the passage in the 43rd chapter of the *Book of Isaiah* (*Is* 43,16–21) is not included in the “Songs of the Servant of Yahweh”, we can interpret the people too, whom “the Lord has shaped for himself” (*Is* 43,21a), as the “Servant of Yahweh”, if we can identify this “Servant of Yahweh” with the people of Israel. Let us quote this passage:

<sup>6</sup> Rahlfs, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> Elliger, <sup>4</sup>1990.

“Thus says Yahweh, who made a way through the sea, a path in the raging waters, who led out chariot and horse together with an army of picked troops: they lay down never to rise again, they were snuffed out, put out like a wick. No need to remember past events, no need to think about what was done before. Look, I am doing something new, now it emerges; can you see it? Yes, I am making a road in the desert and rivers in wastelands. The wild animals will honour me (“t<sup>e</sup>kabb<sup>e</sup>dēnī”), the jackals and the ostriches, for bestowing water in the desert and rivers on the wastelands for my people, my chosen one (“ammī b<sup>e</sup>hīrī”; LXX: “τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτόν”), to drink (“I<sup>e</sup>hašqōt”). The people I have shaped for myself (“am-zū yāšarti lī”; LXX: “ὄν περιεποιησάμην”) will broadcast my praises (“t<sup>e</sup>hillāṭī y<sup>e</sup>sappērū”; LXX: “τὰς ἀρετάς μου διηγεῖσθαι”)” (*Is* 43,16–21).

In fact, the word “t<sup>e</sup>hillāṭī” (“my praises”) was translated as “τὰς ἀρετάς μου” in the LXX version. In the following section of this paper, therefore, we would like to pay attention to the following words:

- 1) “to praise” (“hālal” and “t<sup>e</sup>hillā”)
- 2) “to glorify” (“kābēd” and “kābōd”)
- 3) “to choose” (“bāḥar”) and “to shape” (“yāšar”).<sup>8</sup>

## 2. “TO PRAISE” (“hālal” AND “t<sup>e</sup>hillā”)

First, as we have mentioned in the foregoing section, the word “t<sup>e</sup>hillā” (“praise”) was translated in the 42<sup>nd</sup> chapter of the *Book of the Second Isaiah* (*Is* 42,8; 42,12) of the LXX version as “ἀρετή”. Let us quote this passage:

“I am Yahweh, that is my name! I shall not yield my glory (“k<sup>e</sup>bōdī”; LXX: “τὴν δόξαν”) to another, nor my honour (“t<sup>e</sup>hillāṭī”; LXX: “τὰς ἀρετάς μου”) to idols. See how the former predictions have come true. Fresh things I now reveal; before they appear, I tell you of them. Sing a new song to Yahweh! Let his praise (“t<sup>e</sup>hillāṭō”; LXX: “δοξάσετε”) be sung from remotest parts of the earth by those who sail the sea and by everything in it, by the coasts (“ya’ dīrēhū”; cf. apparatus of *BHS*) and islands and those who inhabit them. Let the desert and its cities raise their voices, the encampments where Kedar lives. Let the inhabitants of the Rock cry aloud for joy and shout from the mountain tops. Let them give glory (“kābōd”; LXX: “δόξαν”) to Yahweh and, in the coasts and islands, let them voice (“yaggīdū” < nāgad) his praise (“t<sup>e</sup>hillāṭō”; LXX: “τὰς ἀρετάς αὐτοῦ”)” (*Is* 42,8–12).

In this passage the word “t<sup>e</sup>hillā” is translated as “honour” (*Is* 42,8) or “praise” (*Is* 42,10,12) in the English Bible. Therefore, the original meaning of “t<sup>e</sup>hillā” can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, as praise or laud from human beings to God (*Is* 42,10,12); on the other hand, as honour or glory shining from God to us (*Is* 42,8). Among these, the word “t<sup>e</sup>hillā” is translated as “τὰς ἀρετάς” in *Is* 42,8 and *Is* 42,12

<sup>8</sup> Brown, 1906.

of the LXX version: that is, the expression “τὰς ἀρετάς” has two directions, one from God to us (*Is* 42,8) and one from human beings to God (*Is* 42,12).

### 3. TO GLORIFY (“kābēd” AND “kābōd”)

In the second place, we would like to examine the noun “glory” and the verb related with this noun, “to glorify”. Just as we have mentioned above, the Hebrew word “hillā”, which means “praise”, is in fact used together with the word “glory” (“kābōd”) in the *Book of the Second Isaiah* (*Is* 42,8; *Is* 42,12). We would like to turn here our attention to St Gregory of Nyssa (335–395), one of the Greek fathers of the church in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, who thought under the influence of the Greek philosophy. According to him, we can explain the “glory” as manifestation of the Holy Spirit based on the 17<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Gospel according to John* (*Jn* 17,22; *In Canticum canticorum*, GNO VI 467,6). Besides, the subtitle of Gregory’s work “*De vita Moysis*” is “On virtue” (“Περὶ ἀρετῆς”); in fact, Gregory says that “virtue” comes from the divine nature (*De anima et resurrectione*, GNO III/3 104,6). Therefore, taking the thoughts of Gregory into consideration, we might say that Moses, an incarnated figure of the virtue, could reach the participation of the Spirit of God by means of the praise to God. Moses, however, “could not enter the Tent of Meeting, since the cloud stayed over it and the glory (“kēbōd”) of Yahweh filled the Dwelling (“miškān”)” (*Ex* 40,35). According to the explanation of the *Gospel according to John*, the incarnated figure of the “Dwelling” (“miškān”) was not Moses, but Jesus Christ (*Jn* 1,14: “ἔσκήνωσεν”; cf. *Jn* 1,17). So, we might say that Moses became the incarnated figure of virtue for the first time by the interpretation of Gregory. In addition, with the aid of Gregory’s thought, we might make mention that the glory of God acts as the third person of the Holy Trinity within the Old Testament.

### 4. 1PT 2,9 AND THE BOOK OF GENESIS

Now we would like to refer to the passage in the New Testament, where the word “virtue(s)” (“ἀρεταί”) appears: 1Pt 2,9. In this passage the author quotes the paragraph of the *Book of Isaiah*, 43,20–21 and 42,12:

“But you are a chosen race (“γένος ἐκλεκτόν”: cf. *Is* 43,20), a kingdom of priests, a holy nation, a people to be a personal possession (“λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν”: cf. *Is* 43,21) to sing the glories of God (“ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε”: cf. *Is* 42,12) who called you out of the darkness into his wonderful light” (1Pt 2,9).

The expression “λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν” is the one that the author quotes from the 43<sup>rd</sup> chapter of *Isaiah* (*Is* 43,21: “the people I have shaped for myself [“‘am-zû yāšartî lî”]

will broadcast my praises”). The verb “to shape” (heb: “yāšar”) is the one which the author of the *Book of Genesis* uses often in the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter of that Book, where he explains the creation of the human beings, as well as of the whole creature by God from the earth (*Gn* 2,7.8; 2,19). This passage reads as follows:

“Yahweh God shaped (“wayyīšer”) man (“hā’ āḏām”) from the soil of the ground (“min hā’ āḏāmā”) and blew the breath of life into his nostrils, and man became a living being. Yahweh God planted a garden in Eden, which is in the east, and there he put the man he had fashioned (“yāšār”)” (*Gn* 2,7–8) ...

“So from the soil (“min hā’ āḏāmā”) Yahweh God fashioned (“wayyīšer”) all the wild animals and all the birds of heaven” (*Gn* 2,19).

We would like to take into consideration the concept of “choosing” (heb. “bāḥar”; cf. gör. “ἐκλεκτόν”), too, which appears in the *First Letter of Peter*. Besides, the concept of invitation from the darkness into the light in this *Letter* may be traced back to the beginning part of the *Book of Genesis* (*Gn* 1,1–5a), which reads as follows:

“In the beginning God created (“bārā”) heaven and earth. Now the earth was a formless void, there was darkness over the deep, with a divine wind sweeping over the waters. God said, “Let there be light” (“y’hi’ôr”), and there was light. God saw that light was good (“ki ṭôb”), and God separated (“wayyabḏel”) light from darkness (“bên hā’ôr ûbên haḥōšek”). God called light “day”, and darkness he called “night”” (*Gn* 1,1–5a).

Here we can find three steps in the passage from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> section about the creation of the light by God:

- 1) Creation of the light by God
- 2) Praise of the light by God
- 3) Separation of the light from the darkness by God

In this way, we find three themes on the process about the light created by God: creation, praise and separation. After the praise, God separated the light, which He had seen “good” (*Gn* 1,4a), from the darkness (*Gn* 1,4b).

In the first place, God created everything (*Gn* 1,1). After that, however, God blessed only the light with the expression that “(It is) good!” (*Gn* 1,4). This expression is none other than the praise of the light which was brought into existence by God. After that, in the third process God separated the light from the darkness. It can be found that there is no common portion between the light and the darkness, since the author uses the “bên ... ûbên” construction in the original Hebrew text. In this process, we cannot identify here punctually the verb, which means “to separate” (“bāḏal”), with the one that means “to choose” (“bāḥar”). However, in consideration of the fact that God blessed the light beforehand, we might say, of course, that God selected the light rather

than the darkness. We would like to say that the Apostle Peter, therefore, identified the Christian community (“you”) with the “chosen race” (“γένος ἐκλεκτόν”), which God summoned in separation from the darkness, on the basis of the description of the *Book of Genesis*.

### 5. “TO CHOOSE” (“bāḥar”) AND “TO SHAPE” (“yāṣar”)

Just as we mentioned above, according to St. Peter the Apostle, “you Christians, are a chosen race” (1Pt 2,9). In the *Book of the Second Isaiah* the Hebrew verb which expresses the act of “choosing” is “bāḥar”. This Hebrew verb appears several times in the form of “bāḥartī” (“I chosed”) in the *Book of the Second Isaiah*: in *Is* 43,10; 41,8.9.24; 44,1, besides in *Is* 43,21. The concept of “remnant” (“še’ār”), which appears consistently through the *Book of Isaiah* (*Is* 10,19.20.21.21.22; 11,11.16; 14,22), has close connection with the one that the word of “choosing” expresses. The original source of this concept of “remnant” can be found in the *Deuteronomy*: the aim of this act of “choosing” is to bring into existence the consecrated people to Holy Yahweh: because,

“He will raise you higher than every other nation he has made, for praise (“liḥillâ”) and renown and honour (“l’ṭip’ āret’ <pā’ ar), and you will be a people consecrated to Yahweh, as he has promised” (*Dt* 26,19).

The verb “pā’ ar” (“to glorify”), the root of the noun “ṭip’ ārâ” (“glory”), is sometimes used also in the *Book of the Second Isaiah*: e.g. *Is* 44,23; 49,3 (in both cases with the hitpael-reflexive forms).

In the *First Letter of Peter*, however, the author uses the word of “virtue” in the meaning of the “glory” of God (1Pt 2,9); this passage is rooted in the 42<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Book of Isaiah* (*Is* 42,12). The 45<sup>th</sup> chapter of *Isaiah*, too, is contained in the books of the *Second Isaiah*. From this chapter let us quote the following passage:

“I form (“yôṣēr”) the light (“ōr”) and I create (“bōrē’”) the darkness (“hōšēk”), I make well-being, and I create disaster, I, Yahweh, do all these things” (*Is* 45,7).

Here appear the verbs “to form” and “to create” as well as the themes of “light” and “darkness”. So it is likely that the *Book of the Second Isaiah* has close connection with the beginning section of the *Book of Genesis*; in fact, it is almost certain that both the beginning part of the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of the Second Isaiah* were edited in the period of the Babylonian captivity.

In the 45<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Book of Isaiah*, on the other hand, we can find such a “universalistic” point of view, which had not been so clearly expressed before (*Is* 45,20–25). We can read the following verse in the end of this passage:

“In Yahweh the whole race of Israel finds justice and glory (“wʿyit̄halʿlū”)” (*Is* 45,25).

As regards the verb “hālal” (“to praise”) which appears here, Szabó makes a following explanation with reference to the 22<sup>nd</sup> *Psalms*: “Since God is the Lord and the Creator of the whole world, the invitation to praise is often directed towards the people, as well as towards the whole living and lifeless creature in the world, the creature in the heavens, the heavenly bodies, that is, the whole universe. Human beings, too, as a part of the whole creature, praise God”.<sup>9</sup> For us, therefore, it is our natural task to praise God incessantly and untiringly.

## 6. 7<sup>th</sup> CHAPTER OF THE *GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN* (JN 7,37–39)

Now, we would like to turn our attention to the fact that in the above-mentioned 43<sup>rd</sup> chapter of the *Book of Isaiah* we find the expression: “(the wild animals will honour me, for bestowing water) to drink (“lʿhašqôṭ”; *Is* 43,20)”.<sup>9</sup>

The root of the verb, which we find in this passage (“lʿhašqôṭ”), is “šāqâ”: the hiphil or the causative form of this verb means “to give someone a drink”.<sup>10</sup> This expression (“to bestow water to drink”) reminds us of the words of Jesus, which he told in the 7<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Gospel according to John*:

“Whoever is thirsty (“ἐάν τις διψᾷ”) should come to me (“ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με”) and drink (“καὶ πινέτω”). As the scripture says, “Streams of life-giving water will pour out from within anyone who believes in me” (“ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεῦσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος”)” (*Jn* 7,37–38).

In the quotation above from the *Gospel according to John* (“As the scripture says, «Streams of life-giving water will pour out from within anyone who believes in me»”), such a phrase can be read as “As the scripture says”; nevertheless, this “passage from the scripture” has not been determined yet. From the 43<sup>rd</sup> chapter of the *Book of the Second Isaiah*, however, we have already quoted the original Hebrew text with its Greek translation of the LXX version, in the first chapter of this paper; which reads as follows:

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<sup>9</sup> Szabó, 2015: 203.

<sup>10</sup> Brown, 1906: 1052.



“The wild animals will honour me (“<sup>t</sup>ē<sup>k</sup>abb<sup>e</sup>ḏēnī”), the jackals and the ostriches, for bestowing water in the desert and rivers on the wastelands for my people, my chosen one (“<sup>a</sup>mmī ḥ<sup>e</sup>hīrī”; LXX: “τὸ γένος μου τὸ ἐκλεκτόν”), to drink (“<sup>l</sup>ḥašqōḏī”). The people I have shaped for myself (“<sup>a</sup>am-zū yāšartī lī”; LXX: “ὄν περιεποιησάμην”) will broadcast my praises (“<sup>t</sup>ēhillāḡī y<sup>s</sup>sappērū”; LXX: “τὰς ἀρετὰς μου διηγείσθαι”)” (*Is* 43,20–21).

Let us summarize our considerations:

1) Since the background of this passage is a desert or a dry land, so it agrees with the condition that “Whoever is thirsty” (*Jn* 7,37).

2) Consequently, the sentence of Isaiah (“bestowing water for my people, my chosen one, to drink”) corresponds punctually with the phrase of John: “Come to me and drink”.

3) And finally, the contents of the manifestation of Isaiah that “the people I have shaped for myself will broadcast my praises” (*Is* 43,21) is in harmony with the message of John: “Streams of life-giving water will pour out from within anyone who believes in me” (*Jn* 7,38).

In this way, it may be said without problem that *Jn* 7,38 is based on *Is* 43,21. If this hypothesis is correct, then we might make following statements in a summarized form on the basis of the *Gospel’s* relation to the *Book of the Second Isaiah*:

a) Faith is none other than a recognition that we are the people of God, since God Himself shaped us, selecting us as His own people.

b) This recognition is none other than an action that is called “to drink” in the Bible.

c) Based on the explanation which can be found in the following passage of the *Gospel according to John*, it is certain that the “streams of life-giving water”, which will pour out from within anyone who believes in Christ, is the Holy Spirit. We can identify this Holy Spirit with the praise from human beings to God (“<sup>t</sup>ēhillā”: *Is* 43,21; *Is* 42,10.12) or with the glory itself of God (*Is* 42,8) according to the original text of the *Book of Second Isaiah*. These “praise” to God and “glory” of God were translated as “virtues” in the LXX version. Therefore, just as Gregory of Nyssa said, we can identify the Holy Spirit, who is established as the third person of the Holy Trinity, with the glory of God, with our praise to God, as well as with the virtues, based on the LXX version.

d) According to John the Evangelist, this “<sup>t</sup>ēhillā”, that is, the glory of God, or the praise dedicated to God from us, or the virtues, can be compared to the “streams of life-giving water” (*Jn* 7,38), which will pour out spontaneously from within anyone who believes in Christ. In fact, our virtues shine from within ourselves.

## CONCLUSION

It has been our task to examine why the word “*ῥῆhillā*” was translated as “*ἀρετή*” in the LXX version. We have a verse in the 51<sup>st</sup> Psalm: “Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will speak out your praise (“*ῥῆhillāṭekā*”)” (*Ps* 51,17). In this prayer, too, the word “*ῥῆhillā*” appears. We would like to say that the message of this verse of Psalm is identified with the one that we have mentioned above with regard to *Is* 43,21 (“The people I have shaped for myself will broadcast my praises”). In the translation of LXX of this Psalm, however, not the word “*ἀρετάς*”, but “*αἴνεσιν*” is used. In the 4<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Letter to the Church at Philippi*, on the other hand, which we quoted in our introduction of this paper, was used the word “*ἔπαινος*” (*Phil* 4,8); this word is rooted in the same Greek verb “*αἰνεῖν*” (“to praise”) as in the case of “*αἴνεσις*”. This verb expresses the limited aspect of the word “*ῥῆhillā*”: “praising” God from human beings.

Considering these facts, the translation of the word “*ῥῆhillā*” as “*ἀρεταί*” expresses very well the properties of the word “*ῥῆhillā*”, that can be found in God as well as in us. In this meaning we might say that the “virtue” is a close tie between God and human beings, just as the Holy Spirit connects the Son with the Father.

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Károly BÁCSKAI

**MORAL EXPOSTULATIONS IN  
THE FIRST LETTER OF PETER – 1PT 2,11–3,12\*  
A SITUATION OF APOLOGY**

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Christian communities especially during the first couple of centuries C. E. – beyond the evident inner conflicts characteristic to either family or church life in public –, had to cope with some other social challenges in a broader sense. Christians had to find their way to collective recognition and acknowledgement, while finding their place on the vividly colourful social palette of the Roman Empire. One of the many challenges Christianity had to face in the first decades and even centuries of its existence was, in brief, how to react to the world. In other words, if Christians wanted to remain an integral part of the Graeco-Roman, i.e. the civilized world, they had to take on a responsible participation in the institutions of society. On the one hand the situation of those who became Christians didn't change. As individuals, families or congregations they remained members of the Roman civilization and society. They had to obey the official laws and orders of the Roman Empire. On the other hand however, as followers of a new way of life that later became a new religion they found themselves in an unprecedented situation. So new was the Christians' standing in many areas in their social, moral and spiritual environment that, in fact, they had to learn a whole new set of reactions to the world with which they had once been so familiar. Out of this dilemma there emerged the basic principle of Christian activity, at least for those who lived in *Peter's* field of view. In *Goppelt's* words it was the engagement for the world in inner freedom from the world.<sup>1</sup> Peter's intention with his parenthesis was to provide a fundamental direction for the behaviour of Christians in society and in *Goppelt's* text-based exegetical opinion this direction was to be followed by means of the obligation to subject oneself through proper conduct in life's stations.<sup>2</sup> In 1Pt 2,11–12 this direction is introduced, set and discussed by means of three examples

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\* The present study is primarily based on the English translation of *Leonhard Goppelt's* epochal work *Der erste Petrusbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978). (*A Commentary on 1 Peter*, [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1993]. transl. by *Alsup, John E.*, 155–238), and it admittedly intends to recapture the main accomplishments *Goppelt* has made in his exegesis.

<sup>1</sup> *Goppelt*, 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Goppelt*, 174, 177.

within the schema of a household chart or a household code or – as Goppelt rather puts it – a station code<sup>3</sup>: the conduct of citizens, of slaves and of wives and husbands. Goppelt stresses Peter’s address to his fellow-Christians saying that the word *agapētoi* Peter used here is specifically Christian; it is found hardly anywhere else in the Jewish and Hellenistic environment. If we take a closer look at this introduction we see that the metaphor of exiles and aliens, or in another though similar way foreigners and sojourners<sup>4</sup> had already been applied in the text earlier (1,1.17) and here it occurs once more. It describes the relationship of Christians to their own culture: they are now strangers in the midst of what once was unambiguously natural and well-known to them. As Goppelt puts it, Christians are foreigners because they are called into eschatological existence and sojourners because they are to live this existence in history.<sup>5</sup> Viewed as evildoers, as “aliens in a foreign land”, Christians must, by their good conduct, give the lie to such absurd accusations. Casting an even closer glance at the text it becomes inevitably obtrusive that the Christian attitude in demand is expressed in all three instances with the Greek word *hypotassó* which means to submit, to be in subjection, to be subject to, to obey, to be obedient. In its imperative form *hypotagēte* (subject yourselves), the guiding directive continues through almost the whole parenthesis and the motivation behind it cannot escape our attention either: the subjection is for the sake of the Lord, i.e., of the exalted Redeemer and not that of the Roman Emperor or any other earthly ruler. Goppelt mentions that this command of subjection *dia ton kyrion*, for the Lord’s sake had been part of the station code tradition from the very beginning and it became clear as a typical Christian rhetorical phenomenon in the debate over the “christocratic” interpretation of such texts, primarily by O. Cullmann.<sup>6</sup>

### CHRISTIANS ARE TO BE LIKE GOOD CITIZENS (1Pt 2,13–17)

To be a good citizen in the Roman Empire meant to obey its laws and the edicts of its rulers. Being good Christians meant to live as decent citizens do. The need for Christians to abstain from unacceptable cultural practices, in Peter’s words from drunkenness, orgies and idolatry (1Pt 4,3), will raise enough criticism; there is no need to make it worse with acts and deeds, manners and principles that may be a thorn in the eyes of the majority society. Christians must live in such a way that accusations against them prove to be foolish tales based on ignorance or leastways perplexity. In Peter’s

<sup>3</sup> Goppelt, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Goppelt, 155, *paroikous kai parepidémous*.

<sup>5</sup> Goppelt, 156.

<sup>6</sup> Goppelt, 183–184, see footnote 20, 184.

view Christians were free and capable to do that. Goppelt writes that the proper conduct in the everyday life of a Christian is not only grounded in the goal of Christian existence, but also in its root: Christians are free (*eleutheroi*), but they are so only as *douloi theou*, as servants of God.<sup>7</sup> Goppelt emphasises that the freedom Peter calls on as the ground and means of subjection comes not from voluntary subordination to a law, but in a Jewish-biblical term it comes from redemption.<sup>8</sup> Those who believe are free from inherited ways of behaviour because they were ransomed by God to be his possession, i.e., they became his servants.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, even in the political realm they are no longer dependent on securing their existence by being time-servers. Nevertheless, through their relationship with God, their Creator and Redeemer, they bear an obligation to civil authorities, as well as to justice.<sup>10</sup> Fear God, honor the emperor (*ton theon fobeisthe, ton basilea timathe*, 1Pt 2,17), so encourages Peter his fellow-Christians. In those days to honour the emperor was by all means appropriate, what's more, compulsory according to the Hellenistic ethos. Peter however places this obligation in another, in his perception more proper perspective: honor is due to the emperor as fundamentally to all people, but fear is due only to God. This can be so because God alone, as Creator of all, determines existence and non-existence.<sup>11</sup> To put it briefly, a Christian may honor, but not fear human authorities as if earthly masters were representatives of the heavenly master. On the contrary, as servants of God, Christians are to live with their eschatological freedom they inherited by salvation and faith and so they are supposed to dwell and be of service in their civil environment.

### CHRISTIANS ARE TO BE LIKE GOOD SLAVES (1PT 2,18–25)

The same point is made using slaves as the example. As a matter of fact, so is Goppelt, the instruction for slaves becomes in 1Pt the focal point of the station code. The conflict situation of Christians in society which 1Pt addresses, comes into sharp relief especially among slaves. The detailed instruction to them has exemplary meaning, consequently, for all Christians in all earthly situations.<sup>12</sup> The analogy is quite clear: slaves, like Christians, undergo punishment. If it is undeserved and quietly suffered, it has God's approval, but only then. Evil slaves, like evil Christians, only get what they deserve when they are punished. The pattern or ideal from which that kind of reali-

<sup>7</sup> Goppelt, 187.

<sup>8</sup> Goppelt, 188, see 1Pt 1,18 (*lytroomai*).

<sup>9</sup> *douloi theou* is an Old Testament expression for those whom God takes into service and thereby blesses. Goppelt, 188.

<sup>10</sup> Goppelt, 188.

<sup>11</sup> Goppelt, 190.

<sup>12</sup> Goppelt, 191.

zation is derived is Jesus himself. His conduct during his Passion shows how Christians are to react in a similar situation of hatred and conflicts. Though once astray, Christians are now under the Good Shepherd's care and they must live, behave and act accordingly. If we again try to put it short, the just conduct of Christians under suffering has a christological foundation. Peter draws a line of connection between Christ and Christians, more precisely between the suffering Christ and the suffering of believers. The image of Christ should serve Christians in their everyday challenges by keeping Christ's innocent suffering for the atonement of their sins evident in every situation, so making them remember the theological and eschatological perspectives of their life even here on earth. On the other hand it is by far obvious that in this part of Peter's parenthesis the christological recollections and the Christian message of freedom, even for the slave, does not try to treat the historical situation with indifference. It does not aim at an ascetic emigration out of that situation, as Goppelt bluntly puts it.<sup>13</sup> He states that the station code parenthesis basically applies the message in such a way that slaves are obligated to do justice to the historical situation in view of the eschatological Lord of history. Principally, for faith within the Church the distinction between free and slave has been removed just as much as that between male and female.<sup>14</sup> Although the parenthesis is shaped according to the structure of society and not that of the form of life belonging to the Church, it does honour the slave as a human being, i.e., as a responsible creation before God, destined for eternal fellowship with him.<sup>15</sup>

### CHRISTIANS ARE TO BE LIKE GOOD WIVES AND HUSBANDS (1Pt 3,1-7)

The point is made again, now using wives as a sample. Though legally subject to others (once their father, now their husband), good wives – nevertheless even in a socially subordinate position – are supposed to lead exemplary lives. The good wife pays attention not to outward show and pretence, but to inward values and virtue. In Goppelt's opinion the positive antithesis here is not intended to heighten the impression that spiritual inwardness should be more valuable than physical appearance. It contrasts, rather, what a person can make of herself with what she becomes through Christ: *ho kryptos tés kardias anthrópos*<sup>16</sup> (1Pt 3,4). The hidden person of the heart is

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<sup>13</sup> Goppelt, 193.

<sup>14</sup> See Gal 3,28; Col 3,11, *ibid*, 193.

<sup>15</sup> Again 1Pt 2,13: *Subject yourselves for the Lord's sake...* and 1Pt 3,7: *as fellow heirs of the grace of life...*

<sup>16</sup> The hidden person of the heart.

one whose being is determined by faith. The way Goppelt explains it, the hidden person is not the inner side of the person, but the whole human being as it is determined from within, “from the heart”, i.e., from believing thoughts and desires.<sup>17</sup> So, similarly to a good wife, Christians are to pay attention not to outward attributes, but to their inward faith, so that as true children of Sarah they do what is right and do not let others force them into doing what is wrong. Correspondingly, the good husband shows tender concern for his wife. As Goppelt notes, the understanding of marriage in 1Pt comes from a Christian understanding of the natural and historical givens alongside the understanding of marriage that arises from the eschatological viewpoint: A man should give his wife “honour” as an equal in her status as a person (cf. 1Pt 2,17), since she is “fellow heir of the gift (of the grace) of life”: *aponemontes timén hós kai sygkléronomois charitos zoés*. Like her husband, to whom she is united in faith, she receives in the new world “the gift of grace”, namely “life”, as an inheritance that is already now accorded to her (1 Pt 1,4f.).<sup>18</sup> In short, like a good wife and a good husband, Christians are to show concern for one another so that God will listen to their appeals made to him. At this point it’s well worth mentioning that in a Christian sense spousal relationship is apparently reciprocal. It is not only the wives who have certain obligations and responsibilities toward their husbands but vice versa, husbands are also obliged to respect, to appreciate and to esteem their spouses and treat them as their help- and soulmates in life. Goppelt directly points out that 1Pt maintains the fundamental equality of the wife more than the rest of the parenetic tradition.<sup>19</sup> Wives are not only addressed in terms of personal responsibility, as are husbands, but are also summoned to give the witness in deed, with which all are charged here, to serve as example in the conflict situation. In Goppelt’s conclusion the station-code tradition, which is articulated in general terms in 1Pt 2,12 (let there be a Christian witness through personal presence in society) is modeled in the case of wives for the conflict situation.<sup>20</sup> Not incidentally this exposition of 1Pt may make us recall Jesus’ sayings, which make husband and wife equal in accord with what creation originally established (e.g. Mt 19,4–6) and with creation’s eschatological goal (Mk 12,24f.). Goppelt claims that this equality of wife and husband was appropriated in the post-Easter proclamation for Church membership (Gal 3,28f; 1Cor 12,13; Col 3,11), but was also adapted to custom (1Cor 11,2–16).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This heart is “hidden” because its essence cannot be confirmed; it is not empirically demonstrable because it comes forth from faith and from the spirit. Goppelt, 221.

<sup>18</sup> Goppelt, 227–228.

<sup>19</sup> Goppelt, 219.

<sup>20</sup> Goppelt.

<sup>21</sup> Goppelt.



At this point it can be declared as a conclusion that the above mentioned three classes of people among the many to be found within the Christian community<sup>22</sup> are highlighted not only as the objects of ethical advice in their own right but also as examples of the way all Christians are to manage and perform within the potentially hostile, immoral and violent society and culture that surrounds them. Peter's eschatological viewpoint is valid not only in regard to marriage, but also in regard to all the stations of this world. In each of them the partner must finally be recognized as the one who is intended to be "fellow heir of the grace of life". In Goppelt's words this is the final criterion of Christian social ethics.<sup>23</sup> In marriage as elsewhere, it does not cancel the historical forms of life, but it does give them a boundary and a goal. Summarizing the exegetical diagnosis of this part, Goppelt sets out that the directives of 1Pt regarding the living out of marriage in view both the present conflict and the new existence develop principles of New Testament social ethics that to this day give guidance to Christians all over the world.<sup>24</sup>

### **CHRISTIANS ARE TO LIVE IN A GOOD FELLOWSHIP WITH ONE ANOTHER (1Pt 3,8–12)**

In the end in Peter's household chart or as we also put it earlier in Goppelt's term, station code – although it actually concludes with 1Pt 5,5 – Christians are advised how they are to treat one another. Here the example is the Christian fellowship itself and the main topic is the social conduct of all. After announcing that he wishes to conclude the parenetic sequence, Peter indicates that he is now addressing all members of the church together.<sup>25</sup> All of the points implied in the previous three examples (citizen, slave, wife and husband) are here made explicit in relation to the conduct of Christians towards one another. The centrally located expression *filadelphos* ("loving one's brother") in this part of 1Pt indicates that the author focuses first of all on the relationship of Church members to one another. Peter refers to the fundamental social distinction always accepted by all: in relation to both brothers and adversaries (1Pt 3,8–9) one has to overcome all that separates and seek life together by means of demonstrations of love.<sup>26</sup> The ultimate call or vocation of the Christian is to be approved by God, in other words to find favour with him and it can be realized through the practice of *koinónia* (the fellowship of the believers, the mutual demonstration of love among

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<sup>22</sup> Slaves, wives and husbands, but also masters, children, rich and poor, young and old, just to mention a few...

<sup>23</sup> Goppelt, 228.

<sup>24</sup> Goppelt.

<sup>25</sup> Goppelt, 229.

<sup>26</sup> Goppelt.

Church members)<sup>27</sup> that is essential for the Church (cf. Acts 2,24; Gal 2,9; 1Jn 1,3a.7). Goppelt stresses that the Church members' thinking and striving are to have the same content and be directed toward the same goal, not by coordination according to one program, but by dialogical orientation toward the commission of the one Lord. Through this orientation, thinking and striving, according to Phil 2,2–6, believers are not directed toward self-realization (Rom 12,16), but toward service with differing gifts. What results from this is not uniformity but unanimity.<sup>28</sup> Because of this, so Goppelt, the competing parties customary in philosophy and in Jewish religious life, the *skhismata* and *haireseis*<sup>29</sup>, are reprehensible in the Church (1Cor 1,10), because they serve one's individuality and not the Lord.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to this, brotherly (mutual) love has to have its even more positive consequences: In a community of brothers and sisters it is not only necessary that each be involved in a brotherly and sisterly communion with one another, but also that each be constantly and charitably open to the other in such a way that the other's failings are covered.<sup>31</sup> In a true and honest communion one's attention is turned toward one's neighbour so that one not only gives something, but also gives one's self. Based on 1Pt's wording Goppelt points out that such turning of one's attention is only possible in the conduct of *tapeinofrón*, of the one who is "meek", "humble", "simple" or "little", in contemporary Aramaic of the *anaw*, the one who considers the other more important than himself or herself. A person like that does not look after his or her own concerns but after those of the other (Fil 2,3), because he or she lives from the love of God. With the train of his thoughts Goppelt makes his readers remember Jesus as the *anaw*, who calls to himself those who are burdened (Mt 11,29).<sup>32</sup> What might be even more important, the love that shapes positively the relationship of the Church's members to one another, while it makes itself concrete in this manner, also overcomes the evil that comes to it from without. It becomes clear in the example of Jesus in such a situation (1Pt 2,23) and in the additional contexture (1Pt 3,13–17) that this "without" are the opponents who attack Christians because of their Christian conduct. Peter is in the opinion that Christians should not avoid such challenging situations or apparent assaults in a resigned and bitter way, but overcome them through right conduct within life's stations. According to Goppelt the sociological consequences of such Christian behaviour are quite lucid: This conduct is an application of the fundamental commandment that encompasses the whole range of contacts with one's neighbour. Evil, especially insults and accusa-

<sup>27</sup> See Goppelt's comments on 1Pt 1,22; 123–126.

<sup>28</sup> Goppelt, 233.

<sup>29</sup> Fractions and heresies.

<sup>30</sup> Goppelt, 233.

<sup>31</sup> Goppelt.

<sup>32</sup> Goppelt, 234.

tions, should not be returned or even echoed in attitude or conduct, but should be countered with blessing.<sup>33</sup> Goppelt again builds his theory on the Greek wording: One should not *kakopoiein*, but should *agathopoiein* in various situations.<sup>34</sup> In the midst of manifold conflicts the proper course, i.e., the adequate way of how to react is to seek peace. This, writes Goppelt, is an aspect of fundamental early Christian instruction: If at all possible, whenever you can do anything about it, be at peace with all people (Rom 12,18). Such instruction is anchored in Jesus preaching (Mt 5,9).<sup>35</sup> Having been familiar with the style and background of 1Pt so far, it is not at all surprising that in his reasoning the author brings forth confirmation from the Old Testament, in this case from Psalm 34,12–16. The spirit of Christ present to the prophets of the old days made them tell prophecies which are as valid now regarding Christ as they were then regarding Israel. In other words the matter the prophets were dealing with was not for their time only but accordingly it was for the time of Christ and his followers. As Goppelt takes it, the quotation of Ps 34,12–16 (13–17), strenghtens the antithesis in 1Pt 3,9.<sup>36</sup> Whoever wishes to receive life or God's consolation abstains from any word and more generally any action that would do harm to another person. Such a person demonstrates good to others and seeks peace. In Goppelt's summary, with this directive the basic point of reference for the whole parenthesis that precedes here in 1Pt, namely, the antithesis of *kakopoiein* (1Pt 2,16; 3,9) and *agathopoiein* (1Pt 2,14f; 2,20; 3,6; cf. 3,11a), is underscored. The quotation thus also prepares the way for the next section, which begins with the application of this antithesis to the pressure exerted on Christians by the world (1Pt 3,13).<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Goppelt.

<sup>34</sup> Not do evil but do good, Goppelt, 237.

<sup>35</sup> Goppelt.

<sup>36</sup> Do not return evil for evil or invective for invective; but rather bless, because you have been called so that you should receive blessing, Goppelt, 229, 235.

<sup>37</sup> Goppelt, 235–236.

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Laura BARITZ OP

## **MORAL AND VIRTUE IN ECONOMICS. IS PARADIGM SHIFT POSSIBLE IN ECONOMIC LIFE?**

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At first glance we might raise the question, how a talk about economics can be presented at a conference related to biblical studies and virtues. My duty now is to prove that I am on the right place, that is, to demonstrate that there is an outspoken connection between the biblical sciences, virtues and economic science.

Pope Benedict the 16<sup>th</sup>, in his encyclical *Caritas in Veritate* introduces a theory called ‘expanded reason’, which means that a specific science will only be holistic and complete when we examine its ultimate goal and its relation to the human being. These two points can be observed and found with the help of theology and philosophy only. This way economic science, originally carrying the feature of the idea of ‘Human centred economy’, being in the service of the human person, focusing on the human person, and belonging to the area of social sciences, is connected to theological, philosophical thoughts, and is also connected to the question of virtues. When the goal of economy is the fulfilment of the human person, we should get acquainted with him and her in our economic studies in details, and by doing so, we can explore the connection between biblical science and economic science, as well.

Since 2010 we run a special, accredited graduate program called ‘KETEG’ (Christian Social Principles in Economy) with two training facilities, one at Sapiientia College of Theology and the other at the Corvinus University of Economics. In both we teach the subjects of economic science in three blocks: theology/philosophy, social sciences and economics. This way the students receive a holistic view on economy and an impression about how a paradigm shift would look like, if we lived in a more sustainable and human friendly economic world, rather than today’s mainstream economic approach.

First, let us look at how a paradigm shift would look like, if the world was a cake.

During a paradigm shift the structure, the basic principles, the construction and the set-up of a given system goes through a substantial change and the result of it will be a fundamentally different system in the given area than it was before. In the economic scientific literature we often read about the necessity of a paradigm shift in economics that is understood and described in different ways according to the scientific orientation of the authors. Some representatives of an alternative approach to economics that is based on the Church’s Social Teaching and is called “Human centred economy”

picture a paradigm shift with the image of a cake that has three layers. The original set-up of a cake is as follows. The basic and most robust layer is the brown slice representing the material world, as the foundation of the economic system. The other slice on the material world which is smaller and weaker is the symbolic green slice of the environment, and the upper part of the cake is a tiny little white piece of a foam, representing the moral and virtue in economic life today. This is “the foam on the top of the cake.” When we would like to make a paradigm shift with the cake, first we must turn the cake upside down. This way the white foam will become the underside of the cake and the material world zooms upwards. If we leave the cake like this, it will collapse and result a chaos. We need to do something more in order to obtain the new system after the paradigm shift. We must enlarge the white foam in order that it becomes the foundation of the cake. A paradigm shift in economy according to the Human centred economic understanding means that the economic system, the material world will be embedded into moral and virtuous values. Moral and virtue provide the foundation of the economic order. The cake will change substantially: first and biggest, strongest layer is the foam, second layer is the environment, surrounded by moral values and the smallest layer upside is the material world, regulated and determined by the rules of morality and the necessities of the environment.

In the following section we will review what are the characteristic features of the new, alternative paradigm that we described by the symbol of the cake.

What is an unbelievable thought in the present mainstream paradigm are two strong statements:

- the human person has priority over the economic structure;
- profit is not an ultimate goal but a tool.

First, let us examine the correctness of the first statement. In the contemporary study books of classic, neoclassic economics we read that the economic life is built on economic rules and principles, the main law of which is the goal of profit maximization. In this process the human person serves as a tool, an evaluation factor in calculating the maximum gain of a business action. We call the person “consumer”, “human resource”, “manpower”, “labour force”. But in contrast to it, in our new “Human centred” paradigm the person plays a different role. He/she becomes the foundation, the subject of the economic system, not only with his/her characteristics promoting profit creation, but with his/her whole personality: with his/her body and soul, as a whole person. In this understanding, when we consider an economic system and the human person as a part of it, we can pronounce that the person precedes the structure, the person is the first compared to the structure. In other words, he/she has priority over the structure he/she lives in.

Let us demonstrate this statement.

In the years of 1950'ies behaviourism was the mainstream trend in psychology and sociology. Aronson, Allport, Durkheim, Campbell, Festinger, Luhman and other psychologists and sociologists stated that the structure goes before the human, the laws, properties of the structure (be it an economic structure or the set up of a group of people) determine the behaviour and personality of the human being. Group pressure can override personal identity, the person can lose his/her personality and identity in a group.

Numerous researches and tests were performed regarding this topic and some of them have shown different results than the behaviourists suggested, as we will see soon.

It is not simple to decide, which has priority, the structure or the person. In case of Mc Donalds a fat boy can symbolise the priority of the structure: the fast food system has overcome the normal weight of the boy. However, we can see example symbolising the opposite idea, as well: Father Placid, the Benedictine priest has overcome the structure. He survived the penal system of the Gulag prisoner island and he could change his environment: he helped his comrades to escape from the island, too.

In the years of 1960'ies another trend came out in psychology: the principles of Humanistic psychology. Main representatives of it were Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow and within this stream there appeared a theory of key importance: the Self Determination Theory (SDT) with main authors named Richard Ryan and Edward Deci. In sharp contrast to behaviourism SDT, together with the Humanistic trend, professes that the final determinative factor of the human person is not else than himself/herself based upon his/her intrinsic motivations. Same thoughts can be explored e.g. at Victor Frankl or Albert Bandura, they proclaim that the human person can be proactive and change his/her environment at the same time. What finally counts, is the person's personality traits and motivations, primarily, his/her intrinsic motivations, moreover we may say, his/her spiritual characteristics. And here we have arrived at the field of theology. Saint John Paul II., in his apostolic exhortation *Reconciliatio at poenitentia* describes the theory of "Structure of the sin", where he explains that in spite of the fact that sins spread in structure, that is, we experience the systemic character of our sinful deeds, the ultimate responsibility of the individual does not pass away. We, as individual persons are always responsible for our deeds. The other notion of great importance in theology is the freedom of the person. Freedom is the unalienable characteristic of the person, his/her behaviour, deeds rest upon it, since freedom is originated in the God's likeness of the person. It cannot be taken away by the structure. Therefore we can pronounce now the solution of our original question whether the person or the structure have priority over the other:

"Based on the responsibility and freedom of the person, the ultimate determinative factor is the person, who is in permanent interaction with the structure."



We do not deny that the structure has significant effect on the person and group pressure exists, but the ultimate factor that defines the structure is the person him/herself. When we would like to change a system we must touch both the structure and the person but the fundamental change will occur when we achieve a change in the value system of the person. Jesus came not to change the rules and laws of the Roman Empire but to promote the spiritual and intellectual life of the individual person.

Having gone through our deduction that human person has priority over the structure we can pronounce the following statement:

“Different value order correlates with different economic order” (Baritz, 2014, p.10). That is, when the value order of the person changes, the economic order will change, also. The basis of the economic order eventually is the human person.

Saint John Paul II., in his encyclical *Laborem exercens* (1981) pronounces that human person is the subject, the foundation and at the same time the goal of the economic structure. The name “Human centred economics” of our “new” economic paradigm that we characterized by the cake built on the foam of moral and virtue, comes from this thought, that is, from the Church’s Social Teaching.

In the 2500 years history of economy in the developed world, that is, in the “North”, we can explore two basic economic paradigms: the “Paradigm of virtue ethics” and the “Utility centred paradigm” with the background of utilitarianism. Utility centred paradigm, the Anglo-Saxon Political Economy starting in the 1750’ies, is shorter in time than the paradigm of virtue ethics, but it is our mainstream paradigm today we live in. Virtue ethics was main stream in the middle ages and in early modern history, but its traces can be found even today.

The relationship between moral, virtuous values and economic values is substantially different in the two economic paradigms. In the Utility centred paradigm they are in a “tool-like” connection, moral, virtues are tools of the economy, they serve its ultimate goal, the profit maximization. While in the Paradigm of virtue ethics moral, virtues and economy build an integral unity, the moral values frame and define the economic processes. I.e. in this paradigm finance could be understood together with values like transparency, justice, honesty, only.

Let us observe how the Paradigm of virtue ethics takes place in the course of economic history beginning from the antiquity. In the works of Aristotle we find references to the features of economics of virtue ethics. In his book “Politics” he describes the characteristics of “OIKONOMIA”, which is the natural way of housekeeping. However, he mentions another art of economics, as well, the art of “CHREMATISTICS”, which is the origin of the Utility centred paradigm, with the aim of accumulating as much money as we can, in the course of an economic activity. Aristotle says the right way of economy in the polis is OIKONOMIA.

In the middle ages we find numerous authors and streams representing the Economic paradigm of virtue ethics. Let us begin with Thomas Aquinas of the 13<sup>th</sup> cen-

tury, who disserts about economic questions, namely about money, profit, interest, in his volume *Summa Theologiae* II.–II., where he explores similar way of thinking than Aristotle. He states that profit is good when it is a tool and serves virtuous ends of economy. At the same time he condemns the art of economics that aims the infinite accumulation of money during the business action, like usury. Aquinas's followers were the Franciscan Saint Bernardin de Florence and the Franciscan financial institution, a mortgagee called "Monti de Pieta" that gave loan to poor people for a modest interest rate. It represented the ethical way of financial activity: the ultimate goal of it was creating value, to help the poor. Money served as a tool to this goal. We can consider Aquinas' follower a Dominican bishop, namely, San Antonio of Florence, who, in his book "Summa Moralis" touches economic themes, as well, in the manner of virtue ethics. The whole medieval Christian thinking of "Scolastics" refers to a virtue ethical base.

An emblematic period of the Paradigm of virtue ethics was the time of "Civil economy" in the Italian cities and South-European regions of the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century, where the ultimate goal of economy was "public happiness" and the foundations of economic activity were the virtuous persons. This economic thinking was present in the economic praxis and in theory, as well. Main advocate of Civil economy was Antonio Genovesi, an Italian Catholic priest and economist professor, the professor lecturer of University of Naples. He, in his volume "Lezioni" of 1757–1758 thoroughly describes the features of Civil economy based on virtue ethics. His peers in Civil economic thinking were Beccaria, Verri, Loria, Cattaneo, Romagnosi, and Paoletti.

The years of 1700 gave room the utilitarian ethics and Anglo-Saxon Political Economy the "Utility centred economic paradigm", which was marked by the name of Adam Smith and his book "Wealth of Nations." This stream was in contradiction with the principles of virtue ethics, it rather referred to "CHREMATISTCS" than to "OIKONOMIA".

In the midst of the utilitarian economy a revival of the Paradigm of virtue ethics has happened: the first papal encyclical of the Church's Social teaching have appeared. Pope Leo XIII. published his encyclical *Rerum novarum*, in which He described basic virtue ethical thoughts that were revolutionary in the circumstances of heavy exploitation and negative signs of early capitalism. In the following encyclicals the popes always proceeded from their contemporary social, political, economic situation they lived in, and formulated the basic principles of the Church's Social Teaching that are human dignity, justice, solidarity, subsidiarity and the common good. These principles constitute the basis for their teaching in the realm of society, economics and politics. The last piece of the Teaching is Pope Francis's *Laudato si* of 2015.

However, utilitarianism and its descendants rule the mainstream thinking of today, virtue ethics is still alive as its alternative. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century its most accentuated appearance happened in the phenomenon of Social market economy after the 2<sup>nd</sup>

world war in West-Germany during Chancellor Adenauer, when the Church's Social Teaching was the official ideology of the West-German parliament.

Today we have some art of economic activity, where virtue ethical way of thinking can be explored. They are for instance the "Social entrepreneurs" for whom profit is a tool to create a valuable social goal. "We establish work places not in order to make profit, but we make profit in order to establish work places" sounds one of their catchwords. There are numerous networks of Christian and other entrepreneurs that create value during their activity, and we find a substantial number of institutions and works in the field of theory that maintain and spread virtue ethical thoughts in the field of economics, as well.

Now, we look deeper in the principles and way of thinking of the paradigm of virtue ethics in economy, beginning with a comparison of Utility centred and Virtue ethical paradigms. We compare the meaning of some key concepts in the two paradigms.

The category of "good" is grasped totally differently in utilitarianism than in virtue ethics. The utilitarian "good" has a subjective character, what is good to me, is good in general. We explore this way of thinking in the happiness indicators, as well, the SWB (Subjective Well Being) index reflects this approach of the "good". In utilitarianism "good" correlates with "utility", what brings me the maximum gain, the highest utility is good to me. Finally, "good" in the utilitarian thoughts is connected to hedonism that is to seeking pleasure as its goal. In virtue ethics "good" has a substantially different meaning. It has an objective character, since it is defined by external factors indicating what is good. These external factors are the divine laws and norms like the eternal law of love, the natural law referring to good, the norms of the Ten Commandment, the universal ethical norms and regulations. The "good" in the virtue ethical system is goal-oriented, hierarchical, and rational, we will discuss it more thoroughly later.

The meaning of "I" is different in the two paradigms, as well. In the utility centred paradigm the individual is rather connected to "possession", and represents an "I-IT" connection to the other, while in virtue ethics the person preferably refers to "being" and "fulfilment" carrying an "I-YOU" connection to his/her neighbour.

Happiness is different in the paradigm of virtue ethics than in the utilitarian paradigm. Utilitarianism's happiness is "hedonism", to seek pleasure as the main goal of happiness. In virtue ethics happiness can be characterized by the Aristotelian "Eudaimonia" that means as follows. The person sets a noble target for him/her and while achieving it, he/she becomes richer in values, in virtues, he/she will be more perfect, in other words, he/she fulfils. This fulfilment process makes the person happy. The other factors of happiness in this paradigm are the deep and standing human connections and spiritual life. The Christian meaning of happiness is similar to this, the main goal of fulfilment is the personal and living connection with God, and at the end "Visio Beatifica".

The fortune of virtues is different in the two paradigms, as well: while in the Utilitarian economic paradigm they transform to be “power, possession, greed and avarice”, in virtue ethics they are the skills to do good.

Finally, the key notion of economics, the notion of “self-interest” that drives an economic action, differs in the two paradigms, too. Utilitarian economics speaks about “subjectivist self interest”, while Paradigm of virtue ethics represents “objectivist self interest” according to Eric Fromm (Fromm, 1949). “Subjectivist self interest” means that during a business or economic action I would like to reach my own, subjectively set goals, while the meaning of “objectivist self interest” sounds: “My real needs include the well-being of others, as well”. In other words, in an economic case I am able to take into account the interest of my partner(s), as well. According to Eric Fromm, “objectivist self interest” includes the meaning of happiness, as well: “fulfilment through the virtues”, since happiness through fulfilment is the best interest I can wish to myself. When I am able to think on the ground of objectivist self interest, and pay attention to the interest of others as well, I will be able to establish cooperation with them and create “win-win” situations on the market, which brings more common yield than a “win-lose” structure. In this case I will be able to realize a reciprocal connection with my partners, a “reciprocity” that means we both can give freely, magnanimously, unconditionally to each other. Instead of the main drivers of “exchange and interest” the market will be driven by reciprocity and objectivist self interest.

As we have already mentioned, Aristotle has explored the two arts of economising, as well. In his book “Politics” he describes the two economic trends that are the historical roots of the “Economic paradigm of virtue ethics” and the “Utility centred economic paradigm”. First he unfolds the characteristics of “OIKONOMIA” that is the original word for economy meaning nothing else than to perform the works around the house. That is, to keep house and fulfil the needs of the members of the house. This action thinks in real-value and is finite. When the needs of the house are fulfilled, the economic action comes to an end and begins a new economic period. The other economic trend according to Aristotle is just the opposite of OIKONOMIA, which is “CHREMATISTICS”. CHREMATISTICS means to make more money from a given amount of money, in other words, to accumulate as much money as we can. This thought is the origin of the profit maximizing paradigm. This economic action thinks in exchange-value, and is infinite. One can find an even higher and higher level of the maximum during the accumulation process. Aristotle finds OIKONOMIA the right way of economising. Some contemporary authors analyze economics along the ideas of OIKONOMIA and CHREMATISTICS (Cf. Daly-Cobb, 1989) and call the banks of Wall Street during the financial crisis of 2008 “Chrematistic banks”.

Thomas Aquinas observes the two trends in economy described above, as well. He says in his *Summa Theologiae* II.–II. that profit is good, when it serves a good end, a

value, but he calls it “turpitude” (trickiness, deviousness) when it serves the end of money accumulation, like usury, in his times.

In order that we do not believe that all banks are chrematistic banks, we must mention here a 15<sup>th</sup> century financial institute of the Franciscan order, the so called “Monti di Pieta” or “Montes Pietatis.” It was a mortgagee lending loan to pure people at a low interest rate, realising the logic of OIKONOMIA in the financial field. Monti di pieta can be said the ancestor of today’s ethical banks, who’s ultimate goal is not to accumulate the maximum amount of money, but to establish a valuable goal promoting the common good.

San Antonio de Florence, the Dominican bishop from the 18<sup>th</sup> century explored a very important idea regarding business and economy, namely: “The goodness of the trade depends on the intention [motivation] of the trader” (Jarrett, 2007, p.155–156). In other words, an economic action does not begin with the market research only, but by examining our intentions, our motives, and our goals at the same time, why do we want to do business, to enter into an economic action.

After having discussed the logic of the two economic paradigms, let us now look into the philosophical grounds of our descriptions. We will do it based on the ancient Greek philosophers and Thomas Aquinas.

Classical Greek philosophy have explored that the values that can be found in our world have a hierarchical order. In this value hierarchy material world constitutes the lowest level, that is, the material goods are on the bottom of the value hierarchy, while on the top we can find the intellectual and moral values, whilst the very top level is morality.

Thomas Aquinas in S.Th. I. q.5.,a.6. describes the “analogical order” of the “goods”, distinguishing three types of “goods”: the “useful good”, the “pleasant good” and the “moral good”. The common feature of them is that they all are good, but each of them has its own characteristic feature. The “useful good”’s main characteristic is that it is a *tool*. It is good only inasmuch as it promotes the goodness of other “good”, like the bitter medicine, says Thomas. The “pleasant good”, in other word the pleasure and delight is good when it accompanies the other “goods”, in contrast to its understanding in the hedonistic conception. In the Hedoné pleasure is a goal, while in the Thomistic system it cannot be a substantive factor, just an attendant of a moral or of a useful “good”. A moral act can be walked by pleasure and joy, but not always. A virtue ethical person does his/her deeds not for the pleasure resulting from it but for its moral value. Finally we mention the third, most important “good” in Thomas’s system: the “moral good”. Its characteristic feature that it has priority over all “goods”, it is the first among all “goods”.

Based upon this outline above we can draw a picture how a paradigm shift would look like if we could change our view point in the economic life. In the “Utility centred economic paradigm” the goals of economy were utility and pleasure while

moral and virtue were handled as tools to realize them. In the “Economic paradigm of virtue ethics” the goals and tools change place: moral and virtue become goals (Cf. Thomas Aquinas and the value hierarchy) and utility transforms to be useful, a “useful good” among the tools, as Aquinas states. This way economy will be in its natural place, as Aristotle described in the theory of OIKONOMIA. Instead of ruling the world and dominating the world’s different spheres, it becomes a servant, serving the people, serving the common good.

While the members of the Utility centred paradigm were *Homo Oeconomicus* characterized by the notions of exchange and interest, the subjects of the Paradigm of virtue ethics are *Homo Reciprocans*, the economic actors and businessmen who can perform reciprocity and gratuitousness.

The Thomist explanation of the natural economic structure establishes the economy of virtue ethics called “Three dimensional economy” (Baritz, 2014) that is basically built on the logic of the three “goods” of Aquinas. The first two dimensions of “Three dimensional economy” are the realm of “useful goods” that is, the material goods, to which belong the basic economic goods like capital, financial goods, marketing, and profit itself. This sector stretches a two dimensional plain which is the territory of the today’s reduced material economic structure. In the economic paradigm of virtue ethics we complete this two dimensional plain and erect a vertical pole pointing upwards, the third dimension, which is not else than the dimension of the “moral goods” described by Aquinas. Here belong the immaterial substances of economy like trust, justice, solidarity, reciprocity, temperance, life and the Common Good itself. The relation between the two dimensional plain of “useful goods” (material goods) and the pole of the third dimension (moral goods) is substantial. Material goods, that is, the basic economic goods are tools to realize the goods of morality that are the goals of Three dimensional economy. Here we can name the ultimate goal of Three dimensional economy, which is nothing else than generating Common Good as the fulfilment of the people both individually and in common. Picturing the structure of Three dimensional economy we can draw two concentric circles, where the bigger circle of “moral goods” frames the smaller circle of “useful goods”, that is of material, economic goods. It means that morality defines economy, they are understood together. For instance, finance as a basic economic sphere can be understood together with the moral values of transparency, honesty, trust, defining the quality of financial actions. At the same time we can see that moral values have priority over the economic values. Three dimensional economy is a holistic economic structure: presence of moral, intellectual and virtuous values in economic life result in a complete economic system. Here the foundations of economy are moral values and virtues. This logic refers to the definition of Human centred economy where the morality that is, the value order of the human being plays the primary role in economy defining the quality of the economic paradigm.

Finally, we analyse the situation of money and profit in our two economic paradigms reaching a substantially different result along the two approaches. In the virtue ethical paradigm money takes place among the “useful goods” as a good and precious tool to a valuable and moral economic goal and what is more, it takes place on the lowest hierarchical level among them. This way we can give it a name “Servant of the servants” since it serves the useful, material goods, according to its nature. Namely, we buy the fundamental material goods with its help. Money plays a reverse role in the utilitarian paradigm being the ruler of the economic processes. Instead of being a servant and tool it becomes the mammon, that is, a master and goal, namely, the ultimate end of the economic life. Thomas Aquinas reveals that use of money (*economica*) is on higher hierarchical level than the accumulation of money (*pecuniativa*), albeit accumulation of money is the highest level on value hierarchy today. As we have seen, money has a 180 degree different role in the two economic paradigms.

We can tell the same about profit. As we have analysed before, profit is the ultimate goal of economic life and rules the processes in the utility centred economic paradigm. In the paradigm of virtue ethics, however, it is getting milder turning to be a tool and servant of value creation in economy. When it carries these characteristics, only then can it be regarded as “good” and useful, since these features are its nature. Thinking in terms of companies that want to create the common good as their final business goal, they rather search for the *optimum* value of profit that serves the valuable goal of the company that is the common good, than the maximum value to which the viewpoints of the common good might fall a victim. What they should maximize is the level of the common good.

Summarising our inquiry so far, we can conclude that an economic system established in the Paradigm of virtue ethics and with the principles of Human centred economics the nature of economics is the service, serving the human being as a whole person that is serving the common good. We formulated common good as the fulfilment of the person both individually and in common, in other words, his/her happiness, where happiness is understood in the meaning of “*eudaimonia*”. When a state would like to work on generating the common good in its country, it must think holistic, in an integrated manner. As we have seen in the rule of “value hierarchy”, economics, the sphere of material goods and services, is the lowest level of fulfilment, although fulfilment of persons consists of immaterial goods, as well, that stand higher on the value hierarchy. This way, in order to create common good of the nation, economic goals figured in GDP should be integrated with the aims of education, healthcare, culture, religion, constituting a holistic approach to the fulfilment of people. Economy should play the role of the servant, here, as well. Yet, another important remark is that speaking of common good we must speak of the fulfilment of every single individual person in the nation, the welfare of the majority does not generate the common good of the country.

It would be the topic of another study to survey whether these thoughts described in connection with “Human centred economy” and “Economic paradigm of virtue ethics”, can be found in praxis, as well. The answer is yes, we can observe numerous companies, networks, movements, scientific activities, knowledge centres, even regions that can present Human centred approach and principles in their praxis or work. Here we just mention some of them. There are about 40–45 scientific centres (universities, institutions, associations, etc.) and hundreds of scholars throughout the world that deal with the Church’s Social Teaching and economics publishing, teaching, that is, spreading their knowledge. We speak of “alternative economics”, as well, that involves streams and trends and economists differing from the mainstream economics. Here we can mention “ecological economics”, “humanistic economics”, “behavioural economics”, that show analogous features in some of their areas to the teaching of “Human centred economics”. Numerous world famous theorists and authors in economics profess similar thoughts in their teaching that we have described in this study so far. Let us mention here some of them in the area of economics: Herman Daly, Amartia Sen, Amitai Etzioni, Stefano Zamagni, Luigino Bruni, Helen Alford, Michael Naughton, Elinor Ostrom, Ed Freeman, John Kavanaugh, Tibor Scitovsky, Karl Polányi, Perez Lopez, Antonio Argandoña, István Muzslai, József Kindler, and some related areas: Francis Fukuyama, Tim Kasser, Eric Fromm, Victor Frankl, Alasdair McIntyre, etc.

In praxis there are companies, networks, movements that work in the spirit of Three Dimensional Economy. First we should mention the “social entrepreneurs”, who’s common belief is that profit is a tool to reach a social goal in their activity. In Great Britain and France they constitute a substantial part of the total economy, but even in Hungary we find a meaningful number of them. “Alternative capitalists” state the same: profit is a tool to achieve a valuable economic goal in their activity. (To them belong for instance the companies of Body Shop, Ben and Gerry, etc.) Those companies that are active in environmental protection belong to here, too: Patagonia gives 1% of its profit to the Earth to further environment protection processes. There are multinational companies operating in this manner, as well. Mondragon, the bank company established by a Catholic priest in 1956 has 146 subsidiary throughout the world and the difference between the lowest and highest salaries there is not more than 6–8 times. In Hungary we may mention some Christian entrepreneur networks that implement the ideas of the Church’s Social Teaching. “Blue Print of Better Business” movement initiated by some businessmen in London drew a business model upon the basic values of the Church’s Social Teaching (human dignity, justice, solidarity, subsidiarity and the common good) and they say they can influence the way of thinking of the high part of the business world with it, since the members of “Blue print” movement are not others than CEO’s from big multinationals like Vodafon, Easy Jet, Hermes, etc. and even from the IMF.



Surveying this study we might have get the impression that there exists an alternative possibility compared to contemporary mainstream economics and economic praxis that is more human and closer to human nature than classical, neoclassical economics and which can be realised in praxis, as well, as our examples in the last part have indicated. For a paradigm shift the possibility and the way is there, it depends on us, who are the foundations and initiators of economic life, whether it can be realised or not.

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## IL SILENZIO DELLE DONNE ALLA TOMBA VUOTA DI GESÙ – LA FEDELITÀ AL MISTERO RIVELATO

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### 0. INTRODUZIONE

Grazie ai diversi elementi strutturali, ma soprattutto il suono delle campane che scandisce il tempo e richiama i monaci ai propri Uffici giornalieri, il ritmo della preghiera del certosino che nella ripetizione degli stessi salmi trova la chiave di accesso alla contemplazione e comprensione di Dio e la ripetizione di quei gesti e le preghiere che rendono uguali tutte le giornate, Philip Gröning nel suo film “Il grande silenzio” del 2005 vuole permettere anche allo spettatore di accedere a una dimensione altra, una dimensione in cui gli elementi naturali e i piccoli gesti quotidiani si caricano di senso<sup>1</sup>. Il regista sembra scoprire e proporre al suo spettatore il significato di una vita votata al silenzio *dei suoni*, ma anche *della vista* attraverso l’intervista con il monaco cieco, nella gioia del ritrovarsi con il Padre celeste<sup>2</sup>. Questo silenzio dei certosini anche se *di regola* non pare essere *imposto*, ma è una scelta, anzi un *modus vivendi*, che nella quotidianità trascende lo spazio della vita terrestre e tocca l’eternità divina, diventando infatti un segno della presenza e della *potenza misteriosa* (δύναμις) di Dio.

Uno simile *silenzio misterioso* viene confessato anche dal credente prima della comunione nella liturgia divina di san Giovanni Crisostomo: “οὐ μὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου τὸ μυστήριον εἶπω” (“io no dirò ai tuoi nemici il tuo *mistero*”), rivolgendosi al Figlio di Dio di accoglierlo come partecipe della sua “Mistica Cena”<sup>3</sup>.

Lo stesso silenzio troviamo nella finale canonica del Vangelo di Marco reso ancora più assoluto dalla paura che ha preso le donne in fuga dal sepolcro di Gesù: “Καὶ ἐξελθούσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ” (Mc 16,8: “Esse uscirono e fuggirono via dal sepolcro, perché erano piene di spavento e di stupore. E non dissero niente a nessuno, perché erano impaurite”).

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<sup>1</sup> Giunti, “Lo spazio e il tempo. Il grande silenzio di Philip Gröning (Die Große Stille, Germania, 2005),” in *Elephant & Castle. Laboratorio dell’immaginario* (2012): 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. *Ibid.*, 15–16.

<sup>3</sup> *Hieratikon: periechon tas akolouthias tou Hesperinou kai tou Orthrou, tas theias kai hieras leitourgias Ioannou tou Chrysostomou, Basileon tou Megalou kai ton Proëgiasmeion, meta ton synethon prost-hēkōn* (En Rōmē: [s.n.], 1950), 144.

Vogliamo studiare questo silenzio delle donne nella finale di Marco, sia dal punto di vista del suo contenuto, che da quello della sua funzione nella composizione letteraria di Marco. Infatti, due sono gli elementi che vogliamo collegare: 1) ultima parola con la quale termina il Vangelo, cioè la particella “γαρ” che, non potendo stare in chiusura, come se lasciasse il Vangelo aperto per sempre, rimanda al principio per finire nell’orecchio e nel cuore di chi l’ascolta<sup>4</sup> e 2) il “segreto messianico” come un procedimento letterario di Marco, che fa una rilettura ecclesiale della storia di Gesù alla luce della resurrezione, allo scopo di mettere in evidenza la sua messianicità e la sua figliolanza divina<sup>5</sup>, l’oggetto del quale sarebbe lo stesso mistero di Gesù – Messia e Figlio di Dio<sup>6</sup>.

Lo scopo che vogliamo raggiungere è di prendere in considerazione il silenzio che traversa il Vangelo di Marco non come un ordine imposto dall’esterno, oppure come una conseguenza della paura, ma come la presa di coscienza di essere stati toccati dal mistero e della virtù di custodirlo dal tradimento, ma anche dall’irrigidimento oppure svuotamento, mantenendolo sempre vivo e attuale.

## I. LA RICERCA DEL CROCIFISSO DEFUNTO E LA VISIONE DEL RISORTO VIVO

La finale aperta di Marco può avere la stessa funzione dello stile trascendentale del film di Gröning il quale attraverso il silenzio e la stasi continua, dopo aver fermato l’immagine, a muovere lo spettatore facendolo scendere sempre più in profondità finché non arrivi, si potrebbe dire, dentro l’immagine.<sup>7</sup> Il lettore del Vangelo di Marco, anche lui preso dal stupore dalle parole del giovane vestito in bianco e sbalordito dalla fuga e dal silenzio delle donne, invece è chiamato ad entrare nel racconto, ripercorrendo lui stesso l’esperienza dei personaggi del Vangelo facendosi proprie le loro risposte di fede e scelte di vita nella *sequela Christi*.

Marco racconta gli avvenimenti di quel primo giorno della settimana principalmente dal punto di vista delle donne, descrivendo le loro azioni e reazioni<sup>8</sup>. Le donne (Maria di Màgdala, Maria madre di Giacomo e Salome) (1) *comprarono* (ἠγόρασαν) oli aromatici, (2) *vennero* (ἔρχονται) al sepolcro, (3) *dicevano* (ἔλεγον) tra loro, (4) *alzando lo sguardo* (ἀναβλέψασαι) (5) *osservano* (θεωροῦσιν) che la pietra era già stata fatta rotolare ed (6) *entrate* (εἰσελθοῦσαι) nel sepolcro (7) *vedono* (εἶδον) un giovane vestito

<sup>4</sup> Cfr. Fausti, *Ricorda e racconta il Vangelo* (Milano, 1998), 553.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. Minette de Tillesse, *Le Secret messianique dans l’Évangile de Marc* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968).

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. Segalla, *Teologia biblica del Nuovo Testamento: tra memoria escatologica di Gesù e promessa del futuro regno di Dio* (8/2; Leumann (Torino): Elledici, 2006), 318.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. Schrader, *Il trascendente nel cinema* (Roma: Donzelli, 2002), 137–138.

<sup>8</sup> Cfr. Fužinato and Grilli, *Riječ Božja u ljudskom jeziku. Tumačenje Biblije u komunikacijskoj perspektivi* (Zagreb: Glas Koncila, 2019), 84ss.

d'una veste bianca. Solo a questo punto Marco ci offre una loro prima reazione emotiva – “ebbero paura” (ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, letteralmente: “furono strabiliate, sbalordite”)<sup>9</sup> – notata anche dal giovane che proibisce loro di permanere in questo stato di stupore (μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε).<sup>10</sup>

Il giovane riassume le sette azioni compiute di queste donne (1) comprare, (2) venire, (3) dire tra loro, (4) alzare lo sguardo, (5) osservare, (6) entrare e (7) vedere) in una sola parola come *ricerca* (“voi cercate”, ζητεῖτε) e, facendo capire l'assenza del Crocefisso (“non è qui”) e il vuoto spaziale del sepolcro (“ecco il luogo dove l'avevano deposto”) con la resurrezione, ordina alle donne il vero percorso della ricerca, o meglio, dell'incontro con il Risorto: “andate (ὑπάγετε), dite (εἶπατε) ai suoi discepoli e a Pietro che egli vi precede in Galilea e là lo vedrete (ὄψεσθε), come vi ha detto”.

Le donne, invece, “uscite (ἐξέλθοῦσαι) fuggirono (ἔφυγον) via dal sepolcro e non dissero (εἶπαν) niente a nessuno”. A differenza, però, dal primo percorso verso il sepolcro nella ricerca del Crocefisso defunto sprovvisto di un complemento interiore eccetto sbalordimento provocato dall'incontro inaspettato con il giovane in bianco nel sepolcro, questo nuovo itinerario verso il Risorto viene caratterizzato da uno stato interiore permanente di timore (τρόμος), spavento (ἔκστασις) e rispetto silenzioso (φοβέω).

Si possono notare alcuni paralleli tra le azioni delle donne prima e dopo l'incontro con il giovane in bianco e il mandato ricevuto. Innanzitutto esse *escono* (ἐξ-έρχομαι) e *fuggono* (φεύγω) via dal sepolcro (ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου), dopo esser *venute* (ἔρχομαι) al sepolcro (ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον) ed *entrate* (εἰσ-έρχομαι) in esso (εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον). Inoltre fuggendo dal sepolcro non dissero niente a nessuno (οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν) a differenza del parlarsi tra loro (ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς) mentre s'avvicinavano.

Però la vera svolta sta nell'ordine del giovane impartito alle donne, ma da eseguire anche ai lettori (imperativo plurale): “andate (ὑπάγετε) e dite (εἶπατε) che Egli vi precederà in Galilea, dove lo vedrete (ὄψεσθε)”. Innanzitutto bisogna constatare che il sepolcro (μνημεῖον) cessa di essere il punto di riferimento, sia quello di arrivo che quello di partenza. Invece bisogna anzitutto “confermare” (ὑπάγετε εἶπατε)<sup>11</sup> ai discepoli e a Pietro che Gesù li precederà tutti in Galilea dove finalmente lo vedranno

<sup>9</sup> Verrebbe la pena sottolineare lo stato passivo del verbo che indicherebbe che la paura o, ancora meglio, lo sbalordimento proviene dal fuori.

<sup>10</sup> Cfr. Zerwick and Grosvenor, *A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 165. “L'imperativo presente con μὴ vieta di continuare una azione già iniziata: Non continuate a stupirvi, cessate dall'essere spaventate” Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Marco. Testo greco. Neovulgata latina. Analisi filologica. Traduzione italiana* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), 424.

<sup>11</sup> L'imperativo di ὑπάγω seguito qui dall'imperativo di λέγω aggiunto senza καὶ, non solo rende più chiaro questo ultimo ma gli dà anche un peso maggiore (Cfr. Delling, “ὑπάγω,” in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento* (eds. Kittel and Friedrich; Brescia: Paideia, 1984), 538.

(ὄράω), grazie non alla loro attenzione (ἀναβλέπω),<sup>12</sup> neppure a una visione (θεωρέω)<sup>13</sup> che li ha permesso, sì, di vedere (ὄράω), ma solamente il giovane vestito in vesti bianche e non ancora il Risorto. Inoltre la possibilità di vedere Gesù risorto proviene non dalle circostanze esterne (“passato il sabato”, “di buon mattino”, “il primo giorno dopo il sabato”, “al levar del sole”) e neanche dalla disposizione interiore (“per andare a ungerlo”) realizzata (“comprarono oli aromatici”), ma esclusivamente da Gesù e dalla sua parola (“come vi ha detto”, “καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν”).

Il processo di sovrapposizione del lettore sul ruolo delle donne sembra concludersi. Vengono pian piano messi a parte gli elementi spaziali e temporali percepibili con i sensi come “passato il sabato”, “di buon mattino”, “il primo giorno dopo il sabato”, “al levar del sole” e “il sepolcro”, “il grande masso”, “l’interno del sepolcro”, “il giovane seduto”... e sostituiti dall’ordine del giovane alle donne di “dire ai suoi discepoli e a Pietro” quanto Gesù sta facendo (pres.: “egli vi precede”, “προάγει ὑμᾶς”) seguito dalla promessa di vederlo (fut.: “là lo vedrete”, “ὄψεσθε”) basata sulla Sua parola (aor.: “come vi ha detto”, “καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν”), che le fa partire immediatamente dal sepolcro in un silenzio misterioso che le aveva profondamente segnato da timore (τρόμος) e spavento (ἔκστασις).

In ogni caso con quel γαρ finale il lettore sembra essere già coinvolto nella fuga delle donne condividendo con loro le paure e silenzio.

## 2. DALLA PAURA AL SILENZIO

Mc 16,8 descrive la reazione e lo stato d’animo delle donne con tre termini: “(1) piene di timore (τρόμος) e (2) di spavento (ἔκστασις)... (3) avevano paura (έφοβοῦντο)”. Insieme con la paura (έκθαμβέω) alla vista del giovane seduto in vesti bianche abbiamo in tutto quattro parole che nelle traduzioni moderne<sup>14</sup> vengono rese con termini che descrivono principalmente uno stato di paura. Si tratta dei sinonimi che descrivono lo stesso stato d’animo oppure delle disposizioni diverse davanti all’annuncio e alla missione?

Innanzitutto bisogna notare i tempi dei verbi. La reazione delle donne alla vista del giovane seduto con delle vesti in bianco viene resa con l’aoristo che qui sta per indicare un punto d’inizio: “incominciarono ad avere paura” (“έξεθαμβήθησαν”), subito fer-

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Marco. Testo greco. Neovolgata latina. Analisi filologica. Traduzione italiana* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), 422.

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. Michaelis, “ὄράω, εἶδον, βλέπω, ὀπτάνομαι, θεάομαι, θεωρέω...,” in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, (eds. Kittel and Friedrich; Brescia: Paideia, 1972), 972.

<sup>14</sup> In italiano: “aver paura... spavento... stupore... essere impauriti”. In croato: “plašiti se... strah... trepet... bojati se”. In inglese: “be alarmed... tremble...bewilder... be afraid”. In tedesco: “erschrecken... Schrecken... Entsetzen... fürchteten”.

mato dall'intervento dello stesso giovane: “μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε”, cioè “smettete di aver paura”. Invece la reazione delle donne dopo l'incontro con il giovane viene descritta con gli imperfetti: “erano piene di spavento e di stupore” (“εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις”) ed “erano impaurite” (“ἐφοβοῦντο”), però bisogna anche notare che nel primo caso le donne sarebbero l'oggetto di spavento e di stupore (lett.: “le prendeva spavento e stupore”), invece nel secondo caso si tratta di un verbo medio-passivo: “erano impaurite”.

Il verbo *ἐκθαμβέω* appartiene al gruppo di vocaboli (θάμβος, θαμβέω e composti) che indicano una violenta commozione dell'animo prodotta dalla vista di qualcosa quale sussulto dell'animo può essere provocato da stupore o da paura; come verbo composto ha un valore intensivo e significa dunque stupirsi grandemente, spaventarsi<sup>15</sup>. Questo stupore può essere l'ammirazione per il tangibile agire di potenze ultraterrene oppure può alludere ad una scena di rivelazione del numinoso<sup>16</sup>. Anche se il ricorso a questo verbo da parte dell'autore qualificerebbe tutto l'evento come scena di rivelazione<sup>17</sup> non è da eliminare del tutto anche una reazione psicofisica delle donne, sorprese dal giovane vestito in bianco, il quale ordina alle donne di cessare a stupirsi<sup>18</sup>.

Lo sbalordimento iniziale delle donne viene trasformato dall'annuncio del giovane in spavento (τρόμος) e stupore (ἔκστασις) che li fa uscire e fuggire via dal sepolcro. A differenza dallo sbalordimento con il quale si concludeva la ricerca delle donne iniziata ancora con il passare del sabato e la compera degli oli aromatici del v. 1, spavento e stupore suscitati dalle parole del giovane, fanno non solo uscire le donne dal sepolcro ma addirittura *fuggire via* in una direzione non più spaziale né temporale ma, se possiamo esprimersi così, “fraterna ed ecclesiale” (“suoi discepoli e Pietro”, cfr. “miei fratelli”, Gv 20,17).

Che cosa dunque sono questi spavento e stupore che hanno preso queste donne e le stanno trattenendo in loro possesso? Imperfetto εἶχεν indica proprio il perdurare del loro stato di spavento e di stupore che non cessa neanche con il loro allontanarsi dal sepolcro.

Il sostantivo *τρόμος* troviamo in tutto il NT solo 5 volte: quattro volte nelle lettere Paoline e una volta qui. In Paolo è sempre abbinato al φόβος. Paolo scrive che è venuto in mezzo ai Corinzi in debolezza e “con molto timore e *trepidazione*” (“ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ”, 1 Cor 2,3) e ricorda la sua gioia per Tito, accolto dai Corinzi “con timore e *trepidazione*” (“μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου”, 2 Cor 7,15). Esorta gli schiavi

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. Bertram, “θάμβος,” in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, (eds. Kittel and Friedrich; Brescia: Paideia, 1968), 149.

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. *Ibid.*, 154–155.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>18</sup> Cfr. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Marco. Testo greco. Neovolgata latina. Analisi filologica. Traduzione italiana* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), 424.

cristiani di Efeso ad obbedire ai loro padroni secondo la carne “con timore e *tremore*” (“μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου”, Ef 6,5) e i suoi cari filippesi, obbedendolo anche nella sua assenza, di attendere la loro salvezza “con timore e *tremore*” (“μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου”, Fil 2,12). Oltre il sostantivo troviamo anche il verbo τρέμω e l’aggettivo ἔντρομος ciascuno tre volte nel NT: Pt 2,10 parla degli iniqui che *non temono* (οὐ τρέμουσιν) d’insultare gli esseri gloriosi decaduti, invece Mc 5,33 (par. Lc 8,47) parla dell’emorroissa che, dopo esser stata guarita, si fa avanti “impaurita e *tremante*” (“φοβηθεῖσα καὶ τρέμουσα”). L’aggettivo ἔντρομος viene attribuito a Mosè a proposito delle due rivelazioni: quello del rovetto ardente quando Dio gli si presentò con il nome “Io sono [il Dio dei tuoi padri, il Dio di Abramo, di Isacco e di Giacobbe] che Mosè *esterrefatto* (ἔντρομος) non osava guardare” (cfr. At 7,32) e durante la teofania di Sion che era così terrificante che stesso Mosè ha detto: “Ho paura e *tremo*” (“ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος”, Eb 12,21). Terza volta viene detto del carceriere che vedendo aperte le porte della prigione dopo un terremoto miracoloso e trattenuto dalle parole di Paolo di uccidersi, si precipita dentro la prigione e *tremante* (ἔντρομος) si getta ai piedi di Paolo e Sila (At 16,29).

Gianfranco Nolli definisce ἔκστασις come “lo stato di smarrimento, durante il quale si compiono atti senza quasi responsabilità alcuna”<sup>19</sup>. Nel NT troviamo due significati di questo termine che ricorre solamente 7 volte (2 in Mc e 5 in At): 1) rapimento estatico detto di Pietro (At 10,10; 11,5) e di Paolo (At 22,17) e 2) stupore, sbigottimento per le manifestazioni del soprannaturale (Lc 5,26), sinonimo di τρόμος (Mc 16,8) e θάμβος (At 3,10 e Mc 5,42)<sup>20</sup>. Propriamente il termine significa “cambiamento di luogo” e può designare uno stato passeggero di eccitazione<sup>21</sup>. In ogni caso lo stato di estasi non dipende dall’uomo, il quale può essere rapito (da Dio) in estasi oppure è l’estasi stessa che “prende”, “riempie”, “capita” “si impossessa” dell’uomo; avviene durante la preghiera oppure davanti a un evento soprannaturale.

Presi insieme, tremore (τρόμος) e stupore (ἔκστασις) mostrerebbero quell’unico corrispondente atteggiamento degli esseri umani di fronte al *mysterium tremendum*<sup>22</sup>. Viene però allora a chiedersi perché le donne fuggono dal luogo della manifestazione del *mysterium*? Se analizziamo gli altri passi dove appaiono questi termini possiamo constatare che prevalentemente riassumono l’esperienza vissuta (“assistere al miracolo”, “avere una rivelazione”) però anche, nel caso dei rapimenti estatici, diventano un incentivo per una azione: Pietro si reca da Cornelio e lo battezza insieme con i suoi

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Oepke, “ἔκστασις,” in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, (eds. Kittel and Friedrich; Brescia: Paideia, 1968), 326.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. *Ibid.*, 323–324.

<sup>22</sup> Cfr. Poppi, *I Quattro Vangeli. Commento sinottico* (Padova: Edizioni Messaggero, 2001), 364.

congiunti e gli amici intimi che costui ha invitato (cfr. At 10,10 e 11,5) e Paolo riceve ordine di uscire da Gerusalemme e di andare tra i pagani (cfr. At 22,17–21). Inoltre, come già menzionato, Marco descrive uno stato permanente di tremore e stupore e non una reazione momentanea, anche se molto densa. In altre parole anche nella fuga, o meglio, proprio grazie all'allontanarsi dal sepolcro le donne continuano ad avere l'esperienza del *mysterium tremendum*, però non più in un luogo, ma nel compiere la loro missione di annunciare il compiersi della promessa di Gesù e a testimoniare la sua presenza nella sua parola.

Se tremore (τρόμος) e stupore (ἔκστασις), possiamo dire, hanno loro origine in un intervento soprannaturale al quale l'uomo non può resistere, la paura (*ἔφοβο ὄντο*) invece sembra piuttosto essere l'esito di una esperienza a contatto con la forza (un vero e proprio "atto umano") oppure una decisiva reazione alle opere e alla sorte di Gesù, intese come inizio d'un agire divino. "La scala delle reazioni di timore – scrive H. Balz – va dallo spontaneo spavento e apprensione al rispetto e alla riverenza, che presuppongono già un superamento, tramite la riflessione, dell'esperienza avuta. Il giudizio sulla reazione di timore è quindi strettamente connesso alla comprensione della propria esistenza"<sup>23</sup>. Lo spavento delle donne in Mc 16,8 dipende dunque dalla loro esperienza della passione e della morte di Gesù, fatti inconcepibili e terrificanti, ma anche dal messaggio del giovinetto che dà loro una missione, "successo" della quale dipende da Gesù stesso che continua a precederli nella sua condizione definitiva di Risorto<sup>24</sup>. Il silenzio che nasce da questa "paura" che esprime non solamente reazione immediata alle parole del giovinetto ma include anche la comprensione di quello che è stato Gesù per loro e continua ad esserlo, si presenta come una risposta conscia e adeguata alla presenza della forza divina nella parola di Gesù Risorto.

### 3. IL SILENZIO ELOQUENTE

Camille Focant nel suo commentario al Vangelo di Marco dopo aver respinto l'interpretazione della fuga e del silenzio delle donne come un atto di vita nuova e non di paura<sup>25</sup> che gli pare un controsenso ed accanto la sua interpretazione secondo la quale la finale del Vangelo non è il v. 8, ma la giustapposizione dei vv. 7 e 8 la quale giustapposizione invita il lettore a una rilettura di tutta l'opera per comprendere il senso di

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<sup>23</sup> Balz, "φοβέω, φοβέομαι, φόβος, δέος," in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento* (eds. Kittel and Friedrich; Brescia: Paideia, 1988), 56–57.

<sup>24</sup> Cfr. Nolli, *Evangelo secondo Marco. Testo greco. Neovulgata latina. Analisi filologica. Traduzione italiana* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), 425.

<sup>25</sup> Cfr. Sabin, "Women Transformed: The Ending of Mark is the Beginning of Wisdom," 48, no. 2 (1998): 160–164.



questa apparente incongruità e la sua funzione nella narrazione<sup>26</sup> per cui nel punto in cui finisce il testo, il lavoro del lettore trova una nuova partenza<sup>27</sup>, propone una rassegna di sei spiegazioni-tipo di questo silenzio<sup>28</sup>. 1) Tipo storico-psicologico: Il silenzio è stato solo provvisorio e orientato verso i non-discepoli; quando la paura e in particolare la paura di non essere credute, si è attenuata, le donne hanno parlato ai discepoli<sup>29</sup>; 2) Tipo redazionale: il silenzio ha a che fare con il segreto messianico. Esso è elaborato dalla tensione tra silenzio e divulgazione. Mentre nei racconti di miracoli, la divulgazione sarebbe un motivo tradizionale e il redattore vi associa un'ingiunzione di silenzio, nel racconto del sepolcro vuoto, invece, il silenzio verrebbe dalla tradizione e il redattore aggiungerebbe l'ordine di parlare (v. 7)<sup>30</sup>; 3) Tipo conflittuale: il silenzio sfocia nell'assenza di racconto di apparizione, d'accordo con l'obiettivo di Marco che, certo, cita la resurrezione di Gesù, ma rifiuta i racconti di apparizione. Tale rifiuto deriverebbe dalla sua opposizione alla cristologia del θεῖος ἀνὴρ sostenuta dalle autorità di Gerusalemme<sup>31</sup>; 4) Tipo radicale: l'interpretazione letterale del silenzio delle donne sfocia in un vuoto senza apparizioni, una pura assenza<sup>32</sup>; 5) Tipo apologetico 1: il silenzio delle donne spiegherebbe perché questa tradizione del sepolcro vuoto non menzionata da Paolo, neppure nel credo di 1 Cor 15, è rimasta a lungo sconosciuta<sup>33</sup>; 6) Tipo apologetico 2: il silenzio delle donne preserva il ruolo dei discepoli in quanto testimoni del risorto, e li discolpa da qualsiasi sospetto di aver sottratto il corpo di Gesù, dal momento che essi non svolgono alcun ruolo nel racconto, e non sono neppure al corrente del sepolcro vuoto<sup>34</sup>.

Per Focant l'epilogo del Vangelo fa da prologo al lavoro del lettore, il quale, in un certo senso, comincia il suo lavoro laddove si conclude quello del narratore. Invece i non detti, i silenzi (*blancs*) svolgono un ruolo importante nella comunicazione e provocano il lettore a terminare lui stesso il racconto<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Cfr. Focant, *Il Vangelo secondo Marco* (Assisi, 2015), 637.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. Petersen, "When is the End not the End? Literary Reflections on the Ending of Mark's Narrative," 34, no. 2 (1980): 153.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. Focant, *Il Vangelo secondo Marco* (Assisi, 2015), 641–642.

<sup>29</sup> Cfr. Dhanis, "L'ensevelissement de Jésus et la visite au tombeau dans l'évangile de saint Marc (Mc., XV, 40 – XVI, 8)," 39, no. 2 (1958): 389.

<sup>30</sup> Cfr. Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 58–59.; Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965), 323.

<sup>31</sup> Cfr. Weeden, *Mark: Traditions in conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 101–107.

<sup>32</sup> Posizione di Crossant.

<sup>33</sup> Cfr. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909), 146.; Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 349.

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. von Campenhausen, *Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1958), 37–39.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. Focant, *Il Vangelo secondo Marco* (Assisi, 2015), 638.

Anche se ammettiamo che l'autore intenzionalmente avrebbe voluto far entrare il lettore nella storia raccontata perché possa unirsi agli altri discepoli nella loro *sequela Christi*, non possiamo escludere la possibilità che Marco ci offre un quadro reale dell'accaduto, anche se interpretato teologicamente. Abbiamo visto che Marco nel descrivere la scena della scoperta del sepolcro vuoto ha usato più termini che mostrano l'atteggiamento dell'uomo di fronte al manifestarsi del *mysterium tremendum* (ἐκθαμβέω, τρόμος, ἔκστασις e φοβέω), però sarebbe da chiedersi se la fuga (e anche il silenzio) delle donne sarebbe, come afferma M. Grilli "la reazione umana di fronte a un mistero che le supera"<sup>36</sup>. Anche se le donne si sono trovate davanti a qualcosa di totalmente inaspettato, fuori del comune, che incute timore e spavento, forse la reazione più immediata sarebbe invece il fascino, attrazione e non la fuga? Come nel caso di Mosè che fu attratto dal rovetto ardente e voleva avvicinarsi a osservarlo (cfr. Es 3,3.6) oppure nel contesto della rivelazione di Sinai dove Mosè fa uscire il popolo dall'accampamento incontro a Dio, dopo che questo fu scosso dal tremore (cfr. Es 19,16–17). Come scrive R. Otto: "Il numinoso non è tuttavia soltanto *tremendum*, ma anche *fascinans*, e in ciò risiede la profonda ambivalenza su cui si articola l'esperienza del sacro. Esso attrae, affascina, attira a sé, e questa imprescindibile forza attrattiva si intreccia con la spinta repulsiva generata dal *tremendum*: il movimento verso il *mysterium*, che la creatura tremante è spinta irresistibilmente a compiere, culmina in una sorta di smarrimento ed ebbrezza, che si placano nel supremo momento della grazia e dell'amore divino, cui corrispondono la beatitudine e il rapimento estatico conosciuti dalla mistica d'Oriente e d'Occidente"<sup>37</sup>.

Qui succede assolutamente l'opposto!

Lo stesso vale per il silenzio. Esso non risulta provenire dalla paura. Anzi, gli Israeliti avendo visto gli Egiziani marciare dietro di loro "ebbero grande paura e gridarono al Signore" (Es 14,10), come anche gli apostoli vedendo Gesù camminare sul mare "furono sconvolti e dissero: è un fantasma! e gridarono dalla paura" (Mt 14,26). Sarebbe dunque molto più naturale per le donne aver gridato alla visione del giovinetto, così che quel loro "non dire niente a nessuno" si dovrebbe interpretare non come una reazione istintiva invece come un atto intenzionale di cui le donne si sono dimostrate capaci.

Ammonendo severamente il lebbroso guarito Gesù gli dice "μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἶπης" ("non dire niente a nessuno", Mc 1,44); con insistenza raccomanda ai genitori della dodicenne figlia di Giàiro "ἵνα μηδεὶς γνοῖ τοῦτο" ("che nessuno venisse a saperlo", Mc 5,43); dopo aver guarito a disparte un sordomuto ordina loro (pl.!) "ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν" ("di non dirlo a nessuno", Mc 7,36); dopo la professione di Pietro impone severamente ai suoi discepoli "ἵνα μηδενὶ λέγωσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ" ("di non parlare di

<sup>36</sup> Grilli, *Marco, Matteo, Luca e gli Atti degli apostoli* (Bologna: EDB, 2015), 237.

<sup>37</sup> Otto, *Il sacro sull'irrazionale nell'idea del divino e il suo rapporto con il razionale* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2011).

lui ad alcuno”, Mc 8,30) e ordina, scendendo dal monte della Trasfigurazione, al Pietro, Giacomo e Giovanni “ἵνα μηδενὶ ἅ εἶδον διηγήσωνται” (“di non raccontare ad alcuno ciò che avevano visto”, Mc 9,9).

Però il lebbroso “ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρῦσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον” (“uscito, si mise a proclamare e a divulgare il fatto [letteralmente: la parola]”, Mc 1,45) e i testimoni della guarigione di sordomuto “ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον περισσότερον ἐκήρυσσον” (“più egli lo proibiva, più essi lo proclamavano”, Mc 7,36) e Pietro parla (λέγει) “non sapendo che cosa dire, perché erano spaventati” (“οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῆ, ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο”, Mc 9,6). Secondo J. Heriban “gli ordini di tacere dati ai malati guariti hanno lo scopo di limitare il desiderio sregolato della gente di vedere i miracoli, ma allo stesso tempo devono mostrare il potere irresistibile dell’azione di Gesù. I discepoli di Gesù inoltre dovevano tacere per mantenere il segreto della passione e risurrezione del Messia e quindi non dovevano raccontarlo “se non dopo che il Figlio dell’uomo fosse risorto dai morti” (Mc 9,9)”<sup>38</sup>. Però, i miracolati divulgano la notizia sull’accaduto e gli apostoli non sanno tacere prima della passione di Cristo ma neanche raccontare “il segreto” dopo la sua risurrezione. Lo fanno invece le donne con il loro silenzio: mantengono il segreto del mistero di Cristo e contemporaneamente lo “raccontano”.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONE

Il silenzio “imposto” da Gesù non pare riuscire a nascondere il suo mistero, come neanche la sua “proclamazione” lo sembra svelare oppure danneggiare. Il mistero rimane mistero, però quelli che ne parlano dimostrano di non averlo capito. Anche se lo associano con Gesù. Il silenzio permetterebbe ai miracolati di mantener viva l’esperienza dell’incontro con la misteriosa forza divina manifestatasi nell’azione di Gesù, invece la sua divulgazione sposta lo sguardo verso il miracolato stesso e gli effetti esterni del miracolo. In altre parole, il silenzio richiesto da Gesù sarebbe una possibilità per mantenere e continuare la presenza del mistero nella propria vita e non una imposizione per nascondere.

Il silenzio delle donne nella presenza della manifestazione della forza divina dimostra che hanno inteso il significato del sepolcro vuoto e delle parole del giovinetto che le hanno spinto nella direzione della presenza attuale del mistero nella parola di Gesù e nella comunità dei discepoli. Il loro silenzio non è dunque un silenzio muto, un nascondimento della realtà, invece è un silenzio eloquente, un silenzio che riesce a mantenere il mistero e trasmetterlo fedelmente.

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<sup>38</sup> Heriban, “Segreto messianico,” in *Dizionario terminologico-concettuale di scienze bibliche e ausiliarie* (Roma: LAS, 2005), 832.

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**VIRTUE (ἀρετή) AND VICE LISTS IN  
HELLENISTIC LITERATURE  
AND IN THE BIBLE – AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES**

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In Hungarian language there are a lot of different words denoting virtue: goodness, virtuousness, righteousness, morality, ethicalness, uprightness, upstandingness, integrity, dignity, rectitude, honesty, honourableness, honourability, honour, incorruptibility, probity, propriety, decency, respectability, nobility, nobility of soul/spirit, nobleness, worthiness, worth, good, trustworthiness, meritoriousness, irreproachableness, blamelessness, purity, pureness, lack of corruption, merit; principles, high principles, ethics, etc. What's more, there are better-known virtues like, for example, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; these are usually referred to as the fundamentals for other virtues.

As a result, the question of virtue<sup>1</sup> and vice has an inconceivably vast literature; however, the author and book lists concerning the subject matter are much fewer. This study focuses primarily on moral virtues. In the ancient Greek-Latin world, a great number of authors used to deal with the grouping of virtues, and probably the most thorough summary of these was written by A. Vögtle.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from his work that these catalogues are very diverse and that they can be found in Greek-Roman drama literature and in sources of inscriptions as well as in philosophical debates, diatribes and satires. Stoic philosophers<sup>3</sup> in particular used to argue much about virtue and sin,

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<sup>1</sup> Many have engaged in defining virtues and have expressed their views in many ways. Cicero: "Appellata est enim a viro virtus: viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo" ("The term *virtue* is from the word that signifies man; a man's chief quality is fortitude"; Cicero, "Tuscul", I, xi 18). According to the definition of the most famous Christian author, St. Augustine, all virtue of a believer is the manifestation of the love of God. (*De Trinitate*, 14, 15, 21). Peter Lombard, *Sent*, III, dist. XXV–XXXVI; Definition of Saint Thomas Aquinas "habitus operativus bonus" (*Summa*, Q55a1).

<sup>2</sup> A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend und Lasterkataloge in NTNT* (Aschendorff, 1936). 16/4–5 A later elaborator of the topic was Siegfried Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte* (Berlin, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> Kitioni Zénón: Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεύς (c 334 – c 262 BC), Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Diogenes of Babylon, Antipater of Tarsus, Panaetius, Posidonius, Seneca, Gaius Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius.

to which they attributed some role in shaping society.<sup>4</sup> It is worth quoting Marcus Aurelius, who recommended meditation for the recognition of virtues in his work entitled *Reflections* 2.1: “When you wake up in the morning, tell yourself: The people I deal with today will be meddling, ungrateful, arrogant, dishonest, jealous and surly. They are like this because they can’t tell good from evil... And so none of them can hurt me. No one can implicate me in ugliness. Nor can I feel angry at my relative or hate him. We were born to work together like feet, hands and eyes, like the two rows of teeth, upper and lower.”

But virtue and vice lists were not unknown in Mesopotamian<sup>5</sup> and Egyptian literature either; for example, the Book of the Dead,<sup>6</sup> which presents the court-house of the afterlife, and it also plays an important role in Iranian literature.<sup>7</sup> In the latter literature, we find lists of personalized virtues and vices in cosmological texts.<sup>8</sup> These catalogues are at the same time the lists of good and evil spirits that appear even in the literatures outside of Iran, for example in Koran.

A comprehensive list of evil deeds is most often found in legal texts, while virtues are mentioned in the same kind of texts only in the rarest cases. In most cases, vices are listed in so-called casuistic<sup>9</sup> legal texts or ancient books of law, and in most cases the acts of reprisal are included in these ancient legal collections.<sup>10</sup> As far as virtues are concerned, however, we can only find them listed in texts of teaching and of philosophy. Although they list typical offenses such as slander, cheating, theft, irresponsibility, divorce, adultery, false oath, etc. they talk about virtues really rarely or they do not mention them at all.

<sup>4</sup> Steiger K., ed. *Sztoikus etikai antológia* [Ethical Anthology of Stoics] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> Schmökel, H., *Near Easter Religious Text relating on the Old Testament* (London, 1978), 68–145.

<sup>6</sup> *Az illusztrált egyiptomi halottak könyve*. [The Illustrated Egyptian Book of the Dead] (translated by Tamás Gábor) (Debrecen: Gold Book Kft, 2001); see also Kákósy László, *Az ókori Egyiptom története és kultúrája*. [The History and Culture of Ancient Egypt] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> The most well-known author is Hossein Mohyeddin Ghomshei (1940-), who does researches on the literary background of virtues found in the Iranian and Arabic mystical literature. Cf.: *Essays on Persian Mystical Literature. Poetics and Aesthetics* (Rowzaneh Publications, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> Jackson, A. V. W., *Zoroastrian Studies*. Columbia University Indo-Iran series 12. (New York, 1928).

<sup>9</sup> David P. Wright, *Inventing God’s Law – How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (Oxford UP, 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Kmoskó Mihály, *Hammurabi törvénykönyvei* [The Law Books of Hammurabi] (Cluj, 1911). Jany János, *Jogi kultúrák Ázsiában: kultúrtörténet, jogtudomány, mindennapok*. [Legal cultures in Asia: history of culture, science of law, everyday.] (Budapest, 2007). C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian laws, contracts, and letters* (Kessinger Publishing, 1904). Driver, G. R.; J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Typotex, 2016), 67–103.

From among ancient or moral philosophical texts the work of Theophrastus (Θεόφραστος)<sup>11</sup> (cca. 371–cca.287 BC) entitled Characters (Ἠθικοὶ Χαρακτήρες),<sup>12</sup> stands out, which gives an outline of the earliest moral characters: it is not concerned with the intention of law, but with human vices and illustrates character faults derived from the different characters through vivid descriptions and talks about certain human character types.

This literature is fairly rich and therefore we cannot even attempt to elaborate on the literature list;<sup>13</sup> thus we would rather focus on a few highlighted texts and try to illustrate the diverse foundations of the subject, the interactions and characteristics of biblical and Hellenistic literature through the characteristics of more significant lists of virtues and vices. In this study, we have a look at three groups of writings: some more significant texts in the virtue literature of Hellenistic authors, the Ten Commandments that we can read in the Torah, and the blessings of the Sermon on the Mount in the Gospels, the macarisms.

Plato (427–347 BC) is considered to have been the best-known elaborator of virtue who, together with Aristotle, determined the way of thinking about virtues in Christian moral theology for quite a long time.<sup>14</sup> According to Plato,<sup>15</sup> the four principal values are Justice (δικαιοσύνη, iustitia), Temperance (σωφροσύνη, temperantia), Fortitude (ἀνδρεία, fortitudo), and Prudence (φρόνησις, prudentia).<sup>16</sup> These consti

<sup>11</sup> Originally he was born by the name of Tyrtamus and his nickname was Θεόφραστος, which means “of divine speech” and, according to tradition, comes from Aristotle.

<sup>12</sup> In Hungarian: *Theophrastus jellemrájszai* [Theophrastus: Characters] translated by János Hunfalvy (Budapest: Franklin, 1880). *Jellemrájszok*; translated and notes by Tibor Szepessy (Budapest: Európa, 1982). *Az érzékekről / Jellemrájszok*; translated and notes by Kornél Steiger, Tibor Szepessy (Budapest: Kossuth, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> For a brief summary which is rich in data, see: The article of Jones T. Fitzgerald, “Virtue/Vice lists”, in D. N. Freedman, ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Volume six (Doubleday, 1992), 857–859.

<sup>14</sup> Moreover, according to a proverb coming from Alfred North Whitehead (1861–1947), the philosophy of Europe as a whole is nothing more than a series of footnotes added to the ideas of Plato (“The safest general characterization of the European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato.”). A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality: An Essay in Cosmology* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 39; see also St. Thomas (*Summa Theol*, I–II, Q. lxi, aa 2. and 4.).

<sup>15</sup> *Republic* Book IV, 426–435 Protagoras (330b) adds godliness (*hosiotés*). Cicero also extended the list of theological virtues as well as Christian authors for example Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas. Thus the list is extended with faith, hope and love. Peter Lombard, *Sentent.*, Pt. III, Dist. XXXIII, with the various commentators on the text; St Thomas, *Summa Theol*, I–II, Q LXI; Waffelaert, *Tractatus de Virtutibus Cardinalibus* (Bruges, 1886).

<sup>16</sup> Let us see some well-known quotes by him: “Doing wrong is to be more carefully avoided than suffering it; that before all things a man should study not to seem but to be good in his private and public life.” (Gorgias 527b). Prudence: “and this yielding to oneself is nothing but ignorance, and mastery of oneself is as certainly wisdom.” (Protagoras 358c) Courage: “And then I suppose we call a single man courageous because of that part – when his spirited part preserves, through pains and pleasures, what has been proclaimed by the speeches about that which is terrible and that which is



tute the foundation for all moral senses. In fact, later moral teachings are regarded by many as some footnotes to Plato's ideas. Despite the fact that many Greek and Latin writers have a list of virtues and vices.<sup>17</sup>

The extent to which Plato's philosophy and teaching of virtues were far removed from concrete political life and even from legal codification is illustrated by the following anecdote. On one occasion, Dionysius quarrelled with Plato about the essence of virtue and he infuriated the tyrant so much that half an hour after the dispute he was tied up and transported to the ship of Pollides of Sparta with the order that he should be taken to Aigina and sold on the slave market: "This is a philosopher," Dionysius said, reassuring the Spartan, "he will not even notice."

Plato in his work *The Republic* discusses virtues in relation to the world of ideas. According to him, in the world of ideas the different notions have a certain kind of ranking. At the top level stands the idea of good, followed by the notions of moral values (beauty, patriotism, justice ... etc.), followed by mathematical concepts (straight, triangle, square, identity, etc.).

In his view, from among all vocations, politics has the greatest need for virtue since one can do the most damage there. The widespread notion according to which he would have entrusted the governing of the state to philosophers needs a little clarification, viz. he was thinking of moral philosophers when he wrote the following: "The human race will have no respite from evils until those who are really (moral) philosophers acquire political power." It is noteworthy that Plato sets up several lists of virtues, and even ranks them but only in philosophical and non-legal texts. The Platonic list of virtues served to improve the order of the polis and not to legally codify the affairs of the polis and Plato considered this list vital to the life of the community. In the case of leading personalities, the lack of these virtues was thought to have tragic consequences on the life of the polis. "The price good men pay for indifference to public affairs is to be ruled by evil men." Aristotle in his work *Nicomachean Ethics* differentiates between intellectual and moral virtues. We can also find material in the *Apology of Socrates* by Plato: "Wealth does not bring about excellence, but excellence makes wealth and

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not." (*The Republic*, 442b) Fortitude: "just what people in general mean; one that is temperate and has the control over himself, master of all the pleasures and desires in himself." (*Gorgias* 491e).

<sup>17</sup> The more significant Greek and Roman authors who quote catalogues of virtues and vices are as follows: Aristotle, Pseudo-Cebes, Cicero, Pseudo-Crates, Pseudo-Diogenes, Dio Chrysostom, Diogenes Laërtius, Epictetus, Pseudo-Heraclitus, Lucian, Maximus of Tyre, Gaius Musonius Rufus, Onasander, Philocrates, Titus Maccius Plautus, Plutarch, Seneca, Teles of Megara; some astrologers like for example Claudius Ptolemy, Teucer of Babylon, Vettius Valens; the lists of virtue and vices appear in chapters 1 and 13 of *Corpus Hermeticum* Plato, *Republic*, Bk IV, 427–434; Idem, *Laws*, Bk I, 631; Idem, *Theaetetus*, 176B; Aristotle, *Ethics*, VI, 5; V, 1; III, 7 and 10.

everything else good for men, both individually and collectively.” This could also be the statute for later business ethics.

Ancient lists of virtues have no direct and categorical relationship with religion, they do not replace any ritual, and the practice of virtues does not form a religious community.

Nevertheless, Plato's categories seem to have been taken over by Christian moral theology as far as the four cardinal virtues prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance were concerned.

The wisdom literature of the Old Testament deals specifically with Hellenic virtues, treating justice as the main virtue: “Or if it be uprightness you love, why, virtues are the fruit of her labours, since it is she who teaches temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude; nothing in life is more useful for human beings.” (Wisdom 8:7)

### **THE BIBLE'S POINT OF VIEW ON VIRTUE AND VICE**

In the following, we are going to examine the subject of virtue and vice through just a few highlighted text: the text taken from the Torah is the Ten Commandments (δέκα λόγους, Exodus 20: 1–14, and Deuteronomy 5: 6–21), the text chosen from the Gospels is the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3–12, Luke 6: 20–22) and the Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. 5:22),<sup>18</sup> which is chosen from the early Christian epistles because these lists of vices and virtues appear under the categories of the deeds of the body (self-indulgence) and the fruits of the soul.

