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# Translation Problem of 'Adulteress'(זְּרֶהָּ) and 'Gentile Gal'(בָּּכְרָיָּה) in the Proverbs Chapter 2 and 5

Prof. Hee-Hak Lee (Mokwon University)

The purpose of this paper is to reveal the nature and identities of הָּבְּרָהְּהָ (adulteress) and אַבְּבָּרְהָּהְ (gentile gal) of the Proverbs, and to suggest the exact Korean translations of the words. For that purpose the text of the Proverbs Chapter 2 and 5 is closely analysed. The nature and identities of these women have been discussed for a long time. Yet it is not easy to find out the exact meanings of the words, and scholars have been differently translated. Thus these increase the difficulties for the present task. Only close analysis of each text can help us grasp the clear and distinct meanings of the words, whether הַבָּרְהָ is a professional prostitute, a strange foreign woman, living in Israel, or another man's wife, living next-door. What is obvious is that הַּבְּרָהְיָה is a dangerous woman, who can destroy the life and the happiness of a young man, and jeopardize the order and the well-being of a community. Generally speaking, הַבְּרָהְיָה means either a woman, who is not someone's own wife, or a foreign woman, who is not Israelite.

The analysis of Chapter 2 and 5 leads to the following conclusions. Firstly, אָרָה, should be more comprehensively understood. אַרָה of Chapter 2 and 5 has its own character and nature, so they should be differently translated. יְּרָה of Chapter 2 is in her character and actual life a lewd and prodigal woman, who married early but left her husband, so she means a 'lewd wife', who is a licentious married women. Thus, translating יְּרָה of Chapter 2 as a 'lewd', 'licentious' or 'prodigal' woman weakens her marital status too much. Yet יְּרָה of Chapter 5 does not have any lewd character. Thus she should be translated as neither a 'lewd', 'loose' nor 'prodigal woman', but 'another woman', who is attractive and whom a young man can encounter anywhere during his social life. Secondly, the traditional understandings of יְּבְּרָיָּה should be revised. This word does never mean a foreign woman specifically at least in the Proverbs 2:16 and 5:20. The translation of the Proverbs text. Furthermore,

calling a girl or woman as 'gal' implies the sexual discrimination against women in general, so it is better not to use the word, 'gal'. Rather נְּכְרָיָה indicates all woman, including foreign women, who is not someone's own wife or sweetheart. Therefore, this word might be best translated as neither a 'adulterous woman' nor 'another man's wife' but a 'strange woman.'

# The Female god Wisdom and Creation Motif in the Aramaic Ahiqar Story, Proverbs and Ben Sira

Prof. Hwan-Jin Yi (Methodist Theological Seminary)

This article aims at reading the creation motif in the books of Proverbs and Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) in the light of the wisdom part of the Aramaic Ahiqar Story. Proverbs 3, 8 and 9 include creation and wisdom motif. My argument is that these three chapters can be named as the wisdom versions of the creation motif.

The Aramaic Ahiqar Story is divided into two parts: narrative and sayings. The narrative (columns 1-5) deals with a story which took place in the neo-Assyrian court. The hero is Ahiqar, a royal advisor and sage. The modern name of the story is titled after his name. The sayings part of the story (columns 6-14) includes more than 111 sayings of Ahiqar.

According to columns 6 and 12 of the Ahiqar Story, "Wisdom (תכמה) was of gods" and she was exalted as "the lord of the holy ones" by gods. She was so precious that people could not go without her in their daily lives. This description of wisdom reveals a glimpse of the Aramaean wisdom tradition. Furthermore, it helps us to understand more about the wisdom versions of the biblical creation motif.

Proverbs 3 states that God created the world "by wisdom", whereas Proverbs 8 says that God created the world "with wisdom". Somewhat differently from those chapters, Proverbs 9 assumes that "wisdom herself" created the world. There she shows up as the main host of the creation feast. It is clear that all these chapters reflect the ancient Aramaean wisdom tradition.

Ben Sira 24 is interesting because it sings of wisdom as the divine manifestation. What is more, it says that Torah is taken "wisdom". There wisdom and Torah (word) are none other than the same. Through the book of Ben Sira, wisdom became the "Word" (logos) in the Gospel of John. Changed herself into the "Word", wisdom has been praised and exalted.