### **A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ON THE SUBJECT OF VIRTUE AND VICE**

On the one hand, the Torah's vocabulary of virtues seems to be poorer than the teaching of virtues in the Hellenistic era. It is only in the wisdom literature that similar lists to those in Hellenistic stoic teaching on virtue appear, but unlike Greek humanism, they do not examine virtue from the human side either. Comparing the fundamentals of Biblical view on morals with Hellenic teaching on virtues we can see that the main difference is that while in the view of Hellenistic people the goal of virtues is to achieve the best deed ever, in the biblical view on virtue one can become perfect through

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<sup>18</sup> The more important lists of vices and virtues can be found in the following places: Lists of virtues: 2Cor 6:6–7; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 4:2–32; 5:2.9; Phil 4:3; Col 3:12; 1Tim 3:2–4.8–10.11–12; 4:12; 6:11; 18:2.2; Tim 2:22–25; 3:10; Tit 1:8; 2:2–10; Hebrews 7:26; 1Pet 3:8; 2Pet 1:5–7; 1Cor 13:4–7. Lists of vices: Rom 1:29–31; 13:13 (KB 239); 1Cor 5:10–11 (KB 245); 6:9–10 (KB 285); 2Cor 12:20–21; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:31; 5:3–5; Col 3:5–8; 1Tim 1:9–10 (KB 319); 6:4–5; 2Tim 3:2–4; Tit 1:7; 3:3; 1Pet 2:1; 4:3; Revelations 9:21; 21.8; 22:15.



tue does not appear in it, the Ten Commandments עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדִּבְרֹת, which can be found in the two versions of the Torah in the TM and in the Lxx δεκα λόγους (Exodus 20: 1–14 and Deuteronomy 5: 6–21) are the most significant negative virtue lists.<sup>22</sup>

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Although the proclamation of the law on Mount Sinai preceded the conquest of the land (around 1200 BC), the written version dates back to 533–330 BC. Thus the two texts in the Torah were recorded long after Moses. These two texts are also the most cited ones even though they have never been used in court cases.<sup>23</sup> Although this text is more a list of prohibited vices rather than talking about some desired virtues, it indirectly protects the values created by virtue. Many have analysed the genre of the Ten Verbs / Commandments, and it is striking to realize that in most cases this has been done only in the context of other legal texts,<sup>24</sup> although it does not form part of the changing legal traditions of society, since it is basically a part of the fundamental covenant constitution agreed upon with God. This is also why the Decalogue is considered to be a list of negative virtues and as such it should be kept separate from other legal texts. It is well-known that the Jewish codex tradition did keep this text separate, as well as Shema Yisrael (שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל) “Hear Israel!” did. Together with its confessional text, it was prayed more as an evening prayer or as a negative list of virtues.<sup>25</sup>

The validity of legal texts in the Torah is only temporary and alters with the ever-changing social environment; on the other hand, however, the Ten Commandments has only been explained but has basically never been re-written and the moral values contained in it has become a guideline<sup>26</sup> not only for the Jewish religious community: it was taken over without any dispute by Christian churches as well. It is true, though

<sup>22</sup> There are some simple lists of vices in Jer 7:9 and Hoseah 4:2, many of which are related to the Decalogue.

<sup>23</sup> The earliest text of it dates from around 150–100 BC and survived in the Nash papyrus, which was found in Egypt in 1898 and is now preserved in Cambridge. The codex, together with the text of the Shema Yisrael prayer, contains the text of the Ten Commandments, which combines the two biblical texts from the Book of Exodus and the list that can be found in Deuteronomy. Cf. Cook, Stanley A., “A Pre-Masoretic Biblical Papyrus.” *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 (1903): 34–56. Albright, William F., “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937): 145–176.

<sup>24</sup> Bright, John, *A History of Israel* (Louisville–London: Westminster John Knox Press, 42000), 146.

<sup>25</sup> Chajim Halevy Donin, *Jüdisches Gebet heute. Eine Einführung zum Gebetbuch und zum Synagogengottesdienst* (Zürich: Morascha, 2002).

<sup>26</sup> The most important texts of post-biblical literature Tosefta Megillah 3:5, (ed. Lieberman, 354), Yerushalmi Megillah 3:7, fol. 74b; and Bavli Megillah 31a. It is clear from these that the rabbis uniformly held that the Ten Commandments were given to Moses on Mount Sinai (Shabbat 86b).

that the basic principles laid down in it have been explained in somewhat peculiar ways. This type of quotation appears already in the Jewish tradition, when the Ten Verbs were quoted in a shortened, often updated version, and the long text was made a shorter, more manageable list (Mekhilta, Yitro 8).

The list-like abridged version is as follows:	Lxx abridged
אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ I am the Eternal One. לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אַחֵרִים עַל־פְּנֵי: You shall not have any other god(s).	6 Εγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός σου 7 οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι 8 οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον
לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת־שֵׁם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוּן You shall not take the name of the Eternal One in vain.	οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα, 12 φύλαξαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων ἀγιάζειν αὐτήν,
זָכוֹר אֶת־יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ Remember the day of the Sabbath.	16 τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, 17 οὐ μοιχεύσεις.
כְּבֹד אֶת־אָבִיךָ וְאֶת־אִמְךָ לְמַעַן יֵעֲרֹכֶנּוּ וְיִמְדוּ Respect your father and your mother.	18 οὐ φονεύσεις. 19 οὐ κλέψεις.
לֹא תִרְצַח: You shall not kill.	20 οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.
לֹא תִנְאֻף: You shall not commit adultery.	21 οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου.
לֹא תִגְנוֹב: You shall not steal.	
לֹא תִעֲנֶה בְרַעְדְךָ עַד שֶׁקֶר: You shall not give false testimony.	
לֹא תִחְמוֹד בֵּית רֵעֶךָ לֹא תִחְמוֹד אִשְׁתּוֹ רֵעֶךָ You shall not want your neighbour's house or his wife.	

As a result, the different Jewish and Christian groups resorted to different basic texts. It is true though that the Sinai tradition recorded not only the commandments given in a who-knows-which language to not only Moses but also the explanations given to each. The text of the Torah, revised at the time of the reign of King David, Solomon and then also some time later, did not directly record the tradition of Moses around 1200 BC. In fact, it was permanently recorded only in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and even then it was not done in a philologically accurate version.

The Samaritan Pentateuch, which was used in the mountain shrine of Mount Gerizim in the 10<sup>th</sup> century BC with a Hebrew text, shows the greatest similarities.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, Philo of Alexandria who, when explaining for example Moses' life, explicitly applies the Hellenistic moral teaching to the founder of monotheism and

<sup>27</sup> Robert T. Anderson; Terry Giles. *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to Its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*. SBL.RBS 72 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012). Emanuel Tov. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Assen: Uitgeverij Van Gorcum, 2001).

follows the Lxx version (νομοὶ ἀγραφοὶ De decalogo) in his quotation of the Ten Verbs, and also explains it.<sup>28</sup> However, as far as murder and adultery are concerned, this version is more restrained.<sup>29</sup> As a result, for most Orthodox churches, the Greek text of the Lxx also has a proclaimed tradition, and this is why they follow its order.<sup>30</sup> In the Talmud (Sabbath 86b), more emphasis is placed on idolatry.

### REFLECTION OF PROPHETIC LITERATURE ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Prophets were the primary defenders of loyalty to the law of the Covenant, and from the time of the captivity the returning Jewish community of Jerusalem considered the psalms as an oral part of the Torah which cultivated their religious sense much deeper than the legal and ritual system of observances. Therefore, it is interesting to consider some of the prophetic references to the Ten Commandments. Most often it refers to the Ten Verbs in a negative context: the negligence of one or more of the prohibitions of the Decalogue are considered as some religious degradation and as a sign of derivation from the law of the Covenant. Thus the negligence of the Commandments are referred to by the prophets in their prophecies of reprobation as a lack of virtues stemming from this disregard. *“Israelites, hear what Yahweh says, for Yahweh indicts the citizens of the country:<sup>2</sup> there is no loyalty, no faithful love, no knowledge of God in the country, ” “only perjury and lying, murder, theft, adultery and violence, bloodshed after bloodshed.”<sup>3</sup> “This is why the country is in mourning and all its citizens pining away, the wild animals also and birds of the sky, even the fish in the sea will disappear.”* (Hoseah 4:1–3). At the same time, these lists do reflect it at times but they never quote the whole text of the Ten Commandments, which can also be considered as the foundational constitution of the Covenant. *“Look, you are putting your faith in delusive, worthless words!”<sup>9</sup> “Steal, would you, murder, commit adultery, perjure yourselves, burn incense to Baal, follow other gods of whom you know nothing?”* (Jeremiah 7:8–9).

In wisdom literature, whose connection with Hellenistic literature is well-known, these vices are demonized thus indicating that these sins take over the control of one’s personality. An example for this is the list of the seven monsters. <sup>16</sup>“There are six things that Yahweh hates, seven that he abhors: <sup>17</sup>a haughty look, a lying tongue, hands that

<sup>28</sup> Philo of Alexandria considers the Ten Commandments to be the basis or peak of all laws: “Περὶ τῶν δέκα λόγων ἀκεφάλαια νομῶν εἰσι”.

<sup>29</sup> Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria. An Exegete for His Time* (= Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Bd. 86). (Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill, 1997).

<sup>30</sup> *The Holy Orthodox Church: Her Life and Teachings*. Compiled and edited by a monk of St Tikhon Monastery. (Copyright 1986 by the St Tikhon Seminary Press, South Canaan, PA 18459).

shed innocent blood,<sup>18</sup> a heart that weaves wicked plots, feet that hurry to do evil,<sup>19</sup> a false witness who lies with every breath, and one who sows dissension among brothers.” (Proverbs 6:16–19). This is no longer a reflection of the Ten Commandments, but rather a description of sinful characters, as these are described by Theophrastus (ca. 371BC–287BC) in his own character analysis.

That is, in wisdom literature we can assume the influence of the Hellenistic way of approaching a character. This is noteworthy also because the Book of Proverbs, which later became a well-liked source in Christian catechesis, also describes the relationship of immoral lifestyle and characters by making its own list.

<p>“There are three sorts of people my soul hates, and whose existence I consider an outrage: the poor swollen with pride, the rich who is a liar and an adulterous old man who has no sense.” (Ecclesiasticus 25:2)</p>	<p>2 τρία δὲ εἶδη ἐμίσησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ προσώχθισα σφόδρα τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν· πτωχὸν ὑπερήφανον, καὶ πλούσιον ψεύστην, γέροντα μοιχὸν ἐλαττούμενον συνέσει.</p>
<p>“There are three things that I dread, and a fourth which terrifies me: slander by a whole town, the gathering of a mob, and a false accusation – these are all worse than death;”<sup>6</sup> “but a woman jealous of a woman means heartbreak and sorrow, and all this is the scourge of the tongue.” (26:5 and on).</p>	<p>5 ἀπὸ τριῶν εὐλαβήθη ἡ καρδιά μου, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ προσώπῳ ἐδεήθην· διαβολὴν πόλεως, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ὄχλου, καὶ καταψευσμόν, ὑπὲρ θάνατον πάντα μοχθηρά. 6 ἄλγος καρδίας καὶ πένθος γυνῆ ἀντίζηλος ἐπὶ γυναικὶ καὶ μάστιξ γλώσσης πᾶσιν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα.</p>

In Theophrastus' work, in the already mentioned *Characters*, he describes thirty characteristic features including flattery, stinginess, arrogance, and connivance.<sup>31</sup> The wisdom literature only quotes these weaknesses, while the antique Hellenistic author describes them in detail, illustrates them with concrete examples and also illustrates these characters. The authors of the wisdom literature in the Bible may have known these antique texts, though perhaps only indirectly.

### VIRTUES AND VICES IN PSALMS

The psalmist reveals the earlier concept of the Torah according to which the heart is the centre of human personality as well as of morally good and bad decisions. “How blessed is anyone who rejects the advice of the wicked and does not take a stand in the

<sup>31</sup> In Theophrastus, we can read about the following characters: flattery (p. 13), stinginess (p. 93), arrogance (p. 101), and connivance (p. 121).

path that sinners tread, nor a seat in company with cynics, but who delights in the law of Yahweh and murmurs his law day and night.” Psalms 1:2 “the law of his God is in his heart, his foot will never slip.” (Psalms 37:31) “The fool has said in his heart, ‘there is no God.’ Their deeds are corrupt and vile, not one of them does right.” (Psalms 14:1). The wise man likes justice. “Or if it be uprightness you love, why, virtues are the fruit of her labours, since it is she who teaches temperance and prudence, justice and fortitude; nothing in life is more useful for human beings.” (Wisdom 8:7)

In Hellenistic literature, many authors argue about the question which is the leading virtue of all virtues. In Psalms, on the other hand, such an order of importance does not arise. It is God’s initiation to recreate all that is morally valuable and that is why the sinful man cries up to God in the following way: “Give me back the joy of your salvation, sustain in me a generous spirit.” (Psalms 51:12)

Already, two prominent figures in prophetic literature Jeremiah and Ezekiel call it the beginning of a new era when God writes His law into the heart of people and not into commandments, for those who fear God receive the spirit of God. “This is the covenant I shall make with the House of Israel when those days have come, Yahweh declares. Within them I shall plant my Law, writing it on their hearts. Then I shall be their God and they will be my people.” (Jeremiah 31:33) “I shall give you a new heart, and put a new spirit in you; I shall remove the heart of stone from your bodies and give you a heart of flesh instead.”<sup>27</sup> “I shall put my spirit in you, and make you keep my laws, and respect and practise my judgements.” (Ez 36:26)

### **THE REFLECTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS**

In the text of the Gospels Jesus never publicly quotes the entire text of the Ten Commandments, not even the above-mentioned version which was like a list, during his public ministry; He only refers to the first two main commands in a short form (Mark 12: 30–31 John 13:34) and quotes two statements: he attaches the second commandment, the one about one’s neighbour to the one about God. However, it is quite clear that in both Hellenic and Jewish-Christian communities the Ten Commandments was adopted as the moral basic text of the Christian religious community.

The earliest legal mention of the Decalogue in the Early Christian Church dates back to the Apostolic Constitution.<sup>32</sup> It is strange that Augustine would follow the Tal-

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<sup>32</sup> *The Apostolic Constitutions* or *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* (Latin: *Constitutiones Apostolorum*) is a Christian collection of eight treatises which belongs to the Church Orders, a genre of early Christian literature, that offered authoritative “apostolic” prescriptions on moral conduct, liturgy and Church organization.



rudic tradition and combine verses 3 to 6, and he explains the Ten Commandments on the basis of the list of Deuteronomy (5:7) rather than using the text in the Book of Exodus.

This choice can also be traced in the Catechism of the Catholic Church (*Catechismus Romanus*).<sup>33</sup> A similar phenomenon can be seen in the work of Martin Luther, the Greater Catechism<sup>34</sup> Apparently, as a result of his earlier monastic studies, he follows Augustine in the interpretation of the Decalogue. Luther also forbids the use of images in the first command, and if we consider the order of the words, we may find that he respects the text of Exodus 20:17 more than Deuteronomy 5:21.

In his work entitled *Institutes*, John Calvin follows the tradition of the division of Lxx<sup>35</sup> in the case of the Ten Commandments; the Anglican Church does the same with the Common Prayer; and in the Small Catechism of Martin Luther we cannot only find quotations but also further updates to the commandments. Nevertheless, in the Catholic Church, the Ten Commandments can be considered as one of the hierarchical texts, for *Catechismus Romanus*<sup>36</sup> and the Council of Trident mention four important texts as the defining constitution of the religious community: the Apostolic Creed in the first place, the sacraments in the second place, the Decalogue or the Ten Commandments in the third place, and the Lord's Prayer in the fourth place.

To sum up, therefore, the lists of virtues of the Torah are quite poor and it is only the later-day wisdom documents born mostly in the Hellenistic era and Jewish apocrypha literature that are much more concerned with teaching moral virtues.<sup>37</sup> Some of these

<sup>33</sup> The early publications of *Catechismus Romanus* (1566) "Romae apud Paulum Manutium", 1566; "Venetiis, apud Dominicum de Farris", 1567; "Coloniae", 1567 (Henricus Aquensis); "Parisuis, in aedibus. Jac. Kerver", 1568; "Venetiis, apud Aldum", 1575; and Ingolstadt, 1577 (Sartorius). In 1596 the "Cat. Romanus ... quaestionibus distinctus, brevibusque exhortatiunculis studio Andreae Fabricii, Leodiensis" was published in Antwerp. A. Le Fevre, Roman Catechism into questions and answers in 1570. In Hungary, first the Catechism of Péter Canisius, published in German and Latin in 1555 spread, albeit to a large extent only in the diocese of Eger; in other dioceses, *Catechismus Romanus* (1566), edited by Charles Boromei became more popular.

<sup>34</sup> Martin Luther, *Der Kleine Catechismus. Fuer die gemeyne Pfarherr vnd Prediger* (Marburg: Franz Rhode, 1529). His Small and Great catechisms already offer a shortened version which was interpreted on the basis of the Christian Church and on Lutheran confession. Weimarer Ausgabe. Band 30/1. *Katechismuspredigten*, 1528; *Großer und Kleiner Katechismus*, 1910.

<sup>35</sup> Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian religion*. Translated by H. Beveridge (Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 328–362.

<sup>36</sup> The Catechism was adopted in Section 18 of the Council of Trident on February 26, 1526, and it was presented by Charles Borromeo and put into force by Pope Pius IV and which had been compiled by eminent theologians as follows: Leonardo Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano; Muzio Calini, Archbishop of Zara; Egidio Foscherari, Bishop of Modena; and Francisco Fureiro, Portuguese Dominican. Document XXIV, "De Ref", c. VII.

<sup>37</sup> Berger, K., *Die Gesetzauslegung Jesu Teil 1: Markus und Parallelen* WMANT 40. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972).

can be considered as explanations of the Decalogue; nevertheless they also reflect extensively on lists of virtues of Hellenistic literature.<sup>38</sup>

### THE VIRTUE LISTS OF THE GOSPELS AND MACARISMS

G. Mussies<sup>39</sup> thoroughly analysed the lists of virtues and vices of the Gospels in relation to Dio Chrysostom (40–120 AD) and their relationship to Hellenistic literature, and concluded that they serve to teach religiosity of the heart. Although the word ARETÉ is not included in the list of the Beatitudes,<sup>40</sup> this latter is still considered to be the most important virtue list in the New Testament. (Mt 5:3–12; Lk 6:20–22) At the same time the eight beatitudes are good wishes as well and they are not legal provisions. However, it is clear that they serve for the emergence of religiosity of the heart just like the Hebrew “asheré”,<sup>41</sup> which meant success and good luck as well. This Hebrew term was translated in Lxx as macarism and these kind of macarisms are not unknown in the Old Testament texts of Lxx either. Since these macarisms can be found in the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7, Cf. Lk 6:20–49), it is obvious that they are considered by the author to be the New Testament equivalent of the Ten Commandments.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the intended parallel, the concept of the Ten Commandments and the concept of the Beatitudes are radically different. One is the basic document of the ethics

<sup>38</sup> Let us list some works here: The apocalypse of Abraham: 24:3; Baruch 4:17; 8:5; 13:4; 1 Enoch 10:20; 91:6–7; 2 Enoch 9:1; 10:4–6; 34:1–2; 66:6. Book of Jubilees 7:20–21; 21:21; 23:14. Book 4 of Maccabees 1:2–4; 18:26–27. In many of his writings, Philo of Alexandria gives lists of virtues. Sibyls’ Oracles, the Testament of Abraham, the Wisdom of Solomon 8:7, 14:22–26. Furthermore, the literature of Qumran, especially 1QS 4:3–14, which probably had an influence on the Christian catalogues of virtues of Gal 5:19–23.

<sup>39</sup> Mussies, G., *Dio Chrysostom and the New Testament*. SCHNT 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1972). About personified catalogues, see in NHC L 11:5 (Leiden 1981), 313–335.

<sup>40</sup> Ingo Broer, *Die Seligpreisungen der Bergpredigt: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung und Interpretation* (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1986). Hans Dieter Betz, “Die Makarismen der Bergpredigt (Mt 5:3–12). Beobachtungen zur literarischen Form und theologischen Bedeutung”, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 75 (1978): 1–19. Walter Zimmerli, “Die Seligpreisungen der Bergpredigt und das Alte Testament”, in Ernst Bammel u. a. (Hrsg.) *Donum Gentilicium. Festschrift für D. Daube* (Oxford 1978), 8–26.

<sup>41</sup> The word “asheré” appears 45 times in the Old Testament and it is also a favourite expression of wisdom literature. However, the Lxx translation uses the word macarism for several words and thus it contains even more of it. In the New Testament, it appears 30 times. Cf. in details Spinetoli O. da., *Matteo*. Translated by Alfréd Turay (Szeged: Agape, 1998). 136–150.

<sup>42</sup> Viktor Kókai Nagy, *A hegyi beszéd. A hegyi beszéd értelmezése a nagyobb igazság tükrében* [The Sermon on the Mount. An interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount in the reflection of a greater truth.] (Budapest: KRE HTK Doktori Iskola–L’Harmattan, 2007). Easwaran, Eknath, *Original Goodness: A Commentary on the Beatitudes* (Nilgiri Press, 1989). Kissinger, Warren S., *The Sermon on the Mount: A History of Interpretation and Bibliography* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1975). Twomey, M. W. “The Beatitudes”, in Jeffrey, David Lyle, ed. *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids: WB Eerdmans, 1992).

of intention while the other one is the basic text of ethics of responsibility, which is related to the religiousness of the heart.<sup>43</sup> Each of the eight beatitudes refers to conflict situations, i.e. persecution, and the persecuted one still retains their happiness.

It is worth pointing out the different contexts and places of macarisms in the Old Testament. The Hebrew Bible contains 46 macarisms Μακάριζμος (Hebrew “asheré”) or beatitudes<sup>44</sup>. Most of them are in the third person and out of these there are five that refer to one or more persons. (Deuteronomy 33:29, Psalms 128:2, Ecclesiastes 10:17, Isaiah 32:20, 1Kings 10:8 and 2Chronicles 9:7) We can find 27 references in Psalms, 11 in the Book of Job (Job 5:17) and Ecclesiastes (10:17), and four in Isaiah (3:10; 30:18; 32:20; 56:2). Also in the codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered in Qumran (200 v–100 n Chr.) there are sayings of blessings that show a close relationship with wisdom literature.<sup>45</sup> According to Eduard Schweizer, there is a relationship between the macarisms in the Gospels and the Qumran texts<sup>46</sup>. We can find brief and fragmented references in the fragment of Mikeah 1Q 14:7.4 fr.<sup>47</sup> and also in the so-called Hodajot<sup>48</sup> (Thanksgiving Psalms) “have been purified by the power of grace and soul” 1QH 14:3.

3. How blessed are the poor in spirit: the kingdom of Heaven is theirs.	3 Μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
4. Blessed are the gentle: they shall have the earth as inheritance.	4 μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.
5. Blessed are those who mourn: they shall be comforted.	5 μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ [κληρονομήσουσι] τὴν γῆν.

<sup>43</sup> Imre Kocsis, *A hegyi beszéd* [The Sermon on the Mount] (Budapest: Jel Kiadó, 2005).

<sup>44</sup> Friedrich Hauck, Georg Bertram, *Makarismos*. Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (ThWNT) Band IV (1942): 365–373.

<sup>45</sup> Heinz-Josef Fabry, “Die Seligpreisungen in der Bibel und in Qumran”, in C. Hempel, A. Lange u. a. (Hrsg.) *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*. BEThL 159 (Leuven, 2002), 189–200.

<sup>46</sup> Eduard Schweizer, *Die Bergpredigt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984), 12; siehe auch Klaus Berger, *Qumran und Jesus. Wahrheit unter Verschluß?* (Stuttgart: Quell-Verlag, 1993), Kapitel VI. Hermann Lichtenberger, “Makarismen in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament”, in David J. Clines u. a. (Hrsg.) *Weisheit in Israel. Beiträge des Symposiums »Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne« anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901–1971)* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2003), 167–182.

<sup>47</sup> The text is highly fragmented. Fragment 7 goes as follows: ... Whether not ... Simple ones ... What is in it ...

<sup>48</sup> Stegemann, Hartmut, *Rekonstruktion der Hodajot. Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle I von Qumran*. Diss. phil. (Heidelberg, 1963).

6. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for uprightness: they shall have their fill.	6 μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ χορτασθήσονται.
7. Blessed are the merciful: they shall have mercy shown them.	7 μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.
8. Blessed are the pure in heart: they shall see God.	8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν θεὸν ὄψονται.
9. Blessed are the peacemakers: they shall be recognised as children of God.	9 μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί, ὅτι [αὐτοὶ] <sup>1</sup> υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται.
10. Blessed are those who are persecuted in the cause of uprightness: the kingdom of Heaven is theirs.	10 μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν <sup>1</sup> ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.
11. "Blessed are you when people abuse you and persecute you and speak all kinds of calumny against you falsely on my account.	11 μακάριο ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ διώξωσιν καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ψευδόμενοι <sup>1</sup> ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ· <sup>1</sup>
12. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward will be great in heaven; this is how they persecuted the prophets before you."	12 χαίrete καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐδίωξαν τοὺς προφῆτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν.

Mt 15:19, Mk 7:21–22

The radical difference between the Ten Commandments and the Eight Blessings is that the former does not mention that keeping them would result in happiness and observing these commands is simply the alpha and omega of belonging to this religious community. In the case of the eight blessings, however, the particular eschatological aspect of the concept of happiness comes to the fore.

The perfect truth is described in the Sermon on the Mount by Jesus (Matthew 5:20), with the expressions of "uprightness of the heart" and "purity of the heart", characterized by merciful love. It is no coincidence that the list of vices also refers to contents of the heart when it states that one's heart is filled with sinful desires. (<sup>18</sup>"But whatever comes out of the mouth comes from the heart, and it is this that makes someone unclean." <sup>19</sup>"For from the heart come evil intentions: murder, adultery, fornication, theft, perjury, slander." (Mt 15:18andon)

In the revelation of Christ, the Spirit teaches his followers, but in fact it also refers to the contents of the heart. ("the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything and remind you of all I have said to you." (John 14:26). "However, when the Spirit of truth comes he will lead you to the complete truth, since he will not be speaking of his own accord, but will say only what

he has been told; and he will reveal to you the things to come.” 16:13). The Holy Spirit in John is associated with the supreme virtue. The spirit of truth also means that the supreme virtue is poured into the heart of man by the third person of the Trinity. The wisdom of the Spirit will free us from sinful wishes. (“Because it is not you who will be speaking; the Spirit of your Father will be speaking in you.” (Mt10:20) “Make up your minds not to prepare your defence, 15because I myself shall give you an eloquence and a wisdom that none of your opponents will be able to resist or contradict.” (Lk 21:14) “But you will receive the power of the Holy Spirit which will come on you, and then you will be my witnesses not only in Jerusalem but throughout Judaea and Samaria, and indeed to earth's remotest end.” (Acts 1:8) frees us from fleshly desires.

### VIRTUE AND VICE LISTS IN PAUL

The written version of the Gospels is usually dated later than the epistle literature attributed to the Apostle Paul. It is worth, however, quoting a sentence at the outset, because it contains a list of vices of emotions referring to the heart of man, which is in quite a contrast with the vice lists concerning meal rules and hygienic concepts of Jesus' time. 21“For it is from within, from the heart, that evil intentions emerge: fornication, theft, murder,22 adultery, avarice, malice, deceit, indecency, envy, slander, pride, folly.” (Mk 7:21–22)

The virtue lists found in the epistle literature of the New Testament, especially in Paul, serve to build the spiritual and moral unity of the Christian community and are linked to the Stoic and Epicurean virtue lists. The virtue lists that can be found in the epistle literature are the following: 2Cor 6:6–7; Gal 5:22–23; Ephesians 4:2–32; 5:2.9; Phil 4:3; Col 3:12; 1Tim 3:2–4.8–10.11–12; 4:12; 6:11; 18:2; 2Tim 2:22–25; 3:10; Tit 1:8; 2:2–10; Hebrews 7:26; 1Pet 3:8; 2Pet 1:5–7; 1Cor 13:4–7.

Alongside the lists of virtues, we also find the lists of vices that cause the Christian community to deteriorate: Rom 1:29–31; 13:13 (KB 239); 1Kor 5:10–11 (KB 245); 6:9–10 (KB 285); 2Cor 12:20–21; Gal 5:19–21; Ephesians 4:31; 5:3–5; Col 3:5–8; 1Tim 1:9–10 (KB 319) 6:4–5; 2Tim 3:2–4; Tit 1:7; 3:3; 1Pet 2:1; 4:3; Revelations 9:21; 21:8; 22:15.

These all together are called by Paul self-indulgence: “When self-indulgence is at work the results are obvious: sexual vice, impurity, and sensuality,”<sup>20</sup> “the worship of false gods and sorcery; antagonisms and rivalry, jealousy, bad temper and quarrels, disagreements,”<sup>32</sup> “factions and malice, drunkenness, orgies and all such things.” “I tell you now as I have told you in the past, that people who behave in these ways will not inherit the kingdom of God.” (Gal 5:19 and on). Paul summarizes the lists of virtues under the title of “fruits of the soul”. So if the soul (Holy Spirit) rules the heart of

man, then virtues are born through their deeds. “and a hope which will not let us down, because the love of God has been poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit which has been given to us.” (Romans 5:5)<sup>22</sup> “On the other hand, the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, trustfulness,<sup>23</sup> gentleness and self-control; No law can touch such things as these.” (Gal 5:22) That is, Paul knows exactly that virtues may be taught, but they cannot be sanctioned.

### **LISTS OF VIRTUES REGARDING THE LEADERS OF THE CHURCH**

In pastoral letters, Paul addresses the virtues of church leaders, which have a great impact on the Christian community.<sup>12</sup> “Let no one disregard you because you are young, but be an example to all the believers in the way you speak and behave, and in your love, your faith and your purity.” (1Tim 4:12) <sup>11</sup>“But, as someone dedicated to God, avoid all that. You must aim to be upright and religious, filled with faith and love, perseverance and gentleness.” (1Tim 6:11)<sup>8</sup> “Finally: you should all agree among yourselves and be sympathetic; love the brothers, have compassion and be self-effacing.” (1Pet 3:8)<sup>5</sup> With this in view, do your utmost to support your faith with goodness, goodness with understanding,<sup>6</sup> understanding with self-control, self-control with perseverance, perseverance with devotion, (2Pet1:5and on).

### **SUMMARY**

Following a brief review based on only a few highlighted texts, we can summarize the results of our examination as follows.

1. There is no direct religious connection between the Greek and Roman lists, in the sense that although the entire era of Antiquity is saturated with religion, the Greek and Roman lists of virtues do not integrate anyone into a religious community nor do they cause any problems to it, they just integrate the person into the community of the polis.

2. We did not investigate all the virtues that would be worth of mentioning or their different interpretations because they would have deserved a monographic review. Moral philosophical texts teach virtues in a variety of systems and genres, especially the four cardinal virtues, with the aim of presenting them as a list of virtues that give basis to all the other ones. Although the basic or most important virtues are dealt with in the case of different occupations in different systems and each time different things are considered to be the main virtue.

3. The biblical lists of virtues are always religious texts, which at the same time also indicate that these are the ones that open the way into the religious community and are essential prerequisites for the communion with God. The lists of virtues found in the literature of wisdom show a deeper affinity with the Hellenic lists of virtues and

serve, on the one hand, to integrate into the community of religion and, on the other hand, to the community of the polis.

4. The Ten Commandments is a list of religious duties, which can also be considered a negative list of virtues. At the same time, the Ten Commandments has never become a text used in court and it is classified rather as a prayer and it can also be considered as some moral recommendations; the commandments are often repeated as prayers like *Shema Yisrael*.

5. Prophets and Psalms do not directly quote the Ten Commandments, they rather focus on changes in the heart and describe the state of the virtuous and sinful man.

6. The New Testament's most important virtue list is the eight blessings in the introduction to the Sermon on the Mount; it is a list of virtues associated with religious and eschatological happiness. By this he establishes the foundation for the so called ethics of responsibility, which stands beyond religious law. It shows great resemblance to the concept of a righteous person.

7. The concept of blessings in the Old Testament (μακάρισμος (Hebrew "asheré") and that of the New Testament have a radically different foundation. The former is some kind of a guidance to happy earthly life, while the latter one is a series of incomprehensible and absurd affirmations without any eschatological perspective.

8. Again, although the virtue lists of early Christian literature and the Hellenistic lists show a strong formal relationship the New Testament texts are not moral philosophical axioms, but rather theological texts.

## „FREUT EUCH AN JENEM TAG UND HÜPFT“ (LK 6,23) DAS VERB „SKIRTAO“ BEI LUKAS

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### 0. PROBLEMATIK

Die Seligpreisung der Verfolgten lautet in Q 6,22–23: μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν ὀνειδίωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ [διώξ]ωσιν καὶ [εἴπ]ωσιν [πάν] πονηρὸν [καθ'] ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· <sup>23</sup>χαίρετε καὶ [ἀγαλλιᾶσθε], ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· οὕτως γὰρ [ἐδίωξαν] τοὺς προφήτας τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν. (Selig seid ihr, wenn sie euch schmähen und [verfolgen] und [alles mögliche] Schlechte [gegen] euch [sagen] wegen des Menschensohnes. Freut euch und [jubelt], denn euer Lohn im Himmel ist groß; denn so [verfolgten] sie die Propheten vor euch.)<sup>1</sup>

Es fällt das Verb σκιρτάω in Lk 6,23 auf: χάριτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ **σκιρτήσατε**, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τοῖς προφήταις οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν. (Freut euch an jenem Tag und hüpfet, denn siehe, euer Lohn (ist) groß im Himmel; denn genauso taten den Propheten ihre Väter.)

Dieses Verb kommt noch zweimal im Neuen Testament vor, nur bei Lukas in der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu:

1,41 καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τῆς Μαρίας ἢ Ἐλισάβετ, **ἐσκήρτησεν** τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπλήσθη πνεύματος ἁγίου ἢ Ἐλισάβετ (Und es geschah, als den Gruß der Maria die Elisabet hörte, hüpfte das Kind in ihrem Leib, und erfüllt wurde von heiligem Geist die Elisabet)

Lk 1,44 ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ σου εἰς τὰ ὠτά μου, **ἐσκήρτησεν** ἐν ἀγαλλιᾶσει τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ μου. (Denn siehe, als kam die Stimme deines Grußes zu meinen Ohren, hüpfte in Jubel das Kind in meinem Leib.)

In der LXX kommt dieses Verb in Gen 25,22; Ps 113, 4.6; Weish 17,18; Joel 1,17; Mal 3,20 und Jer 27,11 vor. Es geht um das Hüpfen des Viehes, nur in Gen 25,22 geht es um den Leib Rebekkas, in dem die Zwillinge Esau und Jakob hüpfen.

Das Verb skirtao beschreibt die freudige Reaktion des ungeborenen Johannes des Täufers und der Verfolgten wegen des Menschensohnes.

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. P. Hoffmann – Ch. Heil (Hg.), *Die Spruchquelle Q*. Studienausgabe Griechisch und Deutsch (Darmstadt – Leuven, 2002), 38–39.



## I. DER MENSCHENSOHN

Lk 6,23 versteht man als Antwort der Freude auf die angekündigte Seligpreisung: „Selig seid ihr, wann euch hassen die Menschen und wann sie euch ausschließen und schmähen und hinauswerfen euren Namen als schlecht wegen des Sohnes des Menschen“ (μακάριοί ἐστε ὅταν μισήσωσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅταν ἀφορίσωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀνειδίσωσιν καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·)

Die Verfolgten wegen des Menschensohnes sind selig und sollen sich freuen und vor Freude hüpfen, weil sie mit den Propheten verglichen werden und den großen Lohn im Himmel haben.<sup>2</sup> Gott beschenkt diejenige, die wegen ihres Glauben an den Menschensohn leiden. Er ist der Grund ihrer himmlischen Beschenkens.

„An jenem Tag“ sollen sie sich freuen. Im Lukasevangelium kommt noch diese zeitliche Angabe fünfmal vor: 10,12; 17,24.30.31 und 21,34.

In Lk 10,12 geht es um die Botschaft der Jünger Jesu, welche die Nähe des Königiums Gottes ankündigt. Es gibt Menschen, die diese Botschaft abgelehnt haben. Sie werden mit den Bewohnern von Sodom verglichen, diese haben an jenem Tag ein schlechteres Los.<sup>3</sup>

Lukas hat die „Tage“ (17,22.26) bzw. den „Tag“ (17,24.30–31) mit dem Menschensohn verbunden. Man sieht eine Zeitperiode, deren letzter Tag die Parusie sein wird.<sup>4</sup> Nur bei Lukas finden wir die Ermunterung zum Wachen (21,34–36). Jesus warnt vor Rausch, Trinkerei und Lebenssorgen.<sup>5</sup> Die Wachsamkeit verbringt man im Gebet, um vor dem Menschensohn an jenem Tag bestehen zu können. Der Menschensohn wird als Richter vorgestellt, trotzdem kann man allem, was geschehen wird, entinnen. Diese Vorstellung ist positiv anzusehen, weil Lukas über die Nähe der Erlösung und das Königium Gottes spricht (vgl. 21,28.31).<sup>6</sup>

In den Kapiteln 17 und 21 spricht Lukas über den Tag des Menschensohnes und sein unerwartetes Kommen. „An jenem Tag“ wird mit der Verkündigung des Königiums Gottes und dem Kommen des Menschensohnes verbunden.

Der Prophet Maleachi sagt in der Erwartung des Tages des Herrn: „Für euch aber, die ihr meinen Namen fürchtet, wird die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit aufgehen, und ihre Flügel bringen Heilung. Ihr werdet hinausgehen und Freudensprünge machen, wie

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. R. F. O'Toole, *Luke's Presentation of Jesus: A Christology* (Roma, 2008), 143.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. R. M. Gomes, „A ação missionária em Lc 10,1–24 e o proselitismo nas igrejas cristãs“, *Revista de Cultura Teológica* 26 (2018): 93.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. R. F. O'Toole, *Luke's*, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. V. Fusco, „Problemi di struttura nel discorso escatologico lucano (Lc 21,7–36)“, *Luca – Atti. L'interpretazione a servizio della Scrittura* (Assisi, 1991), 117.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. G. C. Bottini, *Introduzione all'opera di Luca. Aspetti teologici* (Jerusalem, 1992), 158–159.

Kälber, die aus dem Stall kommen“ (Mal 3,20). Die Assoziation, die dieser Text erweckt, weist auf die Funktion Jahwes als Retter und Richter hin. Diese Rollen übte auch der Sonnengott aus, der mit Flügeln dargestellt wird.<sup>7</sup> Nach dieser Ikonographie hat Jahwe als „Flügelsonne“ die Macht, die die kosmische und soziale Ordnung unter den Menschen schafft.

## 2. JOHANNES DER TÄUFER

Der Prophet Elia ist nach Mal 3,20 jener Bote, der dem Kommen Gottes vorausgeht (Mal 3,1).<sup>8</sup> Diese Rolle des Vorläufers misst Lukas dem Johannes zu: „Und er wird vorangehen vor ihm in Geist und Kraft (des) Elias, hinzuwenden (die) Herzen (der) Väter zu (den) Kindern und Ungehorsame zur Einsicht von Gerechten, zu bereiten (dem) Herrn ein zugerüstetes Volk“ (1,17). Zacharias lobt und prophezeit in diesem Sinne: „Und du aber, Kind, wirst Prophet (des) Höchsten gerufen werden; denn du wirst voranziehen vor (dem) Herrn, zu bereiten seine Wege“ (Lk 1,76).<sup>9</sup>

Der Vorläufer Johannes begegnet Jesus beim Besuch Marias in seinem Elternhaus. Die Perikope Lk 1,39–56 zeigt folgende Szenen dieses Besuchs:

- Exposition (V. 39)
- Begegnung der Mütter und der ungeborenen Kinder (VV. 40–45)
- Lob Marias (VV. 46–55)
- Ende (V. 56).<sup>10</sup>

Maria geht ins Gebirge (εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν)  
in eine Stadt Judas (εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα).

Diese geographische Beschreibung entspricht dem Bereden der Johannesgeburt im ganzen Gebirge der Judaia (ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὄρεινῇ τῆς Ἰουδαίας; Lk 1,65). Es wird explizit gesagt, daß Maria ins Haus des Zacharias hineingeht (εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ζαχαρίου). Die Zeit ihrer Ankunft „in diesen Tagen“ (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις) weist auf Apg 3,24 hin. Dieses Syntagma ist eben das Objekt der Verkündigung aller alttestamentlichen Propheten. Wir sehen darin die Indikation der Paschaereignisse (Tod, Auferste-

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<sup>7</sup> Vgl. S. Lauber, „Zur Ikonographie der Flügelsonne“, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 124 (2008): 103.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Ch. Böttrich, „Johannes der Täufer“, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/51874/> (gesehen am 20. Juli 2019).

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. M. Cifrak, „'Benedictus' (Lk 1,68–79)“, in György Benyik, ed. *Zsoltárok, himnuszok, imádságok*. Szegedi Nemzetközi Biblikus Konferencia, Szeged 2008. augusztus 31. – szeptember 2. (Szeged: JATEPress, 2009), 154–156.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. K. Löning, *Das Geschichtswerk des Lukas*. Band I: *Israels Hoffnung und Gottes Geheimnisse* (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln, 1997), 60.

hung, Himmelfahrt, Pfingsten), die als Heilsendzeit verstanden werden. Daran folgt die Parusie (vgl. Apg 3,21–22).<sup>11</sup>

Maria begrüßt Elisabet und auf ihren Gruß hüpfet Johannes im Mutterleib. Eine Parallele des Verbes σκιρτάω finden wir in diesem Sinne in Gen 25,22: „stießen die Söhne einander im Mutterleib. Da sagte sie: Wenn das so ist, was soll dann aus mir werden? Sie ging, um den Herrn zu befragen“. Es geht um Rebekka, Isaaks Frau, die in ihrem Leib Zwillinge trug. Im nächsten Vers kommt die Antwort Jahwes: „Zwei Völker sind in deinem Leib, zwei Stämme trennen sich schon in deinem Schoß. Ein Stamm ist dem andern überlegen, der ältere muß dem jüngeren dienen“. Es kündigt sich die Auseinandersetzung der zwei Brüder wegen des Betrugs um den Segen an. Ihn erteilte Isaak dem Jakob, in der Meinung daß er Esau sei.

Im Lukasevangelium hüpfet der ungeborene Johannes vor Freude (ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει). Die Worte σκιρτάω ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει setzen den Freudensprung des ungeborenen Johannes in Bezug zu alttestamentlichen Theophanien und zeichnen ihn und seine Mutter Elisabet in den Farben der Gerechten des Alten Bundes, die vor Gottes Angesicht jubeln und sich freuen. Das prophetische Hüpfen des Johannes bezieht sich also direkt und gegenwärtig auf Jesus und die Ankunft der messianschen Zeiten.<sup>12</sup> Die 'Negativfolie' aus Gen 25,22 verhilft dem Bild zu zusätzlicher Anschaulichkeit: Während sich in Gen 25,22 schon im Mutterleib der Konkurrenzkampf um das Erstgeburtsrecht anbahnt, den Esau schließlich verliert, ist die Frage zwischen Johannes und Jesus bereits im Mutterleib entschieden und kein Gegenstand des Kampfes, sondern der Freude.<sup>13</sup> Auch die weiteren Elemente der Erzählung verstärken diese Deutung: Der freudige Ausruf Elisabets in Lk 1,43: Καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ; ist Wirkung der Geisterfüllung, denn auf andere Weise kann Elisabet innerhalb der Erzählung nicht von Marias Schwangerschaft und der Verkündigung durch den Engel erfahren haben.<sup>14</sup> Er kennzeichnet die Erfüllung auch als ein 'Überspringen' von Johannes aus, der so bereits im Mutterleib seine prophetische Rolle offenbart.

Elisabet segnet Maria und das Kind in ihrem Leib, obwohl ihr Mann Zacharias Priester ist (vgl. Lk 1,5). Sie nennt Maria die Mutter des Herrn (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου). Im Kind Marias erkennt sie den Herrn. Der Autor denkt an den Auferstandenen, weil diese Erkennung auf die Verkündigung an Maria in Lk 1,31–35 hinweist. Nach den Worten des Engels Gabriel wird Jesus als Gottessohn auf dem Thron Davids (τὸν

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. M. De Santis, „La visita di Maria ad Elisabetta (Lc 1,39–45). Paradigma lucano del processo salvifico di Dio“, *Angelicum* 88 (2011): 16–17.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. M. De Santis, „La visita“, 22.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. G. Nassauer, „Gegenwart des Abwesenden. Eidetische Christologie in Lk 1.39–45“, *New Testament Studies* 58 (2011): 73–74.81–82.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. M. De Santis, „La visita“, 22.

θρόνον Δαυίδ) sitzen und über das Haus Jakob (ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰακώβ) herrschen. Über den Gottesthron und die Auferstehung als Moment der Inthronisierung spricht man in Apg 2,30. In diesem Vers finden wir die Verheißung, die David gegeben wurde. Er bat, eine Zeltwohnung für das Haus Jakob (Apg 7,46: τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰακώβ) zu finden. Deswegen fand er die Gnade vor Gott im Vergleich zu Solomon, der tatsächlich ein Haus, d. h. den Tempel baute.<sup>15</sup> Die Herrschaft des Davididen über das Haus Jakob wird kein Ende haben. Um ohne Ende herrschen zu können, muß man ohne Ende leben. Das Haus Jakob hat seine Zeltwohnung, d.h. den Tempel bekommen. Jetzt werden ihm ein Herrscher und unendliche Herrschaft verheißen. Der Auferstandene kommt statt des Tempels, d. h. der nicht handgemachte Tempel statt des Handgemachten (vgl. Apg 7,48; 17,24).

Wenn wir Zacharias und Elisabet in Betracht nehmen, geht es um die Kontinuität. Sie sind Vertreter des jüdischen Volkes unter dem Gesichtspunkt der geschichtlichen Identität des Gottesvolkes. Nämlich Zacharias war der Priester aus der Tagesdienstabteilung des Abia (vgl. 1 Chr 24,10). Das Buch Nehemia erwähnt Abia als Garanten der Nachfolge im Dienst zwischen dem Tempel Solomons und dem zweiten Tempel (12,4). Die Eheleute Zacharias und Elisabet haben die Funktion der Darstellung der Krise im Volk Israel.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. DIE FREUDE IM LEIDEN

Wir haben einige Verbe, die das Leiden der Christen beschreiben in Lk 6,22:

hassen (μισήσωσιν)

ausschließen (ἀφορίσωσιν)

schmähen (ὀνειδίσωσιν)

hinauswerfen euren Namen als schlecht (ἐκβάλλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν).

Das Verb „μισέω“ hat seine Parallele in Lk 21,17: „und ihr werdet sein Gehaßte von allen wegen meines Namens“. Man kann unter der Wendung „wegen des Sohnes des Menschen“ „wegen des Namens Jesu“ verstehen. Der Menschensohn ist Jesus selbst. Das weist auf das anstoßerregende Bekenntnis der Gemeinde zu Jesus Christus hin. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß hinter Lk 21,17 konkrete Leidenserfahrungen der Gemeinde stehen. Da der Topos „das Leiden um des Namens Jesu willen“ auffallend häufig im

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech. A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7,2–53* (Rome, 1976), 89.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. M. De Santis, „La visita“, 27.

Lukasevangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte begegnet, kann man von einem Konzept des Leidens um des Namens willen bei Lukas sprechen.<sup>17</sup>

Die formale Ausschließung aus der Synagoge wird sich später ereignen, mit einem definitiven Bruch zwischen dem Judentum und den Christen.<sup>18</sup> Das Schmähens scheint ein Verb aus der Weisheitsliteratur herzukommen und dieses Verb besagt, daß die Christen in ihrer Ehre beleidigt werden (vgl. 1 Petr 4,14; dazu Lk 1,25).<sup>19</sup> „Hinauswerfen euren Namen als schlecht“ bezieht sich auf den Namen der Christen. Der Autor denkt wohl an das, was früher und in seinen Tagen mit den Christen geschehen ist.<sup>20</sup> Ihr Name, wahrscheinlich „Christ“ (vgl. Apg 11,26), wird als schlecht verworfen. Dies ist schlimmer als nur über jemanden „Böses sagen“, wie es wahrscheinlich in Q zu lesen war.<sup>21</sup> Wenn Lukas in V. 23 schreibt, daß ihre Väter in gleicher Weise mit den Propheten umgingen, muß er an diejenigen anderen Q-Texte gedacht haben, die über die Verfolgung und das Töten der Propheten klagen (vgl. 11,47–51 und 13,33–34<sup>22</sup>). Der Hinweis, daß die Väter mit den Propheten in gleicher Weise verfahren, verweist auf die Ablehnung und Verfolgung der Propheten im Alten Testament.<sup>23</sup> Die Bezeichnung „falsche Propheten“ (Lk 6,26) spielt darauf an, daß schon Israel gerne denen zuhörte und jene als Propheten achtete, die ihm zu Gefallen redeten.<sup>24</sup>

Die Notwendigkeit des Leidens um zur Freude zu gelangen wird in die christliche Botschaft sehr verwurzelt (vgl. Mt 5,12; Apg 5,41; Röm 5,3–4; 8,18; 2 Kor 4,17; 6,10; 7,4; 8,2; 1 Thess 1,6; Hebr 10,32–36, 1 Petr ).<sup>25</sup> Das ist keine Sicherheit der künftige Rache um ein Motiv der Freude zu sein, sondern die Taten Christi sind ihr genügen-

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. A. Ruck-Schröder, *Der Name Gottes und der Name Jesu*. Eine neutestamentliche Studie (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999), 114–115.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. B. Estrada, „The Last Beatitude. Joy in Suffering“, *Biblica* 91 (2010): 189.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*. 1. Teilband. Lk 1,1 – 9,50 (Zürich – Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989), 303–304.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. J. Lambrecht, *Ich aber sage euch*. Die Bergpredigt als programmatische Rede Jesu (Mt 5–7, Lk 6,20–49) (Stuttgart, 1984), 69.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. P. Hoffmann – Ch. Heil, (Hg.) *Die Spruchquelle Q*. Studienausgabe Griechisch und Deutsch (Darmstadt – Leuven, 2002), 38–39.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. M. Cifrak, „Die sog. Tempelreinigung (Lk 19,45–48) im Vergleich zu Lk 13,34f.“, in György Benyik, ed. *Isteni bölcsesség, emberi tapasztalat*. 23. Nemzetközi Biblikus Konferencia, 2011. szeptember 08–10. (Szeged: JATEPress, 2012), 62–63.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. R. Dillmann, „Wider der Habsucht und Raffgier der Reichen. Syntaktische, semantische und pragmatische Aspekte zur lukanischen Feldrede“, *Vom Text zum Leser*. Theorie und Praxis einer handlungsorientierten Bibelauslegung (Stuttgart, 1999), 151.

<sup>24</sup> z. B. Jer 23,16–17: „So spricht der Herr der Heere: Hörst nicht auf die Worte der Propheten, die euch weissagen. Sie betören euch nur; sie verkünden Visionen, die aus dem eigenen Herzen stammen, nicht aus dem Mund des Herrn. Immerzu sagen sie denen, die das Wort des Herrn verachten: Das Heil ist euch sicher; und jedem, der dem Trieb seines Herzens folgt, versprechen sie: Kein Unheil kommt über euch.“

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. F. Manns, „Souffrances et joie dans la première lettre de Pierre“, *Liber Annuus* 49 (1999): 266.

des Motiv. Das Paradox der Freude inmitten der Bedrängnisse bezieht die aus dem apokalyptischen Milieu orchestrierten Geburtswehen mit ein (vgl. Ez 38,39; Hag 2,6–7; Sach 11,12; *Jubil.* 23; 2 Ba 26–30).

Der lukianische Jesus ruft in V. 23 zur Freude „an jenem Tag“ auf. Es ist der Tag, auf den hin Lukas und seine Christen leben. Die brennende Erwartung eines nahen Endes ist verschwunden. Die verschärfte Gegenüberstellung von jetzt (*νῦν*; Lk 6,21.25) und „an jenem Tag“ ist ein deutliches Zeichen dafür.<sup>26</sup> Nicht die Rückkehr Jesu, sondern der Tod und das künftige eschatologische Gericht stehen im Vordergrund. Jesus erhellt mit den Wehe-Rufen die Frage seiner verfolgten Jünger. Den „Reichen“ wird von „allen Menschen“ „geschmeichelt“.<sup>27</sup> Dem entspricht, dass nach der vierten Seligpreisung der Name der Verfolgten von den Menschen „schlecht“ hinausgeworfen wird.

Lk 6,22 bietet für die Christen eine Identifikationsmöglichkeit, d. h., wer sich unter den Verfolgten befindet, der darf sicher sein, dass Jesus an seiner Seite steht. Jesus ist deswegen gekommen: „(Der) Geist (des) Herrn (ist) auf mir, deswegen, weil er mich salbte, ... er hat mich geschickt, Gefangenen den Erlass zu verkünden ... (aus)zuschicken Gebrochene in Freilassung“ (Lk 4,18).<sup>28</sup> Wer so verfolgt ist, darf sich in der Gemeinschaft mit den Propheten wissen. Die Taten Jesu (vgl. Lk 7,1–17.21–22) und die Worte (vgl. Lk 6,20–49; 7,22) zeigen den Jüngern des Johannes, daß Jesus der Kommende ist (vgl. Lk 7,20).<sup>29</sup>

Die Christen sind Propheten, die die alttestamentlichen Texte über das Leiden und die Herrlichkeit des Messias vertieften. Die Botschaft des Leidens ist eine Gnade: das ist, was der Ausdruck übersetzt: οἱ περὶ τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς χάριτος προφητεύσαντες (die über die Gnade für euch prophezeienden; 1 Petr 1,10).<sup>30</sup> Sie konstituiert den Gipfel der Heilsgeschichte. Endlich muss man erkennen, daß das Leiden und die Herrlichkeit keine zwei sukzessiven Momente sind, sondern zwei Dimensionen, die in eine einzige Erfahrung impliziert sind. Im Todesprozess wird das Geschenk des Geistes gemacht (vgl. Lk 12,11–12; Apg 5,32).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. A. Inselmann, *Die Freude im Lukasevangelium: ein Beitrag zur psychologischen Exegese* (Tübingen, 2012), 220–221.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. K. Löning, *Das Geschichtswerk*, 208.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. R. E. Brown, *Introduzione al Nuovo Testamento* (Brescia, 2001), 339: „Quattro beatitudini lucane aprono il discorso, riecheggiando il programma del ministero letto al alta voce nella sinagoga di Nazaret. Queste beatitudini sono rivolte a coloro che sono 'ora' effettivamente poveri, affamati, afflitti e odiati“.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. F. Ó Fearghail, *The Introduction to Luke-Acts. A Study of the Role of Lk 1,1 – 4,44 in the Composition of Luke's Two-Volume Work* (Roma, 1991), 146.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. F. Manns, „Souffrances“, 266–267.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. G. C. Bottini, *Introduzione*, 196–197.

Im Himmel sollen die Namen der Jünger Jesu jedoch bewahrt und damit gewürdigt werden (vgl. Lk 10,20).<sup>32</sup> Während das Leiden auf Erden für die Nachfolgenden begrenzt ist, betrifft die Erinnerung des Namens im Himmel die grundsätzliche Existenz des Menschen bei und vor Gott.

## 5. SCHLUSS

Die Verfolgung ist ein konstantes Thema in den Überlegungen des Frühchristentums. Sie bildet einen Grund der Sendung der Apostel und ein konstitutives Element der Existenzbedingung der Jünger (vgl. 1 Petr 4,12–19; Mk 13,9.11–13; Lk 12,2–12; Joh 15,18–16,4).<sup>33</sup> Das Leiden wird durch einen Anteil an der Herrlichkeit Jesu belohnt werden (vgl. Mt 5,10–12; 10,22; Lk 6,22–23; Joh 16,2–3.21–22; Röm 8,17; Phil 3,10–11; 2 Tim 2,11–12; Hebr 10,32–36; 11,26; 13,13–14).

Diese Lohnverheißung fordert von den Christen die Freude im Leiden auf. In Lk 6,23 wird diese Freude mit zwei Verben ausgedrückt: χαίρω und σικιρτάω. Das Verb χαίρω ist im Kontext des Leidens nur noch in Apg 5,41 zu finden. Die Apostel gingen, sich freuend, weg vom Angesicht des Synhedrions, weil sie gewürdigt worden waren, für den Namen verachtet zu werden. Die Apostel sehen sich als von Gott Gewürdigte (κατηξιώθησαν) an.<sup>34</sup> Sie haben ihre Identität als solche, die den Namen Jesu verkünden, im Leiden bewährt. Dazu wurden sie durch seinen Namen bekräftigt und freuen sich.

Das Verb σικιρτάω spielt auf Mal 3,20 an. Nachexilisch repräsentiert die Flügelsonne nicht mehr den Machtanspruch des irdischen Königtums, sondern dient der Darstellung der Gottesmacht, die die kosmische wie soziale Lebensordnung durchsetzt.<sup>35</sup> Diese Sonne ist Jesus (vgl. Lk 1,78). Deswegen hüpf Johannes der Täufer im Leib seiner Mutter. Die Verfolgten wegen des Menschensohnes sollen an jenem Tag hüpfen. Irgendwie kann man das Substantiv „ἀνατολή“ in Lk 13,29 wiederfinden. Es geht um den „Osten“. Von allen Weltrichtungen werden die Leute kommen und sich mit Abraham, Isaak, Jakob und allen Propheten im Königtum Gottes zu Tisch legen. Die Juden haben ihre Chance verpasst. Der Prophet war auch Johannes der Täufer und die Propheten sind nun Christen. Sie sind auch Kinder Abrahams und seiner Verheißungen. Die Christen leben „in den letzten Tagen“ (ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις; Apg 2,17) und unsere Tage werden unbedingt mit dem Vollkommenheit des Königtums Gottes

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. A. Inselmann, *Die Freude*, 221–222.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. F. Manns, „Souffrances“, 279.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. A. Ruck-Schröder, *Der Name*, 190.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. S. Lauber, „Zur Ikonographie“, 103.

verbunden.<sup>36</sup> Dies ist nun sichtbar in der Präsenz und der Weisheit des Herrn des Königtums und des Messias. Lk 13,22–30 ist eine Ermahnung an die Juden, um Jesus rechtzeitig aufzunehmen. Das Heil und der Anteil am Festmahl des Königtums Gottes hängen von der Antwort der Menschen an die Einladung Jesu ab, der als Hausherr dargestellt wird.<sup>37</sup> Die initiale Frage war: „Herr, ob es wenige sind, die gerettet werden?“ (Lk 13,23). Der Menschensohn kam (ἦλθεν) das Verlorene zu suchen und zu retten (vgl. Lk 19,10).<sup>38</sup> Er kam schon und ist seitdem der Kommende (ὁ ἐρχόμενος; vgl. Lk 21,27). Der Text „aufrichtet und erhebt eure Köpfe, weil eure Erlösung nahekommt“ (Lk 21,28) bezieht sich auf die Zeitgenossen Lukas als eine starke Aufforderung zur Hoffnung.<sup>39</sup> Es geht nämlich um die verfolgten Menschen, die ihren Kopf wegen der Leiden beugen müssen. Und dann „an jenem Tag“?

### 5.1. AN JENEM TAG

Das Verb σκirtάω bezieht folgende Subjekte mit ein:

	Johannes der Täufer	im Leib	
σκirtάω			
	die verfolgten Christen	an jenem Tag	wegen des Menschensohnes

In Lk 1,17 wird Johannes vom Verkündigungengel verheißen als einer, der im Geist und in der Kraft Elias leben und so Mal 3,24 erfüllen würde. Elia wurde mit einer Heilsbotschaft vor dem Tag des Herrn geschickt (vgl. Mal 3,23)<sup>40</sup>. Er interveniert um die Ausrottung des Volkes abzuwenden: „Er wird das Herz der Väter wieder den Söhnen zuwenden und das Herz der Söhne ihren Vätern“ (Mal 3,24; vgl. Sir 48,10 und Lk 1,17). Es geht um die Generationen, die Väter und die Söhne, kurz vor dem Moment der Ausrottung, die für den Tag des Herrn bestimmt wurde.<sup>41</sup> Die Aufgabe Elias bestünde darin, dass die Väter und die Söhne sich dann gegenseitig respektieren und in Harmonie leben. Johannes der Täufer spürt die Nähe des Gottes(sohnes) und damit seines Tages. Jesus ist für ihn der Kommende, der ihn auch daran zweifeln lässt (vgl. Lk 3,16; 7,20). Bis er wiederkommt, werden die Christen seinetwegen verfolgt werden. Nach Gen 25,22 hat das Verb σκirtάω den Konflikt der beiden hüpfenden

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. J. J. Kilgallen, *Twenty Parables of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke* (Roma, 2008), 70–71.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. R. F. O’Toole, *Luke’s*, 84–85.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. L. Tichy, „Was hat Zachäus geantwortet? (Lk 19,8)“, *Biblica* 92 (2011): 33–34.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. V. Fusco, „Problemi“, 130.

<sup>40</sup> „Il versetto è parallelo a 3,1, in cui è annunciato 'un messaggero' che prepara la venuta del Signore nel Tempio (cf. 3,23a e 3,1a, 3,23b e 3,1d)“, V. Lopasso, „Il compito di Elia in Malachia 3,23–24 (TM)“, *Liber Annuus* 64 (2014): 128.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. V. Lopasso, „Il compito“, 131–133.



Söhne Isaaks vorausgesagt. Johannes der Täufer hat die Freude der Verfolgten vorweggenommen, weil sie an dieser Freude am Tag der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit teilhaben werden (vgl. Mal 3,20). Sie freuen sich deswegen mitten in den Leiden und lieben ihre Feinde (vgl. Lk 6,27–28).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Vgl. K. Löning, *Das Geschichtswerk*, 208. F. Manns, „Souffrances“, 279.

Sándor ENGHY

**BUT WHO IS THE ONE, WHO REALLY LOVES?  
THE CONTEXTUAL EXAMINATION OF LEV 19,18 IN THE  
HEBREW–GREEK OLD TESTAMENT, IN THE Q, IN THE DIDACHE AND  
IN THE RABBINICAL LITERATURE**

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The ancient Greco-Roman civilization was also fully aware of the fact that to repay evil with evil is in all circumstances evil: Οὐδὲ ἀδικούμενον ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν.<sup>1</sup> Plato deals with this issue in his writing, *Crito*.<sup>2</sup> It is expressed in Plato's writing that evil mustn't be done purposely, no matter the circumstances, not even when somebody experiences something wrong, because retaliation is definitely wrong.<sup>3</sup>

The definition of justice can be heard in Plato's writing, *POLITEIA* in another context, when someone says about justice, that it is as much as doing good to a friend and doing evil to the enemy: Τὸ τοὺς φίλους ἄρα εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κακῶς

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<sup>1</sup> C. Fr. Hermann, M. Wohlrab, eds. *Plato: Apologia, Crito, adiecta sunt Phaedonis cap. 65–67*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Lipsiae B.G. Teubneri, 1606 (Robarts: University of Toronto, 1913), 74.; “Nor when injured injure in return...” – B. Jowett, H. Crossley, G. Long, (Trans.), *The Apology, Phaedo and Crito of Plato. The golden Sayings of Epictetus, the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius With introductions and notes* (New York, P.F. Collier, 1909), 38.; D. W. Pao, E. J. Schnabel, “Luke”, in G. K. Beale, D. A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 251–414, 297.

<sup>2</sup> “The preference for translating *antadikein* has been for some soft equivalent, such as ‘in return,’ ‘repay,’ ‘hitting back,’ and ‘giving back.’... one of Socrates’ major concerns in the *Crito* is with the rightness or wrongness of revenge, vengeance. I shall opt for the more moderate ‘retaliation.’” – M. Ring, “Retaliation in the *Crito*”, in G. Anagnostopoulos, F. D. Miller Jr., eds. *Reason and Analysis in Ancient Greek Philosophy: Essays in Honor of David Keyt*. Philosophical studies series, 120 (Dordrecht, Heidelberg New York, London: Springer, 2013), 91–108, 93.

<sup>3</sup> “One must never willingly do wrong (no matter what the circumstances)... Therefore, one must not do wrong even when (the circumstance is that) one has been wronged... Therefore, retaliation is wrong.” Ring, 95.; Ring interprets in the Greek text we quote the word ἀδικέω as “bad”, the best translation of *adikein* in the *Crito* is as “wrong,” not as “unjust.” – Ring, 92.; The word itself occurs in Isa 23,12, where it is about the hurting, insulting of Sidon’s daughter. – A. Rahlfs, ed. *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* Volumen I. II. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1971, ©1935), Volumen II, 595.; “do wrong to the daughter of Sidon” – A. Pietersma, B. G. Wright, eds., *A new English translation of the Septuagint and the other Greek translations traditionally included under that title* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 841.

δικαιοσύνην λέγει.<sup>4</sup> Diogenes Laertius writes about Pythagoras that the great philosopher taught his disciples in relation to their mistakes and their duties. According to him, one must behave in such a way that he does not turn his friends into an enemy, but rather to turn the enemy into a friend: ἀλλήλους θ' ὀμιλεῖν, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐχθροὺς μὴ ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς φίλους ἐργάσασθαι.<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of these quotations we can say that the linguistic milieu was ready for the people of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, which in its wording conveyed the idea that though the retaliation of an evil deed is forbidden, evil against the enemy still had a place in the public knowledge. By the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, turning enemy into a friend could have been formulated as a purpose, but the specific expression of the love of the enemy had then become apparent in the text of the New Testament.

The text of the Didache has a place in this context, it may be dated back to the end of the first century AD.<sup>6</sup> This text gives, beside the path of death as the definition of the path of life (ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς), the love of God and neighbor (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν...τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν).<sup>7</sup> The expression path of life is known in the Psalm literature: the Lord makes the psalmist acquainted with the path of life (ὁδοὺς ζωῆς – Psalm 16[15],11). There is the expression in the wisdom literature too in which the commandment of the law is the way of life (ὁδὸς ζωῆς – Prov 6,23), the thoughts of the wise are the paths of life (ὁδοὶ ζωῆς – Prov 15,24).

In the prophetic literature, the Lord gives the people the way of life (ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς – Jer 21,8). The expression is also used in the New Testament. Peter quotes in his speech the above mentioned Psalm (Psalm 15) at Pentecost in reference to the way of life

<sup>4</sup> Jowett, L. Campbell, eds., *Plato's Republic: The Greek Text* Vol. I. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 9.; "To do good, then, to friends, and ill to enemies, he calls justice? It seems so." F. Sydenham, T. Taylor, W. H. D. Rouse, E. Barker, *The Republic of Plato* (London: Methuen, 1906), 6.; "the obligation of justice to do good to friends and harm to enemies." – S. Rosen, *Plato's Republic: a study* (New Haven, Conn. – London: Yale University Press, 2005), 33.

<sup>5</sup> "and so to behave one to another as not to make friends into enemies, but to turn enemies into friends." – R. D. Hicks (Transl.), *Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, Volume II (London: William Heinemann, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), 340–341; "Den gegenseitigen Umgang müsse man so gestalten, daß man sich die Freunde nicht zu Feinden, dagegen die Feinde zu Freunden mache." – O. Apelt (Übers.), *Diogenes Laertius: Leben und Meinungen berühmter Philosophen*, Zweiter Band, Philosophische Bibliothek 54 (Leipzig: Meiner, 1921), 104.

<sup>6</sup> G. Schöllgen, W. Geerlings (Übers.), *Didache = Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre Fontes Christiani*, Band 1 (Freiburg – Basel – Wien [etc.]: Verlag Herder, 2000), 13.

<sup>7</sup> Schöllgen, Geerlings, 98–99; C. H. Hoole (Transl.), *The Didache, or Teaching of the twelve apostles*, restored to its original state from various sources. With an introduction and notes. (London: D. Nutt, 1894), 47, 75; K. Lake (Transl.), *The Apostolic Fathers*. I. I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, Barnabas. The Loeb classical library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, London: Heinemann, 1965), 307–311.

(ὁδοὺς ζωῆς – Acts 2,28).<sup>8</sup> The expression of the Didache, ἀγαπήσεις occurs 4 times in the Septuagint and 10 times in the New Testament. The text ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν, as in the Didache, cannot be found anywhere in the whole Bible, but the text τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν 8 times, of which only one is in the Old Testament: Lev 19,18; Mt 19,19; 22,39; Mk 12,31; Lk 10,27; Romans 13,9; Gal 5,14; James 2,8. So the sentence of the Didache – ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν...τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν does not appear anywhere in the Bible, only in details:<sup>9</sup>

ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν	– Lev 19,18
ἀγαπήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς σεαυτὸν	– Lev 19,34
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	– Deut 6,5
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	– Deut 11,1
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου	– Mt 5,43
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	– Mt 19,19
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	– Mt 22,37
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	– Mt 22,39
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	– Mk 12,30
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	– Mk 12,31
ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου	– Lk 10,27
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	– Romans 13,9
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν.	– Gal 5,14
ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν,	– James 2,8.

The expressions of the Didache may thus come into contact with the text of the Septuagint and the New Testament, but both Greek texts (the Septuagint, New Testament) arrange the details in a particular form in order to formulate their own message. Compared to the above mentioned quotations of Plato and Diogenes Laertius, the Didache is definitely new in the sense that the Didache already contains the specific

<sup>8</sup> Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*. Volumen II, 12, 193, 209, 690; B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, H. Strutwolf (Hrsg), *Novum Testamentum Graece* 28., revidierte Auflage, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 28<sup>th</sup> 2012), 383.

<sup>9</sup> ἀγαπήσεις; ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν; τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν – A. Rahlfs, ed. *Greek Septuagint* (LXX1) Kraft/Taylor/Wheeler Septuagint Morphology Database v. 4.7a Copyright © 2012, Bernard A. Taylor and Dale M. Wheeler. All rights reserved. Editio altera by Robert Hanhart ©2006 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft). See the file “LXX-Read me first” for more details. Version 5.4; B. and K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, eds. *Novum Testamentum Graece* [New Testament in Greek] (GNT28-T) Nestle-Aland, 28<sup>th</sup> Revised Edition. Edited by Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung Münster/Westfalen, Copyright © 2012 by Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart. Used by permission. Morphological tagging by William D. Mounce and Rex A. Koivisto Copyright © 2003 William D. Mounce. Copyright © 2013 OakTree Software, Inc. All rights reserved. Version 2.8.

content of ἀγαπάω, which the New Testament will identify directly with God ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν. – 1 John 4,8.<sup>10</sup>

A rabbinic Midrash from the third to fourth centuries AD, which is the interpretation of the Leviticus (Sifra Kedoshim), says the followings:<sup>11</sup>

[יא] "לא־חָטַר" - עַד הֵיכֵן כּוֹחַהּ שֶׁל נְשִׁירָה? אָמַר לּוֹ "הַשְּׂאִילֵנִי קַרְדּוּמָךְ"  
וְלֹא הַשְּׂאִילּוֹ. לְמַחַר אָמַר לּוֹ "הַשְּׂאִילֵנִי מִגִּלְךָ". אָמַר לּוֹ "הֲאֵל לָךְ, אֵינִי  
כְּמוֹתְךָ שֶׁלֹּא הַשְּׂאִילַת לִי קַרְדּוּמָךְ", לְכַךְ נֹאמַר "לֹא־חָטַר"

[יב] "לֹא־חָתַקְסָם וְלֹא חָטַר אֶת בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ" - נִיחָם אֶתְּךָ וְנוֹשֵׁר (לְאַחֲרֵי) לַעֲכוּ"ם.  
"וְאַהֲבַת לְרַעַךְ כְּמֶךָ"  
- רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא אֹמֵר זֶה כְּלָל גְּדוֹל בְּתוֹרָה. בֶּן עֲזַאי אֹמֵר  
"זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת אָדָם" - זֶה כְּלָל גְּדוֹל מִזֶּה.

11. "You shall not bear a grudge" Until what point bearing a grudge is in force? If someone says to another: "Lend me your axe" and he does not lend it, but the next day the other one says to him, "Lend me your sickle" and he says to him, "Behold! Here it is. I am not like you who did not lend me your axe"; that is what it refers to *do not bear a grudge* (Lev 19,18a)! 12 *Do not take vengeance or bear a grudge to your people* – to idolatrous people (to others) you can *take vengeance or bear a grudge*. *Love your neighbor as yourself* (Lev 19:18b). Rabbi Akiva says, "This is a great principle of the Torah." But Ben Azzai says, "*This is the order of record of generations of Adam* – this is a greater principle than that one."

This source explains, to what point is the operation of bearing a grudge valid? In this respect says the Sifra Kedoshim the example of the borrowing: if someone does not lend his ax, but the next day he needs a sickle and he asks just the person to whom he has not given the ax, but he still receives from him the sickle because the other says: I'm not like you who didn't lend me your ax. The Sifra Kedoshim refers to this with the sentence *Do not take vengeance or bear a grudge to your people* (Lev 19:18a). This is,

<sup>10</sup> Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum*, 723.

<sup>11</sup> ספרא טוראס כהנים Syfra Toras Kohanim Warszawa W Drukarni S. Orgelbranda 1866, קרושים ז ספרא פרשתא ב יא יב <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwqsch;view=1up;seq=86;size=150>; [https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C\\_Kedoshim%2C\\_Chapter\\_4.10?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en](https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C_Kedoshim%2C_Chapter_4.10?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en); "Until what point is bearing a grudge? He said to him, "Lend me your axe" and he did not lend it. The next day he said to him, "Lend me your sickle" and he said to him, "Behold! I am not like you who did not lend me your axe"; thus it says *do not bear a grudge* (Lev 19:18a). *Do not take vengeance or bear a grudge to your people*, but you can to others. *Love your neighbor as yourself* (Lev 19:18b). Rabbi Akiva says, "This is a great principle of the Torah." Ben Azzai says, "*This is the book of generations of man* – this is a greater principle than that one." – M. Goldstone, "Rebuke, Lending, and Love: An Early Exegetical Tradition on Leviticus 19:17–18" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136.2 Summer (2017): 307–321, 310.

in turn, can be understood in the Sifra Kodashim, that what one cannot do to his own people, that can be done to others. Yet the essence of the story is the statement of Rabbi Akiva and Ben Azzai.

The sentence “Love your neighbor as yourself” (Lev 19 18b) is understood by Rabbi Akiva as the great, all embracing principle of the Torah. Ben Azzai adds, “this is the art of keeping in mind the family of Adam – it is an even greater principle than that.” That is, despite borrowing, one can still have anger in his heart, regardless of his lack of revenge. That is why Rabbi Akiva’s and Ben Azzai’s explanation is important: love extends to everyone, love in the heart in this sense is more important than just not being angry and not taking vengeance. That is great to give instead of taking vengeance but what is more, the love in the heart. Thus, this is the connection in the explanation of the Leviticus, according to the Sifra Kedoshim between the law of the human generations in Gen 5,1 and the all-embracing love in Lev 19,17–18, that overwrites the minimum of prohibition of anger and revenge, with focus on the passion in the heart.

There are things that are allowed, but the anger in the heart is not. As a disciplining, we can even curse, beat, slap, but not as an expression of hatred in the heart:<sup>12</sup>

[ח] ולא תשנא את אחיך - יכול לא תקללנו, לא תכנו, ולא תסטרנו? תלמוד לומר "בלבבך"

8. “Do not hate your brother” [Lev 19:17a]. We could think that you should not curse, should not hit, or should not slap ... The Torah therefore says: *in your heart.* ... That is, love of neighbor in the heart without hatred overwrites everything.

The Septuagint renders the text אָהַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמוֹךָ (Lev 19:18) this way: ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.<sup>13</sup> This Hebrew text is quoted in the Sifra Kedoshim also<sup>14</sup> proving that after the Old Testament, the literature of the New Testament clos-

<sup>12</sup> ח ספרא פרשתא ב ח קרושים ז ספרא פרשתא ב ח; [https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C\\_Kedoshim%2C\\_Chapter\\_4?lang=bi](https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C_Kedoshim%2C_Chapter_4?lang=bi); “Do not hate your brother in your heart [Lev 19:17a]. One might think you should not curse him, hit him, or slap him ... The Torah therefore says: *in your heart.*” ... “If hatred in the heart is what is specifically prohibited, the verse must be worded thus in order to permit other expressions of hatred, namely, cursing, hitting, or slapping.... These types of actions are permitted as a valid form of response so long as one is not expressing hatred but rather attempting to chastise.” – Goldstone, 309.

<sup>13</sup> K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, quae antea cooperantibus Alt, A.... ed. R. Kittel, adjuvantibus H. Bardtke ... ed., Textum masoreticum curavit H. P. Rüger, Masoram elaboravit G. E. Weil, Editio quinta emendata opera A. Schenker (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft), 1997, 190; Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* I, 192.

<sup>14</sup> ח ספרא פרשתא ב ח קרושים ז ספרא פרשתא ב ח; [https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C\\_Kedoshim%2C\\_Chapter\\_4?lang=bi](https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C_Kedoshim%2C_Chapter_4?lang=bi).

ing in the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>, even in the core<sup>16</sup> of the rabbinic literature from the third century, could find the toolbox of the formulating of love written for itself:

- ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν – Lev 19,18  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mt 19,19  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mt 22,39  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mk 12,31  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Romans 13,9  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Gal 5,14  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, – James 2,8.<sup>17</sup>

If the Sifra was closed later, which also has a literature,<sup>18</sup> then the individual texts shaped the terminology of love interacting in accordance with the specific content, in order to formulate their own message.

The Palestinian-Jewish document collection of the Gospel sayings (Q) contains the tradition of Jesus' followers of Galilee, which probably came to its final form during the Jewish War. There are some scholars who think that the document could be dated to the 40s, or to the 80s, close to the Mt redaction.<sup>19</sup> The text of Q 6:27 regarding the formulating of the love of the enemy – Love your enemies – corresponds with Mt and Lk:

- ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Q 6:27  
 ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Mt 5,44

<sup>15</sup> “The first list to have all twenty-seven books of our NT “canonized” (Gk. kano- nizomena) was the Easter letter of Athanasius (367), bishop of Alexandria.” – C. B. Puskas, C. M. Robbins, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2011), 267.

<sup>16</sup> “There is dispute about the extent to which the Talmuds quote Sifra or merely sources in common with it. However, this seems an insufficient reason for dating Sifra (with Herr) around 400 or later. A date in the second half of the third century seems justified for the basic core of Sifra, although this text in particular had an extensive afterlife of which a satisfactory account has yet to be given.” – H. L. Strack, G. Stemmerger, M. Bockmuehl, transl. eds. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 263.

<sup>17</sup> ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν – *Novum Testamentum Graece Version*, 2, 8; Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum*, 61, 74, 156, 508, 587, 688.

<sup>18</sup> “Although Sifra, among other writings, is nearly universally held to have been redacted before the Talmud of Babylonia, the final document of the formative age of the Judaism under study, in ca. A.D. 600, that premise has no bearing upon our work... There is no *terminus ante quem*... Accordingly, we have no *terminus a quo*.” – J. Neusner, *Uniting the Dual Torah: Sifra and the Problem of the Mishnah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3.

<sup>19</sup> J. M. Robinson, P. Hoffmann, J. S. Kloppenborg, eds. *The critical edition of Q: synopsis including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and Thomas with English, German, and French translations of Q and Thomas* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2000), lv–lix; P. Hoffmann, C. Heil (Hrsg.) *Die Spruchquelle Q: Studienausgabe Griechisch und Deutsch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 21; S. J. Joseph, *Jesus, Q, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, a Judaic approach to Q, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe*, 333 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 33–34.

ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Lk 6,27  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Lk 6,35.

The four quotes are the same and differ in the expressing of love from the certain text of Didache. This source is provided by the critical edition of Q: ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλειτῆ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν.<sup>20</sup> This version of the text takes its own course in the formulation, on the one hand with the expression φιλειτῆ, instead of ἀγαπάτε on the other hand with making the link between hate (μισοῦντας) and the enemy (ἐχθρόν): Love those who hate you and you will have no enemy.<sup>21</sup> Jefford quotes with reference to another text from the Didache instead of ἀγαπάτε the expression φιλειτῆ and this Didache text can be found fragmentarily too in the material of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus.<sup>22</sup>

This text does not convey the expression ἀγαπάτε with its special content, although there is a Didache edition that contains the same: ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν – love those who hate you and you will have no enemy.<sup>23</sup> This edition of the text is closer through the Q to the text of the New Testament, regarding the formulating of love:

ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Q 6:27  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Mt 5,44  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Lk 6,27  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Lk 6,35.

However, the expression μισέω is conveyed only by Lk: ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, – Love your enemies, do which is good to those who hate you – 6,27. This wording rather strengthens the relationship between Lk and the Didache because of the expression μισέω, which is uniquely common in the two texts. So, the quotation of the translation of Lev 19,18 according to the Septuagint is special because like this it can only be found among the synoptic gospels in Mt and Mk and nowhere else. Neither in Lk nor in the Q or in the Didache:

ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν – Lev 19,18  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mt 19,19  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mt 22,39  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Mk 12,31

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, Hoffmann, Kloppenborg, 57.

<sup>21</sup> “you love (φιλειτῆ) the ones who hate you and you will have no enemy.” – C. N. Jefford, *Didache = The teaching of the twelve apostles* (Salem, Oregon: Polebridge Press, 2013), 20.

<sup>22</sup> B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, eds. *The Oxyrhynchus papyri* / Part 15, Nos 1778–1828. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1922), 14.

<sup>23</sup> Lake, 308–309.



- ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Romans 13,9  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – Gal 5,14  
 ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, – Jak 2,8.<sup>24</sup>

So, the matter of curiosity of Lev 19,18 is that in the Greek translation it agrees only with Mt 5,43, and it does not with Lk, nor with the Q, or with the Didache. Mt 5,43 is also special in the sense that though it does not quote the Greek translation of Lev 19,18 as the six texts of the New Testament mentioned above – ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. – because it quotes only ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου, but uniquely conveys besides Lev 19,18 the word μισέω, and the phrase ἐχθρός, which is the continuation of the text. Only Mt is aware of this correspondence, Lk, the Q and the Didache is not.

- ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου – Love your neighbor  
 καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. and hate your enemy. – Mt 5,43  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – love your enemies, – Mt 5,44.

This way, in the threefold completeness of the coherence – love of neighbor + hatred of enemy + love of enemy – only in the text of Mt is it associated, nowhere else, and it is in this manner most closely connected with Lv 19,18, but only in the formulation of love of neighbor. The close relationship between Lev 19,18 and Mt is justified by the fact that Mt, in a sense, focuses on the Jews in his writing,<sup>25</sup> even though the Old Testament passage does not contain the hatred of the enemy literally, only Mt. Thus, Mt goes his own way in the formulation in spite of the fact, that the text ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Love your enemies! – Mt 5,44 – is identical with the Q and Lk:

- ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Mt 5,44  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Q 6:27  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, – Lk 6,27  
 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν – Lk 6,35.

This text does not occur anywhere else in the Bible, i. e. the wording is only closely related to Q, and to nothing else, because though the word ἀγαπάτε can be found in certain text of the Didache but in another context, with respect to the hatred and the enemy:

<sup>24</sup> ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν – *Novum Testamentum Graece Version 2*, 8; Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum*, 61, 74, 156, 508, 587, 688.

<sup>25</sup> “The earliest testimony that explicitly mentions Matthew is a citation found in Eusebius from Papias, the bishop of Hieropolis (ca. 110–25 CE) that, if it refers to our Gospel, highlights its Jewish orientation.” – D. E. Garland, *Reading Matthew: A Literary and Theological Commentary* (Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2001), 1.

ἀγαπάτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν – love those who hate you and you will have no enemy.<sup>26</sup> So the Didache establishes a unique relationship between love-hate-enemy : love those who hate you and you will have no enemy. This is what only the Didache says. The others say the followings: love your enemies – ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν! Thus, the Didache also takes its own course in the formulation, not to mention the use of the word φιλειτῆ instead of ἀγαπάτε.<sup>27</sup>

The hatred connects only Mt, Lk and the Didache:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου<br>καὶ <b>μισήσεις</b> τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.       | – Love your neighbor<br>and <b>hate</b> your enemy. – Mt 5,43                         |
| ὁμοίως δὲ ἀγαπάτε τοὺς <b>μισοῦντας</b> ὑμᾶς,<br>καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν  | – but you love those who <b>hate</b> you<br>and you will have no enemy.<br>– Did 1,3d |
| ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν,<br>καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς <b>μισοῦσιν</b> ὑμᾶς, | – Love your enemies;<br>do good to those who <b>hate</b> you.<br>– Lk 6,27.           |

The term hate is conveyed only by these texts, these are more closely related in this respect, changing only the correspondence in comparison with Lev 19,18, continuing it. While it is only about loving one's neighbor, Mt continues it with the hatred of the enemy. Mt gets to the love of enemy, from the background of the hatred of enemy, and Lk, concretizing the love of enemy says, that people must do good to those who hate them. The Didache builds a bridge in the quickest way to those who hate because it says that directly they should be loved. Now, from this context, we omit the version of Didache that uses φιλειτῆ instead of ἀγαπάτε:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ἀγαπήσεις τὸν <b>πλησίον</b> σου<br>καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου.       | – Love your <b>neighbor</b><br>and hate your enemy! – Mt 5,43                                |
| ὁμοίως δὲ <u>ἀγαπάτε τοὺς μισοῦντας</u> ὑμᾶς,<br>καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν  | – but you <i>love</i> those who <b>hate</b> you<br>and you will have no enemy!<br>– Did 1,3d |
| ἀγαπάτε τοὺς <b>ἐχθροὺς</b> ὑμῶν,<br>καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, | – Love your <b>enemies</b> ;<br>do good to those who hate you!<br>– Lk 6,27.                 |

<sup>26</sup> Schöllgen, Geerlings, 100–101.

<sup>27</sup> Grenfell, Hunt, 14; Jefford, 20.

That is, the texts come into contact with each other in certain topics, but each text builds its own concept formulating a message and Mt shows the closest connection with Lev 19,18. Although we can search for the literal expression of hatred of the enemy in the Old Testament, we do not find it. The word μισήσεις occurs only twice in the canonical Old Testament and New Testament: Lev 19,17; Mt 5,43. Obviously, Mt does not quote the Old Testament passage, because it is about prohibiting the hatred of the other: οὐ μισήσεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου.

And when the 28<sup>th</sup> edition of Nestle-Aland tries to find the quotations and references to this passage from the Old Testament then rather, instead of hating the enemy, the goodwill towards them will be the stressed message. Probably that is why it is important for the first context to mention the Lord's person, according to Nestle-Aland (Lv 19,18). That is, He is the measure for human deeds. The quintessence of the second context (Dt 7, 1–5) is really connected with the Promised Land where the inhabitants are to be exterminated, but the purpose of it is to protect the chosen people, for if they are turned away from the Lord and serve other gods, the Lord destroys them. According to the third context (Ps 139,21s), the Psalmist hates the haters of the Lord, who have become his enemies.

The following context (Ex 23,4s) protects the enemy's cattle or donkey going astray. These animals must be brought back to their master and the enemy's donkey must be helped if it is lying under its burden. The other connections do not allow to hate the enemy either. The one (Prv 24,17) protects also the enemy, if he falls, the gloating is excluded over his downfall. Moreover, if he is hungry or thirsty, food and drink must be given to him (Prv 25,21). The Old Testament context (Job 31,29s) of the last New Testament passage is the proof of Job's innocence: he did not rejoice at his enemy's misery, trouble, but did not sin with his mouth neither, asking for a curse on somebody.

Each passage would require an extra exegesis, especially the text of the Septuagint, but it is unambiguous that the Old Testament does not declare for the retaliation and never allows the revenge on the enemy automatically, or above all does not encourage to do it. So, where the New Testament expresses the love of the enemy, it could establish and concretize it, on the basis of the Old Testament. This is particularly interesting with regard to the issue of hating the enemy, within which first the Lord is named as starting point, and Lv 19,18 is the first Old Testament context of Mt 5,43–48.

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Jutta HAUSMANN

## ZWISCHEN PFLICHT UND EINSICHT – ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU PSALM I

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### I ZUR THEMENWAHL

Das Konferenzthema der Szegeder Biblischen Konferenz von 2019 macht aus alttestamentlicher Perspektive insofern Probleme, als zumindest eine der beiden Kategorien „Pflicht“ und „Tugend“ keinen wirklichen Widerhall in den Texten der Hebräischen Bibel findet. Während die Kategorie „Pflicht“ noch fassbar ist in der Vorstellung von „auf den Wegen JHWHs gehen“, dh, den Willen Gottes tun, ist es mit der zweiten Kategorie schon deutlich schwieriger. Noch dazu, da die Rede von der Tugend gegenwärtig vielfach eher negativ besetzt ist. Auch besteht Tugendhaftigkeit heute für viele nicht sehr schmeichelhaft „in einem äußerlich konkreten Lebenswandel“<sup>1</sup>. Ebenso ist ein positiver Zugang dadurch erschwert, dass schon im 19. Jahrhundert „Tugenderziehung als Sozialdisziplinierung, als persönlichkeitsunterdrückende Verhaltensdressur“ gebrandmarkt wurde.<sup>2</sup>

In neuerer Zeit können wir allerdings eine positiv konnotierte Rückbesinnung auf das Thema Tugend feststellen, wobei u.a. von Eigenschaften gesprochen wird, „die dazu verhelfen können, angemessen und richtig zu handeln“<sup>3</sup> – ein Gedanke, der ursprünglich die Basis für die Rede von Tugend gewesen sei. Tugend wird dabei als positiver Wert gesehen.<sup>4</sup>

Möglicherweise kann dem auch das griechische ἀρετή zugeordnet werden, das inhaltlich eng mit ἀγαθος verbunden ist. Da ein dem ἀρετή analoges Substantiv für ἀγαθος fehlt, tritt ἀρετή praktisch an dessen Stelle, so dass ein Mensch, der ἀρετή hat, als ein guter gilt. Damit entspricht dem griechischen ἀρετή im Deutschen eigentlich ‚Gutsein‘, wohingegen der Begriff Tugend eher in die Irre führt. Zumal ἀρετή nicht als moralisches Gutsein gebraucht wird.<sup>5</sup> Für die antike Ethik ist die Frage wichtig, wie

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<sup>1</sup> Hoyer, *Tugend*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Hoyer, *Tugend*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> So Moser, *Tugend*, 158.

<sup>4</sup> Hoyer, *Tugend*, 13: Man sieht in Tugenden „habituelle Charakterdispositionen, die gerade in wertpluralistischen Gesellschaften unverzichtbar sind“.

<sup>5</sup> So Stemmer, *Tugend*, 1532.

man sein Leben leben soll, um ein glückliches Leben zu haben.<sup>6</sup> Dazu passt die von manchen vertretene Vorstellung, „dass man nur von Tugend sprechen könne, wenn der Tugendhafte Freude empfinde“ bzw. wenn die „Ausübung“ der Tugend „mit einer positiven affektiven Einstellung ... verbunden ist“<sup>7</sup>. Es geht mit anderen Worten um gelingendes Leben.

Damit ist eine Nähe zur alttestamentlichen Weisheitsliteratur gegeben. Ein Niederschlag davon findet sich in Psalm 1 mit seiner Reflexion über rechte und falsche Lebensorientierung. Das wird schon mit dem Makarismus in den ersten Worten des Psalms deutlich: **הַאִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר**/wohl dem, der ... womit in der Folge ein Bild derer gezeichnet wird, die auf dem rechten Weg sind im Gegenüber zu denen, die diesen verfehlen. Der weisheitlich gefärbte Charakter des Psalms wird bereits durch das **אִשְׁרֵי** erkennbar, das im Gegenüber zum verwandten **בְּרִיךְ** seinen Ort in den weisheitlichen Schriften hat.<sup>8</sup>

So habe ich mich entschieden, mangels eines alttestamentlichen Begriffs für Tugend einen Begriff aufzugreifen, der manches aus dem Gedankenfeld aufnimmt und im Alten Testament eine wichtige Rolle spielt, nämlich den der Einsicht (hebräisch: **בִּינָה**). Dieser steht in engem Zusammenhang mit der Weisheit(sliteratur), begegnet allerdings nicht in Psalm 1. Es wird nun zwar keine Abhandlung über **בִּינָה** erfolgen, wohl aber soll Psalm 1 daraufhin befragt werden, inwieweit „Einsicht“ bei ihm im Hintergrund zu finden ist und diese in engem Zusammenhang mit der Pflicht, der Erwartung des Befolgens der Tora steht.<sup>9</sup>

## II TEXTBEOBACHTUNGEN

Beginnen wir mit einigen *allgemeinen Bemerkungen* zu Psalm 1. Es ist weitgehend common sense in der gegenwärtigen Forschung, dass dieser Psalm zusammen mit Psalm 2 eine Einheit darstellt und beide damit auch als Einleitung zum Psalter angesehen werden können, da wesentliche Themen wie Stichworte des Psalters bereits in diesen Psalmen begegnen.<sup>10</sup> In der Hebräischen Bibel wird Psalm 1 – mit Blick auf ihren kanonischen Aufbau – zugleich zur Einleitung für die Ketuvim, die Schriften.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Mit Stemmer, *Tugend*, 1533: Die antike Ethik war eine eudämonistische.

<sup>7</sup> Moser, *Tugend*, 167.

<sup>8</sup> Bezüge zur Weisheit sind auch durch die Bilder vom Baum (v. 3) wie von der Spreu (v. 4) gegeben, die beide mit der Vergleichspartikel *כִּי* eingeleitet werden. Weber, *Baum*, 410, macht darauf aufmerksam, dass das Bild von der Spreu kürzer ist und deshalb weniger Gewicht hat.

<sup>9</sup> Tugend und Einsicht sind nach Hoyer, *Tugend*, 88, nahe beieinander: „Vernunft und Einsicht sind die Quellen des Guten. Aus ihnen heißt es bei Epikur (Ep. Men. 132), entspringen alle Tugenden. Diese Aussicht wird in den modernen Ethikkonstrukten ... mal mehr, mal weniger rigoros vertreten.“

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. dazu ausführlich Janowski, *Psalmen*, 1–6. Auch Zenger, *Psalter*.

<sup>11</sup> Auffallend ist, dass Ps 1 in Qumran nirgends belegt ist.

A)

Ein unbekannter Sprecher<sup>12</sup> reflektiert in Psalm 1 *rechtes Verhalten* als Voraussetzung für gelingendes Leben. Der Einsatz mit **אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁׁר** gibt das den Psalm durchziehende Thema vor,<sup>13</sup> das seine Zielsetzung einerseits in v.3 und dann in v. 6 findet. Ballhorn spricht mit Blick auf die kanonische Funktion von Psalm 1 gar davon, dass das **אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁׁר** den ganzen Psalter in ein Weisheitsbuch transformiert.<sup>14</sup> „Der in der **אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁׁר**-Formel gefasste Glückwunsch beruht dabei nicht auf dieser oder jener erfolgreichen *Einzeltat* ..., sondern auf einer Qualität, die ein Mensch für sein *Leben als Ganzes* gewinnt und die all sein Tun umgreift und bestimmt (vgl. 3b!).“<sup>15</sup>

Die Rede von **יִשְׁׁר** – eigentlich der Mann – ist als eine allgemeine zu verstehen, die nicht eine konkrete Person im Blick hat, sondern als *pars pro toto* für Menschen insgesamt genommen werden kann und so auch nicht genderspezifisch festgelegt ist.

Auffallend ist der didaktische Stil des Psalms,<sup>16</sup> der wie auch fast durchgängig in den Proverbien ohne Imperative auskommt. Vielmehr lädt er durch das beschreibende Vorstellen des falschen wie des rechten Weges unter Rückgriff auf die Vorstellung des Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhangs (T-E-Z) zur Entscheidung für rechtes Verhalten ein.<sup>17</sup> Zu beachten ist dabei die Reihenfolge vom Negativen zum Positiven in v. 1–3, die aufgrund des Achtergewichtes dem Positiven größeres Gewicht verleiht.

Das größere Gewicht des Positiven zeigt sich auch bei der deutlich kürzeren Schilderung des Geschickes der Gottlosen (**רְשָׁעִים**) in v. 4–5. Die Gottlosen, die auch in den diversen Übersetzungen als Frevler begegnen, sind jedoch nicht als Atheisten o.ä. zu denken, sondern haben diejenigen im Blick, die sich nicht am Gott gemäßen Verhalten orientieren.

Durch die Gegenüberstellung der Gottlosen (**רְשָׁעִים**), die durch die Nennung auch der Sünder (**חַטָּאִים**) und Spötter (**לְצִיִּים**) in v. 1 ergänzt wird, mit dem, der Freude an der Tora hat, wird der Psalm zu einer Werbung für den letzteren.<sup>18</sup> Das gilt auch an-

<sup>12</sup> Ballhorn, *Genre*, 163.

<sup>13</sup> Das erste Wort des Psalms **אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁׁר**/wohl (dem) oder glücklich ist sicher nicht zufällig gewählt, sondern als Motto des ganzen Psalms zu verstehen, möglicherweise sogar des ganzen Psalmenbuches. Auffallend ist, dass das erste Wort in Psalm 1 mit Aleph, dem ersten Buchstaben des hebräischen Alphabets, beginnt, das letzte Wort hingegen mit Taw, dem letzten Buchstaben des Alphabets. Vgl. dazu Zenger, *Psalmen*, 45. Ein verwandter Makarismus ist auch in Ps 2, 12 zu finden. So werden durch den Anfang von Ps 1 und das Ende von Ps 2 beide redaktionell zusammengebunden.

<sup>14</sup> Ballhorn, ebd., 163: „Beatitudes are an autonomous speech act. ... It makes the first psalm not a genuine psalm but a tenet of wisdom. ... It construes an ideal world for the reader.“ Das **אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁׁר** „transforms the entire Psalter into a book of wisdom“.

<sup>15</sup> Janowski, *Psalmen*, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Anderson, *Psalms 1*, 57.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Hausmann, *Menschenbild*, 349–351. Zum T-E-Z vgl. ebd., 231–247.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Janowski, *Psalmen*, 11: Der Gerechte ist „über seine Ablehnung des Lebensweges der Frevler, Sünder und Spötter (1), sowie kontrastiv dazu über seine Tora-Frömmigkeit (2) definiert“.



gesichts der umgekehrten Reihenfolge vom Positiven zum Negativen in v. 6, die im abschließenden v. 6b eine abschreckende Warnung ausspricht und damit die Anziehungskraft des positiven Weges verstärkt.

## B)

Einen wichtigen, wenn nicht den wichtigsten thematischen Schwerpunkt finden wir in v. 2 mit der Rede von der *Tora*. Der Begriff *Tora* ist zumeist verbunden mit dem Gedanken an den Willen Gottes; so spricht auch die Übersetzung Luthers vom Gesetz des Herrn, ähnlich finden wir es auch in Übersetzungen in anderen Sprachen.

Damit kommt ein wesentliches Element der Pflicht in den Text hinein: Es geht um das, was von außen eingefordert wird; etwas, an das man sich halten soll. Dieser Aspekt wird in v. 1 vorbereitet durch die Rede von den רשעים wie den חטאים, den Gottlosen wie den Sündern, von Menschen, die sich nicht an die Regeln halten.

Und doch liegt darauf – von den hebräischen Formulierungen her wie dem Duktus insgesamt – keineswegs das eigentliche Interesse des Psalms. Vielmehr wird die *Tora*, das Lernen der *Tora* mit Lust, mit Freude verbunden. Die *Tora* ist damit viel weniger einzuhaltende Vorschrift, sondern viel mehr Weisung, die gelingendes Leben ermöglicht – in der menschlichen Gemeinschaft ebenso wie in der mit Gott. In Psalm 1 geschieht die Aneignung durch das Tun des Menschen, das durch das Verbum הנהגה zum Ausdruck gebracht wird. Die Lust am Rezitieren der *Tora*, an ihrem Lernen wird mit der Formulierung Tag und Nacht ohne zeitliche Einschränkung ausgesagt. Sie ist auf das Verstehen der *Tora* ausgerichtet, das weit mehr als ein intellektuelles ist, vielmehr das Integrieren der *Tora* in die eigene Existenz bedeutet. So meint das Verb הנהגה deutlich mehr als pures meditieren. Das ihm inhärente Rezitieren impliziert zugleich das Verinnerlichen<sup>19</sup>, das sich zu Eigen machen.<sup>20</sup>

Bleibt nun die Frage, was wir unter *Tora* JHWHs, dem Gesetz des Herrn in v.2 verstehen können: Ist es das Gesetz des Mose? Der Pentateuch? Sind möglicherweise Bezüge zu den Propheten im Blick,<sup>21</sup> damit auch die Nebi'im als Teil der Hebräischen Bibel?<sup>22</sup> Denkbar ist auch der Psalter insgesamt angesichts der Stellung von Psalm 1

<sup>19</sup> Diese Aussage erinnert an die Rede vom neuen Bund in Jer 31,31–34 mit der Zusage Gottes: ich will mein Gesetz in ihr Herz geben und in ihren Sinn schreiben, wobei das Verinnerlichen in Jer 31 ganz auf das Handeln Gottes zurückgeführt wird.

<sup>20</sup> Analog werden in Sir 14,20 und in 4 Q 525 »das Rezitieren der Weisheit«, die aus der *Tora* entspringt, als Wegweisung für das Leben gepriesen«, Zenger, *Psalmen*, 47. Vgl. auch Sommer, *Psalm 1*, 206: „Nevertheless, nearly all attestations of the verb הנהגה in the Hebrew Bible refer to a physical act that involves one's mouth and one's vocal cords; the verb does not refer to pure ratiocination.“

<sup>21</sup> So mit Ebach, *Freude*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Verbindung zu prophetischen Schriften zeigt sich über die Aufnahme von Worten aus Jos 1 und Mal 3 (also Anfang und Ende der hebräischen prophetischen Schriften), vgl. auch die Nähe zu Jer 17,5–8, bes. v.7.

als Eröffnung des Psalmenbuchs.<sup>23</sup> Eine eindeutige Entscheidung ist kaum möglich. Ähnlich schwierig ist es mit der zweiten Formulierung: תורהו /seine Tora“. Diese kann gelesen werden als Tora JHWHs, aber auch als Tora des Lesenden. Im Blick auf die letztere Lesart verweist Ebach darauf, dass nach einigen jüdischen Auslegern darin das sich zu Eigen machen zum Ausdruck kommt,<sup>24</sup> was rückgekoppelt werden kann zu den Überlegungen zum Verb הנה.

Lesen wir Psalm 1 und 2 als Einheit und nehmen wir die Konzeption von Psalm 2 als Königpsalm ernst, so kann im איש – Mann – von Ps 1, 1 der König und damit eine davidische Lesart impliziert sein. So bezieht der jüdische Gelehrte Raschi – worauf Zenger aufmerksam macht<sup>25</sup> – die Zuordnung *seiner* Tora auf David. Zenger kann dementsprechend bei der Rede von der Tora auch an das Königsgesetz in Dtn 17 denken, wonach es Aufgabe des Königs ist, sich in die Tora zu vertiefen.

Maier macht auf einen weiteren Aspekt in der vormittelalterlichen jüdischen Tradition aufmerksam. Danach gehe es nicht um das Verhalten eines Individuums, sondern der Psalm sei gemeinschaftsorientiert: Die Rede von Tag und Nacht ist zwar für einen Einzelnen überfordernd, wohl aber von der Gemeinschaft der Gelehrten zu leisten.<sup>26</sup> Er schließt daraus für das damalige Interesse an der Interpretation: „Es war also eher das gesetzesgelehrte Standesinteresse als eine individuelle Torahfrömmigkeit.“<sup>27</sup>

### c)

Schauen wir nun auf das *Ergehen* derer, die Freude an der Tora haben, sie sich zu eigen machen. Es wird in v. 3 mit einem positiven Bild beschrieben, dass eine Reihe von Facetten enthält:

„wie ein Baum, gepflanzt an Wasserbächen, der seine Frucht bringt zu seiner Zeit und seine Blätter verwelken nicht“

Die Rede vom Baum<sup>28</sup> lässt an einerseits an Stabilität denken. Zugleich kommt mit dem Hinweis auf das Erbringen von Frucht bzw. das Nicht-Verwelken der Blätter<sup>29</sup> der Gedanke des dem Baum innewohnenden Lebens in Blick. So wird der Baum zum Symbol für Lebenskraft überhaupt.

<sup>23</sup> Dazu ausführlich Weber, *Psalm 1*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Ebach, *Freude*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Zenger, *Psalmen*, 47.

<sup>26</sup> Maier, *Psalm 1*, 363.

<sup>27</sup> Maier, *Psalm 1*, 365.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. dazu ausführlich Creach, *tree*.

<sup>29</sup> Zum Nicht-Welken vgl. noch Jes 1,30; 34,4; 64,5; Jer 8,13 – jeweils mit der Konnotation des Gerichts. In positiver Konnotation hingegen begegnen Ez 47,12 und Jer 17,8, hier allerdings mit vorausgehendem Fluch: „Ist die Anfangszeile 3a aus Jer 17,8 entlehnt, so die Schlusszeile – ebenfalls nahezu identisch – Ez 47,12 entnommen.“, so Weber, *Baum*, 415.

Der Baum ist gepflanzt, hebräisch שָׁתוּל. Er ist also bewusst an seinen Standort gesetzt und nicht von selbst dorthin gekommen.<sup>30</sup> Mit שָׁתוּל haben wir ein passives Partizip vor uns, das auf zweierlei Weise gedeutet werden kann. So wird es wie das schon erwähnte „gepflanzt“ interpretiert. Andererseits ist aber auch ein Verstehen als „verpflanzt“ denkbar, wonach der Baum mit unterschiedlichen Lokalitäten in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Dann könnte mit Ebach darin ein Zeichen für die Vielfältigkeit auch der Torarezeption gesehen werden.<sup>31</sup> Gleiches könnte auch für den Plural מַיִם פְּלוּגִי/Wasserbäche gelten.<sup>32</sup>

Auffallend ist das Nebeneinander des Singulars Baum und des Plurals Wasserbäche. Weber zieht daraus die Schlussfolgerung: „Die Tora in ihrer Ergiebigkeit und Fülle entspricht den Wasserrinnen bzw. -bächen, die den Baum bzw. den Gerechten speisen. In dieser ersten Bildsequenz ist denn auch nicht die Verwurzelung, die Stabilität, der hohe Wuchs oder die Schönheit des Baumes betont, sondern dessen reiche Nahrungszufuhr, die Speisung mit Wasser.“<sup>33</sup> Dabei sollte aber doch das Element der Verwurzelung und Stabilität nicht so sehr abgewertet werden, zumal diese auch Garant für die reiche Nahrungszufuhr sind. Entsprechend bringt der Baum Frucht „zu seiner Zeit“. Wir haben darin einen Ausdruck der Unverfügbarkeit der Frucht bei gleichzeitiger Gewissheit, dass es Frucht geben wird. Der Leben bringende Aspekt der Tora wird so unterstrichen, wobei offenbleibt, ob (nur) das Leben für diejenigen im Blick ist, die sich der Tora verpflichtet wissen, oder (auch) derjenigen, die als jeweilige Zeitgenossen Anteil am Leben bekommen.

Das Ergehen des Gottlosen wird demgegenüber in v. 4 mit Aussagen formuliert, die an Gericht erinnern: „Wie analoge Aussagen zeigen, erscheint die Metaphorik der vom Wind verwehten Spreu vornehmlich in Gerichtszusammenhängen (vgl. Jes 17,13;29,5; Hos 13,3; Ps 35,5; Hi 21,18).“<sup>34</sup> In v. 5 wird dann auch ausdrücklich mit מְשַׁבֵּט von der Rechtsprechung gesprochen. Für die Gottlosen gibt es weder Verwurzelung noch ein sonst wie gearteter dauerhaften Platz in der Gemeinde der Gott Zugehörigen.

### III SCHLUSSFOLGERUNG

In Psalm 1 finden wir einen klaren Kontrast zwischen den Frevlern und den Lernenden der Tora und darin eine Einladung auf den Weg der Tora.<sup>35</sup> Der Begriff Einla-

<sup>30</sup> Weber, *Baum*, 411.

<sup>31</sup> Dazu Ebach, *Freude*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Als Begriff noch zu finden in Jes 32,2; Ps 119,136; Spr5,16; 21,1; Klgl 3,48 (ähnlich Jes 30,25; Ps 46,5; 65,10). Weber, *Baum*, 412, denkt an bewusst angelegte Wasserrinnen.

<sup>33</sup> Weber, *Baum*, 413.

<sup>34</sup> Weber, *Baum*, 422.

<sup>35</sup> Ebach, *Freude*, 5.

dung ist bewusst gewählt, hält er doch die Annahme oder Ablehnung als Angebot offen, womit deutlich eine andere Ausgangsbasis gegeben ist als bei der Pflicht, die es zu erfüllen gilt. Der erwünschte Ausgang der Einladung ist jedoch deutlich. Der didaktische Ansatz zeigt, dass die Tora nicht aufgezwungen werden soll, weshalb auch die Vermeidung von Imperativen auffällt. Es wird vielmehr durch die Beschreibung der zu erwartenden Schicksale, noch mehr aber durch das **אֲשֶׁרִי הָאִישׁ** gleich zu Beginn deutlich gemacht, welcher Umgang mit der Einladung der sinnvolle ist: die durch Einsicht sich zu Eigen gemachte Weisung JHWHs und das dementsprechende Verhalten. So kann abschließend mit Ebach festgehalten werden: „die ‚Seligpreisung‘ gilt dem Menschen, der sich und die Tora, die Wegweisung des Israelgottes zum Lebensgrund und zum Lebensmittel macht“<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Ebach, *Freude*, 2



Endre HORVÁTH

## DIE „AUFERSTEHUNG AUF DAS LEBEN“ NACH 2MAKK 7

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Über die richtige moralische Haltung redend behauptet Kant, dass die in moralischen Hinsicht vollkommene Haltung muss notwendig autonom, von jeglicher äusserlichen Einfluss frei sein. Der deutsche Philosoph formuliert diese Behauptung unter anderen als Kritik der biblischen Handlungsweise, die nach seinem Verständnis eine Heteronomie bedeutet und deshalb in moralischen Hinsicht unvollkommen ist. Nach der Bibel ist aber die Grundkategorie der moralischen Handlung nicht der Individuum, wie Kant und die Aufklärung sagt, sondern der zwischen Gott und Mensch bestehende Bund und damit die Gemeinschaft. Eine vollständig auf den Individuum konzentrierte moralische Haltung würde eben diese auf den Bund aufgebaute Gemeinschaft verstümmeln. Der gleiche Dilemma begehen wir, wenn wir die Kategorien von Tugend und Pflicht auf das religiösen Leben anwenden. Es wäre das Spotten der religiösen Haltung, würde man sie ausschliesslich als Pflicht deuten. Die Kategorie der Tugend macht zwar die persönliche Einbeziehung sichtbar, doch weckt den Eindruck, dass ein in sich stehende Individuum handelt. Das religiöse Handeln aber ist grundsätzlich eine Antwort auf das vorausgehende Handeln Gottes, wodurch der gläubige Mensch in dem durch Gott angebotenen Bund eintritt, deshalb kann man ihn nicht einfach als Tugend bezeichnen. Es geht aber dabei nicht um ein Knechtendienst, sondern um ein persönliches und verantwortungsvolles Handeln, so dass man nicht einmal den Ausdruck Pflicht verwenden kann. Die Kategorien von Tugend und Pflicht, obwohl organische Bestandteile der religiösen Haltung, sind trotzdem unangemessen den Kern des religiösen Handelns zu erfassen. Dafür ist vielmehr die Kategorie des Glaubens angemessen.

Um diese Frage richtig zu beleuchten, kann uns eine biblische Phänomen helfen, der die oben genannten Kategorien eindeutig übertrifft: das Martyrium. Bezüglich des Martyriums wäre es anachronistisch um eine „Pflicht“ zu reden, gleichzeitig handelt es aber um eine Äusserung der bis ins äusserste gehende Treue. Trotzdem können wir den Ausdruck „Tugend“ nicht verwenden, weil nach der biblischen Verständnis das Blutzeugnis seine Kraft aus der Hoffnung auf Auferstehung schöpft.

## I.

Für den alttestamentlichen gläubigen Mensch war immer schon eindeutig, dass Gott unbedingter Herr des Lebens und des Todes ist<sup>1</sup>. Diese Überzeugung erscheint schon im Danklied von Hanna: „Derr Herr macht tot und lebendig, er führt zum Totenreich hinab und führt auch herauf“ (1 Sam 2,6). Nach dem biblischen Bekenntnis gehört das Leben nicht einfach in Machtbereich Gottes, sondern ist jedes Leben sein Geschenk: Gott hält in seinen Händen die „Zeiten“ des Menschen (Ps 31,16), und wenn er seinen Geist ausschickt, wird alles lebendig (Ps 104,30). All das ist möglich, weil nach der Sichtweise der Bibel Gott selbst „der Lebendige“ ist, der sich nicht allein im Vergleich mit den toten Götzen als „der lebendiger und wahrer Gott“ (1 Tess 1,10) erweist, sondern die Vollständigkeit des Lebens in sich besitzt. Deshalb verbürgt für den alttestamentlichen Mensch die Gemeinschaft mit Gott diese Vollständigkeit des Lebens und hütet ihn vor der Gewalt des Todes und der Unterwelt. In der frühen biblischen Sichtweise konnte dieses Verständnis harmonisch mit der Überzeugung bestehen, dass all diejenige, die in der Scheol d.h. in der Unterwelt hinunterfahren, in keiner Gemeinschaft mehr mit JHWH stehen. Diesefür uns vielleicht befremdend wirkende Überzeugung steht vor allem mit der Gottese Erfahrung Israels in Verbindung. Für den alttestamentlichen Gläubigen war jegliche Totenkult verboten, weil man die Sphäre, in die die Toten hineintreten nicht als eine göttliche Sphäre betrachtete. Der hervorragende Ort der Anwesenheit JHWHs, wo ihn Israel als den „lebendigen und wahren Gott“ erfahren hat, war die Geschichte und die Kultgemeinschaft. Mit dem Tod aber hört die Möglichkeit der Anteilnahme in der Kult und damit die Möglichkeit des Lobes Gottes auf: „Werden Schatten aufstehen um dich zu preisen? Erzählt man im Grab von deiner Huld, von deiner Treue im Totenreich?“ (Ps 88,11–12). Es scheint aber, dass die Unausweichlichkeit des Todes für den alttestamentlichen Menschen keine Glaubensschwierigkeit darstellte: den Tod hat man nur dann als Tragödie erlebt, wenn jemand viel zu früh starb und nicht wie Abraham „satt mit seinen Tagen zu seinen Vätern zurückkehrte“ (Gen 25,8). Dieses Verständnis wird nur viel später, während der Krise der Makkabäerzeit und aus ganz anderen Gründen als Glaubensschwierigkeit erscheinen.

Auf jedem Fall ist es bedenkenswert, dass das alttestamentliche Gottesvolk seinen Glauben an Gott jahrtausendenlang ohne das Bekenntnis der Auferstehung bewahren konnte. Obwohl wir in den Psalmen häufig Aussagen begegnen, die behaupten, dass Gott den Gläubigen aus der Gewalt der Unterwelt entriss, doch aus der Kontext ist es eindeutig, dass diese Aussagen über die Errettung aus der Todesnähe und nicht über eine wirkliche Auferstehung sprechen. „Die dem Beter widerfahrene Lebensminde-

<sup>1</sup> Zu den Folgenden siehe: X. Léon-Dufour, (szerk.) *Biblikus Teológiai Szótár*, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2009), 362–370, H. D. Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testaments II.*, (Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1992), 155.

rung, die er als Abwendung JHWHs erfahren und die ihn daher in den Todesbereich versetzt hatte, war aufgehoben worden. Für Heilung und Rettung dankt der genesene Beter, der nun doch nicht in die Grube gefahren ist, sondern als Lebender JHWH loben kann<sup>2</sup>. Auch die Entrückung von Enoch und Elija kann man nicht als Auferstehung deuten, darin tritt vielmehr die einzigartige Würde dieser zwei Person in Erscheinung. Die Auferweckungswunder in den Elija- und Elischaerzählungen weisen auch nicht in diese Richtung, weil sie Rückkehr aus dem Tod bedeuten und Beweise der Ansprüche dieser Propheten sind. Ausdrückliche Hinweise auf die Auferstehung können wir in den prophetischen Schriften finden. Das eindrucksvollste dieser Bilder ist ohne Zweifel die Darstellung der ausgetrockneten Gebeine in Ezechiel (Ez 37,1–14), das für das zum Untergang geweihte Volk die Hoffnung eines zukünftigen Lebens verkündigt. Es ist aber eindeutig, dass dieses Bild einer „kollektiven Auferstehung“ noch nicht die Auferstehung im klassischen Sinn darstellt, und deshalb symbolischen Sinn trägt. Die schwer zu deutende Aussage von Jes 26,19 redet schon über die Auferstehung der Einzelnen, die genaue Rolle dieser biblischen Stelle in der Entfaltung der theologischen Lehre über die Auferstehung ist aber fast unmöglich zu bestimmen.

Doch die Tatsache, dass die biblische Lehre über die Auferstehung ziemlich spät erschienen ist, soll uns auf Nachdenken bewegen. Diese Tatsache weist nämlich darauf hin, dass die Lehre der Auferstehung späte Ausdruck einer Wahrheit ist, die von Anfang an grundlegend war für den Glauben des alttestamentlichen Menschen: der Glaube an Gottes Allmacht und an Gottes Gerechtigkeit.

## 2.

Die älteste Glaubensaussage über die individuelle Auferstehung findet sich in Dan 12,2f, welche die Ereignisse nach der Not der letzten Zeiten beschreibt – „es kommt eine Zeit der Not, wie noch keine da war, seit es Völker gibt“ (12,1) – und fügt zu: „Von denen, die im Land des Staubes schlafen, werden manche erwachen; die einen zum ewigen Leben, die anderen zur Schmach, zu ewigem Abscheu“. Wie es das *Nuovo Dizionario di Teologia Biblica* richtig bemerkt, diese Aussage will vor allem die Gerechtigkeit Gottes beweisen: „In questo testo si afferma chiaramente la risurrezione dei giusti, mentre per gli altri si preannuncia la corruzione o la morte“<sup>3</sup>. Die Glaubensverfolgung des Antiochus Epiphanes, die den Makkabäeraufstand ausgelöst hat, stellte den Glauben des auserwählten Volkes vor einer unheimlichen Herausforderung. Sie sollten nicht nur die Frage beantworten, warum lieferte Gott die Seinen in die Gewalt des

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<sup>2</sup> Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testaments II.*, 157.

<sup>3</sup> P. Rossano, G. Ravasi, A. Girlanda, eds. *Nuovo Dizionario di Teologia Biblica* (Milano: San Paolo, 1988), 1356.



Bösen aus, sondern auch eine Antwort finden, welche Hoffnung die für ihren Glauben ermordete Gerechte noch haben können. Der Kern der Schwierigkeit lag eben in der alten Überzeugung, dass die Verstorbenen, diejenigen die in der Unterwelt hinunterfahren, „aus Gottes Hand entzogen sind“ (Ps 88,6), und keine Gemeinschaft mehr mit dem lebendigen Gott haben. Es ist aber unmöglich, dass die für ihren Glauben getötete Gerechten die Gemeinschaft mit ihrem Gott verlieren! Auf diese Frage antwortet Dan 12,2f. indem über die Auferstehung der Verstorbenen – „die im Land des Staubes schlafen“ – redet. „Das Bild des Ezekiels über die Auferstehung soll man also realistisch verstehen: Gott bringt die Verstorbenen von der Scheol herauf, damit sie Anteil in seinem Reich erhalten“<sup>4</sup>. Das Buch Daniel ist also die älteste biblische Schrift, das die individuelle Auferstehung lehrt<sup>5</sup>.

Die in Dan 12,2f formulierte Lehre braucht aber gedeutet zu werden. Der Text bezeichnet nämlich als Auferstehung sowohl das Geschick deren, die „das ewige Leben“ als auch deren, die „Schmach und ewiges Abscheu“ erlangen. Dadurch, dass „einen zum ewigen Leben, anderen aber zur Schmach, zu ewigem Abscheu“ auferstehen wird die Gerechtigkeit Gottes sichtbar. Beide, sowohl das „ewige Leben“, als auch die „Schmach und ewiges Abscheu“ besagt etwas, das die Schattenexistenz der Verstorbenen in der Scheol übertrifft. Die Treue erlangen dadurch ihr Lohn, die Gottlose aber ihre Strafe, das bis jetzt wegen des Tobens der Ungerechtigkeit nicht möglich war. Nach dem Text werden „einigen“ auf das ewige Leben auferstehen. Der Verfasser reflektiert also nicht in allgemeinen über die Auferstehung aller Verstorbenen, sondern beschäftigt ihn nur das Los einigen Personen. Das präzisiert der nächste Vers, der hinzufügt: „Dann werden die die viele zum rechten Tun geführt haben strahlen, wie der Himmel strahlt und die Männer, die viele zum rechten Tun geführt haben, werden immer und ewig wie die Sterne leuchten“ (Dan 12,3). Die Aussage bezieht sich eindeutig auf diejenigen, die „zum ewigen Leben“ auferstehen, präzisiert aber den Inhalt insofern, dass die glorreiche Auferstehung „zum ewigen Leben“ für diejenigen in Aussicht stellt die „viele zum rechten Tun geführt haben“. Der in der Text erscheinende Ausdruck entspricht der Aussage in Jes 53,11, so dass der Verfasser des Danielbuches das Werk der zum ewigen Leben Auferstandenen – „viele zum rechten Tun führen“ – in einer Linie mit dem Werk des leidenden Knechtes JHWHs stellt<sup>6</sup>. Aufgrund dieser Aussagen scheint es folgerichtig, unter diese „zum ewigen Leben“ auferstandene Verständigen diejenige Gerechten zu sehen, die während der Glaubensverfolgung der Seleukiden ermordet wurden. Wir müssen also an solche Persönlichkeiten denken, wie der in 2Makk 6 vorkommende Schriftgelehrte Eleazar.

<sup>4</sup> *Biblikus Teológiai Szótár*, 364.

<sup>5</sup> Rózsa H., *Az Ószövetség keletkezése II.* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1996), 442.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. J. M. Lindenberger, „Daniel 12:1–4“, in *Int* 39 (1985): 183–184.

Der Text selbst präzisiert zwar die Art und Weise der Auferstehung gar nicht, doch stellt für die auferstehende Gerechte eine glorreiche Wandlung in Aussicht, wodurch sie ewig mit der himmlischen Welt verknüpft werden: sie werden „strahlen, wie der Himmel strahlt“ und „immer und ewig wie die Sterne leuchten“ (Dan 12,3)<sup>7</sup>. Die Formulierung des Textes ist ziemlich dunkel, es ist aber eindeutig, dass der Ausdruck „Auferstehung“ für diejenigen, die zum ewigen Leben auferstehen, und für diejenigen, die ewiges Abscheu erdulden müssen etwas ganz Unterschiedliches bedeutet. Im vollen Sinn wird man also nur das Los der ersten Gruppe als Auferstehung – die nach der biblischen Sichtweise auch die leibliche Verherrlichung miteinschließt (12,3)<sup>8</sup> – bezeichnen können. Nach dem Wort des Engels wird auch Daniel selbst auferstehen und wir nehmen an, dass der Seher zur ersten Gruppe gehören wird: „Du aber geh nun dem Ende zu! Du wirst ruhen und am Ende der Tage wirst du auferstehen, um dein Anteil zu empfangen“ (12,13).

Obwohl Dan 12,2–3 nur auf dem Los einer sehr engen Kreis – nämlich die in der Verfolgung von Antiochus Epifanes ermordete Gerechten – reflektiert, wird seine Lehre sehr schnell Teil der geistigen Schätze der damaligen jüdischen Welt und immer zahlreichere Gläubigen teilen die in dem Text formulierte Hoffnung. Eine treffende Deutung der mehrfach unklaren Textes stellt die Formulierung Jesu dar, der den Ausdruck „Auferstehung der Gerechten“ verwendet (Lk 14,14), und darüber redet, dass Gott einige „für würdig halten wird an der Auferstehung von den Toten teilzuhaben“ und „Söhne der Auferstehung“ werden (Lk 20,36).

### 3.

Die Lehre von Dan 12,2f begegnen wir auch in 2Makk, der „eines der frühen Zeugnisse für die jüdische Hoffnung auf die leibliche Auferweckung der gesetzestreu Gerechten“<sup>9</sup> ist. Obwohl Hinweise auf den Auferstehungsglaube finden wir auch anderswo in 2Makk – so z.B. 2Makk 12,43f behauptet über Judas der Makkabäer: „Denn er dachte an die Auferstehung; hätte er nicht erwartet, dass die Gefallenen

<sup>7</sup> „I maestri di giustizia saranno associati al mondo divino in una condizione gloriosa, «come lo splendore del firmamento... come le stelle» [...] non si cerca di definire né il tempo né la modalità della risurrezione. Quello che conta è la certezza della risurrezione dei morti, garantita dalla fedeltà misericordiosa di Dio creatore”. (*Nuovo dizionario di Teologia Biblica*, 1356.)

<sup>8</sup> „Die Auferstehung wurde nicht als kosmisches Stirb und Werde verstanden, sondern als Lösung von Theodizeeproblematik, als Anteil der Menschen am Heil des kommenden Gottesreiches. [...] Auferstehung musste faktisch als Neuschöpfung, als Auferstehung des ganzen Menschen verstanden werden, da die alt. Anthropologie nichts Unsterbliches am oder im Menschen kannte“ (Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testaments II.*, 161.).

<sup>9</sup> E. Zenger, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln: Kohlhammer, 2001), 290. Wie es *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* behauptet, dieses Werk „gehört von der doktrinalischen Standpunkt her zu pharisäischen Schule, während die Sichtweise von 1 Makk näher zu den Sadduzäer steht“ (R. Brown–J. Fitzmyer–R. Murphy, *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 425).

auferstehen werden, wäre es nämlich überflüssig und sinnlos gewesen für die Toten zu beten“ – doch die Frage der Auferstehung erscheint am deutlichsten in 2Makk 7, welche das Martyrium der sieben Brüder und ihrer Mutter beschreibt.

Einige Details der Erzählung weisen darauf hin, dass die Darstellung des Martyriums der sieben Brüder nicht ein tatsächlich erfolgte Ereignis, sondern eine stilisierte Beschreibung ist, in der der Verfasser seine Bewertung des Martyriums ausdrücken möchte. In dieser Erzählung erscheint nicht die in Details beschriebene brutale Folterung als befremdend und überraschend, sondern die Anwesenheit des Königs. Während die Verhörung des Eleazars, „eines der angesehensten Schriftgelehrten“ königliche Beamter leiten, vorsitzt die Verhörung der sieben Brüder der König selbst. Zwar nennt der Text den König nicht ausdrücklich, aber diese Bezeichnung verwendet 2Makk regelmässig für den seleukischen Herrscher, es geht also um Antiochus Epifanes selbst. Nach der Beschreibung von 2Makk 5 verordnet der aus Ägypten zurückkehrende Antiochus Epifanes zuerst einen grausamen Massaker unter der Bewohner Jerusalems, dann dringt er im Tempel ein (es ist nicht eindeutig, ob er nur in den Tempel oder, was wahrscheinlicher ist, in der innere Heiligtum eingetreten ist, wohin einzig der Hohepriester und nur einmal im Jahr eintreten konnte, damit hatte also Antiochus die Heiligtum selbst entweiht) und nach der Plünderung des Tempels zieht er nach Antiochien. Die tatsächliche Glaubensverfolgung begann aber später, nach dem die Seleukider mit List Jerusalem einnahmen und in dem Burg, der Akra, eine Garnison unterbrachten. Diese letzte Ereignisse erfolgten nach 1Makk 1,29 zwei Jahre nach der schmachvollen Tat des Königs. Antiochus Epifanes selbst befindet sich gar nicht in Jerusalem, er hielt sich in Persien auf, wo er über die Siege des Judas erfährt (2Makk 9; vgl. 1Makk 6). Während die Umstände des Martyriums von Eleazar der beschriebenen Ereignissen entsprechen, legen die Brüder ihr Zeugnis vor Antiochus Epifanes selbst ab, dessen Hybris die ganze Verfolgung in Bewegung setzte. Wir müssen also annehmen, dass wir in 2Makk 7 eine stilisierte Erzählung vor uns haben, und die sieben Brüder – von denen wir nicht Näheres erfahren – symbolischerweise die für ihren Glauben Ermordete darstellen. Der Verfasser erzählt nicht einfach ein besonders brutales Ereignis der Verfolgung, sondern durch die Aussagen der sieben Brüder drückt er die Hoffnung aus, woraus die Blutzügel ihre Kraft schöpften um die Folter ertragen zu können. Obwohl wir kein ausdrücklicher Hinweis auf das Danielbuch finden, doch beweist der zentraler Ausdruck der Erzählung – „Auferstehung auf das Leben“ – eindeutig, dass die zwei Werke aus gleichen Weltanschauung sich nähren.

#### 4.

Für die richtige Deutung der Perikope 2Makk 7 kann uns die Bemerkung von G.von Rad helfen, der unsere Aufmerksamkeit darauf lenkt, dass der Tod der in der seleukischen Verfolgung ermordeten Gläubigen nicht sosehr ein Zeugnischarakter besitzt,

wie man bei der christlichen Martyrer üblicherweise deutet, sondern ihr Tod ist Ausdruck der unbedingten Treue gegenüber des Bundes mit Gott<sup>10</sup>. Die Treue gegenüber des mit Gott geschlossenen Bundes bestimmt also die Haltung der sieben Brüder, weshalb auch ihre Hoffnung auf Auferstehung als eine Hoffnung auf die Treue Gottes gegenüber seinen Bund zu verstehen ist. Obwohl wir in dem Text auch Hinweise auf Gottes Gerechtigkeit finden – der vierte und fünfte Sohn stellt für den König Gottes Stafe in Aussicht (7,14–17) – grundsätzlich dominiert in der Darstellung die Hoffnung auf Auferstehung.

In den Aussagen der sieben Brüder kann man eine stufenweise Steigerung feststellen<sup>11</sup>: Der erste Bruder spricht nur darüber, dass sie eher sterben, als dass sie die Gesetze ihrer Väter übertreten (7,2); aber in den Worten der anderer Brüder wird immer mehr sichtbar, an welche Hoffnung sie sich hängen. Nach der Aussage des zweiten Bruders der König kann ihnen „dieses Leben nehmen, aber der König der Welt wird uns zu einem neuen, ewigen Leben auferwecken, weil wir für seine Gesetze sterben“ (7,9). Der dritte Bruder erträgt die Verstümmelung seiner Glieder mit der folgenden Überzeugung: „Vom Himmel habe ich sie bekommen, und wegen seiner Gesetze achte ich sie wenig. Von ihm hoffe ich sie wiederzuerlangen“ (7,11). Der vierte Bruder redet ebenfalls über die Hoffnung der Auferstehung: „Gott hat uns die Hoffnung gegeben, dass er uns wieder auferweckt!“ (7,14).

Die Behauptung des dritten Bruders, dass er seinen Glieder „wiedererlangen“ wird, ist eindeutig ein Hinweis auf die leibliche Auferstehung. Das bestätigen ebenfalls die Worte der Mutter, die ihre Söhne aufruft, für Gottes Gesetze die Folterungen geringachten, weil sie dadurch ihre Söhne „am Tag des Erbarmens wiederbekommt“ (7,29). Aus der Worte der Mutter, mit der sie ihren jüngsten Sohn auf das Ertragen des Leidens ermuntert, folgern wir, dass Gottes durch die Auferstehung sichtbarwerdende Macht auf der Schöpfermacht Gottes zurückgeführt wird: „Schau dir den Himmel und die Erde an, sieh alles, was es da ist, und erkenne: Gott hat das aus dem Nichts erschaffen, und so entstehen auch die Menschen. Hab keine Angst vor diesem Henker, sei deiner Brüder würdig und nimm den Tod an! Dann werde ich dich am Tag des Erbarmens mit deinen Brüdern wiederbekommen“ (7,28–29)<sup>12</sup>. Aus 2Makk 7 erfahren wir aber noch weniger über die Art und Weise der Auferstehung als aus Dan 12,3. Während das Buch Daniel, obwohl mit ziemlich dunklen Formulierung, aber über eine leibliche Verherrlichung redet („sie werden strahlen als der Himmel strahlt“, Dan 12,3), spricht 2Makk 7 einzig über das Wiedererlangen der im Martyrium verlorenen

<sup>10</sup> G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, 444.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. Rózsa, *Az Ószövetség keletkezése*, 517. Gleicher Meinung ist auch *Nuovo dizionario di Teologia Biblica*: „In 2 Mac 7 la fede nella risurrezione si fonda sulla potenza creatrice di Dio, che ha fatto il mondo ed è il Signore della vita“. (1356).

Glieder, und finden sich kein Hinweis auf eine leibliche Verwandlung. Aus dem Text ist also die eschatologische Charakter des Ereignisses nicht eindeutig. Während in Dan 12,1 die Auferstehung nach der endzeitlichen Not eintritt, wird in 2Makk 7 der Zeitpunkt der „Wiedererlangung“ einzig als der „Tag des Erbarmens“ bezeichnet, was aber keine eindeutige Hinweis auf die eschatologische Endzeit ist. In der Erzählung von 2Makk 7 ist also die eschatologische Charakter der Hoffnung auf die Auferstehung nicht eindeutig. Der Text zeigt aber eine so enge Verbindung mit der Lehre des Danielbuches, dass wir auch diese eschatologische Charakter voraussetzen müssen.

Worin aber die Lehre von 2Makk 7 die Aussagen von Dan 12,1–3 übertrifft, ist die sühnende Kraft des Märtyrertodes. Nicht zufällig, weil der Verfasser eben diesen Zug hervorheben will. Nämlich während nach 1Makk 3,8 der Zorn Gottes in Augenblick des Auftretens Judas – der gleich Pineas das Böse aus Israel ausrottete – sich von seinem Volk wendet, betrachtet der Verfasser von 2Makk den Erfolg des Makkabäeraufstandes als Frucht des Sühnetodes der Märtyrer. Die sühnende Kraft des Todes der wegen ihres Glaubens ermordeten Gläubige – die durch die sieben Brüder dargestellt werden – wendet Gottes Zorn von seinem Volk ab, und ermöglicht die Siege von Judas und seiner Gefährten. Auf diese sühnende Kraft des Märtyrertodes weisen auch die Worte des siebten Bruders: „Ich gebe wie meine Brüder Leib und Leben hin für die Gesetze unserer Väter und rufe zu Gott, er möge seinem Volk bald wieder gnädig sein. [...] Bei mir und meinen Brüder möge der Zorn des Allherrschers aufhören, der sich zu Recht über unser ganzes Volk ergossen hat“ (7,37–38). Die sieben Brüder liefern sich selbst dem göttlichen Zorn aus, dadurch erkennen sie Gott als höchsten Richter, und die Strafe erleidend bitten sie Gott, dass „sein Zorn bei ihnen aufhören möge“. Ähnliche Haltung entdeckt E. Haag auch bei den Makkabäern, und das Fasten von Mattatias und seiner Söhne (1Makk 2,6–14) deutend dessen sühnende Kraft hervorhebt: Es geht um die „Durchführung eines Trauerfastens, das sowohl den Willen und die Bereitschaft zur Annahme des Zorngerichts Jahwes wie gleichzeitig auch die Anerkennung Jahwes als Richter miteinschließt und so den Weg für ein erneut von Gottes Gerechtigkeit zu erhoffendes Heilshandeln freimacht“<sup>13</sup>. Ohne Zweifel wurzelt sich auch diese Überzeugung der sühnende Kraft des Todes eines Gerechten in die Lehre des Danielbuches. Das bestätigt Dan 12,3 welche die auferweckten „Verständigen“ mit dem Ausdruck „die viele zum rechten Tun geführt haben“ bezeichnet und damit ihr Wirken mit dem Werk des leidenden Gottesknechts verbindet (Jes 53). Andererseits bedeutet für das Danielbuch die Erfolge des Makkabäeraufstandes nur eine „kleine Hilfe“ (Dan 11,33) im Kampf gegenüber des Bösen<sup>14</sup>. 2Makk 7 verbindet dagegen aus

<sup>13</sup> E. Haag, „Die Theokratie und der Antijahwe nach 1Makk 1–2“, in *TTZ* 109 (2000): 29.

<sup>14</sup> „Auf der Seite derer, die aushalten, haben die Weisen eine führende Rolle; sie «helfen vielen zur Einsicht» (Dan 11,33), «sie führen sie zur Gerechtigkeit»; ja selbst ihr Tod hat eine läuternde und reinigende Wirkung [...] Kein Zweifel, der Apokalyptiker steht auf der Seite derer, die die Notzeit

drücklich den Tod der Märtyrer und den erfolgreichen Kampf der Makkabäer: die sühnende Kraft des Märtyrertodes ermöglichte die militärischen Erfolge.

Die bewegende Kraft des Martyriums ist also die Hoffnung auf Auferstehung, letztendlich das Vertrauen auf Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Allmacht, auf die Treue seiner Bund gegenüber. „«Auferstehung» ist folglich eine innerhalb des eschatologische-apokalyptischen Verstehenshorizont gewagte Hoffnung auf JHWH als den Gott, der sich durchsetzt und die Seinen nicht aufgibt, ist Wagnis des Glaubens an den Gott, der auch jenseits des Todes noch zu seinem Recht kommt und seinen Frommen (auch leiblich) zu ihrem Recht verhilft“<sup>15</sup> Deswegen konnte sich das alttestamentliche Gottesvolk so lange den Auferstehungslauben entbehren, weil sein Vertrauen schon immer an diesen gerechten und allmächtigen Gott setzte. Die früheren geschichtlichen Tragödien erlebten sie aber vor allem als verdiente Strafe, so konnte die sühnende Kraft des Todes der Gerechten vor der Makkabäerzeit nicht im Vordergrund treten. Im Christentum nimmt der Auferstehungsglaube deswegen eine so zentrale Position an, weil Jesus aus Nazareth – dessen Lebensgemeinschaft tragende Grund unseres christlichen Existenz ist – in seiner Person die Weissagungen des Danielsbuches erlebte: zuerst die verheerende Anstürme seiner Feinde, dann aber Gottes Treue in der Auferstehung.

Das Martyrium also, als Ausdruck der bis zum Ende gehende Treue gleichsam ist die extremste Erfüllung jeder denkbarer Pflicht. In diesem Sinn könnten wir es als „Tugend“ bezeichnen, es ist aber auf keinem Fall eine „Leistung“, des einzelnen glaubenden Menschen, weil es seine Kraft aus Gott selber schöpft.

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mehr leidend als degegen ankämpfend bestehen. [...] Den Makkabäern und ihrem Aktivismus steht er fern [...] eine ganze Folge ihrer erstaunlichen Siege nur als etwas verhältnismässig Bedeutungslose in seine Geschichtsdarstellung einbezieht, nur als «eine kleine Hilfe», die die Bedrängten in dieser Zeit erfahren (Dan 11,34)“. (G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments II.*, [Gütersloh: Kaiser/Güterslohe Verlagshaus, 1960], 337–338.) E. Haag sieht dagegen in dem Ausdruck „kleine Hilfe“ in Dan 11,34 die menschlichen Leistungen, während die „grosse Hilfe“ in der rettende Handlung Gottes besteht: „Mit dem zur Kennzeichnung der Aktivität Israels im Jahwekrieg (Ri 5,23) offenbar eigens geprägten apokalyptischen Motivwort «kleine Hilfe», das hier die Aufhebung der Drangsal in dem von Gott verfügten Zorngericht an seinem Volk in den Blick nimmt, ist ohne Zweifel der Makkabäeraufstand gemeint, und zwar als Vorspiel zu dem als «grosse Hilfe» gedachten himmlischen Jahwekrieg, in dem Gott zur «festgesetzten Zeit» (Dan 11,35) die Enddrangsal der Jahwetreuen mit der Offenbarung seiner ewigen Königsherrschaft abschliesst und für immer überwindet“. (Haag, *Die Theokratie und der Antijahwe nach 1Makk 1–2*, 31.)

<sup>15</sup> Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testaments II.*, 163. „La risurrezione dei morti è la risposta al dramma della morte, una risposta fondata sulla fede in Dio, il Signore della vita e della morte (Dt 32,35). Dio creatore, fonte e Signore della vita, stabilisce con il giusto un rapporto che neppure la morte può interrompere. [...] Questa speranza è fondata sulla giustizia di Dio e sulla sua fedeltà all'alleanza“. (*Nuovo dizionario di Teologia Biblica*, 1356.)

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György KOCSI

## WHO IS THE RIGHTEOUS AND WHO IS THE FOOL? RUMINATIONS ON PROVERBS 10

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Motto: "But the righteous stands firm forever." (Prov 10,25b)

### PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONFERENCE MOTTO 'VIRTUE AND DUTY'

Virtue lies in the middle, Aristotle says, that's why the extremes must be avoided<sup>1</sup>. Examples from the Nichomachean Ethics point out that the brave man is not rash, nor is he a coward. Between parsimony and lavishment, or using terms more biblical: between niggardliness and prodigality the appropriate middle (*mezotés* or 'measure') is noble-hearted giving<sup>2</sup>. A man, therefore, must strive to stay in the middle, or in the *mediostasis* (virtus in medio) relative to himself or herself. There's a medium in all things, there're certain limits (Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines), say the Romans and thereby they represent the same<sup>3</sup>. In like manner do the idioms by Cicero and Marcus Aurelius "*Nothing to excess*" (Nihil nimis) and the Golden mean (Aurea mediocritas) or Solon's saying *médén agan* (Ne quid nimis) carry the same meaning. They distinguish between a behavior following the norm which is called virtue and one when someone acts for the sake of virtue itself, for the virtuous action involves its value in itself. This is the case even with Kant too. An act or action can be said to be ethical when it stems from a sense of duty and not from propensity or fear<sup>4</sup>. If, for instance, a mother takes care of her child instinctively and with loving kindness without a sense of duty or a respect for duty, then her work may be useful and indispensable, yet morally indifferent, claims Kant. Virtuousness becomes consummate in norm-compliant behavior. The crucial point is that the action be executed without harming myself or others, and be beneficial to myself as well as to others. Virtuous man observes written and unwritten rules, but in certain areas he or she makes more than their responsibility

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<sup>1</sup> Arisztotelész, *Nikomakhoszi Etika* (Translated by Miklós Szabó) (Budapest: Európa Kiadó, 1997). 1108 b, 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1104a, 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> Quintus Flaccus Horatius, „Szatírák könyve”, I. 1, 106. In *Horatius összes művei* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1989). (Translated by Anna Bede).

<sup>4</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Az erkölcsök metafizikájának alapvetése. A gyakorlati ész kritikája* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1991), 203.



would've been. Max Kolbe sacrificed his life and we respect him for this as a saint. But had it been ordered that the priests be killed instead of those with families, then he would've been deprived of the potential of this virtuous action and he would've executed his duty only.

A Franciscan Guardian explains the exercise of virtue as follows. They'd go and give mass to the village belonging to the monastery. The officiating minister fell ill and some other brother had to go instead of him to say a midnight mass and, also, to stay on in the village on Christmas day and celebrate mass again. The brother wouldn't go and enumerated his excuses, and that he'd like to stay together with the others on Christmas Eve. He did go nevertheless, sulking. The Guardian called another friar who was also to go to another village. He collected his necessary stuff and belongings and went out. Certainly, he too would've remained in the monastery with pleasure, yet he exercised virtue, the virtue of obedience. In this story virtue and duty do finely fit together. As for the Gospel, we also find such a scene in the case of two sons of divergent conduct (Mt 21,28–31) neither of whom exercised virtue. Here too the key point was to have been compliant behavior, to do his father's will. The third son, who doesn't figure in the parable, would be Jesus, according to Augustine's allegorical exegesis, and He did exercise virtue.

### WHICH VIRTUE IS SUPREME?

We Christians speak about divine virtues, faith, hope, and love and the greatest of them is love, says Paul (1Cor 13,13). The most important, supreme virtue, 'arete' (ἀρετή) or 'excellence of any kind', was a term of dispute even for the Greeks. There's a poem by Tyrtaios (Τυρταῖος) – similar to Sándor Petőfi's Battle Song<sup>5</sup> – in which he encourages the Spartans about to leave for combat. The paramount virtue in this context is courage, to die a hero's death, which he believes only the most eminent person can do<sup>6</sup>. "His noble glory and his name will never pass away, for he is the only one to be immortal, even if he rests under the earth"<sup>7</sup>. This strife is no longer in the arena, but on the field of battle, the scene of noble competition.

<sup>5</sup> Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849) is one of the best-known Hungarian poets.

<sup>6</sup> The work is available in W. Jaeger, *Tyrtaios über die wahre Arete*, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin, 1932. phil-hist. Kl. S. 537ff. Cf. Jaeger, *Paideia*, I. 1936<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore: Tyrtaeus Fr. 9. (*Antologia Lyrica Graeca*, ed. E. Diehl, I. 15f, furthermore: W. Jaeger, *SAB*, 1932, 537ff., and also G. Bornkamm, „Der köstlichere Weg“, 1. Kor 13, in G. Bornkamm, *Studien zum Neuen Testament* [Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985], 217–236) The study was originally published in 1937. We follow his presentation above. The work is also available in G. Bornkamm, *Das Ende des Gesetzes, Paulusstudien*, Ges. Aufs. Bd. I. (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1958), 93–112. G. Bornkamm, „Der köstlichere Weg“, 217–218. Furthermore: *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* II (rec. Th. Bergk), 17f.

<sup>7</sup> G. Bornkamm, „Der köstlichere Weg“, 217.

The opinion of Tyrtaios was called into question by many early on. Xenophanes (Ξενοφάνης), who wrote an elegy himself imitating Tyrtaios, puts *wisdom* into the first place. Plato attacks Tyrtaios several times and makes a remark that *justice* is the highest virtue, because political values surpass war, as the aim of the state cannot be war<sup>8</sup>. Plato is governed by the benefit of the polis (πόλις). His concept is shared by 3Esdras as well<sup>9</sup>. Now we cite here a short text from the book of Esdras 3:

So he began to speak of the truth. O ye men, are not women strong? Great is the earth, high is the heaven, swift is the sun in his course, for he compasseth the heavens round about, and fetcheth his course again to his own place in one day. Is he not great that maketh these things? Therefore great is the truth, and stronger than all things. All the earth crieth upon the truth, and the heaven blesseth it: all works shake and tremble at it, and with it is no unrighteous thing. Wine is wicked, the king is wicked, women are wicked, all the children of men are wicked, and such are all their wicked works; and there is no truth in them; in their unrighteousness also they shall perish. As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore. With her there is no accepting of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works. Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth.<sup>10</sup> (3Ezra 4,34–40 = Εσδρας α' 4,34–40)

### THE APPELLATION AND AUTHOR OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

The scroll is called “*mislé*” in Hebrew, which is the plural form of “*masal*”<sup>11</sup>. “*Masal*” carries a broad range of meanings and implies the molding of observations believed to be of general scope into linguistic form. Moreover, in view of its etymology, it can denote comparison, simile, or word of power or, on occasion, an extraordinary saying or statement<sup>12</sup>, for the root of the word contains the meaning “to judge”. The G text (Septuaginta) translates it as paroimiai (παροιμια), which means a phrase, a simile, a

<sup>8</sup> *Laws* I 629 A ff.; II 660 E, *Politeia* 465 D–466 A – cited according to G. Bornkamm, “Der köstlichere Weg”, 219.

<sup>9</sup> Most likely, 3 Esdras originated in Alexandria in 150 BC, its text has been preserved for us by the Septuaginta. Cf. G. Steins, „Esra, Esraschriften“, in *LThK*, Sonderausgabe (Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder Verlag, 2006), 3<sup>rd</sup> vol. 887–88.

<sup>10</sup> H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*. KEK 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, 1981), on page 269 the text is given in the Greek original and in H. Guthe’s German translation. Conzelmann doesn’t regard the poem significant, yet it’s noteworthy indeed that as early as this, we encounter a consolidated, crystallized tradition.

<sup>11</sup> Alonso Schökel mentions that Jerome calls it *Masloth*: «Masloth, quas Hebraei Parabolae, Vulgata editio Proverbia vocat». See *op. cit.*, 108, 7<sup>th</sup> note. The meaning of *masal* is discussed in detail by L. Alonso Schökel e J. Vilchez Lindez on pages 108–110.

<sup>12</sup> H. Ringgren, *Sprüche*, ATD 16,1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlag, 3<sup>rd</sup> revised new edition, 1980), 7. In his etymological argumentation he refers to A. R. Johnson and W. Eichrodt.

blurred allusion<sup>13</sup>. The Hungarian book title, Példabeszédek, is an appropriate translation. There's an assumption also that on the pattern of Canticles (Song of Songs), the original title of the book may well have been *Proverbium Proverbiorum*<sup>14</sup> which we contend is nothing else but a hypothesis. The German *Sprüche* is also an appropriate name, while *Sprichwörter* is restrictive, since the book comprises not only proverbs proper, just think about the end of the book, the praise of the wife of noble character (31,10–31).

Solomon's authorship is apparently notional, as modern exegesis has shown<sup>15</sup>. Indeed, it had long been suspected even by those of yore, for the Hebrew title (Solomon's sayings/mislé Selomo) early in Chapter 10 was left out by both the Septuaginta and Peshitta alike<sup>16</sup>, while it does figure in the front of the scroll. We deem it adequate to cite Arndt Meinhold, a prominent expert and commentator of Proverbs. And, as the Septuaginta points out, Solomon "*abounded greatly beyond the wisdom of all the ancients, and beyond all the wise men of Egypt*" (1Kgs 5,10ff; 10,1–13.23–25). "*And Solomon spoke three thousand proverbs, and his songs were five thousand.*" (1Kgs 5,12). It's pinpointed in 1Kgs 5,13 what these wise sayings referred to: "*And he spoke of trees, from the cedars in Libanus even to the hyssop which comes out through the wall: he spoke also of cattle, and of birds, and of reptiles, and of fishes*". However, these are exactly those not figuring among the wise sayings mentioned under his name – with one exception (30,24–28). In the rabbinic literature, too, there's an opinion divergent from the general concept which is couched in the tract Baba batra, according to which King Hiskia (728–700 BC) and his Board attributes authorship to Solomon, while Midras Ha Sirim (the midrás written to the Song of Songs) assigned it to Solomon from the beginning. The official statement of King Hiskia and his Board, then, presupposes that

<sup>13</sup> H. F. Fuchs, *Das Buch der Sprichwörter, Ein Kommentar* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2001 = Forschung zur Bibel 95), 11. See also L. Alonso Schökel e J. Vilchez Lindez, *I Proverbi*, 108–110, where Jerome revives the Greek appellation when he mentions that he renders the Greek Paroimiai with the Latin Proverbia. See also A. Barucq, DSB, 8. v. 1396 col.

<sup>14</sup> Th. Vargha, nel suo articolosuo «Antoniano» 11 (1936): 219–222, ritiene che le differenze tra i Settanta e il testo masoretico si spieghino supponendo un titolo originale ebraico che, tradotto in latino, sarebbe. *Proverbium Proverbiorum* quod est Salomonis, simile al titolo: «Cantico dei cantici» Cited in L. Alonso Schökel e J. Vilchez Lindez, *I Proverbi* (Roma: Edizioni Borla, 1988), 108, 10<sup>th</sup> note.

<sup>15</sup> H. Ringgren, *op.cit.*, 7–8. Our author doesn't preclude that some phrases for the book may be traceable to Solomon, for his wisdom has genuine historical foundations. But the book itself is rather a collection. A more chiselled opinion is given by O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)*, BKAT, XVII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), XVI., who asserts that inclusion in the canon was alleviated by the mention of Solomon's name, yet the collections cannot have come from him. He answers in the negative also as to a derivation from the age of Solomon. "Für die vorliegenden Sammlungen wird eine Herleitung von Salomo kaum in Anspruch genommen werden dürfen." *op.cit.*, XIV.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs*, Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press LTD, 1970), 413: The collection 10.1–22.16, bearing the title 'Proverbs of Solomon' (omitted by LXX and Pesh) is made up preponderantly of sentence literature.

it was a matter of dispute<sup>17</sup>. As for the book's understanding and interpretation, a clue is offered in the prologue which construes the aim of the book and it's here already that the contrast between the wise and the fool emerges (Prov 1,1–7):

“The parables of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel,  
to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding;  
to understand the words of prudence and to receive the instruction of doctrine, justice  
and equity;  
to give subtlety to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion.  
A wise man shall hear, and shall be wiser; and he that understandeth shall possess govern-  
ments; and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsels.  
To understand a proverb, and the interpretation; the words of the wise, and their dark  
sayings.  
The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and in-  
struction.”

### STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

Wisdom has built its house on seven pillars (Prov 9,1)<sup>18</sup>, therefore the book is usually divided into seven parts, seven pillars<sup>19</sup>. The second pillar starts with Chapter 10 which the legend in Hebrew says contains Solomon's parables. According to the Masoretic text, no less than three blocks are under the name of Solomon: Prov 1–9; 10,1–22,16; and 25–29. The second part (10,1–22,16) is a section composed in artistic format, for according to the numerical value of Solomon's name it contains 375 verses and sayings.

### THE BUILDUP AND STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER 10 OF PROVERBS

The contrast appearing in the book's prologue dominates Chapter 10 in various forms as well<sup>20</sup>. This is the beginning of the second block of the book of Proverbs and it's at-

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<sup>17</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, Teil 1: Sprüche Kapitel 1–15 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1991). H. Heinrich Schmied, S. Schulz and H. Weder, eds. *Zürcher Bibelkommentare*, 21.

<sup>18</sup> L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger in E. Zenger et al., eds. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 7. revised and augmented edition, 2008), 372.

<sup>19</sup> I. 1–9; II. 10,1–22,16; III. 22,17–24,22; IV. 24,23–34; V. 25–29; VI. 30; VII. 31. Cf. L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *op.cit.*, 372–375. On pages 373 and 375 it propounds separately the LXX division, and compares the arrangements of the Hebrew and Greek texts. A different arrangement is reported by O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)*, BKAT, XVII (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1984), XVI., who discerns three collections with amendments and appendix. He adds also that the larger collections are given the *mislé* name and the smaller ones carry the inscription *dibré* only (XV).

<sup>20</sup> L. Alonso Schökel e J. Vilchez Lindez, *op.cit.*, 300–302.

tached to the prologue by the expressions wise and fool. The arrangement of the chapter is enacted in the commentaries along themes, and most of the time it's widely arbitrary.

In the part 10,1 through 12,28 the section including the three chapters is uniform as far as its theme is concerned, and the subject headings righteous and wicked frequently occur in each. Mostly in pairs. Also, the division into chapter leaves much to be desired. The word family referred to here (righteous and wicked) appears in Chapter 10 twelve times altogether, in Chapter 11 six times, and in Chapter 12 seven times. If we include here the word family righteousness, then we can calculate 14, 13, and 9 occurrences<sup>21</sup>. The wicked too are likewise traceable, with 13, 9, and 9 hits, respectively. Wickedness and righteousness in an abstract sense occur only once, that is, in verse 2. Additional curiosity is that the chapter uses the righteous in singular 10 times (in plural only in verses 24 and 28). The wicked are usually used in plural 8 times in this chapter, but three times in singular (in verses 16, 24 and 25). The synonym of the upright is also life/breath-taking/throat<sup>22</sup>.

The thematic arrangement of Chapter 10 is given by A. Meinhold:

Successful or unsuccessful education: 1b–5

Speaking, behavior and their consequences: 6–11

Benefit and harm of hatred and love: 12–18

The strength of words: 19–21

The blessing of God: 22

Legitimate and illegitimate expectation: 23–30

The manner of speech of the righteous and the wicked: 31<sup>23</sup>

Chapter 10 belongs to the theme of education. This is served by the contrasts too: wickedness – righteousness, poverty – richness, laziness – diligence (1b–5 verses). This is being elaborated in several sections and in the few individual sayings. Verses 6 through 11 deal with speech and conduct, and their consequences. Verses 12 through 18 are about the benefit and damage under the sense of hatred and love<sup>24</sup>.

Verses 19 through 21 are concerned with the efficiency and value of words. And at the end our text mentions Yahveh's blessing as a decisive factor (23–30). Verse 22 explicitly stresses JHWH's blessing. The section goes on to discuss man's just and unjust expectations. This is followed by the value of the two types of speech in verse 31. The sayings without antithesis, few in number, are regarded as having an articulatory function. Verse 18 concludes the section from 12 through 18. Verse 22 constitutes the closing passage (6–22) of the first part of the elaboration of the theme. Verse

<sup>21</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 163.

<sup>22</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 163. The number of occurrences of the subject headings is derived from Meinhold.

<sup>23</sup> This arrangement originates from A. Meinhold. By and large we agree with it, even though there exist other divisions as well. Cf. *op.cit.*, 164–185.

<sup>24</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 163.

26 divides the parts of similar theme into two (23–25; 27–30). Moreover, verses 22 and 26 present again the topics mentioned in verses 1b–5 (richness – poverty, laziness – diligence). The sayings referring to JHWH was placed by the author on purpose<sup>25</sup>. The only saying whose explicit subject is JHWH is to be found in the center of basic statements. Its other occurrences figure in genitive affiliation and are located in the closing sentence of the first part discussing the theme – verse 22 – as well as at the beginning and end of the second section (27–30) on the just and unjust hope. These formal observations indicate with sufficient certainty that they wished to set wisdom in the service of JHWH faith. At all events, this is an idiosyncrasy of Israelite wisdom<sup>26</sup>.

In our opinion, the first section, verses 1b through 5, has a palindromic structure. Let's see the text itself!

<sup>1a</sup> Solomon's sayings

<sup>1b</sup> A wise son maketh the father glad,  
but a foolish son is the sorrow of his mother<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Treasures of wickedness shall profit nothing,  
but justice shall deliver from death.

<sup>3</sup> The Lord will not afflict the soul of the just with famine, and he will disappoint the deceitful practices of the wicked.

<sup>4</sup> The slothful hand hath wrought poverty: but the hand of the industrious getteth riches.  
He that trusteth to lies feedeth the winds: and the same runneth after birds, that fly away.

<sup>5</sup> He that gathereth in the harvest, is a wise son:  
but he that snorteth in the summer, is the son of confusion.

Palindromic structure has the following layout. The major subject headings are given in italics.

A) *wise boy – joy – father – foolish boy – sorrow – mother*<sup>28</sup> (1b)

B) *treasure – sin – no benefit* (2a)

C) *righteousness saves from death* (2b)

D) The wish of the righteous is fulfilled by the Lord – yet the desire of the wicked is denied by Him (3)

C') *slothful hand creates poverty* (4a)

B') *but the hand of the industrious getteth riches* (4b)

A') He that gathereth in the harvest, is *a wise son* – but he that snorteth in the summer, is the *son of confusion* (5)

<sup>25</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 163.

<sup>26</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 163.

<sup>27</sup> A parallel of thoughts can be perceived in the first verse; it's a synthetic parallel, yet it can be regarded as contradictory or opposing. It depends whether we depart from the nouns mother and father or from the wise and fool boy.

<sup>28</sup> Concerning the opposition of father and mother, the major rabbis (Raschi, Ibn Ezra) living in the Middle Ages note that mother is at home and hence she encounters the behavior of the foolish boy more intensely than the father who mostly work in foreign lands, cf. A. Meinhold, *op.cit.*, 165.

### JUSTIFICATION OF THE PALINDROMIC STRUCTURE IN PROV 10, 1B-5

The arrangement of our text is justified by the following. Of course, we don't deal with verse 1a, for it's a subsequent inscription and, as such, it didn't belong to the text. Verse 1b and verse 5 can be set in parallel, as the expressions *wise boy* and *wise man* establish a parallel of thoughts without a doubt. This is enhanced even more by two expressions of synonymic meaning *sorrow* and *shame*, which convey the same feeling. Sorrow is rather grieving, but grieving stems on account of the shame. In 2a and in 5a the two expressions *treasure* and *riches* are synonymic nouns, but the contrast between diligent and sinful reflects the opposition (just – wicked, wise – fool) characteristic of the entire book. Perhaps, we don't feel such a close relationship between verses 2b and 4a, but the statement made in verse 15 testifies to the fact that poverty and ruin is related to death or at least they belong to that circle of meaning: *"The substance of a rich man is the city of his strength: the fear of the poor is their poverty."* At the same time, slothful hand and righteousness don't belong to the same category, since hand is quite a concrete noun, whereas righteousness is an abstract concept. Life is associated with rightfulness, for it saves from death, while the slothful hand, in turn, indicates passivity, which causes poverty. In verse 21b it asserts emphatically that *"they that are ignorant, shall die in the want of understanding"*. The foolish boy and the slothful hand are actually synonymic expressions, for behind the hand there must be a lazy man. The lazy, then, marks the slack and indolent man. We refrain from positing firmly that righteousness means here one sort of judgment or the practice of righteousness or, put it bluntly, the accomplishment of good deeds, the realization of mercy. Hebrew thinking holds it important that justice is not only perceived and announced, but also executed.

Verse 3 is the center and heart of the first section. All the other phrases are substantiated right here. The just is supported by the Lord, but the desire of the wicked is refused and denied. The Lord helps the righteous, but confronts the wicked. Desire and wish belong to the circle of thought. This is meant by the author to underscore that Yahweh embraces the just man's good thought as early as its emergence, keeps watch over it, then brings it to consummation. The thought is familiar from Ps 1,6: *"For the Lord watches over the way of the righteous: and the way of the wicked shall perish"*.

It however can be a matter of dispute that these strings of phrases originated without theodicean bases and they were sort of "baptized" by someone. And, further, the statements related to God got into the book of Proverbs or into the wisdom literature later on. Which is to say that these sentences of profane character were supplied with theodicean foundations by a later writer or editor. By contrast, we must remark that this text never existed in this form without these sentences. The buildup of the first section

betrays exactly that the editor had constructed it finely and hadn't inserted it into any of the lines later on, in order to be credited with some mentions about the Lord and associated these phrases to Him. Verse 3 appears to be pertaining to our text in integral manner. It never existed without it. At the same time, "the Lord" occurs several times in our chapter. The statement of verse 6: *"The blessing of the Lord is upon the head of the righteous"*<sup>29</sup>: here the expression Lord is missing in the Hebrew text, but the blessing presumes the Lord unambiguously and, thus, the Septuaginta had put it there. On the one hand, this phrase relates to the statement that is sounded in verse 3: *"The wish of the righteous is fulfilled by the Lord."* Thereafter, in verse 27 we read the following: *"The fear of the Lord shall prolong days"*. This pronouncement can well be interpreted as a form of manifestation of blessing. In spite of this, the years of the wicked shall be shortened. The same idea is formulated in verse 6: *"The blessing of the Lord is upon the head of the righteous: but iniquity covereth the mouth of the wicked"*. And, further, the thought parallel of verse 7 articulates this conception: *"The memory of the righteous is with praises: and the name of the wicked shall rot"*. Behind these ideas the early concept of blessing can be detected. Namely, the possession and enjoyment of long life and material essentials.

Verses 6 through 8 are concerned with the blessing of the Lord, hence they are theodicean in character<sup>30</sup> and usher us over to the problem of speech in the second half of verse 8, which is discussed longest in the third section. At the same time, the opposition of the upright and the evil and that of the wise and the fool appear in this section, the fundamental motif of the whole Chapter 10 as well.

From verse 8 on, the discussion of speech unfolds, for speech is the best feature of man. Initially, it is the blabbermouth that comes up. By this it intends to express the opposite as well, that the righteous speaks and talks in disciplined and focused manner. He is mindful that his speech be brief and meaningful or keep silent perhaps: *"The wise lay up knowledge: but the mouth of the fool is next to confusion"* (verse 14). It is prudent enough for a man to hold his lip in check. Finally, in verse 21 the thoughts related to speech are concluded: *"The lips of the righteous teach many"*. Speech emerges as a final utterance in verses 31 and 32, where we're reminded again of the paramount ideas and messages of the chapter.

<sup>29</sup> "the blessing of the Lord" figures in the Septuaginta (LXX): εὐλογία κυρίου.

<sup>30</sup> In the class C in his commentary W. McKane always analyzes the sayings of theodicean character, which he contends are integral parts of the work. He accounts for their theodicean character as follows: "In the case of these sentences, I find it hard to resist the conclusion that the antithesis of *caddik* and *rasa* is a dogmatic classification and that is expressive of a premise of Yahwistic piety, namely, the doctrine of theodicy I mean the assertion that God enforces a moral order in relation to individuals by rewarding the righteous man and punishing the wicked one. I shall use the word in connection with the class C sentences in this sense." *op.cit.*, 420.



In Chapter 10 as well as elsewhere, a number of *chiasma* (word order crossings)<sup>31</sup> are employed by the author, if we can speak of author at all, and not of a targeted systematic collection. They're called collections in the translations, which is much closer to reality. The author is partly nothing else but the creative wisdom of the people<sup>32</sup>, while the collector, the descriptor performs an important work, since without him they could've fallen into oblivion after a while. We don't know the authors of the wise sayings, nor those of the proverbs. These have been preserved for us partly by oral tradition, and by written recording later on. In our opinion, the author is to be sought after in the royal court, while it's hardly deniable that some sayings have their root in popular wisdom. The beginnings of literacy go back to the royal chancellery, as there's no literacy without central measures of power and no unified mode of writing is established. Scribes had to be instructed and the knowledge passed on, which is simply hard to imagine without central organization. The Old Testament endeavors to ascribe wisdom to one man, but, apart from Solomon, it attaches sayings to other celebrities as well (Lemuél, Agur – and they're heathens to boot). Their phrases do fit well into sayings of Israel's wise men. It's worth mentioning in relation to this that although Israel's collections of sayings exhibit substantial similarity to sayings of wise men of the Near East, which can be explained with the similar life experience and, hence, it's not characteristic of the bulk of them that they were borrowed or taken over, but arose as a result of observations of their own people. Since the behavior of animals and men shows a huge generality and similarity with the individual peoples, it's much more conceivable that the origin of the decisive majority of the sayings is to be found in their own people, in Israel in our case.

In Proverbs the speakers are predominantly the parents, thus the education for wisdom is primarily the task of the parents.<sup>33</sup> The son is addressed, and father and mother stand in the background (1,8). Likewise, we meet three characters in 10,1. Thus do the two parts couple up. In the third part we find the obedient son, and we may surmise in similar manner the father and the mother in the background pursuant to the translation of the Vulgata (Prov 29,27): "*Verbum custodiens filius extra perditio-*

<sup>31</sup> A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 166.

<sup>32</sup> As a potential source, folk wisdom is challenged in general. The origin of the education of wisdom is traced back rather to the courtly instruction of officials and princes. Thus, for instance, W. McKane, *Proverbs*, 414, where he writes the following: "Unlike the masal, it does not have a popular origin; its origins are rather in the circle of the court and the establishment; in its international context it is concerned with the preparation of officials for high office in the state".

<sup>33</sup> J. L. Crenshaw, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence*. The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York, etc.: Doubleday Publ., 1998), 132: "The usual speakers in the Book of Proverbs are parents, both father and mother. They teach their children in the privacy of the home, although the explicit audience is restricted to boys". A similar view is given by L. Alonso Schökel & J. Vilchez Lindez, *I Proverbi*, 301.

*nem erit.*” This edition is missing from the Neo-Vulgate, the G and the TM. Some sort of scheme does show in the editing, nevertheless many of the exegetes fails to find inner order in this section. Conflict rules between the just and the wicked (dikaiosüné – adikia; bén hakam and kesil). In Chapter 10 the relationship between deed and consequence can well be observed<sup>34</sup>. This principle (long life – blessing of the Lord, cf. Eccl 4,7–13) is overwritten in later texts. The wise man lives in harmony with nature and adopts the habits of society. As far as this is concerned, no crucial difference exists in the concept of wisdom between the Old Testament and Ancient Near East.

### WHAT IS THE RIGHTEOUS MAN LIKE?

On the basis of Chapter 10, we can say that he is diligent, God-fearing and, above all, he acquires the appropriate style of speech. He knows when to keep silent and when to talk. As this wasn’t taught too much outside of the royal courts, it can be said in general that the folk doesn’t put a lock on its mouth and sooner does it engage in mockery and jeering, thus warnings related to speech may have originated in the court circles where the diplomats were trained.

Conspicuously, in this second part of the book, the longest collection, where Proverbs 10 too belongs, speech is the theme of 375 sayings<sup>35</sup>. Here in Chapter 10, the imperative mood isn’t used, but the affirmative sentence instead. Egyptian literature of wisdom is mainly characteristic of the imperative mood, while this too can be found in the book of Proverbs<sup>36</sup>. In verse 8 “*The wise of heart receiveth precepts*”: this might literally refer to courtly circles or perhaps to the command of superiority, but the mitzvót (commands) may be related to divine commands too. For prior to this, the theme concerned the blessing of the Lord and the blessed memory of the righteous (verses 6 and 7).

The just man is not quarrelsome, but rather he covers up the fault and the guilt. Love covers up and enshrouds a lot of crimes (1Pet 4,8). The talk of the righteous and his lip is the source of life (verse 11). We might think here of the comforting and confirmatory words by which the just strengthens the weak. The upright man uses his lips to teach others. He accepts caution (verse 17) and seeks peacefulness (verse 10). A momentous part of the whole book is the discipline of speech, since out of the sayings of part 2, no less than 375 deal with the topic. The just serves life even with his own wealth (verse 16). The wish of the righteous is fulfilled by the Lord. The charac-

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<sup>34</sup> B. Janowski, „Die Tat kehrt zum Täter zurück. Offene Fragen im Umkreis des »Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhangs«, *ZThK* 91 (1994): 247–273.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A. Meinhold, *op.cit.*, 172.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs*, 186, 607.

terization of the foolish man is not given here, on account of size restrictions. But mostly it depicts the opposites of those enumerated here, which the book discusses at great length.

### WILL THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE RIGHTEOUS SAVE HIM FROM DEATH?

Verse 2b claims justice rescues from death. Earlier, we read in 2a that the *“treasure acquired through sin will not result profit”*. Does the practise of justice and rightfulness save from death? On the basis of the conception we hold today we say yes, it will save us from eternal death. But the Aramic translation of paraphrasal nature of the Old Testament knows full well that the righteous man dies too, so by referring to the manner of death it translates as follows: *“it saves from evil death”*<sup>37</sup>. And obviously, this it perceives as the violent premature death. And, also, we could list here the modes of death and illness elicited by various forms of misfortune and calamity. It appears to be suggesting that righteousness saves from all these. We can remark in this context that the Old Testament is aware of juvenile death and then it speaks that God have snatched them from among the wicked. The Book of Wisdom has the following to say: *“But though the righteous be prevented with death, yet shall he be in rest. For honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years. But wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.”* (Wis 4,7f)

Here and in 11,4 it's not about everlasting life, since this thought was phrased only later, in the book of Daniel: *“And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to reproach and everlasting shame.”* (Dan 12,2).

In the rabbinic literature and in the late books of the Old Testament it's charity and alms, that is, the acts of clemency that save us from eternal death, and these have propitiatory force (Sir 3,30; Tob 4,10; Dan 4,24). Alms fulfill the role of justfulness and surpass that even: *“Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life: For alms doth deliver from death, and shall purge away all sin”* (Tob 12,9)<sup>38</sup>. The tractate on Shabbat in the Talmud states the following (156b): „He who pursue charity and mercy finds life. And charity will save from death, it does not only mean that it will save a person from an unusual death but even from death itself” (Baba batra 10a; Rosh Hashanah 16b)<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. Meinhold, *op.cit.*, 166.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. A. Meinhold, *Sprüche*, 166. Even more loci are given and discussed in detail by L. Alonso Schökel e J. Vilchez Lindez, *I Proverbi*, 301–302.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. A. Meinhold, *op.cit.*, 167.

### RICHES AND POVERTY

Social sensibility is extremely strong in the prophetic literature. Deception and exploitation of the poor is considered a grave sin, therefore the revenge of God is put in perspective (Am 5,7–13). Deuteronomy, the fifth Book of the Law of Moses, even prohibits the pledge of upper clothes, since it's the night cover (the cloak) which must be returned to the poor before sunset and who does this, his act is counted as uprightness before YHWH (Deut 24,13). There exists in Israel the Movement of the Poor which says that the therapists take only food necessary for keeping themselves in life only. Jesus himself says that the poor are happy. In his letters Apostle Paul offers his own example for scores of times, who is impecunious and is in jail, and he is happy nonetheless. He reproves in Corinth that the poor are humiliated by the rich even in the course of the Lord's Supper (1Cor 11,17–22). And they make distinctions between the poor and the rich even within the community: *"My brothers and sisters, believers in our glorious Lord Jesus Christ must not show favoritism."* (Jam 2,1 and cf. 2,1–9 too) The book of Proverbs highly appreciates richness and keeps it as a blessing of the Lord. Yet it condemns the contempt of the poor (13,8). It dwells upon the fleeting nature of richness (23,5). It knows the temptation of unscrupulous enrichment (28,8). And the rich person can be pretentious as opposed to God as well as his fellow men (30,8f); *"The poor plead for mercy, but the rich answer harshly"* (18,23). However, He knows that kind of poverty that is elicited from laziness, and he is compelled to work free of charge and even starve: *"Diligent hands will rule, but laziness ends in forced labor"* (12,24); *"Laziness brings on deep sleep, and the shiftless go hungry"* (19,15).

The disadvantage of the poor is not only of economic nature, which is accompanied with the decrease of life quality too, but from now on they'll rule over it and handle it hard, he shall be humiliating (18,23) and is avoided by relatives as well as by friends (14,20; 19,4,7).

To sum up, we can say that the behavior of the wise and the fool is thoroughly rendered by Proverbs 10 and it serves thereby education that starts in the family, while assertions related to speech and its overwhelming nature must have served the tuition of court officials. The other books of the Old Testament also places enormous weight upon the acquisition of wisdom, and this is not independent of the commands recorded in the Torah which do possess the intention of education as well.



## CHRISTUS ALS VORBILD DER DEMUT NACH PHIL 2,1–11

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Unter christologischem Gesichtspunkt ist Phil 2,6–11 einer der bedeutendsten Texte des Neuen Testaments. Er besteht aus zwei Teilen: im ersten (VV. 6–8) handelt es sich um die Präexistenz und die Fleischwerdung sowie um das irdische Leben Jesu, das in den Kreuzestod mündet. In dem zweiten Teil (VV. 9–11) wird die Erhöhung Christi beschrieben, die als die Antwort Gottes auf die Demut und den Gehorsam Jesu zu begreifen ist und universale Herrschaft zur Folge hat.<sup>1</sup>

Seit der 1928 erschienenen Monografie von Ernst Lohmeyer<sup>2</sup> vertritt die Mehrheit der Exegeten die Auffassung, dass Phil 2,6–11 nicht die Formulierung von Paulus ist, sondern schon vor der Abfassung des Briefes als katechetisches und liturgisches Stück existierte.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ich zitiere den Text von Phil 2,6–11 nach der Einheitsübersetzung:

VV. 6–8

*Er war Gott gleich, hielt aber nicht daran fest, Gott gleich zu sein, sondern er entäußerte sich und wurde wie ein Sklave und den Menschen gleich. Sein Leben war das eines Menschen; er erniedrigte sich und war gehorsam bis zum Tod, bis zum Tod am Kreuz.*

VV. 9–11

*Darum hat ihn Gott über alle erhöht und ihm den Namen verliehen, der größer ist als alle Namen, damit alle im Himmel, auf der Erde und unter der Erde ihr Knie beugen vor dem Namen Jesu und jeder Mund bekennt: Jesus Christus ist der Herr zur Ehre Gottes, des Vaters.*

<sup>2</sup> E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil 2,6–11*, (Heidelberg, 1928; Darmstadt: Nachdruck, 1961<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. die folgenden Aufsätze bzw. Monografien: E. Käsemann, „Kritische Analyse von Phil 2,5–11“, in Ders., *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen I* (Göttingen, 1960), 51–95; G. Bornkamm, „Zum Verständnis des Christus-Hymnus Phil 2,6–11“, in Ders., *Studien zu Antike und Christentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze II* (München, 1959), 177–187; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians 2,5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (Cambridge 1967); U. B. Müller, „Der Christushymnus Phil 2,6–11“, in *NTW79* (1988): 17–44; O. Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper 2,6–11. Untersuchungen zu Gestalt und Aussage eines urchristlichen Psalms* (Tübingen, 1991<sup>2</sup>); Th. Söding, „Erniedrigung und Erhöhung. Zum Verhältnis von Christologie und Mythos nach dem Philipperhymnus (Phil 2,6–11)“, in Ders., *Das Wort vom Kreuz. Studien zur paulinischen Theologie* (Tübingen, 1997), 104–131; L. W. Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Historical Questions about Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Cambridge, 2005), 83–108; R. Kampling, „Das Lied vom Weg Jesu, des Herrn. Eine Annäherung an Phil 2,6–11“, in *BiKi* (2009): 18–22.

Der vorpaulinische Ursprung wird freilich auch in den Kommentaren zum Philipperbrief vertreten. Vgl. J. Gnllka, *Der Philipperbrief*. HThKNT X/3 (Freiburg – Basel – Wien, 1968; 1980<sup>3</sup>), 131–147; W. Eckey, *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an Philemon. Ein Kommentar* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2006), 79–87.

Der vorpaulinische Ursprung kann sowohl durch sprachliche als auch durch inhaltliche Gründe bewiesen werden.<sup>4</sup>

Wegen des parallelismus membrorum und des feierlichen Tones wird der besprochene Abschnitt meistens Hymnus genannt. Er gehört zu einer paränetischen Einheit (1,27–2,16), in der Paulus zur authentischen christlichen Lebensweise ermahnt. Phil 2,6–11 schließt sich eng an den Abschnitt Phil 2,1–5 an, der als eine Art Einleitung zum hymnischen Stück angesehen werden kann.

In 2,1–5 wird die durch die Liebe sich verwirklichende Einheit und Eintracht mit besonderem Nachdruck hervorgehoben. Von großer Bedeutung ist V. 3: „dass ihr nichts aus Streitsucht und nichts aus Prahlerei tut. Sondern in Demut schätze einer den andern höher ein als sich selbst.“ Das Schlüsselwort des Satzes ist ταπεινοφροσύνη. Dieses Substantiv bildet den Anschlusspunkt zum Hymnus, in dem unter anderen von der Demut Christi die Rede ist. In Hinblick auf diesen Zusammenhang kann der Eindruck entstehen, dass Paulus das urchristliche Stück deshalb zitiert, weil er die demütige Haltung Jesu als Vorbild vor die Leser stellen möchte.

In meinem Aufsatz möchte ich auf Phil 2,6–11 konzentrieren und vor allem darüber nachdenken, ob der urchristliche Hymnus selbst einen paränetischen Charakter hat: Wollte der Verfasser des Hymnus nur eine dogmatische Lehre vermitteln oder wollte er Christus ausdrücklich als Vorbild vorstellen? Darüber hinaus möchte ich auch die Mahnung von Paulus, besonders den Inhalt von V. 5 kurz behandeln.

## I. DIE DEMUT CHRISTI IM PHILIPPERHYMNUS (2,6–11)

### PARÄNESE IM HYMNUS?

Um die Frage, die sich auf den eventuellen paränetischen Charakter des Hymnus bezieht, beantworten zu können, sollen wir vor allem den religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund klären: Welche biblischen und altorientalischen Motive stehen hinter dem

<sup>4</sup> Die Substantive μορφή und ἀρπαγμός kommen in anderen paulinischen Briefen nicht vor, die Ausdrücke ὑπερψόω und καταχθόνιος sind Hapax legomena. Die Formulierungen τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ und ἑαυτὸν ἐκέκωσεν sind ebenso ganz eigenartig und begegnen sonst nicht im Neuen Testament. Unter theologischem Gesichtspunkt ist das Fehlen des Hinweises auf die soteriologische Bedeutung des Todes Christi sehr auffallend. Darüber hinaus wird in Phil 2,6–11 die Gegenüberstellung von Erniedrigung – Erhöhung hervorgehoben, während für Paulus die Entgegensetzung von Tod und Auferstehung charakteristisch ist.

Einige Exegeten halten diese Argumente nicht für entscheidend und vertreten die paulinische Verfasserschaft des besprochenen Textes. Vgl. J.-F. Collange, *L'épître de Saint Paul aux Philippiens* (CNT Xa) (Neuchâtel, 1973), 81–85; N. Baumert, *Der Weg des Trauens. Übersetzung und Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater und des Briefes an die Philipper* (Würzburg, 2009), 305–308. Es gibt Forscher, die sowohl den vorpaulinischen Ursprung als auch die paulinische Autorschaft für möglich halten. Vgl. G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians*. WBC 43 (Nashville, 1983), 78; M. Hengel, „Präexistenz bei Paulus?“, in Ders., *Paulus und Jakobus. Kleine Schriften III* (Tübingen, 2002), 262–301, 268f.

Text des Hymnus? Die Exegeten haben viele Vorschläge gemacht, von denen ich nur drei erwähne.

a) Ein Teil der Forscher behauptet,<sup>5</sup> dass mehrere Aussagen des Hymnus *mit dem vierten Gottesknechtslied* in engem Zusammenhang stehen, den wir folgenderweise schildern:

Phil 2,6–11	Jes 52,12–53–12
δούλου (V. 7) <sup>6</sup>	δουλεύοντα (53,11)
ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν (V. 8)	ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει (53,8)
διό (V. 9)	διὰ τοῦτο (53,12)
ὑπερύψωσεν (V. 9)	ὑψωθήσεται (52,13)

Die benannten Zusammenhänge sind in der Tat beachtenswert, aber nicht in jeder Hinsicht entscheidend. Vor allem darf nicht unbeachtet bleiben, dass es im Hymnus auf andere alttestamentliche Texte viel eindeutiger Hinweise gibt als auf das Gottesknechtslied (vgl. Phil 2,10 und Iz 45,23). Das Substantiv δούλος ist keine Bezeichnung für Jesus; es bezieht sich einfach auf das Menschsein, das durch Schwachheit und Beschränkung charakterisiert ist.<sup>7</sup> Darüber hinaus fehlt das Motiv des stellvertretenden Sühnetodes, das der entscheidende Gedanke der Gottesknechttheologie ist. Trotzdem dürfen wir die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, dass das vierte Gottesknechtslied den Autor des Philipperhymnus gewissermaßen inspirierte. Aber der Einfluss zeigt sich nicht in sprachlichen Anklängen, sondern in der Parallelität des Gedankenganges:

„Auf Jes 53 weist... die Gegenüberstellung von äußerster Erniedrigung und Erhöhung, die Freiwilligkeit der Erniedrigung, die Erwähnung des Gehorsams und des Todes.“<sup>8</sup>

Meine Schlussfolgerung: Die Gottesknechtstradition ist eine mögliche Grundlage, aber keineswegs die einzige. Wenn im Hintergrund des Hymnus allein die Gestalt von Ebed JHWH stände, dann könnte Christus höchstens indirekt als zur Nachfolge anregendes Vorbild angesehen werden.

<sup>5</sup> Vö. A. Feuillet, „L’hymne christologique de l’épître aux Philippiens (II,6–11)“, in *RB72* (1965): 352–380. 481–507; J. Jeremias, „Zu Philipper 2,7: ἑαυτόν ἐκένωσεν“, in Ders., *Abba – Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1966), 308–313; O. Hofius, *Christushymnus*, 70–74.

<sup>6</sup> In der Septuaginta findet man πάντες statt δούλος. Aber der Partizip δουλεύοντα (53,11) hätte einen Einfluss auf den Verfasser des Philipperhymnus ausüben können.

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. U. B. Müller, „Christushymnus“, 26–31.

<sup>8</sup> J. Jeremias, „Philipper 2,7“, 208–209. Zitiert von O. Hofius, *Christushymnus*, 70.



b) Manche Exegeten entdecken im Hymnus eine *scharfe Kritik gegenüber Herrschern*, die ihre Macht missbrauchen. Vor kurzer Zeit hat Samuel Vollenweider diesbezüglich seine Ansicht ausführlich vorgestellt. Er weist auf alttestamentliche Texte hin, die „von der Inanspruchnahme einer Gott allein zustehenden Position durch anmassende Völker und speziell durch ihre Herrscher“ handeln.<sup>9</sup> Vor allem verdiene das Spottklagelied über den babylonischen König in Jes 14,5–21 besondere Beachtung. Die wichtigsten Aussagen seien in VV. 12–15 enthalten:

„Wie bist du vom Himmel gefallen, du strahlender Sohn der Morgenröte. [...] Du sprachst in deinem Herzen: ‚Zum Himmel empor will ich steigen, hoch über den Sternen Gottes aufrichten meinen Sitz, will thronen auf dem Götterberg im äussersten Norden! Ich will über Wolkenhöhen emporsteigen, dem Höchsten mich gleichstellen.“<sup>10</sup>

Ähnliche Beschreibung findet sich im Buch Ezechiel über einen in mythischen Farben gemalten Machträger (Ez 28) und im Buch Daniel über den Seleukidenkönig IV. Antiochos Epiphanes (Dan 8,9–12. 23–25; 11,12. 36–39). Eigens zu erwähnen sei 2Makk 9,1–29, wo von dem Tod des letztgenannten Herrschers berichtet wird. Vollenweider zitiert VV. 10–12:

„Kurz zuvor hatte er noch geglaubt, er könne nach Sternen des Himmels greifen [...] Da begann er, von seinem masslosen Hochmut abzulassen [...] und sprach: ‚Es ist recht, sich Gott zu unterwerfen und als Sterblicher nicht Gottgleiches zu sinnen (ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν).“<sup>11</sup>

Der schweizerische Exeget weist auch darauf hin, dass über hochmütige Machthaber in der hellenistischen Literatur sowohl kritische als auch anerkennende Äußerungen zu finden seien. Ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit gelte Alexander dem Großen. Einerseits werde er von vielen bewundert und ἰσόθεος genannt, andererseits werde er oft wegen seiner Ruhmsucht und Vermessenheit verurteilt.

Seine Erwägungen fasst Vollenweider folgendermaßen zusammen:

„der sich selbst erniedrigende Christus wird in Phil 2,6–11 als Gegenbild zum Typ des sich selbst erhöhenden Herrschers dargestellt. Christi Weltherrschaft beruht nicht auf Usurpation und Selbsterhöhung, sondern auf Entäusserung und Dahingabe für Andere.“<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> S. Vollenweider, „Der Raub der Gottgleichheit. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vorschlag zu Phil 2,6(–11)“, in *NTS* 45 (1999): 413–433, 420.

<sup>10</sup> Die Übersetzung des prophetischen Textes ist von Vollenweider. A. a. o. 421.

<sup>11</sup> A. a. o.

<sup>12</sup> A. a. o. 431.

Freilich bin ich mit diesen Aussagen völlig einverstanden. Trotzdem meine ich, dass durch den Hinweis auf anmaßende Herrscher der Hintergrund des Hymnus nicht genügend geklärt ist. In Phil 2,6–11 handelt es sich nicht um einen irdischen Machthaber, der seine Position nicht missbraucht, sondern um den präexistenten Christus, der sich nach seiner Inkarnation keine politische Macht beansprucht. Seine Herrschaft nach der Auferstehung ist transzendent und kann mit keiner irdischen Machtposition verglichen werden. In Hinblick auf unser Thema bin ich der Ansicht: Wenn Christus nur als Gegenbild eines machtsüchtigen Herrschers vorgestellt wäre, könnte er nur von christlichen Vorstehern und anderen Machthabern als direkt nachahmendes Vorbild betrachtet werden.

c) Es gibt Forscher, die meinen, im ersten Teil des Hymnus (2,6–8) eine Art *Adam-Christus Antithese* entdecken zu können. Sie führen folgende Argumente vor: 1) Die Tatsache, dass „Christus nicht für einen Raub hielt, Gott gleich zu sein“, könne man als Gegensatz zum Streben Adams nach Gottgleichheit verstehen. 2) Der Gehorsam Christi in V. 8. stehe dem Ungehorsam Adams gegenüber.

Diese Theorie hat zwei Varianten. Nach der ersten Variante werde ausschließlich der Mensch Jesu Adam gegenübergestellt.<sup>13</sup> Die Vertreter der Ansicht bestreiten das Vorhandensein der Präexistenz im Hymnus und behaupten, dass er von Anfang an vom fleischgewordenen Christus handelt. Der Ausdruck *μορφῇ θεοῦ* sei als Hinweis auf die Gottesebenbildlichkeit zu verstehen. Allerdings kann ich diese Anschauung nicht akzeptieren. Wenn schon in V. 6 von dem Menschen Jesus die Rede ist, welchen Sinn kann der Inhalt von V. 7 haben? Was bedeutet es, dass Christus „sich entäußerte“ und „den Menschen gleich“ wurde?

Gemäß der anderen Variante, die ich für sehr beachtenswert halte, bezieht sich die Gegenüberstellung nicht nur auf den inkarnierten, sondern auch auf den präexistenten Christus. Die Anfangsaussagen können lediglich als Hinweise auf die Präexistenz aufgefasst werden. „*Er war in Gestalt Gottes (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ), hielt aber nicht für einen Raub, Gott gleich zu sein*“ (2,6). Ulrich Wilckens weist mit Recht auf das Gewicht des Substantivs „Raub“ hin.

„Dieses derbe Wort fällt im Kontext hymnischer Sprache sehr auf. Seine Wahl ist überzeugend erklärbar, wenn es sich um einen pointierten Gegensatz zum Begehren Adams im Paradies handelt, von der verbotenen Frucht zu essen, um zu »werden wie Gott« (Gen 3,5). Christus dagegen war Gott gleich, gab jedoch diese unmittelbare Gottesnähe als seinen einzigartigen persönlichen >Status< preis und wählte statt dessen den »Sklaven«-Sta-

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. J. Murphy-O’connor, „Christological Anthropology in Phil 2,6–11“, in *RB* 82 (1976): 25–50; J. D. G. Dunn, *Christology in the Making* (London, 1980), 114–125; E. di Pede – A. Wénin, „Le Christ Jésus et l’humain de l’Éden. L’hymne aux Philippiens (2,6–11) et le début de la Genèse“, in *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 43 (2012): 225–241.

tus der (nachadamitischen) Menschen, um diesen gleich zu sein. So verkehrte er die Zielrichtung der »Selbstverwirklichung« Adams als Streben nach der absoluten Höhe der Gottgleichheit in die entgegengesetzte Zielrichtung der »Erniedrigung« aus der göttlichen Höhe in die Tiefe der Menschen.<sup>14</sup>

Wenn Christus am Anfang des Hymnus als Gegentyp Adams erscheint, dann können wir diese Gegenüberstellung auch in den folgenden Versen, die das menschliche Leben Christi beschreiben, postulieren. So gesehen wird der paränetische Charakter des Textes viel offensichtlicher: Christus als Gegentyp Adams zeigt, was die richtige menschliche Haltung ist, obwohl er eine einzigartige Sendung erfüllt hat.<sup>15</sup> In dieser Hinsicht hat V. 8. sehr große Bedeutung. Wir können ihn näher betrachten.

### DIE SELBSTERNIEDRIGUNG CHRISTI IN V. 8

Der Inhalt von V. 8: „*er erniedrigte sich und war gehorsam bis zum Tod, bis zum Tod am Kreuz.*“ Der Satz wird in unterschiedlicher Weise interpretiert. Nach manchen Exegeten enthält V. 8 nichts Neues: er bezieht sich auf dieselbe Wirklichkeit wie V. 7. Thomas Söding schreibt:

„Diese tapeinosis, von der Phil 2,8 spricht, äußert sich ... darin, dass Jesus Christus sich ohne jeden Vorbehalt in die Begrenztheit menschlichen Lebens hineinbegibt und alles auf sich nimmt, was damit an Ohnmacht, Schmach, Leid und Unvollkommenheit verbunden ist.“<sup>16</sup>

Immerhin darf ein wichtiger Aspekt, auf den Jean-Francois Collange aufmerksam macht, nicht unbeachtet bleiben: Das Adjektiv ταπεινός kommt im Neuen Testament immer als Gegensatz zu „groß“, „mächtig“, „hochmütig“, „überheblich“ vor.<sup>17</sup>

„Er stürzt die Mächtigen vom Thron und erhöht die Niedrigen“ (Lk 1,52).

„Seid untereinander eines Sinnes; strebt nicht hoch hinaus, sondern bleibt demütig“ (Röm 12,16).

„Der Bruder, der in niederem Stand lebt, rühme sich seiner hohen Würde, der Reiche aber seiner Niedrigkeit“ (Jak 1,9).

<sup>14</sup> U. Wilckens, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments I*. Teilband 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2005), 247.

<sup>15</sup> Joachim Gnllka scheint mir einseitig zu sein, indem er schreibt: „Dennoch ist die ταπεινός des Einen aber in der Tat nicht zur Imitation vorgegeben. Sie beruht auf sich. In ihr offenbarte sich das Gottwesen als Mensch, im Fleisch.“ J. Gnllka, *Philippenerbrief*, 124. Der Hymnus handelt zweifellos von dem Einen. Aber als der Einer „den Menschen gleich wurde“, wurde er zugleich Beispiel für sie, das freilich nicht im Sinn einer völligen Nachahmung aufzufassen ist.

<sup>16</sup> T. Söding, „Erniedrigung und Erhöhung“, 116.

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. J.-F. Collange, *Philippiens*, 94.

Dieser Aspekt kann auch in Bezug auf das Verb ταπεινώω beobachtet werden:

„Denn wer sich selbst erhöht, wird erniedrigt, und wer sich selbst erniedrigt, wird erhöht werden“ (Mt 23,12).

„Oder habe ich einen Fehler gemacht, als ich, um euch zu erhöhen, mich selbst erniedrigte und euch das Evangelium Gottes verkündigte, ohne etwas dafür zu nehmen?“ (2Kor 11,7).<sup>18</sup>

Aufgrund der zitierten Texte komme ich zu dem Schluss, dass der die Formulierung „er hat sich erniedrigt“ Folgendes bedeutet: Christus hat darauf verzichtet, andere zu überwältigen. Treffend formuliert Wilfried Eckey: „Als Mensch war er nicht auf Selbstsicherung und Selbstdurchsetzung aus, war auch nicht ängstlich um seine Selbstbewahrung besorgt, sondern erwies seine Hingabefähigkeit in der Wahl der Demut als ihm gemäße Lebensform.“<sup>19</sup>

Ich kann auch auf die Position von Larry Hurtado hinweisen, der behauptet, dass sich die Selbsterniedrigung und der Gehorsam Jesu wahrscheinlich auf seine Bereitschaft, den Weg des Dienstes zu gehen, beziehen.<sup>20</sup> Die Demut Christi ist also eng verbunden mit Solidarität und Selbstlosigkeit. Sie entspricht dem, was in V. 4. geschrieben steht: „Jeder achte nicht nur auf das eigene Wohl, sondern auch auf das der anderen.“

## 2. DIE ABSICHT VON PAULUS NACH V. 5.

Ich habe schon darauf hingewiesen, dass das Motiv der Demut, als wesentliches Element der Mahnung von Paulus, in V. 3 vorkommt. Der Christ muss sich vor der Versuchung der Hochmut behüten bzw. bereit sein, andere Mitglieder der Gemeinde hochzuschätzen und mit ihnen solidarisch zu sein. Weil im Hymnus gerade die Selbstlosigkeit des Menschen Jesu hervorgehoben wird, ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass Paulus sie als Beispiel für die Christen in Philippi vorstellen möchte. Aber seine Absicht beschränkt sich nicht auf eine einfache Aufforderung zur Nachahmung, weil der zum Hymnus überleitende Satz im V. 5 auch einen anderen Aspekt deutlich macht: τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Am Ende des Satzes fehlt das Verb, das in den Übersetzungen eingefügt werden muss. Die Logik verlangt die Präsens. Deshalb bevorzugt Joachim Gnilka die folgende Form: „Das sinnet untereinander, was auch in Christus Jesus (zu sinnen sich

<sup>18</sup> Die Bibelzitate sind aus der Einheitsübersetzung.

<sup>19</sup> W. Eckey, *Philipper*, 86.

<sup>20</sup> „That is, the self-humbling and obedience in V. 8 are probably to be taken as referring to the readiness of the human Jesus to take the path of service (and this must be taken as obedience to God), even at the cost of his life through the violence of crucifixion.“ L. W. Hurtado, *How on Earth*, 103.

schickt)<sup>21</sup> Paulus will vor allem darauf hinweisen, dass die Lebensform der Christen und ihre Haltung einander gegenüber ihrer in Christus verwurzelten Existenz entsprechen müssen.

„En Christō verweist nicht nur auf das vergangene Heilsgeschehen des Kreuzestodes Jesu, sondern auf die pneumatische Herrschaft, die der auferweckte und erhöhte Gekreuzigte als Kyrios bereits gegenwärtig über die Glaubenden ausübt (vgl. 2,1). Insofern ist die gehorsame Selbsterniedrigung Jesu Christi, die zu seiner Erhöhung durch Gott führt, der Ermöglichungsgrund jener Praxis, die Paulus parakletisch empfiehlt.“<sup>22</sup>

Folgenderweise ist die Übung der Demut nicht nur wegen des Vorbilds Jesu notwendig, sondern auch wegen der Zugehörigkeit zu Christus. Nur so wird offensichtlich, dass die Christen in der Tat unter der Herrschaft Jesu stehen. Gerade die existenzielle Einheit mit Christus bewegt und befähigt sie dazu, auf das Trachten nach Eigennutz zu verzichten und in brüderlicher Verbundenheit auf das Wohl anderer zu achten (V. 4.).

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<sup>21</sup> J. Gnilka, *Philippenerbrief*, 108. In der Einheitsübersetzung wird der griechische Text folgenderweise wiedergegeben: „Seid untereinander so gesinnt, wie es dem Leben in Christus Jesus entspricht.“

<sup>22</sup> T. Söding, „Erniedrigung und Erhöhung“, 128.

Viktor KÓKAI NAGY

## MACHT HABEN UND MACHT AUSÜBEN – ÜBER RÖM 13,1-7 NACHDENKEN\*

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Es gibt Texte im Neuen Testament, die sich mit der politischen Macht beschäftigen (neben Röm 13,1–7 s. 1Pt 2,13–17; 1Tim 2,1f.; Tit 3,1f., Off 13). Diese Texte haben die Gemeinsamkeit, dass sie – selbstverständlich – aus einer machtlosen Position heraus geschrieben wurde. Trotzdem hat man diese Texte auch zur Begründung der Ausübung von Macht herangezogen. Und bis heute sind diese Texte unumgänglich, wenn man als Christ/innen über die weltliche und / oder politische Macht redet oder eine Meinung über die Machtausübung oder über die Kooperation der Kirche mit den Machthabern formuliert.<sup>1</sup> Summarisch kann man sagen: Das Neue Testament sagt nur, dass „die Staats- und Rechtsordnung von Gott gewollt ist, von ihm ihren Auftrag hat und dass Christen sich darum dieser Ordnung nicht entziehen, sondern ihr gerecht werden und für ihre Träger beten sollen“.<sup>2</sup> Demgegenüber erscheint die christliche Gemeinde als eine besondere Entität, in der nicht die weltlichen Machtrelationen gültig sind, sondern vielmehr eine füreinander dienende Attitüde (Mk 10,42–45 par.). Aber die Warnung des Röm 13,1–7 vor jeglichem widersetzlichen Handeln gegenüber der staatlichen Ordnung und Organen ist auch in diesen Texten eigenartig. Röm 13,1–7 ist heutzutage weniger schwierig als vielmehr irrelevant.<sup>3</sup> Trotzdem dürfen wir hoffen, doch eine relevante Antwort auf die Frage zu bekommen: wie Paulus über die politische Macht in Röm 13 denkt.

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\* Es ist eine überarbeitete Version meiner Vorlesung, die ich am Symposium „Christentum und Demokratie in Europa, Konferenz theologischer Universitäten in Kampen und Debrecen“ in Debrecen am 27. 03. 2019 gehalten habe. Ich bedanke mich um die wertvolle Bemerkungen von Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr.

<sup>1</sup> In einer Vorlesung hat man keine Chance alle Theorie und Meinungen zu erklären oder auch nur zu skizzieren. Zur Forschungsgeschichte s. den Aufsatz von E. Käsemann weiter Krauter, *Studien* (4–54); Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16 (43–66).

<sup>2</sup> Joest, *Dogmatik*, 601.

<sup>3</sup> Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 287.

## I. GESCHICHTLICHER HINTERGRUND

Veranlassung und Zweck der Ermahnung in Röm 13,1–7 hängen eng zusammen mit der geschichtlichen Situation, in der sich die Gemeinde befindet. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass der Apostel seinen Brief im Jahre 56 n. Chr. in Korinth verfasst hat. „In der Zeit zwischen dem Claudius-Edikt (49 n. Chr.) und den Christenverfolgungen unter Nero (64 n. Chr.) wuchsen die römischen Hausgemeinden erheblich und wurden für Außenstehende identifizierbar.“<sup>4</sup> Man kann sich gut vorstellen (vgl. 12,19–21), dass die Juden nach dem Konflikt wegen „Chrestus“ (Suetonius, Claudius, 25)<sup>5</sup> die Judenchristen<sup>6</sup> aus der Synagoge verwiesen und sie der römischen Behörde als feindliche Gruppe anzuzeigen versuchten, um sich selbst zu schützen. Andere meinen, dass die Juden und die Christen weiterhin in Friede neben einander gelebt haben und es eine offene Gesprächskontakte zwischen den beiden Gruppen gab.<sup>7</sup> Es scheint sicher zu sein, dass die beiden Gruppen nicht alle Kontakte verloren haben. Aber bleibt weiterhin unsicher, ob ihre Beziehung gut oder eher schlecht war.

Andererseits konnte die römische Behörde die Christen als verdächtige neumodische Gruppe, ja als „eine Sekte von einem neuen Aberglauben“ (Sueton, Nero, 16) schon in dieser Zeit betrachten<sup>8</sup>, die eine Bedrohung für die alte römische Religion und Tradition ist. Daran ändert sich auch nichts, wenn wir annehmen, dass es noch keine scharfe Grenze zwischen jüdische und christliche Gemeinde gab, weil die Behörde die Juden und die andere fremden Kulte auch ähnlich betrachten hat, ihr Ziel war, den alten römischen Kult zu bewahren. Die Mehrheit der Gemeinde waren schon Heidenchristen, auch wenn mancher Judenchrist nach dem Tode Claudius zurückkehrte (vgl. Röm 16 – mindestens fünf der zwanzig erwähnten Personen waren jüdischer Herkunft<sup>9</sup>). Die selbständigen Hausgemeinden lebten also in einer spannungsreichen Situation (vgl. Röm 8,35f.; 12,14.19–21)<sup>10</sup>, in der sie die Aufmerksamkeit nicht auf sich ziehen sollten. Aber man muss auch klar sehen, dass sie trotzdem eine Minderheit so-

<sup>4</sup> Schnelle, *Einleitung*, 129. Es wirft immerhin etliche Fragen auf, dass Josephus den Brand in Rom nie erwähnt, obwohl er zwischen Frühling 63 und 64 in Rom gewesen sein sollte – Niebuhr, *Roman Jews*, 76.

<sup>5</sup> Übersetzt von A. Stahr – online: <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/kaiserbiographien-8675/7> – am 06.03.2019.

<sup>6</sup> S. dazu Niebuhr, *Roman Jews*, 68.

<sup>7</sup> So meint K.-W. Niebuhr auf Grund Apg 28, wo Lukas nichts über diese Zwiespältigkeit zu wissen scheint (*ibid.*, 72).

<sup>8</sup> Schnelle, *Einleitung*, 130.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. Niebuhr, *Roman Jews*, 69f.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. Schnelle, *Paulus*, 335f.

wohl zwischen den Kulturen als auch in der Stadtbevölkerung waren<sup>11</sup> und die Mehrheit von ihnen der niederen sozialen Schicht der Gesellschaft angehörte (in der Gemeinde neben freien Menschen auch Sklaven aus der *familia Caesaris* und aus dem Haushalt mächtiger freigelassener Sklaven gewesen sind<sup>12</sup>). Es bedeutet auch, dass man mit einem Widerstand gegenüber der Staatsgewalt und ihren Vertretern nicht rechnen kann. Andererseits ist es auch gut möglich, dass mit einem wachsenden jüdischen Nationalismus zu rechnen war<sup>13</sup>, der auch für die christliche Gemeinde eine Gefahr bedeuten konnte.

Was das politische Leben betrifft: nach dem Tode des Claudius (54 n. Chr.) wurde das Reich fünf Jahre lang von Neros Lehrer Seneca und dem Prätorianerpräfekten Burrus verwaltet. „Sie waren die legitimen ‚Autoritäten‘ (ἐξουσίαι/exousíai)“<sup>14</sup>, weil Nero noch minderjährig war. Wir dürfen annehmen, auch wenn unsere Quellen unsicher sind<sup>15</sup>, dass es keine dunkle Zeit war, sondern die Zeit der Hoffnung und des Friedens.<sup>16</sup> Besonders wenn wir bedenken, wie man die Regierung von Claudius und Caligula beurteilt hat. Obwohl Claudius in Alexandria die Situation stabilisierte, hat er seiner Amtszeit in Rom mit einem Versammlungsverbot begonnen (41 n. Chr.), dann die Juden(Christen) aus Rom ausgewiesen (49 n. Chr.)<sup>17</sup>, so dass er unter den Christen einen schlechten Ruf gehabt haben durfte. Das Edikt bewirkte die endgültige Loslösung von der Synagoge und durch die Vertreibung der Juden und Judenchristen

<sup>11</sup> Es ist nicht einmal sicher, ob in Rom lebende und öffentlich agierende Juden überhaupt als solche erkennbar waren: „Jews simply had too little importance to justify harassment or repression. In fact, they had too little importance even for Roman intellectuals to undertake any serious research or inquiry about them.“ – Gruen, *Diaspora*, 52; s. weiter Niebuhr, *Roman Jews*, 77.

<sup>12</sup> Zu der Soziologie der Gemeinde s. Wilckens, *Römer*, 1–5, 35–39. „Because slaves in the familia Caesaris and in the houses of imperial freedmen were totally dependent upon their patron [...], it would be extremely unlikely that believing slaves would evince or subscribe to anti-imperial attitudes.“ Diese Personen sind viel mehr „loyal to their patron because they depended on his beneficence and there were opportunities for upward mobility for freedmen in the imperial bureaucracy“ – Harrison, *Paul*, 33.43. S. weiter Carter, *Irony*, 211.

<sup>13</sup> Die Juden haben ja viele Benachteiligungen erdulden mussten, unabhängig davon ob sie diese Diskriminierungen wegen ihres fremden Kultes oder wegen ihrer Nationalität getroffen haben: Tiberius (19 – Ausweisung der Juden aus Rom); der Konflikt zwischen Juden und Griechen in Alexandria (37–38), der Plan Caligulas bezüglich des Jerusalemer Tempels (41) und das Versammlungsverbot (41) bzw. später das Edikt von Claudius (49) – zum geschichtlichen Hintergrund vgl. Gruen, *Diaspora*, 29–41. Den Nationalismus, als mögliche Gegenwirkung erwähnt Harrison, *Paul*, 272.

<sup>14</sup> Theißen – Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 117.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Krauter, *Studien*, 56–71; 81–84. weiter Carter, *Irony*, 216f.

<sup>16</sup> Nach seiner Krönung hat Nero – wie früher Augustus – das Doppeltor des Janus Tempels geschlossen „gleich als ob kein Krieg mehr vorhanden sei.“ (Sueton, *Nero*, 13).

<sup>17</sup> „Claudius may well have coupled his ostentatious resurrection of national rituals with action against an alien cult, especially if an excuse was found or invented that indicated some disturbance.“ – Gruen, *Diaspora*, 41. Aber das Endergebnis war doch eindeutig – die Juden sollten Rom verlassen.



änderte sich auch die Zusammensetzung der römischen Gemeinde.<sup>18</sup> Seine Vorgänger, Caligula profanierte die Synagogen in Alexandrien<sup>19</sup> und wollte ebenfalls den Jerusalemer Tempel entweihen. Beide sind Antihelden in den Augen der Christen.<sup>20</sup> Und beide sind aus ihrem Kreis ermordet worden. Caligula hat der Prätorianerprefekt, Claudius seine Frau Agrippina getötet. Darf man sagen, sie haben Gottes Anordnung widerstrebt und haben ihr Urteil empfangen? Philon hat mindestens das Schicksal des Flaccus, des Präfekten von Ägypten (32–38 n. Chr.) so verstanden und als einen exemplarischen Fall von göttlicher Weltlenkung erklärt.<sup>21</sup> Ähnlich erklärt Josephus z. B. den Untergang der Streitmacht des Herodes in Ant 18,116. Es ist doch klar, dass der Apostel hier auf das Gericht Gottes hinweist, aber es ist auch eindeutig, dass die Rache Gottes (vgl. Röm 12,18f.) manchmal durch menschliche Hände vollzogen werden kann. Paulus formuliert seine Mahnung in einer Art und Weise, „die einschließt, dass *alle*, die sich dem legitimen Autoritäten widersetzt, mit Gott Konflikt geraten“.<sup>22</sup> Es bedeutete für die damaligen Lesern/innen – und es ist unheimlich wichtig – dass nicht nur die einfachen Menschen, sondern auch die Tyrannen unter diesem Gericht stehen und das Schwert (Röm 13,4) auch sie zerschmettert.

## 2. DER TEXT

### 2.1. TEXTAUFBAU

Mit 13,1 beginnt ein neuer Abschnitt mit einer in sich geschlossenen Argumentation<sup>23</sup>, aber es ist weder eine spätere Interpolation noch ein von Paulus übernommenes Traditionsstück, sondern ein integraler Bestandteil der Argumentation, der mit 12,1 be-

<sup>18</sup> Detailliert s. Schnelle, *Paulus*, 332f.

<sup>19</sup> Obwohl man den Pogrom in Alexandrien entschuldigen kann (wie es Philon tat), aber die Synagogen hat er doch entheiligt – vgl. Gruen, *Diaspora*, 56f. Als Caligula sich mit der Delegation aus Alexandrien getroffen hat, „he engaged in mockery and derision, but not in any attack. The Jews were reckoned as demented and unfortunate rather than dangerous.“ – *ibid.*, 57.

<sup>20</sup> Man soll aber bemerken, dass sie auch in den Augen der Römer ihre Legitimität verloren haben – s. dazu Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 118f.

<sup>21</sup> „Das Unrecht, das Flaccus den Juden zufügt, hat zwar er selbst verursacht; doch seine Absetzung, seine Verbannung und seinen gewaltsamen Tod deutet Philo als Strafmaßnahmen der göttlichen Vorsehung“ – Avemarie, *Juden*, 123.

<sup>22</sup> Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 119.

<sup>23</sup> Dieser Eindruck wird durch Personenwechsel und durch Stilwechseln verstärkt. Aber auch inhaltlich hebt sich der Abschnitt vom voranstehenden ab: „Hat Paulus die Christen gerade ermahnt, nicht Böses mit Bösem zu vergelten, sondern die Rache dem Zorngericht Gottes zu überlassen, so wird jetzt auf einmal der staatlichen Gewalt eben diese Aufgabe als ἐκδικος εἰς ὀργήν (V4) zuerkannt. Dagegen scheint 13,8–10 über VV 1–7 hinweg an 12,21 anzuschließen“ – Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 30.

ginnt, eine vorwiegend Anweisungen und Ermahnungen enthaltenden Paränese<sup>24</sup>: nach dem inneren Leben der Gemeinde (12,3–13) redet Paulus über den weltlichen Bereich (12,14–21) und nun konzentriert er sich auf die Beziehung der Gemeinde zum Staat (13,1–7). Das Schlusswort zu seiner Paränese sind die Verse 13,11–14. Der ganze Abschnitt Röm 12,1–13,14 ist von „einem Nebeneinander allgemeiner gesellschaftlichen Verpflichtungen und der Normen eines spezifisch christlichen Lebensstil geprägt, die die Glaubenden *beide* aus religiöser Überzeugung erfüllen“.<sup>25</sup> Die Gemeinde brauchte ein Wort der Ermutigung und der Mahnung. Die Diener und der Staat erscheinen hier, als die Vertreter des Gemeinwohls der Gesellschaft (*bonum commune*), aber „eine inhaltliche Qualifizierung des ἀγαθόν oder Kriterien dafür werden nicht genannt“.<sup>26</sup> Paulus erkennt die bestehenden Gewalten als gottgewollte aber auch als vor Gott verantwortliche Gewalten. Den Text kann man folgendermaßen aufteilen: 13,1a – These; 13,1b–2 – erstes theologisches Argument, das auch ein kritisches Korrektiv enthält: „wenn alle Gewalt von Gott verliehen ist [...], dann die Machtbefugnis der Obrigkeit in Gott bzw. in einer übergeordnete Ordnung ihre Grenze findet“<sup>27</sup>; 3–5 – zweites ethisches Argument (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν): „Für die Kriterien [...] des Guten und des Bösen ist die staatliche Gewalt nicht zuständig; sie werden von Gott gegeben“<sup>28</sup>; 6 – praktisches Beispiel als Folgerung (διὰ τοῦτο); 7 – Zusammenfassung: eine praxisbezogene Aufforderung.

## 2.2. EINZELANALYSE

Die These von Paulus lautet: „Jedermann<sup>29</sup> sei untertan der Obrigkeit, die Gewalt über ihn hat“.<sup>30</sup> Es ist auffällig, dass Paulus in dem 13,1 über die Autoritäten (plural) redet, wie es auch kein Zufall sein sollte, dass er nie in diesen 7 Versen den Kaiser erwähnt. Die Autoritäten, Mächte (ἐξουσία) sind Funktionsträger.<sup>31</sup> Andererseits, das „sich un-

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 30f.; Haacker, *Römer*, 264k.

<sup>25</sup> Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 291.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 247.

<sup>27</sup> Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 260.

<sup>28</sup> Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 35.

<sup>29</sup> Paulus spricht die Leser nicht direkt an, der Imperativ wendet sich an „jedermann“ – Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 259.

<sup>30</sup> Ich benutze den Text der Luther-Revision von 2017.

<sup>31</sup> Die ἐξουσία und die ἄρχοντες (13,3) sind Funktionsträgern und eine Unterschied zwischen den beiden läßt der Text nicht erkennen (Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 244). „Wenn Röm 13,1b ἐ. im Singular auftaucht, so nicht deswegen, weil vom Staat die Rede ist, sondern weil das, was alle Funktionsträger zu solche macht, die Macht und deren Ausübung, von Pls auf Gott allein zurückgeführt wird – Broer, *ἐξουσία*, 28f.

terordnen“ (ὑποτάσσω – 13,1.5) bedeutet mehr als äußere Loyalität, sie wird im ganzen Abschnitt in keiner Weise eingeschränkt.<sup>32</sup>

Es ist also eindeutig, dass die Obrigkeiten – so die erste Begründung der These (VV 1b–2): von Gott sind und die Machthaber von Gott eingesetzt wurden. Diese Begründung ist keine christologische oder eschatologische sondern eine aus der Ordnung der Schöpfung stammende Begründung.<sup>33</sup> Dieser Gedanke ist schon im Alten Testament und Judentum gut bekannt (z.B. Nebukadnesar – Jer 27,5–8; 28,14; Cyrus – 2Chr 36,23; Jes 41,2–4; Esra 1,1–4; die Römer – Josephus<sup>34</sup>; oder Personen wie z.B. die Richter, oder Jehu oder Pompeius in der Psalmen Salomons<sup>35</sup>). Es kann sein, dass ein Zeitalter böse und dunkel ist, aber die Weltmächte sind doch die Garantie für die Ordnung und sie haben nur eine zeitliche Herrschaft. Aber die Vorstellung, dass die Herrschaft gottgegeben sei, ist auch für die Heiden und auch die Adressaten des Briefes bekannt und aktuell, weil es Teil der römischen politischen Propaganda und des Herrscherkultes war.<sup>36</sup> In dieser Ideologie ist z.B. der Erfolg als Ausdruck göttlicher Erwählung und Hilfe gedeutet worden. „Die Vorstellung der hellenistischen Königsideologie, Herrschaft werde dem Herrscher von (einem) Gott verliehen, fand ihren Weg auch nach Rom, und zwar bereits in spätrepublikanischer Zeit.“<sup>37</sup> Wir dürfen annehmen, dass die jüdische soteriologische und messianische Sprache und die Propaganda der Julio-Claudian Dynastie ähnliche Motive hatten, aber es ist auffallend, dass Paulus nur zwei Motive aus dieser Herrscherideologie genommen und für die weltliche Macht benutzt hat: Diener (13,4.6) und von Gott eingesetzt (13,1.2).<sup>38</sup>

Das Logik des ersten theologischen Argumentes ist klar: Die (politische) Macht der staatlichen Obrigkeit hat das Wohl der Untertanen zu sichern und die Untertanen sollen dabei mitwirken. Wenn diese zwei sich treffen, dann hat der Untertan nichts zu

<sup>32</sup> Schnackenburg, *Botschaft*, 256. ὑποτάσσω bedeutet: „eine Ordnung respektieren als Haltung derer, die in dieser Ordnung niedriger eingestuft sind“ (vgl. Lk 2,51; Kol 3,18, sogar die angemessene Haltung gegenüber Gemeindeleitern – 1Kor 16,15f.) – Haacker, *Römer*, 265f. S. weiter Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 261f.

<sup>33</sup> Stein, *The Argument*, 329.

<sup>34</sup> S. dazu Krauter, *Gewalt*, 372–386. Harrison, *Paul*, 300–308 und den Aufsatz von Kókai Nagy V.