## Study for Korean Translation of the Septuagint 1: Genesis 1:1-2:3

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Mr. Jong-Hoon Kim (Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal)

Dr. Sang-Hyuk, Woo (Marc Bloch University in Strasbourg)

The Septuagint (LXX) has been so far regarded only as an ancient-at best, one of the most important- witness for clarifying the Masoretic Text (MT) so it tends not to attract public attention which it deserves. As a matter of fact, the study of LXX has been limited to specialized scholars. But closer considerations on the Old Greek translation shows us that it occupies a very significant position at least in two aspects: LXX reflects a pre-Masoretic ancient Hebrew text, and LXX was read as "the" Old Testament for the first Christian church for centuries. Based upon the above significance, LXX should be circulated and meditated not only in the sphere of specialized students, but also among ordinary Christians, especially among those who seem to deal with the *Korean Revised Version* (KRV) as a kind of "the inspired version of the Bible". This paper is the first step to introduce LXX under this background, and translates Genesis 1:1-2:3 keeping, if possible, the words in KRV to let the readers find what differs from KRV. The translation consists of two sections: translation proper, and its critical apparatus to show and the difference between MT and LXX, to explain the variants among other versions.

# Translation and Interpretation of Romans 8:10 Based on the Pauline Theology

Prof. Kwang Soo Kim (Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary)

In most of the Korea translations of Romans 8:10 the Greek words soma and pneuma are translated to contrast the physical body and the spiritual portion of the human existence. Such dichotomy of the human existence is reflected in some of English translations: "But if Christ is in you, *your body* is dead because of sin, yet *your spirit* is *alive* because of righteousness" (NIV). In some translations such as KJV and NRSV they are translated to reflect both the limitation of Christians as a somatic existence and the eschatological activity of the Holy Spirit: "But if Christ is in you, though *the body* is dead because of sin, *the Spirit* is *life* because of righteousness." The purpose of this paper is to show that in what senses the former translation is to deliver the meaning that Paul had intended.

In the anthropological thoughts of Paul soma is the most comprehensive concept to indicate the undivided character of human existence as the whole person. The word soma is used to describe the real self of human beings, so that we can say not that a human being has a soma but that he/she is a soma. The word pneuma is used to express the existence and activity of God. Paul especially had called Jesus Christ who had come to the world to realize the eschatological salvation of God as the existence of Spirit: Spirit of holiness, Spirit of life, and the life-giving Spirit. Paul also used the word pneuma to indicate the inner factor of the human existence.

The central meaning of the first clause of Romans 8:10 is that Christ dwells in those who have the Spirit of Christ. It indicates the close relationship between the Christ and the Spirit in the saving act of God. The translation of the second clause is dependent on the understanding of  $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$  and  $\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\delta\nu$ . The best option is that it does not describe the individualized physical body but the Christian existence which is, though in the Spirit, still to encounter the power of death. The translation of third clause is dependent on the understanding of  $\pi\nu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\mu\alpha$  and  $\zeta\omega\dot{\eta}$ . That  $\pi\nu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\mu\alpha$  indicates the Holy Spirit is well explained based on the context. The Spirit is life and the source of the life-giving act of God because of the righteousness which has been represented in the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

# Understanding the Deaf and the Deaf Community and the Need for the Sign Language Bible

Prof. Young-Hoe Ahn (Korea Nazarene University)

Up till now, social integration of the Deaf has been focused only on integrating the minority Deaf to the majority of the hearing people. There being no interchange and communication between the Deaf and the hearing, it is still unfamiliar in Korea to embrace the perspective that 'the Deaf are members of the socio-cultural community'. Even experts in natural science including medical science or specialists in educating children with hearing difficulties still define the Deaf as people who have 'lost their hearing' by their pathological traits. This paper attempts to assert the need for sign language Bible by giving a full understanding about the Deaf society, a community that has not been accurately known to the general public.

Korean churches have long been interested in reaching the Deaf community, and pastors have been using sign language in an effort to deliver the Bible carrying the Word of God to the Deaf whose primary language is sign language. Despite such endeavor, there are limitations for the Deaf to deeply understand the Bible. For the Deaf who use only the Korean sign language, the Bible translated into Korean is just like another Bible in foreign languages. God's Word is still closed to them. To help the Deaf overcome biblical illiteracy and understand the Bible, the Bible has to be translated into sign language. Strictly speaking, it can be said as another Bible translation. Considering the visual characteristics of sign language, the sign language Bible must be produced in video format.