<sup>35</sup> Harrison, *Paul*, 302.

<sup>36</sup> Zu der modernen Forschungsgeschichte s. Harrison, *Paul*, 8–19. “In sum, the ubiquity of these types of evidence would have meant that the illiterate in Paul’s house churches and those from the lower echelons of Roman society would have been familiar with the imperial conception of rule to some degree.” (*ibid.*, 23). Was es konkret bedeutet s. *ibid.*, 118–144.

<sup>37</sup> Krauter, *Gewalt*, 390. vgl. weiter i. m. 387–395. „Zahlreiche Aspekte der hellenistischen Herrscherideologie sind auch in Senecas Schrift *De clementia* eingegangen. Gegen Anfang der Herrschaft Neros verfasst, ist diese Schrift [...] ein Versuch einer philosophischen Fundierung der de facto monarchischen bzw. einer Monarchie ähnlichen Herrschaftsform des Prinzipats.“ – *ibid.*, 391. S. weiter Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 298–300.

<sup>38</sup> “The apostle has effectively ‘demythologised’ the status of the ruler in antiquity” – Harrison, *Paul*, 311.

fürchten. „Interessant ist, dass das zuerst genannte Argument (V 1b c) so formuliert ist, daß es nicht nur positiv die Forderung von V1a unterstützt und motiviert, sondern zugleich – ohne jene Umformung – der gegenteiligen Verhaltensweise zuwiderläuft.“<sup>39</sup> Obwohl der Apostel über die Möglichkeit, dass die Macht ihre Funktion nicht erfüllt, nicht direkt spricht, wird doch aus der später erwähnten Prämisse (13,4), dass die Obrigkeit „Gottes Dienerin“<sup>40</sup> sei, deutlich, dass sie auch zur Rechenschaft gezogen werden kann. Wir dürfen *G. Theißen* und *P. von Gemünden* recht geben: „Denn Paulus spricht im Partizip Perfekt von denen, die sich den legitimen Autoritäten widersetzt haben“ (ἀνθέστηκεν), wird sich dieser Vorbehalt gegen vergangene Herrscher richten.<sup>41</sup> Er betont, dass die politische Herrschaft selbst nicht göttlich und der Herrscher kein Gott oder gottgleich ist. Und was für uns jetzt wichtig ist, es gab und wird auch immer jemand geben (Reich oder Person), der Macht über die Machthaber hat, soll heißen: gegenüber ihnen auftreten kann. Es gehört auch zum Strafurteil (κρίμα) Gottes<sup>42</sup>, auch wenn es sich hauptsächlich auf den in den letzten Zeiten bezieht.

Nach der theologischen Begründung kommt ein praktisches Argument (VV 3–5). Es ist interessant, dass Paulus im Allgemeinen über das Gute redet, hier speziell über „das bürgerliche Wohl- bzw. Miß-Verhalten. [...] Eine inhaltliche Qualifizierung des ἀγαθόν oder Kriterien dafür werden nicht genannt. [...] die ganze Argumentation von VV 3–4“ ist „von der in der hellenistisch-römischen Antike allgemein anerkannten normativen Auffassung geleitet“.<sup>43</sup> In der hellenistisch-römischen Herrscherideologie war es in erster Linie die Aufgabe des Herrschers und dafür hat er *laudatio* (ἔξις ἔπαινον) erhalten.<sup>44</sup> Bei Paulus ist es die Aufgabe der Gemeinde und der Menschen allgemein, unabhängig davon, ob man die Macht inne hat oder Untertan der Macht ist. Wenn man aber das Böse tut, muss man mit dem Schwert der Obrigkeit rechnen – wieder unabhängig von der jeweiligen Position. Man soll es aber nicht allein wegen der Strafe<sup>45</sup> – zieht Paulus die zusammenfassende Schlussfolgerung –, sondern um des Gewissens willen tun.

<sup>39</sup> Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 259.

<sup>40</sup> Paulus gebraucht zwei Ausdrücke für die Diener. In 13,4 (2x) steht διάκονος und in 13,6 λειτουργός. Paulus kann auch an den kultischen Sinn der λειτουργ- Wortgruppe anknüpfen (vgl. Röm 15,16; Phil 2,17) und es darf auch kein Zufall sein, wenn er hier auch diesen Ausdruck benutzt: sie sind von Gott in den Dienst genommene Beauftragte. Obwohl sie keine sakrale Funktion haben, qualifiziert der Genitivus θεοῦ ihre Arbeit – vgl. Blatz, *λειτουργία*, 860f.

<sup>41</sup> Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 117.

<sup>42</sup> Stein, *Argument*, 331.

<sup>43</sup> Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 247.

<sup>44</sup> Harrison, *Paul*, 311.

<sup>45</sup> Es bedeutet hier nicht die endzeitliche Strafe Gottes, sondern die Strafe, die man für seine Sünde in dieser Welt erhält – Stein, *Argument*, 336.

Der Apostel konkretisiert nicht, über wessen Gewissen er redet, ob er nur das Gewissen der Christen oder auch der anderen Menschen meint. Nicht unberücksichtigt darf bleiben, dass Paulus hier davon ausgeht, dass Menschen außerhalb der Gemeinde ebenfalls wissen, was gut ist. Die Herrschenden wissen es ja sicher, weil sie das Tun des Guten fördern. Dies soll erneut ein Argument sein, mit dem begründet wird, warum Gott sie zur Rechenschaft ziehen kann. Woher stammt bei ihnen diese Erkenntnis? Aus ihrem Gewissen.<sup>46</sup> Um zu verstehen, was Gewissen an dieser Stelle bedeutet, kann uns am meisten Röm 2,14f. helfen, wo es als umfassendes anthropologisches, ein allgemein menschliches Phänomen erscheint. Paulus verweist hier auf die „innere“ Stimme, auf die sittliche Selbstbeurteilung des Menschen<sup>47</sup>, die die Notwendigkeit des Gehorsams erkennt. Aber es ist nicht die Stimme Gottes im Menschen, sondern eine Art menschlichen Einsehens und „auch dort ist ja der Horizont der Funktion des Gewissens das Endgericht (Röm 2,16)“.<sup>48</sup> Die Entscheidungen des Menschen sollen also vom Einsehen motiviert sein. In diesem Argument mischen sich zwei Perspektive. Es ist die Sache der Elite sich aus Einsicht unterzuordnen, die gewöhnlichen Menschen gehorchen zu ihrem eigenen Besten und aus Furcht vor der Strafe. Andererseits, Paulus „erhebt für sich und seine Adressaten den hohen Anspruch, aus Überzeugung zu gehorchen“.<sup>49</sup> Was begründet diese Überzeugung? Die Erfahrung, dass Gott auch die Herrscher aus dem Weg räumen kann, wenn sie ihre von Gott erhaltene Macht missbrauchen. In diesem Fall, kann es sein, dass Paulus auch den Fall vor Augen hat, „dass legitime staatliche Beamte aufgrund ihres Gewissens dem Guten z.B. dadurch dienen, dass sie Tyrannen wie Gaius Caligula aus dem Wege räumen“.<sup>50</sup>

Die dritte Begründung – die sich direkt an die Leser wendet – ist eine Spezifizierung der vorausgehenden Aussagen (1b–2; 3–4) und erwähnt die Zahlung von Steuern<sup>51</sup>, als konkretes und praktisches Verhalten gegenüber dem Staat. Wie die Steuerzahlung

<sup>46</sup> Das Gewissen bezeichnet das handelnde und beurteilende Selbstbewusstsein. Es gab die Überzeugung von einer Sache, die einer bestimmten Norm entspringt. „[...] σ. ist dabei ein allg.-menschliches Phänomen“ und *συνείδησις* wie in Röm 2,15 und 9,1 (vgl. 2Kor 1,12) enthält die Vorstellung der Zeugnis – Lüdemann, *συνείδησις*, 723. In Röm 13,5 erscheint die geprägte Wendung *διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν* (vgl. 1Kor 10,25–28). Das Gewissen ist hier die innere Instanz, „die die Notwendigkeit des Gehorsams erkennt“ (*ibid.*, 724); s. weiter den Artikel von M. Wolter.

<sup>47</sup> S. Schnelle, *Paulus*, 608f.

<sup>48</sup> Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 37. „[...] im Sinne von Röm 2,15 zu fassen: Sie ist die kritische, Instanz ..., die die Übereinstimmung des Verhaltens mit der vorausgesetzten Norm prüft.“ – H. Merklein zitiert H.-J. Eckstein, *Der Begriff Syneidesis bei Paulus. Eine neutestamentliche-exegetische Untersuchung zum 'Gewissenbegriff'* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983), 179 (*ibid.*, 250).

<sup>49</sup> Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 301.

<sup>50</sup> Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 121.

<sup>51</sup> Die normale Bedeutung des in 13,6 gebrauchtes Wort *φόρος* ist „Tribut“, „tributpflichtig waren aber zur Zeit des Paulus nicht die römische Bürger, sondern nur die von dem Römer unterworfenen Völker. Vielleicht weist auf diesen Fakt der Personenwechsel (ihr) hin, weil Paulus römischer Bürger war.“ – s. Haacker, *Römer*, 263f.

selbstverständlich für die Adressaten ist, so soll auch der Gehorsam selbstverständlich sein.<sup>52</sup> Ziel der Steuerzahlung soll nicht die Bereicherung der Machthabern sein – obwohl Korruption und persönliche Interessen schon damals ein aktuelles Thema bei Steuerzahlungen war<sup>53</sup>, sondern die Unterstützung ihres Dienstes, der der Dienst Gottes ist (vgl. λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ – „ist als Substitution von θεοῦ διάκονος in V 4a.d zu fassen und bringt die Dienstfunktion als solche zum Ausdruck“<sup>54</sup>). Es ist zu beachten, dass man mit der Zahlung der Steuern auch die Macht der Römer anerkannt hat. Die römische Propaganda hat die Verweigerung des Zahlens als Zeichen des Widerstandes gewertet<sup>55</sup>; es war die erste Stufe jegliches Aufstandes.

Es ist vorstellbar, dass die hier erwähnte Steuer und der Zoll (13,7) sich an eine konkrete Steuereinführung durch Nero beziehen, die in jenen Jahren die Bevölkerung Roms erfasste und im Jahre 58 zu einem Protest gegen Nero führte.<sup>56</sup> Aber dies ist eher unwahrscheinlich – der Brief ist früher geschrieben worden und man hat den Hinweis besser allgemein zu verstehen. Trotzdem „speziell gegen Christen könnte allenfalls der Verdacht gesteuert werden, sie würden nur aus Anpassung Steuer zahlen (Mt 17,24–27)“.<sup>57</sup> Es ist leichter nachvollziehbar, dass der Apostel die politische und gesellschaftliche Situation der Adressaten als vorgegebene betrachtet und die Aufgabe sieht darin, möglichst gut mit ihr rechtzukommen.<sup>58</sup> Der Imperativ von V 7 (ἀπόδοτε) ist als Zeichen des „Sich-Unterordnens“ (13,1.5) zu verstehen. Ob wir einen Unterschied zwischen dem Respekt (φόβος) und der Ehre (τιμὴ) machen sollen (vgl. 1Pt 2,17 und Mk 12,17par.), ist möglich aber nicht zwingend. Zugunsten diese Vermutung lässt sich anführen, das φόβος – φοβεῖσθαι nirgendwo sonst auf politische Gewalten bezogen ist, während die Beziehung auf Gott geradezu topisch ist.<sup>59</sup> Aber ob die Leser von Röm 13,7 diese Differenzierung – ohne 1Pt 2,17 und Mk 12,17 – erkennen konnten, bleibt fraglich.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Vgl. Stein, *Argument*, 341.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Pecsuk, *Pál*, 309. weiter zur Beurteilung der Steuern von römischer Seite – Carter, *Irony*, 223f.

<sup>54</sup> S. Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 251.

<sup>55</sup> Haacker, *Römer*, 268. S. weiter in der jüdischen Geschichte Mason, *Jewish War*, 245–257.

<sup>56</sup> Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 34. Über die drückenden Steuerlasten s. Tacitus, *Annales*, 13,50–51; Suetonius, *Nero*, 10,1.

<sup>57</sup> Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 121.

<sup>58</sup> Krauter, *Gewalt*, 401.

<sup>59</sup> Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 38.

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 253f.

### 3. PERSPEKTIVENWECHSEL

Paulus verfolgt mit seinen Worten einen bestimmten paränetischen Zweck. Meines Erachtens nach, ist es nicht der primäre Zweck des Textes: unter allen Umständen Unterordnung gegenüber der Obrigkeit zu erreichen. Sondern gerade umgekehrt. Die Leser haben das Problem, dass sie sich unterordnen müssten, weil sie keine andere Möglichkeit gehabt haben – sie waren ja eine Zwergminorität in der Stadt; und wollten nun wissen, ob es Gottes Willen entspräche. In dieser Situation erklärte Paulus ihnen, dass es nicht nur die einzige Möglichkeit war, sondern es auch von Gott gewollt ist. Es ist ihre Aufgabe. Um dieses zu beweisen, hat Paulus die jüdisch-hellenistische Lehre über die Macht und die Ausdrücke der zeitgenössischen Herrscherpropaganda benutzt – wie es *James R. Harrison* in seinem Buch ausführlich vorstellt.

Die Warnung des Paulus vor Widerstand richtet sich natürlich gegen jeden, der sich gegen die göttliche Ordnung auflehnte<sup>61</sup>, aber die Herrscher und die Mächtigen sind keine Ausnahme. Außerdem sind es sie allein, die diese Möglichkeit tatsächlich haben, sie haben allein die freie Entscheidung in dieser Frage. Paulus hat seine Mahnung so formuliert, dass diese *alle* einschließt, die sich der legitimen von Gott geordneten Autorität widersetzen. Er brachte seine Gemeinde- und Staatsparänese auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner: Christen und Nichtchristen sind in gleichem Maße dem „Guten“ verpflichtet<sup>62</sup>, sonst erfolgt eine Bestrafung von Gott (vgl. Röm 12,18f. – vgl. Dan 2,21). Wenn alle Mächte Gott untergeworfen sind, dann ist es logisch, wenn die gottgegnerten Herrschenden und Mächtigen mit der Bestrafung Gottes rechnen müssen. Aber „Paulus seinerseits nutzt die durchaus mögliche herrschaftskritische Pointe, dass ein Herrscher, der seine Macht von Gott bekommen hat, ihm für deren Ausübung verantwortlich ist, in Röm 13,1–7 gerade nicht.“<sup>63</sup> Aber ist es wirklich so? Eine mögliche Antwort sei, dass er ein „*hidden transcript*“ benutzt hat. Es bedeutet, dass er eine Chiffreschrift geschrieben hat, in der man von der Unterordnung liest, aber Paulus nutzt das Stilmittel der Ironie gegenüber den Machthabern und diese Ironie haben seine Adressaten wohl verstanden.<sup>64</sup> Es war praktisch eine Kritik am Imperium und am Kaiser, bzw. an der Obrigkeit, aber die Gemeinde soll klug und gelassen bleiben, um am Leben zu bleiben. Aber ich denke nicht, dass es die richtige Antwort wäre. Obwohl

<sup>61</sup> „Nirgendwo anders gibt es bei Paulus sonst eine Paränese, in der ein Unterschied zwischen Christen und Nichtchristen faktisch als so schlechterdings inexistent gilt, wie es die Sprache in 13,1–7 nahelegt.“ – Wilckens, *Römer*, 12–16, 39.

<sup>62</sup> Theißen – von Gemünden, *Römerbrief*, 122.

<sup>63</sup> Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 300; vgl. weiter Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 260.

<sup>64</sup> Wie es T. L. Carter in seinem Artikel behauptet: “[...] Paul employs the rhetorical device of irony as a covert way of exposing and subverting the oppressive authority structures of the Roman Empire.” Weil: “The lack of correspondence between his words and the reality to which they referred was too great.” (*ibid.*, 212f. 226).

ich auch annehme, dass man zwischen den Zeilen lesen muss – wie es die Adressaten wohl konnten.

Es ist wahr, den Herrschenden wird ihre Herrschaft vorbehaltlos anerkannt, aber zwischen den Zeilen findet man codierte Hinweis auf die Hoffnung<sup>65</sup>: die Bösen erhalten ihre Bestrafung durch Gott, wie auch Caligula und Claudius sie erhalten haben. Röm 13,1–7 ist ein kluger und tröstlicher Text über die Macht für die Christen, die keine andere Möglichkeit gehabt haben, als sich dieser Macht zu unterwerfen.<sup>66</sup> Es ist wahr, die Herrschenden bestrafen das Böse mit dem Schwert, aber die Herrschenden werden auch aufgrund ihrer Bosheit bestraft. Es passt völlig in die biblisch-frühjüdische und auch in die hellenistisch-römische Tradition. Diese Traditionen sind ebenfalls in der Lage zu differenzieren. „Neben der reinen Feststellung des Tatbestandes ist dort die Vorstellung nicht selten mit der Mahnung an die Herrschenden verbunden, sich entsprechend zu verhalten.“<sup>67</sup> Diese Überzeugung wird mit den aus der römischen Herrscherpropaganda stammenden Ausdrücken unterstützt: Paulus transformiert die Funktionen und Titel des Imperators auf Christi und seiner Kirche.<sup>68</sup>

Die letzte Frage, die wir noch beantworten sollen, lautet: ob von Röm 13,1–7 ein Weg zu einer heute verantwortbaren christlichen politischen Ethik führt. Wir dürfen mit *Stefan Krauter* diese Frage mit einem klaren Nein beantworten.<sup>69</sup> Aber beim Verstehen des Textes müssen wir einen Perspektivenwechsel vornehmen. Es ist keine Ironie gegenüber der herrschenden kaiserlichen Propaganda. In der Forschung redet man bezüglich Röm 13,1–7 immer über die unbegrenzte Obedienz gegenüber der staatlichen Ordnung. Aber in der Wahrheit, gab es keine andere Möglichkeit für die Christen, also darüber zu reden von Paulus wäre unvernünftig. Deswegen wenn wir über Ironie sprechen, dann soll es vielmehr die Exegeten betreffen, wenn sie damit rechnen, dass die Christen in Rom wirklich eine Möglichkeit gehabt hätten, gegenüber den Machthabern Widerstand zu leisten. Die Lehre von Paulus geht nicht um Widerstand oder Obedienz. Es geht um Tröstung in einer gegebenen Lebenssituation, wo keine andere Möglichkeit gewesen ist, als zu gehorchen. Paulus will hier nicht über die

<sup>65</sup> “...Paul, like the philosophers, argues theologically for the divine origin of the ruler’s authority but, in contrast to most of the philosophers, underscores the ethical and social consequences arising from the divine ordering of government for subjects of the ruler” – Harrison, *Paul*, 278. Zu der kritischen Haltung der Philosophen und über die Theorie des idealen Herrschers s. *ibid.*, 278–300.

<sup>66</sup> “‘Christians’ had not yet entered the public-eye as an independent religious group in Paul’s time. Instead, they were probably seen as Jews.” – Niebuhr, *Roman Jews*, 89.

<sup>67</sup> Merklein, *Sinn und Zweck*, 261.

<sup>68</sup> “The Graeco-Roman writers exalt the ruler as the image of God, the vice-regent of God who is foreknown as commissioned by him, the embodiment of animate law (νόμος ἐμψυχο), the priestly intermediary between his people and the gods, the summation of divine virtue and wisdom, head of the body politic, the soul of the *res publica*, and, finally, the world benefactor and the dispenser of mercy.” – Harrison, *Paul*, 310.

<sup>69</sup> Krauter, *Auf dem Weg*, 306.



staatliche Macht lehren, sondern er gibt Hoffnung in einer Zeit, wo die Christen ihren Platz in der Gesellschaft suchten. Ihre Frage war, ob sie in ihrer Situation so leben können, wie es Gottes Willen entspricht. Der Apostel hat diese Frage mit einem beruhigenden Ja beantwortet. Die christlichen Gemeinden können und dürfen immer darauf vertrauen, dass Gott die Geschichte in seiner Hand hat. Auch wenn es manchmal ganz schwer zu erkennen. Paulus hat im Röm 13,1–7 nicht über die politische Macht gelehrt, sondern über das Leben der Gemeinde.

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Erik KORMOS

## CULT VS. RELIGION: PHILOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF BABYLON AS CULTIC SYMBOL IN BOOK OF REVELATION

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### FOREWORD

Approximately 25 years ago my professor, Jenő Szigeti thought<sup>1</sup> me a draft make me understood what the main difference between the cult and religion is. In his presentation he used a simple clinch: the *tradition* is the living faith of our dead fathers, but the *traditionalism* is the dead faith of current people. According to his opinion from this schema we can derive the essence and necessity of reformation, which is not an institutional event for the church, but personally need. A couple of years later when I searched in the field of systematic theology and the historical foundation of my theological streamline, I found, the traditionalism is the problem, which more treat the denominations than traditional church.<sup>2</sup> The less a denomination smaller is, the more traditionalism can cause treat because of the fundamentalism which arise from in-consequent theological separation.<sup>3</sup> This kind of traditionalism may the religious orientation turn into even occultism,<sup>4</sup> because these foundations derived from a certain society-criticism, mainly in the denomination came from 19<sup>th</sup>-Century United States of America.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jenő Szigeti, “Eastern Europe – Which Way?”, in Richard Lehmann – Jack Mahon – Børge Santz, ed. *Cast The Net On The Right Side... Seventh-day Adventists face the “Isms”. Crucial Issues For Witnessing To Western Peoples* (Newbold College, Bracknell, England: European Institute of World Mission, 1993), 133–139.

<sup>2</sup> Erik Kormos, *Az újszövetségi hapax legomena kézikönyve I. A kisegyházi hermeneutika és a hapax legomenonok* (Beau Bassin, Mauritius: GlobeEdit International Book Market Service Ltd. OmniScriptum Publishing Group, 2018), 20–27; 64–71.

<sup>3</sup> George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (USA, Michigan: Wm. Eerdm. Pub. Co., 1996), 1–5.

<sup>4</sup> Németh Dávid, “Szektásság és okkultizmus”, *Theologiai Szemle* 3 (2009): 138–155.

<sup>5</sup> Byan Ball, *The English Connection: The Puritan Roots of Seventh-Day Adventist Belief* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1984), 15–31.

In this concatenation can be examined the virtue and obligation, which kind of relationship can they occur. If we compare the virtue in the relation of religion assumed, they delivered from this concatenation and the obligation related to cult, as cogency.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the virtue is the impulse for the obligation: the virtue is the sample by which we can study what we obligatory must do for each other. Thought the manipulation is the organic part of cults as collateral fact, because it includes all nature of power. At the same time the people under this influence of manipulation consider virtue the things man must be done, properly speaking about obligation.

This is not a new effect, thus the Christians knew it in the age of Roman Empire,<sup>7</sup> where the cult-formatted manipulation was daily phenomena, so the pure Christianity did not find territory inside them, thus became a very new religion separated himself from the present word.<sup>8</sup> This effect characterized the Christianity in the first few Centuries.

The book of Revelation, which was written possibly during the empire of Caesar Domitian,<sup>9</sup> when he had a pagan sanctuary made for the honour of himself<sup>10</sup> as the divine mightiness, the Christians lived-in the difficultness of circumstances created. John the apostle, who is possibly the author of this writing, was expatriated to the Patmos Island and the Christians in Provincia Asia-Minor were under persecution. In this historical background John used a secret language typology<sup>11</sup> which has being caused problems during centuries in its interpretation and the brighten of authorship.

I would like to apprehend this historio-grammatical<sup>12</sup> cord and by my certain hermeneutic way to highlight the assumed hidden contain in this secret language-typology in the book of Revelation.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph J. Kotova, Jr, *The Christian Case for Virtue Ethics* (USA, Washington DC.: Georgetown University Press, 1996), 5–13; 16–30.

<sup>7</sup> Eric M. Orlin, *Foreign Cults in Rome. Creating a Roman Empire* (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 191–215.

<sup>8</sup> William L. Lane, “Roman Christianity during the Formative Years from Nero to Nerva”, in Karl P. Donfried – Peter Richardson, ed. *Judaism and Christianity in First-Century Rome* (USA, Michigan/UK, Cambridge: W. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1998), 213–214; 220–230.

<sup>9</sup> Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation. The New International Commentary on the New Testament* (USA, Michigan/UK, Cambridge: W. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1977), 8–21.

<sup>10</sup> Jack Finegan, *The Archeology of The New Testament. The Mediterranean World of the Early Christian Apostles* (USA, Colorado, Boulder: Westview Press, 1981), 160–161.

<sup>11</sup> Leonard L. Thompson, *Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: University Press, 1990), 1–5; 11–15.

<sup>12</sup> The technical term of “historio-grammatic” hermeneutical perspective is a typical Adventist interpretation method. See at: George W. Reid – Raoul Dederen, ed. *Handbook of Seventh-Day Adventist Theology* (Hagerstown, Md 21740: Reiew and Herald Publishing Association, 2000), 94–95.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF ADEQUATE THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE REVELATION

Just in nut shell, the definition of typology is a circular motif,<sup>13</sup> which express a message indirectly. This motif vertically also horizontally revealed by a certain visual sense, but the objective entity of the message would be even separated from the motif.

The texts, where we can use this kind of Alexandrian hermeneutic method are very seldom in the Bible, but the most typicals are in Ezekiel 28 and Isaiah 14.<sup>14</sup> In the interpretation of these chapters we make a basic mistake if we understand them as the characterization king of Tyre directly and neglect the typological meaning, which related to Lucifer, too:

### NIV Ez 28,12–13

“Son of man, take up a lament concerning the **king of Tyre** and say to him: “This is what the Sovereign LORD says: ““You were the model of perfection, full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. **You were in Eden, the garden of God**; every precious stone adorned you: ruby, topaz and emerald, chrysolite, onyx and jasper, sapphire, turquoise and beryl.

Thus, the logic as philosophical tool not to be used in every kind of situation of theology, but here, can be used: The king of Tyre was not in Eden in age of Adam and Eve, but Lucifer was.<sup>15</sup> So, the *type* of Lucifer in the age of Ezekiel is the king of Tyre. Preliminary the *prototype* of evil is Lucifer, who was wise and rich, but as circular motif his evilness characterised the king of Tyre’s, because the circulation is possible afore and aback in time.

In the book of Revelation by the reason of its historical background and the so complicated political and social circumstances, there are so many parts, which can be typologically understood.<sup>16</sup> In the case we would be too objective, we fail, because by this kind of *applicative* interpretation the message would be forced, referred to a certain time period and the interpreter would forget the character of circular motif. This is the way of narrow-minded sects, the interpretation of fundamentalism:<sup>17</sup> “interpretation” without hermeneutic. On the other hand, the historical interpretation itself is not

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<sup>13</sup> Leonard Goppelt, *Typos. The Typological Interpretation of The Old Testament in The New* (USA, Michigan: W. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1982), 198–201.

<sup>14</sup> As example, here we see only the Ez 28, but like manner the Isa 14 can be interpreted.

<sup>15</sup> Hector M. Patmore, *Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre. The Interpretation of Ezekiel 28,11–19 in Late Antiquity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 1–16.

<sup>16</sup> George Wesley Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation. Its Introduction and Prophecy* (USA, Oregon, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publ., 2005), 15–23.

<sup>17</sup> Jennifer Martin, “The Rise of Premillennial Dispensationalism as The Cornerstone of American Fundamentalism”, in John M. Court, ed. *Biblical Interpretation. The meaning of Scripture – Past and Present* (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2003), 200–209.

enough to be objective,<sup>18</sup> because in that case we would neglect the apocalyptic characterisation of the Revelation which is important in its genre. To build a bridge between the historical and the “too objective” applicative interpretation the best way is the typological understanding among all.

### TYPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF CERTAIN WORDS IN REVELATION

The typological understanding is known, but in this essay, I would like to deepen the technical term of typology. In the linguistic meaning of typology is used for each word only in case,<sup>19</sup> too when we would like to understand the so called “extra meaning” of words. This extra character is the so called “affective” or “associative” meanings,<sup>20</sup> which are not in the dictionaries, because they are more than lexicalised<sup>21</sup> synonyms. Linguistically this character would be 1) hypertextual or 2) intertextual<sup>22</sup> accessory depend on their 1) multilinguistic component, or 2) Septuagint-link, they can be shown in within the semantic field.<sup>23</sup> In case of Revelation’s analysis I would like to prove the words are examined and we have the known meaning and would have more possibility when we let us to understand the associativity of the context, intertext and hypertext. For this associative understanding we need some historical information about Revelation and other John’s writings and word search, which normally can be found in commentaries, but usually neglected as not the most important facts.

In linguistic possible to use the typological understanding each word in special case,<sup>24</sup> when the time-and-space factor can be shown together, like in this example:

#### Rev 1,8

“I am the Alpha and the Omega (τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ),” says the Lord God, “who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty.”

<sup>18</sup> Robert H. Mounce, *ibid.*, 21–30.

<sup>19</sup> The word-typology in theology mentioned as “locus” or “topos”, but very seldom used as term. See at: Szathmári István, ed. *Alakzatlexikon. A retorikai és stilisztikai alakzatok kézikönyve* (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2008), 378–379.

<sup>20</sup> Charles E. Osgood, “Focus on Meaning. Explorations in Semantic Space”, in *Janua Linguarum* Vol 1. (1976): 37–40.

<sup>21</sup> Hadumod Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (London – New York: Routledge Reference, 1996), 267.

<sup>22</sup> Graham Allen, *Intertextuality. The New Critical Idiom* (London – New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2000), 17; 19; 33; 39; 200; 203.

<sup>23</sup> Erik Kormos, *Az újszövetségi hapax legomena kézikönyve II. A hapax legomenonok szövegkritikai rendszere* (Beau Bassin, Mauritius: GlobeEdit International Book Market Service Ltd. OmniScriptum Publishing Group, 2019), 22–27.

<sup>24</sup> Roy Martin, *The Book of Revelation from Alpha to Omega* (USA, Mustang, Oklahoma: Tate Publishing & Enterprise, 2011), 13–38.

In the relation of time-and-space twoness the authority of John writings are important, so the Gospel of John and the book of Revelation worthy to consider as from same author and all John's writings, the three letters, too. According to the Gospel's stories the Pharisees want to see messianic sign and ask Jesus to show,<sup>25</sup> but He instead, as part of His prophetic role just revealed concealed signs. The Gospel of John ended by stories of Jesus resurrected, but the Revelation started by Jesus glorified. In order to show this progress, John the author wrote a well edited gospel,<sup>26</sup> and the Revelation was written in a well thought language referred to Hebrew also aramic terms.

In the Gospel of John, we can find seven concealed signs, from which we can assume they are de facto parts of a well edited work:<sup>27</sup>

- 1) Jn 2:11 – Wedding in Kana – first messianic sign<sup>28</sup>
- 2) Jn 4:54 – Healing the slave of royal officer – benefit toward pagans
- 3) Jn 6:14 – Repeating of Moses' sign, descending of manna
- 4) Jn 7:31 – Teaching in Temple of Jerusalem openly – proof of multiplicity
- 5) Jn 9:16 – Healing of blind-born man – solving the problem of original sin
- 6) Jn 11:47 – Made Lazarus resurrected from the “everlasting” death – overcome of death
- 7) Jn 20:30 – The resurrection – last messianic sign

In every case of these, we can read the repeated phrase: “The Jews still did not believe...”. So, in the Revelation where the glorified Jesus revealed Himself, He spoke hidden, but the sign would be clear if assumed, John wanted to refer to Hebrew terms.<sup>29</sup>

τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ (the Alpha and the Omega) → using Hebrew first (A) and last (Ω) letters divided by also Hebrew “and” instead of Greek “καὶ”:

ἄλφα → א

καὶ → ו

ὦ → ו

Summarised and vocalised: א ו → „Ov” which means: „sign”.

<sup>25</sup> E. Keith Howick, *The Miracles of Jesus The Messiah* (USA, Utah: WindRiver Publ., 2003), 141–155.

<sup>26</sup> Ulrich Busse, „Metaphorik und Rhetorik im Johannesevangelium: Das Bildfeld vom König“, in Jörg Frey – Jan G. van Der Watt – Ruben Zimmermann, ed. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 200* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 279–319.

<sup>27</sup> Jerome H. Neyrey, S. J., *The Gospel of John in Cultural and Rhetorical Perspective* (USA, Michigan/UK, England: W. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 2009), 139–147; 391–402.

<sup>28</sup> E. Keith Howick, *ibid.*, 202–215.

<sup>29</sup> Earl F. Palmer, *The Book That John Wrote* (USA, Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1975), 37–41.



In the other hand, we would not neglect the opinion of opposite it, like Rudolf Bultman's,<sup>30</sup> who spoke about "miracles-sign" as the understanding of Greek hendiadyon of σημεῖον καὶ τέρας. Besides this phrases can be interpreted separately σημεῖα as *sign* and τέρας as *miracle*. If we use the hermeneutic of genre critic to understand the hendiadyon as one-melted-in phrases and translate it by only one word, would be serious mistake. I am all for staying the side of genre critics, like Thomas Woolston was, who separated the miracles and signs from each other.<sup>31</sup> He had a certain critical attitude in field of textual criticism, sometimes he was sarcastic against the academic theology, but at the same times he linked in the writings of John one-authored in the age, when the high critic was born and e.g. the authorship of Revelation became controversial.

For another example we can see the case of typical *gematria*,<sup>32</sup> which has a lot of under- and misunderstanding in a wide spectrum: from the fundamentalist sects to the pulpits of universities with some misunderstanding in both sides.

### Rev 13,18

This calls for wisdom. If anyone has insight, let him calculate the number of the beast, for it is man's number. His number is 666 (ἑξακόσια ἑξήκοντα ἕξ).

This gematria (ἑξακόσια ἑξήκοντα ἕξ) has caused so many problems.<sup>33</sup> We have not got enough time and space to solve, just reach the most important element of it in nutshell in order to show our next interpretation, will be given.

The gematria can be understood as typology of numbers, can be summed and expressed a hidden name.<sup>34</sup> Sometimes the interpreters use Hebrew or Greek letters, but Latins, too. The most spread version of interpretation of this gematria is the hidden name of Nero or Gaius Caesars in the sum of numbers. It is strengthened by a certain text critic version of Revelation: in some sources the 616<sup>35</sup> also can be found instead of 666. From the versions of 616 derived Gaius written in Greek letters "ΓΑΙΥΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ" summed like manner Nero is by the attached illustration in picture. We cannot

Nero Caesar	
נרוקסר	
ך	= 200
ס	= 60
ק	= 100
נ	= 50
ר	= 6
ך	= 200
נ	= 50
<b>Sum: 666</b>	

<sup>30</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *Az Újszövetség teológiája* (Budapest: Osiris, 1998), 320–322.

<sup>31</sup> William Baird, *History of New Testament Research Vol. One: From Deism to Tübingen* (USA, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 39–49.

<sup>32</sup> Benjamin Blech, *More Secrets of Hebrew Words. Holy Days and Happy Days* (USA, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publ. Inc., 2004), 211–213.

<sup>33</sup> Ted Noel, *A Primer on the Book of Revelation* (USA, Oregon, Eugene: Resource Publ., 1960), 175–180.

<sup>34</sup> Shane J. Wood, *The alter-imperial paradigm: empire studies & the book of Revelation* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 122–131.

<sup>35</sup> Nestle – Aland, ed. *Novum Testamentum Graece* 28 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012), 765.

solve this text critical problem, but from our view the example is important. In the centuries of Christianity the interpreters thought about the adequate meaning of this gematria. Among all Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803)<sup>36</sup> a famous pietist writer and Adolf Hilgenfeld (1823–1907)<sup>37</sup> used the 666 gematria to prove that the Revelation was written during reign of Nero and in the latest just before destroying of Jerusalem, at longest 4–6 years just before.

This opinion is out of date, but the twofold gematria (666 and 616) can show us how works the typology. In one word, Nero is the “prototype” of Evil. Somebody in the history considered Gaius was eviller, so he changed the text in the copy to 616. Likewise, Domitian who started a Christian persecution also was as evil as Nero or Gaius were.<sup>38</sup> The name “Nero” and its gematria the 666 became typology to bear a certain character. So, the real message of this text is not the person himself who manifested in “beast” but the character, which would reveal in many cases in time forward and backward, too.

### THE JERUSALEM-TYPOLOGY

Like manner the places in Revelation would be typologies to reveal each character, which can explore in history as “type” of the “prototype”. By using the intertextual interpretation of Jerusalem texts, we also can discover a typical character in them.<sup>39</sup> This mean, we do not enough the contexts I will show, but we can search typical words, which “move” from the context because of the characterisation. In the following texts this typical word will be “Jerusalem” itself which occurs only three times in Revelation, but in certain contexts.

**Rev 3:12** → The promise of New Jerusalem: “the new Jerusalem, which is coming down out of heaven from my God (τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου)”

**Rev 21:2** → “I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God... (τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ καινὴν εἶδον καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ)”

**Rev 21:10** → “the Holy City, Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God. (τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλήμ καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ)”

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<sup>36</sup> William Baird, *ibid.*, 165–183.

<sup>37</sup> William Baird, *ibid.*, 269–278.

<sup>38</sup> David L. Barr, ed. *Reading the Book of Revelation. A research for Student* (USA, Boston: Brill, 2004), 31–36.

<sup>39</sup> G. K. Beale – D. A. Carson, ed. *Commentary on The New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (USA, Michigan: Baker Academic Publ., 2007), 115–221.

This typologic picture can be understood intertextual relation, because “Jerusalem, coming down out...” is a certain phrase, which associatively connect us 4Ezdra 10, where a very similar text can be read:

**4Ezdra 10:10–9** <sup>40</sup>

[6] "You most foolish of women, do you not see our mourning, and what has happened to us? [7] For **Zion, the mother of us all**, is in deep grief and great affliction. [8] It is most appropriate to mourn now, because we are all mourning, and to be sorrowful, because we are all sorrowing; **you are sorrowing for one son, but we, the whole world, for our mother**. [9] Now ask the earth, and she will tell you that it is she who ought to mourn over so many who have come into being upon her the whole world, for our mother.

**4Ezdra 10:25–27**

[25] While I was talking to her, behold, her face suddenly shone exceedingly, and her countenance flashed like lightning, so that I was too frightened to approach her, and my heart was terrified. While I was wondering what this meant, [26] behold, she suddenly uttered a loud and fearful cry, so that the earth shook at the sound. [27] And I looked, and behold, the woman was no longer visible to me, but **there was an established city, and a place of huge foundations showed itself**.

The prophetic promise of Jerusalem and its fulfilment can be interpreted as gospel only the case when the earthly real Jerusalem was ruined by the Roman Empire, after AD 70.<sup>41</sup> This chronologic reasoning may be constrained itself, but we have another typological picture with anti-typological meaning of Babylon which strengthened the fact both Jerusalem and Babylon are worthy to understand as typologies instead of literal or allegorically interpretation.

By the limit of content, I would like to reflect only Babylon as negative typological picture and as I dedicated myself, as the typical symbol of cults. Otherwise from these two typologies Babylon is more characterising than Jerusalem, by using of system like I advise.

### THE ESSENCE OF BABYLON-TYOLOGY

As it is written above, the very same interpretation of Babylon-typology is possible as well, but as negative typology opposed Jerusalem. We can find it more then Jerusalem in its context, punctually it six time can be found in the next parts in a certain context:

<sup>40</sup> See at: [http://www.pseudepigrapha.com/apocrypha\\_ot/2esdr.htm](http://www.pseudepigrapha.com/apocrypha_ot/2esdr.htm) Downloaded: 18.11.2019.

<sup>41</sup> George H. van Kooten, “The Jewish War and the Roman Civil War of 68–69. C. E.: Jewish, Pagan, and Christian Perspectives”, in Mladen Popovic, ed. *The Jewish Revolt against Rome. Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 419–451.

**Rev 14:8** → “Fallen! Fallen is Babylon the Great...” (important the using of aoristos, which refers to the timeless position of Babylon: ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη)

**Rev 16:19** → “Babylon the Great and gave her the cup filled with the wine of the fury of his wrath.” (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦναι αὐτῇ)

**Rev 17:5** → “MYSTERY BABYLON THE GREAT THE MOTHER OF PROSTITUTES AND OF THE ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.” (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν)

**Rev 18:2** → “Fallen! Fallen is Babylon the Great!” (using of aoristos also important here: ἔπεσεν ἔπεσεν Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη).

**Rev 18:10** → “O Babylon, city of power! In one hour your doom has come!” (ἡ μεγάλη Βαβυλῶν, ἡ πόλις ἡ ἰσχυρά, ὅτι μιᾷ ὥρᾳ ἦλθεν ἡ κρίσις σου.)

In case of Babylon, we have more difficulties to understand it correctly, so we need archaeological also religion-phenomenological facts, for the correct textual analysis. The question is: why certain Babylon?

We must go back to the golden age of Babylon, which is equal the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and his dynasty before him and just after. Hesiod the famous Greek poet in BC 8<sup>th</sup> Century named this “golden age” which followed by “silver, bronze and iron” ages dedicated the collapsing of morality and power of reign.<sup>42</sup> This is we can find in the Bible, too, in book of Daniel 2, but small redacted.<sup>43</sup>

In the religious and political situation that the dynasty<sup>44</sup> of Nebuchadnezzar created there was a certain and very important system. In the central temple, which was the Etemennanki, they hold annual celebration in order to be welfare of Babylonia. The top of this aprox. 100-meter high ziggurat could be found the temple of Akitu,<sup>45</sup> where stood a huge Marduk statue. In this aprox. 4x4 meter small sanctuary, the king appeared himself and during the celebration as a part of it, he spited into the statue and shook the statue’s hand. After that the mysterious nuptials with the goddess manifested by priestesses started. By the religious thinking, this celebration gave Babylonia the welfare and linked the economic, political and religious power in one pair of hand.<sup>46</sup> The king was himself the head of priests, the head of economy and the head of political power in one person as divinely manifestation.

It is important to know, summarised the whole elements of characterisation, Babylon the “prototype” of cult because of threefold character. In the next texts, we can

<sup>42</sup> R. M. Franzer, trans. and commented by, *The Poems of Hesiod* (USA, Oklahoma: University Press, 1966), 104–106.

<sup>43</sup> Gerhard Pfnadl, *Daniel. The Seer of Babylon* (USA, Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publ. Ass., 2004), 22–24.

<sup>44</sup> John MacGinnis, “Herodotus description of Babylon”, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* No. 33 (1986): 67–86.

<sup>45</sup> Mark J. H. Linssen, *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon. The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practice* (Leiden/Boston: Brill/STYX, 2004), 79–88.

<sup>46</sup> Mark J. H. Linssen, *ibid.*, 19–25.

read the Christianity was not certain problem in powers, but the cult characterised by the interlocking of three element, which is described by the prostitution symbolically:

**NIV Rev 18:3**

For **all the nations** (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) have drunk the maddening wine of **her adulteries** (**prostitution** τῆς πορνείας). The **kings of the earth** committed adultery with her, and the merchants of the earth grew rich from her excessive luxuries.”

**NIV Rev 18:10–11**

Terrified at her torment, they will stand far off and cry: “Woe! Woe, O great city, O Babylon, city of power! In one hour your doom has come!” **“The merchants of the earth will weep** and mourn over her because no-one buys their cargoes any more...”

If we examine the 1<sup>st</sup>-century Roman Empires AD, we can see, these three elements (religion, politics and economy) interlocked, too.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the law of Pax Romana and Religio Licita protect the religious liberty,<sup>48</sup> in the other hand the new-born Christianity was persecuted even in 1<sup>st</sup> Century, exactly when the Revelation was written. Must, this was happening during the reign of Domitian, who had an idol made for worship of himself in an Ephesus’ sanctuary.<sup>49</sup> The first Christians did not worshipped his manifestation as the κύριος Κάισαρος instead of Jesus who is κύριος Χριστός.

It is worthy to mention the Hellenization of priesthood in Jerusalem, too. Via the tetrarchies of Herods the Roman Empires controlled the religious liberty of Jews in Provincia Judea.<sup>50</sup> The proceeding of Jesus was the typical manifestation of “cult” characterized by this interest-orientated system: everybody did his part in the torture protected by roman law, but Jesus had to be died because of this system. This character revealed by Apostle Peter he recognised, when in his salutation named Roma to “Babylon” (1Pt 5:13), because Babylon was the prototype of cults,<sup>51</sup> but the interest-orientated law-driven Roman Empire was the type of that, because of the similarity.

The essence of this typological analysis we can see, if Babylon formally was almost equal the Roman Empire, then Roma would mean so kind of power, which in the age of Apostle John prophetically fulfilled in, its cultic function would had been for the first Christians experienced. However, Jerusalem as mighty and victorious, will be fulfilled prophetically in heaven, but in our earthly life will have never been realized.

<sup>47</sup> W. V. Harris, ed. *The Monetary System of the Greek and Romans* (Oxford: University Press, 2010).

<sup>48</sup> Dora Askowith, *The Toleration of the Jews Under Julius Caesar and Augustus. Part 1* (USA, Oregon, Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publ., 1915), 173–175.

<sup>49</sup> Antoninus King Wai Sien, *The War Between the Two Beasts and the Two Withneses. A Characteristic Reading of Revelation 11, 1–14, 5* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 269–280.

<sup>50</sup> Ehud Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder* (Germany, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 3–16; 270–277.

<sup>51</sup> James Harding, *Babylon and the Brethern. The Use and Influence of the Whoroe of Babylon Motif in the Christian Brethern Movement, 1829–1900* (USA, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publ., 2015), 51–57.

Both, Jerusalem and Babylon had been ruined when the book of Revelation was written, but their historical characters help us to understand the typological essences of this hidden certainty.

### HAPAX LEGOMENA-TYPOLOGIES IN REV 18

I have searched for ten years in order to know the exact meaning of understanding of hapax legomena. For this long time period, they have meant me I realized some certainties I argued.<sup>52</sup> These essential certainties make special emphasises in case when in each context the number of hapax legomena are concentrated. So, to examine the context respecting the character of hapax legomena strengthen the main message as “hidden” typology. To take it clear there are three points to summarise the most important essence of this kind of word search:<sup>53</sup>

1. The origin of hapax legomena is very seldom coming from unintentional using of language. In a writing, where the author had enough time to think about the adequate communication, the hapax legomena are well selected tools for a higher level of communication, even thought, in the verbal communication they don't seem as selected ones. The hapax legomena in more case are consequence of conscious language using.
2. If in a certain text part or chapter we can find the number of hapax legomena highly concentrated means, the message of whole writing is concentrated in them. In this case it is worthy to examine these words in wider contexts or in intertextually reference (outside the contextual meaning) in the text. The inner and outside references help us to understand the associative spectrum of semantic field in a certain case of a hapax legomenon's extra meaning.
3. In special cases this association is so strong we should the meaning coupling visual impression, too: in vertical communication the said word generate a feeling describe a picture in hearers. In *The Handbook of New Testament's Hapax Legomena* I named this kind of words hapax synecdoche.

We can find 77 hapax legomena in the whole book of Revelation.<sup>54</sup> This is not too many just as in normal case in the New Testament's writings. According to my search

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<sup>52</sup> The English Summary also my theses can be seen: [http://corvina.kre.hu:8080/phd/Kormos\\_Erik\\_SUMMARY\\_English.pdf](http://corvina.kre.hu:8080/phd/Kormos_Erik_SUMMARY_English.pdf) 25.11.2019.

<sup>53</sup> All the three points in summarised see at: Erik Kormos, *Az újszövetségi hapax legomena kézikönyve II*, 33–35; 41–45. Also see in the Volume III: 38–43.

<sup>54</sup> See the chart under.

in the communication the proportion of hapax legomena are 30–33% within<sup>55</sup> a certain text in case of that it is not shorter than 1000 words.<sup>56</sup>

From this perspective very interesting the rate of hapax legomena in the chapter 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>. By the chart we can see the rate of hapax legomena in the whole book is approximate, but in the 18<sup>th</sup> we can find 20 and in the 21<sup>st</sup> 18 occurrences. The topic in chapter 18 is about falling of Babylon and in 21 is about the characterisation of New Earth. In 21<sup>st</sup> chapter we can find Jerusalem descended from heaven by the typology of 4Ezdra. These statistical dates strength my first point above referred to the fact of percentage of occurrence of hapax legomena.

According to my second point we can assume in both typology the hapax legomena would play elementary role by describing the characters of them.

The affirmation of third point we must examine a few hapax legomena I named “hapax synecdoche”, because by these we can apprehend the visual feeling by the possibility of association.

#### NIV Rev 18,11–13

“The merchants of the earth will weep and mourn over her because no-one buys their cargoes any more — cargoes of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls; fine linen, purple, silk and scarlet cloth; every sort of citron wood, and articles of every kind made of ivory, costly wood, bronze, iron and marble; cargoes of **cinnamon** (hap. leg. κιννάμωμον) and spice, of incense, myrrh and frankincense, of wine and olive oil, of **fine flour** (hap. leg. σερμίδαλιον) and wheat; cattle and sheep; horses and **carriages** (hap. leg. ῥέδη); and bodies and souls of men.

Revelation	1 Chapters	1 Numeber
	2	2 of hapax legomena
	3	4
	4	1
	5	1
	6	5
	7	0
	8	3
	9	4
	10	1
	11	0
	12	2
	13	2
	14	3
	15	0
	16	4
	17	0
	<b>18 Chapter</b>	<b>20</b>
	19	2
	20	2
	<b>21 Chapter</b>	<b>18</b>
	22	2
	<b>Summarised:</b>	<b>77</b>

<sup>55</sup> See for example an interesting search: Wentian Li- Pedro Miramontes, “Fitting Ranked English and Spanish Letter Frequency Distribution, in US and Mexican Presidential Speeches”, in *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 18/4 (2011): 359–380. Also: Marie Těšitelová, *Quantitative Linguistics. Linguistic and Literary Studies in Eastern Europe* Vol. 37 (Prague: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1992), 50–53. Also: Peter Grzybek, “A Quantitative Approach to Lexical Structure of Proverbs”, in *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 11/1–2 (2004): 79–92.

<sup>56</sup> J. K. Krylov, “Synergetic Models and Methods in Quantitative Linguistics”, in *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 9/2 (2002): 125–185.

In this short text, we highlighted three hapax synecdoches<sup>57</sup> which are worthy enough to examine deeply in their associative meanings, too.

Cinnamomum zeylanicum as κιννάμωμον in the text is a well-known spice<sup>58</sup> made from the Ceylonese cinnamon-tree's bark. Otherwise it is a hapax legomenon in the New Testament and cannot be replaced by meaning any other word. As extra information, we know the κιννάμωμον was used as sacral element together with myrrh and frankincense, but these last ones were most popular, but cinnamon was most special. So, the cinnamon, because of its curiosity, mostly characterise the cultic role of special spices, which was used in Aphrodite cult.<sup>59</sup>

The "fine flour" – σεμίδαλις – also interesting.<sup>60</sup> We can find other word to express the flour (ἄλευρον) which is not hapax legomenon, but in the New Testament occur only twice (Mt 13:33 and Lk 13:21). The certainty of σεμίδαλις in translation possible to express added the "fine" antecedent, but may it be not enough to describe its functionality. The "fine" refers to the quality of flour but the certainty would refer to its functionality, too. We have date about that it was used as sacred sacrifice in Egypt's cults, but certainly characterised the ancient Egyptian Amun-Ra cult<sup>61</sup> and it was not used any other function.

We cannot neglect the fact the ῥέδη, too, which is a Keltic loan-word,<sup>62</sup> possibly loaned by the Galatians. It was possibly use for the galatians' cult when they procession hold.<sup>63</sup> We can find other word for chariot (ἄρμα) and we have not got any information about if it would had been other kind of chariot. Both were used normally and very same. The speciality of ῥέδη can be describe by the role of cultic use in Keltic process that was hold in territory of Galatia in Asia Minore.

The speciality of these hapaxes are given and they reside in their associative meaning. Some interpreter like Karoly Karner is,<sup>64</sup> assumed this speciality work, as it would show in points of compass. The ῥέδη is to North to the ancient land of Galatians before Alexander the Great would had settled them. The σεμίδαλις is to Egypt, where the Ptolemaides settled. This also characterised the empire of Alexander the Great which

<sup>57</sup> Hadumod Bussmann, *ibid.*, 305.

<sup>58</sup> Grimm-Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (USA, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887), 347.

<sup>59</sup> David M. Lewis, "The Market for Slaves in Fifth and Fourth Century Aegean Achaemenid Anatolia as a Case-Study", in Edward M. Harris – David M. Lewis – Mark Woolmer, eds. *The Ancient Greek Economy Markets, Households and City-States* (Cambridge: University Press, 2016), 306–312.

<sup>60</sup> Grimm-Thayer, *ibid.*, 573.

<sup>61</sup> Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 180–190.

<sup>62</sup> Grimm-Thayer, *ibid.*, 561.

<sup>63</sup> Aliu Cissé Niang, *Faith and Freedom in Galatia and Senegal: the Apostle Paul, colonists and sending gods* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 47–52.

<sup>64</sup> Károly Karner, *Apokalipszis* (Budapest: Evangélikus Sajtóosztály, 1990), 177–183.



followed the ancient Babylon, which was the prototype of cultic empires. And the κιννάμωμον is to Easer India when was the outermost “border” of Alexander’s empire he reached. It is also important these goods, apart from the Keltic chariot, were luxuries ones and the merchants knew them as Babylonian spices.

The Keltic chariots thus was not from Babylon, but the fest where it was used had been like in Babylon the Akitu torture. The Galatians priest become drunk by using mixture of wine myrrh (Rev 14:10).<sup>65</sup> They also used this chariot (ῥέδη) and in the peak of ceremony in this mental state befell, they castrate themselves during the influence of cultic extasy. In Babylon prostitutes gave the mysterious power for the king,<sup>66</sup> here in Galatia the priests also were under sexual attack influenced by their modified conscience. This was the effect or “fruit” of the cults.

These hapaxes would be understood as *argumentative words* by their associative certainty and by these associative informations we can add some extra for the translation of Revelation, like here be seem in this example:

...cargoes of **hindoo-cinnamon** (hap. leg. κιννάμωμον) and spice, of incense, myrrh and frankincense, of wine and olive oil, of **Egyptian sacraficial flour** (hap. leg. σεμίδαλιν) and wheat; cattle and sheep; horses and **Keltic carriages** (hap. leg. ῥέδη); and bodies and souls of men.

These certainties clearly describe the character of “New Babylon”. From this perspective it does not matter which Cesar ruled in the age of Revelation, they were the manifestation of Babylon’s threefold power.

If we find these characters in our present world which can influence our personal and religious liberty is not accidental. The message of the gospel is to overcome the outside manipulative influence of the cultic world and accept Jesus Christ who overcame the world and this achievement stronger than Babylon’s influence.

## LAST CONCLUSIONS

From the perspective of Revelation’s symbolic language, we have some edification. As I started in my foreword: the aftermath of right religious orientation we must give our hand for indigents, just because our obligation is to share the message of gospel. Same-time it is in a manipulated world, where the economic interest interlocked the politic, and religion, almost impossible. Thus, we respect our obligatory as virtue.

<sup>65</sup> David W. Gill – Conrad Gempf, *The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting. Graeco-Roman Setting* Vol 2 (USA, Michigan: W. Eerdmas Publ. Co., 1994), 377–399.

<sup>66</sup> Nagendra Kumar Singh, *Divine Prostitution* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 1997), 1–6.

The message of Revelation separates the cult and religion: the cult came from Babylonian threefold (politic-economy-religion) state structure, which was revealed by Caesars in the age of Apostle John. But Christianity is a hidden presence of God's kingdom led by Jesus Christ, who is the real and everlasting Lord.

The practical question is, who and how can a man fill in his role in this situation to choose deliberately following of Jesus or to be adrift by manipulation of cult(ural) expectation.



Mihály KRÁNITZ

## CONSCIENCE IN SAINT PAUL AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

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### INTRODUCTION

Today's concept of conscience can be tracked back to *Summa Theologica*.<sup>1</sup> However, it is worth examining its roots and the original meaning of conscience. The Greek word *syneidesis* can be conceived as public opinion. The expression developed in two directions from here: on the one hand it remained as some system of learnable customs, public opinion or code of conduct, which forms part of human development. On the other hand, it means the road of internal law written within us by which the spirit meets the divine world (*idea innata*); and in this latter case it is rather personal development that stands in the foreground.

The adequate interpretation of conscience, which has a significant role in Christian theology, assures the appropriate relationship for us towards God, towards our own self, towards others, the world and all the events as well. Philological, philosophical and biblical approaches as well as the introduction of the perceptions of Saint Paul and the first Christian centuries help us do this.

### I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF SYNEIDESIS

#### I. THE ORIGIN, USE AND MEANING OF THE CONCEPT

The phenomenon of conscience could already be found before the concept appeared.<sup>2</sup> According to Egyptian sources it can be found in the heart as individual and social conscience, which is an inculpatory and critical internal voice one has to pay attention to. The Hebrew word *leb* corresponds to this in the Old Testament,<sup>3</sup> which is conceived by man as the fear of Yahve. In Greek tragedies, several figures appear that represent good and bad conscience. The conflict element in the concept of conscience is in disagreement with moral ideals. Only late ancient philosophy develops a concept

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomas of Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Part. 1, quaest. 79. art. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *RGG* II (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 1958), 1550; *ThWNT* 7 (1964): 897–918; *TRE* 13 (1984): 213–218; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Sittliche Botschaft des Neuen Testaments*, Bd. II (Freiburg: Herder, 1988), 48–58.

<sup>3</sup> 1Sam 24:6.

of conscience, relating it to the well-known folk concept according to which it relates to the divine voice speaking in people.

Philo talks about conscience as the interpreter of God primarily in the sense that it basically means self-accusation against one's own moral conduct. Initial stoicism perceives conscience as the custodian of man, as some "god" in man, which pronouncedly leads to a religious phenomenon. "*A holy Spirit dwells in us that observes and supervises all good and bad things in us,*"<sup>4</sup> says Seneca.

In accordance with this, Philo develops the concept of conscience further as that of a court house, with a positive assessment of expostulative conscience. The Latin *conscientia* goes through an ethical change in the works of Cicero and Seneca. Latin authors write about "good" conscience much more often than the Greek. The concept of conscience is introduced by Saint Paul into Christian literature and its subject-matter deepens in the works of the Church Fathers.

In the Hebrew text of the Old Testament there is no corresponding word to *syneidesis* and even in Septuaginta it appears only sporadically.<sup>5</sup> It appears first in the writings of Democritus<sup>6</sup> and Chrysippus<sup>7</sup> and then practically disappears from literature and the neutral *to syneidos* noun re-appears only during the first century in the works of Philo, Josephus and Plutarch. In Roman territories, it appears as the translation of *conscientia* in the works of Cicero and Seneca. Although we cannot find it in the synoptic Gospels, it becomes a fundamental word of moral teaching educating for freedom in the works of Saint Paul. In Paul's pastoral letters, in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the First Epistle of Peter it forms part of the widespread Christian vocabulary.

The noun *he syneidesis* appeared relatively late in the Greek language.<sup>8</sup> It was used sporadically but verifiably between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, and above all meaning "privity," "knowledge," "consciousness," and "self-awareness". Conscience itself is a multi-meaning concept, so its interpretation always changes according to the context. *Syneidesis* discloses the fundamental meaning of the verb *synoida*. It means "the knowl-

<sup>4</sup> Seneca, *Ep.* 41,1, in Seneca, *Erkölcsei levelek* [Moral Letters] (Budapest: Kossuth, 2001), 94–95.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ecclesiastes 10:20; Wisdom 17:10; Ecclesiasticus 42:8 (a Sinaitic variant); C. Spicq, *Lexique Théologique du Nouveau Testament* (Fribourg–Paris: Editions Universitaires de Fribourg, Edition du Cerf, 1991), 1469–1473.

<sup>6</sup> Fragm. 297b. Cf. W. Nestle, „Bemerkungen zu den Vorsokratikern und Sophisten“, in *Philologus: Zeitschrift für das Klassische Alterthum* (1908): 548. According to F. Prat (*La théologie de Saint Paul* [Paris: Beauchesne, 1925], 56.). The era of Pericles does not know the word "conscience". We can first find it in the maxims of Melandros: "The conscience of every mortal is a god." (*Frag.* 654, *Didot*, 103.) Art. "syneidesis", in C. Spicq, *Lexique*, 1469.

<sup>7</sup> Diogenes Laertius, VII,85, in *Lives of eminent Philosophers II* (Cambridge, 1995), 192. See also: Diogenész Laertiosz, "A sztoikus filozófusok életrajza: Khrüszipposz", in Steiger K. ed. *Sztoikus etikai antológia* [Ethical Anthology of Stoic Writers] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1983), 171–180.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 13 (Berlin, 1884), 198.

edge of man about something.”<sup>9</sup> Along with its synonyms (*to syneidos* and *he synesis*) it can primarily be found in vernacular Greek, where it had nothing to do with philosophy at all. It belonged to a less-researched group of moral concepts which was taken over by philosophical ethics as some material offered by folk people’s way of thinking.<sup>10</sup>

In the Greek world, this “knowledge” becomes “privity” and then “conscience” and the “witness”, “judge” and “prosecutor” found in man. At the same time, different ratings of conscience appear like bad, good, and clear or pure. In the Old Testament, the Hebrew word “heart” (*leb*) fulfils the task of conscience. The effect of this can also be found in the New Testament and is even related to the concept of *syneidesis*.<sup>11</sup>

The term already carries an ethical-moral meaning in the New Testament, usually in a negative sense; at the same time, its positive meaning is linked to the fullness of faith and of Christian life.

## 2. THE CONCEPT OF CONSCIENCE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN JUDAISM

### 2.1. A manifestation of conscience

#### a) The heart (*leb*, *cardia*)

We have seen how the Greek translator of Job's book inserted the concept of conscience as a paraphrase of the Jewish term: “in my heart I need not be ashamed of my days.”<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, the *syneidesis* variant in Ecclesiasticus 42:18, with the word “heart” stands quite close to the former interpretation. The Gospels never give the word of conscience to Jesus' lips; when he refers to the conscience of his audience, he speaks of their hearts.<sup>13</sup> In this, Christ and Christian authors relate to common human language, but even more so to Semitic realism and biblical language. Even Saint Paul, who introduced *syneidesis* to the New Testament, often talks about the heart.<sup>14</sup>

The word *leb* appears in the Holy Scriptures approximately a thousand times, in a much broader sense than the present-day interpretation of the heart can give.<sup>15</sup> The heart is the principle of bodily life, which is often interchangeable with the vegetative

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* III (Stuttgart, 1983), 721.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974), 136, No. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Hebrews 10:22.

<sup>12</sup> Job 27:6.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Mt 5:8; 6:21; 15:10–20 and 18:35.

<sup>14</sup> 1Thess 2:4.17; 3:13; 2Thess 2:17; 3:5 etc.

<sup>15</sup> Here we cannot provide an exhaustive analysis of the word “heart” in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature; however, we can offer the bibliography of some more significant works: H. Lesetre, “Le coeur”, in *DBI* (Paris, 1899), 822–826; F. Baumgartel–T. Behm, “Kardia”, in *ThWNT* III (Stuttgart, 1938), 609–616; A. Guillaumont, “Les sens des noms du coeur dans l’antiquité”, in *Le Coeur, Études Carmélitaines* (Bruges, 1950), 41–81; C. Tresmontant, *Essai sur la pensée hébraïque. Lectio Divina XII* (Paris: Cerf, 1953), 117–123; P. Mourlon Beernaert, *Coeur-langue-mains dans la Bible. Un langage sur l’homme. Cahiers Évangile 46* (Paris: Cerf, 1983).

soul or the spirit. It denotes the common soul in either its spiritual or moral manifestations. While our understanding is that the heart is the centre of emotion and love, in the Holy Scriptures it is, at the same time, the seat of thought, of thinking, of contemplation,<sup>16</sup> of wisdom, of remembrance, and of will, as well as the starting point for manifestations of the soul, passions and emotions. But if the inner and dynamic centre of reason and will are in the heart then the heart is responsible for all our deeds, and it is also the centre of moral life. The heart is the place for desires and it can follow good or bad ones. And since it can make a distinction between good and bad, it is also the seat of conscience. In 1 Samuel 24:6 and 2 Samuel 10:10, David writes of his remorse in the following way: "David reproached himself," "David's heart misgave him." And Solomon addresses the following reproach to Shimei: "You know well all the evil you did to my father David."<sup>17</sup>

Moral reproach in the Bible is directed against the duality of the heart: "He speaks deceitfully and with a double heart" (*en kardia kai en kardia*).<sup>18</sup> As early as on the first pages of the Bible we can find the protest of good conscience of true man. Abimelech, after having announced to God that he wanted to marry Abraham's wife, declares that he did it with a pure heart: *en kathara kardis*.<sup>19</sup> A Jewish man must purify his heart<sup>20</sup> from all sins, he has to prefer the purity of the heart<sup>21</sup> knowing that it can never be completely pure.<sup>22</sup> The purification of conscience, therefore, lasts a lifetime and he asks it from God as a gift: "*Cor mundum crea in me Deus.*"<sup>23</sup>

"Nobody escapes him who knows the secrets of the heart alone, he is the one who searches the heart and try the kidneys"<sup>24</sup>. If the heart rather means a translucent conscience of man, then the kidneys are the seat of the deeper emotions, or, in other words that would be used today, the level of the subconscious.

So the heart represents the inner personality of man, the part that God alone knows. It is also the centre for one's religious life. For an Israelite, there is no difference between moral and religious life. The heart feels the fear of God, which is a special religious virtue<sup>25</sup> of the Jewish soul, and it is a place of faithfulness to Yahweh, the jealous

<sup>16</sup> Thoughts are in the heart of man. Cf. Ez 38:10.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 2:44.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Psalms 12:3.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Genesis 20:5–6.

<sup>20</sup> Ecclesiasticus 38:10.

<sup>21</sup> Proverbs 22:11.

<sup>22</sup> Proverbs 20:9.

<sup>23</sup> Psalms 51:12.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Chronicles 28:9; Psalms 7:10; 26:2; Jer 11:20; 17:10; 20:12 etc.

<sup>25</sup> Proverbs 23:17.

God. The faithful heart is completely with God<sup>26</sup> or at least it turns towards him.<sup>27</sup> It is an often recurring phrase that one should serve and love God wholeheartedly.<sup>28</sup>

This brief overview has shown the importance of this word in Jewish thinking. The heart is the most beloved expression of a Jew when he speaks of his inner life or his moral or religious conscience. Without further elaboration on this, let us add that the same interpretation appears in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, as well as in Qumran and in rabbinic literature.

b) The eye (*ajin, ophthalmos*)

The eye meant the inner life, the inner world of man to the Jews in a different way.<sup>29</sup> A gospel logion shows the significance of this: "*The lamp of the body is the eye. It follows that if your eye is clear, your whole body will be filled with light. But if your eye is diseased, your whole body will be darkness. If then, the light inside you is darkened, what darkness that will be!*"<sup>30</sup>

In the Jewish view, man is an organic wholeness, a body which is transfused by the soul. Thus it does not allow for the separation of soul and body and therefore all the feelings of man are reflected in his face, especially in his eyes. Gaze betrays thoughts, because man is fully present in the eye and can even be personified by the eye. Therefore, the prideful eye, the merciful eye or the cruel eye, the angry eye, the mocking or evil eye, the unsatisfied, envious or jealous eye often appears in the Bible.<sup>31</sup> A good example of this is the two places in the book of Ecclesiasticus:

"Wicked the person who has an envious eye, averting his face, and careless of others' lives. / the eye of the grasping is not content with what he has, greed shrivels up the soul. The miser is grudging of bread, there is famine at his table. "Honour the Lord with generosity, do not stint the first-fruits you bring. Add a smiling face to all your gifts, and be cheerful as you dedicate your tithes /Give to the Most High as he has given to you, as generously as your means can afford."<sup>32</sup>

On the basis of the eyes open or closed, one can easily describe one's moral life with the words of light and darkness, as we saw in the Christ Logion, and as it appears in the Jewish idea of the two ways. Man is guilty due to the moral or religious blindness

<sup>26</sup> 1Kings 11:4; 15:14.

<sup>27</sup> 1Chronicles 29:18.

<sup>28</sup> Deuteronomy 6:5; 13:4; 30:6; 1Sam 12:20 etc.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. H. Lesetre, "Oeil", in *DB IV*, 1748–1752; W. Michaelis, "Ophthalmos", in *ThWNT V* (Stuttgart, 1938), 376–379.

<sup>30</sup> Mt 6:22–23.

<sup>31</sup> H. Lesetre, *ibid.*, 1750.

<sup>32</sup> Ecclesiasticus 14:8–10 and 35:7–9.



of his heart. Many biblical texts identify the effects of the eye and the heart, as it becomes evident in Job's book: "*If my feet have wandered from the rightful path, or if my eyes have led my heart astray...*"<sup>33</sup> This association also appears in St. Paul, who speaks of the eye of the mind,<sup>34</sup> and it is also quite common in rabbinical writings.

### 3. THE CONCEPT OF CONSCIENCE IN THE GREEK WORLD

#### 3. 1. The Greek literature before Christianity

First of all, it is necessary to examine the roots of the concept of *syneidesis* in the Greek literary environment. Where did the authors borrow from and what influence did they have on the later Christian application of the concept?

As a result of research conducted by a Dominican monk, Ceslas Spicq (1901–1992), the word *syneidesis* disappears from Greek literature from the fourth century up until the Christian era.<sup>35</sup>

Alongside philosophical and everyday language, we can observe the typical use of popular philosophical terms also in the moralizing speeches of the Hellenistic era. They are not bound to theories of any philosophical school, but highlight lifestyle issues in the teaching of different systems, using certain elements of stoicism, cynicism, Epicureanism, and Pythagoreanism.

When exploring the use of the concept of conscience, we come across various topics that can be used to identify a particular literary environment. Here we can make plenty of references to Latin authors, especially Cicero and Seneca since they when talking about conscience refer to the teachings of epicureans, cynics and stoics. Assuming St. Paul's dependence on Latin moralists does not even come to our minds; however, it is very important to note that the latter make an extensive use of popular Greek moral teaching. Thus the Greek vulgar moralization is known to us mainly through Latin literature. Even though there is no close relationship between these authors and St. Paul, the apostle must have known the most widespread forms of folk morality.

<sup>33</sup> Job 31:7.

<sup>34</sup> Ephesians 1:18.

<sup>35</sup> C. Spicq, "La conscience dans le Nouveau Testament", in *Revue Biblique* 47 (1938): 51–52. Nock, A. D., *Early Gentile Christianity and Hellenistic Background*, Harber & Row, New York 1964, 93: "Now that philosophy in this way answered spiritual as well as intellectual needs, is addressed itself to the masses and not merely to the select few. Thus stoicism taught man to fit himself to the world order of which he was part, »to live in accordance with nature«, and developed the theory of duties; Epicureanism sought to free him from superstitious fear of the gods and of death; Cynicism emphasised the advantages of cutting oneself adrift from all worldly interests. School rivalries could be severe, but in the sphere of popular philosophy they were least marked; thus Seneca quotes various good saying from Epicurus." And the author writes the following about the spread of philosophical thought: "The spread of philosophic ideas was due partly to oral teaching, given by a number of lecturers who had often something of the missionary in them, partly to books."

## II. THE CONCEPT OF *SYNEIDESIS* IN THE NEW TESTAMENT AND IN THE WRITINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY

In the New Testament, the verb *synoida* occurs twice: once it means a person's sinful initiation,<sup>36</sup> and the second time it appears with a reflexive pronoun.<sup>37</sup> The word *syneidos* does not occur at all; however, instead of it *syneidesis* appears thirty times. The way it is distributed in the various writings can lead to significant conclusions. Because of the Old Testament tradition, this word does not occur in the original text of the Gospels. We can only read it in a text version of the pericope about the adulterous woman,<sup>38</sup> where the phrase reminds us of the judicial office in the Philonian sense. The other occurrences, which are analysed in detail below, can be divided into two large groups. In Paul, *syneidesis* occurs fourteen times, and in the epistles after Paul, sixteen times. Thus, the assumption that the word became known through Paul can be justified. We can find it six times in the post-Paulian writings, in the pastoral letters; five times in Hebrews, three times in the First Epistle of Peter, and twice in the Acts of the Apostles. These places are dominated by the concept of good, clear, and bad conscience – which is completely missing in Paul, which suggests that this term here is used in another sense.

### I. THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS

The gospels depart from the fact that man, through the “light within him,”<sup>39</sup> can judge for himself what is right<sup>40</sup> and strongly emphasizes that it is not the clash with traditional ritual laws but rather the wickedness of the heart<sup>41</sup> that makes him impure. Honesty is not only about outer purity, but about pure motives for action. The resulting rejection of the inherited Jewish pattern necessitates the replacement of the Torah with some new authority. Jesus' personal example, the commission of the apostles appointed by him, the moral influence of the Church of the select ones on each member of the church, and the will of God as revealed in the Old Testament: these were the things that constituted authority for early Christians. In addition, their

<sup>36</sup> Acts 5:2: *syneidyies tes gynaicos*.

<sup>37</sup> 1Cor 4:4.

<sup>38</sup> Jn 8:9: *hypo tes syneideseos elenchomenoi*.

<sup>39</sup> Mt 6:23.

<sup>40</sup> Lk 12:57.

<sup>41</sup> Mt 15:10–20. On the effects of the good news, see: J. D. G. Dunn, *Kezdetben volt az evangélium. Jézus, Pál és az evangéliumok* [In the beginning, there were the Gospels. Jesus, Paul and the Gospels] (Budapest: Kálvin kiadó, 2014) (*Isten kegyelmének nyitottsága* [The openness of God's grace] 126–135).

own conscience remained for each individual. Emerging Christianity strongly emphasized the duty to follow God's call despite all the pressure from traditional Jewry.<sup>42</sup>

Jesus teaches that if a disciple refuses to declare him, the Son of Man will also disown him at judgement.<sup>43</sup> Obviously, in this way, a person's clear conscience is at odds with the old community standards if these latter ones prevent him from recognizing the renewing effect of the soul in establishing the Messianic community. In addition to the use of the *syneidesis*, the use of the *martyrs* as an internal witness appears, which is closely related to the Holy Spirit as the supreme witness, especially in the scriptures of John.

## 2. THE TEACHING OF SAINT PAUL

### 2.1. Conscience as a judge and guiding principle

St. Paul<sup>44</sup> often refers to conscience as the guiding principle of life: *“So, when gentiles, not having the Law, still through their own innate sense behave as the Law commands, then, even though they have no Law, they are a law for themselves. They can demonstrate the effect of the Law engraved on their hearts to which their own conscience bears witness; since they are aware of various considerations, some of which accuse them, while others provide them with a defence . . .”*<sup>45</sup>

When judging actions, the Jews referred to the Law of Moses. The Gentiles have no such standard. They are illegitimate, yet they have inside them a kind of moral judge who shows them what good deeds they should do. This is conscience. On this basis, they judge the actions of others on the basis of the moral goods and values that they have recognized or pieced out.

<sup>42</sup> Acts 3:24; Gal 5:11.

<sup>43</sup> Mk 8:38.

<sup>44</sup> A. D. Nock, *ibid.*, where the author explains that *syneidesis* used by Paul was not a stoic expression although it had been thought so. The conscience of Romans 2:15 may also have Old Testament roots like, for example, Jeremiah 31:33, where it is also about some law written in the heart, though this text does not apply to Gentiles: *“Syneidesis, which St. Paul uses of conscience, is not a stoic technical term, although it has often been thought to be stoic: the Idea may come from stoic sources, but is not clear that the writer had first-hand acquaintance with stoic texts. Rom 2:15 who show the work of the Law written in their hearts, as their conscience testifies’ may look stoic, but can more readily be explained from Hebraic ideas like Jeremiah 31:33. . . . Though in existing rabbinical texts this is not extended to cover the heathen, in the more liberal schools of Judaism existing in St. Paul’, day it may have been. At the same time, the idea in Romans that all races know God is a Hellenistic commonplace.”* (95). About the teaching activities of Paul, see: P. WICK, *Pál a kereszténység tanítója* [Paul, the teacher of Christianity] (Budapest: Kálvin kiadó, 2007); I. Dugandzic, “Mennyire autonóm a lelkiismeret? A lelkiismeret (*syneidesis*) fogalma és jelentése Pál szerint”, in Gy. Benyik ed. *Szent Pál és a pogány irodalom* [Saint Paul and Pagan Literature] (Szeged: JATEpress, 2010), 47–64.

<sup>45</sup> Romans 2:14–15.

Conscience here has a determined role: It is a witness<sup>46</sup> of some deed. It compares behaviour with moral law. This judgement also applies to others<sup>47</sup>: the Gentile acts according to the law of conscience when approves of or condemns the moral actions of people.

A number of Paulian texts tell us how the judgment of conscience works against personal actions as well as against the actions of other people.

#### A) Conscience and personal deeds

When the Apostle talks about his own conscience, he says the following: “*This is the truth and I am speaking in Christ, without pretence as my conscience testifies for me in the Holy Spirit.*”<sup>48</sup> *There is one thing that we are proud of, namely our conscientious conviction that we have always behaved towards everyone, and especially towards you, with that unalloyed holiness that comes from God, relying not on human reasoning but on the grace of God.*”<sup>49</sup>

Here we are faced with the same duality: on the one hand, a person, i.e. the Apostle and on the other hand a judge, who has in him a witness of God, who is more than himself. The divine nature of conscience is more definite than that of the Christian, since the conscience is inhabited by the Holy Spirit who guides as well as illuminates it. Conscience is an attribute to our nature which can manifest itself on the level of *natura lapsa* as it is mentioned in Romans and also on the level of *natura redempta*, that is, with the help of faith and grace.<sup>50</sup>

#### B) Conscience and the behaviour of other people

Our conscience can act as a judge for others, and others can judge us as well. According to the teachings of St. Paul, we must also take into account the wrong judgment of others, lest we scandalize others. A Gentile who has been invited to become a Christian has the right to eat the meat sacrificed to idols. And yet this constraint lies ahead of them: “*But if someone says to you, 'This food has been offered in sacrifice,' do not eat it, out of consideration for the person that told you, for conscience's sake- not your own conscience, I mean, but the other person's. Why should my freedom be governed by somebody else's conscience?*”<sup>51</sup> To encourage a Christian to eat the flesh of sacrificed animals would also mean respect for the Pagan gods. If a Christian acted in accordance with his free-

<sup>46</sup> Romans 2:15a.

<sup>47</sup> Romans 2:15b.

<sup>48</sup> Romans 9:1.

<sup>49</sup> 2Cor 1:12.

<sup>50</sup> Ph. Delhaye, *La Conscience morale du chrétien* (Tournai: Desclee, 1964), 20.

<sup>51</sup> 1Cor 10:28–29.

dom, he would be condemned on the basis of his warning conscience. So they must refrain from exercising their freedom.

The judgement of conscience relating to others is not always false, in fact, it is often true and well founded. In this case, it is somehow the same as God's proceedings: *“And so it is with the fear of the Lord always in mind that we try to win people over. But God sees us for what we are, and I hope your consciences do too.”*<sup>52</sup>

Paul faces God's judgment with good intentions and without any concern. Even though the Corinthians in their relationship to him sometimes listen to prejudices and slanders, yet the Apostle is sure that they will be truthful and their conscience will judge his actions and intentions in an objective way. And this judgement is already of universal nature: *“but have renounced all shameful secrecy. It is not our way to be devious, or to falsify the word of God; instead, in God's sight we commend ourselves to every human being with a conscience by showing the truth openly.”*<sup>53</sup>

Here the Apostle entrusts one's own deeds to each person's own conscience – be they believers or non-believers. This means not only recognizing the existence of universal guiding principles, but also the ability of all people to judge human behaviour.

## 2.2. Conscience personalized

The conscience outlined above manifests itself in an impersonal way and somehow forms part of divine omnipotence.

From another perspective, St. Paul sees conscience as a personal reality for everyone. In this way, conscience might as well prove to be wrong and thus it is included in St. Paul's expressions with the following adjectives: “good conscience”, “bad conscience”, “false conscience”.

### A) Good conscience

Good conscience<sup>54</sup> (*agathé, khale, kathare syneidesis*) excludes mistakes. Saint Paul talks about himself in connection with conscience in the following way: *“In these things, I, as much as they, do my best to keep a clear conscience at all times before God and everyone.”*<sup>55</sup>

This assumes the permanent nature of good deeds: *“Pray for us; we are sure that our own conscience is clear and we are certainly determined to behave honourably in everything*

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<sup>52</sup> 2Cor 5:11.

<sup>53</sup> 2Cor 4:2.

<sup>54</sup> J. Stelzenberger, “Das gute Gewissen”, in J. Stelzenberger, *Syneidesis im Neuen Testament* (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1961), 83–90.

<sup>55</sup> Acts 24:16.

we do.”<sup>56</sup> It embraces the correctness of actions before God: “My brothers, to this day I have conducted myself before God with a perfectly clear conscience.”<sup>57</sup>

Saint Paul serves God with a pure conscience.<sup>58</sup> Not only does he avoid the transgression of God, but he acts alone for him. Good conscience means perseverance in good deeds and in the faithfulness to God, which gives perfection to the person. Good conscience is related to faith. Saint Paul encourages the deacons in the following way: “They must hold to the mystery of the faith with a clear conscience.”<sup>59</sup>

Faith supposes the purity of moral life as well. The preservation of good Christian doctrine is supported by good conscience. On the other hand, faith strengthens conscience. The Apostle urges Timothy to fight the good battle: “so that .... you may fight like a good soldier with faith and a good conscience for your weapons.”<sup>60</sup> Through conscience, one will have a clear knowledge of the will of God and its application to moral life. Faith thus yields the fruits of good deeds.

#### B) Bad conscience

Bad conscience<sup>61</sup> is contaminated (*memiaute*) and (*kekausteriasmene*) bears the mark of Satan. “To those who are pure themselves, everything is pure; but to those who have been corrupted and lack faith, nothing can be pure – the corruption is both in their minds and in their consciences.”<sup>62</sup>

The deviation of the mind implies the wickedness of conscience. The souls of anti Semite teachers are polluted by false teaching, and their conscience is incapable of good deeds. Conscience becomes impure because it does not choose good and does not practice differentiation. As runaway slaves were marked with fiery iron, false teachers carry the mark of evil life in their conscience: “during the last times some will desert the faith and pay attention to deceitful spirits and doctrines that come from devils, seduced by the hypocrisy of liars whose consciences are branded as though with a red-hot iron.”<sup>63</sup>

The topic of wicked conscience appears several times<sup>64</sup> in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which deals with the salvation of man and the purification of sinful conscience. The identification of conscience and the person thus is complete.

<sup>56</sup> Hebrews 13:18.

<sup>57</sup> Acts: 23:1.

<sup>58</sup> 2Tim 1:3.

<sup>59</sup> 1Tim 3:9.

<sup>60</sup> 1Tim 1:19.

<sup>61</sup> J. Stelzenberger, *Das böse oder schlechte Gewissen*, 90–94.

<sup>62</sup> Tit 1:15.

<sup>63</sup> 1Tim 4:2.

<sup>64</sup> Hebrews 9:9.14; 10:2.22.

C) *False conscience*

False conscience<sup>65</sup> (*asthenes*) in Saint Paul's writings is mentioned in connection with the consumption of meat of sacrificed animals sacrificed to idols. The new converts believed that it was forbidden to eat the meat of the sacrifice; however, they did not have the courage to act on their convictions and thus they contaminated their conscience. These neophytes have a false conscience says Saint Paul three times. Undoubtedly, the weakness of human judgment is manifested when it is considered wrong to do something that is objectively indifferent. In this context, the emphasis is placed on the weakness of the character because they do what they themselves condemn by following the example of others.<sup>66</sup>

The Paulian conscience is susceptible to weakness, which can become impure, which can experience some bad effect or some bad examples. Thus it is just an internal witness or judge or the impersonal expression of one's duty. Saint Paul gives the *syneidesis* which is the centre of the soul, a personal character, where choice are made in a responsible way.

### 2.3. Obedience to the judgment of conscience

Conscience provides guidelines and judges the actions of the past, and therefore we must follow its instructions. No one can escape the call and control of conscience.

In his Epistle to the Romans, Paul explains why a Christian must obey these guidelines in order to avoid punishment. But that's not enough, one also has to surrender to the power superior to them because that's the will of God. And God's will is manifested in conscience: "*So anyone who disobeys an authority is rebelling against God's ordinance.... You must be obedient, therefore, not only because of this retribution, but also for conscience's sake.*"<sup>67</sup>

Although with a different choice of words but the same idea appears in Chapter 14 of the Epistle to the Romans. Paul uses the expression "*pistis*" for scrupulous and doubtful conscience, which can be translated as conviction.<sup>68</sup>

The controversial issue is that some Christians have not yet been liberated from the prejudices of the Jews or other sects. It is believed that they can eat meat only on certain days (vv. 2 and 5). They are wrong because no food is unclean in itself (v. 14), and the kingdom of God is not confined to eating habits, because it is about justice, peace,

<sup>65</sup> Ph. Delhay, *La conscience morale*, 23–24.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. 1Cor 8:7, 10:12.

<sup>67</sup> Romans 13:2.5.

<sup>68</sup> Paul uses the word "*pistis*" here in the sense of his own era in which it used to mean conviction, opinion, judgement. P. M. Zerwick strengthens this notion: "*pistis hic: firma persuasio, certa conscientia.*" Cf. *Analysis philologica Novi Testamenti Graeci* (Romae: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1953), 359.

and joy in the Holy Spirit (v. 17). Anyone who recognizes this has exceeded these rules. However, the weak still insist to all these: “*Within yourself, before God, hold on to what you already believe. Blessed is the person whose principles do not condemn his practice. But anyone who eats with qualms of conscience is condemned, because this eating does not spring from faith – and every action which does not spring from faith is sin.*”<sup>69</sup>

In the light of this statement, we can much better understand the meaning of verse 5: “Let each of them be fully convinced in his own mind”. The force of conscience is so great that one has to follow its instructions even if they are wrong. If we deviate from this, we will commit a sin.

Saint Paul expresses his opinion to the Corinthians<sup>70</sup> about the meat sacrificed to idols. It is all about an objective norm known by knowledge (*gnosis*). A Christian can eat from the sacrificial flesh because there are no idols and the sacrificial flesh is no different from the rest. One who has a clear conscience and acts in accordance with this law does the right thing, and does not have to restrict his freedom because of a question of conscience.<sup>71</sup> However, many Christians do not know this because they believe that they cannot eat this meat due to their conscience.

What happens if they ignore the wrong order of their conscience? They will commit a sin: “*then their conscience, being vulnerable, is defiled.*”<sup>72</sup> They have to conform to their beliefs, even if it is not always right.

## 2.4. The originality of Saint Paul

The abundance of Paul's teaching on conscience raises the question of their originality.

### *A) The special importance of the topic of conscience*

St. Paul often uses the concept of conscience, while other authors do not use it at all, instead they call it the heart or they describe what conscience is.<sup>73</sup>

With this concept, the Apostle was able to better explain the essential features of the biblical theme of Christian morality and that of the heart. The Epistle to the Romans observes a transition between the two concepts: “*They can demonstrate the effect of the Law engraved on their hearts, to which their own conscience bears witness; since they are*

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<sup>69</sup> Romans 14:22–23.

<sup>70</sup> 1Cor 8.

<sup>71</sup> 1Cor 10:25.

<sup>72</sup> 1Cor 8:7.

<sup>73</sup> In fact, Paul also talks about the heart. The weak and the wicked let their hearts be deceived (Rom 16:18), blinded (Rom 1:21; Eph 4:18; cf. Acts 28:27). The heart can withstand repentance (Rom 2:4), in the good it is pure (1Tim 2:22), God's inquisitive eye permeates it (Rom 8:27); 1Thess 8:4). Beyond the main place of identification of the heart and conscience (Rom 2:15), see also 1Tim 1:5; Hebrews 10:22; 1Peter 3:15–16.



aware of various considerations, some of which accuse them, while others provide them with a defence".<sup>74</sup>

What was vague in the concept of the heart here it becomes precise and clear. It is a constant self-criticism that operates within the light of the moral sense given by God and not an inner state of sensible thoughts, emotions, and will. There is no reference to the God of law and judgment, since the law has become inward which commands deeds, and immediately judges them as well. The functioning of conscience is much more determined and powerful than the role of the heart.

### B) Saint Paul and philosophy

The question as to where Saint Paul might have taken the term *syneidesis* from may come up.<sup>75</sup> At the beginning of the century, rationalist science wanted to prove that St. Paul had borrowed from stoics<sup>76</sup> in this area. However, many studies have confirmed that the concept of *syneidesis* is not a peculiar stoic feature. The word occurs only once in the literary legacy of Chrysippus and it does so without any special moral tone. Nor does Epictetus use it in his Handbook. He uses the word *daimon*<sup>77</sup> as the guardian of the moral order, referring to the Socratic demon.

On the other hand, however, it seems that folk philosophers, such as the cynics, have adopted the Socratic teaching (*gnothi seauton*). Cicero and Seneca are familiar with the concept of conscience and it forms part of their moral teaching. Nonetheless, these authors never made an analysis known to us that would be similar to St. Paul's. Presumably, the Apostle uses a term borrowed from the vernacular, and has built upon it the biblical teaching of the heart, or at least the moral function of the same. Saint Paul must have heard the word *syneidesis* in Tarsus during his youth. And when he writes to the Romans, he discusses a topic that was familiar to them from the works of Cicero and Seneca. This is where the use of these authors and the further development of their ideas becomes quite obvious for the reader. Thus Paul shows some Jewish-Christian value and at the same time teaches the Gentiles in their own language.

<sup>74</sup> Rom 2:15.

<sup>75</sup> Ph. Delhaye, *L'enseignement de Saint Paul*, 31. Cf. A. D. Nock, *ibid.*, 94: "In general, we may also be sceptical as to any large measure of stoic influence on the Pauline writings. On the face of it there appears to be much common ground: yet here is such an absence in St. Paul of what is more characteristically stoic that we may well ask if he had received more of their doctrines than had become commonplace, even though at Tarsus he may have had opportunities for hearing stoic lectures on philosophy.", 95: "At times St. Paul shows acquaintance with stoic Ideas, but he opposes them or uses them against the system to which they belong."

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Zs. Kovács, "Szoitikus állhatatosság Pál tanításában", in Gy. Benyik ed. *Szent Pál és a pogány irodalom* [Saint Paul and Pagan Literature] (Szeged: JATEpress, 2010), 157–176.

<sup>77</sup> *Dial.* I, 14:11.

Virgil LÁSZLÓ

## THE CRUCIFIXION OF THE FLESH WITH ITS PASSIONS AND DESIRES BY PAUL

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### I. THE PAULINE DICTUM

In Galatians 5:24, after a long discussion about the enmity between the flesh (σάρξ) and the Spirit (πνεῦμα), the apostle Paul comes to the following conclusion: “And those who belong to Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires.” οἱ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [Ἰησοῦ] τὴν σάρκα ἐσταύρωσαν σὺν τοῖς παθήμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. In this study, I endeavor to highlight some points of debate regarding the interpretation of the above quoted Bible verse then also presenting briefly the Stoic notion of ἀπάθεια and the metaphor of crucifixion used by Seneca for the sake of making a comparison.

### II. THE CONTEXT

Our scrutinized verse is a kind of conclusion of a longer passage contained in 5:16–26, in which Paul depicts two ways of living for the Galatians. One is living according to the Spirit, the other one is living according to the flesh. In verses 16–17 we can perceive the strong opposition between these two ways. In verses 19–21a and 22–23a, that is, in the famous vice and virtue lists, Paul provides the concretization of the behaviors and deeds characterizing the two antagonistic ethical patterns. Verse 21b makes it very clear that the eschatological future of the Galatians is dependent on their choice between these. Verses 18 and 23b shed light on the relationship between the way of the Spirit and the law. “Paul’s reminder about the believers’ “crucifixion” in 5:24 thus stands at the conclusion of a chiasmic structure which began in 5:16. In this position it corresponds with the Apostle’s initial call to “live by the Spirit” and his description of the flesh/Spirit antagonism.”<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, this is also substantiated by the fact that the immediately following verse 25 repeats verbatim the exhortation of verse 16: “walk by the Spirit.” Studying the structure of this wider passage can lead us to the recognition which is formulated succinctly but very aptly by Don Garlington like this:

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<sup>1</sup> Scott, 268.

“Crucifixion of the flesh entails, by the very nature of the case, abandonment of the law in favor of the Spirit-led and Spirit-empowered life of a new covenant and a new creation.”<sup>2</sup>

### III. THE MEANING OF σάρξ: APOCALYPTIC OR ETHICAL?

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century some scholarly discussion emerged regarding the character of the flesh. Among others Ernst Käsemann held the position that σάρξ is an apocalyptic term denoting a cosmic power which enslaves humanity.<sup>3</sup> Louis Martyn also titled the opposition of flesh and Spirit as a genuine conflict, an apocalyptic war, or even the apocalyptic war of the end time.<sup>4</sup> Most of the commentators do not share these kinds of views, anyhow. The problem with them stems from the obvious fact that the flesh is not something external to the individual. Any personification of it is only figurative and it is not completely parallel or equal power to the Spirit.<sup>5</sup> Even the Septuagint never uses σάρξ as denoting something inherently evil but only what is mortal or corruptible.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, we have no reason to consider the Pauline flesh as a hostile cosmic power, since it is not something separable from the person.<sup>7</sup> We have to keep this in mind even while thinking over the differentiation between eight shades of meaning regarding Paul’s use of the term by James Dunn in his comprehensive monograph about Paul’s theology. This spectrum ranges from the more or less neutral understanding of the word denoting simply the physical body to that aspect of the human being which is the source of corruption and hostility toward God just to mention the two extreme points. Into this latter category we can enumerate also the usage in Gal 5:24.<sup>8</sup> It is Dunn again who in his Galatians commentary provides a comprehensive definition of σάρξ appearing in Gal 5. “By “flesh” Paul means the human condition in its belongingness to this world – that is, the weakness of the human being in contrast to the power of the divine, the dependency of creature on the satisfaction of bodily appetites, and the tendency of the physical body to decay and corruption.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Garlington, 349.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, 256.

<sup>4</sup> Martyn, 530–531.

<sup>5</sup> Scott, 257.

<sup>6</sup> Scott, 259.

<sup>7</sup> Dunn, 1998, 66.

<sup>8</sup> Dunn, 1998, 62–63.

<sup>9</sup> Dunn, 2011, 287.

#### IV. Παθήματα AND ἐπιθυμία

Beside Galatians the word “passions” is used by Paul only in Rom 7:5, but again, remarkably in connection with the flesh: “For while we were living in the flesh, our sinful passions, aroused by the law, were at work in our members to bear fruit for death.” Passion is a technical term in Hellenistic anthropology.<sup>10</sup> We will treat the Stoic evaluation of παθήματα, ἐπάθειαι and ἀπάθεια later. By Paul, flesh expresses itself in its passions and desires. In Gal 5 the expressions of “passions and desires” in conjunction with the flesh deliver a reference to “works of the flesh,” treated earlier in the chapter. In this relation, passions denote the outward expressions while “desires” are the inner directive force behind them.<sup>11</sup>

The Hungarian exegete Zsigmond Varga takes a different approach when he suggests that these two words, passions and desires, form a figure of speech named Hendiadys. In this case the meaning would be “passionate desires”.<sup>12</sup>

If it is so or not, I am sure that not only παθήματα but also ἐπιθυμία plays a very important role at this point. Martinus de Boer, who otherwise belongs to that group of scholars thinking in the already mentioned cosmological-apocalyptic framework, suggests that “the Flesh” in Galatians is the personification of the desire of the flesh.<sup>13</sup> Desire, ἐπιθυμία has a long history in Jewish thought since it refers the inclination of the heart, the יצר. The two earliest and famous attestations can be found in the book of Genesis. Gen 6:5: “The LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every intention of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.” Gen 8:21: “The intention of man's heart is evil from his youth.” In Rabbinic literature יצר is most of the time qualified as יצר הרע – evil inclination.<sup>14</sup> This kind of understanding of ἐπιθυμία is present also in James 1:14–15: “...each person is tempted when he is lured and enticed by his own desire. Then desire when it has conceived gives birth to sin, and sin when it is fully grown brings forth death.” So, briefly put, when Paul talks about the flesh in Gal 5, he may keep in mind the evil inclination, that is, desire in this special sense.

Finally, probably this is the right place to mention one more momentum. The Philo-expert Norwegian New Testament scholar Peder Borgen suggests an interesting comparison which can be very helpful in understanding Paul's ethical position in Galatians. Philo of Alexandria considered circumcision as a symbol for the removal of the

<sup>10</sup> Betz, 289–290.

<sup>11</sup> Fung, 274.

<sup>12</sup> Varga, 119.

<sup>13</sup> de Boer, 339.

<sup>14</sup> E. g. Sifr. Deut 45.

pleasures and passions of the flesh.<sup>15</sup> He criticized those Jews who albeit kept practicing the ethical meaning of circumcision but abandoned doing bodily circumcision itself. Although Paul rejected the bodily circumcision, too, he is different from those criticized by Philo. He not simply abandoned bodily circumcision, but rather transferred its role to the event of the believers' crucifixion together with Christ and bound to it exclusively. Thus, he "gave the ethical life a new and eschatological foundation in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ."<sup>16</sup>

### V. THE CRUCIFIXION AS A METAPHOR IN GAL 5:24 AND THE AGENCY OF BELIEVERS

In Galatians we can find the metaphor of crucifixion three times. But while in Gal 2:19 and 6:14 the voice is passive,<sup>17</sup> that is, the person of Paul and the world are objects of the crucifixion, in 5:24 the voice is active. In this specific place those belonging to Christ appear as the crucifying agents while the crucified victim is the flesh. Most of the commentators underline the peculiarity or even oddity of this. Such kind of positive use of crucifixion which is an otherwise horrific metaphor was unprecedented. Anyhow, this is not the only peculiarity. Being crucified with Christ or being crucified to the world means a spiritual participation in the unique historical event of the Redeemer's salvific death on the cross. But what about the active voice in 5:24, about which Richard B. Hays can make the following statement: "This strange formulation seems to violate the usual syntax of Paul's theology."<sup>18</sup>

A significant part of the commentators like Ronald Fung, Robert Tannehill or F.F. Bruce,<sup>19</sup> argues that beside 2:19–20 and 6:14 there is also in Gal 5:24 a close link between this action of the believers and the crucifixion of Christ. If it is so, then the past tense of the aorist necessarily refers to a single act which can be either the event of the baptism or the conversion of the believers. In this case, the crucifixion of the flesh is a completed action in the past with present consequences, that is, in the sense of the grammatical category of perfect. Then the logical implication is that the eschatological victory of the cross is transferred by the already mentioned spiritual participation to the eschatological victory of the believers over the flesh. To sum up this position with the words of one of its advocates, Martinus de Boer: "...in being crucified with Christ the Galatian believers can be said to have crucified the Flesh... The formulation "You

<sup>15</sup> *Migr. Abr.* 92; *Spec. Leg.* 1.305; *Quest. in Gen.* 3.48, 52.

<sup>16</sup> Borgen, 40.

<sup>17</sup> 2:19: I have been crucified with Christ.

6:14: But far be it from me to boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world.

<sup>18</sup> Hays, 328.

<sup>19</sup> E.g.: Fung, 275; Tannehill, 62; Bruce, 256; Tolmie, 202, etc.

have crucified the Flesh” is thus a *description* of the new, eschatological situation of those “who belong to Christ” ... Paul’s formulation is not to be taken as an admonition for believers to go and crucify the Flesh, for that has already taken place “in Christ”.<sup>20</sup>

There are problems with this approach, anyhow, as another number of New Testament scholars point to it. For instance, Gal 5:17 states: “For the desires of the flesh are against the Spirit, and the desires of the Spirit are against the flesh, for these are opposed to each other, to keep you from doing the things you want to do.” This clearly signifies that the flesh is still alive even in the case of the Christ-believer Galatians. Therefore, as John Bligh remarks: “in fact the perfect would not be appropriate, since the flesh one crucified does not remain crucified. The crucifixion has to be continued.”<sup>21</sup> His proposal then is to interpret the aorist of Galatians 5:24 as an inceptive aorist,<sup>22</sup> referring to the beginning of an action that still continues to go on. Thus, Louis Martyn – while maintaining the spiritual participation theory – also talks about a decisive but incomplete victory which is again an example of the famous Pauline “already” and “not yet” eschatological dichotomy. “The cross is for Paul a real and victorious event accomplished by Christ in the past, an event in which believers participated at their baptism both by being themselves crucified (2:19–20) and by crucifying the Flesh, and an event which they repeat every day...”<sup>23</sup> Or as James Dunn puts it: “The crucifixion of the flesh with its passions and desires ... should not be thought of as completed in a single act. Conformity to Christ is a lifelong process.”<sup>24</sup>

A third scholarly position, articulated for instance by the South Korean Yon-Gyong Kwon,<sup>25</sup> criticizes both of the already mentioned two approaches.<sup>26</sup> First of all, he calls in question the necessity of the view that the motif of crucifixion always should be a reference to the cross of Christ. Why could not use Paul this image apart from it as we can also see that by the Synoptics, e.g. in Mt 16:24? Kwon’s poignant but thought-provoking remark on one of Tannehill’s statement also goes to this direction. Tannehill writes: “...it is only through Christ’s crucifixion that men are able to crucify the flesh.”<sup>27</sup> Then Kwon puts up the question: “*Practically*, what does this statement mean?” Secondly, Kwon does not agree with the “already and not yet” eschatological interpretation either, since the immediate context according to him does not support it at all, but goes against that. Gal 5:16–23 makes it very clear that the flesh remains

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<sup>20</sup> de Boer, 367.

<sup>21</sup> Bligh, 205.

<sup>22</sup> The Aorist of a verb whose Present denotes a state or condition, commonly denotes the beginning of that state.

<sup>23</sup> Martyn, 501.

<sup>24</sup> Dunn, 1993, 120.

<sup>25</sup> But see also: Lull, 115.

<sup>26</sup> Kwon, 175–176.

<sup>27</sup> Tannehill, 62.

as powerful as ever, therefore we have no traces of the eschatological victory over the flesh in this Pauline passage. Thirdly, the aorist of Gal 5:24 (ἔσταύρωσαν) compared to the perfect tense of the two other crucifixion passages (2:19–20: συνεσταύρωμαι and 6:14: ἔσταύρωται) is not by chance. “In the context of the crisis in which the Galatians are presently *allied with the flesh* (3:3; 4:8–11.12–20; 5:7), ... he cannot refer to their crucifixion of the flesh as a present reality simply because that is not true. Of course, they, like Paul, crucified the flesh at the time of their conversion. ... the Galatians are now reviving their crucified flesh, so to speak. And this is why he has to remind them of their past act of ‘crucifying the flesh’, to contrast it with their present allegiance with it (3:3).”<sup>28</sup>

My personal opinion is that Kwon’s critical arguments basically seem convincing, since they pay due attention to the literary context of Gal 5:24 and also to the historical context of the Galatian situation, which cannot be always said especially about the first approach. Anyway, I would like to raise one counterpoint to Kwon: if Paul’s statement in this verse was only and solely about the Galatian Christ-believers, addressing only their special situation, why does he use the much wider-sounding phrase “those belonging to Christ?” It seems to be a little bit more universal in scope than to refer it only to the Galatians of the middle first century AD. Therefore, I rather agree with Don Garlington, whose opinion – I think – is also in harmony with the context, but does not restrain the message of the text relevant only to the given historical situation of the addressees of Paul’s letter. He opines that the ones belonging to Christ in verse 24 are those who bear the fruit of the Spirit. Gal “5:17 makes it clear enough that struggle with the flesh is a dimension of this present life, but cruciform existence means that one’s mind has been transformed by the Spirit so that the old way of life no longer holds the same attraction as it did before.”<sup>29</sup>

## VI. PARTLY CONCLUSION

As a short conclusion I would like to remark only a few thoughts. Paul’s ethics in the parenetic part of Galatians are not deterministic at all. The believers are not subject to powers that would determine their actions against their will. Walking according to the flesh means to pursue a life focused on the merely human. Therefore, from Gal 5:13 to 6:10 the text is full of exhortations, imperatives. “Paul ... holds out to the Galatians a choice: they may co-operate with the Spirit’s inner direction or they may resist the inner prompting and continue to live according to their natural drives and tendencies.”<sup>30</sup> What follows from this is that “the Christian imperative demands an arduous

<sup>28</sup> Kwon, 176.

<sup>29</sup> Garlington, 349.

<sup>30</sup> Scott, 259.

and continuing mortification of the self, still present in the world... however demanding [is] the task upon the Christian, in reality it is no more than compliance with the activity of the Spirit... Christian life is a yielding to what God has done in Christ and what he now does in us through the Spirit of Christ.”<sup>31</sup> Or with other words, “Christian life is a life of consistent surrender to the Spirit.”<sup>32</sup>

## VII. SOME REMARKS ON STOICISM ABOUT PASSIONS

### 7.1 THE STOIC NOTION OF ἀπάθεια

For Stoicism the main goal of human life was reaching the state of εὐδαιμονία, happiness, flourishing life. One of the main components of this was what they called ἀπάθεια which etymologically means freedom from passion, being without passion. Anyhow, the expression had somewhat different meanings by various Stoic authors.<sup>33</sup> We do not have the opportunity to go into much details about the subtleties of these now. The mainstream Stoic approach became that of Chrysippus of Soli (c. 279 – c. 206 BC) according to whom it is freedom from all emotions except from some εὐπάθειαι. The four main forms of emotions are the following: “*Desire* is an opinion that some future thing is a good of such a sort that we should reach out for it. *Fear* is an opinion that some future thing is an evil of such a sort that we should avoid it. *Pleasure* is an opinion that some present thing is a good of such a sort that we should be elated about it. *Pain* is an opinion that some present thing is a bad of such a sort that we should be downcast about it.”<sup>34</sup> As we can see, Stoicism did not endeavour to get rid of inner impulses entirely,<sup>35</sup> since many of these are instinctual responses which are not under our control. What they tried to subject under the ruling of human reason and self-control is the judgment or expectation we attach to these, be it positive or negative.<sup>36</sup> The reason for this is that our judgments mistakenly and irrationally attach the quality of good or bad to these impulses.<sup>37</sup> These judgments are responsible for suffering. Therefore, the notion of impassibility (ἀπάθεια) is the state of being free from irrational passions, which is one of the aspects of the ultimate good of the Stoics.

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<sup>31</sup> Deidun, 81–82.

<sup>32</sup> McKnight, 269.

<sup>33</sup> Sorabji, 195–196.

<sup>34</sup> Brennan, 270.

<sup>35</sup> Each emotion is an impulse but not every impulse is an emotion.

<sup>36</sup> As Brennan by drawing the final conclusion remarks: “Chrysippus really meant..., that each emotion simply is a belief.” Brennan, 275.

<sup>37</sup> “Though Stoic sages eliminate emotions, they do not necessarily eliminate...cognitive aspects of emotions. ...they still have immediate and non-rational reactions to particular situations; for they have fresh appearances about the presence of preferred or non-preferred indifferents.” Irwin, 235.



The road to this is “the elimination of all forms of emotional stimulus stemming from one’s false opinions about morally neutral objects.”<sup>38</sup>

We need to make some clarification regarding the above-mentioned exceptions based on Chrysippus. It is true that ideally Stoic sages do not have emotions. Notwithstanding, they still have certain elements of passions which are not considered to be harmful but healthy since they promote the realization of εὐδαιμονία. These are the so-called εὐπάθειαι, which could be translated as “good affective states.”<sup>39</sup> There are three of them and they are in opposition with desire, fear and pleasure: a rational aversion of vice and harmful things, a rational desire for virtue, and a rational elation over virtue.<sup>40</sup>

## 7.2. THE CRUCIFIXION METAPHOR BY SENECA

One of the thinkers of later Stoicism, Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 BC- 65 AD) also talks a lot about passions. Besides, there is one specific and remarkable momentum which is connected to our Pauline theme to a certain degree. In his book titled “On Happy Life” he is reasoning against his opponents who claim that the philosophers although speaking about lofty things, they do not carry into effect all that they teach, that is, no philosopher lives according to the standard which he sets up in his discourses. People who mock those who endeavour for virtue act so because they compare the glories of others with their own dirty actions because of envy. First of all, they do not realize, how huge is the contrast they make: if those who follow after virtue are greedy, lustful, and fond of power, what must they, who hate the very name of virtue, be like? The other factor what they miss from sight is that these sages are crucified by their lusts, that is they are tormented by them.<sup>41</sup> But while a crucified person in real life is nailed only to one pole, these wise men are nailed to as many crosses as many fleshly desires they have (*quot cupiditatibus tot crucibus distrahuntur*).<sup>42</sup>

It is a remarkable fact that beside Paul, Seneca is the only writer from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD who uses the picture of crucifixion figuratively, right exactly in connection with desires. It also a common feature between them that they depict their own groups, that is, Christ-believers and wise philosophers as having been nailed to a cross in a metaphorical sense. The huge difference is the completely opposite subject-object relationship. While Christians are supposed to crucify their passions and desires, the sages are themselves crucified by the latter ones.

<sup>38</sup> de Pietro, 354.

<sup>39</sup> Irwin, 225.

<sup>40</sup> Pigliucci.

<sup>41</sup> Romans 7:22–23 may come up in our mind: “For I delight in the law of God, in my inner being, but I see in my members another law waging war against the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin that dwells in my members.”

<sup>42</sup> Seneca, *De Vita Beata*, 19.3.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

Seneca's argument reveals his sincere motivation and deep longing for moral progress. Paul's ethical demand is rooted in the victorious cross of Christ, which is true even if someone shares Kwon's opinion about using the crucifixion metaphor independently from that in Gal 5:24. Seneca's use of the same might slightly strengthen the possibility of Paul's independent usage apart from referring necessarily to Jesus's cross.

Taking into consideration the formerly examined context of our scrutinized Bible verse we can also add that the success of crucifixion of the passions and desires perhaps has a higher probability by Paul than Seneca. It is so because while the Stoic philosopher must work on his own moral improvement endeavouring toward the hoped perfection, the Christian believer can lean on the Holy Spirit of God. Regarding the Pauline perspective, the contrast of a Spirit-led, Spirit-empowered life and that of yielding to the abasing motivations of the flesh is very sharp. But choosing and living along the former one and overcoming the flesh is not dependent only on the efforts of the human being, but it is basically dependent upon God's gracious help and presence in one's life, in the new life instigated by Him.

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Mihály LAURINYECH

## HOW DOES ST THOMAS AQUINAS USE THE HOLY BIBLE IN HIS ARGUMENTATION ON THE VIRTUES IN *SUMMA THEOLOGIAE*

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### PRELIMINARY COMMENT

Motivation for choosing the topic: *Summa Theologiae* by St Thomas Aquinas is a fundamental source for anybody dealing with moral theology and specifically the virtues. The topic for this year's International Biblical Conference was "Virtue or Obligation". This gave me the idea to look at how the prominent theologian makes use of the Holy Bible when discussing the virtues.

I analysed articles 55–70 (69) in Summa I–II, since these relate closest to the virtues.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HOLY BIBLE IN ST THOMAS' THEOLOGY

In this section I have relied greatly on John F. Boyle's work *St. Thomas Aquinas and the Sacred Scripture*.<sup>1</sup>

The most important aim of St Thomas' theological work is the interpretation of and commentary on the Holy Bible.<sup>2</sup> However, contemporary theology rather tends to refer to the *Summa* than the commentaries.

This is the reason why I chose to analyse the Biblical passages cited in the *Summa*. I wish to describe how St. Thomas uses the principles presented in his interpretation of the Holy Bible in relation to his discussion on the virtues. He uses various methodological approaches to interpreting the Holy Bible, for example verbatim, metaphorical, spiritual or mystical, allegorical, moral or anagogic interpretation.

The coherence of reason and faith was of paramount importance for St. Thomas. Although the two are often separated, his approach was different. He united the two concepts; for him theology is united and undivided. He always based science on the Holy Scripture, and considered his own Biblical commentaries his most important work. The main reason for this was to enable man reach his ultimate goal, which – ac-

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www3.nd.edu/~afreddos/papers/Taqandss.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> For a more complete bibliography of St. Thomas' career see James A. Weisheipl, *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: His Life, Thought and Work*, (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, <sup>2</sup>1983).

ording to St. Thomas – is made possible by the divine revelation. The purpose of the Holy Scripture is to present all truths necessary for salvation. It must be added that for St. Thomas the revelation supersedes the natural abilities of humans. It is not man (except the Word incarnate) who adds to this, but God forms its basis. When St. Thomas starts teaching in Paris, he summarises the mission of any theologian in his analysis of verse 13 of Psalm 103.<sup>3</sup>

However, regarding the use of the Holy Scripture it must be noted that its interpretation was more important for St. Thomas than thinking about its interpretation. Regardless of this he clearly distinguishes the different levels of interpreting the Holy Scripture, like the verbatim, spiritual (or mystical) and metaphorical interpretation, but also takes into consideration the Scripture's contextual coherence or the intention of the divine author. Spiritual interpretation includes allegorical, moral and anagogic meaning, and all three relate to Christ. An example for allegorical meaning would be the allegories of Christ in the Old Testament (lamb). A moral (or tropological<sup>4</sup>) meaning is the discussion on a Christian's life in the Sermon on the Mount. While an example for anagogic meaning is when St. Thomas discusses remembering the Sabbath as being joyful in Heaven with Jesus.

According to John F. Boyle, the relationship between St. Thomas and the Holy Scripture is a special one in the context of *Summa Theologiae*. However, this special relationship reveals more about contemporary theological distinctions than the interpretation of St. Thomas' work. For him the highest authority in science is the Holy Scripture.

John F. Boyle suggests reading the Scripture carefully when analysing the theological reasoning of the *Summa Theologiae*. More specifically, the use of “sed contra” responses is most authoritative, since these reveal the author's own theological reasoning. This requires knowing what Biblical passages are used and how. In practice I did not exclusively follow this consideration, that is, I not only looked at “sed contra” arguments, which I will explain later.

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<sup>3</sup> “De commendatione sacrae Scripturae” in *Opuscula theologica*, vol. 1, 441–443. For English translation see “Inaugural Lecture” in Simon Tugwell, ed. and trans., *Albert and Thomas* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988), 355–360., 358–59.

<sup>4</sup> Art I, Question I, Article 10 “Whether in Holy Scripture a word may have several senses? Objection 1 It seems that in Holy Writ (Scripture) a word cannot have several senses, historical or literal, allegorical, tropological or moral, and anagogical. For many different senses in one text produce confusion and deception and destroy all force of argument. Hence no argument, but only fallacies, can be deduced from a multiplicity of propositions. But Holy Scripture ought to be able to state the truth without any fallacy. Therefore in it there cannot be several senses to a word.” <https://dhspritory.org/thomas/summa/FP/FP001.html#FPQ1A10THEP1>.

### ST. THOMAS THE UNIVERSITY MASTER

Modern readers might skip Biblical citations, with many regarding them as primitive passages of justification. However, this can lead us to deviate from the original intention of St. Thomas' text. In his understanding careful reasoning and thorough argumentation only supplement the truth revealed in the Scripture within the context of the Church's interpretation. The Scripture is not only a textual justification in his argumentation, but rather the argument is in defence of and interprets the Scripture.

It is certain that a complete picture of St. Thomas' Biblical methodology cannot be drawn through the analysis of a single work, not incidentally because Thomas himself did not intend his *Summa* to be considered separately from his other writings. He considers the *Summa* complete together with his commentaries, since the former was intended for beginners, namely theologians who find the basis of their knowledge in the Scripture and whose knowledge is also aimed at the Scripture. The *Summa* is a manual for beginners in how to read the Scripture faithfully and theologically. This explains why at the Council of Trent both the *Summa* and the Bible were laid upon the altar.

It is not understanding the method that matters for St. Thomas, but rather theological understanding. The calling of a theologian is an ecclesiastical one; he lives within and with the church not outside it. This understanding of the theologian's mission by the church is what reconciles the different meanings of the Scripture with the grand version of interpretations. What St. Thomas offers is not merely a reading of the Scripture. Rather it is an explanation of how a theologian is an interpreter of the Scripture.

### CONCLUSIONS (DRAWN FROM THE ANALYSIS):

There were a total of 115 Biblical passages in *quaestios* 55–68.

Their share according to which book they are taken from is the following:

A total of 30 books are cited formally by St. Thomas:

Old Testament	New Testament
Book of Tobit once	1 <sup>st</sup> Letter of Peter once
2 <sup>nd</sup> Book of Maccabees once	2 <sup>nd</sup> Letter of Peter once
Song of Songs once	1 <sup>st</sup> Letter of Timothy once
Book of Jeremiah once	Letter to the Galatians once
Book of Job once	Letter of James once
Book of Malachi once	
Deuteronomy once	
Book of Numbers once	
Book of Ezekiel with one general reference	

Old Testament	New Testament
	Acts of the Apostles twice
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Letter to the Corinthians 3 times
	Gospel according to John 3 times
	Letter to the Jews 3 times
Book of Sirach 4 times	1 <sup>st</sup> Letter of John: 4 citations
Book of Proverbs 5 times	Gospel according to Luke 5 times
Book of Wisdom 7 times	Letter to the Ephesians 7 times
Book of Psalms 7 times	
<i>Book of Isaiah 9 times: 2 general references, 5 citations of the same passage, 2 further citations</i>	
	Letter to the Romans 11 times (8 with repetitions)
	Gospel according to Matthew 12 times
	<i>1<sup>st</sup> Letter to the Corinthians: 18 citations, 8 of which are from the 13<sup>th</sup> chapter, and 3 refer to the same passage</i>
14 books from the Old Testament	16 books from the New Testament

It is noteworthy that St. Thomas does not cite the Gospel according to Mark at all.

Although the proportion of books cited is 14 to 16, statistically this is misleading. If we only consider the number of times the title of a given book features in the work, then the share of books from the Old and New Testament is almost equal. However, by excluding repetitions the proportion changes to 2 to 1 in favour of books from the New Testament, with seemingly 34 proper citations from the Old and 70 from the New Testament. However, the analysis of given passages will alter this number.

### ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC CITATIONS

I analysed 50 citations out of the 115 in total.

I must briefly mention that identifying a given Biblical citation is not always obvious. The original Latin text of the *Summa* does not refer specifically to Biblical passages. In most cases they feature as references, with the author only indicating the chapter from which they were taken from. Thankfully, these passages can be found with relative accuracy in different translations – similarly to citations from philosophers and other glosses. The reason for adding “relative” is because there were certain passages that did not match the text in the edition I chose to use, but could be found elsewhere in the same book from the Bible. That is to say, certain inaccurate references needed to be corrected. For example:

q.55.a.4. obj.6.

“Whether virtue is suitably defined?”

“Praeterea, homo per virtutem iustificatur. Sed Augustinus dicit, super illud Ioan., maiora horum faciet, qui creavit te sine te, non iustificabit te sine te. Inconvenienter ergo dicitur quod virtutem Deus in nobis sine nobis operatur.

*Objection 6:* Further, man is justified by virtue. But Augustine commenting on Jn. 15:11: “He shall do greater things than these,” says [\*Tract. xxvii in Joan.: Serm. xv de Verb. Ap. 11]: “He who created thee without thee, will not justify thee without thee.” It is therefore unsuitable to say that “God works virtue in us, without us.””

Jn 15, 11 cited here reads: “These things have I spoken unto you, that my joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full.” However, this does not fit with the meaning of the text itself, but Jn 5, 20 (“For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doeth: and he will shew him greater works than these, that ye may marvel.”) does. This shows that the reference indicated in the English version was incorrect.

With regard to methodology, it must also be mentioned that I relied on the translation of the New Testament by Tamás László Simon OSB (henceforward referred to as TLS) widely available in the Internet, while for passages from the Old Testament I opted for the online version of the Szent István Társulat (SZIT – St. Stephen Association) dated 2004. Any other source is indicated at the relevant passage.

John F. Boyle suggests mainly analysing “sed contra” arguments, since these reflect St. Thomas’ theological approach best. The aim of this study is not to give an overview of what St. Thomas teaches us on virtues, but rather to analyse how he uses the Holy Scripture as a text in his argumentation. Consequently, I not only looked at “sed contra” arguments, but dealt with each of the fifty passages in the order they feature in the *Summa*. These fifty citations appear in eleven *quaestios*, that is, in half of the section about virtues. This is a sample large enough to draw general conclusions regarding methodology in relation to the text in question.

There are various distinctions to be made when analysing the use of citations from the Scripture in the *Summa*.

The first group includes verbatim quotations by St. Thomas. These are most often introduced with the phrases “secundum illud”, “secundum apostolum”, “dicit enim apostolus”, “unde dicitur” or “sicut dicitur”.

The second group includes not verbatim quotations but rather general references to either a single book, a psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, the Beatitudes or 1Cor 13, for example.

The third includes indirect references to glosses of another author, quoting exactly a specific Biblical sentence from it, or simply referring to it. These are introduced with “unde Augustinus dicit super Psalm” or “dicit Glossa Augustini”.



Let us now turn our attention to how Biblical citations are used.

Once again three categories can be distinguished.

The first is when the Biblical passage cited is a direct response to the question raised by the author which fits logically and meaningfully in the text. Of the fifty citations analysed some twenty belong to this group, that is, not even every other. For example:

q.59.a.5.obj.2

“Whether there can be moral virtue without passion?”

Praeterea, tunc unumquodque est perfectum, quando est remotum a suo contrario, et ab his quae ad contrarium inclinant. Sed passiones inclinant ad peccatum, quod virtuti contrariatur, unde Rom. VII, nominantur passiones peccatorum. Ergo perfecta virtus est omnino absque passione.

*Objection 2:* Further, then is a thing perfect, when it is removed from its contrary and from whatever inclines to its contrary. Now the passions incline us to sin which is contrary to virtue: hence (Rm. 7:5) they are called “passions of sins.” Therefore perfect virtue is altogether without passion.

The question is whether there can be moral virtue without suffering/passion. It is what moves away from its opposite that is perfect. However, passion rather inclines us towards sin – this is where the citation fits: Rom 7, 5: “the passions of sin, through the law, worked in our members” [Modern English Version – MEV], which is the opposite of virtue. Therefore, perfect virtue is without passion. The citation fits logically in the argumentation.

The second form of citation is when the quotation refers to only a small element of the argument and is rather unrelated to the whole question, thus, does not relate closely to the theological reasoning. I found 25 such instances – the highest proportion –, making it the most typical method of citation. For example:

q.62.<sup>5</sup>a.4.obj.1

“Whether faith precedes hope, and hope charity?”

Ad quartum sic proceditur. Videtur quod non sit hic ordo theologiarum virtutum, quod fides sit prior spe, et spes prior caritate. Radix enim est prior eo quod est ex radice. Sed caritas est radix omnium virtutum; secundum illud ad Ephes. III, in caritate radicati et fundati. Ergo caritas est prior aliis.

*Objection 1:* It would seem that the order of the theological virtues is not that faith precedes hope, and hope charity. For the root precedes that which grows from it. Now charity is the root of all the virtues, according to Eph. 3:17: “Being rooted and founded in charity.” Therefore charity precedes the others.

<sup>5</sup> <https://dhspriority.org/thomas/summa/FS/FS062.html#FSQ62OUTP1>.

The question is how three theological virtues relate to each other, and which stems from the other. Although the quotation refers to being rooted in charity, and the root comes before the branches, it is not necessary a logical conclusion that charity as the root precedes faith. However, the logic of the texts suggests so. I find this somewhat far-fetched.

The third form is when the relation between the passage cited and the relevant logical unit is very distant, almost allegorical. There was barely one or two such instances. For example:

q.66.a.1.obj.1

“Whether one virtue can be greater or less than another?”

<p>Ad primum sic proceditur. Videtur quod virtus non possit esse maior vel minor. Dicitur enim in Apoc. XXI, quod latera civitatis Ierusalem sunt aequalia. Per haec autem significantur virtutes, ut Glossa dicit ibidem. Ergo omnes virtutes sunt aequales. Non ergo potest esse virtus maior virtute.</p>	<p><i>Objection 1:</i> It would seem that one virtue cannot be greater or less than another. For it is written (Apoc. 21:16) that the sides of the city of Jerusalem are equal; and a gloss says that the sides denote the virtues. Therefore all virtues are equal; and consequently one cannot be greater than another.</p>
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The question is whether one virtue can be greater or less than another? A somewhat humorous simile is the use of a passage from the Book of Revelations (21,16): “The city lies as a square, its length as long as its width. He measured the city with the rod: one thousand four hundred miles. Its length and breadth and height are equal.” [MEV] One of the “glosses” identified the sides of the city with the virtues. Consequently, if all four sides are equal, then so are the virtues.

I must draw attention to a methodological challenge. I came across a few citations that were very difficult to identify when trying to establish the Hungarian equivalent of the Latin and English texts. This raised the issue of which Hungarian translation to use. There were passages I could easily find in all Hungarian versions I looked at, however, there were some that only appeared in only one version or none at all. Such was the following citation from the Book of Proverbs, which I could only identify in the Káldi-Neovulgata:

q.65.a.5.sed contra

“Whether charity can be without faith and hope?”

<p>Sed contra est quod apostolus dicit, Heb. XI, sine fide impossibile est placere Deo; quod maxime pertinet ad caritatem, ut patet; secundum illud Proverb. VIII, ego diligentes me diligo. Spes etiam est quae introducit ad caritatem, ut supra dictum est. Ergo caritas non potest haberi sine fide et spe.</p>	<p><i>On the contrary,</i> The Apostle says (Heb. 11:6): “Without faith it is impossible to please God”; and this evidently belongs most to charity, according to Prov. 8:17: “I love them that love me.” Again, it is by hope that we are brought to charity, as stated above (Question [62], Article [4]). Therefore it is not possible to have charity without faith and hope.</p>
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Prov. 8:17 “I love those who love me” [MEV]

When I faced a similar problem in the article 1 quaestio 58 in relation to Psalm 67, 7, that is, I could not find the given translation and was stuck, I eventually decided to enter the entire Latin and English text into the digital search engine, which led me to a very interesting study.

q.58.<sup>6</sup>a.1.sed contra

<p>Sed contra est quod philosophus dicit, in I Ethic., dicentes de moribus, non dicimus quoniam sapiens vel intelligens; sed quoniam mitis vel sobrius. Sic igitur sapientia et intellectus non sunt morales. Quae tamen sunt virtutes, sicut supra dictum est. Non ergo omnis virtus est moralis</p>	<p><i>On the contrary</i>, The Philosopher (Ethic. i, 13): “When we speak of a man's morals, we do not say that he is wise or intelligent, but that he is gentle or sober.” Accordingly, then, wisdom and understanding are not moral virtues: and yet they are virtues, as stated above (Question [57], Article [2]). Therefore not every virtue is a moral virtue.</p>
<p>Respondeo dicendum quod ad huius evidentiam, considerare oportet quid sit mos, sic enim scire poterimus quid sit moralis virtus. Mos autem duo significat. Quandoque enim significat consuetudinem, sicut dicitur Act. XV, nisi circumcidamini secundum morem Moysi, non poteritis salvi fieri. Quandoque vero significat inclinationem quandam naturalem, vel quasi naturalem, ad aliquid agendum, unde etiam et brutorum animalium dicuntur aliqui mores; unde dicitur II Machab. XI, quod leonum more irruentes in hostes, prostraverunt eos. Et sic accipitur mos in Psalmo LXVII, ubi dicitur, qui habitare facit unius moris in domo. Et hae quidem duae significationes in nullo distinguuntur, apud Latinos, quantum ad vocem. In Graeco autem distinguuntur, nam ethos, quod apud nos morem significat, quandoque habet primam longam, et scribitur per eta, Graecam litteram; quandoque habet primam correptam, et scribitur per epsilon.</p>	<p><i>I answer that</i>, In order to answer this question clearly, we must consider the meaning of the Latin word “mos”; for thus we shall be able to discover what a “moral” virtue is. Now “mos” has a twofold meaning. For sometimes it means custom, in which sense we read (Acts 15:1): “Except you be circumcised after the manner (morem<sup>7</sup>) of Moses, you cannot be saved.” Sometimes it means a natural or quasi-natural inclination to do some particular action, in which sense the word is applied to dumb animals. Thus we read (2 Macc. 1:2) that “rushing violently upon the enemy, like lions [*Leonum more, i.e. as lions are in the habit of doing], they slew them”: and the word is used in the same sense in Ps. 67:7, where we read: “Who maketh men of one manner [moris] to dwell in a house.” For both these significations there is but one word in Latin; but in the Greek there is a distinct word for each, for the word “ethos” is written sometimes with a long, and sometimes a short “e”.</p>

<sup>6</sup> <https://dhspriority.org/thomas/summa/FS/FS058.html#FSQ58OUTP1>.

Dicitur autem virtus moralis a more, secundum quod mos significat quandam inclinationem naturalem, vel quasi naturalem, ad aliquid agendum. Et huic significationi moris propinqua est alia significatio, qua significat consuetudinem, nam consuetudo quodammodo vertitur in naturam, et facit inclinationem similem naturali. Manifestum est autem quod inclinatio ad actum proprie convenit appetitivae virtuti, cuius est movere omnes potentias ad agendum, ut ex supradictis patet. Et ideo non omnis virtus dicitur moralis, sed solum illa quae est in vi appetitiva.

Now “moral” virtue is so called from “mos” in the sense of a natural or quasi-natural inclination to do some particular action. And the other meaning of “mos,” i.e. “custom,” is akin to this: because custom becomes a second nature, and produces an inclination similar to a natural one. But it is evident that inclination to an action belongs properly to the appetitive power, whose function it is to move all the powers to their acts, as explained above (Question [9], Article [1]). Therefore not every virtue is a moral virtue, but only those that are in the appetitive faculty.

Acts 15, 1 “Some men came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers, ‘Unless you are circumcised in the tradition of Moses, you cannot be saved.’” [MEV]

While 2 Macc 1, 2 (“May God do good for you and remember the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants.” [Common English Bible – CEB]) is not the right passage, 2 Macc 11, 11 (“Charging like lions against their enemies, they took down eleven thousand foot soldiers and sixteen hundred horses, and they put all the rest to flight.” [CEB]) is.

The citations in Hungarian translations from Psalm 68, 7 are the following:

Szent István Társulat:

„Isten otthont ad a hontalannak, a fogolynak visszaadja szabadságát. Csak a lázadók maradnak a kietlen pusztán.”

Káldi Neovulgata:

„Isten, aki lakást ad a házban az elhagyottnak, a foglyokat kivezeti a bőségre, a lázadókat azonban a sivatagban hagyja.”

Magyar Bibliatársulat újfordítású Bibliája – New version of the Hungarian Bible of the Hungarian Bibel Society (2014):

“Isten hazahozza az elhagyottakat, kihozza a foglyokat boldog életre, csak a lázadók maradnak sivár helyen.”

Gáspár Károly:

“Isten hozza vissza a száműzötteket, kihozza boldogságra a foglyokat; csak az engedetlenek lakoznak sivatag helyen.”

<sup>7</sup> ἔθει ApCsel 15,1 <http://ujszov.hu/text?corpus=2&book=205&chapter=15&verse=1#> 20501500100150.

Yet, there was no reference as to how the phrase “unius moris” came to feature in the text of the *Summa*. I found the answer in the study written by Innocent Smith OP entitled *Scriptural Plurality in the Writings of Thomas Aquinas: The Case of Psalm 67,7*<sup>8</sup>.

The study was published so recently that when I began compiling the material for my presentation it was not even available online, and was only made accessible in July.

First the study focuses on the parallels between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Vulgate by referring to the Letters of St. Paul, then goes on to discuss different Psalm variants used by St. Thomas. In St. Thomas’ time different variants were used depending on whether they were used for liturgical or educational purposes. St. Thomas uses the passages in the order determined by various Biblical traditions, citing Ps 67,7 a total of 15 times in three distinct variants carefully choosing the most theologically appropriate translation for each occasion.

Here and now we will not discuss what Innocent Smith OP has to say in connection with the three mediaeval Latin verses, because we would lose our focus. These are the *Psalterium Romanum* (Roman Psalter), the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (Gallican or Hexapric Psalter) and the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (Psalter according to the Hebrew).<sup>9</sup>

Innocent Smith cites St. Thomas’ Commentaries in relation to the origin of the three variants:

“There are three translations. One comes from the beginning of the Church at the time of the apostles, and this one was corrupted in the time of Jerome by copyists. Hence, at the request of Pope Damasius, Jerome corrected the Psalter, and this is the one read in Italy. But because this translation disagreed with the Greek version, Jerome again translated it at the request of Paul from Greek to Latin, and Pope Damasius ordered that this version be sung in France, and it agrees word for word with the Greek. Afterwards, a certain Sophronius was once disputing with the Jews, when the Jews said that some things were not as he cited them from the second translation of the Psalter, and this Sophronius asked Jerome to translate the Psalter from Hebrew to Latin. Jerome agreed to his request, and this translation agrees completely with the Hebrew; but it is not sung in any Church, although many own a copy.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *European Journal for the Study of Thomas Aquinas, EJSTA* 37 (2019).

<sup>9</sup> About the development of Latin Psalter variants see J. Dyer, “Latin Psalters, Old Roman and Gregorian Chants,” *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 68 (1984): 11–30; T. Gross-Diaz, “The Latin Psalter,” in R. Masden and E. A. Matter, eds. *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 427–45. About the liturgical context of Latin Psalters see J. Dyer, “The Bible in the Medieval Liturgy, c. 600–1300,” R. Masden and E. A. Matter, eds. *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 659–79.

<sup>10</sup> In *Psalmos*, Prologue. trans. H. McDonald. downloaded: 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2019: <http://hosted.desales.edu/w4/philtheo/loughlin/ATP/Proemium.html>.

St. Thomas favours the Psalterium Romanum despite not always being identical with the texts of the Greek and Hebrew Scripture. Nonetheless, both the Psalterium Romanum and the Psalterium Gallicanum were used at the time in Dominical liturgical practice in different ways. Even St. Thomas himself encountered the Gallic version of Psalm 67 every Wednesday morning in prayer<sup>11</sup>, and sang verse 7 of Psalm 67 based on the Psalterium Romanum on the 11<sup>th</sup> Sunday after the feast of the Holy Trinity in the Introitus as part of the Dominican liturgy.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. VERSIONS OF PSALM 67,7

According to Smith, the differences between each variant are fine, yet significant. While in the critical edition of the Psalterium Romanum by Robert Weber the first words of the verse read “Deus qui habitare facit unianimes in domo,” Aquinas uses “unanimis” exclusively.<sup>13</sup> The same passage in the critical edition of the Psalterium Gallicanum is the following: “Deus inhabitare facit unius moris in domo”.<sup>14</sup> Aquinas’ citations from the Gallicanum occasionally include “habitare” instead of “inhabitare”, and also “qui” is inserted before “inhabitare/habitare”, therefore, it must be noted that any future Paulinus commentaries might shed light on minor variations in relation to

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“Translationes sunt tres. Una a principio Ecclesiae tempore Apostolorum; et haec vitiata erat tempore Hieronymi propter scriptores. Unde ad preces Damasi Papae Hieronymus Psalterium correxerat, et hoc legitur in Italia.

Sed quia haec translatio discordabat Graeco, transtulit rursus Hieronymus ad preces Paulae de Graeco in Latinum; et hoc Damasius Papa fecit cantari in Francia, et concordat de verbo ad verbum cum Graeco.

Post quidam Sophronius aliquando disputans cum Iudaeis, cum dicerent Iudaei aliqua non sic se habere, sicut ex secunda translatione Psalterii introducerat, dictus Sophronius rogavit Hieronymum, ut Psalterium de Hebraeo in Latinum transferret. Cuius petitioni annuit Hieronymus, quae translatio concordat omnino cum Hebraeo; sed non cantatur in aliqua Ecclesia, habetur tamen a multis.”

<sup>11</sup> For a brief overview of the Dominican liturgical practice at the time of Thomas Aquinas see: I. Smith, “Liturgical Prayer and the Theology of Mercy in Thomas Aquinas and Pope Francis,” *Theological Studies* 79 (2018): 782–800, 783–785. The majority of Dominican liturgical books used at the time of Thomas have not yet been published. About the representation of the Dominican Psalter during the late period of Thomas see: Rome, Santa Sabina, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum XIV L1 f. 76v.

<sup>12</sup> About the Dominican Gradual during the late period of Thomas see Rome, Santa Sabina Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum XIV L1 f. 346v: “Deus in loco sancto suo Deus qui inhabitare facit unanimes in domo ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae.”

<sup>13</sup> “Les psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins”, ed. R. Weber, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 10 (Rome: Libreria Vaticana, 1953), 148. Weber refers to both “unanimis” and “unianimis”, and notes that the former also featured in the Psalterium Mozarabicum.

<sup>14</sup> *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, eds. R. Weber and T. Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 848.

this citation.<sup>15</sup> The wording in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* is the following: “Deus habitare facit solitarios in domo”.<sup>16</sup> Aquinas never turns to this version in his works despite using the translation of the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* elsewhere.<sup>17</sup>

For Aquinas the major difference between the versions of Psalm 67,7 in the *Psalterium Romanum* and the *Psalterium Gallicanum* is when he denies there being any difference between *unanimis* and *unius moris*. Both Latin translations come from the Greek word *μονοτρόπος*.<sup>18</sup> Liddel-Scott-Jones prefers the meaning of “living alone, solitary” for *μονοτρόπος* referring to the version in the Septuagint among other classic sources, and considers the meaning “in a given manner” as secondary.<sup>19</sup> The stem *τρόπος* has a more elevated meaning of “course of life, habit” and also “the paths, habits, character and temperament of one man”.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, the Greek *μονοτρόπος* translated as *unanimis* and *unius moris* in the Roman and Gallic versions both carry such connotations that can never be harmonised with the original expression, Smith comments.

*Unanimis* and *unius moris* have a series of meanings in Latin. As Lewis and Short suggest, I would also translate *unanimis* as “thinking the same, agreeing, having the same soul as somebody else”.<sup>21</sup> The stem of *animus* has many meanings, including soul, heart, reason and will, and Selten also provides similarly numerous possible meanings for *unanimis*: “thinking the same, with a similar heart, having the same intention, univocal, thinking similarly, harmonious”.<sup>22</sup> *Mos* (genitive *moris*) has a similarly wide range of meanings: “manner, behaviour, way, usage, practice, custom/habit”, and is similar to the following: “lead (a lifestyle), behaviour, manner, morals, character.”<sup>23</sup> Consequently, both *unanimis* and *unius moris* carry the meaning of unity, with the former implying an introspective character in unity, while the latter rather

<sup>15</sup> “Habitare facit unius moris” can be read in STh I–II, q. 58, a. 1, co; In Psalmos 26, n. 3; In I Cor. 11, lectio 3, §620; In Phil. 2 lectio 1, §47; In I Tim. 3, lectio 3, §125; Ad Rom. 16, lectio 1, §1209. “Inhabitare facit unius moris” can be found in: In Phil. 1, lectio 4, §41; In Phil. 2 lectio 4, §89. The only passage without “qui” is: In I Tim. 3, lectio 3, §125.

<sup>16</sup> *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, eds. Weber and Gryson, 849.

<sup>17</sup> C.f. T. F. Ryan, *Thomas Aquinas as Reader of the Psalms* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 18–19.

<sup>18</sup> His Septuagint text on Psalm 67, 7 reads: “ὁ θεὸς κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ”; see *Septuagint*, pub. R. Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 68.

<sup>19</sup> “μόνο-τροπος” in The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon. Last checked on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2019: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=70911>.

<sup>20</sup> “τρόπος” in The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon. Last checked on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2019: <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsg/#eid=108480>.

<sup>21</sup> C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary: Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1879), 1929.

<sup>22</sup> L. F. Selten, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Latin* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 278.

<sup>23</sup> Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, 1167.

suggests a more apparent way of living or moral stance. The Vulgata Clementina as translated by Douay-Rheims-Challoner reads “God who maketh men of one manner to dwell in a house”, suggesting “consenting in faith, single-spirited in love, and adhering to rules in one given way”.<sup>24</sup>

Although there are different versions of Ps 67,7 in the Psalterium Romanum and the Psalterium Gallicanum, they have a potentially overlapping meaning. As mentioned above, Ps 67,7 appears fifteen times in the works of Thomas Aquinas, most notably in his commentaries on the Scripture: eight times in relation to the letters of Paul, twice in the commentaries on the Psalms, once in the Isaiah-commentary, once in relation to the gospel of John, once in a citation from Augustine about the gospel of John included in the *Catena Aurea*, once in the prima secundae of the *Summa Theologiae*, and once in the Corpus Christi office. Of these 15 instances he uses the Gallic unius moris eight, and the Roman unanimes seven times.

Innocent Smith OP goes on to analyse the fifteen occurrences in their chronological order according to the dates proposed by Gilles Emery<sup>25</sup>, showing how St. Thomas uses the two versions differently, making use of their richness and linguistic ambiguity. Here we will only cite the section relating to the *Summa Theologiae*.

## 7. SUMMA THEOLOGIAE I-II (1271)

Aquinas makes use of the Gallican version of Ps. 67, 7 in a discussion of custom and moral virtue in the *Summa Theologiae* I-II, q. 58, a. 1, in which he considers whether every virtue is a moral virtue. Aquinas begins by considering the Latin word *mos* (genitive: *moris*), which he takes to be the etymological root of the terminology of moral virtue.<sup>26</sup> Aquinas distinguishes two meanings of *mos*: custom, and natural or quasi-natural inclination. For custom, Aquinas gives the example of circumcision, citing in this context Acts 15,1 which relates the contention of some early Christians that “except you be circumcised after the manner of Moses, you cannot be saved.” Two examples are given for the second meaning of natural or quasi-natural inclination: first, 2 Macc. 1,2 is cited, presenting a simile concerning warriors who imitate the naturally violent inclination of lions, and second Ps. 67,7 is cited, showing that God is able to effect a natural or quasi-natural inclination for men to live together in one manner: “Et

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<sup>24</sup> *The Holy bible*, translated by Douay-Rheims-Challoner (London: Baronius Press, 2007), 613.

<sup>25</sup> G. Emery, “Brief Catalogue of the Works of Saint Thomas Aquinas,” in J. P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: The Person and His Work*, 330–361.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. STh. I-II, q. 58, a. 1, obj. 1: “Virtus enim moralis dicitur a more, idest consuetudine.”



sic accipitur mos in Psalmo LXVII, ubi dicitur, qui habitare facit unius moris in domo.”<sup>27</sup>

In this context, Aquinas is using the scriptural text to help illustrate a broader distinction about the meaning of moral virtue. The distinction between natural and quasi-natural inclinations harkens back to the discussion in I–II, q. 51, a. 1 as to whether habits are from nature, where Aquinas distinguishes between something being entirely from nature and partly from nature and partly from an extrinsic principle. In I–II, q. 51, a. 4, Aquinas points out that some habits can only be infused by God, such as those which incline man to an end which exceeds the proportion of human nature, whereas other habits which may be acquired naturally can also be infused by God directly as a special manifestation of his power which can produce the effects of secondary causes without the secondary causes themselves.<sup>28</sup> Thus, in this context Aquinas seems to be interpreting Ps. 67,7 as revealing the possibility of divine infusion of the inclination to unity and other forms of moral inclination. It is interesting to note that Aquinas here contrasts custom and inclination, applying Ps. 67,7 to the infusion of inclination whereas in his commentary on 1 Cor. 11, 16 he linked Ps. 67,7 with custom. ...

## 9. CONCLUSION

This survey of Thomas Aquinas’ use of Ps. 67,7 has shown that he uses the Roman Psalter and Gallican Psalter versions of this verse in a wide variety of contexts and with a variety of exegetical and theological purposes. Two important points should be kept in mind with respect to the conclusions reached in this study. First, due to the incomplete status of the Leonine edition of the works of St. Thomas, I have by necessity made use of a variety of editions which paid greater or lesser degrees of critical attention to the existence of verbal variations in the manuscript tradition.

Second, it should be borne in mind that a number of the sources under discussion only exist in the form of reportations that have not been revised by Thomas himself. Depending on the reliability of the individual who made the reportatio and the degree of their familiarity with the thought and works of Aquinas, there may be significant differences between the way in which Thomas originally expressed himself and the

<sup>27</sup> Aquinas proceeds to make an etymological distinction between  $\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , which he takes to be the root of the Latin *mos*, suggesting that the Greek distinction between the short and long vowel indicates a similar distinction that he makes between the two sense of the single word *mos*. The Greek word underlying the Latin psalm text *unius moris* is in fact neither  $\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$  nor  $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , but rather  $\mu\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$ . However, Aquinas’s etymological comment is clearly directed at the broader discussion of *mos* rather than the specific exegesis of Ps. 67,7.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. ST I, q. 105, a. 6. In the parallel passage to I–II, q. 58 from Aquinas’ *Scriptum super Sententiis*, Aquinas speaks about how an inclination can come from three sources: nature, custom (*consuetudine*), and infusion. Cf. III Sent. dist. 23, q. 1, a. 4, q. la 2 [ed. Moos, p. 713].

form in which it is now available to us.<sup>29</sup> One should thus be cautious about making arguments based on the presence of one or the other versions in such sources, given the rapidity of their transcription and the possibility that the scribe might not have always realized the intention of the speaker to refer to one version or another. It is also possible that in some cases Aquinas may have been reminded of the psalm verse on the basis of the appearance of unanimes in the context even if he chose or was understood to cite the Psalm in the unius moris version.

In many of the cases under discussion, however, it is clear that Thomas has specifically chosen a form of the verse based on exegetical and theological distinctions that he intends to make on the basis of etymology and word association. Sometimes the reason for his choice between the two versions seems to be related to the context of the citation, whereas at other times Aquinas' reason for using one form rather than the other is less obvious. Taking both versions of Ps. 67,7 together, it is clear that Thomas associates the verse with several important concepts: the unity needed within religious life, the relation of the Eucharist to ecclesial unity, and ecclesial unity in itself. This study has thus shown that Ps. 67,7 plays an important role in a variety of Thomas' theological investigations, and that Aquinas makes fruitful use of the subtle implications of the alternate forms of this verse as found in the Roman and Gallican Psalters. Further study of Thomas' attentiveness to the plurality of scripture may yield further insights into the subtlety of his interaction with the word of God."

### OUR OWN CONCLUSION

We have already referred to the fact that there are some ambiguous citations in the chosen passages from St. Thomas. However, we can also say that based on Smith's in-depth analysis of Ps 67,7 there are certain logical discrepancies that appear in almost every other text we looked at that could be clarified if we knew the original variant used by St. Thomas.

Unfortunately, the fifty instances analysed do not fully represent the potential for the textural richness outlined in our introduction. Only those texts could be used in our analysis that carry symbolic meaning, albeit in a very wide theological sense.

We must acknowledge that a comparative analysis of all his works is necessary to fully understand St. Thomas' methodology regarding the use of the Holy Scripture, bearing in mind that he did not discuss various methods of textual interpretation, but interpreted and applied the Scripture itself.

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<sup>29</sup> For an overview of the problems presented by reportations, see A. M. ten Klooster, "The Two Hands of Thomas Aquinas: The Reportations of the Commentary on Matthew," *Angelicum* 91 (2014): 855–80.

Nonetheless, there are certain examples that illustrate St. Thomas' methodology among the fifty passages considered about virtues, showcasing the highly personal and intimate relationship he had with the Word of God. Furthermore, it is also apparent that St. Thomas made use of available variants more freely than one might assume. This also implies that the relationship with the Scripture must be a living one, as was the case prior to its creation, during the period of verbal tradition and at the time of its creation. Consequently, in order to understand St. Thomas' methodology we must know the author and existing circumstances, but also understand his living relationship with the Scripture.

Lehel LÉSZAI

## JOSEPH'S RIGHTEOUSNESS IN MT 1,18-25

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Considering Matthew's theological interests we may presume that he is a Jewish Christian, who intended to write the gospel named after him to his fellow Jewish Christians.<sup>1</sup> Without spending more time on this issue, as presumably most of us would agree with this statement, we may proceed to the second part of the introductory chapter of this remarkable Gospel. The genre of the passage is midrashic haggadah. It is midrashic in the sense that the Old Testament quotation of verse 23 is of key importance. It is haggadah in the sense that the story is not told for its own sake, but in order to illustrate a deeper meaning. The deeper meaning of the story is the theological significance of Jesus as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies.

### I. THE BIRTH OF JESUS

Donald A. Hagner draws our attention to the fact that in verse 18 where the new passage begins, Matthew speaks about the birth (*ē genesis*) of Jesus, and thus alludes to the opening of his Gospel, to the origin (*geneseōs*) mentioned in 1:1. This is an obvious hint to the record of origin, now reaching its goal. The book of the origin is clearly an allusion to the title used in the Septuagint (Gen 2:4) which may be used to introduce genealogies and historical narratives. The formula mentioned here reflects the *sēper tōlēdōt*, which in Gen 5:1 means genealogical register. The creation began with this formula and refers to "the generations of the heavens and the earth", and in Matthew the corresponding significance is revealed as God's plan comes to fulfilment.<sup>2</sup> For Matthew the theme of fulfilment is of paramount importance. The passage speaks about the origin and birth of Jesus.

The betrothal is a normal and joyful status, which has little potential for conflict, apart from the normal process of the couple becoming acquainted and getting used to each other. Betrothal in Jesus' time was a more serious and meaningful matter than our

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<sup>1</sup> France, R. T. *The Gospel according to Matthew. An Introduction and Commentary*. Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1985; reprint, Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press; Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Hagner, Donald A. *Matthew 1-13*. Word Biblical Commentary 33A. Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1993. 9.

practice of engagement. According to the Mishnah Ketubot 1:2 and 4:2 betrothal was a pre-nuptial contract entered into before witnesses, which gave the bridegroom legal rights over the bride and which could only be broken by a formal process of divorce. This could take place, for instance, if the bride was found guilty of adultery during the betrothal period. She would then face the penalty for being an adulteress, which was stoning, as mentioned in Leviticus 20:10. It is short of “marriage,” which involved a second and final public ceremony, in that a sexual relationship between the partners was not allowed and the bride had not yet left her own family to live with the bridegroom. The terminology “husband” and “wife,” which we reserve for marriage, may already have been employed for the time between betrothal and marriage (e.g. vv 16, 19, 20, 24). If any of the partners died before the marriage took place, the other was a “widow” or “widower.” The pre-nuptial contract also stipulated the amount of money which the girl would receive as subsistence if they divorced or if her husband died. Betrothal took place usually when a girl was between twelve and thirteen years of age, and by arrangement between the parents. The second part, the proper marriage, usually took place about a year later (see Mishnah Ketubot 5:2 and Mishnah Nedarim 10:5).

The complication starts at the point where we learn that Mary was found to be with child. That fact would not present many problems, had the setting not been Palestine two thousand years ago in a Hebrew environment and before the actual marriage was consummated. Matthew’s formulation speaks about engagement, a child and the agency of the Holy Spirit. The first two terms are comprehensible at once, but the third one is difficult to understand, especially if we remember Joseph, the bridegroom who was a carpenter.

The passage has a parallel in Luke 2:1–7, but there are also several differences. Matthew presents Joseph to us as the one who is acting, while Luke writes about Mary. In Matthew the angel appears to Joseph in his dream, while in Luke Mary has the privilege of talking to, seeing and hearing the angel. Matthew does not mention that Joseph and Mary lived in Nazareth before Jesus was born. Both evangelists report that Jesus was born to the Virgin Mary and that they lived in Nazareth. This rather complicated start gives the account of the birth of Jesus.

## 2. JOSEPH

Joseph found himself in this very unusual situation, when it became obvious that his young bride was expecting a baby. We tend to read this news with the knowledge of the end of the story and two millennia of theological explanations, and often don’t sense the scandalous implications which could have consumed Joseph and which had to be faced by him. Matthew speaks of him in high regard as we read that he was a righteous man. *Dikaios* means upright, just and righteous, and it is one of the four main virtues. The term is derived from the word *dikē* which means *punishment*. The

original root-noun meant “instructress” of “instruction.”<sup>3</sup> The sense of “instructress” is supported by Hesiod, who writes that Dike is the daughter of Zeus, who shares in his government of the world. The concept of “instruction” is also supported by Hesiod, as Zeus put a difference between beasts and men. To the former he gave the law (i.e. that they should devour one another), while to the latter, in order to make human life possible, he gave *dikē*, whose implacable enemy is *biē*, violence. In its basic religious sense, *dikē* is an elemental cosmic force which men feel to be superior to themselves. It is not a standard imposed upon the world by God, but something immanent, inherent in the very nature of being, and related to men’s living together in society. In post-Homeric times it was also regarded as expiation or punishment, or as the goddess of punishment who pursued wrongdoers. For Plato *dikaioσynē* is basic to the structure of the state and the human soul. For Aristotle it is the chief of human virtues. *Dikē* acquired the status of the axiomatic, unshakable foundation of all human life. The righteous man (*dikaioσ*) was originally one whose behaviour fitted into the framework of his society and who fulfilled his rightful obligations towards the gods and his fellowmen, his observance of such obligations serving to differentiate him from the unrighteous (*dyssebēs*). Hybris and uncivilized behaviour were out of keeping with the character of a righteous man, therefore the term righteous life (*dikaia zoē*) was applied to a civilized way of life, i.e. one which, unlike barbarism, adhered to the rules of an orderly society. *Dikaioσ mnasthai* refers to wooing one’s bride “in a fitting manner”. At a latter period the meaning was extended to cover the idea of conforming to a given standard, so that *harma dikaion* was a smoothly running carriage; *dikaia basanos* an impartial examination; and *tō dikaiotatō tōn logōn* the most appropriate way of speaking. Undoubtedly, however, the legal and ethical aspect was of supreme importance, *dikaioσ* meaning righteous with regard to the law, conforming to the existing, static, social order. It is particularly common as a neuter noun in the sense of “that which is (legally and ethically) right”.<sup>4</sup>

In rabbinic Judaism righteousness was completely identified with conformity to the law. Many of the laws, particularly the ceremonial ones, were no longer relevant as they stood, but, according to the rabbis, were intended to train men in obedience, and in particular, to provide a way for men to acquire merit in the sight of God. Works of charity and works of mercy were considered especially meritorious, the former comprising everything that could be done by material expenditure, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, giving drink to the thirsty, while works of mercy were those requiring a moral effort, such as mourning with mourners, comforting the

<sup>3</sup> H. Frisk. *Studien zur griechischen Wortstellung*. Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift 1, 1933. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Colin Brown (ed.). *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. 3. vol. Carlisle, Cumbria: The Paternoster Press, 1992. S. v. ‘righteousness’ by Colin Brown, 353–360.

broken-hearted and visiting those who were sick or in prison (cf. Matthew 25:35–36). Very few qualified for the designation “a righteous man” (principally biblical figures).<sup>5</sup> It was believed that no one, not even the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob could achieve righteousness apart from God’s grace.

And yet, we read here that Joseph was a righteous man. The New Testament uses the words that belong to this group in many different ways. The adjective *dikaïos* occurs in almost all New Testament books, most often in Matthew and Paul (17 times each), while its related words are predominantly Pauline, occurring with particular frequency in Romans. In Matthew the adjective *dikaïos* is applied to Christ (Matt. 27:19, 24), to righteous men (Matt. 1:19; 5:45; 9:13; 10:41; 13:17.43.49; 23:28f.35; 25:37.46), and to things (Matt. 20:4; 23:35; 27:4). Joseph is the first one to whom the adjective righteous is applied in Matthew. We rarely read about Joseph in the New Testament. His figure is quite enigmatic for us, and since we have only little data about him, and what we have appears early in the gospels, it is supposed that he died early. In his allegedly short earthly life he experienced a lot. In this stage of his life there is much he cannot comprehend. He is designated by Matthew as the husband of Mary and this militates against any thought that another man fathered Jesus and emphasizes that Jesus was born into a Davidic family. Confronted with the shameful situation that his fiancée became pregnant without his cooperation, he could either choose to divorce her (maybe even to contribute to her stoning), or to let her go quietly. He was righteous and decided to not put her to shame. In describing him as righteous Matthew draws on the description of Zechariah and Elizabeth as “righteous,” which occurs in the story of the annunciation of John’s birth (Luke 1:6; cf. Luke 1:75; 2:25; Gen 6:9). Joseph is not only righteous in his care to do the right thing; he also is merciful in his not wanting to disgrace Mary. By showing righteousness and mercy Joseph becomes a prototype of Jesus and his disciples, for Matthew repeatedly stresses these virtues. Matthew’s love of parallelism shows in the participles *ōn* and *mē thelōn* and in the infinitive phrases *autēn deigmatīsai* and *apōlysai autēn*. The latter infinitive appears more often in Matthew (5:2) than in the other synoptics. *Thelōn* is a Matthean term (18:8), and *lathra* occurs elsewhere in the synoptics only in Matt 2:7.

According to common opinion, Joseph supposed in ignorance that Mary’s pregnancy had come about through fornication with another man after she was betrothed to Joseph (cf. the aorist tense of *mnēsteutheisēs*). He wanted to keep the Mosaic law, therefore Joseph considered himself obligated at least to divorce Mary (Deut 22:23–24). Some rabbinic evidence suggests relaxation of the prescribed stoning,<sup>6</sup> and an offend-

<sup>5</sup> Rudolf Mach. *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch*. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1957. 242 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck. *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus erläutert aus Talmud und Midrasch*. Band I. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. München: C. H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965<sup>4</sup>, 50–53.

ing male is absent here in Matthew. Yet Joseph showed himself to be magnanimous and possibly retained affection for Mary; so he planned to spare her disgrace by handing her the bill of divorce in the presence of only two or three signing witnesses. If the pregnancy had not yet made itself obvious, they might not even know the reason for the divorce. To the contrary, the presence and participation of two or three witnesses doubtfully meets the demand of Matthew's "secretly", for two or three witnesses were normally involved. Furthermore, the later words of the angel to Joseph "...do not fear to take Mary as your wife", suggest reverential hesitation to intrude rather than suspicion of unfaithfulness. Matthew portrays Joseph not as fearing to break the law through failure to divorce Mary, but as fearing to do wrong by taking Mary to wife when she was pregnant by divine causation. Then the statement in verse 18, "she was found to be pregnant through the Holy Spirit," does not come as a piece of advance information to the reader, but bears its more natural sense that Joseph found out the reason for, as well as the fact of, Mary's pregnancy early in the episode (and presumably from Mary; cf. Luke 1:26–45). That, not a wrong deduction, left Joseph in a quandary. In deference to the Holy Spirit he decided to divorce Mary. In consideration of Mary he planned to hand her the certificate of divorce without any witnesses at all. The Mosaic law did not require them, anyway. They had become customary to protect a man from a divorced wife's false denial of divorce. But, according to Matthew, Joseph intended to waive that precaution. The angel repeats what Joseph already believed, both to assure him of its truth and to provide a basis for the command to marry. Meanwhile, readers of Matthew have no reason to suspect Mary of what not even Joseph suspected her.<sup>7</sup>

Joseph is informed by the angel that Mary conceived by the Holy Spirit and will have a son, that he has to name him Jesus, and that he will save his people from their sins. This is such a short, yet condensed revelation. Joseph has to marry Mary and in this way Jesus will originate from the house of David. For Matthew it is important that Joseph carry out the responsibility of name giving. Naming the child will signify that Joseph accepts the child as his own, and this in turn will secure Jesus' claim to Davidic ancestry. Jesus' name already signifies his future task as Messiah. He will save his people, which differentiates him from those messiahs who were expected to come. The angel encourages Joseph not to be afraid, not to be suspicious, but rather to view the events with a holy awe.<sup>8</sup>

Matthew continues with one of the fulfilment quotations in the first Gospel, of which there are five in the infancy narratives. Matthew quotes Isaiah 7:14 from the

<sup>7</sup> R. H. Gundry. *Matthew. A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994<sup>2</sup>. 21–22.

<sup>8</sup> Joachim Gnilka. *Das Matthäusevangelium. I. Teil*. Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1986. 19.



Septuagint. This passage speaks of the conception and birth of a child who will somehow signify God's presence in the life of the people. While the Hebrew text of Isaiah 7:14 refers to the mother of the child as a young woman, the Septuagint translates the underlying Hebrew word with a more specific Greek term meaning virgin (1:23). According to Matthew, the promise of Isaiah finds its deepest fulfilment when Mary conceives Jesus through the power of the Holy Spirit. More important than the process of conception is the fact that the one conceived will be Emmanuel, God with us (cf. Isa 7:14; 8:8.10). Interestingly, Matthew does not say that Jesus' father will call him Emmanuel. Rather, using wording which differs both from the Hebrew text and the Septuagint, Matthew states that they shall name him Emmanuel. Most likely Matthew uses the word 'they' when referring to the people whom he mentions in verse 21, the true Israel which acknowledges Jesus. Joseph will call Mary's child Jesus, because he will save his people from their sins. The people whom Jesus saves from sin, however, will hail him as Emmanuel, for only someone in whom God is present can deliver from sin. At the end of his Gospel, Matthew will return to this theme of divine presence and reaffirm it in a new way. As God is with us in Jesus, so Jesus promises to be with his community at all times until the very end (28:20).<sup>9</sup>

### 3. OBEDIENCE

I would suggest that Joseph was not able to comprehend much of what he was told, even if it was the angel of the Lord who spoke to him, yet he still obeyed the command. The angel spoke to Joseph, which meant a theophany in the Old Testament. Calvin mentions here that the dream must have carried some mark of divinity, which did not allow his mind to hesitate.<sup>10</sup> He might not have hesitated, yet he might have a lot of unanswered questions. However, the main point here is that he does not question the command, but obeys. Joseph is obedient to the word of God, marries Mary,<sup>11</sup> names the child, and takes care of his new family. Matthew, like Paul, recognizes that vision and insight, revelation and privilege need to be perfected in actual obedience.<sup>12</sup> The Mattheanist *egertheis* (1,24; 2:20) marks Joseph as a good example of immediate obedience. The reference to his sleep stems from the earlier reference to his dreaming, another Mattheanist. *Epoiēsen* (19:19) typifies Matthew's diction, especially when he wants to emphasize works of obedience. "As the angel of the Lord commanded him"

<sup>9</sup> Richard B. Gardner. *Matthew*. Believers Church Bible Commentary. Scottsdale, PA-Waterloo, Ont.: Herald, 1991. 40.

<sup>10</sup> János Kálvin. *Evangéliumi harmónia. Magyarázat Máté, Márk és Lukács összhangba hozott evangéliumához*. Fordította Rábold Gusztáv. I. kötet Kolozsvár: [s. n.], 1939. 77.

<sup>11</sup> György Jakubinyi. *Máté evangéliuma*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1991. 19–22.

<sup>12</sup> Ivor H. Jones. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Epworth Commentaries. London: Epworth, 1994. 5.

comes close to the distinctive wording in 21:6 (also 26:19; 28:15–16). These expressions rest on Old Testament phraseology (e.g., Lev 8:4; Num 20:27; Jo 42:9).<sup>13</sup> Joseph took his wife, which means he completed the second stage of the marriage process, presumably by proceeding with a second formal ceremony and then taking Mary to live with him. She was now his wife in the sense of being fully married.<sup>14</sup> By his unquestionable obedience Joseph becomes an active partaker in salvation history.

#### 4. SUMMARY

At the time of his engagement to young Mary, Joseph was a mature man according to the custom of his time. During the intimate period of betrothal it transpired that Mary was pregnant. Joseph was a righteous man and had not had intimate relations with her, but could not suspect anything other than the infidelity of his fiancée. His righteousness was also revealed by his behaviour, as he did not consider the common practice of stoning in this situation, but tried to protect Mary's reputation by planning to release her secretly. Joseph was enlightened in his dream about the real situation. This revelation overwrote the kindness of Joseph, he obeyed the command and married Mary, and by doing so he played an active role in God's salvation history.

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Levente Balázs MARTOS

## PRAYER AND ETHICS. EXAMPLES FROM THE BIBLE

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The theme of our conference – virtue or duty – brings us to questions of fundamental ethics. How do we find a valid and solid foundation for the ethical human behavior? How does the Bible yield such a foundation? In the huge and wide variety of the possible answers I would like to examine the ethical value and contribution of one of the most fundamental religious acts, namely prayer.

In what follows, I'll try to give some general reflections on the question of prayer and ethics in biblical thought then I'll handle one specific case, that prayer which is probably the most known at least in the Christian Bible, the Our Father.

To put it briefly, the thesis of this paper is that prayer does have a clear ethical dimension for the authors of the Bible as well as for its readers and that the early history of biblical prayers such as the Our Father clearly shows how this ethical dimension influenced the formation of biblical texts. Whoever prays honestly, shows his or her true nature and becomes ever more, what God created him or her.

The following explications remain short and sketchy. Yet, they try to feed by the strength of the Word of God.

### I. PRAYER AND ETHICS IN THE BIBLE – GENERAL REFLECTIONS

Prayer and liturgy are eminent religious acts. Whereas religious and secular or non religious ethical value systems do have much in common, prayer and reveration for the „Holy One” or for a deity is only a duty of a religious ethical system. It is obvious that „prayer” is a polyvalent concept, because it usually signifies the personal communication of a human being with a supernatural being but it can designate also a ritual or liturgical act. Communication on a personal or communitarian level are the two faces of prayer which might go also together.

The biblical narrative – if we suppose the existence of such a unified narrative from the beginning of the *Genesis* – does not give a definition of prayer. It rather supposes the fact of human prayer and cult, reporting for example the sacrifice of Abel, accepted by God, as well as the sacrifice of Noah after the deluge. As it happens with many other aspects of human nature and behavior, the biblical narrative does not enact every single aspect, but it gives further stress on those which seem to be of special significance for the authors. Biblical narratives then rather reflect the common phenomenon

of prayer and communication with the divine so as to go further and later on to specify the proper way of offering a sacrifice to the God of Israel or pray to him. When we arrive to the first commandment among the ten words given to Moses, this first commandment names the adoration, that is the acknowledgment, reversion and glorification of the Only God as first commandment, suggesting its primary importance in keeping all the nine others too.

### I.I. PRAYER AND TRUTH

Prayer and cult mean the reversion and acknowledgement of the Only God. In the Old Testament such acknowledgement belongs in the context of the covenant with God, in the New Testament it is oriented at the end in a trinitarian way, directed to the Father through the example of Christ and through the pouring out and the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believers. In both cases, then, prayer and cult suppose relationship with the only God. The Bible does not teach really about an “unjust prayer” – it speaks rather about unjust, non existent deities, idols. Those who pray meet always God – if they turn themselves to the Only God. Those who turn themselves to non existent idols, will fail their goal. Thus, prayer and cult are doors to the only and true God.

However, there are difficult situations which do question such fundamental belief and inner conviction. It is in the Book of Psalms that we often meet prayers, questioning or claiming the truth of the believer. The author of the psalms stands often at the place of a just but unacknowledged person, who has to struggle with accusations. He hoped for happiness and peace, but he is amidst of enemies. In these situations the author is seeking refuge in God, asking whether he had committed any sin, declaring his pure mind and blameless past (cf. Psalms 26,2; 139,23). The person – or sometimes even the community of the believers – experiences himself as beset, but he is convinced not to have committed sins (Psalms 44; 94). In this regard prayer of repentance means the situation of those who acknowledge their sins and ask for forgiveness and new justice from God. The prayer of Psalm 51 speaks about the truth (*emet*) which is in his “interior” (*beqirbi*), which is granted by God (Ps 51,8). At first glance this truth is the honesty or sincerity of speaking, but by time the psalm goes further and we see how truth grows in the prayer himself. God is accepting and renewing the truth of the praying person.

The question of true prayer as true words, that is expressing the truth of the human person is represented also in the New Testament. The fundamental ethical demand of unity and integrity in words and deeds (cf. Jm 1,26; 2,18; 3,1–12) makes place for itself also in the world of prayer. Jesus rebukes pharisees and scribes because of a lack of integrity. The scribes, he says, “for the sake of appearance say long prayers” (Lc 20,47; cf. Mc 12,38). The context of the invitation to pray “in secret” (Mt 6,6) speaks about

reward from God rather than reward on earth. Many other texts, which regulate cultic practices (e.g. 1Cor 11–14; 1Tm 2,8–10) show the importance of a cultic world which becomes more and more independent and therefor also suspect of temptations of social type.

## **1.2. PRAYER AND THE IMPOSSIBLE**

Prayers are directed toward the right and just God, the only God, but they aim also to call on the bounty and goodness of God. As in the case of truth, therefor, prayer is also an invitation for people to do good. Ethics are directed at earthly matters, at the possible good which becomes obligatory (cf.: *ultra posse nemo tenetur*). But prayer, door of the other world, door opening to God's reality is also at the border of possible and impossible. Ethics describe the situation and moral integrity of those who at least try to do their best, try to practice the good what they acknowledged. Prayer meets and opens God's allmightness, and represents by this in some way an extreme case of ethics.

Jesus says to the father of an obsessed son: "All things can be done for the one who believes." (Mc 9,23). And he urges his disciples: "If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask for whatever you wish, and it will be done for you." (Jn 15,7). Major characters of the Bible in many cases experience how their unrealistic or almost impossible prayers become true. For example Hanna receives a son after her fervent prayer (1Samuel 1) or the community prays for the liberation of Peter from jail (Acts 12,5).<sup>1</sup>

Prayer (and religion in general) has sometimes the strange effect of bringing people outside the view and discernment of others. It is not easy to define exactly what Paul meant saying: "Those who are spiritual discern all things, and they are themselves subject to no one else's scrutiny" (1Cor 2,15), but his sentence proves that relationship with God does not only give foundation for ethics, it can be also a way out from human control of ethical norms.

I would like to emphasize: this boundary between the possible and impossible is an important point for religious ethics, because religious ethics understand themselves always as systems valid in everyday, natural life, but in the presence of a supernatural reality. Prayer opens up the treasures of this supernatural reality. It draws its ethical significance not only from the "truth" (true intention) of the person, but also from the connection with the supernatural reality represented or made accessible through faith.

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<sup>1</sup> In some way the deprecatory psalms belong also into this group. They ask for (negative) things which are beyond the capacity of the prayer. It is God's justice which is called on and his discernment, in favor of the praying person.

### 1.3. PRAYER AS A STYLE OF COPING

In his introduction to the *Psychology of New Testament* Gerd Theissen classifies prayer as a type of religious speech, which aims at coping with life situations.<sup>2</sup> Though it might seem strange to deal with this type of analysis and typology of prayer, in the light what has been said about the boundary between possible and impossible, this approach proves to be very useful. “Coping” is an active process by which people adapt their activity, values and modes of decision to new situations. What seemed impossible becomes real and on the other hand possible. At the center of coping there is the idea of accepting new reality with an active participation. This reality is usually experienced as something negative. But it could be also something very positive. For example, something very positive could have negative side effects or could question well known balances. This is true also for the presence of God. Someone experiencing God’s presence has to adapt his or her life to this presence.

The typology of prayer as coping describes the possible interaction of active and passive coping with new situations as an interaction between God and the human being, where the phenomenon of prayer can be defined in four different ways, depending on how God and the human being take part in the action, in an active or in a passive way. Thus, the very process of coping with a new situation brings human beings always to the boundary of the possible and impossible. In coping with new situations human beings are always asked to go beyond their limits – in prayer it is God who is waiting behind or at the end of human limits, and it is prayer itself, which is in some way accommodated to the situation or helps to accommodate oneself to the situation.

Gerd Theissen quotes Jacques Jansen and Sarah Bänziger<sup>3</sup>, who classified four types of involvement and interaction between God and human beings in prayer. If God and human being are both active, we can speak about prayer of glorification. God acted and men pay tribute to him because of his mighty deeds and being, like in hymns and thanksgiving prayers. When God does not act but humans are active, one can speak about psychological prayer, where humans find the solution for their own problem in the presence of God. When God is active but humans are rather inactive, the prayer is simply asking for favor. In this case prayer is centered on the possible effects on life, but it is only God who can and should act. When both God and humans are passive, prayer is something like meditation, centered on the presence of God. These four types, says Theissen, reflect four types of coping, known also in other psychological classifications: collaborative, self-directing, deferring or influencing and finally receptive mode.

<sup>2</sup> I quote the Hungarian edition: G. Theissen, *Az öskeresztyénség élményvilága és magatartásformái. Az öskeresztyénség pszichológiája* (Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 2008; translated by Csaba Szabó), 178; German original: *Erleben und Verhalten der ersten Christen. Eine Psychologie des Urchristentums* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> J. Jansen, S. Bänziger, „Praying as an universalising variable“, *ARPs* 25 (2003): 100–112.

The experience of prayer described in such a way is the experience of personal growth and coping. In this case it parallels not only the tendencies of modern individualistic society, but it reflects also the tendency of New Testament, which gives more and more space for individual prayer, as it is detectable foremost in the life of Jesus, especially in the Gospel of Luke. It is of great importance that in many stories about praying people in the Bible we find examples of different kinds of coping with life questions. Religious women and men do not only wait for help, when they enter into the presence of God, they find also strength and energy for finding their own solutions, for acting at their best, even in and through prayer. Prayer as a religious obligation is a necessary mean, which enables the faithful to do the will of God and to be what they are at their best. God shows himself in prayer for men and women, who present themselves as they really are before the just and merciful God.

## 2. TWO WAYS TO UNDERSTAND THE OUR FATHER: ESCHATOLOGICAL VS. ETHICAL INTERPRETATION AND WHAT THEY IMPLY

The picture we have tried to sketch about prayer and ethical obligation is built on some biblical examples. Yet, can we trace more subtly the development and function of ethical interpretation of prayers in the New Testament? Does the interaction of divine grace and human coping, which we have found so important in the moral question about prayer, play a significant role also in the genesis of biblical texts themselves? The answer is definitely yes, as we shall see on the example of the most famous prayer of the New Testament, the Our Father. Again, we can only outline the early development and interpretation of this prayer,<sup>4</sup> but this development clearly shows the presence of ethical demands in the New Testament.

The Our Father as an everyday Christian prayer has several functions. It serves as the simplest way of praying together. Already the first person plural invocation to *our* Father is a clear sign of a communitarian use of the text. It is also an identity marker.<sup>5</sup> As Gerd Theissen says,<sup>6</sup> right from the beginning in its original context it helps to define the identity of the new community. In the Gospel of Matthew Jesus draws the line between the gentiles and his disciples, saying, it is enough to speak less. In the Gospel

<sup>4</sup> As for details of the exegesis of the text I rely on M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*. HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); H. Klein, „Das Vaterunser. Seine Geschichte und sein Verständnis bei Jesus und im frühen Christentum“, in H. Klein, V. Mihoc, K.-W. Niebuhr, eds. *Das Gebet im Neuen Testament. Vierte europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz in Sâmbăta de Sus 4.–8. August 2007*. WUNT 249 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 77–114.

<sup>5</sup> Though different in its overall presentation, this point is also made by J. B. Gibson, “Matthew 6,9–13//Luke 11,2–4: An Eschatological Prayer and Quest?”, *Biblical Theological Bulletin* 33 (2001): 96–105. According to Gibson the Our Father is above all directed as a prayer for true discipleship.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. G. Theissen, *Az öskereszténység élményvilága és magatartásformái*, 182.



of Luke the boundary is drawn against the disciples of John the Baptist. In the Didache (8,2) we read about the use of praying three times a day the Our Father, which most probably reflects the Jewish custom of praying the *Shemone esre*.

But what is the original meaning of this prayer, how should we understand it? Certainly, tracing its early development we receive different answers to this question and we cannot rule out neither of them, rather, we should regard them as parallel solutions, enriching each other, more or less founded historically, and more or less valuable in different situations.

The Our Father is interpreted most simply as a prayer of request. Its overall interpretation goes in two different directions, which are called usually “eschatological” and “ethical”, respectively.<sup>7</sup> Eschatological means in this case that the prayer is directed to God, who is bringing forward his heavenly kingdom in a near future on earth,<sup>8</sup> unfolding final judgment, sanctification of his name.<sup>9</sup> Eschatological interpretation stresses the activity of God, the epiphany of his power and might. This interpretation makes believers rather receptive, accepting God’s final and eternal gifts. Ethical interpretations on the other hand tend to stress the everyday necessities present in the prayer, like everyday bread, forgiveness of sins (in this case not for the final judgement, but as fundamental for the everyday life of the community). As the forgiveness of sins, temptation (*peirasmos*) has also twofold meaning, since it can be interpreted as sign of the final tribulations but also as everyday fight against evil temptations.

The choice between these two possible solutions is connected with the context and interpretation given by the two gospels containing the two versions of the Our Father. The Gospel of Matthew has more ethical overtones whereas in the version of Luke, shorter, nearer to the original in content, but not in the textual rendering, we find less

<sup>7</sup> As an example of the eschatological interpretation I quote J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew II.*, 291–302; as an example of an everyday ethical interpretation U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus I–7/ EKK I,1* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger, 1985), 332–353. The model of early development, which is adapted also in my view, is presented by G. Theissen, A. Merz, *Der historische Jesus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 239–241.

<sup>8</sup> The coming of the Kingdom is clearly an event of the last days. *Book of Jubilees* 1,28; *Ethiopian Henoah* 25,3; *Sybilline oracula* 3,47–50 all have images of the final judgment, where God is seated on a throne, he appearing in his Kingdom. Cf. M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 406.

<sup>9</sup> There is some unity of mind in the question of the sanctification of the name, which is explained according to Ez 36,16–38; 38,18–23. It is God himself who sanctifies his name in front of the nations through the unification and purification of Israel. In some texts also human beings sanctify the name of God (cf. Is 29,23; Ps 99,3), but according to the request of the Our Father they do it by the grace of God (Cf. M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, 406.). We find a parallel in the prayer expressed by Jesus in the Gospel of John (Jn 12,27–28): “Father, glorify your name! Early Jewish texts speak also about the sanctification of the name in the context of judgment (cf. Ben Sira 36,1–5; 1QM 11,13–15).

from this ethical prospective.<sup>10</sup> The original setting seems to favor the eschatological interpretation in the first to phrases, the „You-part” of the prayer.<sup>11</sup> The original meaning of the “we-phrases” is less univoque, even if we do not take in account the ethical additions of the Gospel of Matthew (“Your will be done”). In their final form these phrases formulate rather the everyday necessities of the community.

This picture – a prayer emphasizing in its beginning God’s action in a hopefully not too far away future and adding men’s effort answering onto God’s gift and presence – is well known from the whole of New Testament ethical systems.<sup>12</sup> Jesus’s grace is not simply a totally new gift from God, it fulfills and finishes the grace given and promised by God from of old and it opens the possibility of working together with the divine grace. If one is open for the holy presence of a divine Father, almighty and filled with love for his creature, one becomes free to formulate the real necessities.

The biblically inspired overall concept becomes true again: God appears so that men show themselves too. In the Old Testament it was the Only God who chose for himself a nation to receive reverence and cult. Prayer is service for the only true God and brings also human beings to truth. In a certain way the Our Father speaks also about the appearance of God and his Kingdom, it hastens the day when God’s power fills earth and heaven. It is in the context of this divine presence and power that human beings show their last and deepest truth – in the final judgment. They stand in front of God and of each other as they really are. Prayer brings everyone into the presence of God who is the same who does not change: prayer is always a part of eternity, a part also of the final revelation of the truth of God and of human beings.

What is interesting in the case of the Our Father, is the development from Jesus through the evangelists and through the interpretation of the text. The steps leading to a human and ethical understanding began with the formulation *Our* Father, which makes a communitarian accentuation easier.<sup>13</sup> Additions are made in the Gospel of

<sup>10</sup> Whereas in the Gospel of Luke first of all the invitation to un trustful prayer (cf. Lc 10,38–42; 11,5–13), so in the Gospel of Matthew the ethical demands and the caution against distorted form of religion of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 6,1–18) represent the direct context of the Our Father.

<sup>11</sup> G. Theissen, *Az őskereszténység élményvilága és magatartásformái*, 182 has the idea that Jesus would have functioned as a head of prayer, saying the beginning of the prayer and waiting for the answers of the community. At least, he had no personal part in temptations etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W. Schrage, *Ethik des Neuen Testaments*. Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 27–28. Schrage writes about the possibility of answer to the gift of the Kingdom of God, the active Power of God. Men do not only wait passivly he coming of the Kingdom, they are able to live from the presence of the Kingdom. The parallel he draws with Mc 4,28 is also interesting. The growing of the seed happens *automate* – but this does not invite to passivity, rather to the unknown growth, to the miracle of life, which does not know anything about himself.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. V. K. Robbins, “Divine Dialogue and the Lord’s Prayer: Socio-rhetorical Interpretation of Sacred Texts”, *Dialogue* (1995): 117–146, here 140. Robbins shows on the example of the Our Father the necessity of such an interpretation of the text, which invites to creative dialogue with open participants, who try to give and share all their informations so that form a new community around the text.

Matthew, which has a more traditionally oriented ethical view of the actions of Jesus. The very fact of prayer itself, that is the fact that Jesus becomes a model and at the same time a teacher of prayer in the Gospel of Luke, is again another sign of possible ethical understanding of the text. The invitation to pray as Jesus did is parallel with the invitation to act as he acted. And we find many examples of the latter in the New Testament too.<sup>14</sup>

When Jesus told his disciples “When You pray, say...” (Lc 11,2; cf. Mt 6,9) he did not prohibit any other prayer but he gave the inner rule of praying, as it is proved most clearly by other examples of hymns, prayers, also Jewish psalms in the New Testament.<sup>15</sup> The Letters of Paul echo Jesus’ addressing God as Father (Abba), but we do not find there any sign of the Our Father itself. Christians imitated from the beginning the example of Jesus but slowly they had a detailed knowledge of his words and deeds.<sup>16</sup> They imitated Jesus’ example and did not regard them as simple rules. They maintained the words of the Our Father and prayed with them but they also found new ways of expressing the same intentions of prayer with other words. The Our Father became the canon of prayer and not simply its rule. In this development we recognize again the characteristic features of Christian ethics: concrete rules do not lose their normative value but they remain open for new interpretations in new situations. Christian prayer makes memory of Jesus’s deeds and words, as Jewish prayers made memory of God’s mighty deeds. So prayer becomes again and again source of inspiration, of veneration and also it asks for the strength to do what is good.

We arrive again to the same phenomenon: because prayer involves the whole person, mind, knowledge and will (and body too), it is a place of knowing the will of God in life and a place for asking and pleading to fulfill it. It is a place where we can understand the ways of God and receive the courage to depart and walk on these ways. Christians imitate Jesus, also in his prayers: entering the hidden solitude and turning back again to his disciples, leaving the world and serving it again.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> E.g. Phil 2,1-2.5; 1Pt 2,21. These texts are of parainetic character, because both of them is introduced by the invitation to follow Christ in some way. They also describe the acts and spirituality of Jesus which they regard as important and valuable. But they do not prescribe any action, they rather meditate or contemplate on the example of Christ. They make the example of Jesus understood, they introduce into that kind of contemplation of one’s own life in the context of the example of Christ which brings forth glorification and inner light. In these texts there is a unity of mindful thinking, meditation and glorification.

<sup>15</sup> I suppose with the majority of the exegetes that the original Our Father comes from Jesus himself.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Stephen the first martyr had the strength to pray and to forgive for those who were killing him, like Jesus on the cross before him. Both stories are narrated by Luke (cf. Lc 23,34; Acts 7,60).

<sup>17</sup> G. Fischer, K. Backhaus, *Beten*. Die Neue Echter Bibel Themen 14 (Würzburg: Echter, 2009), 87–95 and 125–128 describe the prayer of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark as going in and coming out again and again, a change between public and non public places.

### 3. CONCLUSION

It is often said, that New Testament authors use Old Testament cultic imagery in order to explain a new reality. Old cultic imagery is reinterpreted in an ethical way: the spiritual cult of Christians is their new life which they live for God in Christ through the Spirit. In the Our Father we have detected a move in the opposite direction: eschatology, that is the presence of God in everyday life paves the way of ethical decisions. The prayer departs from an image of God as Father and arrives to be what he himself is, man or woman, believer tempted and under judgment, in need of strength and courage.

The ethical dimension of prayer as special religious act is far more subtle than the pair “virtue or duty” would imply.<sup>18</sup> Prayer is not simply “due reverence toward the Creator”. Prayer is rather relationship, opening new ways of relationship. It is duty, opening the way to greater freedom and love. As a religious way of coping with new situations it brings movement into the faith, thinking and acting of the believer. Prayer invites and brings the believer to act for the goal what he or she is praying for. If not, that prayer remains not only without fruit, but it will be in some way a burden for the believer itself: because in that case he or she must break the development which has just begun.

In modern society virtue is a concept outdated ever more. We speak rather about duties, but usually as a first limit and last break for many. Prayer demands and helps to switch on the inner world – and at least according to belief, to meet someone eager to help us.

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<sup>18</sup> Immanuel Kant whom we know among others as the founder of an ethic of duties, had a very negative opinion about prayer. He claimed it would be duty for a rational man to admit the absurdity of prayer, but he should also allow others to pray, so that they contribute more to the order of society. Cf. Rudolf Eisler, *Kant-Lexikon* (1930), <https://www.textlog.de/32350.html>. (23.08.2019). In this prospective prayer is a mere question of utility and self-delusion or inner motivation.



Martin MEISER

## DER LASTER- UND DER TUGENDKATALOG IN GAL 5,19–23

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In griechisch-römischer Antike war es stehende Überzeugung zumindest der konservativen staatstragenden Elite, dass der Staat als ganzer seine Existenz und seine Wohlfahrt der Gunst der Götter verdankt, die man durch Einhaltung religiöser und allgemein menschlicher Pflichten sich zum Guten geneigt macht. Paulus schrieb vornehmlich, mit Ausnahme von Röm 13,1–7, im Binnenraum einer kleinen Gruppe, die ihre Identität nicht durch den Bezug zum Imperium Romanum, sondern durch den Bezug zu Jesus Christus definiert, wie man auch immer diesen Bezug gedacht hat. Paulus muss seine Briefe aufgrund von Binnenproblemen in dieser Gruppe schreiben. Aber er benennt negative wie positive Verhaltensweisen, die auch jenseits der Grenzen der eigenen Gruppe für ein Zusammenleben der Menschen schädlich oder nützlich sind.

Ich will die Gliederung des folgenden Beitrags kurz benennen: Zuerst werde ich fragen, warum Paulus den paränetischen Hauptteil des Galaterbriefes überhaupt schreibt. Dann werde ich einige anthropologische Grundlagen klären. Nach einem Abschnitt zur Formgeschichte der Laster- und Tugendkataloge werde ich die beiden Kataloge im Galaterbrief einzeln besprechen und auswerten.

### I. DER KONTEXT VON GAL 5,19–23

#### 1.1. DIE VERANLASSUNG DES PARÄNETISCHEN HAUPTTEILS GAL 5,13–6,10

Warum hat Paulus diese Warnung vor den Lastern und diese Mahnung zur Tugend geschrieben, wenn er doch eigentlich die Galater von der Übernahme der Beschneidung abhalten will? Die Gelehrten haben die Frage nach der Notwendigkeit dieser Ausführungen alle denkbaren Möglichkeiten ausprobiert. Ältere Gelehrte sagen, die Galater hätten tatsächlich die Freiheit missbraucht<sup>1</sup>, das Liebesgebot vernachlässigt<sup>2</sup>;

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<sup>1</sup> Lietzmann, Hans: *An die Galater* (HNT III/I), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1910, 3. Aufl. 393. Bousset, Wilhelm: *Der Brief an die Galater* (SNT 3), 3. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917, 70; Zahn, Theodor: *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (KNT 9), 3. Aufl. Leipzig: Deichert, 1922, 7. Dabei ist ein Bezug von Gal 5,15 auf tatsächliches Fehlverhalten der Galater vorausgesetzt.

<sup>2</sup> Sieffert, Friedrich: *Der Brief an die Galater* (KEK 7), 9. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1899, 318.

andere vermuten, dass Paulus dies befürchtet.<sup>3</sup> Wieder andere sagen, sie selbst hätten befürchtet, dass Paulus ihnen eine ethisch unzureichende Verkündigung geboten hätte.<sup>4</sup> Noch andere behaupten, die fremden Missionare hätten diesen Missbrauch der Freiheit den Galatern unterstellt.<sup>5</sup> Andere vermuten, die fremden Missionare hätten dem Apostel eine ethisch unzulängliche Verkündigung unterstellt<sup>6</sup> und ihrerseits die um ihr Heil besorgten Galater entsprechend unterrichtet<sup>7</sup>, sie vor dem Fluch des Gesetzes gewarnt.<sup>8</sup> Manche erwägen, dass Paulus selbst auf die Auseinandersetzungen reagiert, die die Gegner in die Gemeinde hineingetragen haben.<sup>9</sup> Alle diese Thesen nehmen konkret auf die galatische Situation Bezug; manche Autoren kombinieren diese Thesen.<sup>10</sup> Andere verweisen auf eine innere Notwendigkeit, dass aus dem Evangelium auch sittliche Konsequenzen folgen, im Sinne einer „Absage an die  $\sigma\alpha\rho\varsigma$ “<sup>11</sup>. Diese letzte These eröffnet die Möglichkeit, Paulus innerhalb des griechisch-philosophischen Freiheitsdiskurses zu verorten, der ja Freiheit immer auch als Unabhängigkeit von den zu irrationalen Handeln veranlassenden Affekten verstanden hat.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Buscemi, Alfio Marcello: *Lettera ai Galati. Commentario Esetico* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Analecta 63), Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2004. XIV Anm. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Lagrange, Marie-Joseph: *Saint Paul épître aux Galates*, Paris: Gabalda, 1925, lxii; deSilva, David A.: *The Letter to the Galatians* (NICNT), Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018, 443.

<sup>5</sup> Lietzmann: *Galater*, 3. Aufl. 39; Ridderbos, Herman N.: *The Epistle of Paul to the Churches of Galatia* (NICNT), Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953, 199f.

<sup>6</sup> Lipsius, Richard Adelbert: *Der Brief an die Galater* (Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament II 2), 2. Aufl. Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1892, 1–69: 61; Sieffert: *Galater*, 318; de Boer, Martinus C.: *Galatians. A Commentary* (NTL), Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011, 330f.

<sup>7</sup> Konradt, Matthias: *Gericht und Gemeinde. Eine Studie zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Gerichtsaussagen im Rahmen der paulinischen Ekklesiologie und Ethik im 1 Thess und 1 Kor* (BZNW 117), Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003, 490: Wahrscheinlich haben die Galater nach ethischer Orientierung gesucht und die Judaisten haben ihnen das Gesetz als Orientierung angeboten, vielleicht mit Bezug auf den Dekalog als deren Zusammenfassung. Paulus geht in seiner Art der Zusammenfassung im Liebesgebot noch weiter.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, Todd A.: *The Curse of the Law and the Crisis in Galatia* (WUNT II 225), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 140.

<sup>9</sup> Kremendahl, Dieter: *Die Botschaft der Form. Zum Verhältnis von antiker Epistolographie und Rhetorik im Galaterbrief* (NTOA 46), Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000, 254f. verweist auf die starke Betonung der um den Begriff „Streit“ gesammelten acht Synonyme.

<sup>10</sup> Burton, Ernest de Witt: *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC), Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921, repr. 1952, 290: Einerseits befürchtet Paulus bei den Judaisten, dass man ihn verdächtigt, seine Lehre führe zur sittlichen Indifferenz, andererseits befürchtet er ein entsprechendes Missverständnis auch bei den Galatern. Ähnliche Kombinationen finden sich bei Zahn: *Galater*, 259; Bousset: *Galater*, 69.

<sup>11</sup> Merk, Otto: *Handeln aus Glauben. Die Motivierungen der paulinischen Ethik* (MThSt 5), Marburg: Elwert, 1968, 69; Matera, Frank J.: *Galatians* (Sacra Pagina 9), Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992, 195f.

<sup>12</sup> Epiktet: *Dissertationes* IV 1,23.

Ich vermute, Paulus hat mögliche Einwendungen der fremden Missionare im Auge. Sie sagen, seine Verkündigung führe zu einem Leben der sittlichen Zügellosigkeit. Deshalb versuchen sie die Gemeinden dazu zu bringen, die Thora zu befolgen. Ich denke aber nicht, dass Paulus aktuelle Zustände bei den Galatern im Auge hat. Zumindest gilt dies für die Mehrzahl<sup>13</sup> der genannten Laster. Wer bereit ist, sich der Einflussnahme der Fremdmisionare zu öffnen und sich bewusst noch stärker in die Identität Israels hineinzubegeben, wird nicht für *πορνεία* und *εἰδωλολατρία* anfällig sein. Er wird sich auch der anderen Laster enthalten, die in jüdisch-christlicher Literatur nicht selten als (pauschal unterstelltes!) Kennzeichen griechisch-römischer Lebensweise gelten. Indem Paulus diese Laster als Laster benennt, kann er zeigen, dass seine Verkündigung hinter den hohen Idealen jüdischer Ethik nicht zurückbleibt, nicht zu einer typisch griechisch-römischen Immoralität vom strengen jüdischen Standpunkt aus führt.

## 1.2. THEOLOGISCHE UND ANTHROPOLOGISCHE VORAUSSETZUNGEN (GAL 5,13–18)

Paulus benennt die theologischen Voraussetzungen für seine Mahnungen in Gal 5,14, die anthropologischen Voraussetzungen in Gal 5,16–18.

Die Orientierung an Gott ist für den Apostel selbstverständliche Voraussetzung eines ethisch gelingenden Lebens. Das Tun des Gebotes der Nächstenliebe *ist* die Erfüllung der Thora. Paulus steht mit seiner Verwendung von *ἀγάπη* als Leitbegriff insgesamt in jüdischer Tradition. Schon im Aristeeasbrief (§ 229) gilt die Liebe als Zentralbegriff, das Verhältnis zum Nächsten betreffend: „Die Frömmigkeit ... ist eine herausragende Tugend. Ihre Kraft aber ist die Liebe.“<sup>14</sup> Jedoch nimmt Paulus in seiner *τέλος*-Formel<sup>15</sup> „Leben für Gott“ in Gal 2,19 und Röm 6,11 keinen Bezug auf die Thora.<sup>16</sup> Wir finden im Galaterbrief in ethischen Fragen keine Thorazitate, doch auch sonst sind Thora-Zitate in ethischen Kontexten recht selten. Paulus bedenkt auch die Thora mit Ausnahme von Röm 7,12 nicht mit lobenden Ausdrücken, die ihren Wert für die Gestal-

<sup>13</sup> Dass der Begriff *αἱρέσεις* in anderen Lasterkatalogen nicht begegnet, führt gelegentlich zu der These, dass der Begriff einen besonderen Bezug auf die galatische Situation hat (Dunn, James D. G.: *The Epistle to the Galatians*, London: Hendrickson, 1993, 305; Moo, Douglas J.: *Galatians* [Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament], Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013, 361). Man kann auch aber auch allgemein eine Warnung vor Parteiungen sehen, wie in antiken Vereinsatzungen ähnlich vor Spaltungen (*σχίσματα*) gewarnt wird; vgl. P.London 2710 = SGUÄ 7835, zitiert bei Hans-Josef: *Die religiöse Umwelt des Urchristentums, Bd. I, Stadt- und Hausreligion, Mysterienkulte, Volksglaube* [Studienbücher Theologie 9,1], Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995, 54).

<sup>14</sup> Hinweis und Übersetzung bei Wolter, Michael: „Die Liebe“, in Friedrich Wilhelm Horn (Hrsg.), *Paulus Handbuch*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 449–453 (450).

<sup>15</sup> Die Funktion dieser Formel ist vergleichbar dem, was Stoiker als *ὁμολογουμένως τῆ φύσει ζῆν* (SVF I 79; I 552; III 12) oder *ἀκολούθως ζῆν* (SVF III 4; III 12) definiert haben.

<sup>16</sup> Das gilt auch für vergleichbare Formeln wie „Gott Frucht bringen“ (Röm 7,4), „Wandel würdig des Gottes, der euch berufen hat“ (1Thess 2,12), „Leben würdig des Evangeliums Jesu Christi“ (Phil 1,27).



tung allgemein-menschlichen Zusammenlebens hervorheben.<sup>17</sup> Dabei unterscheiden sich jüdische und christliche Ethik im Bereich der Materialethik nicht wirklich, wie man auch zu anderen Bezugspunkten nachweisen kann.<sup>18</sup> Paulus ist der Überzeugung, dass man ihm nicht den Vorwurf machen kann, seiner Verkündigung würde in ethischer Hinsicht etwas fehlen. Lev 19,18 war wohl für Paulus ein entscheidender Anlass, sein Konzept als thoragemäß zu empfinden.

Die Anthropologie des Apostels Paulus konvergiert mit griechisch-römischer Anthropologie neben anderem in der Frage, wie man den destruktiven Kräften im Menschen Einhalt gebieten kann.<sup>19</sup> Griechische Philosophen sehen diese destruktiven Kräfte vor allem in den Affekten. Diese haben gemäß der Anschauung mancher Philosophen ihren Sitz in den irrationalen Teilen der Seele, der ψυχή.<sup>20</sup> Die Philosophen sind sich aber nicht einig, ob man Affekte lediglich eindämmen soll, oder ob man sie nicht völlig ausrotten soll.<sup>21</sup> Dem Verstand, dem νοῦς, kommt die Aufgabe der Steuerung des menschlichen Lebens zu, die konkret in der Herrschaft über die Begierden der Seele und des Leibes besteht.

Paulus spricht ebenfalls von Affekten, zentriert aber seine Anthropologie im Galaterbrief und in den späteren Briefen um das Begriffspaar σάρξ und πνεῦμα.<sup>22</sup> Er ordnet die destruktiven Kräfte, die Affekte der σάρξ zu<sup>23</sup>, während er den Begriff ψυχή zwar

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. dagegen EpArist 31: φιλοσοφώτερα ... καὶ ἀκέραιον ... θεῖα νομοθεσία.

<sup>18</sup> Man kann auf die etwas größere Wertschätzung der Askese im antiken Christentum verweisen. Doch ist zu beachten: Johannes der Täufer, Jesus und Paulus sowie die Mehrheit der Qumran-Essener lebten ehelos, ohne dass man dies von Gen 1,28 her beanstandet hätte. Gen 1,28 wird erst im rabbinischen Judentum zum Pflichtgebot. Das Hohelied Salomos fand literaturgeschichtlich im antiken Judentum keinen Nachfolger.

<sup>19</sup> Die ἐπιθυμία ist nach griechischer Tradition verpönt (vgl. Epiktet: *Dissertationes* IV 1,175), nach biblischer Tradition verboten (Ex 20,17). Manche frühjüdischen Autoren zitieren das letzte Gebot des Dekalogs in Verkürzung: Du sollst nicht begehren; vgl. EpArist 223; Philon: *De specialibus Legibus* IV 84f., *De Decalogo* 13. 173.

<sup>20</sup> Poseidonios: *Fragment* 34. Vgl. insgesamt Meiser, Martin, „Anthropologie im Galater- und Römerbrief“, in György Benyik (Hrsg.): *Interpretation of the Letter to the Romans in Orthodox Theology, during the Renaissance, during the Reformation period and in today's Biblical Studies. 28<sup>th</sup> International Biblical Conference Szeged, 28–30 August, 2017*, Szeged: JATEPress, 2018, 211–231: 213.

<sup>21</sup> Letzteres Poseidonios: *Fragment* 164; Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 116,1.8.

<sup>22</sup> Horn, Friedrich Wilhelm: „Wandel im Geist. Zur pneumatologischen Begründung der Ethik bei Paulus“, *Kerygma und Dogma* 38 (1992): 149–170: 166. Eine ähnliche Verwendung dieses Gegensatzpaares findet sich bei Philon von Alexandria: *Quis heres divinarum rerum sit*, 57. Philon: *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, 17, kann ethisches Leben, bestimmt durch die Orientierung an Gott, als Freiheit im Gegensatz zur Sklaverei der Leidenschaften beschreiben.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Scornaienchi, Lorenzo: „Die Unterscheidung von σάρξ und σῶμα und ihre Konsequenzen für die Ethik des Paulus“, in Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, Ulrich Volp, Ruben Zimmermann (Hrsg.), *Ethische Normen des frühen Christentums. Gut – Leben – Leib – Tugend. Kontexte und Normen newtestamentlicher Ethik / Contexts and Norms of New Testament Ethics Band IV* (WUNT 313), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013, 329–349: 343 Anm. 42 (σάρξ ist der Sitz der Affekte bei Paulus) sowie 344 (σάρξ beschreibt „die Destruktivität des Menschen.“).

gelegentlich im Sinne des inneren Selbst verwendet (1Kor 1,23; Phil 1,27), aber nie als Sitz der Affekte bezeichnet.

Der Begriff „Fleisch“ enthält die Dimension des Evaluativen und des Kognitiven. In evaluativer Hinsicht bezeichnet er in Gal 5,13 das, worin sich der Mensch gegen Gott richtet.<sup>24</sup> In kognitiver Hinsicht stellt Paulus das „Fleisch“ als Widerpart gegen den „Geist“ hin. Der Christ soll sich durch den Geist leiten lassen (Gal 5,16), und zwar beständig und eindeutig.<sup>25</sup> Wer meint, im Christsein neben den Geist auch die eigene fleischliche Sichtweise als leitend anerkennen zu können, kann, so Gal 5,17<sup>26</sup>, nicht für eine stete Verwirklichung des Willens Gottes garantieren. Das ist der Sinn der Formulierung ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε, ταῦτα ποιεῖτε in Gal 5,17, die sich auf beides, auf das gute wie auf das böse Wollen bezieht, nicht nur auf das gute *oder* das böse Wollen. Es legt sich nahe, Gal 5,17 auf die Gefährdung des Glaubenden zu beziehen.<sup>27</sup> „Gal 5,17 begründet die Mahnung von Vers 16, indem die Situation charakterisiert wird, die einen Imperativ notwendig macht.“<sup>28</sup> Der Begriff πνεῦμα bezieht sich auf den Geist Gottes in den Glaubenden<sup>29</sup>, dessen Wirken behindert wird, wenn der Glaubende ihm nicht eindeutig und durchgehend Raum gibt. Der Begriff νοῦς fehlt. Damit ist auch die Frage nicht beantwortet, wie sich der Imperativ Gal 5,16 anthropologisch in Worte fassen lässt.

Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist ist bei Paulus wohl jüdisch geprägt. Allerdings können auch Menschen nichtjüdischer Herkunft das verstehen. Auch Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 41,2, redet von einem *sacer intra nos spiritus* als Hilfe zur sittlichen Vervollkommnung, der als *malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos* fungiert. Doch hat diese Vorstellung bei Seneca nicht dasselbe dogmatische Gewicht wie bei Paulus.

<sup>24</sup> Das steht in jüdischer Tradition, vgl. die Ermahnung in 4Q418 Frgm. 81, sich fernzuhalten von dem „Geist des Fleisches“. M.E. unwahrscheinlich ist die These, in Gal 5,17 sei „der fleischliche Weg der Beschneidung“ gemeint (Keener, Craig S.: *Galatians. A Commentary*, Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019, 503).

<sup>25</sup> Auch das steht in jüdischer Tradition. Der Geist Gottes befähigt, das Rechte zu tun (1QH VIII 6,11; XII 31; XV 6f.; 1QS III 6; IV 20), gerade hinsichtlich der Ethik (CD VII 3; 4QS258, Frgm. 2 c ii 4).

<sup>26</sup> Röm 7,7–25 handelt vom Nichtchristen aus der Perspektive des Christen, Gal 5,17 von dem Christen (Merk: *Handeln aus Glauben*, 71f.). Das legt sich nahe aufgrund des Kontextes von Gal 5,17 und der durchgehenden Anrede „ihr“. Darauf verweist Hofius, Otfried: „Widerstreit zwischen Fleisch und Geist. Erwägungen zu Gal 5,17“, in ders.: *Exegetische Studien* (WUNT 223), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008, 161–172: 162. Auch ist das Wirken des Geistes nicht in Röm 7 thematisiert (so zu Recht Keener: *Galatians*, 502), sondern erst in Röm 8. Die Interpretation wird auch durch Gal 6,1fine („Sieh zu, dass nicht auch du versucht wirst“) gestützt.

<sup>27</sup> Lietzmann: *Galater*, 39f.

<sup>28</sup> Söding, Thomas: „Glaube, der durch Liebe wirkt. Rechtfertigung und Ethik im Galaterbrief“, in Michael Bachmann, Bernd Kollmann (Hrsg.): *Umstrittener Galaterbrief. Studien zur Situierung der Theologie des Paulus-Schreibens* (BThSt 106), Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2010, 165–206: 198.

<sup>29</sup> Die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Geist Gottes als dem Gegenüber der Glaubenden und dem Geist Gottes in den Glaubenden wird Paulus erst in Röm 8,16 durchgeführt.

## 2. FORM UND GESCHICHTE DER LASTER- UND TUGENDKATALOGE

### 2.1. GRIECHISCHE UND JÜDISCHE PARALLELEN

Die Geschichte der Form der Lasterkataloge lässt sich bis auf Platons Hades-Mythos, *Gorgias* 525 A<sup>30</sup> zurückverfolgen, wo ἔξουσία, τρυφή, ὕβρις ἀκρατία (Willkür, Weichlichkeit, Übermut, Unmäßigkeit) zusammen begegnen.

Ein weiterer Markstein in der Geschichte der Form ist Xenophons Wiedergabe der Erzählung des Prodikos mit dem Thema „Herakles am Scheideweg“. <sup>31</sup> Der Text bietet, Gal 5, 19–23 vergleichbar, einen Doppelkatalog, ist aber auf das Individuum, nicht auf die Gemeinschaft bezogen und fasst im ersten Teil eher die Annehmlichkeiten des lustbetonten Lebens (*Memorabilia* II 1,23–25), im zweiten Teil eher die Mühen des Tugendlebens (*Memorabilia* II 1 28) ins Auge.

Cicero bietet in der Wiedergabe der stoischen Affektenlehre einen systematisierten Lasterkatalog; er ordnet die Laster *ira, excandescencia, odium, inimicitia, discordia, indigentia, desiderium* der *lubido = libido* zu. <sup>32</sup> Auch andere Darstellungen der stoischen Affektenlehre bieten eine Systematisierung. <sup>33</sup> Mehrfach verweisen griechisch-römische Autoren, ähnlich wie Paulus, auf die Unvollständigkeit ihrer Aufzählungen. <sup>34</sup>

Philon von Alexandria bietet in *De sacrificiis* 23.27 einen Doppelkatalog, als allegorische Auslegung von Lev 21, 15–17 eingeführt. Lev 21, 15–17 bespricht den Fall, dass ein Mann zwei Frauen hat und die eine mehr liebt als die andere, und regelt, dass der Sohn der weniger geliebten Frau ebenso erbberechtigt ist wie der andere Sohn. Der Text ist für Philon vermutlich aus zwei Gründen anstößig, erstens wegen der Polygamie, zweitens wegen dem unterschiedlichen Grad von Liebe. Allegorische Auslegung hilft, beide Anstößigkeiten zu beseitigen. Philon deutet den weniger geliebten Sohn auf die Tugend, den eher geliebten Sohn auf die Lust, und beschreibt ähnlich wie Xeno-

<sup>30</sup> Betz, Hans Dieter: *Der Galaterbrief. Ein Kommentar zum Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Gemeinden in Galatien*, München: Kaiser, 1988, 480.

<sup>31</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II 1,21–34. Der Text bietet, Gal 5, 19–23 vergleichbar, einen Doppelkatalog, ist aber auf das Individuum, nicht auf die Gemeinschaft bezogen und fasst im ersten Teil eher die Annehmlichkeiten des lustbetonten Lebens (*Memorabilia* II 1,23–25), im zweiten Teil eher die Mühen des Tugendlebens (*Memorabilia* II 1 28) ins Auge, wobei man auf mögliche Lebensziele „Bewunderung in ganz Griechenland für die Tugend“ und „Geltung im Staate“ achten muss, für die es bei Paulus nur wenig Parallelen gibt (für das zuerst genannte Motiv vgl. 1Thess 1,7; 2Kor 9,3).

<sup>32</sup> Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, IV 16.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* VII 93 (den primären Lastern ἀφροσύνη, δειλία, ἀδικία, ἀκολασία, βραδύνοια, κακοβουλία untergeordnet) und Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* VII 111: ἔλεος, φθόνος, ζήλος sind Arten der λυπή, die als irrationale mentale Kontraktion (συστολή) gewertet wird. ἔλεος ist das Mitgerissen sein von unbedingt schlechtem, φθόνος das vom guten Schicksal des anderen, ζήλος ist die unpassende Gemütsregung, wenn ein anderer das besitzt, was man selbst begehrt.

<sup>34</sup> Zur Wendung τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις in Gal 5,21 vgl. Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* VII 94; 95; Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes* IV 16: *et cetera huius modi*.

phon die Annehmlichkeiten des Lebens, das sich an der Lust an Essen und Trinken etc. orientiert, und die Mühen des Lebens, das man der Tugend widmen soll. Einige der Begriffe in Philons Tugendkatalog kehren auch in Gal 5,22f. wieder. Philons Denken kreist immer wieder um die Probleme der Tugend und des Lasters – seine allegorische Auslegung hat das bei vielen Texten zum Thema. Wer wissen will, wovor er sich nach Philon hüten sollte, findet in *De sacrificiis* 32 einen weiteren Katalog mit ca. 140 Einträgen vor. Keiner der dortigen Begriffe ist mit den bei Paulus vorkommenden Begriffen identisch.

Der Autor des vierten Makkabäerbuches trägt seine Systematisierung des Lasterkataloges 4Makk 1,26–27 vor, indem er zwischen den Lastern der Seele und denen des Leibes unterscheidet. Dass man die Laster durch den *σώφρων νοῦς* überwinden kann, steht dem Autor fest. Ebenso setzt er voraus, dass der Mensch durch die Orientierung an der Thora sich einen solchen Verstand aneignet (vgl. 4Makk 2,8). Insofern vertritt er die Hauptlinie jüdischer Soteriologie: Der Mensch ist, wenn er sich am Gesetz Gottes orientiert, auch in der Lage, die Vorschriften der Thora einzuhalten und tugendhaft zu leben.

Tugend- und Lasterkataloge sind aber nicht auf das hellenistische Judentum beschränkt, wie der Doppelkatalog 1QS III 25 – IV 11 zeigt. Der Verfasser führt die unterschiedlichen Verhaltensweisen auf die zwei Geister zurück, die im Menschen kämpfen, den Geist der Wahrheit und den Geist des Frevels. Im Tugendkatalog stehen die nach außen sichtbaren und den anderen zugewandten Verhaltensweisen wie Demut, Langmut und Erbarmen voran, gefolgt von der inneren Disposition (Klugheit, Einsicht und Weisheit) und dem Zusammenhang der Verwirklichung dieser Tugenden in der Qumrangemeinschaft und in aller Abgrenzung vom Götzendienst. Im Lasterkatalog 1QS IV 9–11 stehen asoziale Verhaltensweisen voran (Bosheit, Lüge, Stolz, Hochmut, Betrug, Täuschung, Grausamkeit, Gottlosigkeit, Jähzorn, Torheit, Eifersucht), gefolgt von sexuellem Fehlverhalten, Blasphemie und Halsstarrigkeit, „zu wandeln auf allen Wegen der Finsternis und böser List.“ (1QS IV 11).<sup>35</sup>

## 2.2. DIE EIGENTÜMLICHKEITEN DER NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN KATALOGE

Als Eigentümlichkeiten neutestamentlicher Lasterkataloge sind zu nennen:

1. Die neutestamentlichen Autoren systematisieren sie nicht.
2. Die Autoren kennzeichnen sie manchmal explizit als nicht-erschöpfend (Gal 5,19 *ἄτινά ἐστιν*).
3. Bestimmte Elemente können sich wiederholen, ohne dass ein Bezug zur konkreten Situation naheliegt. Bei bestimmten Elementen können wir einen Bezug zur aktuellen Situation diskutieren, ohne dass dies zwingend ist.

<sup>35</sup> In 1QS IV 13 erscheint wie in Gal 5,21 der eschatologische Horizont der Warnung.

4. Die neutestamentlichen Autoren führen kaum spezifisch christliche Inhalte ein (mit Ausnahme des zur Fremdgötterverehrung Gesagten<sup>36</sup>). Die Kataloge fassen die konventionelle Moral ihrer Zeit zusammen<sup>37</sup> und sollen herausstellen, „daß die christliche Ethik im großen und ganzen mit den moralischen Konventionen der Zeit in Einklang“<sup>38</sup> steht.
5. Sünden in Sachen Sexualität und Fremdgötterverehrung und Habsucht stehen in neutestamentlichen Lasterkatalogen oft an erster Stelle, ohne dass dies von der aktuellen Argumentation her naheliegt.<sup>39</sup> Jüdische Autoren bringen die genannten Laster nicht selten mit typischem Verhalten von Nichtjuden in Verbindung. Dabei nehmen sie, ähnlich wie zumeist auch Paulus<sup>40</sup>, nichtjüdisches Verhalten zumeist nicht sehr differenziert wahr.<sup>41</sup> Merkwürdig ist, dass Paulus diese Laster nicht als Folge von Gesetzesübertretungen hinstellt. Ausgeschlossen ist aber auch das Gegenteil, die genannten Laster als Folge des Rückkehrens „unter das Gesetz“ zu verstehen<sup>42</sup>: Wer sich den Einflüssen der Fremdmisionare öffnet, wird kaum in εἰδωλοτροπία verfallen.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Generell besteht auch hier in der griechisch-römischen Welt eine formale Analogie, indem auf die Notwendigkeit der Verehrung der allgemein anerkannten Götter oder wenigstens eines oder mehrerer von ihnen verwiesen wird. Allerdings äußert sich dieses Bewusstsein zumeist nicht in den Lasterkatalogen, da diese nicht unter dem Vorzeichen einer Diskussion um die Wahl der angemessenen religiösen Bindung des einzelnen formuliert werden.

<sup>37</sup> Es mag sein, dass soziale Laster in jüdischen und christlichen Katalogen etwas häufiger benannt werden als in griechisch-römischen Vergleichstexte (Keener: *Galatians*, 510, der aber auf Dion Chrysostomus: *orationes* 34,19 verweist).

<sup>38</sup> Betz: *Galaterbrief*, 481.

<sup>39</sup> 1Kor 6,9; Gal 5,19; Mk 7,21. Die Nennung sexueller Laster ist bei Paulus konventionell. Die ersten drei in Gal 5,19 genannten Begriffe begegnen in veränderter Reihenfolge auch in 2Kor 12,21 (ἀκαθαρσία, πορνεία, ἀσέλγεια), die letzten in Gal 5,21 genannten Laster auch in Röm 13,13.

<sup>40</sup> Anders ist dies in Phil 4,8. Dort geht es darum, dass hinter dem, was in griechisch-römischen Kontext als lobenswert gilt, auch die Christinnen und Christen nicht zurückstehen sollten; bei den Lasterkatalogen geht es um eine Abwendung von dem, was in griechisch-römischen Kontext toleriert wird, aber in jüdisch-christlicher Tradition nicht akzeptabel ist. Von daher ergibt sich eine thematische Nähe zur postkonversionalen Paränese.

<sup>41</sup> Vgl. die Sexualethik des Musonius Rufus (*Dissertationes* 12; *Dissertationes* 14), der die Aktivierung von Sexualität nur innerhalb der gegengeschlechtlichen Einhe gestattet.

<sup>42</sup> Schewe, Susanne: *Die Galater zurückgewinnen. Paulinische Strategien in Gal 5 und 6* (FRLANT 208), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005, 126–128. Schewe hat zwar Recht mit der Behauptung, die Galater werden mit Paulus den Abscheu vor diesen Lastern teilen (129f.). Dann fällt aber die These von S. 128 dahin.

<sup>43</sup> Ähnlich Konradt: *Gericht und Gemeinde*, 490 Anm. 76.

### 3. DER LASTERKATALOG GAL 5,19–21

Für den Lasterkatalog in Gal 5,19–21 sind verschiedene Gliederungsmodelle vorgeschlagen worden.<sup>44</sup> M.E. benennt er zunächst sexuelles, dann religiöses Fehlverhalten; es folgen einige Begriffe allgemein gemeinschaftsschädigenden Verhaltens, bevor einige Begriffe, die die Außenwirkung der Gruppe der Jesuanhänger tangieren, die Reihe abschließen.

Wie erkennt man die im Folgenden genannten Verhaltensweisen als verfehlt? Vielleicht hat der Begriff φανερά („offenkundig“) den Gedanken einer allgemein menschlichen Evidenz vor Augen, so dass man keine Anleitung durch die Thora braucht.<sup>45</sup> Doch äußert sich Paulus nicht theoretisch zu der Frage, wie man seine Ethik mit allgemein-griechischer Ethik vereinen kann – er mahnt nur einmal, in Phil 4,8, dazu, dass die Christen nicht hinter den höchsten ethischen Maßstäben ihrer Umgebung zurückbleiben sollen.<sup>46</sup> Hier im Galaterbrief fügt der Apostel am Schluss des Lasterkataloges eine Warnung an, die nur Christinnen und Christen verständlich ist, für die das „Erben des Reiches Gottes“ das Ziel des Lebens darstellt. Allgemeine Evidenz und gruppenspezifische Motivation stehen also nebeneinander.