Instead of acknowledging hearing disability as handicap, it is desperately required to accept the Deaf as they are, namely as people using 'sign language' for communication simply because they cannot hear. The 'Korean Sign Language Bible' which is in the visual language used by the Deaf, will allow the Deaf and their family members and the many people who treasure and love sign language to know the true meaning of the gospel. Through this Bible, the church which is the body of the Living God will then be able to bear in themselves its inherent vitality as well.

# Sourcing the Patristic Interpretation: An Overview on the Recent Publication Projects\*

Simon Wong\*\*

#### 1. Introduction

In the early days of the Christian era, the term "father" (pavthr) by usage is almost synonymous to "bishops," referring to witnesses to the Christian tradition. By the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the term was used (retrospectively) in a more restricted sense, referring to a "clearly defined group of ecclesiastical authors of the past whose authority on doctrinal matters carried special weight."1) Accordingly, four features have been identified by modern patristic scholarship in characterizing the fathers of the church: orthodoxy of doctrine, holiness of life, the approval of the Church, and antiquity. If there should be a fifth feature involved, it would be their writings, whether extant or not. The element of "antiquity" is a moot point in characterizing the fathers; it is more difficult to define its end than its beginning, and in the West than in the East. For the East, modern scholarly consensus ends the patristic period at John of Damascus (c. 670-749), whereas for the West, many people would end at Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), but some (e.g., Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church) at Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), and others (e.g., ACCS and ONT) at Bede the Venerable (c. 673-735).<sup>2)</sup> Unlike the term "Doctors of the Church" (Lat. Doctores Ecclesiae) which is officially conferred (such as Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine) and is very limited in number, the term "fathers"

<sup>\*</sup> United Bible Societies Asia-Pacific Area Translation Consultation Paper, June 2007.

<sup>\*\*</sup> United Bible Societies Asia-Pacific Area Translation Consultant.

<sup>1)</sup> F. K. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1997), "Fathers of the Church", 600.

<sup>2)</sup> In the popular use of the term, the notion of orthodoxy is often not observed. Many ancient Christian writers whose theology may not be considered orthodox are also (for convenient sake) enlisted among "fathers", such as Origen (but not recognized as father by the Catholic [see Campenhausen 1963, 2]), and sometimes even Arius (as in the case of GNT<sup>4</sup>/NTG<sup>27</sup>)!

is used more loosely.

The contribution of patristic literature to the re-establishment of the biblical text is the most notable one. In addition to the manuscripts (including lectionary) and ancient versions, scriptural quotations in the patristic commentaries, sermons, and other treatises provide an indispensable category of witness to the earliest form of the biblical text, and in particular, in tracing the history of the transmission history. The patristic witness shows us how the text appeared at particular times and in particular places; this is the information that can be found nowhere else. The massive amount of citations available, as in the case of the Greek NT are so extensive "... that if all other sources for our knowledge of the text of the NT were destroyed, they would be sufficient alone for the reconstruction of practically the entire NT."3)

Patristic interpretation is another major contribution of patristic literature to biblical scholarship. The importance of the patristic teaching for the Catholic and Orthodox traditions hardly needs any elaboration. For the Orthodox tradition for example, the lives and teachings of the "fathers" (in its restricted sense) constitute one of the five major sources (together with the Holy Scriptures, the Liturgy, the Councils, and Church Art) through which the "Tradition of the Church" may be learned. Many Protestants by and large valued patristic writings only as historical relics. While the foundational contribution of the fathers in Christian dogma is likewise recognized by the Protestant circle, the predominant allegorical interpretation of the church fathers is often seen as an anomaly. However, in recent decade or two, we clearly see a positive appreciation of the patristic interpretation by the Protestant biblical scholarship, possibly as a reaction to the monopoly of the historical-critical method, and perhaps even more so, the restless ever-evolving postmodern hermeneutics. This renaissance is best witnessed by a number of recent publication projects on patristic interpretation of the Bible.

<sup>3)</sup> B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 126. However, before this category of evidence may be used with confidence, one must first determine whether the original text of the fathers has been transmitted. For instance, in the transmission history of the manuscripts of the patristic works, the scripture text before the commentary (called lemma) was very often modified or even replaced to conform to the text form familiar to the copyist. Then another major issue would of course be the distinction between quotation and allusion, which the fathers were not always conscious of.