Die Laster, die sexuelles und religiöses Fehlverhalten benennen, sind auch in griechischer Tradition als Laster bekannt, gelten aber in antiker jüdischer Literatur als Kennzeichen einer typisch heidnischen Lebensweise, von der man die eigenen Leute fernhalten will. Das trifft zu für die Begriffe πορνεία<sup>47</sup>, ἀκαθαρσία, ἀσέλγεια, εἰδωλολατρία, und φαρμακεία. Bei den ersten beiden Begriffen wird dies auch in den anderen paulinischen Belegen sichtbar. Zugleich ergibt sich, dass man die „Werke des Fleisches“ keineswegs mit den „Werken des Gesetzes“ gleichsetzen darf.

<sup>44</sup> Witherington, Ben III: *Grace in Galatia. A Commentary on St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998, 398f.: die ersten fünf und die letzten zwei fokussieren auf Sünden der heidnischen Vergangenheit, die mittleren auf die Sünden, die Beziehungen betreffend. De Boer: *Galatians*, 358, und Moo: *Galatians*, 358, gliedern in „sexual misconduct; religious misconduct; sources of communal discord; excessive drinking“. Faktisch ähnlich gliedert zuvor Lagrange: *Galates*, 149.

<sup>45</sup> Rohde, Joachim: *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater* (ThHK NT 9), Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989, 235; Longenecker, Richard N.: *Galatians* (WBC 41), Dallas: Word Books, 1990, 252.

<sup>46</sup> Phil 4,8, ist übrigens die einzige Stelle, an der der Begriff ἀρετή bei Paulus erscheint; er fungiert dort aber nicht als Leitbegriff.

<sup>47</sup> Unzuchtssünden stehen neben Sünden des 1. Gebotes häufig an der Spitze von Lasterkatalogen; vgl. CD 4,16–18; PsSal 8,9–13, aber auch Philon: *De Decalogo* 36.51.121.168; *De specialibus Legibus* III 8. In Josephus: *Contra Apionem* II 199–203 stellt Josephus die Ehethora unmittelbar im Anschluss an die Lehre von Gott und seinem Dienst an, obwohl das Elterngesetz, wie er selbst weiß, in der Thora unmittelbar im Anschluss an das Sabbatgebot eingeordnet ist (II 206). Widernatürliche Unzucht und Pädophilie werden in sIHen 10,4 als erste Sünde der Verunehrung Gottes gebrandmarkt. Das *Testament Judas* innerhalb der *Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* ist, aufgrund von Gen 38 naheliegend, teilweise mit περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλαργηθρίας καὶ πορνείας in der Überschrift näher gekennzeichnet.

Der Begriff πορνεία<sup>48</sup>, für den Apostel Kennzeichen typisch heidnischen Lebens (1Thess 4,3f.), dürfte bei Paulus jeden von der Thora her illegitimen Verkehr anvisieren<sup>49</sup>; die Galater werden vor allem an Prostitution gedacht haben<sup>50</sup>, vielleicht auch an Pädophilie.

Der Begriff ἀκαθαρσία steht in griechischer wie biblischer wie antiker jüdischer Literatur für moralische Unreinheit<sup>51</sup>, manchmal speziell für sexuelle Unreinheit.<sup>52</sup> Manchmal sind beide Deutungen möglich.<sup>53</sup> Dieselbe Variationsbreite begegnet bei Paulus, wo der Begriff ebenfalls allgemein von moralischer<sup>54</sup> wie von speziell sexueller Unreinheit stehen kann.<sup>55</sup>

Der Begriff ἀσέλγεια, der auch in Mk 7,22 begegnet, meint generell gesellschaftlich nicht akzeptables Verhalten.<sup>56</sup> In antiker jüdischer Literatur wie dann auch im Neuen Testament bezeichnet er öfters das Verhalten von Nichtjuden.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Er begegnet u.a. in 1Kor 5,1; 6,18, aber auch in Mk 7,21. Einige Handschriften fügen zuvor noch den Begriff μοιχεία ein, vielleicht in Angleichung an Mt 15,19. Schon Hieronymus (oder Ps.-Hieronymus) beurteilt diese Zufügung wie die Zufügungen *impudicia* und *homicidia* (= φόνοι) als sekundär (Mitteilung bei Lagrange: *Galates*, 151).

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Harper, Kyle: „*Porneia*: The Making of a Christian Sexual Norm“, *JBL* 131 (2012): 363–383, dem zufolge πορνεία nunmehr auch Ausübung wie Inanspruchnahme von Prostitution umschließt, der aber das Problem der sexuellen Ausbeutung von Sklavinnen nicht behandelt. Allerdings ist umstritten, inwieweit nicht doch auch bei jüdischen Autoren die sexuelle Ausbeutung eigener Sklavinnen toleriert wurde. Glancy, Jennifer: „The Sexual Use of Slaves. A Response to Kyle Harper on Jewish and Christian Porneia“, *JBL* 134 (2015): 215–229: 218–223, bejaht diese Frage mit Verweis auf Sir 41,22a<sup>LXX</sup> und TestRub 1,10, wo nur der Verkehr mit einer Sklavin eines anderen Sklavenbesitzers, nicht aber der mit der eigenen Sklavin abgelehnt wird, sowie auf Philon: *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 38 (die Heranziehung dieser Stelle leuchtet mir nicht recht ein, da dort die Initiative den Sklavinnen zugeschrieben wird, nicht den Sklavenbesitzern); *De specialibus Legibus*: III 69. Bei Paulus hätte nur der Verkehr mit einer Prostituierten, nicht aber der Verkehr mit einer Sklavin als πορνεία gegolten (227). Gal 3,28, von Glancy nicht diskutiert, lässt nicht erkennen, ob die Egalität zwischen Freien und Sklaven auch solche sexuelle Ausbeutung unterbunden hat.

<sup>50</sup> So de Boer: *Galatians*, 358.

<sup>51</sup> Prov 6,6; 1Esdr 1,40.47; TestLevi 15,1.

<sup>52</sup> Plutarch, *De Othone* 2 (1067ab); 1QS IV,10; TestJuda 14,5; TestJosef 4,6; tendenziell auch PsSal 8,12.20.22.

<sup>53</sup> Das Adjektiv ἀκάθαρτος begegnet in TestAsser 2,9; 4,5 von unreinen Tieren (vgl. auch EpArist 128f.; 169), mit deren Unreinheit die Unmoral von Menschen vergleichbar ist (so auch EpArist 166), die sich aber nicht in sexueller Sittenlosigkeit erschöpft, und steht in TestBenj 5,2 von unreinen Geistern. In TestBenj begegnet die Überschrift περὶ διανοίας καθαρᾶς.

<sup>54</sup> 1Thess 2,3; Röm 6,19.

<sup>55</sup> Gal 5,19 (so jedenfalls Burton: *Galatians*, 305); 2Kor 12,21; Röm 1,24. Auch Keener: *Galatians*, 511, verweist auf die selbe Variationsbreite bei Paulus und in frühjüdischer Literatur.

<sup>56</sup> In griechischer Tradition begegnet der inhaltlich verwandte Ausdruck ἀκολασία in Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae*, VII 93.

<sup>57</sup> In 3Makk 2,26 bezeichnet er Ausschweifungen des ägyptischen Königs Ptolemaios IV., in Sap 14,26 Ausschweifungen der unbesonnenen Ägypter, bei Philon: *de vita Mosi* I 305 in der Wiedergabe von Num 25,1f. das Verhalten der nichtjüdischen Mädchen, die jüdische Männer verführen wollen. Für das antike Judentum vgl. noch 1QS IV,10; für das Neue Testament vgl. Eph 4,19; 1Petr 4,3; 2Petr 2,7.

Der Begriff εἰδωλολατρία (bei Paulus noch 1Kor 10,7.14) ist nur auf jüdischem Boden verständlich; Angehörige des griechisch-römischen Kulturkreises hätten auch bei skeptischer Betrachtung der Götterwelt Homers die Verehrung dieser Gottheiten nie mit der Bezeichnung εἰδωλολατρία belegt.

Der Begriff φαρμακεία kann für Giftmord stehen, aber auch wie in Apk 9,21 v.l.; 18,23 für magische Praktiken<sup>58</sup>, auf dem Hintergrund dessen, dass diese oft durch Drogeneinfluss befördert wurden.<sup>59</sup> Die Belege lassen wieder Assoziationen an Nicht-jüdisches in der Wertung durch Juden erkennen. So werden auch die Adressaten des Galaterbriefes davon Abstand nehmen wollen.

Die folgenden Begriffe sind im Plural benannt; der Plural von Abstracta kann konkrete Phänomene<sup>60</sup> bzw. Aktionen benennen. Vier von ihnen begegnen in veränderter Reihenfolge auch in 2Kor 12,20 (ἔρις, ζῆλος<sup>61</sup>, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι).

Der Begriff ἔχθραι bezeichnet in frühjüdischer und frühchristlicher Literatur die Feindschaft zwischen Mensch und Natur<sup>62</sup>, die Feindschaft gegen Menschen<sup>63</sup> wie Feindschaft gegen Gott.<sup>64</sup> So kann man verstehen, warum Paulus dieses Laster in Gal 5,19 gerade hier eingeordnet hat. Beachtet man diese Stellen, so wird der Zusammenhang zwischen Feindschaft und Sünde deutlich. Die folgenden Laster können als Erscheinungsformen der ἔχθραι betrachtet werden.<sup>65</sup>

Der Begriff ἔρις hat Fehlverhalten zwischen streitenden Gruppen in einer Gemeinschaft vor Augen<sup>66</sup>, kennzeichnet aber in Sir 40,10 zusammen mit θυμός und ζῆλος das Leben des Gesetzlosen (V. 10). In griechischer Tradition wurde Ἔρις als Göttin personifiziert<sup>67</sup>; auf ihr Wirken hat man im Mythos den Krieg um Troja zurückgeführt.

<sup>58</sup> Das Verb φαρμακεύειν steht in 2Makk 10,13 von der Giftmischerei, in 2Chr 33,6 von der Zauberei, die Manasse betrieb. Von Zauberei steht es auch in grHen 7,1; 78,2; 88,3, was auch dann, wenn grHen erst christlich ist und seinerseits eine Wirkungsgeschichte von Gal 5 darstellt, eine entsprechende Deutung auch für Gal 5 nahelegen würde.

<sup>59</sup> So z.B. in der Gerichtsankündigung gegen Babel Jes 47,9.12, ferner in Sap 12,4; 18,13.

<sup>60</sup> Moo: *Galatians*, 360.

<sup>61</sup> Textkritisch kann die Bevorzugung des Singulars als *lectio difficilior* gewertet werden. Das Bedürfnis der Angleichung an die folgenden Pluralformen ist in den großen Codices, vielleicht bedingt durch wechselnde Vorlagen, nicht einheitlich: B bietet zu Röm 13,13 den Plural, in 2Kor 12,20 zu ἔρις den Singular, zu ζῆλος den Plural, zu Gal 5,20 in beiden Fällen den Singular.

<sup>62</sup> grLAE 25,4; 26,4, im Sinne von Gen 3,15.

<sup>63</sup> Lk 23,12.

<sup>64</sup> Röm 8,7; Jak 4,4.

<sup>65</sup> Rohde: *Galater*, 240.

<sup>66</sup> Bei Paulus noch 1Kor 1,11; 3,3; 2Kor 12,20. Vgl. Sir 28,11, dort auf das Verhalten von Individuen bezogen.

<sup>67</sup> Zu ihrer Beschreibung vgl. Homer: *Ilias* IV 440–445.



Der Begriff ζήλος begegnet bei Paulus einerseits als negativer Begriff, vor allem dann, wenn der Apostel ihn mit ἔρις vereinigt<sup>68</sup>, positiv hingegen als Kennzeichen seines eigenen früheren Lebenswandels und jetzigen Selbstverständnisses als eines Apostels, der sich für das Schicksal seiner Gemeinden im Jüngsten Gericht verantwortlich weiß (1Kor 3,13–15; 2Kor 11,2).<sup>69</sup> Auch in frühjüdischer Literatur kann der Begriff negativ<sup>70</sup>, aber auch positiv gebracht sein, vor allem dann, wenn durch ein Attribut oder kontextbedingt eine entsprechende Klarstellung vorliegt.<sup>71</sup> Deutlich ist auch, dass ein- und derselbe Autor, sei es der Verfasser der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen oder sei es Paulus, den Begriff sowohl negativ als auch positiv verwenden kann.

Der Begriff θυμοί lässt in griechisch-römischer<sup>72</sup> wie jüdischer<sup>73</sup> Literatur gemeinschaftsschädigendes Verhalten, aber auch gravierende Störung menschlicher Selbstkontrolle assoziieren. Zum *Testament Dans* bieten manche Handschriften die Überschrift διαθήκη Δαν. Περὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ψεύδους. Der Autor dieses Textes entfaltet in TestDan 2–4 eine ganze Psychologie des Zorns: Hass und Zorn machen den Menschen unfähig zur realistischen Welt- und Selbstwahrnehmung; er kann der Intensität des Zornes nur schwer Einhalt gebieten, und die Beunruhigung der Gesinnung bewirkt, dass Gott von einem weicht und der Teufel über die Seele herrscht.

Der Begriff ἐριθεία (im Plural auch 2Kor 12,20) begegnet auch bei Aristoteles, Pol V 3 von dem Verhalten rivalisierender politischer Gruppierungen und meint selbstbezogene Ambitionen.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> 1Kor 3,3; 2Kor 12,20; Röm 13,13.

<sup>69</sup> Paulus fühlt sich nicht frei, die Haltung einzunehmen, die Ez 3,19 beschreibt.

<sup>70</sup> 1QS IV,10; TestRub 3,5; 6,4 (dort wie in TestJud 13,3 die Intensität der Begierde der προνεία betreffend); TestSim 2,7; 4,5 (dort mit φθόνος kombiniert). TestSim 4,9 TestIss 4,5 = Intensität einer negativen fixen Idee; TestDan 1,6 = Neid. 2Bar 13,4 (κλεφία καταλαλία ἐπιπορκία φθόνοι μέθαι ἔρεις ζήλος γογγυσμός ψυθρισμός εἰδωλολατρισμός μαντεία) dürfte christliche Gestaltung sein, die den Paulustext und andere Texte dieser Art bereits zur Vorlage hat. Christlich interpoliert ist vielleicht auch grBar 8,5.

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. Num 25,11; 1Makk 2,50.58 (ζηλοῦν τῷ νόμῳ/ζήλος νόμου); PseudPhok. 65: ζήλος τῶν ἀγαθῶν; TestAsser 4,5: ζήλος τοῦ θεοῦ. Für Paulus vgl. Gal 1,14 für die Zeit vor seiner Berufung, 2Kor 11,2 für die Zeit danach.

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. z.B. Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 123,1–2; Dial. 3–5; Musonius Rufus: *Dissertationes* 3; 16; Epiktet: *Dissertationes* I 15,1–5; II 19,26. Zorn unterscheidet sich von dem gänzlichen Verlust des Verstandes nur durch die kürzere Dauer (Cato maior, bei Plutarch: *Moralia* 199a, Nr. 16). Vgl. ferner Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 18,14.

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Sir 40,5; 4Makk 2,16; 1QS IV 10.

<sup>74</sup> Das Wort begegnet im Neuen Testament auch im Singular (Phil 1,17; Röm 2,8; Jak 3,1.16, dort mit ζήλος kombiniert).

Auch der Begriff διχοστασία stammt aus dem Bereich des Politischen<sup>75</sup> und begegnet in diesem Sinne auch in jüdischer Tradition<sup>76</sup>, dort gelegentlich auch im Sinne einer Warnung vor entsprechenden individuellen Fehlverhalten.<sup>77</sup> Vielleicht hat Paulus mit diesem wie mit dem folgenden Begriff die Wirren aufgrund des Wirkens der Fremdmisionare im Auge.<sup>78</sup>

Der Begriff αἰρέσεις kann im Neuen Testament gelegentlich neutral gebraucht werden<sup>79</sup>; bekannter ist der negative Gebrauch, der schon bei Paulus begegnet (1Kor 11,19) und gemeinschaftsschädigende Konsequenzen individueller Grundüberzeugungen benennt. Es mag sein, dass Paulus mit dem Begriff im Vergleich zu διχοστασία eine Steigerung bezeichnen will.<sup>80</sup>

Der Begriff φθόνοι begegnet im Plural nur hier. Die Warnung vor Neid ist selbstverständlich in allen Kulturkreisen.<sup>81</sup> Einige Handschriften zum *Testament Simeons* bieten als Überschrift: διαθήκη Συμεων. Περι φθόνου. Der Autor der *Sapientia Salomonis* motiviert mit dem „Neid des Teufels“ die Versuchung der Stammeltern Gen 3,1–7.<sup>82</sup>

Der Begriff μέθαι steht für die Trunkenheit, vor der griechische wie jüdische Autoren warnen<sup>83</sup>, und die als grobes Fehlverhalten gilt.<sup>84</sup>

Der Begriff κῶμοι, hier wie in Röm 13,13 mit μέθαι kombiniert, steht in 2Makk 6,4; Sap 14,23; 1Petr 4,3 für exzessive Trinkgelage und sexuelle Ausschweifungen. Alle drei Texte deklarieren das als heidnisches Benehmen.

<sup>75</sup> BETZ: *Galaterbrief*, 484, verweist auf Belege bei Plutarch. Zu ergänzen wäre Platon: *De re publica* 465 B.

<sup>76</sup> Sib IV 68; 1Makk 3,29.

<sup>77</sup> PseudPhok 151: φεῦγε διχοστασίην καὶ ἔριν πολέμου προσίοντος.

<sup>78</sup> Mußner, Franz: *Der Galaterbrief* (HThK IX), Freiburg: Herder, 1988, 383.

<sup>79</sup> Apg 24,5.14; 28,11 von der Bewegung der Jesusanhänger, ähnlich wie bei Poseidonios: *Frgm.* 46, von der Schule Epikurs; Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* I 18 von den Philosophenschulen überhaupt, Josephus: *De Bello Iudaeo* II 118, von den verschiedenen Religionsparteien (von anderen Parteien *Antiquitates* VII 347; XIII 171.293; *Vita* 191; 197; Philon: *De plantatione* 151; *De vita contemplativa* 29).

<sup>80</sup> So jedenfalls Lagrange: *Galates*, 151.

<sup>81</sup> Aristoteles bemerkt zum Neid, er werde umso heftiger, je mehr Erfolg, Ruhm, Geld usw. man hat (Aristoteles: *Rhetorica* 2, 1387b–1388a). Zur Ablehnung des Neides vgl. auch Epiktet: *Dissertationes* II 26,45; Plutarch, *Moralia* 468 B. In antiker jüdischer Literatur zielen 1Makk 8,16; 3Makk 6,7 auf die gemeinschaftsstörenden Folgen, Sap 6,23 auf die Torheit, TestGad 4,5 auf den Hass als die Triebkraft des Neides.

<sup>82</sup> Die textkritisch wohl sekundäre Zufügung φόνου mag um der Assonanz mit φθόνοι willen erfolgt sein, aber auch die Konsequenz des Neides herausstellen. Auch kann man mit einem Einfluss von Röm 1,29 rechnen.

<sup>83</sup> Isokrates 1,32; Cicero: *In Calpurnium Pisonem* 13; TestJud 11,2; 12,6; 14,3. Tob 4,15; Sir 31,30.

<sup>84</sup> In dieser Weise nimmt Jdt 13,15 das Verhalten des Holofernes in den Blick und kritisiert PsSal 8,14 das Fehlverhalten der Herrschenden, denen Gott einen Geist der Verwirrung eingegeben hat, so dass sie trinken bis zur Berauschung.

Die Wendungen τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις und τοιαῦτα betonen nochmals, dass diese Liste repräsentativ, aber nicht erschöpfend war. Die Worte καθὼς προεῖπον in Gal 5,21b zielen u.U. auf die Erstverkündigung des Paulus gegenüber der Gemeinde.<sup>85</sup> Die Rede von der βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ begegnet bei Paulus in ethischen Kontexten, wenn es um Einlassbedingungen in die Gottesherrschaft geht.<sup>86</sup> Die Bedeutung, die dieses Syntagma nach klassischer Jesusforschung für Jesus hatte, wird nicht sichtbar.<sup>87</sup>

Wir fassen zusammen: Als „Werke des Fleisches“ gelten Werke, die auch in griechischer Literatur verpönt sind, aber von jüdischem Standpunkt aus als typisches Kennzeichen griechischer Lebensweise gelten. Paulus reagiert negativ auf Konkurrenzdenken und dementsprechendes Verhalten, das in der antiken Gesellschaft des Mittelmeerraumes üblich war.<sup>88</sup> Der Lasterkatalog nennt Selbstbezogenes, der Tugendkatalog nennt das, was im Zusammenleben mit anderen von Bedeutung ist.<sup>89</sup> Eigentumsdelikte fehlen, desgleichen Körperverletzung oder Meineid.<sup>90</sup>

#### 4. DER TUGENDKATALOG GAL 5,22–23

##### 4.1. „FURCHT DES GEISTES“

In 4Makk 2,18 heißt es: δύνατος γὰρ ὁ σώφρων νοῦς ... κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἀριστεύσαι καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν μεταθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκυρώσαι. „Der besonnene Verstand ist ... imstande, gegen die Leidenschaften die Oberhand zu gewinnen, dabei die einen umzuformen, die anderen außer Kraft zu setzen.“<sup>91</sup> Auf den ersten Blick scheint es so, dass der Autor hier dem vernünftigen Verstand zubilligt, was Paulus nur als Ergebnis des Wirkens des Heiligen Geistes denken kann. Das ist aber keine wirkliche Kontraparallele zu Paulus: Der besonnene Verstand ist nach dem Vierten Makkabäerbuch ja der Verstand, den Gottes Gesetz belehrt hat. Dass die Thora bzw. die göttliche Weisheit die Kardinaltugenden vermittelt, begegnet im Vierten Makkabäerbuch selbst, aber auch noch an anderer Stelle im hellenistischen Judentum.<sup>92</sup> Die Autoren wollen u.a.

<sup>85</sup> Betz: *Galaterbrief*, 485, denkt an die Vorbereitung zur Taufe als den Kontext dieser Aussage. Das ist möglich, aber wir wissen nichts über die damalige Taufkatechese.

<sup>86</sup> 1Thess 2,2; 1Kor 6,9f. Vorausgesetzt ist diese Nuance auch in Röm 14,17. Das Syntagma begegnet bei Paulus auch noch in 1Kor 15,24,50.

<sup>87</sup> Der beschränkte Radius dieses Motivs bei Paulus könnte als eines der Argumente dafür gelten, auch bei Jesus von Nazareth die Zentralstellung dieses Syntagmas zu hinterfragen.

<sup>88</sup> Esler, Philip Francis: *Galatians*, London: Routledge, 1998, 92.

<sup>89</sup> Dunn: *Galatians*, 508.

<sup>90</sup> Konradt: *Gericht und Gemeinde*, 489 Anm. 68.

<sup>91</sup> Als Beispiele dienen ihm Joseph (4Makk 2,2f.) und Mose (2,27f.). Solche Beispiele fehlen im Galaterbrief. Der Grund ist aber nicht nur, dass Paulus den Galaterbrief in einer konfliktorientierten Situation schreibt. Paulus bietet auch sonst nur selten biblische Beispiele für ethisch richtiges Verhalten.

<sup>92</sup> 4Makk 1,18; 2,8; 5,22–23; Sap 8,7.

dadurch das Judentum als Inbegriff wahrer Philosophie erweisen. Aber auch der Verweis des Apostels auf den heiligen Geist hat jüdische Parallelen. Auch der Verfasser der Hodayot von Qumran erklärt, dass des dem Frommen nur mit Hilfe des göttlichen Geistes möglich ist, die Thora einzuhalten (1QH XII 24–32).<sup>93</sup>

Manche Exegeten betonen die Differenz des Singulars „Frucht“ zum Plural „Werke“ von Gal 5,19.<sup>94</sup> Andere sehen das nicht als zwingend an.<sup>95</sup> Man kann den Singular rezeptionsästhetisch mit Hilfe des Dictums deuten, dass, wer eine Tugend hat, alle Tugenden hat.<sup>96</sup>

Antike christliche Autoren betonen die Differenz zwischen dem „Werk“, das wir selbst tun und der Furcht, zu der wir nur mit Hilfe des Heiligen Geistes gelangen.<sup>97</sup> Moderne Autoren betonen manchmal, die in Gal 5,22f. genannten Verhaltensweisen seien keine Tugenden im griechischen Sinne, die der Mensch als Charaktereigenschaften kultivieren könne.<sup>98</sup> Wichtig ist die Einsicht in das, was die bereits biblische Metapher „Frucht“<sup>99</sup> besagt und was nicht. Sie bezeichnet auf dem Gebiet der Ethik die aus dem Charakter resultierende logische Folge in Form der Handlung. Die Metapher betont aber nicht einen Automatismus, der keine Aktivitäten des Menschen verlangt; sonst wäre die Mahnung „Bringt rechtschaffene Früchte der Buße“ unnötig (Mt 3,8). Die empfangene Gabe<sup>100</sup> wird zur Aufgabe, macht also menschliche Aktivität nicht hinfällig, wie das Aktiv ἐσταύρωσαν in Gal 5,24 zeigt.

<sup>93</sup> Dass man bestimmte Verhaltensweisen aus dem göttlichen Geist herleitet, dafür vgl. auch Sap 9,17; Jub 1,23. Wenn man nach einer biblischen Grundlage fragt, könnte man auf Ez 36,26f. verweisen. Paulus zitiert die Stelle aber nirgends, ebensowenig Ps 142[143],10.

<sup>94</sup> Lagrange: *Galates*, 152; Dunn: *Galatians*, 508–509.

<sup>95</sup> Mit Moo: *Galatians*, 363. Anders de Boer: *Galatians*, 362: Paulus verwendet den Begriff „Frucht“, nicht den Begriff „Werke“, um Assoziationen an die Wendung „Werke des Gesetzes“ auszuschließen; er verwendet den Singular, vielleicht, weil die Liebe als die wesentliche Frucht gesehen wird, als deren Konkretion die anderen Tugenden zu sehen sind.

<sup>96</sup> Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* VII 125; Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 67,10; Philon: *De Sacrificiis* 40.

<sup>97</sup> Belege bei Meiser: *Galater*, 280.

<sup>98</sup> Betz: *Galaterbrief*, 488–490.

<sup>99</sup> Für den metaphorischen Gebrauch von καρπός vgl. Prov 3,9; 11,30; 13,2 (jeweils καρπὸς δικαιοσύνης); Jer 17,10 (κατὰ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων αὐτό); Josephus: *Antiquitates* XX 48; Philon: *De fuga et inventione* 176; Epiktet: *Dissertationes* I 4,32.

<sup>100</sup> Mußner: *Galaterbrief*, 385. – Etwas anders argumentiert Landmesser, Christof: „Begründungsstrukturen paulinischer Ethik“, in Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, Ruben Zimmermann (Hrsg.), *Jenseits von Indikativ und Imperativ. Kontexte und Normen neutestamentlicher Ethik / Contexts and Norms of New Testament Ethics Band I* (WUNT 238), Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009, 177–196: 191: Der Imperativ in Gal 5,16 fordert nicht die Glaubenden zu etwas auf, „was vor ihnen zur Wahl läge, er erinnert sie vielmehr mit einem solchen Performativ an ihre Existenz, die sie vor Gott und durch den Heiligen Geist schon sind.“ Doch auch Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 66,27, spricht von den „Werken“ der sittlichen Vollkommenheit.

Es gibt eine Differenz zwischen den hier genannten Verhaltensweisen und den Charismen nach 1Kor 12,4–11: Man kann beide auf den Heiligen Geist zurückführen, aber die in Gal 5,5,22f. genannten Verhaltensweisen betreffen eher den Charakter, während die in 1Kor 12,4–11 genannten Charismen eher nach außen sichtbar sind.<sup>101</sup>

#### 4.2. FRAGE DER GLIEDERUNG ALS FRAGE NACH DER ANTHROPOLOGIE UND ETHIK

Verschiedene Dreiergliederungen werden vorgeschlagen<sup>102</sup>: nach Betz sind die ersten drei Eigenschaften biblisch auch von Gott und Christus belegt; die letzten drei entsprechen Standards griechischer Ethik. Die ersten drei Größen sind theo-logisch bzw. pneumatologisch fundiert<sup>103</sup>; für die nächsten drei gilt: „Güte, Freundlichkeit und Güte als die positiven mitmenschlichen Verhaltensformen sind gleichsam die menschliche Antwort auf die göttlichen Gaben. ... Paulus bleibt bei der lockeren Verbindung verschiedener Verhaltensformen und Tugenden, die unter Umständen aus verschiedenen Quellen stammen und die er unter dem Stichwort der *Liebe* zusammenführt.“<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.3. DIE EINZELNEN BEGRIFFE

Die Spitzenstellung des Begriffs ἀγάπη ist von Gal 5,6,13f. (wie von 1Kor 13,13) her verständlich<sup>105</sup>; der Begriff fasst das Verhältnis zum Nächsten<sup>106</sup> in Worte und ist Zentralbegriff. Dass die Liebe als Folge des Wirkens des Geistes zu betrachten ist, wird auch in Röm 15,30 festgehalten.

Der Begriff χαρά zählt in der Stoa bei Autoren, die nicht alle Affekte von vornherein ablehnen<sup>107</sup>, zu den erlaubten Affekten und wird als εὐλογος ἔπαρσις, als eine von der Vernunft wohl gerechtfertigte Gemütsregung, von der ἡδονή unterschieden.<sup>108</sup> Jen-

<sup>101</sup> Dunn: *Galatians*, 509.

<sup>102</sup> Rohde: *Galater*, 245, nennt die Dreiheit von Liebe, Friede und Friede, dann die weiteren Tugenden als Ausgestaltungen der Liebe. Vgl. auch de Boer: *Galatians*, 363.

<sup>103</sup> Betz: *Galaterbrief*, 489.

<sup>104</sup> Wischmeyer, Oda: *Liebe als Agape. Das frühchristliche Konzept und der moderne Diskurs*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015, 77f.

<sup>105</sup> Konradt: *Gericht und Gemeinde*, 488: „Die von der Tora als ihr Kernpunkt geforderte Liebe (5,14) ist auch oberste Frucht des Geistes (5,22), wie überhaupt das durch den Geist (mit)gewirkte Verhalten den Forderungen der Tora korrespondiert (5,23).“

<sup>106</sup> In 1QS IV 5 ist die Liebe zu den anderen Gruppenmitgliedern gemeint. Man kann dieses einschränkende Verständnis auch zu den Johannesbriefen diskutieren. Man sollte also den Unterschied zu Gal 5,22 nicht zu sehr betonen.

<sup>107</sup> Die negative Wertung der χαρά findet sich auch in 4Makk 1,22, wo sie als Unterart der ἡδονή erscheint.

<sup>108</sup> Diogenes Laertios: *Vitae* VII 116; ähnlich Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes* IV 6/13. Zur Wertung der Freude vgl. auch Seneca: *Epistulae Morales* 59,14 (sie ist nur für den Weisen möglich); *Epistulae Morales* 27,3 (Tugend bewirkt fortdauernde und Frieden gebende Freude); *Epistulae Morales* 23,7 (Freude resultiert aus einem guten Gewissen, aus ehrbaren Zielen, und aus rechtem Handeln).

seits des philosophischen Sprachgebrauchs begegnet er aber auch von der religiösen Festfreude.<sup>109</sup> In biblischer Tradition kann Freude in den Zusammenhang mit Gerechtigkeit (Prov 29,6), Weisheit (Sap 8,16) und Gottesfurcht (Sir 1,12), aber auch mit göttlichem Rettungshandeln<sup>110</sup> gestellt werden und begegnet ebenfalls in kultischen Kontexten.<sup>111</sup> Der eschatologische Charakter ist in Qumran betont (1QM XII,13); dort begegnet auch der Begriff der „ewigen Freude“.<sup>112</sup> Bei Paulus benennt das Motiv der „Freude in Trübsal“<sup>113</sup> ebenfalls einen gefestigten Geisteszustand. Freude gilt als Geschenk des Heiligen Geistes<sup>114</sup> und ist als gemeinschaftsstärkend von Bedeutung.<sup>115</sup>

Beim Begriff εἰρήνη und der dazugehörigen Wortfamilie ist jenseits der allgemeinen Bedeutung „Friede“ bzw. alttestamentlich „Wohl“/„Heil“<sup>116</sup> zu fragen, inwieweit sie bei Paulus<sup>117</sup> und auch sonst zur Bezeichnung konkreten Handelns des einzelnen bzw. der Prädisposition dazu verwendet werden. In griechischer Tradition wird εἰρηνικός von Personen gebraucht, Das Verbum εἰρηνεύω heißt in intransitiver Bedeutung „Frieden halten“.<sup>118</sup> Dieser gruppenbezogene Gebrauch hat seine Parallele in jüdischer Tradition noch nicht in den Übersetzungsteilen der Septuaginta, wohl aber in TestJud 7,7; 9,1; PsSal 12,5. Diese speziellere Verwendung konnte also sowohl den Galatern von ihrem kulturellen Horizont her als auch Paulus von jüdischem Sprachgebrauch her bekannt sein. „Freude“ und „Friede“ erscheinen sonst in keinem Tugendkatalog, sind aber bei Paulus in Röm 14,17; 15,13 verbunden. In Gal 5,22 mag ein Gegensatz zu der in Gal 5,15 beschriebenen Situation mitgedacht sein<sup>119</sup>, sofern man Gal 5,15 als konkrete Situationsbeschreibung und nicht nur als hyperbolische Warnung des Paulus vor einem Verkennen des in Gal 5,14 genannten Grundsatzes interpretiert.

Die nächsten Begriffe benennen Dispositionen, die die Liebe begleiten.

<sup>109</sup> Zimmerli, Walther / Conzelmann, Hans: Art. Χαίρω κτλ., ThWNT IX, 1973, 349–405:352f.

<sup>110</sup> Bar 4,22; 2Makk 3,30; 15,28; 3Makk 7,13.15.

<sup>111</sup> Ps 33,1; 84,2; 95,1; 98,4.

<sup>112</sup> Rohde: *Galater*, 246, mit Verweis auf 1QS IV,7; 1QH XIII,6.

<sup>113</sup> 1Thess 1,6; 2Kor 6,10; 7,4; 8,2.

<sup>114</sup> Röm 14,17; 15,13.

<sup>115</sup> 2Kor 1,24; 7,13; Phil 4,1.

<sup>116</sup> Wie wenig man neuzeitliche Vorstellungen hier eintragen darf, zeigt sich an Jer 38,5<sup>MT</sup> = Jer 45,4<sup>LXX</sup> und an 2Sam 11,7 in der Frage Davids an Uria εις ειρήνην του πολέμου, d.h. ob mit dem Krieg alles „gut läuft“.

<sup>117</sup> Vgl. 1Kor 14,33; 16,11; Röm 12,18; 14,19.

<sup>118</sup> Platon: *Theatet* 180 A. Die Wendung ειρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους heißt bei Platon: *De re publica* V 465 B, dass die Wächter aufgrund der Gesetze Frieden halten, so dass der jüngere den Älteren achtet und es nicht zu einer στάσις zwischen ihnen und einer διχοστασία des restlichen Staates gegen sie noch innerhalb seiner kommt. Für weitere Motivparallelen aus griechisch-römischer Tradition vgl. Keener: *Galatians*, 520 Anm. 373.

<sup>119</sup> Rohde: *Galater*, 246; de Boer: *Galatians*, 364.

Die Wortfamilie μακροθυμία kennzeichnet auch eine Eigenschaft Gottes, in biblischer Tradition<sup>120</sup> wie bei Paulus (Röm 2,4; 9,22), dann natürlich auch das Verhalten vom Menschen<sup>121</sup>, speziell von Gemeindegliedern untereinander (1Thess 5,14). Nach 1Kor 13,4 ist die μακροθυμία ein Prädikat der ἀγάπη. In TestDan 2,1 sind μακροθυμία und θυμός einander gegenübergestellt.

Der Begriff χρηστότης (bei Paulus begegnet er, auf Menschen angewandt, auch in 2Kor 6,6) steht schon in der Septuaginta auch für Gottes Freundlichkeit<sup>122</sup>, dann aber auch von dem Tun des Menschen, das verweigert (Ps 13[14],1.3) bzw. gefordert wird (Ps 36[37],3). Auch antike jüdische Autoren kennen den Begriff (z.B. Philon von Alexandria, *De Sacrificiis* 27). In Qumran hat er in 1QS IV,3 in der Forderung טוב עולמים („dauernde Güte“) an die Mitglieder der Gemeinschaft seine Entsprechung.

Der Begriff ἀγαθωσύνη (vgl. noch Röm 15,14) ist in griechischer Literatur<sup>123</sup> kaum gebräuchlich, aber ohne weiteres verständlich. Das Testament Naphthalis trägt in manchen Handschriften die Überschrift Περὶ φυσικῆς ἀγαθότητος.

Der Begriff πίστις steht hier wohl weniger als Zentralbegriff des „Glaubens“, sondern eher als ethischer Begriff<sup>124</sup> für zwischenmenschliches Verhalten im Sinne von Treue<sup>125</sup> oder Vertrauenswürdigkeit.<sup>126</sup>

Der vorletzte Begriff, πραΰτης (im klassischen Griechisch πραότης), ist als Gegenbegriff zu θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι allgemein verständlich<sup>127</sup>, kann aber darüber hinaus Anklänge an Vorstellungen der Idealzeit<sup>128</sup> assoziieren lassen; die Eigenschaft der πραότης ist auf göttliches Wirken zurückzuführen.<sup>129</sup> Bei Demosthenes, or. 24,51, können πραότης und φιλανθρωπία kombiniert sein. Gilt letztere Eigenschaft nicht selten als Eigenschaften guter Regenten, ist implizit damit auch eine Aufwertung der πραΰτης verbunden. In frühjüdischer Literatur ist der Begriff verwendet, wenn es um

<sup>120</sup> Vgl. das Adj. in Ex 34,6; Num 14,18; Neh 9,17; Ps 7,11; 85[86],15 u.ö.; Sap 15,1.

<sup>121</sup> Prov 19,11; 2Kor 6,6.

<sup>122</sup> Ps 30,20; 67,11; 118,68; bei Paulus dann Röm 2,4; 11,22, in den Deuteropaulinen Eph 2,7; Tit 3,4.

<sup>123</sup> Für den Bereich der jüdischen Tradition kann man auf TestJud 18,4 wie auf Oratio Manasse 2,22 verweisen, ebenso auf das parallele ἀγαθότης bei Philon: *De Sacrificiis* 27.

<sup>124</sup> Schumacher, Thomas: *Zur Entstehung christlicher Sprache: eine Untersuchung der paulinischen Idiomatik und der Verwendung des Begriffes pistis* (BBU 168), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 289.

<sup>125</sup> Moo: *Galatians*, 365.

<sup>126</sup> Lagrange: *Galates*, 153; de Boer: *Galatians*, 365. Dass Vertrauenswürdigkeit mehr zählt als Beredsamkeit, dafür vgl. Cicero, nach Plutarch: *Moralia* 205 A, Cicero, 5.

<sup>127</sup> Aristoteles: *Nikomachische Ethik*, II 1108 A definiert diese Tugend als Mitte zwischen Übermaß an und Unfähigkeit zum Zorn.

<sup>128</sup> Platon: *Kritias*, 120 E.

<sup>129</sup> Platon: *Symposion* 197 D; *Kritias* 120 E.

die Charakterisierung des Mose und um die Gründe für seine Auswahl geht<sup>130</sup>. Auch von David wird die *πραΰτης* gepriesen.<sup>131</sup> Ansonsten gilt Ps 36[37],11 zufolge: Die Sanftmütigen werden das Erdreich besitzen. Der Begriff begegnet bei Philon von Alexandria in dem Tugendkatalog in *De Sacrificiis* 27 zusammen mit *ἐγκράτεια*, aber in umgekehrter Reihenfolge.

Der letzte Begriff des Tugendkatalogs, *ἐγκράτεια*, wird in griechischer Tradition nicht nur allgemein als „Selbstbeherrschung“, sondern auch als Enthaltung von bestimmten Begierden verstanden; bei Xenophon werden in der Charakterisierung des Sokrates Enthaltsamkeit in Sexualität, Essen und Trinken benannt, bei Isokrates generell die Enthaltsamkeit von Gewinnsucht, Zorn, Lust und Trauer.<sup>132</sup> In frühjüdischer Tradition steht der Begriff allgemein von Selbstbeherrschung<sup>133</sup>, aber auch im Sinne der Selbstbeherrschung hinsichtlich von Zorn (Sir 27,30) und Sexualität<sup>134</sup>. Der Begriff meint in 4Makk 5,34 die Selbstbeherrschung, gegen alle Furcht vor dem Martertod sich nicht am Gesetz Gottes zu vergehen. In Gal 5,23 wird man die Zurückhaltung in der Sexualität mit eingeschlossen sehen, wenngleich der Begriff nicht darauf verengt werden darf (vgl. das Verbum in 1Kor 9,25, wo sich eine entsprechende Engführung anders als in 1Kor 7,9 keinesfalls nahelegt). Ob Paulus ihn bewusst ans Ende gestellt hat<sup>135</sup>, um eine Inklusion zu den ersten beiden in Gal 5,19 genannten Lastern zu bilden, kann man fragen; mindestens auf die Galater konnte es so wirken.

Im Rückblick auf diesen Tugendkatalog bleibt festzuhalten: Paulus nennt zwar keine der vier Kardinaltugenden<sup>136</sup>, aber dennoch durchgehend Ideale, die in griechisch-römischer wie in jüdischer Tradition gleichermaßen als Ideale gelten können. Er nutzt aus, dass es Schnittmengen zwischen griechisch-römischer und jüdischer Ethik gibt, und macht diese die Konvergenzen zum Inhalt konkreter Mahnung. Hingegen fehlt in Gal 5,22f. die Mahnung zur *ταπεινοφροσύνη* (vgl. dagegen Phil 2,3), die im griechisch-römischen Kontext andere Assoziationen hervorrufen könnte. Eine gewisse Differenz zu griechisch-römischen Vorstellungen liegt darin, dass Tugenden fehlen,

<sup>130</sup> Sir 1,27 auf der Basis von Num 12,3; Sir 45,45,4, dort auch mit *πίστις* kombiniert.

<sup>131</sup> Ps 131[132],1.

<sup>132</sup> Xenophon: *Memorabilia* I 2,1; Isokrates: *Ad Demonicum* 21.

<sup>133</sup> PseudPhok 145, nur in einem Teil der Handschriften überliefert.

<sup>134</sup> Sir 26,15; TestIss 2,1; TestNaf 8,8 – der Begriff wird interessanterweise im *Testament Joseph* nicht gebraucht, um Josephs Haltung gegenüber der ihn bedrängenden Frau auf den Punkt zu bringen.

<sup>135</sup> Die textkritisch sekundären Zufügungen von *ὑπομονή* und *ἀγνεία* zeigt wieder aktuelle Interessen altkirchlicher Mahnung; *ἀγνεία* kann zusätzlich durch 1Tim 4,12 motiviert sein.

<sup>136</sup> Zu den vier Kardinaltugenden *σωφροσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀνδρεία*, *σοφία*; vgl. Platon: *De re publica* IV 434 D1 ff. Bei Aischylos: *Sieben gegen Theben* 610, steht statt *σοφία/φρόνησις* noch *εὐσέβεια*, was dann bei frühjüdischen Autoren, z.B. Josephus wiederkehrt (*Contra Apionem* II 169f.). Der Begriff *εὐσέβεια* fehlt in den echten Paulusbriefen.



die „Selbstmächtigkeit und Stärke der handelnden Persönlichkeit voraussetzen.“<sup>137</sup> Das mag daran liegen, dass Paulus nicht die Selbstvervollkommnung des einzelnen, sondern ein gedeihliches Funktionieren in einer Gemeinschaft im Auge hat. Die Schnittmenge zu 1QS IV ist im Tugendkatalog etwas größer als im Lasterkatalog.<sup>138</sup> Das ist wohl die Konsequenz dessen, dass der Lasterkatalog in 1QS IV nicht Dinge benennen muss, die Paulus den nicht aus dem Judentum stammenden Galatern in Erinnerung bringen muss.

## 5. SCHLUSS

Paulus mahnt und warnt die Adressaten mit Motiven jüdischer Tradition, die man meistens aber auch von griechisch-römischer Tradition her verstehen kann. Er setzt hohe Standards, damit die Adressaten nicht hinter dem zurückbleiben, was auch in jüdischer wie griechischer ethischer Tradition gefordert wird. Für heute gilt es, die Moral zu entdecken, die man diskutiert, und die Moral zu entdecken die die Menschen praktisch leben. Wir sollten die Schnittmengen zur kirchlichen Moral betonen, um auf einer Basis, die an Verständigung orientiert ist, dann auch spezifisch christliche Werte in die Diskussion einbringen.

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<sup>137</sup> Beyer, Herrmann Wolfgang: *Der Brief an die Galater* (NTD 8), 2. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935, 4. Aufl., bearb. v. Paul Althaus 1949, 49.

<sup>138</sup> Wibbing, Siegfried: *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament* (BZNW 25), Berlin: Töpelmann, 1959, 106.

Ottó PECSUK

**„NOT ACTING HONOURABLY TOWARD THE VIRGIN”:  
TRANSLATIONAL OPTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONAL HISTORY OF  
I CORINTHIANS 7:36–38**

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**THE PROBLEM**

This Pauline passage from 1 Corinthians is arguably one of the most difficult texts of the entire NT as far as its interpretation is concerned.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the rare cases when easily two or more different interpretations are equally possible. One can hardly tell with certainty which one of the alternatives is better than the other. In other words, none of the interpretational solutions is watertight.<sup>2</sup> Exegetes and Bible translators are facing three different but interrelated problems:<sup>3</sup>

1. The context of the passage is uncertain. We do not know, exactly which one of the previously raised issues of chapter 7 is continued in 7:36–38: the marriage, virginity and its related issues or the question of someone’s status at the time of his or her conversion to Christianity. And this is only the immediate context, but there are further problems with the wider context, the social-religious situation of the Corinthian church. As we can see, it would be much easier to interpret the passage if we knew the situation of the Corinthians believers who were asking for Paul’s advice. It is not at all irrelevant whether the situation of the church is defined by the conceptual world of the Old Testament and 1<sup>st</sup> Century Judaism or the local Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman legal, philosophical and religious environment.

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983. 171. Vö. A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians. A Commentary on the Greek Text*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. 593.

<sup>2</sup> Thiselton, 597. W. F. Orr and J. A. Walther, *1 Corinthians*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1976. 224.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008. 322–323.

2. Secondly and more concretely, we are facing a whole set of lexical uncertainties. Some of the key terms of the passage can be hardly defined.<sup>4</sup> One is an hapax,<sup>5</sup> so we can only guess its exact meaning, but others present us with difficulty on the level of contextual or connotative meaning.<sup>6</sup>
3. Thirdly and consequently Paul's answer to the Corinthians is raising exegetical problems. We do not know the situation and questions Paul is reacting to, we do not know his words and therefore we do not fully understand his answer, either.

To put it briefly, we do not know for sure whether Paul is addressing: A) a father or a guardian of a virgin daughter when he is unsure if he should put her into marriage or not B) a bridegroom or a young man (from a betrothed couple) who is unsure if he should proceed with the marriage or leave his fiancée in her virginity, C) the husband of a so-called „spiritual marriage” or a couple living in ascetic celibacy, who is considering to change their present partnership into a real marriage which involves physical and sexual relations or D) a brother of a deceased man whose widow is supposed to be taken into what we call a Levirate marriage (based on Deuteronomy 25). There are some other marginal suggestions, but their unlikelihood does not make it worth to enlist them here.<sup>7</sup>

### THE CONTEXT

Putting it simply, Pauline scholarship here can be divided into two major camps: those of camp one, try to interpret Paul in his Old Testament (both LXX and Hebrew Bible) background. Those of camp two, vote for a Graeco-Roman or Hellenistic background.<sup>8</sup>

In most of Paul's letters, it is an open question to what extent the addressees were familiar with the Holy Scriptures. It is an undisputed fact that Paul's argumentation, Christology and most of all ethical teaching is based on Old Testament concepts. To make sense of these, the addressees must have had some knowledge of the Holy Scrip-

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<sup>4</sup> For one example, the definitions of *hyperakmos* kept changing in the subsequent editions (1843, 1940, 1996) of the standard classical Greek lexicon: H. G. Liddell – R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. 1859.

<sup>5</sup> Colin Brown (ed.), *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Vol. 2. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986. 587–588.

<sup>6</sup> G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. TNICNT. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987. 351.

<sup>7</sup> P. Ellingworth and H. A. Hatton, *A Handbook on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*. UBS Handbook Series. New York: United Bible Societies, 1994. 175.

<sup>8</sup> J. M. Ford is a notable representative of the “Jewish” or even “rabbinical” interpretation: “Levirate Marriage in St Paul” in *NTS* 10 (1963–64): 361–5. Will Deming, on the other hand, tries to reconstruct the passage building on its “Hellenistic background”: *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy. The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7*. Grand Rapids – Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2004.

tures, previously they must have gone through some Biblical catechism. When we imagine a Pauline audience without any previous knowledge of the Bible whatsoever, we bring the speech on Areopagus as an example.<sup>9</sup> But Paul's letters and especially 1 Corinthians is far from being like that. In this epistle, Paul is frequently alluding to the OT: he speaks about God's wisdom (2:6ff), Spirit (2:13ff), in chapter 5 he argues against fornication by allusions to ritual and ethical commandments of the Book of Leviticus, in chapter 6 he speaks about judgement over angels, later about the wandering in the desert of Sinai and in chapter 15 about the resurrection of the body. None of these topics is understandable without some degree of familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures, purely with Hellenistic cultural knowledge. No question about that, Corinthians believers must have known the Old Testament. Building on this argument, some scholars like J. M. Ford or J. Duncan M. Derrett<sup>10</sup> proposes that the key to the puzzle of the passage is Jewish marriage law and practice. Derrett even suggests that what Paul is meaning by the Greek word *parthenos* should be translated with three different Hebrew terms (*ketana*, *naara* and *bogeret*) depending on the particular life-situation of the *parthenos* (1. a small girl, 2. a girl ready to marry and 3. a bride). According to Derrett, the passage in question is using two out of these three Hebrew meanings underlying *parthenos*. Ford reviews Rabbinical practice and on the basis of Roman Jewish funeral inscriptions he translates *parthenos* with "young widow". We reject this as a far-fetched hypothesis but it is very important to take into consideration the concepts of betrothal, proposal of marriage, wedding, wedding gift or dowry according to 1<sup>st</sup> Century Jewish practice – if Paul is using them like that. As for me, I do not think that first Century Jewish marriage practices and tradition is the background of the text in question.

Let us turn now to the other camp of scholars. They try to understand Paul's epistles using Hellenistic Greek or Roman cultural and religious categories. No question that Corinth was an ancient Greek and Roman Greek city where Hellenistic cultural and religious influence was a matter of fact. Paul's text testifies of it elsewhere: in chapter 1 he mentions Greek philosophy and the sophist public speakers, in chapter 4 he likens Christian life to a Greek-Roman amphitheatre or arena, in chapter 5 he is arguing that even pagan morality is better than the moral standards of the Corinthian Christians, and in chapter 6 he is accusing his addressees of having used Roman judicial system. It is more likely that 7:36–38 is related to Hellenistic Greek or even Roman marriage practice regardless if Paul is addressing the father or the bridegroom. Obviously, in Corinth, a widespread and influential ascetic worldview existed that denied physical

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<sup>9</sup> C. K. Rowe, "The grammar of life: the Areopagus speech and pagan tradition" in *NTS* 57/1 (2011): 31–50. P. Gray, "Implied audiences in the Areopagus narrative" in *Tyndale Bulletin* 55/2 (2004): 205–2018.

<sup>10</sup> J. D. M. Derrett, "The Disposal of Virgins" in *Man*, 9/1 (1974): 23–30.

contact of any sort, especially sexual contact.<sup>11</sup> Some scholars, like A. Wire<sup>12</sup> talk about ecstatic-ascetic and even almost proto-feminist circles of Corinthian women prophets who denied the prevalent culture of abuse and inequality against girls and women. As they experienced the Holy Spirit and came to terms with their charisma, they stopped all physical contact with men including their husbands and formed self-supporting groups of worship in and outside the Corinthian church.<sup>13</sup> Philo of Alexandria<sup>14</sup> documents a similar community of the so-called Therapeutae living by the Nile and in many areas of the East Mediterranean. According to Wire, this is the scenario behind the question of veiling the heads of women in chapter 11 and others (like MacDonald)<sup>15</sup> even broaden the relevance of this reconstruction as far as to the Pastoral epistles. Even though some of the advocates of the Hellenistic background may seem far-fetched, I think that the presence of the supposed Corinthians dualists behind Paul teaching may have to do more with the Greek than with the Jewish thinking. Others like Deming are not building on sociology but rather in ancient Philosophy when reconstructing the conceptual world of 1 Corinthians 7:36–38.<sup>16</sup> In this context, we read about cynical philosophy which bemoans physical contact and procreation as well as about Stoic Philosophy which warns about excessive pathos, epithymia and eros. However, I cannot understand Paul's words as proposing Cynical or Stoic Philosophy in 1 Corinthians or elsewhere, though I cannot rule out that these ideas and teachings were lurking in the background of the congregation itself.

To sum it up, the cultural context of the passage is very uncertain. Nevertheless, the immediate textual environment, in other words, the relationship of the previous verses of chapter 7 with 7:36–38 is more promising.

7:1–9 is about marriage. This is indeed very close to our topic. 7,1b says: „it is well for a man not to touch a woman” according to some interpreters it is part of what the Corinthians wrote in their letter to Paul. Others believe this is part of what Paul himself is saying. I rather favour the former interpretation but at the same time, I think Paul eventually agrees with it because it echoes his opinion on the value of asceticism (7,7). Precisely because of the risk of *porneia* he suggests marriage to those who do not

<sup>11</sup> M. Y. MacDonald, “Women Holy in Body and Spirit: The Social Setting of 1 Corinthians 7” in *NTS* 36 (1990): 161–2.

<sup>12</sup> A. C. Wire, *The Corinthian Women Prophets: A Reconstruction through Paul's Rhetoric*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1995. 89–97.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. R. A. Horsley, *1 Corinthians*. Abingdon NT Commentaries. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998. 109–110.

<sup>14</sup> *De vita contemplativa* 3,25. J. E. Taylor, “Virgin mothers: Philo on the women Therapeutae” in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12/1 (2001): 37–63.

<sup>15</sup> MacDonald, 162.

<sup>16</sup> Deming, 44.

possess the charisma of celibacy. However, he strongly believes that sexuality is an integral part of marriage and abstention from it is only acceptable for a limited time and by mutual agreement between the married partners. They need to respect each other's needs. According to Paul, abstention from sexuality in marriage is only valid as a temporary help for more focused and intensive fasting and prayer life. If Paul is talking to the bridegroom and *hyperakmos* is an expression of sexual desire (if his passions are too strong), then verses 1–9 can be taken as a clear preparation of our passage.

In 7:8–9 Paul is talking to nonmarried people and widows (*agamois, chērais*) by showing them two alternatives: if they can, they should abstain from sexuality but if they cannot, their only feasible option is marriage. As I mentioned before, I do not think that 7:36–38 has anything to do with widows. It is true that 7:39 (*ean de koimēthē ho anēr*) is about widows, but 7:36–38 is not, because *parthenos* cannot mean widow by any chance. Paul's sentence in verse 9 „it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion” (*kreitton ... gamēsai ē pyrusthai*) prepares his advice in 7:36–37 (cf. *ho thelei poiētō + hyperakmos + anankē + thelēma* – all words with possible sexual connotations<sup>17</sup>). On the other hand, if we take our passage as an advice to the father of a virgin daughter, verses 1–9 do not prepare anything, besides it is meaningless as a preparation for the topic of “spiritual marriage”, too. In fact, “spiritual marriage”<sup>18</sup> is the exact opposite of what Paul is saying about the meaning of marriage (a legitimation of sexual desires).

Verses 10–16 is about divorce. Since this has no connection with our passage, we may move on. Verses 17–24 are summarized in verse 24: “In whatever condition you were called, brothers and sisters, there remain with God”. This is a valid counsel if 7:36ff is understood in the context of an engaged couple. It prefigures what Paul will say in verse 38: “he who refrains from marriage will do better”. If the passage is understood for the father's situation, this counsel is useless, because the father's status is not changing at all whatever he decides to do with his daughter.

In verses 25–35 Paul recapitulates the theme of verses 8–9 and by talking about virgins, non-married and widows, he prepares the discussion of our passage in verses 36–38.<sup>19</sup> There are two things of importance here: 1. the appointed time has grown short (*ho kairos synestalmenos estin*, 7:29) and 2. it is burdened with persecutions and tribulations (*enestōsa anankē*, 7:26). All this together requires for Christians a certain “interim ethics”, a way of life different from normality. In a situation like that, unmarried state is better as far as the matters of the Lord (*merimna ta tu kyriu*, 7:32) are

<sup>17</sup> Zs. J. Varga, *Újszövetségi görög–magyar szótár*. Budapest: Református Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1992. sub voce. Cf. B. M. Winter, “Puberty or Passion? The Referent of *Hyperakmos* in 1 Corinthians 7:36” in *Tyndale Bulletin* 49/1 (1998): 86.

<sup>18</sup> Deming, 42.

<sup>19</sup> Fee, 351.

concerned, because in marriage one is more concerned with the matters of the world (*merimna ta tu kosmu*, 7:34). In other words, Paul is arguing for abstentia from marriage and he also combines this view with a previous one: each person should stay in the state in which he or she became a believer. The main idea of verses 25–35 is whether one should get married or not and it prepares the way for the discussion of verses 36–38 if we understand it for the betrothed couple. However, if verses 36–38 were referring to a father and his daughter, that would be an unprepared topic in chapter 7. It is a recurring argument that Paul cannot address directly the young couple in the issue of their own wedding because that was always the right of the father.<sup>20</sup> But verses 25–35 simply ruin this argument: Paul is unmistakably writing to virgins, widows or divorced women. Note, how unusual it is culturally as the apostle writes to women and involves them in the matters of their own life.<sup>21</sup> As A. Wire suggested in her thesis of proto-feminist Corinthian women prophets, Paul is using a rhetorical tool which is not questioning the legitimacy of their decisions to be free in celibacy, it only tries to guide their freedom theologically and help them find a better and more ethical way of living in the Corinthian community.<sup>22</sup> To sum it up: in the immediate context of chapter 7, there is more content supporting the betrothed couple interpretation than the father and daughter interpretation.

### LEXICAL PROBLEMS

The passage under discussion has several unsolvable lexical problems. Some excellent commentaries like those of Schrage<sup>23</sup>, Fee or Thieselton surveyed the available Greek literary and non-literary texts to unveil the mystery of the problems. I do not claim that I can say anything new here, I only try to summarize and weight the results of these commentaries and I also invoke a more recent article of Bruce Winter<sup>24</sup> about the meaning of *hyperakmos*. I agree with the findings of this article.

To be able to translate verse 36: *Εἰ δέ τις ἀσχημονεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ νομίζει ἔὰν ᾗ ὑπέρακμος...* a sentence with a double conditional apodosis, we need

<sup>20</sup> For this interpretation Clement of Alexandria had to change *parthenos* for *thygatēr*, cf. Liesbeth van der Sypt, “The Use of 1Cor 7:36–38” in Hans-Ulrich Wiedemann, *Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity: The Reception of the New Testament Texts*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013. 150–151. Cf. Ambrosius *De virginibus* 1.6.24 (“Et qui matrimonio iungit virginem suam, bene facit: et qui non iungit melius facit”). J. J. Lias, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. The Cambridge Bible for Schools. Cambridge: CUP, 1881. 79.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Horsley, 109.

<sup>22</sup> Wire, 89–97.

<sup>23</sup> W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther (1Kor 6,12–11,16), EKK VIII/2*. Göttingen: Patmos, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Winter, 71–89.

to know what *parthenos* and *hyperakmos* might mean. According to commentators, the first apodosis (an *ei+ind.*) is introducing an existing problem (i.e. someone is not acting honourably toward his *parthenos*), and the second apodosis (*ean+coni.*) is indicating a possibility suspected by Paul. *Parthenos* can be translated either as a virgin daughter or a virgin engaged/betrothed girl. The former has many examples from Greek literature.<sup>25</sup> The latter is more problematic with very limited parallels in Greek literature and besides, in the Bible usually, *nymphē* is used or *parthenos* should be modified with an adjective like *mnēstheumenē* (betrothed or engaged).<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, in 1 Corinthians 7,25.28.34 *parthenos* looks like a *terminus technicus* of someone facing the dilemma of marriage and not under parental authority but alone as a responsible individual.<sup>27</sup> An isolated lexical identification supports the father-daughter interpretation, but the context supports the engaged young man interpretation. If contextual and lexical meaning conflicts, in exegesis and Bible translation always more weight should be given to contextual meaning.

*Hhyperakmos* may refer to either the girl or the young man but it cannot refer to the father by any means. NT Greek dictionaries stress the traditional meaning coming from the two words *hyper+akmē*, which is “someone beyond the prime of age” or “passed the flower of her age” as KJV (maybe following the interpretation of Vulgate: *superadulta*).<sup>28</sup> The Liddell-Scott dictionary back in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century knew only this meaning for *hyperakmos*, but the updated 1996 edition translates it with “sexually well developed” (see note 4 above). If Paul is addressing the father, it makes more sense for the father to marry off his daughter when she has just passed the age puberty. There is not much sense in suggesting him to marry a daughter who has already grown old by the standards of the times. Fathers in antiquity worried much more about a good and early marriage for their daughters before someone might have violated them<sup>29</sup> or they might have reached the age when nobody wanted to marry them (somewhere beyond the age of 20, I suppose). However, if *hyperakmos* refers to a young engaged man, it cannot mean puberty but strong sexual desire, excessive libido. Bruce Winter’s article

<sup>25</sup> Even if it is so, one could ask why Paul did not use very simple and unmistakable words like *pater* (instead of *tis/hos*) or *thygatēr* (instead of *parthenos*), cf. 2 Corinthians 6:18?

<sup>26</sup> Fitzmyer, 324–26.

<sup>27</sup> Against P. Perkins, *First Corinthians*. Paideia Commentaries on the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2012. 113.

<sup>28</sup> It is a strange contradiction that while Nida-Louw (*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*. New York: United Bible Societies, 1988. sub voce) gives the following definition for *hyperakmos*: “beyond the prime of life, past one’s prime, past marriageable age”, the Good News Bible, usually strongly building on the semantic studies of Nida and others translates it as: “if his passions are too strong”.

<sup>29</sup> A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911. 158–159.



is very clear on this. In almost all Greek literary and non-literary texts that contain *hypeakmos* in nominal, adjectival or verbal form, Winter says, this is the only intended meaning.<sup>30</sup> If *hyperakmos* is meant for the girl both interpretations are possible (father, engaged young man but even the “spiritual marriage” meaning is possible). But, if it is meant for the young man, the betrothed couple interpretation is the only possibility. Considering that in these in 7:36–38 Paul is mostly concerned with addressing the situation of either the father or the young man with words like *thelema*, *ananke*, *exousia*, most of them with possible sexual overtones, it is hardly possible that all of a sudden here only one peculiar word, *hyperakmos* refers to the girl. I agree with Bruce Winter and I support the suggestion that *hyperakmos* is meant for the young man.

In the next clause (καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει γίνεσθαι, ὃ θέλει ποιείτω· οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει· γαμείτωσαν) only the word *gameitósan* (“let them marry”) is of interest, and precisely because it makes the father-daughter interpretation more difficult.<sup>31</sup> One might imagine that *gameitósan* is possible in a guardian/stepdaughter scenario, but I doubt Paul would happily endorse such a relationship. Paul’s advice “let them marry” is not making any sense in the “spiritual marriage” scenario either, because the couple has already married, they only decided to abstain from sexuality. To sum it up, the presence and use of *gameitósan* support here only the “engaged couple” interpretation.

In verse 37 (ὃς δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐδραῖος μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, καὶ τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ, τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, καλῶς ποιήσει) Paul sets up a series of conditions for the person who wants to deny his daughter or fiancée of the marriage. I think Paul is speaking here with *abundantia*, in other words, he says the same thing differently. But there are others (like Thieselton)<sup>32</sup> who think all four are separate and meaningful conditions. 1. The father or the bridegroom should be strong in his conviction (*en tē kardīa autu*). 2. He should not be faced with external necessities (*mē echón anankēn*) or an inner necessity like a strong sexual desire that can in time change his decision. 3. He should possess full authority over his decision (*exousia*), and finally 4. his decision should be a genuine internal decision (once again *kardīa*). I think the “father-daughter” interpretation is in trouble if one must apply these conditions to the father. As far as I know, *patria potestas* could not be limited in any circumstances by anything in ancient Greece or Rome. The *pater familias* had supreme and unlimited power over everyone in his *oikia/oikos* or *domus*. Calvin tries to guess what these conditions might

<sup>30</sup> Winter, 72–86.

<sup>31</sup> It is not by any chance that in some inferior readings (D, F, G, some VG and Syr manuscripts) one finds the *gameito* variant. The copyists wanted to keep the change closer in meaning.

<sup>32</sup> Thieselton, 598–600.

mean for a father in antiquity, but his suggestions are hardly convincing.<sup>33</sup> In case of the engaged young man, the hesitation would be more natural because by backing out from an engagement he is acting improperly both socially and morally. Also, Corinthian ascetic groups could have pressured a young engaged man to change his mind and remain in celibacy and „respect her virginity” (REB)<sup>34</sup> of her fiancée. To sum it up, verse 37 in its entirety supports more clearly the “engaged couple” option.

Verse 38 (ὥστε καὶ ὁ γαμίζων τὴν παρθένον ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ γαμίζων κρεῖσσον ποιήσει) is the least problematic in the whole passage. But ironically this is a real crux to those who accept the engaged couple interpretation. While in verse 36 Paul suggested the young couple to marry (*gameitósan*), here he says that the young man should *gamizei tēn parthenon* or even acts better if he does not *gamizei tēn parthenon*. The problem is that in verse 36 he used an intransitive verb while here he uses a transitive one with a default meaning of “giving someone into marriage”. So *gamizein* here militates against the hypothesis that the young man can be the intended audience of Paul’s words. Of course, commentators like Kümmel or Conzelmann<sup>35</sup> are quick to prove that there are literary examples for the intransitive use of *gamizó* and besides, in koine Greek, these classical grammatical conventions did not matter. But the question remains: why Paul did not use the same Greek verb if he meant the same thing in the two consecutive sentences? The right answer might be that *varietas delectat Paulum*.<sup>36</sup> We do not know. It is really worrying that after all we have just said we cannot qualify the “young couple” interpretation as 100% watertight.

### SUMMARY OF THE INTERPRETATIONAL OPTIONS

After all said and done, we are now in the position to evaluate the results of the contextual and lexical survey and draw some interpretational conclusions.

The first and “traditional” interpretation says that Paul is writing to the father of a virgin daughter who cannot make up his mind if he can or should marry off her daughter. As we saw above this interpretation rests on two exegetical pillars: firstly, this is the most natural meaning of *tēn parthenon autu*. Secondly, the verb *gameizó* in verse 38 is

<sup>33</sup> Vö. J. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul the Apostle. The Corinthians*. Trans. John Pringle. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1848. 266–67. Cf. Lyas, 79. And the question remains: why Paul is hesitating to say clearly what he means. In Ephesians 6:4 or Colossians 3:21 he is saying clearly that fathers should not provoke their children by extreme austerity.

<sup>34</sup> Thieselton finds this the best available translation of τηρεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον. Cf. Thieselton, 601 and Fee, 353.

<sup>35</sup> H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975. 134–136. For further bibliography, see Thieselton, 602 and Fee, 354.

<sup>36</sup> Fee, 354.

best understood as the action of a father with his daughter. Commentaries inform us that verses 36–38 were traditionally interpreted this way, partly because until the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the traditional family model required the father to make such decisions. Therefore, all commentators found this as the most natural reading. In the Patristic era commentators did not really deal with this exegetical crux. They were happy to draw their own conclusions from the text, and these conclusions fitted into the framework of their own thinking. Clement of Alexandria e.g. was happy to point out that Paul was a model teacher of *enkrateia* and *sophrosyne*.<sup>37</sup> Later patristic writers were busy proving Paul's position on asceticism and celibacy. Traditional reading was endorsed by Luther, Calvin or Bengel<sup>38</sup>. As we see, this reading is still the most appealing for those who think that it fits Paul's Jewish Rabbinical background and family life in Antiquity. But we have found that it is very difficult to maintain this reading given the lexical dilemmas and context of the passage.

The second reading supported by some important commentators, including our Hungarian NT lexicographer, Zsigmond Varga, is that Paul's words are addressed to a couple of a spiritual marriage (the phenomenon of the so-called *syneisaktoi* or *virgines subintroductae*)<sup>39</sup>. Although this reading is grammatically possible, its biggest problem is anachronism. As Deming demonstrates (see above), none of its proponents managed to prove that this practice existed before the third Century. But it cannot stand on exegetical grounds, either. In 1 Corinthians 7:1–7 Paul has already discussed the topic of a non-sexual marriage and he rejected it. According to him a marriage like that is an anomaly and such a marital practice can only be temporary and based on a consensus. It would be illogical to say something so different a few verses later. Therefore, I do not accept this reading as viable.

The third option is also problematic. It is based on the practice of levirate marriage as we know it from Deut 25. Interpreters, like Ford, argue for it based on rabbinical practice. But even as the interpreters suggest that Paul is advising to a brother-in-law to marry (or not) his daughter-in-law, they are making serious mistakes: *tērein* cannot mean financially supporting the widow. And one even more serious problem: *Parthenos* cannot mean young widow. *Askēmonein* cannot be taken as shame in the community (in case the brother-in-law refuses the levirate marriage) because Paul calls it something shameful in between the man and the girl. To put it briefly, if Paul wanted to settle

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ford, 327–329.

<sup>38</sup> M. E. Bengel, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti. Tomus II.* Tubingae, 1836. 129–130.

<sup>39</sup> First studied by H. Achelis, *Virgines subintroductae. Ein Beitrag zum VII. Kapitel des I. Korintherbriefs.* Leipzig: Hinrich, 1902.

something so complicated and marginal a practice in Corinth, he would have put his opinion more clearly.<sup>40</sup>

The fourth reading is by far the most popular among modern interpreters and Bible translations. Its subject is a young engaged man whom Paul – against his best will – encourages to marry his fiancée or (under some strict conditions) to remain in celibacy and to keep her fiancée’s virginity. As we saw, both contextually, lexically and exegetically this is the most plausible reading,<sup>41</sup> except for the verb *gamizó* in verse 38. But as we used the hermeneutics of suspicion against the traditional reading (father and daughter), we may be fair using it against modern interpreters, too. If it was comfortable for interpreters in the previous centuries to read Paul’s words as advice to a father, maybe it is also comfortable for us to see Paul’s words as an advice to a young, responsible couple. Now, we live in an age where marriage is the sole business of the two individuals and not of their father’s or families.

In this short paper, we cannot evaluate all the minor options that we find in the secondary literature. Most of them are too far-fetched and therefore cannot be taken seriously.<sup>42</sup>

### TRANSLATION TRENDS

In the following table, I tried to collect some of the more well-known international and Hungarian Bible translations and group them according to their choice of interpretation (I did not find any Bible translation with the reading of Levirate marriage)

There is a clear trend for the “engaged couple” reading, except for the old translations which naturally follow the “traditional” reading. One surprise is the ambiguity of Good News Bible. Commentators classify it as one adopting the “spiritual marriage” reading, but I just do not find that in the text („In the case of an engaged couple who have decided not to marry: if the man feels that he is not acting properly toward the young woman and if his passions are too strong and he feels that they ought to marry, then they should get married, as he wants to”). This ambiguity – if it is ambiguity at

<sup>40</sup> Cserhádi S., *Pál apostolnak a korinthusiakhoz írt első levele*. Budapest: Luther, 2008. 348–350.

<sup>41</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> Some of them, like that of Caragounis is creative but unlikely. He thinks that the term “virgin” or “virginity” (*parthenos*) refers to a young male virgin in Corinth, whose dilemma is to keep or lose his virginity. However, this goes against the general Pauline word-use of *parthenos* in chapter 7. Cf. C. C. Caragounis, *New Testament Language and Exegesis. A Diachronic Approach*. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004. 303–315. J-C. I. Mkole, “Translating *παρθένος* in 1Cor. 7:25–38” in *Hekima Review* 54 (2016): 152–153.

all – is against one of the main translation principles of Eugene A. Nida, the spiritual father of GNB. Nida said that a Bible translation needs to make a clear exegetical decision because Bible translators are always better equipped to tackle exegetical issues than ordinary Bible readers. Uncertainties or ignorance should be indicated only in the notes of a translation. I think, in this respect, our translation (RÚF 2014) is a good one. We have changed the solution of the Revised New Translation (1990), which was an unfortunate mixture of the traditional (e.g. Karoli tradition) and the “engaged couple” (from the first edition of the New Translation of 1975) interpretations.

„Father”	„Spiritual marriage”	„Engaged couple”
King James Version, Jerusalem Bible, Károli (1590 and its revision), Új fordítás (1990)(?), Kecskeméthy, Szent István Társulat (2014), Békés-Dalos, Csia, Reina-Valera (1960–1995), New American Standard Bible	Good News Bible (?), La Bible en français courant, New English Bible, Translators New Testament, Moffatt	New Jerusalem Bible, NRSV, NIV, Good News Bible (?), Groot Nieuws Bijbel, Gute Nachricht Bibel, New Jerusalem Bible, Phillips, Revised English Bible, Parola Del Signore, Goodspeed, TOB, Új fordítás (1975), Bibel in gerechter Sprache, New Living Translation, RÚF 2014, Simon T. László NT, Today’s New International Version, Traducción en lenguaje actual, Contemporary English Version, Dios Habla Hoy, Zürcher Bibel, English Standard Version, Easy-to-Read, The Message

### POSTSCRIPT: WHAT DOES 1 CORINTHIANS 7:36–38 MEAN TO US TODAY?

I have mentioned Patristic writers who did not care about the ambiguity of the Biblical text because they only wanted to know about what really mattered for them in Paul’s writings. But what does it really matter for us? We live in a cultural and social context where marriage is regarded as being in crisis. But it is not asceticism that threatens marriage like in Corinth. It is much more endangered by the seemingly countless choices of partners which eventually and very often leads to not choosing at all. Today the real alternative of marriage is simple cohabitation or loneliness interrupted by temporary relationships.

Paul was teaching the Corinthians in an entirely different age, in a completely different church situation where asceticism was favoured against marriage, due to its alleged spiritual benefits. Paul did agree with the benefits of asceticism but for a different reason: the time available for all of us before the end is too short to make long term commitments. The end time will bring suffering inevitably and there is no more horrible thing than to witness the suffering of our family and loved ones. It is also better to spend one’s energy and time on the building of the Kingdom of God. This eschato-

logical urgency that characterized Paul is completely missing from our time and church life. At the same time, it seems that the ideal of celibacy is also in crisis. Paul regarded marriage as some sort of middle ground between the sacred ideal of celibacy (the positive extreme) and the negative extreme, the *porneia* of the world. I think this middle ground position of the marriage still remains today. Precisely because of the Apostolic teaching, we have to strengthen it. Not because of political, sociological or economic concerns, as we hear it so often. Not even because of begetting children. Paul does not mention children at all among the reasons for marriage. We have to strengthen and revitalize marriage because it seems to be the only difficult but viable option between the blessed ideal of celibacy and the biggest evil of our age, *porneia*.



Imre PERES

## THE ROLE OF VIRTUES IN THE GREEK ESCHATOLOGY DIE ROLLE DER TUGEND IN DER GRIECHISCHEN ESCHATOLOGIE

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### ABSTRACT

As in all religions, virtues played an important role for the ancient Greeks. They provided the quality of life, culture and religion. Although virtues were questionable in Greek mythology, because the gods were independent of complying with virtues (or morals) since they stood above human norms, for humans they were still a measure of a successful or unsuccessful, happy or unhappy, meaningful or meaningless life. Moreover, they were also important for the world beyond the grave, because virtues gained in this life had a significance of bringing salvation. Therefore, there are many epitaphs in the so-called Greek eschatology keeping the virtues of the dead person, because that is what can entitle the dead person to ask for or to anticipate a good position or happy place for his soul in the afterlife. And the Greek virtues had a wide range. In Paul's eschatology, which was confronted with the Greek belief in afterlife the most, virtues and good deeds have no salvation-bringing role. Salvation is given out of mercy, by the sacrifice of Christ and the faith in him. However, virtues count for this life as fruits of faith and therefore, they are important, because they confirm the authenticity of faith and Christian life.

### INTRODUCTION

Every era had its criteria to assess people's lives. 1. It was done by those who were *close to each other* and the lives or events of people around them gave the opportunity for well-founded opinions about them: Whether the person is good, bad, a friend or an enemy, diligent or lazy, helpful or unhelpful, pious or godless, etc. 2. This assessment spread into *the law of society and government*, when it was possible to state who and to what extent is useful, hard-working, wise, obedient, fearless or faithful – e.g. at work, in love for homeland, in fighting for homeland etc. 3. A special category for assessment were *religious practises*, namely personal “piety” (faith), which, as the highest resort, ultimately had the right to characterize or decide what earthly entitlement the dying person has for the best hope of afterlife following his/her earthly life.

Connected to all this, it was constituted that for people and their lives all such personal characteristics and merits are important which could mean an important assessment and which could be of great importance for assessment of earthly life or even have an influence on the life after death. These characteristics which were positive and



sometimes created extremely high personal merits, were usually considered *virtues* (Greek: ἀρετή), however the term was not concretely used in the situations and about certain people; sometimes only the meaning of such assessment revealed the thought behind it.

In our paper we would like to first contemplate on how much in Ancient Greek society or in religion which definitely directly or indirectly influenced the understanding of virtues in apostolic church since it had an impact on its theology and eschatology, virtues (ἀρεταί) played an important role and how it was possible due to this assessment to evaluate lives, culture, religion and thus also the ideas and hopes of people for life beyond the grave.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter it will be interesting to look at what attitude to virtues takes Paul the Apostle who himself grew up in Asia Minor town of Tarsus, thus embraced by the Greek culture. In his letters written to apostolic churches he many times touches the significance of virtues for the ethics of true Christian life and its eschatological hope – however without overdoing the importance of virtues for personal salvation.

## I. VIRTUES IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY

For ancient Hellenistic world virtues held a significant meaning in life, in culture and in religious practises. Virtues gave the value of human life, they increased its importance as such qualities which were very useful and even praiseworthy and which deserved a certain form of honour. This demand was not only present in human society but also in the *world of Greek gods*. Even gods were required to receive certain prestige, honour and respect due to their virtues. The more such demand was placed on humans who were much more dutiful to strive for forming virtues.

### I.1. VIRTUES OF GODS

In ancient world it was generally known, as we also know today, that in Greek mythology – and based on that also in Greek cults – gods stood above humans in everything. However, they also had certain “order”, namely categories: what is allowed and what is not allowed, what they were (or had been expected) to respect. The Olympus hierarchy itself fell into this system as well, where all 12 gods had their given place. Zeus the supreme god and the lord of Olympus, cared for issues and relationships among gods themselves and humans were in order.

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, “Ist mit dem Tod alles aus? Pagane Antworten der römischen Kaiserzeit auf eine zeitlose Frage”, in Reinhard Feldmeier – Monika Winet, eds. *Gottesgedanken. Erkenntnis, Eschatologie und Ethik in Religionen der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 69–76.

However, it was possible to cunningly outsmart even Zeus; it was possible to misguide him, and what is more he himself at times resorted to forbidden delights of lawlessness. In such a case his wife Hera made a scene, however she was not allowed to attack Zeus directly. Thus Zeus could continue enjoying his exceptionality. And if any of the gods or mortals time to time dared to disturb his peace, complicate his pleasures or doubt his awe, in that case woe the sinner and the world.

Zeus also regulated the norms of virtues, at times gave competence to his subordinated gods or lower deities.<sup>2</sup> In such a case e.g. Nemesis, Tyche, Hermes or even Moiry got their word, who decided about the destiny of people – took or did not take in account the virtues of men and decided their fate. Then it was strict order of life and death that was enforced: when the time came they mercilessly cut the thread of life and they took the dying person (or let him/her be taken) into the realm of death.

Thus virtues were in certain sense valid for gods too, and it was good if they thrived for their formation or enforcement, however virtues were not *the basic principle of being for them*. At times they avoided them completely and lived according to their own will, just paying attention to the aspirations of Zeus. Nevertheless it was to their honour if they stood with understanding and willingness to help one another, or even in their attitude towards humans if they were nice to them, helped them, fought for them or gave them wisdom. However, this did not influence in any way their position in Olympus, since they got their position somehow *sui generis*. That is why virtues of gods did not influence their Olympus or cosmic status or earthly posts.

From this point of view, we may state that the virtues of god were questionable for humans, since *gods were independent from virtues* (they could have different morals) since they stood above the human norms.

As gods *abounded in great (transcendent) power*, it was easier for them to “produce” virtues because they disposed of abilities making it possible to perform impossible acts (e.g. miracles), which would have also been necessary for people to assert in their human world but as humans they did not possess enough strength and abilities and thus their acts were included in the category of virtues and not miracles.

When assessing the virtues of gods, humans *did not have the possibility to assess* these extraordinary virtues, they could only express their opinion, thus praise them or complain or perhaps even criticise them.

It was *only gods* among themselves who could assess virtues or glorious deeds or because of inadequacies demand punishment, or it was *Zeus himself* who could decide about them as the highest lord of all gods. No wonder he at times treated them according to his own will especially in such cases when he wanted to prove his exceptionality:

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<sup>2</sup> Imre Peres, *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, WUNT 157 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 34.

that is when he used his lightning or the help of other gods to attack the unruly ones (or critics) and to quickly set “order” in the world of gods and among humans too.

Assessment of Zeus as well as virtues of other gods was thus in Greek mythology quite “crooked”, as it is well known that gods were not only able to create virtues but also had *crooked ways* and deeds that did not bring them great glory: by them they could at best achieve Zeus’ anger and criticism of humans.

However *Zeus himself was quite ambitious and extravagant god* who sometimes gladly whooped it up (he enticed goddesses or beautiful women or girls) and that is why his moral deeds were quite immoral, or at least strangely chaotic and at times even scandalous.

It is quite difficult to establish *how much gods served as examples* for ancient Greeks in their everyday lives. They feared their strict demands, at times they even rebelled against them. However it is the truth that the *free morals of gods suited them quite*, since humans sometimes also liked to enjoy the worldliness of something forbidden and thus it could be well excused because, after all, that is how gods live too and in such a way they expected them to overlook their misconduct since gods themselves had a skeleton in the cupboard.

## 1.2. VIRTUES DEMANDED FROM PEOPLE

We have already stated that in Greek society virtues were inspected by gods and social life called for these. However, we can see that even though it was a great challenge for every man to reach the most and the greatest virtues, there was still a difference among those virtues demanded from women,<sup>3</sup> from men or even from children. We do not have the possibility to present the whole range of these virtues<sup>4</sup>, thus we can only show in a few points which virtues women could be complimented for.

### 1.2.1. Attitude to work

It was important for women to be diligent in lives. They were to show that they are hard-working, they were to do good works (φιλεργός: work loving, diligent). This virtue was called for from single women as well as from slaves. The virtue of positive attitude to work was to be exerted in all kinds of activities: housework or field work, in crafts, in helping others, in service to the society, in accepting and supporting the poor or foreigners etc. Since these kinds of works were assessed as useful for the soci-

<sup>3</sup> See e.g.: Josef Pirchner, *Das Lob der Frau im vorchristlichen Grabepigramm der Griechen*, CA 26, (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> In Plato’s earlier ethics only four virtues are considered true Greek virtues, namely: 1. wisdom, 2. temperance/sound-mindedness, 3. boldness/courage/bravery, and 4. justness: Werner Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960), n° 384, p. 326.

ety, the person doing them was honoured, his/her work and activity was considered a virtue, which was sometimes even engraved on the tombstone of such a person. For example one sign on a sarcophagus which praises the virtues of a woman named Lainillas because she was hard-working and loved her husband excellently: <sup>5</sup>

What has always been to the glory and praise on a woman's virtuousness,  
all that beautified the holy head of Lainillas loving her husband.

### 1.2.2. Virtues of moral life

Creating and protecting virtues was probably important for each society to expand and socially develop. Virtues strengthened family, they gave people credit, brought prosperity to the society and were the basis of approval in religious life. However, let us not forget that in ancient society human life was not of such a high value. And even though there were certain norms, life was quite mixed, people and families were mixed, there was much migration, slaves and foreigners could hardly claim justice. There were many battles, after wars there were many captives and a right was exerted that the winner can do (almost) anything. That is why observing morality was quite questionable. But still in the times of peace and freedom it was necessary to strive for pure life and also create it deliberately. This was considered a virtue. Many times we encounter engravings on tombstones from Hellenist era that women liked to have in their epitaph: "*she kept the cleanness of bed because she only had one husband and even though she was widowed she did not marry another man*". The life of such a woman clearly was not easy if she was widowed in young age, however keeping the status of a pure widow was a virtue which she could be proud of even when dead.

### 1.2.3. Reaching perfection

Both men and women sought for perfection in lives. This had certain possibilities and forms. We find messages on tombstones about how the individual women confess that they kept moral, modesty, kept temper, which could be manifested by reservation towards provoking clothing, towards gold jewellery, and they did not flirt. Such a woman kept the beauty of her body and soul and she deserve having written on her tombstone that "*she maintained all virtues*". It was not only praiseworthy about women but also about men if relatives could write that the deceased was morally so perfect that

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<sup>5</sup> Werner Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 257. Werner Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), n° 910.

he/she was an example (πρύτανις)<sup>6</sup> of all virtues (πάσης ἀρετῆς). That is what one tombstone engraving about a man named Agathokles says:<sup>7</sup>

Strict Persephone, greet Agathokles as a pious man,  
 Example of goodness and virtues, when he enters to you.  
 On the plain of the pious give him a place to dwell, because truly:  
 When he lived on the earth, his soul was pure and just.

#### 1.2.4. Beauty and protection of family life

It also appears on tombstones how e.g. the dead woman lived *before* with her husband, how they honoured and loved one another, kept away from jealousy. Sometimes it is mentioned as the virtue that the woman left her birthplace to go far, fell in love with her new home, supported all advances of her husband and thus became the ornament of his family – also by giving him and raising many children.

#### 1.2.5. Virtues in social life

The Greek society highly valued those virtues which contributed to the prosperity of social life. Thus we can read about one woman that she gained such virtues which entitled her to be proclaimed a *heroin* (ἡρωΐνη). She lived a life without lapses, loved her homeland, her husband and children and was a good contribution to the people. The attribution of this woman shows that she received a very honourable place in the society and since she became a heroin, she gained recognition and glory not only for her earthly life but also life beyond the grave. This also meant that the Greek polis guaranteed her burial place, organized regular celebrations at her grave, when the pupils of local grammar school had a festive program in her honour combined with enwreathing her gravestone. Thus she gained honour which was usually paid to demigods (ἡμίθεος, ἡμίσιος).

#### 1.2.6. Practicing justice

It was considered an important virtue that people – men and women –, are well-mannered and by their example admonish others towards good works, practicing justice and keeping good principles. The reward for these people was that their memory among people was kept alive for a long time. This meant that e.g. such a woman who acted very justly in her family and also in personal issues, contributed towards exerting social truths and on each level strived for her society to have a strong basis for justice (δικαιοσύνη). Then she could hope that this effort for justice and wellbeing of her

<sup>6</sup> πρύτανις literally means “ruler”, the ruling one. Here the term is used in epitaph meaning, which means that such a person was morally most distinguished, thus an example for others.

<sup>7</sup> Werner Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 208. Werner Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, n° 1572.

people will bring her recognition of such a virtue which will also be recognised by underground gods after she dies and those will direct her to the islands of blessed ones.

### 1.2.7. Dimensions of love

In the lives of Greeks and also on their tombstones dominates a certain eternal longing of a man for a nice, happy life, which would flow in love and in love all people close to each other belonged to each other not only in earthly life but also beyond the grave. In this sense virtues (such as marital faithfulness, love to children, care for the house, love to husband) were considered very important for women. This was also mirrored in what was written about her when she died but also in how she confessed her love to husband, children, family and society, what she also had written on her grave.

#### 1.2.8.1. Levels of wisdom

Ancient Greeks exerted wisdom not only in their words in the squares but also in religious practises. At times also with the aim and opinion that serving gods gives the true wisdom, or even entitles to believe that such a “godly” or “religious” wisdom opens the way to post-mortal well-being. One gravestone from Kolophon (from 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) says that Gorgos, who was a priest of god Apollo and during oracles had the role of a prophet, gained great wisdom (σοφία) from early Greek poets (especially from Homer): he learned much from them and even put together a handbook to mythology.<sup>8</sup> That is why he believes that thanks to his wisdom he will gain a place in after-life not among ordinary mortals but in companionship of wise godly people (χωρον ευσεβων) he will enter the aether (εβη), close to Olympus or will gain a place directly among gods in heaven so that he could enjoy immortal life together with them.<sup>9</sup>

Kekrops soil in its womb hides noble Gorgos,  
 Apollo's servant:<sup>10</sup> he was an educated man  
 In all sciences. Used many books,  
 He collected the fruits of poets, and during life loved wisdom (σοφην).  
 When he died, for his piousness he entered the place of the blessed ones.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately this mythological handbook has not been preserved. We only know about it from this epitaph writing.

<sup>9</sup> Compare e.g.: Imre Peres, “Bölcsesség és szepulkrális eszkatológia” [Wisdom and sepulcral eschatology], in *Studia. Debreceni Teológiai Tanulmányok* 8 (2016): 25–36.

<sup>10</sup> In the Greek text it is literally written that “he was a servant of the son of Letha of Claros”, who bore him to Zeus. This is the god Apollo who was also the god of light, purification and prediction and was adored especially in Delphi and in other places of Apollo's oracular cult in Greece.

<sup>11</sup> R. Merkelbach – J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus der griechischen Osten* (München, 1998–2004), I., n° 03/05/02 = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, n° 754; W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 134; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* I–II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1924) I., 106, 3; I. Peres, *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Es-*

### 1.2.8.2. *Wisdom of practical life*

No wonder that epitaph texts celebrate such abilities of the deceased which the Greeks recognized as high-level wisdom and that is what they pursued until their death. These human virtues (following from wisdom) were important for them also from the point of view of the other world since they opened their way into blessed afterlife. That is why in these texts we may encounter such characteristics or self-assessments, which positively evaluate the earthly life of the dead person and of course they claim that he/she e.g. lived well, was wise (σοφός, σοφή),<sup>12</sup> gained and fulfilled the meaning of life<sup>13</sup>, did not live unwisely (οὐκ ἀσόφως)<sup>14</sup> or even that he/she could be an example of practical wisdom.<sup>15</sup> Dozens of such and alike writings can be found in ancient Greek necropolises.

Finally, let us bring out another writing (Rome; 3 century AD?), which discloses their understanding of virtues and wisdom and which was found on the grave (according to the writing) of a notable man named Eithos which was produced by his friend Aeneas:

Holy is this place which Aeneas had built for Eithos out of amicable love  
As a place of glory because he was like heroes in all:  
In beauty, in courage, in friendship and in wisdom (prudence: νόον)...  
This place is the real 'island of the blessed' (νησοὶ μακάρων πέδω),  
where pious, most righteous (δικαιοτάτοι) and loved people dwell, who on  
earth were bound by life, order, wisdom (σὺν σοφίῃ),  
righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and dignity...<sup>16</sup>

Werner Peek remarks<sup>17</sup> that Aeneas speaks quite boldly when he likens his deceased to heroes, and the place of their tomb to the island of the blessed. The mentioned text, however, renders the customs and tendency of the mourning survivors so that they would stress the most positive human characteristics of their dead.

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*chatologie*, 47.64. Imre Peres, "Bölcsesség és szepulkrális eszkatológia", 25–36.

<sup>12</sup> W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 506.

<sup>13</sup> W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 313.

<sup>14</sup> W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 395.

<sup>15</sup> Compare e.g. W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 333, 387, 393, 462.

<sup>16</sup> W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 393; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, n° 2061; Georgius Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (Hildesheim, 1965), n° 648. I. Peres, "Bölcsesség és szepulkrális eszkatológia", 5.

<sup>17</sup> W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, n° 317.

### 1.2.9. Virtues of men

Similarly as for women it was also important for men to practise virtues. Of course, this level of virtues partly touches virtues important for women, however, at times the character of virtues had a higher rank. These “masculine virtues” were more demanding, massive, since these were manifestations which called for so to say more mature masculine strength. Thus we can say about these virtues that due to their character they had a wider range of application. These include courage, determination, endurance, self-devotion, obedience, loving homeland (patriotism), even determination to die for homeland (self-sacrifice). Not that it was not valued if men loved, worked, were moral or just, but still above these virtues stood those ones which had to do with homeland, with general well-being, with social life (defence of homeland, fighting enemies or exploiter), with just reign, etc. It is interesting that in Greek society moral offences were not considered such big sins, which probably follows from the higher position of men in the society than that of women. Of course the gravestone writings of men also often stress that he loved his wife and that his departure from life hurts much.

### 1.3. VIRTUES IN GREEK ESCHATOLOGY

As we know virtues were important not only for this earthly life but also for the after-life since virtues gained in earthly life had a saving value also for the underworld. That is why in the so called *positive Greek eschatology*<sup>18</sup> many epitaph texts retain earthly virtues of the dead since based on these the deceased may ask for a good position in the underworld existence, the blessed place. The Greek virtues had a wide range. According to Margherita Guarducci<sup>19</sup> these virtues can be divided into several categories, alike our differentiation and grouping:

**1. General human attributes:**<sup>20</sup> The given deceased was considered a good man (ἀγαθός), righteous (δίκαιος), faithful (πιστός), wise (σώφρων), nice (χρηστός), sweet, loveable (γλυκός).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Compare Imre Peres, “Positive griechische Eschatologie”, in Michael Becker–Markus Oehler (Hrsg.) *Apokalyptik als Herausforderung neutestamentlicher Theologie*, WUNT II/214 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 267–282.

<sup>19</sup> Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca III: Epigrafi di carattere privato* (Roma, 1974), 151–152.

<sup>20</sup> At times the family only partially assessed the life of the deceased when they had a gravestone made where it was written that he/she “lived righteously” (δικαίως βιώσας), thus that he/she adhered to justice in his/her life, performed it and demanded for others: Margherita Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca III*, 152.

<sup>21</sup> Greek γλυκός does not only have the meaning “sweet” but in interpersonal relationships and addresses was used in the meanings such as: amicable, loveable, kind and to cuddle: “sweetie”.



**2. Religious attributes:** The deceased was holy (ὅσιος), pious (εὐσεβής), god-fearing (θεοσεβής), god-pleasing/god-loving (θεοφιλής, φιλόθεος), he proved to be exceptional as a heros (ἥρωας), or even as a demigod or kind of god (ἡμίθεος).<sup>22</sup>

**3. Attributes of family/intimate character:** brother loving (φιλάδελφος), husband loving (φίλανδρος), wife loving (φιλογύναιος) or loving his/her children (φιλότεκνος).

**4. Attributes of social character:** men/fellow loving (= this could fit our “neighbour”) (φιλαίθρωπος), loving his/her friend (mate) (φιλόφιλος).

All these attributes appear on gravestones abundantly in various forms and different variations. Their meaning rests upon the fact that they were to pass a pure memory of the dead person, in which their exceptionality would be underlined according to which they may claim long-term respect after death. At the same time the emphasis on virtues has a very strong *eschatological character* because as in this life humans are judged according to their exceptional attributes and deeds, similarly for those who are entering the death and their body will decay in the grave, nothing else is left apart from virtues gained in the earthly life which, however, in underworld may become of a great “value”.<sup>23</sup> Based on these the dead could – or the remaining relatives, who took care of the gravestone – ask gods<sup>24</sup> for a better fate in the realm of death and thus in the post-mortal existence they could reach the blessed state. All this was dependent on whether the given gods would accept the virtues stated on the gravestones, and assess them as pure and worthwhile, and thus would let them into the pleasant underworld locations or would refuse them as false testimony and simulated virtues would be assessed as exaggerated and ridiculous.

It is necessary to mention here that after death it was not so much Zeus who was to assess the quality of human life based on virtues, but this was more the task of underworld gods. Nevertheless, underworld judges Minos, Aiakos and Rhadamanthys<sup>25</sup> had the task to sit on their judge seat on the first cross-road in the realm of death where the dead descended: there they examined the souls (ψυχή) of those coming and they deliv-

<sup>22</sup> These religious assessments are of course meant to be taken in the original meaning since from the point of view of Christian theology, these are pagans and thus labelling like holy (ὅσιος), pious (εὐσεβής), god-fearing (θεοσεβής), god-pleasing (θεοφιλής) or god-loving (φιλόθεος) mean a religious status in Greek pagan-cultish meaning related to Greek gods and these labels as human attributes had their high cultish meaning. In practical life this did not have to literally be valid but on the gravestone it sounded nice as some life resume and it promised maximal post-mortal life.

<sup>23</sup> Imre Peres, *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, 65–68.

<sup>24</sup> There are many epigrams, where the survivors declare that their relative lived very piously and now it is appropriate that he gets the best underworld places and gets the best afterlife.

<sup>25</sup> Imre Peres, *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, 60–62.

ered judgement.<sup>26</sup> Based on this examination of souls they could bring the ruling where the person would go on their “underworld journey”: right or left, i.e. the place of the blessed or the place of the punished (“condemned”).<sup>27</sup>

Also the ruler of the underworld Hades had his word in this or his wife Persephone. However, these gods were quite merciless, as the death itself; that is why no one could count with compassion in them.<sup>28</sup> And still the deceased or the surviving relatives tended to write on gravestones that the dead person was moral during his/her life, lived a pure life, sacrificed a lot for the family and the homeland, had valuable personal virtues and gained great merits. Thus the underworld gods were to take this into account and let him/her have a place among themselves or at least send them to places where his/her soul would be able to live a blessed afterlife: if possible may he/she become a god or divine (divination), or demigod (ἡμίθεος) or at least may he/she enjoy immortality (ἀθανασία).

## 2. VIRTUES IN PAUL’S ETHICS

In the apostolic church it somehow naturally was expected that Christians are to live an orderly life, pure, pious and exemplary. This was an imperative of the gospel but at the same time it is also logical because as opposed, Paul reminds, that if Christians live in moral latency, impropriety and their worship is also lawless and if a gentile comes among them, he will think that Christians perform orgies and in this ecstatic craze are beyond themselves (μαίνομαι – be out of one’s mind: 1Cor 14:23). That is why such “catalogues” were created in the apostolic church which had the task to regulate Christian lives and moral<sup>29</sup>. (At this point there is not enough space to extensively labour on these catalogues, what their sources are and how many Hellenistic motives were adopted from the Greek society, religion and culture, or also from the Jews.<sup>30</sup> We will come to this later in an individual study).

<sup>26</sup> Compare Imre Peres, “Eszkatológiai motívumok az apostoli misszióban” [Eschatological Motives in the Apostolic Mission], in Benyik György, ed. *Világi közösség – vallási közösség*, Szegedi Nemzetközi Biblikus Konferencia 2003 (Szeged: JATEPress, 2004), 211–224.

<sup>27</sup> Imre Peres, *Griechische Grabinschriften und neutestamentliche Eschatologie*, 63–64.

<sup>28</sup> No wonder that in gravestone writings authors often mark them as very negative beings, such as that they are deceitful, jealous, heartless, merciless, selfish, wicked, etc., because by an abrupt death (especially of young people) they thwart the fragile happiness and bring eternal pain, bitterness and grief.

<sup>29</sup> A good overview is given by: Georg Strecker, “Strukturen einer neutestamentlichen Ethik”, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 75.2 (1978): 117–146.

<sup>30</sup> It needs to be remembered that from the Old Testament most commonly ethical challenges from Tora get their word, but even more commonly from the Old Testament the so called wisdom statements such as (Wisdom 6:17–19; 8:13). From the Qumran literature the catalogue from IQS 4:3–14 fits here well. And of course we may not neglect the different parts of Hellenistic Jewish literature, such as e.g. the works of Philo of Alexandria, Flavius Josephus, Salmon’s Psalms, 4.Maccabees, Jubil, Hen, XII Patriarch. etc. Cf. Andrea Korečková, *Žena a smrt* [Women and Death] Habilitation thesis. Manuscript (Bratislava, 2020.)

However, I would like to note at this place that we may consider it the work of Holy Spirit that in the apostolic church the leaders of congregations as well as the writers of New Testament writings agreed in all that is to be counted as a norm of Christian life and faith. Thus we know that in apostolic letters *catalogues of three groups*<sup>31</sup> appear which we would like to shortly refer to now:

1. First of all there appears some kind of **a catalogue of virtues**: 2Cor 6:6; Gal 5:22.23; Eph 4:2f.32; 5:9; Phil 4:8; Col 3:12; 1Tim 4:12; 6.11; 2Tim 2:22; 3:10; 1Pet 3:8; 2Pet 1:5.7. This “catalogue” talks about or groups such motives of virtues which can be considered the true virtues in personal life, in the life of the church as well as in society.

2. In the New Testament **a catalogue of sins** can also be unveiled which mostly registers sins of the body: Matt 15:19; Mark 7:21–22; Rom 1:29.31; 13:13; 1Cor 5:10–11; 6:9–10; 2Cor 12:20–21; Gal 5:19.21; Eph 4:31; 5:3.5; Col 3:5.8; 1Tim 1:9–10; 2Tim 3:2.5; Titus 3:3; 1Pet 2:1; 4:3.15; Rev 9:21; 21:8; 22:15. It is interesting that the gospel writers and apostles who reflect these “contra-virtues”, relate most of the negative critical observation to the body.<sup>32</sup> As if the body itself was principally a tool of destruction. Nevertheless, we know that the truth here is not that simple because the term body is not to be understood as flesh but the old being in us. However, it is the truth that the first “slave” who is subdued is the body. It is not willing to do any good, especially when it becomes a tool of a god-opposing power which starts to control it.

3. In the so called deuterion-Pauline writings another codex can be seen namely **a catalogue of duties**: 1Tim 2:9; 3:1.12; 2Tim 2:2.26; Titus 1:7.9. This codex relates to such manifestations which we are to pursue in our fellowships of believers. It seems that in the (post)apostolic church it was necessary that virtues include such attributes as *wise organization, administration and leadership of church* (κυβερνήτης), ministry behind the scenes and determined fight with false teachers and heretics.

Thus we can see that virtues had quite a wide range in the apostolic church. Indeed virtues for earthly life were considered the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22), so such abilities which flow from faith; those are kindled and nourished by the Holy Spirit through faithfulness and obedience of the believer, that is why they are important because they confirm the credibility of faith and Christian life.

<sup>31</sup> Moses Mayordomo, “Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer neutestamentlich orientierten Tugendethik”, 244–248.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Malina Bruce, “Does Porneia Mean Fornication?”, in *Novum Testamentum* 14 (1972): 10–17.

### 3. VIRTUES IN PAUL'S ESCHATOLOGY

Paul's eschatology forms a special dimension in the New Testament.<sup>33</sup> Apostle Paul expresses himself manifold about how we may stand before the judgement seat of Christ (2Cor 5:10). For his eschatology nothing more can be the basis of salvation than the blood of Christ, His sacrifice and forgiveness. That is why Christ's cross takes such an important place in his theology. This fact is unavoidable on the way to heaven. There is no other way of salvation than Jesus's death and following salvation out of mercy and faith. The so called *salvation in Greek manner* – as we could see it in the Greek eschatology based on human virtues – for Christian church simply *is not possible*. Without Christ we have no chance before God – even though we tried to live our earthly lives right and fought for good from all our strength. Of course, this does not mean that in Paul's theology and in Christian lives – as we have stressed in the case of the three catalogues – virtues have no important place.<sup>34</sup> However, in Paul's eschatology which confronted more with the Greek understanding of afterlife, *virtues or good works have no saving importance*. As we have implied: salvation is out of grace, through Christ's sacrifice and steadfast faith in Him. That is why despite the fact that Christian virtues are not negligible, since they serve the purpose of affirmation of the life of the believer and Christ's faith in us<sup>35</sup>, heavenly salvation is not based on virtues. It is not possible to acknowledge by them that we belong to Christ, that we serve Him and live to His glory; in the life and death we are not proud of our virtues and results gained during life but just and only the saving grace of Christ.

From this point of view – according to Apostle Paul<sup>36</sup> – virtues indeed have a place in our lives and ministry, however, they are limited namely by the limit of Christology.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Andreas Lindemann, "Paulus und die korinthische Eschatologie", in *New Testament Studies* 37 (1991): 373–399.

<sup>34</sup> E. H. Lovering – J. L. Sumney, *Theology and Ethics in Paul and his Interpreters* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> Compare Tor Vegge, "Ethik für das Wartezimmer. Eschatologie und Bildung bei Paulus", in Reinhard Feldmeier – Monika Winet, eds. *Gottesgedanken. Erkenntnis, Eschatologie und Ethik in Religionen der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 83–90.

<sup>36</sup> F. Laub, *Eschatologische Verkündigung und Lebensgestaltung bei Paulus*, Biblische Untersuchungen 10. (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> Andrea Korečková. "Vývoj eticko-eschatologického myslenia v oblasti gréckej areté" [The Development of Ethical-Eschatological Thinking in the Area of Greek Arete], in Imre Peres, ed. *Vývoj teologického myslenia v premenách času* [The Development of Theological Thinking in the Shift of Times] (Banská Bystrica, 2013), 101–108, here: 108.

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Gottfried SCHIMANOVSKI

**METANOIA (μετάνοια – μετανοεῖν)**  
**BEI PHILO VON ALEXANDRIEN MIT EINEM KURZEN**  
**AUSBlick AUF DAS NT**

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**I. EINLEITUNG**

Die griechische Philosophie verabscheute weithin emotionale Gefühle wie das Bedauern, ein schlechtes Gewissen, Mitleid (!) oder grundlegende Veränderungen von Verhalten, Denkvoraussetzungen, sowie erst recht Reue oder eine entscheidende Lebenswende und Lebenserneuerung. Als „Wesenszug des Weisen“<sup>1</sup> behauptet z.B. Epiktet ausdrücklich:

καὶ οὕτως ἔσται πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ μὴ λοιδορούμενος, μὴ μαχόμενος, μὴ μετανοῶν, μὴ βασιανίζων ἑαυτοῦ. ἔπειτα καὶ ἑτέρω, τῷ μὲν ὁμοίῳ πάντῃ ἄπλοῦς.<sup>2</sup>

„(Kein Weiser) wird sich selbst je tadeln, mit sich streiten, etwas bereuen/umdenken/umkehren/seinen Sinn wandeln oder sich quälen. Dann wird er auch der Freund des Anderen sein; ist dieser ihm gleich.“

Der Weise ist demnach also offensichtlich grundsätzlich – so diese stoische Auffassung – „über eine μετάνοια erhaben; sie würde ihn nicht in Übereinstimmung mit sich selbst, sondern dem Irrtum verfallen zeigen, der als Widerspiel der Tugend der Weisheit unterhalb der Würde eines Weisen ist.“<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. ThW IV (1942) 974,2 (J. Behm). Vgl. ders., Metanoia (1940).

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. auch ders., im „Handbuch der Moral“ (Encheiridion) 34, wo parallel zu μετανοεῖν: λοιδορεῖν (sich schämen/sich schelten/sich Vorwürfe machen) verwendet wird. In diesem Sinne ist dann dieser Begriff auch bei der Erziehung wichtig, z.B. ausdrücklich bei Plutarch; er dient dort zur Vervollkommnung (vgl. 2 Kor 7,8–10). Vgl. auch u. Anm. 19.