The purpose of this paper is thus to provide an overview of the sources of patristic interpretation, and in particular, of the recent academic effort to present the patristic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures to the general public<sup>4</sup>).

#### 2. Original Sources

Prior to the 20th century, *Patrologia Graeca*, *Patrologia Latina*, and *Patrologia Orientalis* together with *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* and *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*<sup>5)</sup> have been the major source of language collection in patristic writings. These are now supplemented or even superseded by the critical editions published in the past decades.

The most complete and scholarly recognized original language sources for the patristic literatures are the following two series. *Corpus Christianorum* for the West (in this case including both Greek and Latin literatures), more than 500 volumes have been published thus far; it includes a whole cluster of patristic and medieval editions and studies on the critical patristic texts and references. More than 600 volumes were already published for the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, and they are intended to serve the purpose of making available the works of the Eastern Fathers whose writings were in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian and Georgian; each text of the series was published in two parts: (1) a critical edition of the text and (2) a modern translation.<sup>6)</sup> For text-critical purpose, critical editions of the patristic work are mandatory but still inadequate. A new monograph series has been established to meet the need. Originally edited by

<sup>4)</sup> For a general introduction to patrology, J. Quasten's *Patrology* 4 (Utrecht: Spectrum; Westminster: Christian Classics, 1950-1986) remains as the most comprehensive treatments; others are: O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, T. J. Shahan, trans. (Freiburg; St. Louis: Herder, 1908); F. Cayré, *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology* 2, H. Howitt, trans. (Paris: Society of St. John the Evangelist, 1936-1940); J. Tixeront, *A Handbook of Patrology*, S. A. Raemers, trans. (St. Louis: Herder, 1946); B. Altaner, *Patrology*, H. Graef, trans. (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1960).

<sup>5)</sup> Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1866-); Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae 49 (Bonnae: Weberi, 1828-1878); Patrologia Graeca 162 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1857-1866); Patologia Latina 221 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1844-1864); Patrologia Orientalis (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907-).

<sup>6)</sup> Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954-), see http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/home. html; Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain etc.: Peeters etc., 1903-).

Gordon Fee, The New Testament in the Greek Fathers: Texts and Analyses (now published by SBL Press) is intended to devote separate volumes to individual fathers, either for their complete NT text or for a portion of it.<sup>7</sup>)

The abovementioned editions are absolutely unaffordable in terms of not only price but also shelf space. Electronic media for this reason would be a viable alternative in accessing this massive data.

The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) by University of California at Irvine is the most well-known and probably the earliest effort of digitalization of ancient texts. It includes all the Greek literatures (more than 12,000 documents of 3,700 authors) from 8th Cent. BCE to 15th Cent. CE.8) In the area of Christian literature, the CETEDOC Library from the Centre de traitement électronique des documents (Université catholique de Louvain) is the most important electronic source. It offers the volumes of Corpus Christianorum in digital form, but restricts to the Christian Latin literature (including patristic literature and church documents), from 3rd Cent. BCE. to the Second Vatican in 1960s.9) Then, we also have Chadwyck-Healey Patrologia Latina Database (Migne) and the Packard Humanities Institute Latin databases.

These can all be accessed through subscribing or purchasing their licenses, but free online resources are also available. The Bibliotheca Augustana operated by Fachhochschule Augsburg makes available ancient texts in Greek, Latin, German, English, and many modern language translations. But Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum of Forum Romanum perhaps is the most complete one, which includes Christian Latin text down to the 19th Cent. Likewise, the Christian Latin of Latin Library also includes texts from Tertullian (c.155-c.225) to Thomas à Kempis (1380 -1471).10

<sup>7)</sup> To date, volumes have appeared on Didymus the Blind (the Gospels), Gregory of Nyssa (entire NT), Origen (separate volumes on the Gospel of John and 1 Corinthians), and Cyril of Jerusalem (the entire NT). Forthcoming volumes would include Athanasius (the Gospels), Basil the Great (Matthew), and Epiphanius (Acts, Epistles, and Revelation). See Metzger and Ehrman, The Text of the New Testament, 2005, 129-130.

<sup>8)</sup> Thesaurus Linguae Graecae website (http://www.tlg.uci.edu).