<sup>3</sup> ThW, aaO. S. 976,12–14. Vgl. Ebd. 975f: „An eine Änderung der ganzen sittlichen Haltung, einen durchgreifenden Wandel der Lebensrichtung, eine Umkehr, die das Gesamtverhalten fortan bestimmt, denkt das Griechentum bei μετάνοια nicht“.



Umso erstaunlicher ist es darum, dass Philo von Alexandrien in seinem Traktat über die Tugenden<sup>4</sup> gerade diesem Begriff der *μετάνοια* einen ausführlichen kleinen Abschnitt widmet. Möglicherweise ist dies kein eigenes Kapitel, sondern gehört noch – so die traditionelle Meinung – in das Kapitel über die Menschenliebe (περὶ φιλανθρωπίας; lat. *De humanitate*).<sup>5</sup>

So formuliert die deutsche Übersetzung (von Leopold Cohn, 1910) in seiner Einleitung: „(Philo wendet sich dabei) an alle, die noch im Irrglauben befangen sind und ein lasterhaftes Leben führen, und fordert sie auf, reuig zum wahren Glauben sich zu bekennen und einem tugendhaften Leben sich zuzuwenden.“ Und die Einleitung der englischen Ausgabe<sup>6</sup> formulierte sogar ausdrücklich dabei als die Meinung des Übersetzers: (*De paenitentia* is) a call to penitence in general, the moral of the *De Nobilitate* (then) is rather the same as that of the Baptist „Bring forth fruit therefore worthy of repentance and think not to say within yourselves ‘we have Abraham to our father.’“ Und die neueste Übersetzung als Kommentar zu diesem Traktat von Walter T. Wilson (PACS III, 2011), der Philo’s Zusammenstellung dieser Thematik eine Art „newcomer to the classical list of virtues“ einführt,<sup>7</sup> versucht diesen Traktat grundsätzlich allein in Bezug auf die „Lebenswende“ von Proselyten zu beziehen; wir werden sehen, ob diese Interpretation ganz überzeugt.

Wie dem auch sei, meiner Meinung nach lohnt es sich ungemein, dem Gedanken-gang des jüdischen Alexandriner und Römers einmal im Zusammenhang dieses Traktates *De Paenitentia* zu folgen. Wie schon der Herausgeber und Übersetzer der Loeb’schen Ausgabe herausgestellt hat, ist es dann auch noch reizvoll, zum Schluss eine vorsichtige Brücke zur Verwendung dieser Begrifflichkeit im Lukanischen Doppelwerk zu schlagen.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Zu den ungewöhnlichen, auffallenden Besonderheiten dieses Traktates vgl. D. T. Runia, SPhA 18 (2006) 57f. C. Lévy, *Ethics* (in Companion, 150) führt drei Probleme bei der Interpretation und Aufhellung des Hintergrundes dieses Traktates an: 1) die Auseinandersetzung mit der philosophischen, vor allem stoischen, Tradition; 2) die vor allem der Stoa gegenüber sehr fremden biblischen Traditionen – die sich z.B. in der Klassifikation ganz und gar demgegenüber unterschieden; 3) die philonische allegorische Herangehensweise, wobei immer wieder einmal biblische Gestalten als lebendige Symbole für bestimmte Tugenden fungieren. Zur philonischen Auseinandersetzung mit stoischen Positionen vgl. z.B. Agr 161u.ö.; vgl. neuerdings M. Niehoff, *Philon*, passim.

<sup>5</sup> Das war aber offensichtlich eine innovative Thematik in diesem Diskurs! Siehe die übernächste Anmerkung.

<sup>6</sup> F. H. Colson in der Sammlung von Loeb Classical Library, 1939.

<sup>7</sup> Wilson, S. 23 als Zitat von D. Konstans, SPhA 18 (2006) 59–72 (66).

<sup>8</sup> Das tut auch in vorbildlicher Weise der Aufsatz von Gregory E. Sterling (2008).

Zunächst ein kleiner Überblick über den Traktat selbst:<sup>9</sup>

Er beginnt mit seiner (überschwänglichen) Hauptthese (§ 175), dass der „fromme Mose“<sup>10</sup> (ὁ ἱερώτατος Μωυσῆς = φιλάτερος καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ διαφερόντως φιλόανθρωπος) alle Menschen überall (! τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντα) dazu auffordert, Buße zu tun/umzukehren und seiner Botschaft zu folgen, z.B. wenn sie sich so verhalten vorbildliche „Büßer“/„Sinnesänderer“ (μετανοοῦσοι) zu sein, „wie Sieger“ (ὡς νικηφόροις).<sup>11</sup> Während das höchste Gut allein die göttliche Vollkommenheit darstellt, ist allerdings schon das nächstbeste Gut, damit die beste – wohl auch beeinflussbare und somit lernbare – Tugend der Sinneswandel, d.h. die Umkehr von einem gottlosen, sündhaften Leben zur Untadeligkeit (τὸ μετανοεῖν = τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτόντα μεταβαλεῖν πρὸς ἀνυπαίτιον ζώην, so § 176f).

Die Veränderung wird an drei Bereichen beispielhaft ausgeführt. Zum einen der Abkehr von der Gottlosigkeit zur Verehrung des einen wahren Gottes (§ 178f); zum anderen der vollständigen Abkehr von den vielen Lastern zu den vollkommenen Tugenden (katalogartig ausgeführt in §§ 180–182, wobei das Stichwort der Proselyten οἱ ἐπηλύται in § 182 ausdrücklich erscheint) und abschließend drittens in einer kurzen Exegese von Dtn 30,11–14, wo die ganzheitliche Veränderung/Umkehr als eine im Herzen = richtige Entscheidungen treffen, im Mund = Reden und mit den Händen = Taten dargestellt wird. Nach der Auffassung von Philo ist nur ein solcher Mensch Gott wohlgefällig. Als individuelle Persönlichkeit wird er damit als vollständiges Glied und Repräsentant des ganzen von Gott erwählten jüdischen Volkes (Israel) erkennbar (§§ 183–186).

Das Ziel dieses Traktates liegt offensichtlich in der abschließenden Exegese von Dtn 30, so dass dieser ganze Traktat Philos zu Recht weithin als (abschließender) Teil seiner ausführlichen Toraauslegung (*Expositio legis*) gilt, zu dem wir damit auf diese Weise eine kleine Einführung erhalten.<sup>12</sup> Wahrscheinlich hat Philo diesen Traktat zu den vier Kardinaltugenden, wie sie der Alexandriner an den Begriffen Tapferkeit (ἀνδρεία)<sup>13</sup>, Menschlichkeit (φιλόανθρωπία)<sup>14</sup>, Umkehr/Buße (μετάνοια) und Ab-

<sup>9</sup> Weitgehend nach Wilson, aaO., S. 20f. Als generellen Überblick zum Traktat vgl. D.T. Runia, Introduction, SPhA 18 (2006), 57f; D. Konstans, Philo's *De virtutibus*, ebd. 59–72; C. Lévy, Ethics, bes. 150–154; G.E. Sterling, Queen of the Virtues, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. schon LegAll III 140 Mose als der „perfekte Weise“ (ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἡδονὰς ἀπορρυσπτόμενος καὶ ἀποσειόμενος Μωυσῆς).

<sup>11</sup> Dieses Stichwort verbindet den Abschnitt über die Umkehr mit dem ersten Thema des ganzen Traktates, der Tapferkeit (ἀνδρεία)! Vgl. z.B. § 38.44 u.ö. Vgl. die übernächste Anmerkung.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. zur Einführung J. R. Royse, The works of Philo, bes. 45–50; P. Borgen, Exegete, S. 73–75; ders. in Handbook (2014), 133–174; F. Siegert, Hellenistic Jewish Midrash, *passim*.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. SpecLeg IV 145f u.ö. Vgl. W. T. Wilson, Pious Soldiers, SPhA 17 (2005) 1–32.

<sup>14</sup> Zum Begriff in der jüdischen Tradition vgl. die Untersuchung von K. Berthelot, Philanthropia Judaica, 2003, 265ff u.ö.

stammung/Herkunft (εὐγενία) entfaltet,<sup>15</sup> nicht als einen eigenständigen Traktat, sondern als Abschluss seines vierbändigen Werkes *De specialibus legibus* entworfen, bzw. grundsätzlich als abschließenden Höhepunkt seiner oben angesprochenen Toraauslegung (*Expositio legis*) und der Dekaloginterpretation.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. UMKEHR IN DER DISKUSSION

Ganz im Gegenteil zu der oben angedeuteten stoischen philosophischen Überzeugung<sup>17</sup> gehört die Umkehr für Philo zu den wesentlichen menschlichen Grundmöglichkeiten und Notwendigkeiten und damit seiner Überzeugung nach zu den grundlegenden menschlichen Tugenden. So betont er gleich zu Beginn in der Einleitung des 4. Abschnittes seines Traktates in § 177:<sup>18</sup>

„Die völlige Sündlosigkeit ist allein Gott zu eigen, eventuell auch einem göttlichen Menschen, während die Umkehr von einem sündigen zu einem untadeligen Leben das Kennzeichen eines solchen (weisen Menschen) ist, der besonnen ist und nicht für immer verkennt, was zuträglich für ihn ist.“

τὸ μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν συνόλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ, τάχα δὲ καὶ θείου ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἀμαρτόντα μεταβαλεῖν πρὸς ἀνυπαίτιον ζωὴν φρονίμου καὶ τὸ συμφέρον εἰς ἅπαν οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντος.

Die „Umkehr von einem sündigen zu einem untadeligen Leben“ beinhaltet also einen Wechsel im menschlichen Leben und damit die Abkehr von früheren, negativ konnotierten Lebensumständen. Sie ist – eben im Gegensatz zu der oben angeführten Überzeugung der Stoa – das Kennzeichen des wirklich weisen Menschen. In ganz ähnlich

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. hierzu meinen Beitrag zur EELC-Konferenz (2019) in Caraiman: G. Schimanowski, *Creation (im Druck)*.

<sup>16</sup> SpecLeg IV 132–238 (§ 134: ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν αἱ κοινωφελεῖς ἀρεταί; es werden hier direkt benannt: φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θεοσέβεια); in § 135: εὐσεβεία καὶ ὁσιότης und φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη; besonders dann noch δικαιοσύνη); s. Virt 16f. 101den Hinweis auf seine früheren Schriften (vgl. Praem 3, was sich sicher auf Decal, SpecLeg 1–4 und Virt bezieht).

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. z.B. auch SVF III, S. 147 (Nr. 548), 20–23: οὐδ' ὑπονοεῖν δέ φασι τὸν σοφὸν \ καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἀκαταλήπτω εἶναι τῷ γένει συγκατάθεσιν \ οὐδὲ μετανοεῖν δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα \ καὶ γὰρ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἔχεσθαι ψευδοῦς συγκαταθέσεως (Zeno nach Stobäus). Oder SVF III, S. 149 (Nr. 565 = Seneca, De beneficiis IV 34), 31–34: „Non mutat sapiens consilium omnibus his manentibus, quae erant, cum sumeret. ideo nunquam illum poenitentia subit, quia nihil melius illo tempore fieri potuit, quam quod factum est, nihil melius constitui, quam quod constitutum est.“ So auch konstatiert bei H. Wolfson, Philo II (1962), 255.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. auch schon vorher den Ausdruck λόγους μετανοῆ in § 152.

grundsätzlicher Weise äußert er sich auch an anderen Stellen, wie z.B. **Fug 157** (in der Auslegung zu Lev 10,16):<sup>19</sup>

„Sündlosigkeit ist allein Gott zu eigen, Umkehr/Buße<sup>20</sup> des Weisen (Vorrecht); diese ist aber schwer und selten zu finden.“

Damit ist es ein besonderes menschliches Privileg und eine elementare in keiner Weise zu vernachlässigende Tugend, umkehren zu können, d.h. diesen Wechsel zum positiv konnotierten Leben zu vollziehen. Die Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit gründet in Gottes grenzenloser Barmherzigkeit und Gnade.<sup>21</sup> So begründet Philo in dem besagten Traktat *De fuga* schon etwas vorher seine Grundüberzeugung, **Fug 99** (in Auslegung zu Num 35,12):<sup>22</sup>

„Wer von vornherein erfasst hat, dass die Gottheit wegen der Milde ihres Wesens nicht unerbitlich, sondern wohlgesinnt ist, der wird, mag er auch vorher gefehlt haben, unmittelbar darauf in der Hoffnung auf Straferlass seinen Sinn ändern, und wer begriffen hat, dass Gott ein Gesetzgeber ist, wird allen seinen Vorschriften gehorchen und so die Glückseligkeit<sup>23</sup> erlangen.“

<sup>19</sup> Griechisch: τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ μετανοεῖν σοφοῦ παγχάλεπον δὲ καὶ δυσεύρετον τοῦτο γε. Vgl. LegAll II 60. Vgl. Sir 44,16, LXX: „Ein Beispiel der Umkehr/Bekehrung (MT: der Gotteserkenntnis = חַיִּיּוֹת לְכָל עֵתִים) für alle Zeiten ist Henoch (Ἐνοχ ... ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας τῶν γενεῶν).“ Zu Henoch bei Philo vgl. bes. Abr 7–47 (bes. 17f. 26); Praem 7–23 (bes. 15f) und QG I, 82–86. Vgl. auch die gegensätzliche Wendung für Lot, Migr 148 (ἀποστρέφόμενος); in Bezug auf die Opfer ist noch SpecLeg I, 227.238 (τροπή τῆ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον) zu vergleichen. Ähnliche Perspektiven auch Sap 11,23; 12,10 und vor allem 12,19: „Du hast deinen Söhnen die Hoffnung geschenkt, dass du den Sündern die Umkehr gewährst (καὶ εὐέλπιδας ἐποίησας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου ὅτι διδοῖς ἐπὶ ἀμαρτήμασιν μετάνοιαν). Vgl. weiter bei Sir 8,5 (ἀποστρέφειν); 17,24–26 (μετανοοῦσιν ἔδωκεν ἐπάνοδον ...); 18,(8–14.)21 u.ö.; auch Arist 188 (μεταπιθεῖς ἐκ τῆς κακίας καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄξει).“

<sup>20</sup> Die Übersetzung „Reue“ (to repent) für μετανοεῖν, wie sie sich in den verschiedenen Übersetzungen (z.B. auch in der Ausgabe Loeb) wie überhaupt in dem weithin verwendeten (englischen) Begriff „repentance“ findet, ist an dieser und anderen Stellen eher irreführend. Andererseits verwendet Philo durchaus gelegentlich diesen emotionalen Aspekt der Reue oder Scham; vgl. LegAll III, 211: ἕτερον δὲ ὃ γίνεται περὶ τοὺς μετανοοῦντας καὶ ἀχθομένους ἐπὶ τῇ mit einem folgenden ausführlichen Sündenbekenntnis.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Thema schon z.B. § 41 (ὁ εὐεργέτης καὶ ἴλεως θεός). Vgl. die nächste Anmerkung.

<sup>22</sup> Griechisch: ὁ τε γὰρ προλαβὼν, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλλ' εὐμενὲς δι' ἡμερότητα φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, κἂν ἀμάρτη πρότερον, αὐθις μετενόησεν ἀμνηστίας ἐλπίδι. ὁ τε ἔννοιον λαβὼν, ὅτι νομοθέτης ὁ θεός ἐστιν, πειθαρχῶν οἷς ἂν προστάτη πᾶσιν εὐδαιμονήσει. Vgl. Ebd. § 105 und § 152.

<sup>23</sup> Dieser Begriff umfasst nach Philo (wie auch für Josephus) natürlich die gesamte Gesetzgebung und die Lehre des Mose. S.u. Anm. 60. Vgl. D.T. Runia, Eudaimonism. Zu Josephus z.B. vgl. Ant I, 14.20 oder IV, 176–193.

Ähnliche Hinweise auf die grundlegende Gnade Gottes finden sich auch in unserem Traktat selbst.<sup>24</sup> Will man diese Interpretation etwas zuspitzen, so könnte man die Bedeutung von μετανοεῖν/μετάνοια in diesem Fall interpretieren als eine grundlegende (moralische ?) Veränderung oder Korrektur des Lebens.<sup>25</sup> Sie ist mit einer mehr oder weniger bewussten Abkehr (von der Sünde) und Hinwendung zu der positiven Seite des Lebens in der Entsprechung zum Willen Gottes verbunden.<sup>26</sup> Diese Umkehr und grundlegende Veränderung entspricht damit einer (vollständigen) Heilung von Krankheit.<sup>27</sup> Schließlich ist ja die Gesundheit eines der höchsten Güter überhaupt!

### 3. UMKEHR ALS HINWENDUNG ZUR ALLEINIGEN VEREHRUNG GOTTES

Eine andere Zuspitzung in diesem Zusammenhang entfaltet im Wesentlichen eine streng religiöse Komponente.<sup>28</sup> Wahrscheinlich ist in diesem Sinne wirklich zunächst die Konversion von Proselyten im Blick.<sup>29</sup> Diese sind dann nach Philos grundlegender Überzeugung dem jüdischen Volk grundsätzlich gleichzustellen, **Virt 179**, auch wenn sie als Adressaten erst später direkt angesprochen werden:

„Alle nun, die nun nicht den Schöpfer und Vater des Alls von Anfang an verehren, sondern erst später seine Alleinherrschaft über die Herrschaft der Vielen anerkannt haben, muss man als unsere engen Freunde und Verwandte betrachten, da sie einen freundlichen

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. schon § 160 (τὸ ἰλεων καὶ χρηστόν) als Gottesbezeichnung; den Ausdruck αἱ τοῦ πρώτου ἡγεμόνος δωρεαί in § 169 u.ä.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. den Begriff κατ' ἐπανόρθωσιν in § 176: „correction“ (Sterling; Wilson); „reestablishment“ (Younge); vgl. hierzu u.a. Epiktet, Diatr II, 21, 15: ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσει ... Vgl.o. zu Fug 157 und LegAll II,60.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. z.B. auch die Betonung der grundsätzlichen Ermöglichung von Umkehr durch die göttliche Gnade Somn II, 292: „(Wenn die Menschen – nach der Sprachenverwirrung Gen 11) zum Bewusstsein gekommen sind, sie sich schämen und sich selber schelten über das, wozu sie durch ihre unüberlegte Meinung zu sündigen sich verführen ließen, dann werden sie, indem sie sich der durch keine Schmeichelei zu gewinnenden und unbestechlichen Beraterin, der Reue (μετάνοια), bedienen, wenn sie sich die gnädige Macht des Seienden (τὴν ἰλεω τοῦ ὄντος δύναμιν) durch heilige Palinodien statt der profanen geneigt gemacht haben, völlige Straffreiheit finden (ἀμνηστίαν εὐρήσονται παντελῆ).“

<sup>27</sup> So in § 176 (ἢ τε ἐκ νόσων ἀνάληψις); vgl. Abr 26: „wie nach dem gesunden Körper der Übergang aus einer Krankheit zur Gesundheit“ (ὡσπερ καὶ ἀνόσου σώματος ἢ πρὸς ὑγείαν ἐξ ἀσθενείας μεταβολή), oder LegAll II, 60: „(der Mensch) kehrt um und ist wieder gesund wie von einer Krankheit (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μετανοεῖ καὶ ὡσπερ ἐκ νόσου ἀναλαμβάνει). Vgl. LegAll III, 106.211 u.ö.

<sup>28</sup> Diese dreifache Perspektive innerhalb des Traktates nach G.E. Sterling, *Turning to God* (2008), 86f.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. vorher im Traktat schon § 102–104.109 u.ö.

Charakter Gott gegenüber an den Tag gelegt haben, die größte Bereitschaft zu Freundschaft und Verwandtschaft.“<sup>30</sup>

Und im Blick auf seine Glaubensgeschwister folgert Philo daraus (ebd.):

„Wir haben zusammen mit ihnen zu feiern als die, die früher blind waren, nun aber das Augenlicht wiedererlangt haben und nach tiefster Finsternis wieder das strahlende Licht<sup>31</sup> erblicken.“

Offensichtlich vertritt der Alexandriner hier noch einmal zugespitzt eine universalistische, globale Perspektive, die er schon vorher in § 103 in ausdrücklicher Ausrichtung auf die Proselyten gegenüber seinen Landsleuten (in Auslegung von Lev 19,33f; Dtn 10,19) vertreten hatte:<sup>32</sup>

„Er (der Gesetzgeber/Mose) befiehlt also den Landleuten die Proselyten zu lieben, nicht nur wie Freunde und Verwandte, sondern wie sich selbst, in leiblicher wie in seelischer Hinsicht, in leiblicher dadurch, dass man sie soweit als möglich an allem teilnehmen lässt, in geistiger, indem man Freud' und Leid mit ihnen teilt, so dass in geteilten Gliedern ein Wesen enthalten zu sein scheint, da das gemeinsame Gefühl füreinander sie verbindet und gleichsam zusammenwachsen lässt.“

Diese religiöse Perspektive wird unmittelbar darauf in § 180 als das Wichtigste und Beste zum Thema deklariert (Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν εἰς μετάνοιαν). Ähnliche Perspektiven erscheinen in unserem Traktat gleich an mehreren Stellen, so wenige Sätze später in § 181: „so ist es notwendig, dass alle anderen Tugenden gemeinsam der existenten Gottesverehrung (oder: der Verehrung des seienden Gottes) nachfolgen.“ Oder in der Auslegung von Dtn 30, auf die wir noch etwas ausführlicher zu sprechen kommen, mit ähnlichen Worten § 185: „wenn nun der Mensch

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<sup>30</sup> Zum Thema der Zusammengehörigkeit und Verwandtschaft (συγγενία) vgl. z.B. schon § 60; § 79, wo auch die theologische Seite unmittelbar angesprochen wird (vgl. auch den Abschluss des ganzen Traktates in § 227). Zu einem echten Grundsatz wird dieses Thema in § 195, dem Traktat über die Herkunft (εὐγένεια): „Verwandtschaft wird nicht nach dem Blut allein gemessen, wo Wahrheit herrscht, sondern nach der Gleichheit im Handeln und nach dem Streben nach denselben Zielen (τὸ συγγενὲς οὐχ αἷματι μετρεῖται μόνον, πρυτανευούσης ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ πράξεων ὁμοιότητι καὶ θήρα τῶν αὐτῶν).“

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. zu dieser Metapher auch § 164. Vgl. die Beschreibung des Glaubens bei Abraham, Abr 70.

<sup>32</sup> Griechisch: κελεύει δὴ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐπηλύτας, μὴ μόνον ὡς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἑαυτούς, κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, <κατὰ μὲν σῶμα> ὡς οἶόν τε κοινοπραγούντας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ αὐτὰ λυπούμενους τε καὶ χαίροντας, ὡς ἐν διαιρετοῖς μέρεσιν ἐν εἶναι ζῶον δοκεῖν, ἀρμοζομένης καὶ συμφυῆς ἀπεργαζομένης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ κοινωνίας.

sich bemüht, den Seienden zu verehren“; kurz darauf das Stichwort vom wahrhaft Anbetenden (ὁ δ' ἀληθῆς θεραπευτής).<sup>33</sup>

Auch dieser Aspekt einer religiösen Konversion – und sicher im Verständnis des Autors – veränderten Identität, wird also des Öfteren innerhalb des ganzen Traktates angesprochen und gehört somit zum sog. „Roten Faden“ des Gesamttextes. Neben der Abkehr (vom Polytheismus) wird hier vor allem auf den positiven Aspekt der Hinwendung zu dem Gott der Juden und seiner alleinigen Verehrung entscheidenden Wert gelegt.

#### 4. UMKEHR IM ETHISCHEN SINNE

Schließlich wird in diesem Abschnitt noch eine dritte Ebene des philonischen Verständnisses von μετανοεῖν/μετάνοια erkennbar, was ja auch schon in dem einleitenden Teil der näheren Ausführungen zum Thema in § 180 angedeutet wird, wenn Philo davon spricht, dass Umkehr geleistet werden soll auch „in den anderen Dingen, die für das Leben notwendig sind“ (ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα περὶ βίον ἀναγκαῖα). Näher wird dies erläutert an einer kunstvollen Aufzählung, ebd., nämlich: „die Wendung vom Nichtwissen zur Kenntnis, denn das Nichtwissen ist eine Schande; von der Unbesonnenheit zur Besonnenheit, von der Unmäßigkeit zur Selbstbeherrschung, von der Ungerechtigkeit zur Gerechtigkeit, von der Feigheit zur Kühnheit.“ Die lässt sich sehr gut vorstellen an den verwendeten fünf „Kontrastbegriffen, wobei möglicherweise – allein schon herausgehoben durch seine Ausführlichkeit und Länge – die erste Zeile als eine Art „Meta-Angabe“ funktioniert, aaO. § 180:<sup>34</sup>

ἐξ ἀμαθίας εἰς ἐπιστήμην – ὧν ἡ ἀγνοια αἰσχρὸν,  
 ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν (d.h. die praktische Weisheit ~ σοφία),  
 ἐξ ἀκρατείας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν (das entspricht der platonischen σωφροσύνη),  
 ἐξ ἀδικίας εἰς δικαιοσύνην (derselbe Begriff bei Platon),  
 (der nachklassische Begriff für ἀνδρεία).

Der positive Ausdruck ἐξ ἀτολμίας εἰς θαρραλεότητα der ersten Zeile, ἐπιστήμη, nimmt ja wieder die Einleitung des ganzen Traktates auf, wenn es dort schon zur

<sup>33</sup> Hier sicher nicht im Sinne eines „heilenden“ Verhaltens, sondern wie kurz vorher im Sinne einer (gottesdienstlichen ?) Verehrung und Anbetung Gottes (vgl. schon § 40.54 und dann § 217 u.ö.).

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. traditionelle Triaden von Tugenden von ἀνδρεία (= erster Traktat), δικαιοσύνη und ἀγαθός in § 167: „Es müsste aber vielmehr der Kluge seine Nächsten so weit als möglich klug, der Besonnene müsste sie besonnen, der Tapfere tapfer, der Gerechte gerecht, und überhaupt der Gute sie gut machen.“ (χρητὴ δὲ καὶ τὸν φρόνιμον ἀγγίχουσι, ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα, τοὺς πλησιάζοντάς κατασκευάζειν καὶ τὸν σώφρονα ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ γενναίους τὸν ἀνδρείον καὶ τὸν δίκαιον δικαίους καὶ συνόλως ἀγαθοὺς τὸν ἀγαθόν). Bei Philo noch z.B. Det 18 (φρόνησις; σωφροσύνη; ἀνδρεία); Congr 142 (φρόνιμος; σώφρων; φιλόσοφος) mit Verweis auf weitere Tugenden.

Erläuterung und Definition des ersten behandelten Begriffs ἀνδρεία heißt, § 1:<sup>35</sup> „Unter Tapferkeit verstehe ich aber nicht, was die meisten dafür halten, die streitsüchtige Kampfeswut, die sich vom Zorn leiten lässt, sondern *das Wissen*“ (ἐπιστήμη).

Während die ἀφροσύνη in vielen Texten mit unterschiedlichen Prädikaten wie „Gift“,<sup>36</sup> Trunkenheit<sup>37</sup> oder Krankheit<sup>38</sup> gekennzeichnet wird, erhält die positive Seite der φρόνησις bei Philo eine entscheidend wichtige Bedeutung.<sup>39</sup> Immer wieder setzt er – von Beginn des Traktates an – diese in Gegensatz zur ἀφροσύνη.<sup>40</sup> Das erste erläuternde Glied greift darum offensichtlich wieder auf den Beginn seiner Ausführungen im Traktat zurück und erinnert damit an Bekanntes und Vertrautes.

Auch das nächste Begriffspaar spielt eine ganz entscheidende Rolle in Philos Schriften.<sup>41</sup> Die ἐγκράτεια gilt Philo als „die nützlichste aller Tugenden“. <sup>42</sup> Schon in § 127 wurde sie als Beispielhaft für alle Tugenden herausgestellt.<sup>43</sup>

Mit dem nächsten Gegensatzpaar benennt Philo einen aus seiner Umwelt, der LXX und vor allem bei ihm selbst verbreiteten Kontrast der Tugendlehre.<sup>44</sup> Die δικαιοσύνη

<sup>35</sup> οὐχ ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρειμάνιον λύτταν ὀργῆ συμβούλω χρωμένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην. Vgl. ganz ähnlich SpecLeg IV, 143–145.

<sup>36</sup> Vita Cont 74.

<sup>37</sup> Mos II, 162; Somn II, 160. 181. 192.

<sup>38</sup> LegAll III, 211; Cher 10.

<sup>39</sup> Z.B. als Inhaber der reichen Fülle die Gottheit selbst: Mut 260 (ὁ φρονήσεως εὐθηνία). Hier im Traktat vgl. vor allem §§ 5.11 (φρόνησις, τὸ κρατιστεῦον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν).<sup>32</sup> u.ö.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Opif 93; LegAll III, 193; Conf 191 u.ö.

<sup>41</sup> Zur ersten Zeile, zum vorherigen ersten und diesem zweiten Kontrastpaar vgl. z.B. auch den ausführlichen – ähnlichen – Katalog Abr 24:  
μεθορμίζεται οὖν εἰς παιδείαν ἐξ ἀμαθίας  
καὶ ἐξ ἀφροσύνης εἰς φρόνησιν  
ἐκ τε δειλίας εἰς ἀνδρείαν  
καὶ ἐξ ἀσεβείας εἰς εὐσέβειαν,  
καὶ πάλιν ἐκ μὲν φιληδονίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν,  
ἐκ δὲ φιλοδοξίας εἰς ἀτυφίαν ...

Ähnlich der Gegensatz auch Praem 116: γίνεται δὲ ἕλεως τοῖς αἰδουμένοις καὶ μεθορμίζομενοις ἐξ ἀκρασίας εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ὑπαιτίου ζωῆς κακίζουσι καὶ ὅσα ἐναπεμάξαντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς αἰσχροῖς εἰδωλα μυσαστομένοις, εὐδίαν δὲ παθῶν ἐζηλωκόσι καὶ γαλήνην καὶ εἰρήνην βίου μετατρέχουσι.

<sup>42</sup> SpecLeg I, 173: ὠφελιμωτάτη τῶν ἀρετῶν; Vgl. weiter SpecLeg IV, 101; weiter Mos I, 153; Praem 100; Hypoth 11.11 u.ö.

<sup>43</sup> Als „Pflicht, sich in der Enthaltbarkeit und den anderen Tugenden auszuzeichnen“ (σὺ δὲ καὶ διαφέρειν εἰς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς). Vgl. weiter SpecLeg I, 150. 173. 175. 186. 193 oder SpecLeg IV 97–103.112.124 vor allem in Philos Ausführungen zu den Opferritualen und Speisetraditionen, aber auch in Bezug auf die Sexualität und die Gefahren der Zunge (s. SpecLeg II, 195). Zur besonderen Bedeutung dieses Begriffes – auch in Abgrenzung z.B. gegenüber den Ägyptern – vgl. M. Niehoff, Philo on Jewish Identity, 94f.103–110 u.ö.

<sup>44</sup> Vgl. z.B. bei ihm Her 161f (mit Bezug auf Lev 19, 35 und Dtn 25,13). 209 (innerhalb einer ausführlichen Aufzählung von wichtigen Gegensatzpaaren). 243; Gig 5; Opif 73 u.ö.



ist die *ἡγεμόνις* der in der Regel in der Vierzahl angegebenen Kardinaltugenden (Abr 27).<sup>45</sup> Interessant ist dabei, dass bei allen unterschiedlichen Zusammenstellungen der Tugenden die *δικαιοσύνη* niemals fehlt!

Insgesamt werden damit die wesentlichen Tugenden, zu denen man sich bekehren und bekennen soll, als eine Form des Wissens und Erkennens gewertet. Damit sind sie auch in gewisser Weise erlernbar und vor allem Gegenstand der (Tugend-) Lehre. Hier in diesem Zusammenhang münden diese ethischen Perspektiven dann in der Konsequenz, damit dem einzigen und wahren Gott die ihm gebührende Verehrung entgegenzubringen.<sup>46</sup> Das entspricht dann der göttlichen Anordnung auf dem Sinai zum entscheidenden ersten Gebot, **Decal 81**:<sup>47</sup>

„der Verehrung des wahrhaft seienden Gottes, nicht weil er für sich Ehre brauchte – denn der sich selbst vollauf Genügende bedurfte eines andern nicht —, sondern weil er das Menschengeschlecht, das sonst leicht auf unwegsamen Pfaden in die Irre geht, auf einen sicheren Weg führen wollte, damit es der Natur folge und dadurch das edelste Ziel erreiche, nämlich die Erkenntnis des wahrhaft Seienden, der da ist das erste und vollkommene Gut, von dem wie von einer Quelle der Welt und dem, was in ihr ist, das Gute im Einzelnen spendet wird.“

Allerdings ist offensichtlich diese Perspektive gegenüber den Proselyten (*οἱ ἐπηλύται*) keinesfalls die einzige Aufgabe, wenn Philo kurz darauf auch allgemein die Menschen im Blick hat, die allgemein das jüdische Gesetz missachteten oder sich von ihm distanzieren,<sup>48</sup> § 182: οὐς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀποστάντας. Und gerade ihnen gegenüber

<sup>45</sup> Sie werden Congr 31 und Abr 56 als die *καλοκαγατία* zusammengestellt: *φρόνησις* (s.o.), *σωφροσύνη* (den Gegensatz s.o.), *ἀνδρεία* (s.o.) und eben die *δικαιοσύνη*.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. ähnliche Perspektiven in §§ 64 (*ἵκεσίαν τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος*) und 102 (*καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ ἐνός καὶ ὄντως ὄντος θεοῦ*). Vgl. die Kennzeichnung Tamars Virt 221.

<sup>47</sup> Griechisch: ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντος θεοῦ τιμὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆς οὐ προσδεόμενος – οὐ γὰρ ἑτέρου χρεῖος ἦν ὁ αὐταρκέστατος ἑαυτῶ –, βουλόμενος δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοδίαις πλαζόμενον εἰς ἀπλανεστάτην ἄγειν ὁδόν, ἵν' ἐπόμενον τῇ φύσει τὸ ἄριστον εὕρηται τέλος, ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ὄντως ὄντος, ὅς ἐστι τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τελεώτατον, ἀφ' οὗ τρόπον πηγῆς ἀρδεταὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀγαθὰ.

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. ganz ähnlich über die direkte Blickrichtung auf die Proselyten hinaus gegenüber allen seinen Landsleuten auch in Praem 152: „Der Proselyt wird vom Glück hoch emporgehoben werden und in hohem Ansehen stehen, bewundert und selig gepriesen wegen zweier Vorzüge, weil er zu Gott übergetreten ist und als passenden Lohn empfangen hat den sicheren Platz im Himmel, von dem man nicht sprechen darf, der Adlige (ὁ δ' εὐπατρίδης = Israelit) dagegen, der seinen Adelscharakter verfälscht hat (*παρακόψας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας*), wird in die tiefste Tiefe, in die Unterwelt und in die Finsternis hinabgestürzt werden (Dtn 28, 43), damit alle Menschen (! *πάντες ἄνθρωποι*) beim Anblick solcher Beispiele auf den rechten Weg gewiesen werden und daraus die Lehre ziehen, dass Gott die Tugend willkommen heißt (*ἀρετὴν φυομένην θεὸς ἀσπάζεται*), auch wenn sie aus niederer Abkunft hervorgeht, dass er sich um die Wurzeln nicht kümmert, das kräftig gewachsene Reis aber aufnimmt, weil es sich in ein edles verwandelt hat und schöne Früchte zeitigt.“ Vergleichbar

entfaltet Philo einen ausführlichen, kunstvoll aufgebauten – zweiteiligen – Lasterkatalog:

ἀκολάστους, ἀναισχύντους, ἀδίκους, ἀσέμνους (vgl. jeweils das ἄ-privativum!),  
ὀλιγόφρονας, φιλαπεχθήμονας,  
ψευδολογίας ἑταίρους καὶ ψευδορκίας,  
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πεπρακότας ὄψου καὶ ἀκράτου καὶ πεμμάτων  
καὶ εὐμορφίας εἰς τε τῆς γαστρὸς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν μετὰ γαστέρα,  
ὧν τὰ τέλη βαρύνταται ζημίαι σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς εἰσι.

Die ersten sechs Angaben bestehen jeweils nur aus einem Begriff, wobei sie sich weithin als Gegensatz zu dem davor angeführten Tugendkatalog präsentieren:

ἀκολάστους εντσπριξητ σώφρονες,<sup>49</sup>  
ἀναισχύντους εντσπριξητ αἰδήμονες,  
ἀδίκους entspricht δίκαιοι,  
ἀσέμνους εντσπριξητ σεμνοί,  
ὀλιγόφρονας εντσπριξητ μεγαλόφρονες,  
φιλαπεχθήμονας entspricht ἀληθείας ἔρασταί,

wobei natürlich die genaue Reihenfolge gegenüber dem Tugendkatalog nicht immer eingehalten wird: *variatio delectat!* Insgesamt stehen hier auf der negativen Seite nur sechs gegenüber den neun vorherigen positiven Angaben gegenüber. Diese sechs Laster werden dann erweitert mit zusammengesetzten Ausdrücken und Beschreibungen, wobei schließlich die Bereiche von Essen, Trinken/Völlerei und Sexualität in den Mittelpunkt rücken, bei Philo auch ein weithin verbreiteter Vorwurf.<sup>50</sup>

Eine solche kunstvolle Gegenüberstellung ist natürlich bei Philo immer wieder einmal ein vertrautes rhetorisches Mittel.<sup>51</sup> Andererseits ist grundsätzlich diese Gegenüberstellung von Tugenden und Lastern in der Antike weit verbreitet.<sup>52</sup> Philo entspricht damit also ganz und gar einem Trend seiner Zeit. Andererseits ist ganz deutlich, dass das Beachten der Tugenden nicht nur die Aufgabe einer speziellen Gruppe oder gar eine einmaligen, ungewöhnlichen Situation darstellt, sondern für „Jung und Alt“ und für das ganze Leben einschließlich aller seiner Landsleute, gilt.<sup>53</sup>

ist die Ausrichtung bei Lukas in Apg 70,30: τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πάντας πανταχοῦ (s.u.).

<sup>49</sup> Ein ganz traditioneller Gegensatz, vgl. § 194 u.ö.

<sup>50</sup> Vgl. Opif 158f; Ebr 214–219; Somn II, 48–51.155–168; Jos 151–156; SpecLeg I, 174; IV, 100; Contempl 53–56.

<sup>51</sup> Siehe später in § 195; vgl. auch Abr 24 (s.o.); weiter Sacr 21–27; Mut 197 u.ö.

<sup>52</sup> Siehe 4 Makk 1, 3–6; Epiktet, Diatriben/Dissertationes IV, 9 (am Ende 9,16f; vgl. III, 30, 5f); bei Paulus: Gal 5, 19–23 und in der paulinischen Tradition: Kol 3, 5–12; in Qumran: 1 QS IV, 2–11 u.ö.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. z.B. Deus 146–148.

## 5. DIE AUSLEGUNG VON DTN 30

Einen letzten, ihm offensichtlich besonders wichtigen Aspekt unseres Traktates hebt sich der Alexandriner bis zum Ende auf. Wir haben oben schon kurz auf die besonderen Akzente des Theologen und Philosophen hingewiesen.<sup>54</sup> Denn bisher waren es allgemeine – mehr oder weniger philosophische und anthropologische – Überlegungen und Erläuterungen, die Philo in seinem Traktat ausgeführt hat. Es fehlt ihm noch ein biblisches Beispiel (verbunden mit der ihm methodisch immer wichtigen allegorischen Auslegungsweise),<sup>55</sup> an dem er die Besonderheiten der mosaïschen jüdischen Tradition ausführen kann und was ihm gleichzeitig zum Schluss noch die Möglichkeit gibt, für seine anthropologische Überzeugung zu werben – ebenfalls mit einer biblischen Begründung.<sup>56</sup> Insgesamt geht Philo also davon aus, dass diese Tugenden didaktisierbar, also lernbar sind,<sup>57</sup> wenn Menschen willig sind und sich in ihren ethischen Entscheidungen davon berühren und bestimmen lassen.

Beginnen wir mit dem Bibeltext, der ausdrücklich als solcher mit den Worten ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο eingeleitet wird, **Dtn 26,17f**. Soweit ich sehe verwendet Philo innerhalb seines immensen Werkes diese Bibelstelle allein nur hier gegen Ende des Traktates. Der Zusammenhang mit dem Vorherigen (vgl. die Wendung: συμφώνως τοῖς εἰρημένοις) besteht darin, dass es dem Alexandriner äußerst wichtig ist, die Einsicht/Kenntnis/Gesinnung (ἡ γνώμη) und das Reden mit dem Handeln in Übereinstimmung/Harmonie zu bringen. Zu diesem Begriff hatte er sich schon vorher zu Beginn des Traktates deutlich geäußert (in § 19; vgl. § 27. 69). Damit sei dann auch das menschliche Leben „lobenswert und vollkommen“, das, was wiederum den Begriff τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν / εὐδαιμονία<sup>58</sup> kurz vorher (§ 186) aufgreift.<sup>59</sup> Gleichzeitig verbindet der Theologe seine ganzen bisherigen Ausführungen zu den Tugenden mit der ihm wohl besonders wichtigen religiösen Komponente.

Ähnliches kann man zu dem von ihm zwar nicht direkt als Bibelzitat eingeführten, aber für jeden „Kenner“ ganz eindeutig identifizierbaren Text aus **Dtn 30,11–14**, sagen. Dieser Bibeltext ist ihm sogar noch wichtiger, wird er doch gleich weitere fünf

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. o. Anm. 14.

<sup>55</sup> Vgl. § 183: σύμβολον.

<sup>56</sup> Hier auch mit einer regelrechten exegetischen Einleitung: ὅθεν εὖ καὶ συμφώνως τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐχρήσθη τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖνο.

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. zur Erziehungsebene die – allerdings weitgehend negativ bzw. kritisch konnotierten – Angaben in § 178: γονεῖς καὶ τίτθαι καὶ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ μυριοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συνήθων.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. vor allem § 61 und später § 205. Vgl. o. Anm. 25.

<sup>59</sup> Ähnlich dann auch Paulus in Röm 2,4.

Mal in seinen Schriften an jeweils wichtigen Stellen zitiert und erläutert.<sup>60</sup> Mit den anthropologischen Begriffen „Mund, Herz und Hände“ versteht Philo die Ganzheitlichkeit von Reden, Denken/Willen und Taten. Z.B. in **Somn II, 180** führt er als die toragemäßen Bestimmungen an:<sup>61</sup>

„ganz nahe neben dir steht das Gute und ist mit dir verbunden, zusammengesetzt aus den drei wichtigsten Teilen, Herz, Mund und Händen, das heißt: aus Gedanken, Wort und Taten, da man das Gute denken, sagen und tun muss, erfüllt von guter Absicht, gutem Handeln und gutem Reden.“

Mit kleiner Variation (διανοία statt ἡ γνώμη καὶ οἶον τὸ βούλευμα) wird dort ebenfalls die Ganzheitlichkeit menschlichen Wesens von Wort und Tat zusammengefasst und das Ganze als „das Gute“ (τὰγαθόν) dargestellt: „erfüllt von guter Absicht, gutem Handeln und guten Reden (τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον)“.

Noch einmal anders formuliert Philo dann in **Praem 81** seine Auslegung von Dtn 30 in genau demselben Sinne.<sup>62</sup>

„Wenn nämlich die Reden so sind wie die Entschlüsse und die Handlungen so wie das gesprochene Wort, und diese drei Dinge einander entsprechen und durch ein unlösbares Band harmonisch verbunden sind, dann herrscht Glückseligkeit (εὐδαιμονία, s.o.), d. h. die untrüglichsste Weisheit und Einsicht, Weisheit in Bezug auf Gottesverehrung (!), Einsicht in der Führung des menschlichen Lebens.“

Schließlich verbindet Philo diese Schriftstelle in **Prob 68** mit den Tugenden, bzw. mit der sorgfältigen Suche nach ihr:

„Welche Notwendigkeit besteht denn sowohl für weite Landreisen als auch für das Befahren der Meere, wenn es um das Aufspüren und die Suche nach der Tugend geht (πρὸς ἔρευναν καὶ ζήτησιν ἀρητηῆς), da doch der Schöpfer ihre Wurzeln nicht weit entfernt, sondern so nahe eingepflanzt hat?“

<sup>60</sup> Siehe Post 84–88; Mut 236–239; Somn II, 180; Praem 80f; Prob 68–70; vgl. LegAll II, 89; II, 176; SpecLeg IV, 138.

<sup>61</sup> Griechisch: ἐγγὺς οὕτως τὰγαθὸν παρίδρυται σοὶ καὶ συμπέφυκε, τρισὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένοι, καρδίᾳ, στόματι, χερσὶ, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ διανοία, λόγῳ, πράξεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, συμπληρούμενον ἔκ τε εὐβουλίας καὶ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐλογίας. Das Ganze als Auslegung von Gen 40.

<sup>62</sup> Griechisch: ἐὰν γὰρ οἶα τὰ βουλευμάτα τοιοῦτοι οἱ λόγοι καὶ οἶα τὰ λεγόμενα τοιαῖδε αἱ πράξεις ᾧσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ἀντακολουθῆ δεθέντα ἀρμονίας ἀλύτοις δεσμοῖς, εὐδαιμονία κρατεῖ, τουτέστιν ἡ ἀψευδестаῖτη σοφία καὶ φρόνησις, σοφία μὲν [γὰρ] πρὸς θεραπείαν θεοῦ, φρόνησις δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διοίκησιν.

Insgesamt verwendet hier Philo natürlich wieder die Fassung der LXX, die über den MT hinaus neben Mund und Herz auch noch die Hände ergänzt,<sup>63</sup> wodurch er auch durchweg von den drei Orten der Nähe Gottes bei den Menschen sprechen kann: dem Reden, dem Denken und Willen und vor allem natürlich auch dem Handeln. Darüber hinaus ist auch interessant, dass gerade das Deuteronomium in diesem Zusammenhang – wie ja typischerweise – von der Umkehr und der wichtigen Lebensentscheidung (in der LXX mit der Verwendung des Verbes ἐπιστρέφειν) spricht.<sup>64</sup>

Damit ist offensichtlich, dass bei Philo in diesem Sinne die wohl ausführlichste Verständnisbreite von Umkehr des Judentums des Zweiten Tempels erkennbar wird (Sterling). Da diese zum Teil nur ihm zu Eigen ist kann man die bisherigen Beobachtungen in dieser Weise in einem Zwischenergebnis zusammenfassen.

## 6. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In **SpecLeg IV, 133f** gibt Philo so etwas wie eine Definition der Bedeutung und Funktion der Tugenden in Bezug auf den Dekalog wider:

„Man darf aber nicht übersehen, dass es zwar unter den Einzelgesetzen manche gibt, die nur einem der zehn Grundgesetze verwandt sind und zu einer anderen Hauptart in keiner Beziehung stehen, andererseits aber manche, die allen gemeinsam sind und nicht einem oder zweien, sondern so zu sagen allen zehn Geboten zugehören. *Es sind das (Vorschriften über) die gemeinnützigen Tugenden*; denn jedes einzelne der zehn Gottesworte und sie alle zusammen leiten und ermahnen (uns) zu vernünftiger Einsicht, Gerechtigkeit, Gottesfurcht und dem Reigen (der Reihe, dem „Chor“) der anderen Tugenden, indem sie mit guten Ratschlüssen vernünftige Gedanken/Reden und mit den Reden/Gedanken tüchtige Taten verknüpfen, damit das Organ der Seele in allen seinen Teilen harmonisch ertöne und einen tadellosen und angemessenen Zusammenklang in der Lebensführung hervorbringe.“<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Bei Paulus dagegen in der christologischen Verwendung von Dtn 30,11–14 in Röm 10,6–9 fehlt dieser Zusatz der LXX. Geht Paulus hierbei auf den MT zurück?

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. Dtn 30,2 (LXX: καὶ ἐπιστραφήση ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον τὸν θεόν); 30,8 (LXX: καὶ σὺ ἐπιστραφήση ...); 30,10 (LXX: ἐὰν ἐπιστραφής ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου ...); vgl. als Konsequenz dann 30,3 LXX: καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ...), 30,8 (LXX: καὶ πολυωρήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ... εἰς ἀγαθὰ) usw.

<sup>65</sup> Griechisch: οὐ δεῖ δ' ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι ὡσπερ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ τῶν δέκα συγγενῆ τινα τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐστίν, ἃ πρὸς ἕτερον γένος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωνίαν, οὕτως ἔνια κοινὰ πάντων συμβέβηκεν, οὐχ ἐνὶ ἡ δυσί, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τοῖς <δὲ> δέκα λόγοις ἐφαρμόττονται. **ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν αἱ κοινωφελεῖς ἀρεταί:** καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ τῶν δέκα χρησμάτων καὶ κοινῇ πάντες ἐπὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ θεοσέβειαν **καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χορὸν τῶν ἀρετῶν** ἀλείφουσι καὶ προτρέπουσι, βουλαῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς ὑγιαίνοντας λόγους, λόγοις δὲ σπουδαίας πράξεις συνείροντες, ἵνα τὸ ψυχῆς ὄργανον εὐαρμόστως ὅλον δι' ὅλων συνηγῆ πρὸς ἐμμέλειαν βίου καὶ συμφωνίαν ἀνεπίληπτον.

Mit einer solchen Aussage öffnet sich Philo hier in seiner *Expositio legis* dem in seiner Umwelt und darüber hinaus weit verbreiteten Diskurs über die Bedeutung und Funktion von menschlichen Tugenden.<sup>66</sup> Wie immer wieder in seinen verschiedenen Bezügen und Zusammenstellungen belegt und begründet er – neben der Aufnahme und Abgrenzung gegenüber anderen philosophischen und theologischen Diskursen – seine Ansicht durch biblische Texte,<sup>67</sup> wie hier zur Umkehr mit Dtn 26 und 30.<sup>68</sup>

Andeutungsweise kommt dabei auch zum Ausdruck, dass sich die kosmischen und universalen Dimensionen nun – partikularistisch – grundlegend in den Bestimmungen der Tora und in Israel widerspiegeln. Die räumlichen weiten Dimensionen von Himmel und Erde spiegeln sich in den Weisungen des Gesetzgebers und den zu erwartenden Taten und praktizierten Tugenden des jüdischen Volkes. Hierbei scheint Philo mit dieser Begrifflichkeit in einzigartiger Weise einen eigenen *terminus technicus* für „Umkehr/Bekehrung“ entwickelt und gefunden zu haben.<sup>69</sup>

Neben der Beteiligung an dem philosophischen Diskurs seiner Zeit ist Philo die Verehrung des einen Gottes entscheidend wichtig; als Konsequenz von dessen Liebe und Barmherzigkeit erwartet er dann von dem Menschen – nicht nur von den sich dem Judentum zuwendenden Proselyten allein – sichtbare Konsequenzen im Reden, Denken und Handeln – ihre Umkehr. Das gilt für eine einzelne Person genauso wie für das Kollektiv, sozusagen die ganze Menschheit. Diese letzte Dimension macht er vor allem schließlich in einer für ihn sozusagen als Exeget wichtigen Begründung aus den Heiligen Schrift als entscheidenden Höhepunkt deutlich. Alles in allen befindet er sich damit nicht nur in Einklang mit diesen grundlegenden biblischen Texten, sondern auch mit ganz vergleichbaren Schwerpunkten innerhalb der (textlich meist späteren) rabbinischen Tradition, die ebenfalls das Thema der Umkehr (mit dem späteren Stich- und Fachwort: תשובה) als einen theologischen Schwerpunkt ihres Glaubens

<sup>66</sup> Zum Sabbat als dem ganz besonderen jüdischen „Tag der Tugenden“ vgl. SpecLeg II, 62: die Synagogen als „Lehrhäuser der Einsicht (φρόνησις), der Besonnenheit (σωφροσύνη), der Tapferkeit (ἀνδρεία), der Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) und der anderen Tugenden“; ähnlich Legat 312; zum Thema vgl. M. Niehoff, *Philon*, 190–193.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. auch schon über den biblischen Text zu Gen 6,3 hinaus am Schluss von QG I, 91 in der Erklärung der Zahl „120 Jahre“ (vgl. QG II, 13 zu Gen 7,4.10, wahrscheinlich: μετανοιαὶ ἀμαρτιῶν).

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. hierzu P. Borgen, *Exegete* S. 75: die Gerechtigkeit (δικαιοσύνη) z.B. mit Teilen aus Ex18; Lev 19; Num 20 und Texten aus Dtn; die Tapferkeit (ἀνδρεία) mit Teilen aus Num 25 und 30, sowie Dtn 20.22 und 28; die Menschlichkeit (φιλανθρωπία) mit Num 27 und verschiedenen Bestimmungen aus Ex, Lev und Dtn; die Herkunft (εὐγένεια) mit Abschnitten aus Gen über Adam/Kain, Noah/Ham und den Nachkommen Abrahams usw.

<sup>69</sup> So G.D. Nave, *Role and Function* (2002), 95: „Although on occasions μετανοέω and μετανοια are used to express the general notions of regret, remorse, and changing one’s thinking and/or purpose, for the most part Philo seems to use μετανοέω and μετανοια as technical terms.“

herausstellen.<sup>70</sup> Im Vergleich zu seinem späteren Zeitgenossen Josephus, bei dem ebenfalls der Begriff der Umkehr eine wesentliche Rolle spielt, ist die theologische und exegetische Seite bei Philo allerdings erheblich fundierter.<sup>71</sup>

## 7. AUSBLICK

Zum Schluss soll noch kurz auf die schon eingangs angestoßene Frage eingegangen werden, inwieweit sich eine Brücke schlagen lässt zu zeitgenössischen neutestamentlichen Texten. Hierzu bietet sich – natürlich neben der paulinischen Korrespondenz – vor allem Lukas an, weil dort diese Begrifflichkeit von μετανοέω und μετάνοια offensichtlich eine ganz entscheidende Rolle spielt.<sup>72</sup> Zwar fehlt bei ihm gerade in der Perikope selbst zum Täufer in **Lk 4,14f** diese Begrifflichkeit, das wird aber für den Evangelisten theologisch und konzeptionell begründet sein.<sup>73</sup>

Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf das lukianische Doppelwerk zeigt, dass die Personen, die zur Umkehr gerufen werden beide, Juden und Nichtjuden, umschließt: „‘Buße‘ ist also nichts, was nur Nichtjuden verkündigt wird.“<sup>74</sup> Ebenfalls ist auffällig, dass oft – ähnlich wie bei Philo – nicht weiter genauer bestimmt wird, worin diese Tätigkeit dann konkret bestehen soll und welches Verhalten damit verbunden ist – auch wenn das in der Regel dann aus dem Zusammenhang geschlossen werden kann und muss. Damit kommt ein gewisser „technischer Aspekt“ dieser Ausdrucksweise in den Blick: die Begrifflichkeit wird als vertrauter *terminus technicus* eingesetzt!

<sup>70</sup> Hierzu vgl. vor allem die Darstellung bei D. Winston, Philo's doctrine of repentance, 1995, passim. Vgl. S. 39: „In sum, although Philo has not succeeded completely in assimilating the concept of repentance to his philosophical thought, he does nevertheless emphasize its secondary rank in the hierarchy of virtue, explicitly refers to the scars of old misdeeds, and clearly indicates the lengthy intellectual process that precedes conversation to a better life.“ Ähnlich schon S. 36: „Up to this point, we have found nothing in Philo's account of repentance that differs from Jewish tradition. In analyzing the process of repentance, however, Philo appears to introduce a philosophical mode of description.“ Vgl. ThW IV (1942: J. Behm), S. 992: „Die Lehre von der Umkehr hat die Theologie der Rabb(inen) stark beschäftigt, sie ist mehr als einem von ihnen inneres religiöses Anliegen, nicht nur Gegenstand tiftelnder rationaler Erwägungen gewesen.“

<sup>71</sup> G.D. Nave, Role and Function, 2002, 86: „Although Josephus uses μετανοέω and μετάνοια more frequently in his writings than does Philo, Philo's usage of the terms appears to demonstrate much more development and refinement.“ Vgl. ThW IV (1942: J. Behm; s. Anm. 3), S. 990: „Die Aussagen des Jos(ephus) über das Wesen der Umkehr greifen nicht tief u(nd) wiederholen bekannte Gedanken.“

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. die aufschlussreiche Tabelle in der neuesten – ausführlichen – Monographie zu diesem Thema von T. Jantsch, Jesus, 2017, 62.

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. ebd. 62, Anm. 79: Jesus sei hier eben nicht in prophetischer Absicht dargestellt, sondern „Jesus wird als Lehrer bezeichnet oder angesprochen.“

<sup>74</sup> T. Jantsch, Jesus, 74.

Im Einzelnen kann hier im Ausblick nur die erste Verwendung des Ausdrucks bei Lukas, der Bußruf des Täufers, beispielhaft in den Blick genommen werden, die Zusammenfassung seiner Botschaft, **Lk 3,3**:

... κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ...

Hier handelt es sich also zunächst um den zusammengesetzten Ausdruck βάπτισμα μετανοίας.<sup>75</sup> Taufe scheint hier beim Täufer gleichzeitig den „Anfang des Glaubens“ zu beinhalten. Eschatologisch orientiert ist dieser Akt bestimmt durch die „Rettung von dem Gericht Gottes“ (vgl. Lk 3,7). Damit führt die „Umkehr“ zu einem neuen Leben.<sup>76</sup> Dabei sind sowohl Vergangenheit und Gegenwart im Blick.

Der andere – auch die Zukunft umfassenden – Aspekt, der auch schon bei dem Täufer erkennbar wird, ist die Aufforderung „Früchte zu bringen, die gegenüber der Umkehr würdig sind“, **Lk 3,8**:

... ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας ...

Im weiteren Zusammenhang wird das in der sog. Ständepredigt (**Lk 3,10–14**) konkretisiert – gegenüber allgemein seinen jüdischen Zeitgenossen, den Zöllnern und den Soldaten.<sup>77</sup> Ganz sicher beziehen sich diese Beispiele auf die vorherige Forderung des Täufers zurück: die Menschen sollen ihren Besitz teilen, die Zolleinnehmer sollen nicht mehr Geld erheben als die festgesetzten Gebühren und die Soldaten sollen gegenüber niemand Gewalt anwenden oder Geld erpressen. Insgesamt konkretisieren diese für die jeweiligen Gruppen typisierenden Angaben die Abkehr von ihren jeweils falschen Verhaltensweisen und dem Unrecht, das dadurch in die Welt gesetzt wird. Der eigene Besitz und die jeweilige gesellschaftliche Stellung sollen zum Teilen anregen und Barmherzigkeit zum Ausdruck bringen.<sup>78</sup> Eine grundlegende neue Orientierung ist gefordert. Unrecht (soll) angemessen wiedergutmacht werden, Recht statt Unrecht

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. die vergleichbare Verbindung innerhalb des lukanischen Werkes in Apg 2,38. Ergänzt werden können ähnliche, aber lockere, Zusammenhänge in Apg 8,12f; 16,15; 16,31.33f; 18,8 usw.

<sup>76</sup> Im Blick auf Nichtjuden dann ausführlich erörtert und reflektiert in der Corneliusperikope Apg 10–11. Besonders interessant ist dann aber auch die inhaltliche Füllung des sog. lukanischen Missionsbefehls durch den Auferstandenen, Lk 24,47; dort wird die Umkehrforderung und das Angebot der Vergebung εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη mit der Schrift begründet (ὅτι οὕτως γέγραπται). Damit betont offensichtlich der Evangelist die Treue gegenüber der überkommenen Tradition!

<sup>77</sup> Vgl. wieder im Blick auf Nichtjuden eine ganz vergleichbare Perspektiven in Apg 26,20, der lukanischen Zusammenfassung des paulinischen Kerygmas bei seiner Begegnung mit Agrippa II. (und seiner Schwester Berenike) in Caesarea am Meer: ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας.

<sup>78</sup> Diese Auslegung und Zuspitzung wieder nach der Untersuchung von T. Jantsch, aaO., 82f.



getan werden, niemand durch Gewalt und/oder Betrug um seinen Besitz gebracht werden, usw.<sup>79</sup>

Innerhalb dieser Perspektiven wird also ganz deutlich, dass auch bei Lukas – bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit und hier an diesem einen beispielhaften narrativ ausgeführten Text – ein mit Philo durchaus vergleichbares Verständnis von μετανοέω und μετάνοια vorliegt, so dass die kurze Bemerkung von Colson vor 80 Jahren durchaus seine Berechtigung hatte.<sup>80</sup> Das kann und soll natürlich nicht die bestehenden Unterschiede von Kontext und christlichen Hintergründen<sup>81</sup> des Evangelisten Lukas verwischen. Aber es ist doch sehr bezeichnend, dass zwischen beiden Autoren des 1. Jh. nChr. ganz ähnliche Schwerpunkte bei dem Verständnis und der Auslegung von μετανοεῖν und μετάνοια zu beobachten sind. Wieder einmal verhilft hier der jüdische Philosoph, Exeget und Theologe aus Alexandrien, christliche Texte und Themenbereiche stärker zu profilieren und zu verstehen. Das bestätigt den Hinweis von Henry Chadwick, vom November 1965 in seiner berühmten *Manson Memorial Lecture* – damals vor dem aktuellen Hintergrund der Erforschung der Qumrantexte:<sup>82</sup>

“I believe the theology of the hellenistic synagogue, as recorded in long printed and familiar texts of Greek speaking Judaism, still throws more light on the world of St. Paul ... than any other single non Christian source.”

Und ich ergänze: „auch über Paulus hinaus für das Verständnis des ganzen Neuen Testaments – einschließlich des wohl möglicherweise Proselyten – Lukas, dem Evangelisten“ ... Ganz in der allgemeineren Perspektive, wie das dann später auch Greg Sterling in einem grundlegenden Aufsatz zum Ausdruck gebracht hat:<sup>83</sup>

“Are the works of Philo important for our understanding of the New Testament and Christian origins? I suggest that they are. In fact, I think that the Philonic corpus is the single most important body of material from Second Temple Judaism for our understand-

<sup>79</sup> Nach der Dissertation von D.S. Morlan, *Conversion* (2010) Abstract, S. 3 gilt grundlegend für das Verständnis von μετάνοια: „for Luke, conversion is the restored *imago dei* of the original creation“, was man wohl *cum grano salis* so auch für Philo formulieren könnte!

<sup>80</sup> Vgl. die Zusammenfassung bei G.D. Nave, *Role and Function*, 146 zur behandelten Stelle Lk 3: „At the very outset the author (sc. Luke) suggests that he understands repentance to represent a fundamental change in thinking that permanently and radically alters the way things use to be.“

<sup>81</sup> Vgl. die Worte des Auferstandenen Lk 24, 47: καὶ κηρυχθήσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν εἰς ἅφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

<sup>82</sup> H. Chadwick, *St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria*, bes. S. 286f.

<sup>83</sup> G. Sterling, *Philo has not Been Used Half Enough*, dort der Einleitungstext (S. 251).

ing of the development of Christianity in the first and second centuries.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps this will strike you as an extravagant claim in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Josephan corpus. I would not deny the importance of either of those corpuses for the study of the New Testament and Christian origins. I am convinced, however, that the Philonic corpus helps us to understand the dynamics of Early Christianity more adequately than any other corpus. I do not want to suggest that Philo or his corpus was directly responsible for the development of Christian thought, but that his corpus is a window into the world of Second Temple Judaism in the Diaspora that formed the matrix for Christian theology.”

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<sup>84</sup> Umso erstaunlicher, dass in dem ausführliche Artikel von F. Méndez-Moratalla im Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels (S. 771–774) innerhalb der Abschnitte „Jewish Background“ oder „Greco-Roman Background“ Philo von Alexandrien in keiner Weise Erwähnung findet! Auch seine Dissertation (*A Paradigm of Conversion*, 2001) enthält nur einen ganz knappen Abschnitt über Philo (S. 35–50) und er geht gar nicht auf den Traktat selbst ein!

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József SZÉCSI

**“ALL POWERS ARE ORDERED BY GOD.” ROMANS 13:1-7  
RABBINIC COMMENTARIES**

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**THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ON THE RULERS OF THIS WORLD**

Higher authorities usually include any religious, worldly and otherworldly powers that stand above smaller or larger communities of people and rule over them. It includes kings, leaders of countries and leading organisations as well as otherworldly regions. This paper seeks to analyse the worldly powers that rule over the people of God.

The ideal form of state for ancient Jews was theocracy. The initial interpretation was that there is no need for an earthly king,<sup>1</sup> and later it was through kings anointed by God that He ruled over his people. This explained not only the respect and obedience shown towards the anointed one, the messiah,<sup>2</sup> but also the criticism of the incumbent king by the prophets.<sup>3</sup>

After Jerusalem fell in 587 BC the superior powers for Israel constituted of the Babylonian, Persian and Hellenic rulers. Even though these empires followed very different methods of governance, the prophetic teachings clearly pointed out their shared basic nature by depicting them in the form of various predatory beasts.<sup>4</sup> The same prophetic teaching also proclaimed that even these foreign rulers received their power from the Lord<sup>5</sup>. Such powers<sup>6</sup> were granted to them only for a certain period of time<sup>7</sup> and to fulfil specific tasks.<sup>8</sup> In this

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<sup>1</sup> Judges 8:23; 1Samuel 8; 12:12.

<sup>2</sup> 1Samuel 24:7; Proverbs 24:21.

<sup>3</sup> 1Samuel 15:10kk; 2Samuel 12:1kk; 1Kings 11:29kk; 13:1kk; 18,16kk; Ezekiel 34.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> יהוה.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel 7:11-12, 25-26.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel 7:6.

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah 47:6; Jeremiah 51:24-23.

sense the Bible refers to Nebuchadnezzar as a servant of the Lord<sup>9</sup> and to Cyrus as the Lord's anointed one/the messiah and shepherd.<sup>10</sup> Since they represented authority ordained by God, even the people of God, the Jews owed their obedience to them.<sup>11</sup> This is why Jeremiah wrote to the captives taken to Babylon to make their city prosper with their work and prayers, also because their own prosperity was dependent on it.<sup>12</sup> Daniel and his three companions undertook high positions with great responsibility in the Babylonian court,<sup>13</sup> while Nehemiah did so for the Persian king.<sup>14</sup>

The men of God only refused to obey the foreign powers when it required them to deny their faith.<sup>15</sup>

Israel increasingly hoped that the earthly kingdoms will be replaced by the Kingdom of God, where God's reign becomes a tangible reality.<sup>16</sup>

In New Testament times the superior power was exercised by representatives of the Roman Empire, namely Caesar, the governors and garrisons and the Herods that reigned at the mercy of Rome. Their description in the New Testament is a direct continuation of the mentality prevailing in the Tanakh.

Jesus and in his wake, the Apostles also believed that the rulers received their power from God. John 19:11 "Jesus gave this answer: You would have no power at all over me if it was not given to you by God; so that he who gave me up to you has the greater sin."<sup>17</sup> The state and the church are also servants of God – irrespective whether they are aware of it or not –, they only have different tasks and different tools to fulfil them.<sup>18</sup> The state was granted power to rein in the anarchy that poses a risk to life, which includes their right to use weapons.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the state righteously claims respect, obedience and the payment of taxes from its citizens.<sup>20</sup> A Christian would meet such obligations acting out of

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<sup>9</sup> Jeremiah 25:9.

<sup>10</sup> Isaiah 44:28; 45:1kk.

<sup>11</sup> Jeremiah 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremiah 29.

<sup>13</sup> Daniel 2:48-49.

<sup>14</sup> Nehemiah 2:1.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel 3:16-18.

<sup>16</sup> Daniel 7.

<sup>17</sup> Romans 13:1-7.

<sup>18</sup> Romans 13:4,6.

<sup>19</sup> Roman 13:34; 1Peter 2:14.

<sup>20</sup> Mark 12:17; Romans 13:1-7; Titus 3:1; 1Peter 2:13.

love towards God and other people, freely and not coerced.<sup>21</sup> It’s Romans 13:1–7 embedded in the context of love. Not unlike Jeremiah who encouraged the Babylonian captives, Paul also urged the Christians in the Roman Empire to intercede and pray for their Gentile leaders.<sup>22</sup> This faith-rooted loyalty was the characteristic that clearly distinguished Christians from the Zealots.

This didn’t mean that Jesus and his disciples would turn a blind eye to the sins committed by the ruling powers. Jesus made sharp remarks on the lack of integrity of Herod. Luke 13:31–32 (31) “At that time, certain Pharisees came to him and said, Go away from this place, because Herod's purpose is to put you to death. (32) And he said, Go and say to that fox, I send out evil spirits and do works of mercy today and tomorrow, and on the third day my work will be complete.” He would point out the arrogance of the reigning kings. Luke 22:25–26 (25) “And he said, The kings of the Gentiles are lords over them, and those who have authority are given names of honour. (26) But let it not be so with you; but he who is greater, let him become like the younger; and he who is chief, like a servant.” The death of Jesus on the cross and the martyrdom of 1<sup>st</sup> century Christians clearly depict what consequences it brings to be self-consumed with fear and self-idolatry by those on power. Pilate did not take sides with the truth already known to him, while the Roman Emperors demanded worship that is due to God. In such case the State – as the New Testament records – is under the influence of demonic forces. 1 Cor. 2:6-8 “(6) But still we have wisdom for those who are complete in knowledge, though not the wisdom of this world, and not of the rulers of this world, who are coming to nothing; (7) But we give the news of the secret wisdom of God, which he had kept in store before the world came into existence, for our glory; (8) Of which not one of the rulers of this world had knowledge: for if they had, they would not have put the Lord of glory on the cross.” Revelations 13:1–7 “(1) And I saw a beast coming up out of the sea,<sup>23</sup> (3) and all the earth was wondering at the beast. (4) And they gave worship to the dragon, because he gave authority to the beast; (7) And it was given to him to make war on the saints and to overcome them.<sup>24</sup> and there was given to him authority over every tribe and people and language and nation.” Such situations are on the boundary, obedience to Caesar equals

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<sup>21</sup> Romans 13:2,5; 1Peter 2:16.

<sup>22</sup> 1Timothy 2:1-2.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel 7:3,7.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel 7:21.

obedience to God, and Christians can never undertake such commitment. Acts 5:29 “We have to do the orders of God, not of man.”

From the very first pages until the last, the New Testament is brimming with the tension between the present and the coming world. The disciples of Christ know it well that the state is from this world, that it is ‘temporary’ and it’s an institution that carries the marks of sin on itself. They are also aware of the fact that a violent overthrow will not bring the Kingdom of God any closer. They accept the world order as from God, and they expect God to fulfil his promises for the end times, in the coming world. As citizens of this world, they respect the law and as citizens of the coming world<sup>25</sup> they arrange disputes among themselves in accordance with the Law of Christ.<sup>26</sup>

### RABBINIC COMMENTARY TO ROMANS 13:1-7

#### Roman 13:1

Πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω.  
 Let everyone put himself under the authority of the higher powers,  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ,  
 because there is no power which is not of God,  
 αἱ δὲ οὐσαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσὶν  
 and all powers are ordered by God.

This passage is one that shares a rather united approach in ancient Jewish theology.

Daniel 2:21 “By him times and years are changed: by him kings are taken away and kings are lifted up: he gives wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to those whose minds are awake.”

Daniel 2:37 “You, O King, king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory.”

Wisdom 6:1–6 (1) Hear, therefore, kings, and understand; learn, you magistrates of the earth’s expanse! (2) Give ear, you who have power over multitudes and lord it over throngs of peoples! (3) Because authority was given you by the Lord and sovereignty by the Most High, who shall probe your works and scru-

<sup>25</sup> Philippians 3:20 “For our country is in heaven; from where the Saviour for whom we are waiting will come, even the Lord Jesus Christ”; Hebrews 13:14.

<sup>26</sup> 1Cor 6:1-8; Galatians 6:1-2.

tinize your counsels! (4) Because, though you were ministers of his kingdom (*huperetai tes auto basileios*), you did not judge rightly, and did not keep the law, nor walk according to the will of God, (5) Terribly and swiftly he shall come against you, because severe judgment awaits the exalted – (6) For the lowly may be pardoned out of mercy but the mighty shall be mightily put to the test.

The Book of Enoch 46:2–4<sup>27</sup>

“(3) He answered and said to me, This is the Son of man, to whom righteousness belongs; with whom righteousness has dwelt; and who will reveal all the treasures of that which is concealed: for the Lord of spirits has chosen him; and his portion has surpassed all before the Lord of spirits in everlasting uprightness. (4) This Son of man, whom thou beholdest, shall raise up kings and the mighty from their couches, and the powerful from their thrones; shall loosen the bridles of the powerful, and break in pieces the teeth of sinners. (5) He shall hurl kings from their thrones and their dominions; because they will not exalt and praise him, nor humble themselves before him, by whom their kingdoms were granted to them.”

The Book of Apocalypse of Baruch 82:9<sup>28</sup> “And we remark the boastfulness of their might, Though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them, But they shall pass away as a passing cloud.”

John 19:11 “Jesus gave this answer: You would have no power at all over me if it was not given to you by God; so that he who gave me up to you has the greater sin.”

Berakoth 58a “On seeing kings of Israel, one says: Blessed be He who had imparted of His glory to them that fear Him. On seeing non-Jewish kings, one says: Blessed be He who had imparted of His glory to His creatures.”

Avodah Zarah 18a When Rabbi Yosei ben Kisma fell ill (around 110 AD), Rabbi anina ben Teradyon went to visit him. Rabbi Yosei ben Kisma said to him: anina my brother, do you not know that this nation has been given reign by a decree from Heaven? The proof is that Rome has destroyed God’s Temple, and burned His Sanctuary, and killed His pious ones, and destroyed His best ones, and it still exists.

Berakoth 58a (When Rabbi Shila got into an argument with a Gentile magistrate during a criminal court judgement around 220 AD he said the following during the trial:) 1 Chronicles 29:11–12 says “(11) Yours, O Lord, is the strength and the power and the glory, and the authority and the honour: for everything in heaven and on earth is yours; yours is the kingdom, O Lord, and you are lifted up as head over all. (12) Wealth and honour come from you, and you are ruler over all, and in your hand is power and strength; it is in your power to make great, and to give strength to all.”

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<sup>27</sup> <http://enok.uw.hu/Enok1.html>.

<sup>28</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.



What are you saying? they asked him. He replied: What I am saying is this: Blessed is the All-Merciful Who has made the earthly royalty<sup>29</sup> on the model<sup>30</sup> of the heavenly, and has invested you with dominion (shilton)<sup>31</sup>, and made you lovers of justice. They said to him: Are you so solicitous for the honour of the Government<sup>32</sup>? They handed him a staff and said to him: You may act as judge.”

Berakoth 58a “Rabbi Hanan ben Raba said (around 250 AD) that Rabbi Johanan said (+279): Even a waterman is appointed from heaven.” That means even the lowest position of power is given by God.

Jerusalem Talmud Peah 8:21a “When Rabbi Haggai (around 330 AD) was enacting the leaders of the synagogue, he gave them a Torah to indicate that all power (serarah)<sup>33</sup> that is granted is given by the Torah: “Through me (wisdom = Torah) kings have their power, and rulers govern by me. Proverbs 8:15 “Through me kings have their power, and rulers give right decisions.”

Exodus Rabba 89a “God said to Nebuchadnezzar: That little power (malchut)<sup>34</sup> that was given to you, comes from Me. This is what Daniel said to him: “You, O King, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power and honour.” Daniel 2:37 “You, O King, king of kings, to whom the God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory.”

#### Romans 13:2

ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ

For which reason everyone who puts himself against the authority

τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν,  
puts himself against the order of God:

οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα λήψονται.

and those who are against it will get punishment for themselves.

Genesis Rabba 60a “Rabbi Judah said (around 350 AD) To rebel against the king is to rebel against the Shekhinah.

Midrash Psalm 13a “against the Lord, and against the king of his selection” (Psalm 2:2) This refers to Korah, who rebelled against the priesthood and Aaron, the anointed priest of the Lord. Moses said to him: If Aaron, my brother, had appointed himself as high priest that you would act justly to murmur and complain against him. But he re-

<sup>29</sup> מלוכה.

<sup>30</sup> כעין מלכותא דרקייעא.

<sup>31</sup> שולטנא.

<sup>32</sup> יקרא דמלכותא.

<sup>33</sup> שררה.

<sup>34</sup> מלכות.

ceived it from God himself, whose is the greatness, power and authority and anyone rebelling against Aaron,<sup>35</sup> is rebelling against God. As it is written: "against the Lord, and against the king of his selection" (Psalm 2:2)

Romans 13:3a

οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν φόβος τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ  
For rulers are not a cause of fear to the good work  
ἀλλὰ τῷ κακῷ.  
but to the evil.

Avodah Zarah 3b and 4a – Rabbi Yehuda (+299) said that Shmuel (+354) said: What does it mean what is written: "He has made men like the fishes of the sea, like the worms which have no ruler over them." (Habakkuk 1:14) Just like the larger fish in the sea swallows the smaller ones, so it is with men, if there was no fear from the higher authority,<sup>36</sup> everyone would devour the ones smaller than him. This is what we learnt (Pirkei Avot 3:2): Rabbi Hanina, the vice-high priest said (around 70 AD): Pray for the welfare of the government<sup>37</sup>, because if people did not fear it, a person would swallow their fellow alive.

Romans 13:3b

θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν;  
If you would have no fear of the authority,  
τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει,  
do good  
καὶ ἔξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς  
and you will have praise;

Leviticus Rabba 9 (111b) – "Rabbi Aha said (around 320 AD): Once a ruler entered a city and there were hordes of thieves with him (as captives). One city dweller said to other: How fearful this ruler is! But the other one replied: If you have a good reputation, you don't have to be afraid of him. Similarly, when the Israelites heard that the captives were killed, they were afraid. But Moses said to them: Do not be afraid! Study the Torah, and you will not be afraid of them."

Romans 13:4

Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν.

<sup>35</sup> שעמיד כנגד אהרן.

<sup>36</sup> מורא של מלכות.

<sup>37</sup> מלכות.

For he is the servant of God to you for good.  
 ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῆς, φοβοῦ  
 But if you do evil, have fear;  
 οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ  
 for the sword is not in his hand for nothing:  
 Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν,  
 he is God's servant,  
 ἐκδικὸς εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσειντι.  
 making God's punishment come on the evil-doer.

The Epistle to the Romans Chapter 13, verse 4 refers to the worldly authority as servant of God: Theou diakonos!<sup>38</sup>

Romans 13:5  
 διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι,  
 So put yourselves under the authority,  
 οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν  
 not for fear of wrath,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν.  
 but because you have the knowledge of what is right.

The often quoted sentence by Shmuel (+254) belongs here: (d'malchuta dina dina)<sup>39</sup>  
 “The (gentile) law of the land is the law” – therefore, the Jews must also accept it (Bava Kamma 113a).

Romans 13:7  
 ἀπόδοτε πᾶσιν τὰς ὀφειλάς,  
 Give to all what is their right:  
 τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον,  
 taxes to him whose they are,  
 τῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ τέλος,  
 payment to him whose right it is,  
 τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον,  
 fear to whom fear,  
 τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμὴν.  
 honour to whom honour is to be given.

<sup>38</sup> Θεου διακονος.

<sup>39</sup> דמלכותא דינא דינא.

Matthew 5:46 and 17:25 speaks about taxes (phoros)<sup>40</sup> and customs (telos)<sup>41</sup>. Fear (phobos)<sup>42</sup> and respect (time)<sup>43</sup> is due to those whom people pay taxes and customs.

Zevachim 102a – Rabbi Yannai said (around 225 AD): Always fear the superior powers,<sup>44</sup> as it is written: And all these your servants will come to me, going down on their faces before me” (Exodus 11:8)

Mekhilta 17a “And he (Pharaoh) sent for Moses and Aaron by night” (Exodus 12:31). What are they saying this? For Pharaoh said to him: “Go away from me” Exodus 10:28-29“(28) And Pharaoh said to him, Go away from me, take care that you come not again before me; for the day when you see my face again will be your last.” (29) And Moses said, You say truly; I will not see your face again.” This passage says that Moses honoured the superior powers, the Egyptian Pharaoh.<sup>45</sup>

Rabbi Yismael (around +135) said: “See what the Scriptures say: And the word of the Lord came to Moses and Aaron, with orders for the children of Israel and for Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to take the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.” According to Rabbi Yismael this sentence refers to the fact that respect is to be shown toward superior powers.

In the same way, we can read that Joseph showed respect for the superior power as the Scriptures say: “Then Joseph said (to Pharaoh), Without God there will be no answer of peace for Pharaoh.” (Genesis 41:16)

Similarly, Jacob also showed respect for the superior power as the Scriptures say: “then Israel (Jacob), getting all his strength together, had himself lifted up in his bed (to show respect towards Joseph – Genesis 48:2).

Elijah also showed respect for the superior power of which Rabbi Yohanan (+279) said: Of this (we have proof): “And the hand of the Lord was on Elijah; and he made himself strong, and went running before Ahab till they came to Jezreel. That is, he was running from King Ahab (1Kings 18:46; Menachot 98a).

The same way, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego also showed respect towards the superior powers (Daniel 3:26) in the fiery furnace story (Daniel 6:21, Midrash Tanchuma 75b). Daniel 6:21-23 “(20) And when he (King Darius) came near the hole where Daniel was, he gave a loud cry of grief; the king made answer and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is your God, whose servant you are at all times, able to keep you safe from the lions?” (21) Then Daniel said to the king, O King, have life for ever. (23) My God has sent his angel to keep the lions' mouths shut,

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<sup>40</sup> φoρoς.

<sup>41</sup> τελος.

<sup>42</sup> φoρoς.

<sup>43</sup> τιμη.

<sup>44</sup> אימת מלכות.

<sup>45</sup> חלק כבוד.

and they have done me no damage: because I was seen to be without sin before him; and further, before you, O King, I have done no wrong.”

Midrash Tanchuma 39a “I have sent to give my lord (Esau)” (Genesis 32:5) Jacob here refers to Esau as his lord. The Torah here teaches the right kind of behaviour that people are to show respect towards superior powers.<sup>46</sup>

This is how the master Rabbi Judah I. (+220) wrote to Caesar: “Your servant, Judah is sending his greetings to You!” He wrote like that to show respect towards the superior power.

### RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARDS THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES

The Apostle Paul must have been troubled by one specific and excessive form of religious zeal. Some Christians believed that they were already citizens of a different kingdom. Since they became free in Christ, they did not have to obey the local authorities. Paul was wary of the anarchy that resulted from such approach, this is why he raised his voice against it.

He is not elaborating a general theory on the relationship between the church and the state. He is about to clarify the situation. The Greek terminology he is using, for example in verse 4, are *diaconus* and *leitourgos*, common words used in public administration in the Hellenistic period. These terms were used for the representatives of the territorial and central administration. Paul thinks that since God is behind all creation, He would expect order also in the political arena. Therefore, when he calls on his readers to “do good”, it means that they should have the appropriate political conduct. He, of course, presumes that the higher powers work for the benefit of the subordinates (verse 4). As an emphasis, Paul repeats three times that the political power and authority is delegated (Romans 13:1,4,6).

Obedience is required for two reasons: to avoid punishment and because of your conscientiousness. Paul does not consider the conscience as an inner voice that informs people about good and bad, right or wrong. The literal translation of the Greek text is common knowledge shared with others, that is a common knowledge and perception that the individual will internalise. Conscience is internalising and making what others say, think or do about the individual as personal, since they are witnesses and judges at the same time. Their judgement lays the foundation for the respect that is essential for a good human existence.

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<sup>46</sup> לחלוק כבוד למלכות.

The Bible is not only a systematic theological dissertation or a divine book, it is also human in nature. The definitions and theological positions in the Holy Scriptures were born, shaped, developed only to reach us in their current, probably not final forms.

The ancient Jewish leaders carried a divine anointing, an appointment, sacredness with them. However, they were not to obey ungodly orders, but to reject them. Jesus had his own idea about the powers of the day, but He did not seek confrontation, He was focussing on more important issues.

This entire question takes a different form and shape today. Our western civilisation is the product of ancient Greek democracy which is said to be the best form of governance, albeit imperfect. Islam wants a world where their divine law, the sharia law prevails. In democracy the citizens themselves can choose majority laws in terms of numbers, which can hardly be called divine at times. In ancient Israel the law of God, the Torah was the governing law. The followers of Jesus confronted with the political and religious authorities after Jesus was crucified and that is not different today. It is sufficient to consider the religious persecution against Christians in the last 100 years, nor should be forget about the liberation theology.

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## DISCIPLINARY AND DOCTRINAL REGULATIONS OF THE EARLY CHURCH (UNTIL THE 5<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY) ON THE BASIS OF VIRTUES AND THEIR BIBLICAL ORIGINS\*

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### INTRODUCTION

The classical summaries on virtue (virtus, ἀρετή) describes the Western meaning of virtues based on their Greco – Roman idea in the antiquity from the list and correlation of the four classic cardinal virtues (temperance – σωφροσύνη; prudence – φρόνησις; courage – ἀνδρεία; justice – δικαιοσύνη), through Plato’s and Aristotle’s concept, until the Roman Stoic system, with particular attention to Marcus Aurelius’ works (†180) who considered the virtues as unshakable pillars of the Roman Empire.<sup>1</sup> His thoughts were recently analyzed brilliantly by Donald Robertson in his fundamental volume of 2019.<sup>2</sup> If we take a glance at the basic scholarly conviction on the concept of Christianity about virtues, it describes that as a characteristic importance of the influence of Stoicism on the apostolic fathers, not a genuine Christian theory, because – following the mentioned questionable scholarly theory – such abstract form of ‘virtues’ or ‘comprehensive system of virtue’ as in the Greco – Roman idea cannot be found in the Old- and in the New Testament.<sup>3</sup> This theory supposes that the so-called ‘seven theological virtues’ based on the Christian teaching (humility – *humilitas*; kindness – *benevolentia*; temperance – *temperantia*; chastity – *castitas*; patience – *patientia*; charity – *caritas*; diligence – *diligentia/industria*) has been developed only in the medi-

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<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius, *Meditationes*, I:15–16 (transl. George Long) (Danbury, Connecticut, 1980<sup>3</sup>) 195–198.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson, Donald, *How to Think Like a Roman Emperor: The Stoic Philosophy of Marcus Aurelius* (New York, 2019), 83–112.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Höfer, Josef – Rahner, Karl (Hrsg.) *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, X. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1965), 395.



eval – renaissance period, thanks to the flourishing scholastic interpretation, and particularly to Petrus Lombardus<sup>4</sup> (†1160).<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the above summarized general scholarly opinion needs an essential reconsideration based on the Biblical, patristic, and early ecclesiastical disciplinary sources. There are several descriptions in the Old Testament, even from the Genesis, and particularly within the so-called ‘wisdom-literature’ which contain the entire list about those skills which are called by Greek authors ‘readiness for good’ (i.e. the entire Book of Sirach). Likewise, in the New Testament the ‘catalogues of virtues’, e.g., Gal. 5:22–23<sup>6</sup>: “By contrast, the fruit of the Spirit it is benevolent love: joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, benevolence, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control. There is absolutely no law against such a thing.” (see also: Eph. 5: 25–32). In the *Shepherd of Hermas* we can read the Vision of the Seven Women, representing the virtues: “They are daughters one of the other. Their names are: Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When you perform all the acts of their mother then you are able to live.” (*Hermas* 8:5).<sup>7</sup> This expressive appearance of ‘virtues’ in the cited pseudo-Apostolic source shows the importance of these abstract categories for Christian teaching in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century Christian writings and their interpretation on ‘virtues’ have made an essential influence on the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century disciplinary concept of the Church which is clearly testified by the *Traditio Apostolica*, *Didascalia*, *Apostolic Church Order*, and the teaching of the early Church. These sources have a strong relation to the Biblical basis, overstepping the teaching of Stoicism.

## I. SOME PROMINENT PATRISTIC LINES ON ‘VIRTUES’ ON BIBLICAL BASES

I like to emphasize at the very beginning those four leading patristic texts, which describe the man who disposes himself for justification through the acts of virtues<sup>8</sup> beside

<sup>4</sup> In detailed cf. Rosemann, Philipp W., *The Story of the Great Medieval Book: Peter Lombard's "sentences"* (Petersborough, Ont., 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Fries, Heinrich (Hrsg.) *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe* (München, 1962), II. 714. Different point of view is explained by Szuromi, Sz. Anzelm, *Erények vagy értékek? A teremtett világ megőrzésének egy lehetséges értelmezése*, in *Isten dicsősége – a teremtés szépsége*. *Varia Theologica* 11 (Budapest, 2020)249–260, especially 256.

<sup>6</sup> The English texts of the Bible are taken from *The New American Bible* (1970) in this article.

<sup>7</sup> Herm. 8.5–7: “They are daughters one of the other. Their name are: Simplicity, Knowledge, Innocence, Reverence, and Love. When you perform all the acts of their mother then you are able to live.” ‘Lady,’ I said, ‘I would like to know what power each of them has.’ ‘You shall be told. Each has the other’s and they follow one another in order in which they are born. Continence is the daughter of Faith, Simplicity of Continence, Innocence of Simplicity, Reverence of Innocence, Knowledge of Reverence, Love of Knowledge. Their acts then, are pure, reverent and divine (...).” *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation*, I. (Washington D.C., 1947), 251.

<sup>8</sup> Willis, John R., ed. *The Teachings of the Church Fathers* (San Francisco, CA., 2002), 293.

faith (about the faith<sup>9</sup> i.e. St. Clement of Rome [Cor. 32:4], St. Clement of Alexandria [Strom. 2:6], St. John Chrysostom [Hom. on John 31:1], St. Augustine [Lett. CLXXXVI 3:10])<sup>10</sup>. The concrete texts are the followings:

1) *St. Clement of Rome* (†99)<sup>11</sup>: “Why was our father Abraham blessed? Was it not because he performed justice and truth through faith?” (Letter to the Corinthians, 31).<sup>12</sup>

2) *St. Clement of Alexandria* (†215)<sup>13</sup>: “So that when we hear, ‘Your faith has saved you’ (Mt. 9:22; Mk. 5:34; Lk. 8:48), we do not understand Him to say absolutely that those who have believed in any way whatever shall be saved, unless also works follow. But it was to the Jews alone that He spoke this utterance, who kept the law and lived blamelessly, who wanted only faith in the Lord.” (Stromata, 6:14).<sup>14</sup>

3) *St. John Chrysostom* (†407): “‘Who believes in the Son, has eternal life’ (Jn. 3:36) [...] ‘It is then enough,’ says one, ‘to believe on the Son, that one may have eternal life?’ By no means. And hear Christ Himself declaring this, and saying, ‘Not every one that says to Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven’ (Mt. 7:21); and the blasphemy against the Spirit is enough of itself to cast a man into hell. But why speak I of a portion of doctrine? Though a man believes rightly on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, yet if he leads not a right life, his faith will avail nothing towards his salvation.” (Homilies on St. John, 31:1).<sup>15</sup>

4) *St. Augustine* (†430): “For certainly it very rarely happens, indeed, I should rather say, never, that any one approaches us with the wish to become a Christian who has not been smitten with some sort of fear of God. For if it is in the expectation of some advantage from men whom he deems himself unlikely to please in any other way, or with the idea of escaping any disadvantage at the hands of men of whose displeasure or hostility he is seriously afraid, that man wishes to become a Christian, then his wish

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<sup>9</sup> About faith as virtue the work of St. Gregory of Nyssa is significant, cf. Vanyó, László, *Nüsszai Szent Gergely teológiai antropológiája*. Litteratura Patristica 3 (Budapest, 2010), 136–148.

<sup>10</sup> Willis, *The Teachings of the Church Fathers*, 291–292.

<sup>11</sup> Caspar, von Erich, *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tübingen, 1930), I. 5–7.

<sup>12</sup> PG I. 272; *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation*, I. 34; cf. Funk, Franciscus Xaverius, ed. *Patres Apostolici* (Tübingen, 1901<sup>2</sup>), I. 152. Cf. Lowther, Clarke W. K., ed. *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* (London, 1937), 5–19.

<sup>13</sup> Altaner, Berthold, *Patrology* (transl. Graef, Hilda C.) (New York, N.Y., 1961<sup>2</sup>), 217.

<sup>14</sup> PG IX. 329; *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (revised and chronologically arranged edition) (New York, 1899), II. 505; cf. Paananen, Timo S., *A Study in Authenticity: Admissible Concealed Indicators of Authority and Other Features of Forgeries – A Case Study of Clement of Alexandria, Letter to Theodore, and the Longer Gospel of Mark* (University of Helsinki, PhD Dissertation) (Helsinki, 2019).

<sup>15</sup> PG LIX. 175; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (New York, 1904), XIV. 106. About his teaching cf. Mitchel, Margaret M., *The Heavenly Trumpet. John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (Louisville, Kentucky, 2002).

to become one is not so earnest as his desire to feign one.” (On catechizing the un-instructed, V, 9).<sup>16</sup>

To the above mentioned four quotations should be added an extended work of St. John Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew (Homily 15:6–7) which deals entirely with the real virtue for Christians.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. OLD TESTAMENT SOURCES<sup>18</sup>

If we try to compose those Books of the Old Testament which deal with virtues in clear system, we must list the Book of Genesis (in general sense of that), Exodus (in general sense too), Leviticus (on question of holiness), Deuteronomy (on theme of obedience), 1Kings (on concept of religiosity), Judith (on ethical virtues, particularly 8:11–10:10), Esther (8:9–17; 14:3:19), 2Maccabees, Job (on moral order, summarized in the Poem of Wisdom [“Where is the wisdom to be found?”] – 28:1–28)<sup>19</sup>, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Sirach, Isaiah, and Ezekiel (on necessary of justice).

It is important to pay more attention to Book of Tobit, because its rich and felicitous explanation the providence and continence. About providence we can read Tobit 3:2–6:

“You are righteous, Lord, /and all your deeds are just; /All your ways are mercy and fidelity; /you are judge of the world. /And now, Lord, be mindful of me /and look with favor upon me. /Do not punish me for my sins, /or for my inadvertent offenses, /or for those of my ancestors. /“They sinned against you, /and disobeyed your commandments. /So you handed us over to plunder, captivity, and death, /to become an object lesson, a by-

<sup>16</sup> PL XL. 319; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, II. 288; cf. Di Berardino, Angelo – Quasten, Johannes, dir. *La edad de oro de la literatura patristica latina*. Patrología III [BAC 422] (Madrid, 1993<sup>3</sup>), 481–484, 492–496, 520–524, 527–529, 550–551.

<sup>17</sup> PG LVII. 231–232.

<sup>18</sup> Michel, August, “Vertu”, in Vacant, Jean Michel Alfred – Manegnot, Eugène – Amann, Émile, eds. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XV/2. (Paris, 1950), 2739–2799, especially 2741.

<sup>19</sup> Job 28:1–28: “Mortals do not know her path, /nor is she to be found in the land of the living. /The Deep says, “She is not in me”; /and the Sea says, “She is not with me.” /Solid gold cannot purchase her, /nor can her price be paid with silver. /She cannot be bought with gold of Ophir, /with precious onyx or lapis lazuli, /Gold or crystal cannot equal her, /nor can golden vessels be exchanged for her. /Neither coral nor crystal should be thought of; /the value of wisdom surpasses pearls. /Ethiopian topaz does not equal her, /nor can she be weighed out for pure gold. /As for wisdom, where does she come from? /Where is the place of understanding? /She is hidden from the eyes of every living thing; /even from the birds of the air she is concealed. /Abaddon and Death say, /“Only by rumor have we heard of her.” /But God understands the way to her; /it is he who knows her place. /For he beholds the ends of the earth /and sees all that is under the heavens. /When he weighed out the wind, /and measured out the waters; /When he made a rule for the rain /and a path for the thunderbolts, /Then he saw wisdom and appraised her, /established her, and searched her out. /And to mortals he said: /See: the fear of the Lord is wisdom; /and avoiding evil is understanding.”

word, and a reproach /in all the nations among whom you scattered us. /“Yes, your many judgments are right /in dealing with me as my sins, /and those of my ancestors, deserve. /For we have neither kept your commandments, /nor walked in fidelity before you. /“So now, deal with me as you please; /command my life breath to be taken from me, /that I may depart from the face of the earth and become dust. /It is better for me to die than to live, /because I have listened to undeserved reproaches, /and great is the grief within me. /“Lord, command that I be released from such anguish; /let me go to my everlasting abode; /Do not turn your face away from me, Lord. /For it is better for me to die /than to endure so much misery in life, /and to listen to such reproaches!”

It is supplemented later on with other emphases in Tobit 3:12–23. Nevertheless, on continence we find a griping picture in 8:4–5:

„When Sarah’s parents left the bedroom and closed the door behind them, Tobiah rose from bed and said to his wife, “My sister, come, let us pray and beg our Lord to grant us mercy and protection.” She got up, and they started to pray and beg that they might be protected. He began with these words: /“Blessed are you, O God of our ancestors; /blessed be your name forever and ever! /Let the heavens and all your creation bless you forever.”

### 3. NEW TESTAMENT SOURCES<sup>20</sup>

A. Analyzing the New Testament regarding the unique meaning – which is independent from the philosophical contents of the Stoic concept – and consequent appearance of the references to virtues, we can identify the following twelve topics:

- 1) *beatitudes*: Mt 5:12; Lk 6:20–23
- 2) *relation between the ancient law and new law*: Mt 5:17–48; Lk 6:24–45
- 3) *vices of the Christian life*: Mt 6:1–7:6
- 4) *practical virtues*: Mt 7:7–20
- 5) *fruits of repentance*: Mt 3:1–6; Mk 6:12; Lk 3:8
- 6) *faith* (in relation with veracity): Mt 5:33–37
- 7) *mortification*: Mt 16:24–25; Mt 19:16–29; Mk 9:34; Lk 9:47–48
- 8) *humility*: Mt 18:1–6; Mt 23:1–12; Mk 9:34, Lk 9:47–48
- 9) *vigilance of prayer*: Mt 26:41; Mk 14:38
- 10) *mercifulness* (i.e. ‘misericordia’): Mt 9:13
- 11) *love of God*: Mt 22:34–40; Mk 12:29–31
- 12) *in general*: Act 2:38; 3:13–20; 4:19:20.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Michel, August, “Vertu”, 2742.

### B. *Virtue at St. Paul's writings:*

Here I do not want to get into a deep analysis of St. Paul's teaching on virtues, only give the list of the most important places within St. Paul's letters in the New Testament, dealing with those questions which have become indispensable references of virtues in Christian interpretation, even by Apostolic Fathers of the Church. This list is the following: Romans 12:1–15:13; Galatians 5:1–6:18; Ephesians 4:1–6:9; Colossians 3:1–4:6; 1Thessalonians 4:1–5:22; 1Timothy 6:11–12; 2Timothy 1:7; Titus 1:6–9; Titus 2:2–10.

These are those references – together with the afore-mentioned extensive Old Testament sections – which are the basis for the patristic writings and disciplinary regulations in relation to virtues, essentially differ from the Stoic sources.

## 4. PATRISTIC AUTHORS ON VIRTUES<sup>21</sup>

Here I list only those patristic authors whose indicated writings made influence on the contents of the pre-Gratian canon law collections, therefore have played indispensable role in the formation of the Church' disciplinary concept on virtues. These are the followings:

- 1) St. Theophilus of Antioch [†183/185] (a list of virtues): *Ad Autolyicum* 3:18<sup>22</sup>
- 2) St. Hilary [†368]: *On Psalm 118*, n. 9<sup>23</sup>; *On Psalm 136*, n. 11<sup>24</sup>; *On Matthew* 3:4<sup>25</sup>
- 3) St. Cyril of Jerusalem [†386]: *Catechesis* 23:6<sup>26</sup>
- 4) St. Gregory of Nazianzus [†390]: *Oratio* (Prayer) 28:31<sup>27</sup>
- 5) St. Ambrose [†397]: *Genesis – interpretation*, 2:10; *De paradiso*, 3:14–18<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In detail cf. Michel, August, "Vertu", 2743.

<sup>22</sup> PG VI. 1141. About his teaching cf. Rogers, Rick, *Theophilus of Antioch. The Life and Thought of a Second-Century Bishop* (Lanham–Boulder–New York–Oxford, 2000), 20–21.

<sup>23</sup> PL IX. 604.

<sup>24</sup> PL IX. 782.

<sup>25</sup> PL IX. 931. About his teaching cf. Di Bernardino – Quasten, dir. *La edad de oro de la literatura patristica latina*, 63–71. Doignon, Jean, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil. Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement l'épreuve du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1971).

<sup>26</sup> PG XXXIV. 1114. Cf. Di Bernardino, Angelo (a cura di), *Nuovo dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, I. (Roma, 2006), 1050–1052.

<sup>27</sup> PG XXXVI. 72.

<sup>28</sup> PL XIV. 280–282. About his teaching cf. Di Bernardino – Quasten, dir. *La edad de oro de la literatura patristica latina*, 192–194. Boucher, Jules, "Justice (vertu de), vertu cardinale", in Vacant, Jean Michel Alfred – Manegnot, Eugène – Amann, Émile, eds. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VIII/2. (Paris, 1925), 2001–2020.

- 6) St. John Chrysostom [†407]: *De resurrectione mortuorum*, n. 7<sup>29</sup>; *Homily on Genesis*, 4:5<sup>30</sup>
- 7) St. Jerome [†420]: *Apologia adversus libros Rufini*, 1:23<sup>31</sup>
- 8) St. Augustine [†430]: we can find a long list of his works and phrases on virtues, composed by August Michel.<sup>32</sup> Here I would like to cite his famous definition in *De libero arbitrio*: “Virtus est animi habitus, naturae modo atque nomini contentaneus.”<sup>33</sup>
- 9) St. Gregory the Great [†604]: *Moralia in Iob*, 17:23:4<sup>34</sup>; *Homilies*, 2:34:7:10<sup>35</sup>

### 5. PSEUDO-APOSTOLIC DISCIPLINARY SOURCES<sup>36</sup>

1) *Traditio Apostolica*<sup>37</sup>: based on the recent research, the first stratum of this early disciplinary work possibly goes back to 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and the survived textual versions were composed about 215 but at latest in 235, in relation with the school of Hip-

<sup>29</sup> PG L. 429.

<sup>30</sup> PG LIII. 44.

<sup>31</sup> PL XXIII. 435. About his teaching cf. Di Berardino – Quasten, dir. *La edad de oro de la literatura patristica latina*, 288–289; on Rufinus: 294.

<sup>32</sup> Michel, A., “Vertu”, 2745–2746.

<sup>33</sup> S. Augustinus, *De libero arbitrio*, 2:19, in PL XXXII. 598. Cf. Di Berardino – Quasten, dir. *La edad de oro de la literatura patristica latina*, 494–495.

<sup>34</sup> PL LXXVI. 31; cf. Gillet De Gaudemaris, Robert, ed. *Morales sur Job I–II*. Sources chrétiennes 32 (Paris, 1952). *Moralia in Iob. Morals on the Book of Job by Saint Gregory the Great*, III. (Lexington, KY, 2012), 125–185.

<sup>35</sup> PL LXXVI. 1249. Cf. Altaner, *Patrology*, 556–565.

<sup>36</sup> The English text of the original ecclesiastical disciplinary sources is a translation by the author of this article from the best critical texts in Greek, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic or in Latin. Cf. Botte, Bernard, *Hyppolyte de Rome, La Tradition Apostolique d’après les anciennes versions*. Sources chrétiennes 11bis (Paris, 1968<sup>2</sup>). Coquin, René-Georges, *Les canons d’Hippolyte. Édition critique de la version arabe. Introduction et traduction française*. Patrologia Orientalis XXXI/2 (Paris, 1962). Achelis, Hans – Flemming, Johannes, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts, II: Die syrische Didaskalia*. Texte und Untersuchungen 10/2 (Leipzig, 1904). Vööbus, Arthur, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*, I–II. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 401–402, 407–408 (Louvain, 1979). Tidner, Erik, *Didascaliae apostolorum, Canonum ecclesiasticorum, Traditionis apostolicae versiones latinae*. Texte und Untersuchungen 75 (Berlin, 1963). Metzger, Marcel, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, I–III. Sources chrétiennes 320, 329, 336 (Paris, 1985–1987). Hauer, Edmundus, *Didascaliae apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina, accedunt canonum qui dicuntur apostolorum et Aegyptorum reliquiae* (Lipsiae, 1900). Joannou, Periclès-Pierre, *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*. Pontificia Commissione per la redazione del Codice di diritto canonico orientale, Fonti, IX (Grottaferrata, 1962).

<sup>37</sup> Erdö, Peter, *Storia delle fonti del diritto canonico* (Istituto di Diritto Canonico San Pio X, Manuali 2) (Venezia, 2008), 20–21.

polytus Romanus<sup>38</sup> (thanks to the research by Bernard Botte<sup>39</sup> and Alistair Stewart-Sykes<sup>40</sup>). We do not have the original Greek version of the text only two branches of translation with different supplementary material. The Latin – fragmented – version conserved in the *Codex Veronense* (or “Fragmentum Veronense=*Verona Palimpsest*”) which was copied around 494. The second – much richer – branch is textual witness of the Oriental tradition in Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopian. Among them the Ethiopian seems to be the closest one to the supposed original version.<sup>41</sup>

8:10–11 (referring to 1Tim. 3:13):

“God who has made and directed all by the Word; the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom you have been sent by you to serve your will and declare for us your intention, give the holy Spirit of grace, diligence and zeal to this servant of yours, who has been chosen by you, that serve your Church and offer in your sanctuary that which offered for the glory of your name by that who has ordered to be a high priest; give him to be worthy of a higher degree through irreproachable fulfillment of his duty and through purity of his life, to praise and glorify you.”

28:1 (referring to Mt 5:13):

“When you eat and drink, do it with moderation and avoid getting drunk, not to make yourselves look ridiculous or distress with your intemperance that who called you (...).”

29:un:

“Each of you eat in the name of the Lord: for God is pleasing if we set an example with our concurrence and sobriety even to the pagans.”

35:2 (prayers):

“If the faithful receive instruction by the word, rather go listen to the word of God to strengthen their souls. Go eagerly to the ecclesia where the Spirit flourishes.”

43:2 (wisdom – wise):

“I advise to every wise that this wisdom keep them, because nor any heretic, nor anyone else can take those into error, who keeps the apostolic tradition.”

<sup>38</sup> Erdő, Péter, *Az ókori egyházfegyelem emlékei, I–IV. század. Ókori Keresztény Írók 2*; with introduction, translation and critical notes (Budapest, 2018), 54–57.

<sup>39</sup> Botte, Bernard, *La Tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte. Essai de reconstruction* (Münster, 1963).

<sup>40</sup> Stewart-Sykes, Alistair, *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition*. Popular Patristic Series 54 (Yonkers, N.Y., 2015<sup>2</sup>) 28–47.

<sup>41</sup> Stewart-Sykes, *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition*, 56.

2) *Didascalia*<sup>42</sup>: The original Greek version very possible was composed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, probable in the first part of that.<sup>43</sup> Hubert Kaufhold presumes even the very beginning of the century.<sup>44</sup> It seems quite certain, that for the composition were used some earlier – 2<sup>nd</sup> century – sources, therefore this disciplinary collection contains really an early tradition from the Church’s life. Nevertheless, we have only few fragments from the ancient Greek text, therefore, the principal source is the Latin translation from about 400, conserved in the *Codex Veronense*, but it is also incomplete. The best textual witnesses of the complete text the Syriac translation in several manuscripts, spring from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, probable already from its first decades.<sup>45</sup>

1 [I,1]:2:

“Flee, and abstain therefore from all rapacity and all evil (...).”

1 [I,1]:7(referring to Tobit 4:15):

“Those people, however, who obey God is one simple and just law, which cannot be question for Christians: “What you do not want to do to yourself, do not do it to others.””

1 [I,2]:2 (referring to Ecclesiastes 20:22):

“Be slow to anger and patient because the Scripture says, “Do not say: I want to repay my enemy that evil act just as he did it to me, but be patient, let the Lord to be your help, who pays back for that one who do evil thing to you.””

2 [I,7]:13:

“My son, listen to my wisdom and direct your intellect to my cleverness, in order to my advice to the teaching of my lips by which I command you, be able to preserve you.”