<sup>9)</sup> The fifth edition is available in 2002, and is still constantly updated. Brepols Publishers website (http://www.brepols.net/publishers/cd-rom.htm#CLCLT).

<sup>10)</sup> Bibliotheca Augustana [documents on-line]; available from Fachhochschule Augsburg website (http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/augustana.html#gr). Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum [documents on-line]; available from Forum Romanum website (http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/

As far as translation is concerned, the most complete modern language translation of patristic literature is the *Sources Chrétiennes* in French; this series has already been published in 490 volumes, and each volume has both the original source text (often with critical apparatus) and the French translation on the opposite page.<sup>11)</sup>

For the English translation, the most well-known is the 38-volume series *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ANF) and *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (NPNF),<sup>12)</sup> which is now in the public domain and may be accessed freely over the internet. But there are many new translation series of classic Christian texts underway too, such as the Fathers of the Church series (Catholic University of America Press), Ancient Christian Writers (Paulist), Cistercian Studies (Cistercian Publications), Message of the Fathers of the Church (Michael Glazier, Liturgical Press), and Texts and Studies (Cambridge).

Compared with the corpus of the biblical canon, the amount of the patristic text is hundred times more. This would inhibit any reader who attempts to get familiar with the patristic insights into the Bible. Any anthology, or *catenae* approach, is deemed to be a welcomed resource to anyone who would like to tap into this thesaurus

### 3. Catenae Approach

Detailed commentary writings that are familiar to modern readers began with Origen in the third century, but most of his homilies together with those of many others such as Didymus the Blind, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cyril of Alexandria, which were lost, and are preserved only in fragments through medieval works called *catenae* (from Latin *catena*, "chain") and *glossa ordinaria*. These are extracts from earlier writers linked together; they attest the admiration of later

index.html). Christian Latin [documents on-line]; available from Latin Library website (http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/christian.html).

<sup>11)</sup> Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Cerf, 1942-); http://www.sources-chretiennes.mom.fr/index.php?pa geid=presentation\_english, and http://www.editionsducerf.fr/html/index/collection.asp?n\_col\_cerf =209&id\_theme=2&id\_cat=99. Another similar edition is: Collection les Peres dans la foi (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1977-).

<sup>12)</sup> A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., Ante-Nicene Fathers, 10 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999); P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds., Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> series (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999); the original editions were published in 1885-1900.

Christian generations for exegesis of the church fathers and their determination to preserve them as precious resources.<sup>13)</sup>

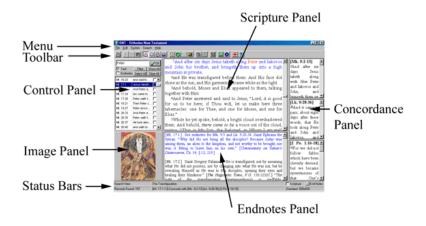
With the exception of the NTP (see below), all the other recent major scholarly publication projects reviewed here adopt the literary form of the medieval tradition of the catenae approach. Apart from these being reviewed here, one may also like to note the Blackwell Bible Commentaries Series, the four volumes (Exodus, Judges, John, and Revelation) which have already been published. The series places its emphasis on the "the way the Bible down the ages has been — and still is — used in hymns, sermons, official church statements and the like, its role in the evolution of religious beliefs and practices, the way it has influenced social and political its influence on literature, music and the arts." developments and (http://www.bbibcomm.net/ reference/whatnew.html). It is the reception history (rather than the authorial intention) that the series purports to document. Accordingly, the series will consider patristic, rabbinic, and medieval exegesis as well as insights from various types of modern criticism.

#### 3.1. The Orthodox New Testament (ONT)<sup>14)</sup>

The two-volumes *The Orthodox New Testament* (ONT) represents the seven years of devotion by the committee organized by the two Orthodox monasteries, Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, in Colorado (USA). It was printed with the blessing of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Autonomous Church and the Holy Synod of the Genuine Orthodox Church of Greece. A CD-ROM edition was also made available in 2003/4. Apart from equipping with standard functionalities, the electronic edition also includes over 365 icons (most in full color! But there are 367 in the printed edition); it also enables the latest updates to text to be installed via internet (http://www.holyapostlesconvent.org/ont1-advertisement.shtml#5).