3 [I,8]:11:

“His mouth opens for wisdom and prudence, his tongue speaks based on order. The roads of his house are narrow and he does not eat the bread of laziness. Regarding his mouth, he opens it for wisdom and commands of mercy takes place on his tongue.”

4 [II,1]:5–7 (referring to Isaiah 66:2; Mt 5:5; Mt 5:7):

“Therefore, if he is even young, be placid, respectful and calm, because the Lord God said by Isaiah: “Whom can I consider and whom can I calm down my eyes, if not upon the

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<sup>42</sup> Erdő, *Storia delle fonti del diritto canonico*, 21–22.

<sup>43</sup> Edition: Conolly, Richard Hugh, *Didascalia apostolorum. The Syriac Version translated and accompanied by the Verona Latin fragments* (Oxford, 1929; repr. Norwich, 1969).

<sup>44</sup> Kaufhold, Hubert, “Sources of Canon Law in the Eastern Churches”, in Hartmann, Wilfried – Pennington, Kenneth, eds. *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*. History of Canon Law (Washington DC, 2012), 215–342, especially 241.

<sup>45</sup> Erdő, *Az ókori egyházfegyelem emlékei*, 54–57.



one, who is calm and placid, and fears my words". In the Gospel he said: "Blessed are those who are placid, because their inheritance will be the earth." Let him merciful, because it is also in the Gospel: "Blessed are the merciful, because mercy shall be upon them as well." Let peace-loving too, because he says: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."

4 [II,6]:3–4:

"Be wise, humble teacher and educator of the teaching and discipline of God. Be intellectually eminent, standing away from all of the pursuit of this world's evil and also from all of wicked enjoyment of pagans. Be sharp, be able to compare (things) to recognize in advance the evil, hence be able to protect your soul from that. However, be kind to everyone, a fair judge (...)."

7 [II,19]:3:

"Keep your health" means: keep carefully that one who is strong in faith and herd the entire nation in peace (...)."

7 [II,20]:10 (referring to Mt 19:12; Mk 2:17):

"Peace is the Church of hush and placidity, wherein you must introduce as healthy and errorless that one, whom you have absolved from his sins, so that he should be fulfilled with good hope, eagerly doing even the burdensome and tedious things (...)."

11 [II,53]:6 (referring to Isaiah 58:6):

"Therefore, if you care about to become Christian and aspire to be that, follow the word of the Lord, which says: "Solve up all the bonds of injustice and tear apart the shackles of violent oppression."

3) *Apostolic Church Order* (Ecclesiastical canons of the Saint Apostles)<sup>46</sup>: This disciplinary source – following the general scholarly conviction – was composed about 300 in ancient Greek, very possible in Egypt.<sup>47</sup> Like the previous two pseudo-Apostolic collections, this early document raises several questions in the mirror of the recent scientific textual analysis.<sup>48</sup> Beside the Greek text we have Syriac, Coptic, Arab, and Ethiopian translations, which is supplemented with the fragmented part of the Latin translation within the *Codex Veronense*. It seems, that the date of origin and also the loca-

<sup>46</sup> Erdő, *Storia delle fonti del diritto canonico*, 22–23.

<sup>47</sup> Greek critical edition: Funk, Franciscus Xaverius, ed. *Doctrina duodecim Apostolorum, Canones Apostolorum ecclesiastici ac reliquae doctrinae de duabus viis expositiones veteres* (Tübingen, 1887), 50–73.

<sup>48</sup> Erdő, *Az ókori egyházfegyelem emlékei*, 57–59.

tion should be reconsidered, and we must examine seriously the Syrian origin in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

7 (peacefulness):

“(…) Do not be angry, because anger leads to murder; the wrathful spirit indeed is a masculine demon. Do not be jealous, not argumentative, not impulsive because from these comes the murder.”

11:3–4 (referring to Mt 5:5):

“Be rather gentle, because the meek shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. Be patient, merciful, peacemaker; be your heart is clean of all evil things; be innocent and calm (…).”

4) *Council of Gangra* (about 340)<sup>50</sup>: Epilogue:

“We – on our part – admire to the self-denial which accompanied with humility and modesty; we appreciate if someone, because his humility, turns away from worldly affairs; but we honor also the marriage which lived in holiness; however, we do not disdain that wealth which is together with justice and charity (…).”

## 6. CONCLUSION

The above presented significant Biblical (Old- and New Testament), patristic, and disciplinary references or sources have improved sufficiently our clear conviction and new theory on the presence and meaning of the concept on virtues within the early (up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century) ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline. Even we cannot speak about a ‘comprehensive system of virtue’ like in the Greco – Roman concept on virtues or as appeared much later in the scholastic period of the Church, it does not mean that there was not a firm and distinct idea on ‘readiness for good’ as virtues. Nevertheless, this idea was not some ‘reproduction’ of the Stoic virtue-theory, because its origin was the Biblical teaching. Therefore, that basic scholarly conviction which describes the interpretation of virtues by patristic authors or by the early disciplinary sources of the Church as a characteristic influence of Stoicism, cannot be supported based on those numerous textual evidences which I have listed above. My research confirms the early Church’ own, consequent concept on virtues – essentially different from Stoicism – which linked in every aspect to the Old- and New Testament, particularly to that interpretation which was given by Jesus Christ himself.

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<sup>49</sup> Stewart-Sykes, Alistair, *The Apostolic Church Order. The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Annotation*. Early Christian Studies 10 (Strathfield, NSW., 2006); cf. Bradshaw, Paul, “The Apostolic Church Order: The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation and Annotation by Alistair Stewart-Sykes”, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 60/1 (2009): 272–274.

<sup>50</sup> Szuromi, Szabolcs Anzelm, *Pre-Gratian Medieval Canonical Collections – Texts, Manuscripts, Concepts* – Aus Recht und Religion 18 (Berlin, 2014), 25–26.



Imre TOKICS

## VIRTUOUS MAN IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS

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### INTRODUCTION

The Bible lists a number of attributes, habits, also called virtues that will perfect man and strengthen him positively in his relationship with God. The opposite of virtue is the sinful state, which, however, removes the creature from God. In the Book of Psalms, the virtuous man is constantly seeking the Creator because he is well within his reach. The phrase “to walk with God”<sup>1</sup> is a recurring thought in the Torah (See Gen 5,22, 24, 6,9). Therefore, a virtuous man is also wise, for in his heart is the love of the law of God, and in it he is pleased (Psalm 1,2; 37,31).

Virtues perfect man, and sins worsen the position of the creature in its relationship with God. Virtue means habits that make our relationship with the Lord better and more beautiful. Virtue is a form of behavior in which one expresses that when one has the means and the ability to commit sin, but does not sin.

The Church developed the so-called a list of seven main sins: pride, purity, lust (envy), envy, anger, gluttony, lack of good. We can also speak of a catalog of virtues: righteousness, moderation, courage, wisdom, gentleness, patience, poverty, hospitality, purity.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD VIRTUE

The term virtue does not assume a typical Hebrew culture, but rather a Hellenistic effect. The word virtue refers to the moral quality of man. In Greek thinking, the word 'araris' expresses the most vividly the concept of virtue, which means 'to connect' something. When it was referenced to man, it meant his qualities and abilities, and to men he meant courage, and to women he meant beauty<sup>2</sup>.

**In Socrates'** wisdom, virtue always appears in a moral sense, while Plato already classifies virtue in wisdom, courage, self-control, and righteousness.

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<sup>1</sup> וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ עִנֹכַח אִתְּהוָה גֵּנְזָה אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים Gen 5,22.

<sup>2</sup> Christian Biblical Encyclopedia, under Virtue keyword.

**Aristotle** distinguished between moral and practical virtues: courage, temper, wisdom, and theoretical-intellectual virtues: insight, wisdom, science, art.

Aristotle considered the properties between the two extremes in the middle to be virtues.

Nor does the Old Testament, and thus the Psalms, have a word for virtue. In LXX, only two places translate the word "arete"<sup>3</sup> into two different Hebrew terms.

אֲנִי יְהוָה הוּא שְׁמִי וְכְבוֹדִי לֹא אֶתֶר לְאֲחֵן וְהַהֲלָתִי  
לְפַסִּילִים:

ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ ὄνομα  
τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρω οὐ δώσω  
οὐδὲ τὰς ἀρετάς μου τοῖς γλυπτοῖς

I *am* the LORD, that *is* My name;  
And My glory I will not give to another,  
Nor My praise to carved images.

Isa 42,8

The term הַהֲלָתִי refers to the glorious acts of God. The other Hebrew term is which means 'majesty'. The Qumran community also had its own developed and accepted "virtue," which was dialectically defined by contrasting good and bad qualities.

### A TERM OF VIRTUE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The term "virtue" occurs in 5 places in the New Testament. Use 1Pt 2,9<sup>4</sup> and 2Pt 1,3<sup>5</sup> as divine attributes. Because 1 Pet 2,9 is a quote from Isaiah 43,21 based on the LXX, it refers, as it did in its original place, to the glorious acts of God which are praised by the people. However, 2Pt 1,3k prefers to use Hellenic thinking in its message. Here

<sup>3</sup> The Greek 'arete', meaning the word virtue from an ancient Indo-Germanic root, is 'ar-' or 'ar-' comes from 'ari-'. From this vocabulary derive words like 'arescope,' liking word, 'arrestos,' liking adjective, 'ariston,' 'best,' adjective. Originally, 'arete' meant quality related to an object or person, as evidenced by the fact that the verb 'araris' means 'to connect'. In early Greek the qualities and abilities of anything or anyone, objects, animals or humans and gods were called so.

<sup>4</sup> ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ θαυμαστόν αὐτοῦ φῶς.  
But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for his own possession, that you may proclaim the excellencies of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.

<sup>5</sup> Ὡς πάντα ἡμῖν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν δεδωρημένης διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ καλέσαντος ἡμᾶς ἰδίᾳ δόξῃ καὶ ἀρετῇ.  
His divine power has granted to us all things that pertain to life and godliness, through the knowledge of him who called us to his own glory and excellence,

it refers to divine perfection, which, by its manifestations of power and glory, can richly bestow upon human beings, so that eventually they will also share in the divine virtue of perfection. Behind this idea lies the Greek philosophical notion that the Divine and human nature are related (cf. Acts 17,28).

Behind this idea lies the Greek philosophical notion that the Divine and human nature are related (cf. Acts 17:28).

But human virtue is about Phil 4,8<sup>6</sup> and 2Pt 1,5<sup>7</sup> thoughts. In both places, the word 'arete' appears as a member of a virtue catalog, both lists showing strong parallels with certain Greek virtue catalogs. If one looks for the meaning of 'virtue' in the lists of virtues, that is, 'arete,' it is found in the general attitude of Christians in the broad sense.

### VIRTUE IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS

According to Greek thinking, the virtuous man in the Psalms was the one whom God said was "true." In Old Testament wisdom thinking, truth and reasoning arise from truth. We cannot ignore the fear of God in the search for virtue. A religious and devout man is one who "fears" God, acknowledges him, and obeys his ordinances.

A pious man is distinguished from evil by keeping the Law / Torah.

אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר ׀ לֹא הָלַךְ בַּעֲצַת רְשָׁעִים וּבְדַרְךְ חַטָּאִים  
לֹא עָמַד וּבְמוֹשָׁב לְצִים לֹא יָשָׁב׃

Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked,  
nor stands in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of scoffers.

Psalms 1,1

The term happiness is found in the plural status construct, which is the opposite of the expression of virtue and the expression of evil at the end of the Psalm.

A pious and virtuous man is accompanied by the abundant blessing of God, and the wicked are awaiting the judgment of the Lord. Psalm 1 is a brief and very apt introduction to the whole book. His basic idea involves the summed up moral code of all wisdom thinking: keep the law of the Lord, for the keeper of the law can count on God's abundant reward, while the wicked will be punished.

<sup>6</sup> Τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνά, ὅσα δίκαια, ὅσα ἀγνά, ὅσα προσφιλή, ὅσα εὐφροσύνη, εἴ τις ἀρετὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογίεσθε·

Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is honorable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is commendable, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things.

<sup>7</sup> Καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δὲ σπουδῆν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες ἐπιχορηγήσατε ἐν τῇ πίστει ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὴν γνῶσιν,

For this very reason, make every effort to supplement your faith with virtue, and virtue with knowledge,

The two most prominent Jewish traditions: the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud combine the first and second Psalms; considers the second a continuation of the first. This tradition is also followed by some Church Fathers. There is evidence of this. Also in D-Codex<sup>8</sup>, according to which the Apostle Paul quotes in Acts 13,33 from the first Psalm, however, most Greek manuscripts here quote the second Psalm.

It is by no means correct to combine the first and second Psalms; the two are not related. Rather, the first Psalm was placed at the forefront of the collection by the editor of the Book of Psalms. The very first word of the Psalm, “happy” is a typical expression of the literature of wisdom.

The word, “happy” appears most often in the book of Psalms<sup>9</sup> and Proverbs. The content of the psalm also points to the literature of wisdom. Here we meet the confrontation of wicked and righteous, most often in the so-called opposite line of thought: The second verse is about the evil man or his fate. Psalm 1: 3–4 confronts the fate of the righteous and the evil man<sup>10</sup>.

The book of Psalms can also be interpreted as a creed of God-fearing people in the Old Testament<sup>11</sup>. In this creed, the image of an unconditional gracious man is drawn to keep the law, even if no pragmatic consequence can be deduced from it. The pious man is true in the book of Psalms.

The term “hesed” (faithful) in the Psalms represents a new opportunity for our topic, as it is a comprehensive and telling term that refers to intimate emotional relationships. Nor can we pass by the word “poor,” as the religious and devout were mostly poor in the Psalms (72,2; 74,19; 31,7). ‘Am haarec’ (people of the earth) finds refuge in God in every situation.

Later, virtuous life grew into such a chronicle of life that some relinquished their physical possessions because they found their true happiness only in their intimate position in God. This was manifested when rabbis and renowned teachers from the beginning of the Inter-Testament age called and made them disciples.

<sup>8</sup> With regard to the D-Codex, the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis occupies a special place among the New Testament manuscripts, the Nestle-Aland edition, hereinafter abbreviated as NA27, is the D-Codex.

Balla Péter, “Egy új elmélet a D-kódex keletkezési helyéről”, in Bolyki J., szerk. *Az Apostolok Cselekedetei a D-kódexben: Szöveg és tanulmányok* (Budapest: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Kar, 1995), 179-188. She. In addition:

Bolyki János, “A D-kódex szövegének szándéka”, in Bolyki J., szerk. *Az Apostolok Cselekedetei a D-kódexben: Szöveg és tanulmányok* (Budapest: Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Kar, 1995), 163.

<sup>9</sup> In the Talmud, Báva Bára 14b mentions the “Ten Elders” who, along with David, are the authors of the Psalms, including Moses and the “sons of Korah”.

<sup>10</sup> Read more: Módis László, in *Jubileumi Kommentár* (Budapest: Református Zsinati Iroda, 1967), 533–535. Further: Hans Kraus, *Psalms I-II*. Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> Read more: Módis László, *ibid.*, 534.

## „SEID BARMHERZIG!“ (LK 6,36)

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Gott ist barmherzig – das ist eine Grundaussage der Bibel, die auch auf die Vorstellung des tugendhaften Menschen auswirkt: er soll so die anderen Menschen behandeln, wie Gott selbst ihn behandelt hat. Wir möchten deswegen das Thema der Barmherzigkeit im Kontext der menschlichen Tugenden tiefer analysieren. Um den richtigen Stellenwert des barmherzigen Verhaltens und Handelns besser einschätzen zu können, wir verknüpfen diesen Gedanken mit dem der neutestamentlichen Auffassung des göttlichen Zornes. Diese Begattung mag im ersten Blick ungewöhnlich erscheinen, doch hoffen wir darauf, dass wir dadurch einige wichtige Einsichten gewinnen können.

### I. BARMHERZIGKEIT ALS EIGENSCHAFT GOTTES UND TUGEND DES MENSCHEN

Die mit dem Wort ‘Barmherzigkeit’ beschriebene Realität hat ein doppeltes Gesicht: an Gott verwandt bezeichnet es eine Eigenschaft oder Qualität, die zum innersten Wesen des Allmächtigen gehört; im Falle des Menschen aber stellt es eine Tugend dar, in der ein durch Übung und freies Handeln ausgearbeiteter Charakter des Gläubigen sich aufschließt.<sup>1</sup> Der Mensch – im Gegenteil zu Gott – ist nicht seinem Wesen nach, aus und in seinem Innersten barmherzig, er soll erst durch sein Handeln es werden.

#### I.1. DAS BIBLISCHE GOTTESBILD

Wir finden solchermaßen häufig Aussagen im Alten Testament, die die Barmherzigkeit Gottes ankünden, dass wir die Bezeichnung ‘barmherzig’ ein zentrales und fundamentales Titel Gottes nennen dürfen. Der klassische Schriftbeleg ist die sogenannte „Gnadenformel“ im Buch Exodus:

„Der Herr ist der Herr, ein barmherziger und gnädiger Gott, langmütig und reich an Huld und Treue“ (Ex 34,6).

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<sup>1</sup> Es wäre völlig unsachgemäß von einer Tugend an Gott angewandt zu sprechen, da es eine Art „moralische Pflicht“ im Verhalten Gottes voraussetzen würde – das Absolute kann auf keiner Weise von irgendwelchen Gesetzen festgehalten werden (im wortwörtlichen Sinne des Begriffs *ab-solutum*). Gott ist der Gesetzgeber, aber nie einem Gesetze untertan – die Güte Gottes kann nicht in dem gleichen Sinne als „moralische Qualität“ gedeutet werden, wie es im Falle der menschlichen Güte geschieht. Siehe dazu: Davies, Brian, *Bevezetés a vallásfilozófiába* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1999), 62–67; vgl. ebd. 193–217 („Moral und Religion“).



Diese Stelle verknüpft die wichtigsten göttlichen Attribute: *rachum* (barmherzig), *hesed* (gnädig), *hesed* (Huld) und *emet* (Treue),<sup>2</sup> sodass diese Aussage durch viele weitere Sätze des Tanachs einen starken und tiefreichenden Nachhall findet. Dies ist die dritte Namensoffenbarung Gottes im Exodus, in dem „das Erbarmen nicht nur Ausdruck von Gottes Souveränität und Freiheit, sondern auch Ausdruck seiner Treue“ ist. „Gott ist in seiner Barmherzigkeit treu zu sich selbst und zu seinem Volk trotz dessen Treulosigkeit. Man kann in dieser dritten Namensoffenbarung die zentrale Aussage Israels über das Wesen seines Gottes erkennen“.<sup>3</sup>

Da die Barmherzigkeit Gottes in der religiösen Literatur sehr oft mit seiner Gerechtigkeit in Gegensatz gestellt wird, sollen wir unterstreichen: in der biblischen Auffassung „...die Vorordnung der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit vor dessen Gerechtigkeit begründet wird...“.<sup>4</sup> Wir können gleichzeitig erkennen: obwohl Gott wegen seiner Gerechtigkeit manchmal als eine zürnende Größe dargestellt wird (ein Thema, worauf wir später noch zurückkommen werden), doch steht fest: „Anders als in Bezug auf die Barmherzigkeit und Gnade, gehört es nicht zum Wesen Gottes, zornig zu sein“.<sup>5</sup>

Die Barmherzigkeit wird dann in den weiteren Büchern des Alten Testaments in den verschiedensten Kontexten wiederhervorgebracht, z.B. mit Bezug auf die Schöpfungstheologie (Ps 136) oder auf den Bundesgedanke (Ps 107). Die späteren alttestamentlichen Schriften zeigen einen Gott, der durch seine Barmherzigkeit im Leben seines Volkes ohne Unterlaß gegenwärtig ist: „Du, Herr, wirst dein Erbarmen nicht vor mir verschließen. Deine Huld und deine Treue werden mich immer behüten“ (Ps 40,12). Die Überzeugung, dass der Höchste ein barmherziger Gott ist, zählt zum Kern der heilsgeschichtlichen Erfahrung des erwählten Volkes.

Die Menschwerdung des Sohnes erschließt eine neue Art der Begegnung mit der göttlichen Gnade und Erbarmen für die Menschheit: die Barmherzigkeit Gottes gewinnt ein konkretes Gesicht, eine konkrete Gestalt in Jesus, indem er sich der vom Vater gesandte Retter und Erlöser der Menschheit erweist. Der Name ‘Jesus’: ‘Gott rettet’, ‘Gott hilft’, ‘Gott erlöst’, erhält eine erhebliche Wichtigkeit und Bedeutung, die auf fast unüberbietbarer Weise in den ersten beiden Kapitel vom Evangelium nach Lukas, also in der lukanischen Kindheitsgeschichte zum Vorschein kommt.<sup>6</sup> Die bloße

<sup>2</sup> Jerome H. Neyrey fügt noch das (im Vers 7 stehende) „gerechte Urteil“ dazu, so kommt zur Schlussfolgerung, dementsprechend „Barmherzigkeit“ und „gerechtes Urteil“ die zwei Grundattribute Gottes sind, die später in der paulinischen Theologie weiter entwickelt werden. Siehe: Neyrey, Jerome H., *Render to God. New Testament Understandings of the Divine* (Minneapolis [MN]: Fortress, 2004), 243.

<sup>3</sup> Kasper, Walter, *Barmherzigkeit. Grundbegriff des Evangeliums – Schlüssel christlichen Lebens* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2012), 56–57.

<sup>4</sup> Kampling, Rainer, Art. „Barmherzigkeit“, in *HGANT*<sup>4</sup>, 111–112, hier: 111.

<sup>5</sup> Frevel, Christian, Art. „Zorn“, in *HGANT*<sup>4</sup>, 474–477, hier: 476.

<sup>6</sup> Siehe Lk 1,47.50.54.68–69.71–72.74.77–78; 2,11.29–32.38.

Existenz, das menschliche Dasein des Gottessohnes wird zur Vollkommenheit der Offenbarung der Barmherzigkeit.

So ist es verständlich, dass die Zeit des Kommens des Erlösers als die Fülle der Zeiten angeschaut wird. Die Gegenwart, das Dasein Jesu ist per se eine gnadenreiche Zeit, das heiligste „Jubiläum“ – „Er hat mich gesandt, damit ich (...) ein Gnadenjahr des Herrn ausrufe“ (Lk 4,18–19) –, und das Reich selbst ist in ihm schon jetzt und für immer gegenwärtig. Das Erbarmen und die Vergebung gewinnen dadurch ein ganz ausserordentliches Gewicht:<sup>7</sup> das Mitleid und Vergebung Gottes wird durch das Wirken, durch die Worte und Taten Christi allen Menschen „zugänglich“ gemacht.<sup>8</sup> Diese Gnadenfülle zeigt eine besondere transformierende und umwandelnde Kraft auf, wo Barmherzigkeit gleichzeitig von Gott schon vorher gegeben und deswegen von den Menschen ständig erwartet ist.

## 1.2. DIE FOLGEN DES GOTTESBILDES AN DIE MENSCHEN

Die von Seite Gottes erfahrene und empfangene Barmherzigkeit dient als Leitfaden des menschlichen Handelns: „Barmherzigkeit gehört zu den zentralen theologischen Begriffen der gesamten Bibel, der die biblische Ethik wie kaum ein anderer bestimmt“; deswegen können wir darin mit Recht die „Letztbegründung ethischen Handelns“ erkennen.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.2.1. Persönliche Frömmigkeit

Das barmherzige Handeln des Menschen kann – im Rahmen der biblischen Offenbarung – als Antwort auf die von der Seite Gottes erfahrene Barmherzigkeit betrachtet werden. Diese Feststellung macht klar, worin die fundamentale Differenz zwischen der antiken-griechischen und der biblischen Auffassung von Tugend besteht. Die Griechen meinten, dass „der Mensch durch Einsicht und Wissen Tugend lernen kann“, ganz in der Linie der *Nikomakhischen Ethik* von Aristoteles und der Tugendlehre der Stoiker, die eine enorme Auswirkung auf die christliche theologische Doktrin hatten. Dagegen dürfen wir begründet behaupten: „Das Vermögen zum Gutsein und Tun des Guten ist nach biblischer Auffassung durch Gott ermöglicht... (...) Der Mensch ist Antwortender, nicht aus sich selbst Handelnder“.<sup>10</sup> Die Barmherzigkeit als Tugend ist deswegen immer antwortend und zugleich reflektierend: sie ist eine aktive Antwort auf

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<sup>7</sup> Siehe dazu: Snodgrass, Klyne R., *Stories with Intent. A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids [MI]: Eerdmans, 2018<sup>2</sup>), 72.

<sup>8</sup> Ebd. 73.

<sup>9</sup> Kampling, Rainer, Art. „Barmherzigkeit“, in *HGANT*<sup>4</sup>, 111.

<sup>10</sup> Kampling, Rainer, Art. „Tugend“, in *HGANT*<sup>4</sup> 433–434, hier: 433.

das Erbarmen Gottes und gleichzeitig eine nachahmende menschliche Verwirklichung seines barmherzigen Charakters.<sup>11</sup>

Die Barmherzigkeit des Menschen wird so als eine Art „Nachahmung Gottes“, besser und konkreter gesagt: sequela Christi aufgefasst; sie bedeutet: ein Modell zu folgen, das die von den Gläubigen zu folgende Richtschnur vorgibt: „Seid barmherzig, wie auch euer Vater barmherzig ist!“ (Lk 6,36). So wird eine ganz spezielle „Kausalität“ zwischen dem göttlichem und dem menschlichem Handeln aufgestellt.<sup>12</sup>

Der barmherzige Mensch ist als Prototyp der ethisch handelnden Subjekt angeschaut: er macht Gottes immer sich erneuernde Gnade gegenwärtig, währenddessen Treue zur Huld und Barmherzigkeit des Höchsten zeigt. Letztendlich dürfen wir aussagen, dass das barmherzige Verhalten keine Option, sondern eine elementare Pflicht des Gläubigen bedeutet.<sup>13</sup>

### 1.2.2. Die Ebene der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse

Die Wortwendung *rəḥēm* / *rah<sup>a</sup>mīm* zeigt auf die „Mutterschössigkeit“ der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit hin; sie „verweist auf eine Emotionalität der Barmherzigkeit, die sich besonders auf die Schwachen der Gesellschaft erstreckt“.<sup>14</sup> Es gibt mehrere Schriftstellen des Alten Testaments, die diesen Aspekt eindeutig hervorheben. Wir nennen nur ein einleuchtendes Beispiel dafür:

„Ein Vater der Waisen, ein Anwalt der Witwen ist Gott in seiner heiligen Wohnung. Gott bringt Verlassene heim, führt Gefangene hinaus in das Glück“ (Ps 68,6–7)

Die liebevolle Hilfe, die Gott den „Kleinen“, den „Schwachen“ der menschlichen Gesellschaft schenkt, manifestiert sein innerstes Wesen. Da er gerecht und treu ist, kann er die Herrschaft des Bösen nicht erdulden, sein Herz wendet sich zu seinem Volk; die Ungerechtigkeit provoziert seinen aktiven Eingriff aus. „Unrecht und soziale Benachteiligungen lösen den gerechten Zorn Gottes aus (Ex 22,23; Jes 5,25; Sach 7,10–129)“.<sup>15</sup>

Wenn Gott am Wirken ist, dann wird seine Macht über alle Gestalten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens ausgedehnt; sein Einsatz für die Armen und Wortlosen bring eine prophetische Botschaft vor, die die schärfste Sozialkritik ist: Gott wirkt das, was eigent-

<sup>11</sup> Siehe: Snodgrass, Klyne R., *Stories with Intent*, 72.

<sup>12</sup> Wie das zu verstehen ist, wird z.B. durch Am 2,6–16 klargestellt.

<sup>13</sup> Siehe: Snodgrass, Klyne R., *Stories with Intent*, 66.

<sup>14</sup> Kampling, Rainer, Art. „Barmherzigkeit“, in *HGANT*<sup>4</sup>, 112. So wird „a discrete surge of sympathy“, eine gewisse „forcefulness and power asymmetry“ im Gedanken von Barmherzigkeit offenbar; siehe: Dowdy, Christopher, Art. Mercy, in Green, Joel B.–Lapsley, Jacqueline E.–Miles, Rebekah–Verhey, Allen, eds. *Dictionary of Scripture and Ethics* (Grand Rapids [MI]: Baker Academic, 2011), 521–522, hier: 521.

<sup>15</sup> Frevel, Christian, Art. „Zorn“, 476.

lich als Frucht des barmherzigen Handelns der Menschen entstehen sollte.<sup>16</sup> Gottes Tun macht kund, was die Menschen unterlassen und versäumt haben. Wer treu zu seinem Bund bleiben will, soll sich selber an dieses göttliche Handeln anschliessen: das barmherzige Verhalten in den menschlichen Beziehungen ist eine wahre und eigentliche Pflicht.

## 2. GOTTES ZORN IM NEUEN TESTAMENT

Der Zorn Gottes ist ein wesentliches Element des neutestamentlichen Gottesbildes. Obwohl wir nur wenige *expressis verbis* Vorkommnisse in den Evangelien kennen<sup>17</sup> – wie z.B. Mk 3,5: „Und er sah sie der Reihe nach an, voll Zorn und Trauer über ihr verstocktes Herz...“ –, doch können wir feststellen, dass das Thema öfters vor unsere Augen tritt. Wie Gustav Stählin merkt (und das ist nur ein erster, vom Gedanke der Menschwerdung abhängiger Aspekt): „Jesu Zürnen ist zunächst ein Zeichen dafür, daß er ein Mensch von Fleisch und Blut war; aber es ist nie ein allzumenschliches Zürnen“.<sup>18</sup>

Wenn wir aber den Grund dieses Zürnens von Näherer bestimmen wollen, beobachten wir, dass die lebhaftete Erfahrung des Bösen der wahre Erreger dieses Zornes ist: das Wirken des Satans (Mt 4,10; 16,23) und der Dämonen (Mk 1,25; 9,25; Lk 4,41), das schlimme, sogar teuflische Verhalten des Menschen (Mt 12,34; Joh 8,44) lösen die vehemente (und in einem gewissen Sinne auch emotional zu verstehende<sup>19</sup>) Reaktion Jesu aus. „Das ist der Zorn des Weltenherrn, der sich über die widergöttlichen Empörer empört“.<sup>20</sup> Der Zorn vermischt sich mit der Trauer über die Unbarmherzigkeit, aber auch über den Unglauben, die Glaubenslosigkeit der Menschen.

Die grosse Dynamik, die sich in der Einstellung und Grundhaltung Jesu zu erkennen ist, offenbart die überwältigende Macht Gottes, die in seiner Person wirkt. Seine Empörung ist kein bloßer Ausdruck für die Aufregung des Meisters oder Lehrers, sondern die Manifestation der richterlichen Kraft des Höchsten: „Ich will euch zeigen, wen ihr fürchten sollt: Fürchtet euch vor dem, der nicht nur töten kann, sondern die Macht hat, euch auch noch in die Hölle zu werfen! Ja, das sage ich euch: Ihn sollt ihr fürchten“ (Lk 12,5). So zeigt sich die doppelte Macht Gottes: „Nur einer ist der Ge-

<sup>16</sup> Ebd.

<sup>17</sup> Siehe dazu: Stählin, Gustav, Art. „οργή“ „E. Der Zorn des Menschen und der Zorn Gottes im NT“, in *ThWNT* 5, 419–448, hier: 428 Z. 1–6.

<sup>18</sup> Ebd. Z. 7–8.

<sup>19</sup> Diese emotionale Komponente wird noch stärker an den Stellen, wo Jesus die Krankheit und miserabler Zustand des Menschen vor sich sieht und Mitleid empfindet (z.B. Mk 1,41) – sein Widerstand gegen die Mächte des Bösen bekommt in solchen Fällen ein noch determinierter und kräftiger Charakter.

<sup>20</sup> Stählin, Gustav, Art. „οργή“, 428, Z. 17–18.

setzgeber und Richter: er, der die Macht hat, zu retten und zu verderben“ (Jk 4,12). Rettung und Verderbnis sind in den Händen des gleichen Herrn.

Um das angemessene Verständnis des göttlichen Zornes zu eröffnen, sollen wir zwei Fragen detaillierter auslegen: a) Ist der Zorn Gottes eine Leidenschaft? b) Wie sind Liebe und Zorn in Gott zu versöhnen?

## 2.1. GOTT UND DIE LEIDENSCHAFT

Die Frage um die vermeintliche Leidenschaftlichkeit Gottes, beziehungsweise um die anthropomorphe Leidenschaftssprache der Bibel wird in der paulinischen Theologie tiefreichend entfaltet. Um den Verdacht allerleier Willkürlichkeit in Gott zu vermeiden, kombiniert Paulus die beiden (oben schon erwähnten) Grundattribute der Barmherzigkeit und des gerechten Urteils. „Weil du aber starrsinnig bist und dein Herz nicht umkehrt, sammelst du Zorn gegen dich für den Tag des Zornes, den Tag der Offenbarung von Gottes gerechtem Gericht. Er wird jedem vergelten, wie es seine Taten verdienen“ (Röm 2,5–6). Es wird aus diesem Zusammenhang deutlich, dass der Zorn Gottes keine ausufernde Leidenschaft, sondern die von der Gerechtigkeit motivierte Reaktion ist,<sup>21</sup> die dann zu angemessenen Akten führt.

Die patristische Theologie hat den philosophischen Hintergrund dieser Aussage entwickelt, und zum Prädikat der „Unleidenschaftlichkeit Gottes“ gelangt.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.2. GOTTES ZORN UND SEINE LIEBE

Es gibt Einige unter den Exegeten, die meinen, dass der männliche Zorn Gottes im Kontrast zu seiner mutterschößige (weibliche) Barmherzigkeit steht; diese Behauptung ist aber – auf Grund der vertieften Analyse – nicht zu erhalten.<sup>23</sup> Im Gegenteil: es ergibt sich aus dem Zusammenhang der ganzen biblischen Offenbarung, dass der Zorn Liebe und Barmherzigkeit nicht aus-, sondern miteinschliesst: „... mercy tracks God's assistance to trustworthy partners, openness to repentant offenders, and reluctance to utterly crush the human subjects of covenant justice. While anger calls attention to breaches of covenant, mercy performs mitigating and teleological functions in the administration of penalty“.<sup>24</sup>

Diese Erwägung hilft dem Menschen, das Gewicht und die Verantwortung seiner Taten vor Gott besser zu verstehen: „Sag nicht: Sein Mitleid ist groß, die Menge mei-

<sup>21</sup> Frevel, Christian, Art. „Zorn“, 476.

<sup>22</sup> Wir können die Achillesferse dieser Einsicht (die Impassibilität des philosophischen Gottes und die Passion des menschengewordenen Sohnes) an dieser Stelle nicht näher analysieren, dazu siehe: Gavriilyuk, Paul L., *The Suffering of the Impassible God. The Dialectics of Patristic Thought* (Oxford: OUP, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> Frevel, Christian, Art. „Zorn“, 475.

<sup>24</sup> Dowdy, Christopher, Art. „Mercy“, 521.

ner Sünden wird er verzeihen. Denn Erbarmen und Zorn sind bei ihm; auf den Sündern ruht sein Grimm“ (Sir 5,6). Oder: „Wenn einer halsstarrig ist, wäre es verwunderlich, wenn er nicht bestraft würde. Denn Erbarmen und Zorn sind bei ihm, er ist mächtig im Verzeihen, aber auch im Ausgießen seines Zorns“ (Sir 11,6). Die Aussage der Weisheitsliteratur wird im Neuen Testament wider vergegenwärtigt, indem z.B. der Text von Heb 4,1–11 – im Herzen einer gut erarbeiteten exegetischen Folgerung – festhält: „Denn wir, die wir gläubig geworden sind, kommen in seine Ruhe, wie er gesagt hat: Darum habe ich in meinem Zorn geschworen: Sie sollen nicht in meine Ruhe kommen“ (v. 3). Die zwei Seiten der gleichen Botschaft werden so in ein harmonisches Ganze zusammengefasst: „Da es nun dabei bleibt, dass einige hineinkommen, die aber, die früher das Evangelium empfangen haben, wegen ihres Ungehorsams nicht hineingekommen sind, setzt er aufs Neue einen Tag fest, Heute, indem er durch David, wie schon gesagt, nach so langer Zeit spricht: Heute, wenn ihr seine Stimme hört, verhärtet nicht eure Herzen!“ (vv. 6–7). Dabei erblicken wir die zwei Dimensionen des göttlichen Zornes:<sup>25</sup>

- 1) die Reaktion des Allmächtigen macht ein „leidenschaftlicher« Widerwillen gegen allen widergöttlichen Willen“ deutlich,
- 2) gleichzeitig wird ein „richterliches Eingreifen“ erkennbar: diejenige, die die Subjekte des Zornes Gottes sind, haben seine – aus Barmherzigkeit entstandene – Einladung abgelehnt (siehe unten), deswegen sind sie „schuldige, also zornes-würdig“, wie es sich z.B. bei Paulus (Röm 9,19–23) sehr klar zeigt.<sup>26</sup> Die eschatologische Ausrichtung dieser Auffassung könnte weiter bedenklich werden.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. UNBARMHERZIGKEIT DES MENSCHEN UND ZORN GOTTES

Der neutestamentliche Begriff des Zornes Gottes setzt ein starkes Akzent auf die Erfahrung der Unbarmherzigkeit der Menschen – dies ist ein Verhalten, das eine besondere (und aktive) Antwort von der Seite des Höchsten auslöst.

#### 3.1. GOTTES ZORN ALS REAKTION AN DIE UNBARMHERZIGKEIT DES MENSCHEN

Wenn wir über Zorn im Kontext von Barmherzigkeit reden, sollen wir gleich am Anfang feststellen: dieser ist „der Zorn des Barmherzigen über die Gesetzlichen, die den neuen Heilsweg der Barmherzigkeit nicht gelten lassen wollen“.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Stählin, Gustav: Art. „οργή“, 425, Z. 9–11.

<sup>26</sup> Baumert, Norbert, *Christus – Hochform von »Gesetz«*. Übersetzung und Auslegung des Römerbriefes (Würzburg: Echter, 2012), 194.

<sup>27</sup> Eine derartige Auslegung der Apokalypse des Johannes würde über die Grenzen unserer Untersuchungen gehen.

<sup>28</sup> Stählin, Gustav, Art. „οργή“, 429, Z. 9–10.

In diesem Sinne ist es gar nicht übertrieben, wenn wir über ein „Zorn der Liebe“ sprechen.<sup>29</sup> Gottes Mitleid mit den Menschen zeigt so die Tiefe (und die emotionelle Komponente) der Barmherzigkeit auf: „Der biblische Gott lässt sich affizieren, nimmt Anteil und hat Mitleid mit den Schwachen“.<sup>30</sup> Diese Einstellung ist klar am Zorn des Herrn des Gastmahls zu erkennen: „Da wurde der Hausherr zornig und sagte zu seinem Diener: Geh schnell hinaus auf die Straßen und Gassen der Stadt und hol die Armen und die Krüppel, die Blinden und die Lahmen hierher!“ (Lk 4,21).

Ein konkretes Beispiel dieser göttlichen Haltung wird im Gleichnis des barmherzigen Königs (Mt 18,23–35) entfaltet.<sup>31</sup> Als der Herr mit der Härte seines Dieners konfrontiert wird, reagiert er mit Kraft und Macht: „Und in seinem Zorn übergab ihn der Herr den Peinigern, bis er die ganze Schuld bezahlt habe“ (V. 34). Jesus stellt die Inkommensurabilität des göttlichen und des menschlichen Erbarmens in der Quantität des zu erlassenen Schuld dar: hier wird die unendliche, grenzenlose Liebe Gottes und die denkwürdige Reziprozität der Barmherzigkeit<sup>32</sup> durch das aggressive menschliche Verhalten verletzt. Klyne R. Snodgrass ergreift die Botschaft der Aussage Jesu sehr treffend:

„The instruction of this kingdom parable – as elsewhere in Scripture – is »Do unto others as God has done to you.« The ethic is responsive and reflective – responding to God’s prior action and reflecting God’s character. As everywhere in NT ethics, the indicative precedes the imperative. The kingdom comes with limitless grace in the midst of an evil world, but with it comes limitless demand. Nowhere is that more obvious than in this parable. God acts, and his people are expected to act in accordance with his actions and character.“<sup>33</sup>

### 3.2. DAS ZIEL DES GÖTTLICHEN ZORNES

Da der Zorn, den der Herr über die Unbarmherzigkeit der Menschen empfindet, keine blinde oder irrationale Leidenschaft, sondern Ausdruck der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit ist, können wir eine gewisse „Teleologie“ nachweisen, die in den folgenden Punkten ausgelegt werden kann.

#### 3.2.1. Μακροθυμία

Die Propheten haben schon öfters die μακροθυμία Gottes bemerkt. So lesen wir z.B. im Buch Ezechiel: „Habe ich etwa Gefallen am Tod des Schuldigen – Spruch Gottes, des Herrn – und nicht vielmehr daran, dass er umkehrt von seinen Wegen und am

<sup>29</sup> Ebd. Z. 10–15.

<sup>30</sup> Frevel, Christian, Art. „Zorn“, 476.

<sup>31</sup> Siehe: Snodgrass, Klyne R., *Stories with Intent*, 61–77.

<sup>32</sup> Siehe dazu: Dowdy, Christopher, Art. „Mercy“, 522.

<sup>33</sup> Snodgrass, Klyne R., *Stories with Intent*, 72.

Leben bleibt?“ (18,23). Die „Langnasigkeit“, die Geduld des Herrn darf auf keiner Weise als Unberührtheit oder Passivität gelesen werden. Das macht der Apostel Paulus eindeutig und klar:

„Wie aber, wenn Gott in der Absicht, seinen Zorn zu zeigen und seine Macht zu erweisen, die zur Vernichtung bereiteten Gefäße des Zorns mit großer Langmut ertragen hat, auch um den Reichtum seiner Herrlichkeit an den Gefäßen des Erbarmens zu erweisen, die er zuvor zur Herrlichkeit bestimmt hat?“ (Röm 9,22–23)<sup>34</sup>

### 3.2.2. Einladung zur μετάνοια

„...die Offenbarung des Zornes Gottes [ist] in jedem Fall ein Element des Heilsweges“.<sup>35</sup> Das heisst, die μακροθυμία richtet sich daran, dass der sündige Mensch die so erworbene Zeit als Möglichkeit zur Reue und μετάνοια wahrnimmt. Wenn er dazu nicht bereit oder unfähig ist, soll man die Frage (oder besser gesagt: den Verweis) des Apostels in Betracht ziehen: „verachtest du den Reichtum seiner Güte, Geduld und Langmut? Weißt du nicht, dass Gottes Güte dich zur Umkehr treibt?“ (Röm 2,4). Das wird in einer späteren Schrift des Neuen Testaments noch eindeutiger formuliert:

„Der Herr der Verheißung zögert nicht, wie einige meinen, die von Verzögerung reden, sondern er ist geduldig mit euch, weil er nicht will, dass jemand zugrunde geht, sondern dass alle zur Umkehr gelangen“ (2Pt 3,9).

### 3.2.3. Die Missachtung der Geduld und Einladung Gottes

Die Möglichkeit, die nicht verantwortlich angenommen, auf gerechter Weise zum Nutzen gebraucht wird, löst die Empörung Jesu aus:

„Dann begann er den Städten, in denen er die meisten Machttaten getan hatte, Vorwürfe zu machen, weil sie nicht Buße getan hatten: Weh dir, Chorazin! Weh dir, Betsaida! Denn wenn in Tyrus und Sidon die Machttaten geschehen wären, die bei euch geschehen sind – längst schon wären sie in Sack und Asche umgekehrt“ (Mt 11,20–21).

Die Mahnung und die Betonung der persönlichen Verantwortung wird in den späteren Schriften wieder stärker betont:

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<sup>34</sup> Zur Problematik der Satzkonstruktion (und dadurch der richtigen Übersetzung) siehe: Baumert, Norbert: *Christus – Hochform von »Gesetz«*, 358–361.

<sup>35</sup> Ebd. 26. Der Autor betont, dass dieser Aspekt von elementarer Wichtigkeit ist, da eben diese doppelte Botschaft – Aufdeckung der Sünde und Angebot der Vergebung – ist „der Anfang des Evangeliums des Paulus“ (ebd. 27). So können die Gläubigen verstehen, dass „Güte“ und „Strenge“ in Gott untrennbar sind (ebd. 234).



„Diese waren einst ungehorsam, als Gott in den Tagen Noachs geduldig wartete, während die Arche gebaut wurde; in ihr wurden nur wenige, nämlich acht Menschen, durch das Wasser gerettet. Dem entspricht die Taufe, die jetzt euch rettet. Sie dient nicht dazu, den Körper von Schmutz zu reinigen, sondern sie ist eine Bitte an Gott um ein reines Gewissen aufgrund der Auferstehung Jesu Christ“ (1Pt 3,20–21)

### 3.2.4. Die Doppelsinnigkeit des göttlichen Zornes<sup>36</sup>

Die wahre Bedeutung des Zornes Gottes im Bezug auf die Einladung zur μετάνοια lässt zwei Aspekte erblicken:

- a) Die Offenbarung des Erbarmens ist immer als Einladung und Möglichkeit zur Umkehr zu verstehen.
- b) Die Offenbarung des Zornes enthüllt „die unentbehrliche Folie für die Offenbarung des Erbarmens“:<sup>37</sup> der Mensch, der sich von dem Erbarmen Gottes nicht transformieren lässt, wird dem gerechten Urteil Gottes unterworfen.

So können wir mit Recht aussagen: der Zorn Gottes steht immer im Zusammenhang mit der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit, die letztendlich nichts anderes, als Liebe und Barmherzigkeit ist.<sup>38</sup>

## 4. „SEID BARMHERZIG!“ (LK 6,36)

Der Parallelismus von Lk 6,36 („Seid barmherzig!“) und Mt 5,48 („Seid vollkommen!“) zeigt die Unbegrenztheit und Unerlässlichkeit der Pflicht zur Barmherzigkeit: man kann die göttliche Vollkommenheit nur und ausschliesslich auf dem Weg des barmherzigen Verhaltens erreichen. Die Seligpreisungen heben diese Gegebenheit deutlich hervor: „Selig die Barmherzigen; denn sie werden Erbarmen finden“ (Mt 5,7). Im lukanischen Text wird diese Botschaft negativ formuliert: die Notleidenden (die um das barmherzige Verhalten des Anderen anrufen) (Lk 6,20–22) stehen mit den Wohlhabenden, Reichen und Satten im Kontrast – diese Letzten sind mit den Weherufen Christi angesprochen (Lk 6,24–26).

Die Barmherzigkeit ist infolgedessen die *conditio sine qua non* des Eintretens in das Reich des Himmels (Mt 25,31–46). Daraus folgt, dass die Barmherzigkeit als die besondere Tugend des Gläubigen zu bezeichnen ist. Die christliche Tradition (auf Grund der Überlieferung der jüdischen Frömmigkeit) hat diese Grundaussage in die Spiritua-

<sup>36</sup> Siehe: Stählin, Gustav, Art. „οργή“, 426, Z.30 – 427, Z. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Ebd.

<sup>38</sup> Siehe zum Thema: Neyrey, Jerome H., *Render to God*, 112–134 und 207–209.

lität und Ethik integriert. „Cultivation of mercy figures as a moral excellence across expressions of the Christian tradition“.<sup>39</sup>

Dass die Tugend der Barmherzigkeit keine Option, sondern Pflicht und erwartete Grundhaltung des Gläubigen ist, zeigt sich an die Rolle der Caritas im Leben der Gemeinde.<sup>40</sup> Die alttestamentliche Praxis der helfenden Liebe wird zur „planmässigen Armenfürsorge“.<sup>41</sup> Die Erfahrung der ersten christlichen Gemeinden bestätigt es: barmherziges Handeln ist Ausdruck und „Erweis der geschwisterlichen Liebe“<sup>42</sup> – so auf persönlicher, wie auf gemeinschaftlicher Ebene.

## KONKLUSION

„Seid barmherzig“ – dieser Aufruf und Aufforderung Jesu erschliesst die umwandelnde Kraft der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit, die nie als abstrakte und rein spirituell-theologische Attribut Gottes zu verstehen ist. Das Erbarmen, das der sündige Mensch von der Seite des Allmächtigen erfahren vermag, wird zur Einladung zur gerechten Gestaltung der persönlichen und gemeinschaftlich-gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen. Ja, die göttliche Barmherzigkeit ist in Wahrheit Modell und Vorbild einer der vornehmsten menschlichen Tugenden.

Die Offenbarung des göttlichen Zornes vertieft und verschärft die biblische Botschaft, ruft uns die ständige Pflicht zum Mitleid und zur helfenden Liebe in die Erinnerung. Die christförmige Umgestaltung der menschlichen Persönlichkeit ist die Vorbedingung der Erreichung des grossen Zieles: „Seid vollkommen, wie euer himmlischer Vater vollkommen ist!“ (Mt 5,48).

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<sup>39</sup> Dowdy, Christopher, Art. „Mercy“, 522.

<sup>40</sup> Siehe: Kampling, Rainer, Art. „Barmherzigkeit“, 112.

<sup>41</sup> Ebd.

<sup>42</sup> Ebd.

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Vadim WITTKOWSKY

## LUKANISCHE JAKOBUSKLAUSELN VOR DEM HINTERGRUND DER MATTHÄISCHEN BERGPREDIGT

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### I. EINLEITUNG

Jakobusklauseln und Bergpredigt. Apostelgeschichte 15 und Matthäusevangelium 5 bis 7. Warum dieses Thema? Es handelt sich dabei um eine der vielen – zum Teil völlig oder fast völlig neuen – Fragestellungen, mit denen ich mich im Laufe der Arbeit an meiner Habilitationsschrift beschäftigt habe, die von der Sprach- und literaturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin im Wintersemester 2019/20 angenommen wurde.<sup>1</sup> Im genannten Forschungsprojekt habe ich die Komposition des lukanischen Doppelwerkes *vor dem Hintergrund* der Arbeit des dritten Evangelisten mit seinen Vorlagen behandelt. Ein Beitrag zu diesem Thema liegt schon in dem Sammelband der Szegediner Konferenz des letzten Jahres vor, dort handelt es sich allerdings um Lukas und Flavius Josephus.<sup>2</sup> In der Habilitationsschrift waren hingegen die sogenannten „synoptischen Vorlagen“ des Doppelwerkes das Hauptthema, d.h. Markus- und Matthäusevangelium.

Am Anfang des Forschungsprojekts bin ich von nur wenigen Annahmen hinsichtlich der lukanischen Schriften ausgegangen, und zwar davon, dass (erstens) Lukas – bzw. Auctor ad Theophilum – der Autor sowohl des Lukasevangeliums als auch der Apostelgeschichte war, und (zweitens) dass er nicht der Urheber der synoptischen Tradition war, sondern vielmehr sich diese Tradition in verschiedenen Formen angeeignet hat (vgl. dazu seine eigenen Ausführungen im Prolog Lk 1,1–4). Dabei hielt ich (drittens) nicht etwa für von vornherein bewiesen aber doch für *möglich*, dass dieser Lukas sowohl das Markus- als auch das Matthäusevangelium, so oder ungefähr so, wie wir sie aus dem Neuen Testament kennen,<sup>3</sup> benutzt hat – dabei nicht unbedingt nur im ersten, sondern vielleicht auch im zweiten Teil des von ihm verfassten Doppelwerkes.

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<sup>1</sup> Komposition und synoptische Vorlagen des lukanischen Doppelwerkes (Gutachter: Markus Asper, Markus Vinzent, Manuel Vogel).

<sup>2</sup> V. Wittkowsky, „Vita des Flavius Josephus als Vorlage des lukanischen Doppelwerkes“, in Gy. Benyik, ed. *The Hellenistic and Judaic Background to the New Testament* (Szeged: JATEPress, 2019), 507–18.

<sup>3</sup> S. dazu F. Siegert – V. Wittkowsky, *Von der Zwei- zur Vier-Quellen-Hypothese: Vorschlag für ein vollständiges Stemma der Evangelienüberlieferungen* (Berlin – Münster: LIT, 2015).

Bei der Bearbeitung des sehr reichhaltigen Stoffes der beiden lukanischen Schriften unter diesen Voraussetzungen mussten natürlich einige wichtige Schranken fallen, die bisher den Weg zur Lösung des synoptischen Problems sowie des Problems der lukanischen Gesamtkomposition versperrt haben. Das sind vor allem die durch die Neutestamentler künstlich aufgebaute „Mauer“ zwischen dem Lukas- und dem Matthäusevangelium und die ebenfalls künstliche und philologisch nicht nachvollziehbare Ausschließung der Apostelgeschichte, des Textes eines der drei Synoptiker, aus der Diskussion über die Verhältnisse zwischen den synoptischen Texten.

Im Ergebnis konnte festgestellt werden,

erstens) dass das Markusevangelium zu den lukanischen Vorlagen nicht nur in dem üblichen Sinne gehörte, dass Lukas an relativ vielen Stellen den markinischen Text in sein Evangelium mit einigen Abänderungen übertragen hat, sondern dass er auf *verschiedene* Weisen von dieser seiner Vorlage profitiert hat, und zwar nicht nur im Lukas-evangelium, sondern auch in der Apostelgeschichte. Dadurch konnte unter anderem die sogenannte „große Auslassung“ erklärt werden;<sup>4</sup>

zweitens) dass die zahlreichen Parallelen zwischen den lukanischen Texten längere Systeme bilden können, jedes von welchen für die Interpretation der literarischen und theologischen Absichten dieses Autors von großer, ja entscheidender Bedeutung ist;

drittens) dass das Matthäusevangelium – völlig unabhängig von der Lösung des Problems einer oder mehreren Logienquelle(n) – zu den allerwichtigsten Vorlagen des Lukas gehörte und dass die mathäischen Texte in mehr oder weniger abgewandelten Form in seinem Doppelwerk auch an anderen Stellen, als man früher zu glauben pflegte, zu finden sind – zum großen Teil gerade auch im Text der Apostelgeschichte.

## 2. ZUR VERGLEICHBARKEIT DER JAKOBUSKLAUSELN MIT DEM TEXT DER BERGPREDIGT

Was bedeuten nun aber die genannten Ergebnisse meines Habilitationsprojekts für das Thema dieses Aufsatzes? Wie wird ein konkreter Text des *Matthäusevangeliums* zum Teil der *lukanischen* literarischen Systematik bzw. eines konkreten *lukanischen* Systems literarischer Parallelen? Das kann auf zwei verschiedene Weisen gewährleistet werden. *Entweder* durch Verbindungen einer Matthäus-Stelle mit einer innerlukanischen Parallele *oder* durch Verbindungen einer Apg-Stelle mit einer Parallele zwischen den beiden Evangelien. Wir haben hier mit dem zweiten Fall zu tun, denn die mathäische Bergpredigt hat eine klare Entsprechung im Lk – die Feldrede (6,20–49).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> V. Wittkowsky, „Der Stoff der ‚großen Auslassung‘ in Lukas 24 und Apostelgeschichte 27–28“, in G. Van Oyen, ed. *Reading the Gospel of Mark in the Twenty-First Century: Method and Meaning* (Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters, 2019), 847–66.

<sup>5</sup> In einem solchen Fall muss die innerlukanische Parallele (zwischen Lk und Apg) nicht offensichtlich sein, sie soll jedoch ohne Rückgriff auf das Mt-Evangelium eruiert werden können.

Das System der lukanischen Parallelen, das uns hier interessiert, ist das Thema des ersten Teils (Teil A) meiner Habilitationsschrift. Diese Parallelen erstrecken sich auf einer Seite vom Anfang des Lukasevangeliums bis zu dessen Ende mit Ausschluss des Reiseberichts (genauer ab Ende des 9. Kapitels bis zum Schluss des 21. Kapitels des Lk), auf der anderen Seite von dem Beginn der Schilderung der Heidenmission (Mitte des 8. Kapitels der Apg) bis zum Schluss des Buches ohne signifikante Pausen. Das sind die ersten Parallelen wie sie bis jeweils zu den uns jetzt interessierenden Stellen reichen:

Vier wichtigste Themen des Doppelwerkes: Gottes Gnade, Jesus als Christus, Gottes Macht, Frieden zwischen den Juden und Rom: Lk 1 – Apg 8–10

Geburt des Neuen: Lk 2 – Apg 11–12

Initiationen und Inaugurationsreden: Lk 3–4 – Apg 13

Epiphanien: Lk 5 – Apg 14

*Neuartige Gemeinden und Umgang mit alten Regeln in diesen: Lk 5–6 – Apg 15.*

Selbstverständlich kann und soll hier nur auf den letzten Punkt in dieser lukanischen Abfolge ausführlicher eingegangen werden.

### 3. EINE NEUARTIGE GEMEINSCHAFT: „STREITGESPRÄCHE“ ÜBER JÜDISCHE GEBOTE UND Apg 15

Bis Mk 2,14 waren die namentlich genannten Nachfolger Jesu Fischer, welchen Beruf man für völlig unbedenklich hielt. Nun erscheint als von Jesus selbst Eingeladener ein *Zöllner*, und damit kommt eine Wende, die schon durch die Blasphemie-Beschuldigung in der Kafarnaumer Synagoge (2,7f) vorbereitet war: Jesus wird jetzt zu einem *umstrittenen Lehrer*.

Lukas folgt Markus (wie schon seit Lk 4,31) ohne Bedenken und lässt seinen Jesus ebenso mit den jüdischen Lehrern und ihren Jüngern über das Gesetz streiten. In Lk 5,27 erscheint neben Jesus auch da erstmals ein „unerwünschter“ Zöllner. Jesus betritt dessen Haus (Lk 5,29) und speist dort „mit den Zöllnern und Sündern“ (5,30<sup>6</sup>). Der qualifizierte Sinn des Wortes „Sünder“ ist folgender: Sünder sind bei diesem Verständnis all diejenigen, die sich sozial *ähnlich bedenklich wie Zöllner* verhalten,<sup>7</sup> und das heißt die Menschen, die man *üblicherweise für Sünder hält*. In der Gesellschaft *wie sie ist*, werden sie so niedrig eingestuft bzw. so negativ bewertet, dass es wohl nur einen aussichtsreichen Weg gibt, sie zu „heilen“, nämlich denjenigen, den Jesus auch betritt – diese Menschen *mit einer neuen Gesellschaft bzw. Gemeinschaft zu versorgen!*

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<sup>6</sup> Anders als in Mk 2,15f ist das die Meinung „der Pharisäer und ihrer Schriftgelehrten“, für den Autor sind es aber nur „Zöllner und andere“ (so Lk 5,29b).

<sup>7</sup> Mt 21,31 nennt neben Zöllnern noch konkret „Huren“. Ein „subjektiver Sünder“ ist übrigens auch der jüngste Bruder in Lk 15,30 – nämlich ein Sünder aus der Sicht seines ältesten Bruders (in 15,13 war von keinen *πόρναι* bzw. *πόρνῶν* die Rede).

Auf diese Weise kommt die Gemeinschaft der *Jünger Jesu* eigentlich erst zustande – so Markus und auch der ihm folgende Lukas.<sup>8</sup> Diese besteht zwar natürlich noch ausschließlich aus Juden, und trotzdem gilt dort eine sehr andere Auslegung der als entscheidend geltenden Gebote. Die Gewohnheit in gewissen zeitlichen Abständen zu fasten, ist zunächst aufgehoben (Lk 5,33–35), das Sabbat-Gebot darf mit Verweis auf eine Geschichte über den König David gebrochen werden (Lk 6,1–5), und natürlich darf man am Sabbat Menschen heilen (Lk 6,6–11). Das alles sind Merkmale einer messianischen Gemeinschaft (Freudenmahl, Davids-Sohnschaft, Heilungswunder). Es wird aber wieder – wie schon in der Nazareth-Szene (Lk 4) – hervorgehoben, dass diese Gemeinde nicht das ganze Volk Israel einschließen kann und schon gar nicht seine Obergerechten (Lk 5,32). Dieses Volk hat ja schon, wie in einem Gleichnis später gesagt wird, „Moses und Propheten“ und soll dabei bleiben (Lk 16,29). Das ist das gute Alte, wobei es auch *völlig normal* ist zu bleiben – das bekräftigt der lukanische Jesus im Zusatz Lk 5,39 zum markinischen Stoff Lk 5,36–38 par Mk 2,21f: „Und niemand, der alten Wein getrunken hat, will neuen; denn er sagt: Der alte Wein ist gut“. Die Leute, die Jesus um sich sammelte, blieben jedoch dieser Normalität auf verschiedene Weise fern.<sup>9</sup>

Aus dieser neuen Gemeinde, deren Zeichen die „Zöllnerschaft“ des Levi (Lk 5,27) ist, werden nun die zwölf Apostel ausgewählt (Lk 6,12–16),<sup>10</sup> und sie sind nicht nur einfach „dabei“, wenn sich Jesus mit einer großen Rede (der Feldrede) an das Volk wendet (Lk 6,20–49), sondern diese Worte sind vor allem *an sie* gerichtet.<sup>11</sup>

Diese markinisch-lukanische Perikopenfolge soll eine Parallele in Apg 15 bekommen. Dort handelt es sich doch auch um die Entstehung einer *neuartigen* Gemeinde – diesmal im Syrischen Antiochien! Und auch dort geht es also um *neue* Regeln, die nun wieder von den Pharisäern nicht sofort akzeptiert werden können, auch von denen nicht, die bereits „gläubig“ geworden sind (Apg 15,5). Was im Kontext der Erzählung über Jesus und seine Jünger am wenigsten in Frage kam – die Beschneidung – wird zum wichtigsten Problem hier, wo es nun um nichtjüdische „Brüder“ geht. Denn solange diese unbeschnitten blieben, mussten sie als *Heiden* gelten; wer dagegen be-

<sup>8</sup> Der matthäische Jesus hatte dagegen schon längst Jünger (spätestens seit Mt 5,1).

<sup>9</sup> Worum es im Einzelfall ging, erzählen weder Markus noch Lukas, aber schon in Lk 5,8 sagt Petrus über sich, er sei ein „Sünder“, was vielleicht auch symbolisch gemeint ist. Lukas hebt hervor, dass diese Menschen „zur Umkehr“ gerufen sind (Lk 5,32 diff. Mk 2,17).

<sup>10</sup> Matthäus will die gewählten Zwölf (in Mt 10,1–4 wird ihre Ordination, nicht aber ihre Wahl, geschildert) mit seinem *Zöllner Matthäus* (Mt 9,9 diff. „Levi“ in Mk 2,14; Lk 5,27) auch sehr wohl in Verbindung bringen (und besonders klar macht das sog. „Evangelium der Ebionäer“ diese Absicht – s. Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30, wo bei der Ansprache, die Jesus an die Zwölf hält, *Matthäus* alleine in der zweiten Person angeredet wird). Aber die mk Konstruktion, die Lukas übernimmt, hat Matthäus vielleicht nicht ohne Absicht nicht nur etwa vereinfacht, sondern *zerstört* (ein Teil der Szenen sind in Mt 12 übertragen, wo damit die Worte 11,28–30 illustriert werden, andere kommen zwischen Mt 9,9 und 10,1–4 aus Mk 10 und 6).

<sup>11</sup> Lk 6,20: „Er richtete seine Augen *auf seine Jünger* und sagte...“. Vgl. die Situation der „Bergpredigt“ in Mt 5,1: „...und seine Jünger *traten zu ihm*“.

schnitten war, konnte mit Recht als *Jude* gelten, und das Problem der *Neuartigkeit* würde damit entfallen.

Die Entscheidung soll von den *Aposteln* getroffen werden, d.h. genau der Gruppe, die in Lk 5f im Entstehen war, damals als eine *neuartige jüdische* Gemeinschaft, die auf dem Vertrauen in denselben Jesus gründete. Sie bilden nunmehr eine doppelte Gruppe zusammen mit den „Ältesten“.<sup>12</sup>

Und diese muss natürlich auch mit dem Gesetz Mose in einem bestimmten Verhältnis stehen, denn nicht einmal der Kyrios Jesus hatte etwa Sabbat oder Fasten völlig abgeschafft, sondern nur die Regeln deren Einhaltung christologisch korrigiert (Lk 5,33f; 6,1–11). So werden die Jakobusklauseln, zum einen, ganz explizit mit der Verkündigung des *mosaischen* Gesetzes (Μωϋσήϛ) in den *Synagogen* anlässlich der *Sabbat*-Tage (ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον) in Verbindung gestellt (Apg 15,21), zum anderen, auch die Heiden haben bestimmte *jüdische* kulturelle Regeln (15,20.29) zu befolgen. Es handelt sich also um denselben *halachischen Diskurs*, um den es Jesus – aber auch seinen Opponenten – in den Streitgesprächen Lk 5f par Mk 2f ging.

#### 4. BERGPREDIGT ALS PRÄTEXT DER JAKOBUSKLAUSELN

Diese Streitgespräche Jesu münden bei Lukas – wie bei Markus – in die Szene der Apostelwahl, der dann bei ihm – anders als bei Markus – die zweite längere Rede Jesu (6,20–49) folgt. An dieser Stelle gibt es eine Änderung der markinischen Ordnung, die einzige in dieser Perikopenfolge: Mk 3,7–12 bringt Lukas nach Mk 3,13–19, bei ihm steht die Apostelwahl 6,12–16 vor der Szene „in der Ebene“ bzw. „auf dem Feld“, die im Lk erst *danach*, in 6,17–19 kommt. Es wurde schon längst bemerkt,<sup>13</sup> dass diese Änderung die Benutzung des Matthäusevangeliums durch Lukas nahelegt. Hier soll das nicht noch einmal ausführlich dargelegt werden, einige Bemerkungen sind jedoch angebracht.

Wenn Lukas das Mt gekannt und verwendet hat, ist die Änderung der Reihenfolge im Lk völlig nachvollziehbar. Lukas bringt zuerst die ganze markinische Perikopenfolge bis Mk 6,19 und kommt erst dann zu der großen Rede Jesu, die Markus nicht hat. Diese Rede entspricht der matthäischen Bergpredigt, die sofort nach dem Schluss von Mt 4 anfängt. Dieser Kapitelschluss – Mt 4,24f – hat aber seine klare Entsprechung in Mk 3,7–11. Wenn Lukas nun *Matthäus* folgen will und dabei die Angeredeten die Zwölf sein sollen, wird klar, warum er die letzten Perikopen der markinischen Folge umstellt: *Zuerst* erfolgt – mit Markus – die Apostelwahl (Mk 3,13–19 – Lk 6,12–16), *danach* kommt der Wechsel in die matthäische Reihenfolge (Mt 4,24f – Lk 6,17–19), wobei auch die einzige (vorerst) ausgelassene markinische Perikope doch noch berücksichtigt werden kann (Mk 3,12–16 – Lk 6,17–19).

<sup>12</sup> Damit werden die Apostel selbst gewissermaßen zu den Gründern einer neuen παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων (vgl. Mk 7,3).

<sup>13</sup> S. hierzu vor allem M. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (Sheffield: Academic, 1989), 340–5.



In der Apg folgt nun das Kapitel 15 mit der Erzählung über das Apostelkonzil, die zu der markinisch-lukanischen Darstellung Lk 5f par Mk 2f deutliche Analogien aufweist. Jetzt kommt die Frage: Können wir dann in Apg 15 bzw. kurz danach nicht etwa auch Spuren der matthäischen *Bergpredigt* (Mt 5–7) bzw. der ihr entsprechenden lukanischen *Feldrede* (Lk 6,20–49) finden? Die Benutzung des matthäischen Stoffes *in der Apostelgeschichte* könnte beispielsweise Einiges nachholen, was die viel kürzere Feldrede der Bergpredigt nicht entlehnt und was auch der spätere Reisebericht *im Lukasevangelium* unberücksichtigt gelassen hat.<sup>14</sup>

An dieser Stelle soll bemerkt werden, dass eine Verbindung zwischen der Feldrede (bzw. der Bergpredigt) und den Jakobusklauseln offensichtlich schon in der Spätantike gesehen wurde. Das zeigen einige Handschriften (unter ihnen Codex Bezae), die neben den vier (oder drei) Geboten von Apg 15,20.29 noch die sog. „Goldene Regel“ bringen, die ja in Lk 6,31 par Mt 7,12 (dort allerdings in *positiver*, hier, in der Apg, in *negativer* Form) enthalten ist.<sup>15</sup> Es sind neue Regeln, die in der neuartigen Gemeinde Althergebrachtes und Erwartetes ersetzen sollen.

Die Lehre des Apostelkonzils besteht offensichtlich im sog. Aposteldekret bzw. Jakobusklauseln, die zuerst durch Jakobus vorgeschlagen (Apg 15,19–21) und dann verschriftlicht (15,22–29) nach Antiochien übermittelt werden (15,30). An dieser letzten Stelle, wo die „neue Lehre“ also ihre Adressaten erreicht, sieht man zunächst eine interessante *topographische* Analogie zu dem, wie Lukas seine Feldrede einleitet. Anders als bei Matthäus (Mt 5,1) kommt Jesus nicht auf den Berg, sondern, umgekehrt, von einem Berg *hinab* und bleibt auf der Ebene stehen;<sup>16</sup> dort kommt „eine große Menge des Volkes“ zu ihm (Lk 6,17). Ähnlich sieht es aber auch in Apg 15 aus, denn die Gesandten kommen aus Jerusalem zurück, das auf einem Berg (ca. 750 Meter ü.M.) liegt (vgl. τὸ ὄρος in Lk 6,12), in eine weitgehend flache Gegend (ca. 100 Meter ü.M.) um das Syrische Antiochien, vgl. κατήλθον in Apg 15,30 mit καταβάς in Lk 6,17. Da versammelt sich wegen ihrer Ankunft auch eine „Menge“, vgl. τὸ πλῆθος in Apg 15,30 mit πλῆθος πολὺ in Lk 6,17.

Hier, vor dieser „Menge“, wird das Sendschreiben nun vorgelesen (15,31), wobei die Wendung ἀναγνόντες an die Rede des Jakobus erinnern kann, in der als Begründung derselben „neuen Lehre“ Folgendes gesagt wurde: „Denn Moses hat seit ältesten Zeiten (ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων) in jeder Stadt seine Verkündiger, da er in den Synagogen an jedem Sabbat verlesen (ἀναγινωσκόμενος) wird“ (15,21). Durch *Verlesung* wird also das Neue so wahrgenommen als wäre es das *Alte*.

<sup>14</sup> Zur Benutzung der Bergpredigt in der Feldrede s. Goulder, *Luke*, 346–76.

<sup>15</sup> Der genaue Wortlaut schwankt. Codex Bezae hat in 15,20 z.B. καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε. In denselben Hss. kann dieses Gebot die – wohl weniger verständliche – Erwähnung des „Erstickten“ (πνικτόν) ersetzen. Einige wenige Hss. bringen aber alle *fünf* Gebote.

<sup>16</sup> Es ist nicht Kafarnaum selbst, aber – nach Lk 7,1 – wohl ein Ort *in der Nähe* davon.

Dass das Alte auch eine besondere Rolle bei der Diskussion in Jerusalem (15,6–21) spielt, zeigt aber die Rede des Petrus und auch die Worte, mit denen Jakobus darauf reagiert. Petrus erklärt nämlich, dass „Gott schon *seit alten Tagen her* (ἀφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων) hier bei euch die Entscheidung getroffen“ hat, dass die Heiden durch ihn das Wort des Evangeliums hören und dadurch zum Glauben kommen sollen (15,7).<sup>17</sup> Noch überraschender bezeichnet Jakobus zu Anfang seiner Antwort (15,14) den vorigen Redner weder als „Petrus“, noch als „Simon“, noch als „Kephas“, sondern mit einem Namen, der für den Erzapostel im ganzen Neuen Testament (bis auf den späten Zweiten Petrusbrief) nur an dieser einzigen Stelle gebraucht wird: Συμεὼν! In der Forschung hat man nicht ohne Grund angenommen, dass hier ein Verweis auf Lk 2,25–35 vorliegt, denn die Worte dieses *alten* Simeon über die „Erleuchtung der Heiden“ (Lk 2,32) konnten in der Jakobus-Rede sehr wohl (mit) gemeint sein.<sup>18</sup> Die Überzeugungskraft der Worte der beiden Jerusalemer Anführer, Petrus und Jakobus, liegt somit in den Hinweisen auf eine *entfernte Vergangenheit*.

Und von dieser *alten* Vergangenheit – und zwar auch in ihrem Vergleich zu der Gegenwart – handelt es sich auch im ersten Teil der matthäischen Rede, die man als Bergpredigt zu bezeichnen pflegt, und zwar in Mt 5,17–48, wo der Begriff οἱ ἀρχαῖοι doppelt in direkter Form (5,21.33) vorkommt und noch mehrmals gemeint (5,27.31.38.43) wird: Es sind hier die Adressaten *des Gesetzes Mose*, die der matthäische *Jesus* mit *seinem eigenen* Auditorium („Mengen“ und „Jünger“, so Mt 5,1) zu Vergleich zieht. Auch hier geht es stets darum, dass diese Worte des Gesetzes auch von den jetzt Anwesenden – also den „Neuen“ – bereits „gehört“ wurden (ἠκούσατε – Mt 5,21 u.a.), das heißt ihnen aus den *Verlesungen* bekannt sind (vgl. Apg 15,21.31).

Um Aufhebung des Gesetzes geht es auch in diesem Fall gar nicht (Mt 5,17–19), und trotzdem wird das wohl bekannte Alte ganz deutlich durch etwas Neues *ersetzt*. Und dies kommt selbstverständlich nicht einfach aus einem Menschenmunde, nein, natürlich steht Gott sowohl hinter Jesus in Mt 5 – vgl. Mt 11,27: „alles ist mir übergeben von meinem Vater“! – als auch hinter dem Jerusalemer Konzil, man vergleiche nur Apg 15,28: „*Der Heilige Geist und wir* haben beschlossen“! Und sogar die auferlegte *Last* ist wie bei Matthäus *leicht*, auch wenn dies nicht mehr in der Bergpredigt, sondern wiederum in Mt 11 (V. 30) steht.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. auch das Amos-Zitat in 15,16f, dessen Sinn ist: das *Alte* wird wieder hergestellt, und es folgt als Fazit (15,18) γνωστὰ ἀπ’ αἰῶνος.

<sup>18</sup> Das war noch die Meinung des Johannes Chrysostomos (um 400 n. Chr.), die dann sogar noch von Oecumenius (ca. 7. Jh. n. Chr.) als Meinung „einiger“ zitiert wird. Die Prophezeiung, die an diesen Simeon erging, stammt wohl aus den Zeiten, die vor der Geburt jedes von den in Jerusalem Anwesenden liegen, was das Wort „alt“ in Apg 15,7 viel geeigneter erscheinen lässt.

<sup>19</sup> Und auch inhaltlich erinnert ein Teil der Jakobusklauseln an die Gebote, von denen der matthäische Jesus spricht; vor allem denkt man da natürlich an das Verbot der Unzucht (Mt 5,27), aber auch das Wort „Blut“ erinnert ja in erster Linie an das „Töten“ der Tora (Mt 5,21). Dass diese

## 5. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

In der Forschung wurde schon immer darauf hingewiesen, dass der Stoff der Bergpredigt zum Teil von Lukas nicht dort gebracht wird, wo wir ihn bei Matthäus vorfinden. Es wurde jedoch in Verbindung damit fast nur auf den großen lukanischen Einschub Lk 9 bis 18 (sog. Reisebericht) hingewiesen, wohingegen die Apostelgeschichte als möglicher Verwendungsort dafür kaum in Frage kam.<sup>20</sup> Aber auch die Sondergut-Teile des Matthäusevangeliums konnten von Lukas – oft auf sehr interessante Weise – berücksichtigt werden.

Das „vervollständigte Gesetz“ der Bergpredigt (vgl. Mt 5,17) übernimmt Lukas nicht in die Feldrede seines Jesus. Aber er macht daraus die Jakobusklauseln, die irgendwie sogar von Paulus, dem Gesandten Gottes, toleriert werden müssen,<sup>21</sup> wie auch der Gesandte Gottes Jesus so „lange Zeit“ seine Nachfolger „ertragen“ musste.<sup>22</sup> Das aus den synagogalen Verlesungen gut Bekannte muss zu einem Bestandteil des Neuen werden, aber diese alten Gebote an sich genügen keineswegs, auch wenn sie an die neue Situation – ob nun im moralischen oder allegorischen Sinne<sup>23</sup> – gut angepasst sind und ihr „*Joch*“ noch so leicht zu sein scheint (vgl. Apg 15,10.28 mit Mt 11,29f, aber auch Gal 5,1<sup>24</sup>).

Zwei Punkte scheinen im Endergebnis von besonderer Bedeutung zu sein. Erstens: Das Alte wird durch die Ankunft des Neuen nicht etwa einfach abgeschafft, sondern es bedarf noch viel Zeit, Geduld und eben Friedfertigkeit auf der Seite der Vertreter dieses Neuen. Zweitens: Das Entscheidende des Neuen wird vor dem Hintergrund des bleibenden Alten besonders gut sichtbar.

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*alten* Gebote nun nicht mehr wörtlich genommen werden müssen, erklärt der matthäische Jesus ganz direkt, das Gleiche meint aber vielleicht auch der lukanische Jakobus.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. jedoch M. Müller, „Acts as Biblical Rewriting of the Gospels and Paul’s Letters“, in J. T. Nielsen – M. Müller, eds. *Luke’s Literary Creativity* (London – New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 96–117, vgl. z.B. 101.

<sup>21</sup> Lukas lässt Paulus und Silas sie sogar *außerhalb* von „Syrien und Kilikien“ (vgl. Apg 16,3 mit 15,23) verkündigen.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Lk 9,40f par.

<sup>23</sup> Vergleich etwa mit dem Aristeasbrief, Philo von Alexandrien oder Flavius Josephus ist bestimmt angebracht.

<sup>24</sup> Das Wort ὁ ζυγός wird in den Evangelien, der Apostelgeschichte und den echten Paulusbriefen nur an diesen drei Stellen verwendet (in der Apg in 15,10).

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György KOCSI

**ORIENTAL STUDIES AND INTERFAITH DIALOGUE ESSAYS  
IN HONOUR OF JÓZSEF SZÉCSI  
BOOK REVIEW<sup>1</sup>**

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József Szécsi, a researcher of religion was honoured on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday by forty-nine scholars from Israel, Rome, the United States, Germany, the Netherlands, France, England, Armenia, Hungary, including our Hungarian colleagues from neighboring countries. The Festschrift includes valuable studies by academics of Jewish literature, representatives of many Christian denominations, prominent interpreters of both parts of the Bible (Old and New Testament), committed devotees and promoters of dialogue between Christians and other religions.

Most of the studies are written in Hungarian, while quite a few are in English and German, and even in modern Hebrew. The impressive volume was edited by Professor Máté Hidvégi and published by L'Harmattan Kiadó (Budapest). Thanks for the careful work of both the editor and the publisher. (The price of the book is HUF 5990.)

The volume sets out with the greetings of personal tone from Alfréd Schöner, Chief Rabbi. The Chief Rabbi's words are followed by a 15-page description of Professor Szécsi's wide-ranging work and professional curriculum vitae. The next item is an interview with Szécsi conducted by György Benyik, Szeged-based professor of theology, from which we can get to know the master's oeuvre and his background from the cradle of Szeged to the Secretary General of the Christian-Jewish Society and to the position of professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary–University of Jewish Studies. The conversation reveals the struggles as well as the joys of his life, his family and his parents. This finely executed interview is also a confession in the noblest sense of the word, which helps us understand the motive power of the alert, profoundly intellectual and versatile research fellow. This book features a study by Professor Benyik too, which drawing upon a huge body of literature investigates the enduring influence Philon of Alexandria and Josephus Flavius have exercised on the interpretation of the Bible.

It is certainly beyond the scope given us here to present the individual studies in detail, which would otherwise require at least 50 pages and might be enough for a university or college course. My aim is rather to arouse the interest in studying this vol-

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<sup>1</sup> *Delivered at Kossuth Klub, Budapest, February 14, 2019.*

ume among the circle of friends celebrating here and beyond that among everyone who is attracted to theology, the Bible of Judaism and Christianity, philosophy, and inter-faith dialogue.

Professor Sebastian Brock of Oxford, a Fellow of the British Academy examines two poems, a Jew and a Christian with Gen 22 concerning the sacrifice of Isaac. Traditionally, this scene is called the Akedah, the Binding of Isaac, in Christian theology. The role of Sarah in the Church Fathers is negatively judged. Golden-mouthed St. John, for instance, emphasizes how wise Abraham was not to have told Sarah about God's wish to sacrifice Isaac, for how much it would have been woeful, and in the end she would have discouraged Abraham from sacrificing Isaac. But here, in both poems examined by our author, Sarah consoles Abraham and encourages him to trust in God and do what God wants him to do. Usually Sarah is negatively viewed, there is little tradition in the writings of Christian influence, where Abraham's wife would be positive for sacrificing Isaac. In this respect, the exception is the Syrian Christian text examined by Brock. Both the Jewish and Christian traditions are rich in typological reflections, and above all, that Abraham is presented as a priest showing the sacrifice. This Syrian poem differs from the Greek and Latin Akadeh traditions, which is characterized by the above mentioned opinion of Johannes Krizostomos, and which can be read in the Akedah volume published by Kairos Publisher. For this reason also, this Syrian Akedah variant is valuable for the Christian reception.

An equally exciting study of Martin Meiser (Saarbrücken) on the angels down and up the Jacob's ladder (Gen 28,10-22). Our author of erudition first looks at the history of the text to enlighten the history of its reception and its different aspects. The text is strictly interpreted as open to the angels falling on the ladder or on Jacob (cf. the *bó* in 28,12 may apply equally to both). According to GenRabba 69,3, it applies to Jacob. By the way, the Gospel of John, though already referring to Jesus, says, "In all truth I tell you, you will see heaven open and the angels of God ascending and descending over the Son of man" (Jn 1,51).

That's why the GenRabba also recommends the allegorical interpretation. The upward angels exalt Jacob, and the descendants humiliate him. In this sense, we can understand the Second Song of the Servant at Isaiah. "Israel you are my servant, through whom I shall manifest my glory." The name of Jacob is that of Israel at the same time. In the Greek and Latin text traditions this openness disappears, because it is clearly on the ladder, and not on Jacob, and so remained in our memory.

At Philon of Alexandria, the ladder is symbolically the air where the incapacitated beings and souls are present. And at this point God's ascendant logos separate people from everything mortal, while the descendants serve to revive the souls by the presence of God, and thus understands Lev 26,12 allegorically "I shall live among you, I shall be your God and you will be my people". But life itself means ladder with its aspiration toward virtue of alternating success as is typical of the view of Stoic philosophy, where nothing is perfectly perfect, nor is it entirely bad.

In GenRabb 68,12, the view is cited that the sullam, the ladder that reaches the sky means Mount Sinai, the peak of which is Dt 4,11 to the “unto the heart of heaven”. And the angels of God are Moses and Aaron. The ladder is the same as the Torah of Moses, which was on Mount Sinai, and a bridge between heaven and earth.

In the Christian interpretation, the cross of Christ is symbolized by the ladder, and the descending and ascending angels indicate the virtues, or the eight beatitudes as the infinite opportunity for the soul to rise to God. Here, therefore, the soteriological and ethical aspects of the cross are in the forefront.

In the Oratorio Fragment of Arnold Schönberg, the esoteric and theosophical elements appear too, but the ladder of Jacob, the heavenly ladder, refers to the rise of man to God after death.

We can read a similarly interesting discussion about angels in M. Meiser's study. First of all, the problem is the sequence: as angels ought to have landed first and taken-off afterwards, because their residence is heaven. However, this is the opposite. Therefore, they are interpreted in the Jewish tradition that the ascending angels accompany Jacob in the land of Israel, while the landings are outside of Israel. But they may be the servant angels who would endanger Jacob, and here the motive of the envy of angels appears, and they also see demons in whom God's presence protects Jacob. In the angels, on the one hand, they see Israel's close relationship with God, and on the other hand, the powers that threaten Israel.

Jeffrey H. Tigay deals with Moshe Greenberg and his Exodus interpretation. Moshe Greenberg may have been one of the most influential American-Israeli Jewish exegetes, who pursued in integration the inquiry about the sources and the so-called canonical exegesis examining the final form of the text. His method is a great gift for both university students and teachers. Through this study by Professor Tigay, we too can get an insight into the method of the famous exegete Moshe Greenberg and its fruitful accomplishment.

Professor Sándor Gánóczy, a foreign member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is also concerned with Biblical history-critical exegesis, and highlights the benefits of regular theology in his study. By analyzing it thoroughly, he takes this method through both Jewish and Catholic as well as Protestant exegesis. And as a prominent Calvin researcher, he analyzes his method and praises his results and recommends his reception to systematic theologians.

The same topic is the study by Levente Balázs Martos, which deals with the possible cultivation of Biblical theology and its relationship with other modern sciences. Thus, he closes his thoughts: “For the religious community, dealing with the holy text, or more precisely the Bible, is always a kind of Biblical theology – because they are looking for what God says and how He manifests Himself in the present.”

György Jakubinyi, Archbishop of Gyulaféhevár, a Scripture scholar sheds light upon the difficulties of Bible translation through practical examples. His profound knowledge of Biblical languages and its simple explanation are apparent in his writing.



Explain how many times you have to forgive everybody interested: seventy times or seventy times seven times. Why did Moses become horned by Michelangelo Moses? It remains an interesting question whether Jerome was wrong when he translated the face of Moses having horns.

The stem word is certainly *keren*, which means horn, and from this is formed the *káran*, which can mean to give horn or to equip with horn, but the accepted primary meaning is radiant, sparkling.

As for this study, a complementary explanation needs to be done: in the age of St. Jerome there were no dictionaries that carried the 1<sup>st</sup>, the 2<sup>nd</sup>, or the 3<sup>rd</sup> meanings. The Septuagint translation (LXX) translates it as shines, radiates glory. The rabbis revised this translation several times, precisely because Christians preferred to use only the Septuagint translation. Aquila, a disciple of the famous Rabbi Akiba (Akiva), made a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew Bible ca. 125 AD. In actual fact this translation is unpalatable and unreadable, for it literally translates the words, one after the other, without ever trying to generate meaningful sentences. He even translates the prepositions separately as well, saying that each letter does carry relevance. Aquila translates the Ex 34,29: *The skin and forehead of the face of Moses-became horned*. It is known that Jerome learned Hebrew from the rabbis. Thus, this idea very likely must have been widespread and it is not certain by any means that Jerome had mistranslated it. Propp's monumental English commentary lists the various options of translation and explanation. Because the kings (see, for example, representations of Alexander the Great) and the high priests of the religions are represented by horns, it is possible that Moses was also presented in this way. So Jerome sees the text in the cultural-historical context, with kings and high priests horned. Admittedly, the translator is also determined by the notions of cultural history, and these are also reflected in the translations.

Professor Ida Fröhlich, in her study titled "The Matriarch in Danger" – Anatomy of a Mydrash, examines Genesis Apocryphon. This work makes interesting remarks about the patriarchs. It provides information that we do not have in the Biblical text.

In the part about Abraham, Sarah is forcibly taken to Pharaoh's court. For Abraham's prayer ("do not let my wife make me unclean"), God sends a spoil to the Pharaoh and his court with the help of a spirit (*ruah*): all of them are affected by impotence (1QapGen XX.16–29). For two years, the fertility of humans and animals was suspended – and, at the request of Pharaoh and after the return of Abraham's wife, Abraham frees the ruler with his hand against the plague that strikes him and his court. So Sarah did not become unclean in the yard of Pharaoh. Thus, she deserved to become later on the mother of Isaac, descendant from Abraham and second ancestor of Israel who won the "Promised Land".

In the Old Testament, the owner of the earth is God, the estate is provided only in the case of keeping his laws. If they are not kept, they will lose the area which God had promised them. In particular, it is especially important to keep the commandments prohibiting sexuality (genetic purity), magic and 'idolatry' (respect for foreign gods),

and those regulating the cult. The Pentateuchus regularly repeats with respect to the peoples of the Canaan region that they are “the roar of the earth” because of their crimes of ethical impurity. The Israelis, by contrast, receive the land for keeping the same laws, and the retention of these laws is a further condition for their survival.

Szabolcs Anzelm Szuromi O. Praem. rector of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, canon lawyer, examines the Psalms and its prayers in the age of Israel and the Church Fathers until the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. In his study we can follow the formation of the Psalms of Israel and their prayers during the temple worship. And this shaped the formation of the prayer of ancient monasticism, and its effect can be demonstrated in the formation and development of the Christian Liturgy of the Hours.

Professor Tibor Marjovszky discusses the anathema or *modus vivendi* based on the text of Mishnah. The sixteen haggadic / dialogues in Mishnah play an important role in the individual Mishnahs, breaking the halachic character of the text. It has an effect on the content of the mishnahs before and after it. It can produce functional processes in the text, even in static text, causing dynamic thought development and in such a case the surrounding text loses its static, causal character. A collective, complex exploration of the sixteen occurrences, obviously, can further refine this picture. “To destroy it, the expression in his heart” expression a kind of “filling of a mental *micvá*”, which can be an exciting task to investigate in Mishnah and Gemara. The sections briefly analyzed above contain concepts / topics that may be of interest to other fields of scholarship – law, ethnography, architecture, and urban history.

Levente Lőrík focuses on the question of the priesthood starting from the postbiblical use of the concept. But he cites three examples from the inexhaustible source of *Biblia Hebraica*'s interpretation history. The texts originating from different places, at different times, from different interpretative traditions, but ultimately from Jewish spheres probably in all three cases, endow characters known from the Bible or groups considered contemporary in terms of the interpretations, instead of representatives of the hereditary Aaronic Priesthood, with the title priest or high priest, which despite all their differences, brings the writings under a common topic. It follows from these that the priesthood institution is more universal than the closed circle of the Aaronic Priesthood with its unique privileges. There were also priests for the Eternal before them, and even after the destruction of the Sanctuary, the concept of the Aaronic Priesthood was significantly reinterpreted.

Professor Zamfir Korinna examines whether the prohibition of public religion for women in *Epistle 1 Timothy* has a Jewish background. At the end of her in depth analysis, she concludes that this can be explained by the social tradition of that time, both within the Jews and in Christianity.

Professor József Zsengellér examines whether the Septuagint (LXX) and the Jewish Alexandrian canon existed, or we are dealing with a myth. From his analysis it appears that the Septuagint is neither a translation created in a definable time and place, nor is it a Greek text collection with definable content and order, not specifically an Alex-

andrian canon, nor a translation in a uniform form, and perhaps not a translation proper either. Nevertheless, the Septuagint is an ancient phenomenon, one of the earliest Greek translations of the books of the Hebrew Scriptures, preserved by the Christian Church, and even named by Christianity as Septuagint, since the earliest (Greek) mention of this name is from the Church History of Eusebios (6.16.1-4) and the Latin term (*septuaginta*) is first used by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei* (18.42). For today's research, the LXX serves the best understanding of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. And in its early Christian formulations it had preserved the cardinal theological concepts of the ancient Christian interpretation.

It was very interesting to me, as István Karasszon examines the role and identity of Abishag a Shunammite, on the throne succession of Solomon on the basis of the Greek manuscript tradition. Her role remains ambiguous, that is, she may have been merely a servant to the aged David – warming up the king with a blood circulation disorder, or she may have been the king's wife, so the request of Adonijah would be equal to claiming the throne against Solomon. Thus, the ambiguity of the Hebrew Bible has been translated into Greek, which is no small achievement.

Professor Imre Tokics, in his writing of interest to many readers, explores the influence of Islam on wine culture, which was favored by both Jews and Christians, as wine that gladdens human hearts (Ps 104,15).

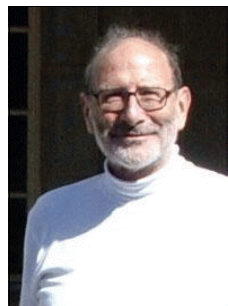
Zoltán Oláh inspects the history of the relationship between Jews and Christians and the phenomenon of anti-Judaism, when he unfolds the Rom 11,18 on the ancient Christian writers and Petrus Abelardus. At the same time, he also discusses the directions of the *Commission of the Holy See for Religious Relations with the Jews*. He concludes, “Petrus Abelardus, one of the great representatives of Biblical interpretation of the Middle Ages, essentially explains Chapter 11 of the Roman letter positively to the Jews, according to Paul's original intention.”

The issue of Jewish and Christian dialogue is dealt with in the German-language study by Reinhard Neudecker S.J. (Rome), whose title is also astounding: “Theological relationships between Christianity and Jewishness - an undesirable topic in the Jewish-Christian dialogue?” He investigates the Second Vatican Council doctrine *Nostra aetate* and the expectations associated with it, with special reference to the so-called Gospel of Matthew, antitheses (“said to the old, and I say to you...”) Finally, he notes that the council document has not lost its validity and its essential points must be insisted on in the future as well. He then finishes his eye-catching arguments with the following thoughts: “the deep knowledge of the other changes the sincere conversation partner.” And so, as Rabbi Samuel Sandmel writes, he can preserve his own institution, which he considers to be holy, and at the same time he can transcend it. And thus he contributes to the coming of the day when “all may invoke the name of Yahweh and serve him shoulder to shoulder.” (Zeph 3,9)

## NACHRUF PROF. DR. ULRICH LUZ (1938–2019)<sup>1</sup>

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Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität Bern trauert um Professor em. Ulrich Luz, der am 13. Oktober im Alter von 81 Jahren in Laupen verstorben ist. Sie hat einen innovativen, international angesehenen Forscher und einen engagierten Lehrer verloren, der in seiner Tätigkeit als ordentlicher Professor für Neues Testament (1980–2003) das Renommee der Fakultät über viele Jahre gefördert und Generationen von Theologinnen und Theologen, Pfarrern und Pfarrerinnen inspiriert und nachhaltig geprägt hat.



Ulrich Luz wurde am 23. Februar 1938 in Männedorf (Zürich) geboren. Dort besuchte er von 1944 bis 1956 die Primarschule und anschliessend das Freie Gymnasium in Zürich, das er 1956 mit der Matura Typ A abschloss. Das Studium der Evangelischen Theologie führte ihn von Zürich nach Göttingen und Basel. Nach dem Vikariat in Wädenswil (1962–1963) und der Ordination (1963) bot ihm die Assistenz bei Prof. Eduard Schweizer (Zürich) Gelegenheit zur Promotion (1967) und Habilitation (1968) mit einer vielfach rezipierten Arbeit zum Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus. Nach einer kurzen Zeit als Pfarrer in Zürich Seebach war er von 1969 bis 1971 Gastdozent an zwei universitären Einrichtungen in Tokyo. Von dort folgte er 1971 einem Ruf als ordentlicher Professor für Neues Testament an die Georg-August-Universität nach Göttingen und wechselte zum 1. Oktober 1980 an die Universität Bern, wo er bis zu seiner Emeritierung 2003 Neues Testament lehrte.

Sein Wirken als Neutestamentler war geprägt durch seine aussergewöhnliche Fähigkeit, aus dem wissenschaftlichen, menschlichen und religiösen Dialog neue Ideen zu schöpfen. Eine Vielzahl von Publikationen, von denen viele in andere Sprachen übersetzt worden sind, belegt sein Interesse etwa am christlich-jüdischen Dialog, an der japanischen Philosophie und Theologie, am Buddhismus, am ökumenischen Kirchengespräch, an der Pluralität von Bibelauslegungen oder an der orthodoxen Tradition. Ein besonderes Anliegen von Ulrich Luz war der ökumenische Austausch insbesondere mit den Kirchen des Ostens. Bereits zu Studienzeiten ist er diesem Interesse unter grossem persönlichem Einsatz nachgegangen. Später nutzte er sein Amt als Präsident der Stu-

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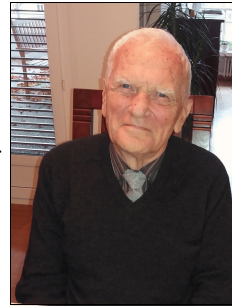
<sup>1</sup> Diesen Nachruf mit kleinen aktualisierten Ergänzungen verfasste Prof. Dr. Angela Berlis, Dekanin der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Bern.

diorum Novi Testamenti Societas (1997–1998) dafür, ein „Liaison Committee for Eastern Europe“ ins Leben zu rufen, das unter seinem unermüdlichen Engagement eine Anzahl Bibliotheken gefördert und viele Forschende in internationale Netzwerke eingebunden hat. Für die mehrsprachige Zeitschrift „Sacra Scripta“ der Babeş-Bolyai Universität Cluj-Napoca in Siebenbürgen (Rumänien) fungierte er seit 2005 als Mit-herausgeber. Dem Biblischen Institut der orthodoxen Theologischen Fakultät Belgrad (Serbien) hat er noch zu Lebzeiten einen grossen Teil seiner reichhaltigen exegetischen Bibliothek geschenkt. Als wenige Wochen vor seinem Tod spürte, dass seine Kräfte abnahmen, veranlasste er noch, dass seine restliche Bibliothek ihren Weg nach Belgrad finden würde. Sein eigenes Haus, das er in Laupen mit seiner Frau Salome bewohnte, wurde über die Jahre zur ersten Anlaufstelle für Nachwuchsforschende und Kollegen aus Osteuropa. Mehrmals besuchte er unsere internationale *Biblical Conference* in Szeged. Wir sind und bleiben dankbar für seinen Vorlesungen und wissenschaftlichen Gespräche in Szeged während unseren Bibel-Diskussionen.

## IN MEMORIAM PETR POKORNÝ (1933–2020)

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After the recent death of the influential Swiss professor of New Testament sciences Ulrich Luz (Bern-Laupen, October 2019), the fellowship of Bible and New Testament scholars gave farewell to another important well-known New Testament scholar, Petr Pokorný. Professor at Evangelical Theological Faculty of Charles University in Prague suddenly died aged 86 after a short illness on 18 January 2020 surrounded by family.



He was born on 21 April 1933 in Brno. It was probably his study at the local classic grammar school (1939–1951) which was decisive in his orientation on classical studies, Greek–Roman ancient world and the New Testament. There he got his basics in Latin and Greek language and his soul adhered to this rich cultural world which also became the cradle of Christianity. His intense interest in ancient world is also revealed by his later study when after graduating from the Theological Faculty in Prague (1951–1955) and during his chaplain years in Evangelical Brethren Church in Prague (1955–1967) he intensely continued to stay focused on the study of classical philosophy in Prague and Bonn (1958–1959), to which he was also led by his knowledge of modern foreign languages (especially German, English, French but also Spanish). Supervised by his professor Josef B. Souček he did research of gnostic context in the origins of Christianity which successfully culminated in his dissertation (*Soma Christou in the Letter to Ephesians*), submitted at the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Prague in the year 1959 which, however, was only defended in 1963 because the contemporary communist regime would not allow it earlier. This was a signal for long years of conflict with the communist regime and an uneasy battle. Despite the unfortunate political pressure he continued to intensely study and do research in ancient and New Testament sciences. As an erudite expert in Greek he was invited in 1966 to become a teacher of Greek at Comenius Evangelical Theological Faculty (later on Theological Faculty of Charles University). In the very year he was invited as assistant professor to Berlin, however, the state authorities did not allow his travel. Thus he continued to work in Prague at the faculty where in 1967 after long-lasting complications from state authorities, on the pressure of foreign universities he could finally defend his inaugural dissertation (*Gnostic Mysteries*). In the very year the university in Greifswald invited him as assistant professor of New Testament sciences which the state authorities were unable to hinder. After a year he came back to Prague so that in 1968 based on his research included in the work *The Beginning of Gnosis. The Origin of the Gnostic Myth of the Divinity of a Man*, he could be-

come a candidate of historic sciences (CSc.) – specialisation of Greek literature at the Czech Academy of Sciences (Institute: Cabinet for Greek, Roman and Latin studies). In the year 1972 he was appointed professor of New Testament sciences. In 1993 after the change of the political regime he could finally become a doctor of historical sciences (DrSc.) at the Czech Academy of Sciences. His academic activity included leading the Department of New Testament (1973–2005), while he also functioned as faculty vice-dean (1990–1996) and dean (1996–1999). That is when (in 1998) he established the Centre of Biblical Studies of the Academy of Sciences in the Czech Republic and Charles University in Prague, where he served as the director from 2001 till 2010.

Meanwhile he often worked in abroad. An especially important foreign endeavour was his work in research of Qumran scrolls in the year 1978 within expedition Nag Hammádí III (Egypt) with Claremont Graduate School (USA). He lectured to us with great passion about its importance during long academic evenings with rich film material. Similarly in 1988 he took part in archeologic research of German Evangelical Archeologic Institute in Jordan and Israel. As a guest professor he functioned for a longer time at foreign universities. Let us mention at least the most important ones: Pittsburgh (1986, 1992), Princeton (1987, 2003–2004), Tübingen (1988–1989, 1995–1996, 2000) etc. He used to be invited for shorter guest lectures, too, where he could freely speak about his interesting research in the fields of philosophy, ancient history, Christology, gnosis or even hermeneutics. Thus people could listen to him e.g. at universities in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Hungary, Romania, Malta or even the USA. Of course he also visited universities in Slovakia (Bratislava, Komárno, Prešov), and he regularly gave lectures at different universities at home, in the Czech Republic. He especially fostered great contacts with the Hussite University and Catholic Theological faculties.

Thanks to his outstanding expertise he used to be invited into several scientific councils, commissions and working groups. Under the leadership of prof. Jiří Mánek he was not only a member of the translation group of new ecumenical translation into the Czech language but after the death of prof. Mánek, he was the chair of the New Testament commission (1975–1996). In this same time he was also a member of international Bible society, in the years 1992–1996 the chair of UBS Scholarly Forum. His work (1967–2020) in the organization *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS) was also of great importance since the organization associates 500 New Testament professors from the whole world where it was joyous to see each other and could deal with most significant issues of New Testament theology in a very amicable atmosphere. This is where, in 1993–1996, he was a member of a steering committee and in the years 1994–1995 he was the president of the whole organization. Domestic institutions also tried to use his expertise. In the years 1996–2020 he was a member of Scientific Committee of Charles University in Prague. He was also honoured by member-

ship in the Committee for Research and Development (1998–2002) of the government of the Czech Republic and for many years he was a member of the Scientific Committee of the Institute for Classical Studies of the Academy of Sciences in the Czech Republic. Also his home Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren used his expert knowledge as a member of theological department of the Synodal Committee (1985–2004), even as a hymnologist with good poetic feeling since he contributed by several lyrics of hymns into the church hymnal.

His work, quality and expertise were not left unnoticed. Acknowledgment of his personality was not only expressed in scientific committees, working committees, in several editing and editorial committees or functions but also in different awards. Apart from other (stated above) he was honoured e.g. by membership of American Society of Biblical Literature (1986), similarly Historical-philosophical class of Academy of Sciences in Göttingen (1995), he was awarded Humboldt award for lifelong work (Bamberg–Bonn, 1995), the award of the Ministry of Education in the Czech Republic for research (1999), gold medal of Charles University (2003), a medal of the Academy of Sciences in the Czech Republic (2003) and the state award of the Czech Republic the “Medal of merits” (2005). The universities in Bonn (1998), Budapest (2000) and Petersburg (2015) awarded him by Honorary Doctorate “honoris causa”. His co-workers from the research project on Paul dedicated him the proceedings *2 Thesalonians and Pauline Eschatology* (2013) for his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Research of professor Pokorný can be divided into several topical fields and levels which overlap and supplement each other as it is customary in New Testament sciences.

1. A great part of his literary work comprise **exegetic works** which deal with the interpretation of individual Bible books (Mark, Eph., Col., Acts), which have been published several times: on one hand because they had been sold out and on the other because of further research which was added and enriched the new editions with new research results. These include first and foremost the works such as *Evangelium podle Marka* /The Gospel of Mark/ (Praha 1974, 1982, 2016), *Der Epheserbrief* (1992, 2013), *List Efezským* /Letter to Ephesians/ (Praha 2005), *Der Brief des Paulus an die Kolosser* (Berlin 1987, 1990. English: 1991), *Der Brief des Paulus an die Epheser* (Leipzig 1992), *Skutky apoštolské* /Acts/ (Praha 2020).

2. The beginnings of his interest included **research of gnosis**, to which he kept returning during his interpretations of Bible texts. These are works like *Der Epheserbrief und die Gnosis* (Berlin 1965), *Počátky gnose: Vznik gnostického mýtu o božstvu Člověk* /The Beginning of Gnosis. The Origin of the Gnostic Myth of the Divinity of a Man/ (Praha 1969); *Píseň o perle: Tajné knihy starověkých gnostiků* /A song of a Pearl: Secret Books of Ancient Gnostics/ (Praha 1986, 1998), *Evangelium Tomášovo* /The Gospel of Thomas/ (Praha 1981, 1982, 2001), *A Commentary on the Gospel of Thomas* (New York-London 2009, 2012). Apart from this within cooperation with other scholars he did research of gnostic literature from Nag Hammádí which was translated



from Coptic and the results were their publication in the set *Rukopisy z Nag Hammádí* (I–III) /Manuscripts from Nag Hammádí I–III/ (2008).

3. Research of New testament **theology, the origin of Christology, the essence of the Gospel, an analysis of the composition of New Testament writings** were published individually in these works: *Der Gottessohn: Literarische Übersicht und Fragestellung* (Zürich 1971), *Vznik Christologie /The Genesis of Christology/* (Praha 1988), *Die Entstehung der Christologie* (Berlin 1985; Engl. *The Genesis of Christology*, Edinburgh 1987), *Jesus in the Eyes of his Followers* (North Richland Hills 1998), *Od Ježíše k teologii /From Jesus to the Gospel/* (Praha 2008), *From the Gospel to the Gospels* (Berlin 2013), *Der historische Jesus. Tendenzen und Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Forschung* (Berlin–New York 2002), *Ježíš Nazaretský /Jesus of Nazareth/* (Praha 2005), *Jesus in Geschichte und Bekenntnis* (Tübingen 2016), *Apoštolské vyznání /Glaubensbekenntnis/* (Praha 1994), *Theologie der lukanischen Schriften* (Göttingen 1998), *Die Zukunft des Glaubens* (Stuttgart 1992), *Teologický a literární úvod do Nového zákona /Theological and Literary Introduction into New Testament/* (Praha 1993), *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (together with U. Heckel, Tübingen 2007), Article: *Jesus Christus* (in RGG I.2).

4. At last it is important to mention the results of his research in New Testament **hermeneutics** since Professor Pokorný considered finding the key to interpretation of New Testament writing and the essence of the Gospel very important, so that the core of the Scripture was correctly formulated and interpreted. It is seen deeply in the work on the new ecumenical translation of the Scripture. He deals with this research in these writing: *Hermeneutika jako teorie porozumění /Hermeneutics as a Theory of Understanding/* (Praha 2005), *Bibelauslegung als Theologie* (ed. = together with J. B. Souček), WUNT 100, (Tübingen 1997), *Philosophical Hermeneutics and Biblical Exegesis* (Tübingen 2002), *Hermeneutics as a Theory of Understanding* (Grand Rapids 2011). Article: *Pseudepigraphie* (in: TRE).

5. His **popular-scientific works**: *Řecké dědictví v Orientu /Greek Heritage in the Orient/* (Praha 1993), *Co nevíš o Bibli /What You Don't Know about the Bible/* (with M. Bič, Praha 1997), *Den se přiblížil /The Day is at Hand/* (Praha 2007), *Má to smysl: Rozhovory nad Bibli /It makes sense: Dialogs about the Bible/* (Praha 2012), *A poslední budou první /And the Last will be the First/* (Praha 2001).

As a professor he was able to lecture in a very engaging manner. He often illustrated linguistic, exegetic and a literary analysis by contemporary texts which means interesting livening up of ancient religious, cultural and social tradition. He organized research seminars and he liked to personally engage with students who were particularly interested in New Testament sciences. He did work ecumenically and encouraged theologians of sister churches in their theological growth; this is confirmed by the fact that he trained three successful PhD students of our Reformed Church, especially in Slovakia (Imre Peres, Hajnalka Ravasz, Andrea Korečková). He considered very important the

texts of classical philosophy e.g. from the field of Greek grave inscriptions, he stressed the importance of the witness of tradition, thought and faith of the Hellenist environment where Christian apostolic mission was applied. Research of these motives continues to live in his followers. We gratefully remember his great work and valuable theological heritage of professor Pokorný. His passing saddens but also inspires to commit to the development of scientific heritage which was left for us by this Godly man.

Imre Peres



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