<sup>13)</sup> Fragments of commentary preserved in the catenae can be found in K. Staab, ed., Pauluskommentar aus der griechischen Kirche aus Katenhandschriften gesammelt (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933) which is a collection of all the fragments of the commentaries written by Didymus, Eusebius of Emesus, Acacius of Caesarea, Apollinaris, Diodorus of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, etc. For the Gospels, Staab's work has been continued by J. Reuss (1941-84).

<sup>14)</sup> The Orthodox New Testament, vol. 1: Evangelistarion. Holy Apostles Convent, 2000; vol. 2: Praxapostolos. Holy Apostles Convent, 2000 [4d, 2004]. http://www.BuenaVistaCO.com/GOC]



ONT is certainly not the first Study Bible edition coming from the Orthodox community. *The Orthodox Study Bible: New Testament and Psalms* (Nelson, 1993; copyrighted by St. Athanasius Orthodox Academy) is perhaps a better represented Study Edition by modern Orthodox scholars. However, ONT is unique in that it amasses the patristic teachings of the first eight centuries in a relatively handy edition (compared with ACCS or CB) together with 367 icons (230 + 137) — alas in black and white only — interspersed throughout the biblical texts. In many ways, it resembles an *Orthodox Talmud*.

The layout of the two volumes enables readers to use each volume independently, each having identical preface and appendices (background, format of this version, and Greek and English grammar notes) together with its respective back-matter materials such as "List of icons;" the volume on *Evangelistarion* also includes a "Chronological index of the gospel parallels" at the end of the book.

"Texts, Bibliography, and References" include various kinds of source information in each respective volume: NT Greek manuscripts, editions and dates, Greek Witnesses, OT sources, modern NT sources, other early versions, lectionaries and service books, abbreviations, bibliography, and general reference list (such as background studies, dictionaries, grammars, lexica, and word studies). Most of the

<sup>15)</sup> The text used is a red-letter edition of NKJV. Most notes as expected are general by nature, although some may reflect Orthodox theology (as in Mar 6:3, "brothers and sisters" of Jesus are interpreted as "stepbrothers and stepsisters"; the perpetual virginity is obviously implied). Quotations from the church fathers are only occasional (e.g., Mar 4:24). In 1997, a special edition with extensive "Special Helps" was published.

information is reproduced (sometimes even verbatim) from NTG<sup>27</sup>. The reference list is compiled carelessly. On the other hand, some biographical notes which are cited by the fathers should be provided for the general readership.

The English translation used in this study edition is an adaptation of KJV. It was based on the KJV but was "diligently compared with the approved text of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, published first in 1904, by B. Antoniades, which was drawn up directly from 125 manuscripts." (p. xvii)<sup>16)</sup> Detailed description on the making of the adaptation is described in the appendix; generally speaking, the translation keeps the KJV style and its base text. Departure from KJV is frequently (consistently?) noted in the endnotes.

The endnote section is extensive; for the volume Evangelistation, the total number of the pages of the notes actually outnumbers that of the text, and in the case of Luke, by almost 50%. The notes consist of different kinds of information: the predominant are quotations from the ancient fathers, but there are also editorial notes, cross-references and variant readings from manuscripts or Greek editions. The committee has made frequent reference to textual variants in different Greek editions. Some are simply superfluous, such as the note on the book title appeared in the subscription of the Gospels or beginning of the epistles, whereas some important variants are left unmentioned such as the ending of the Lord's Prayer (Mat 6:9-13) and the ending of Mark (Mar 16:9-20).

The extent of the patristic quotations is substantial for such a study edition. Greek words are frequently quoted in parenthesis; this is helpful although the format is not consistent - often in Greek fonts but sometimes in transliteration and not a few times in English letters by mistake (e.g., I-82, no. 38). The selection like CB and ACCS comes from various sources: patristic homilies, apologies, epistles, commentaries, theological treatises and hymnic verses. The principle of selection is to "convey the consensual tradition of the fathers from both the East and West and those that are most widely received by the whole Church, though all did not entirely

<sup>16)</sup> Prior to 1902, during the Turkish occupation of the Greek lands, there were many different NT editions available which all belong to the Textus Receptus tradition and reflect the Byzantine/Majority text type at its best. Because of the confusion of these different editions, the Ecumenical patriarchate appointed a committee to decide on a text that would be adopted as the official text. It was first published in 1904 by B. Antoniades, "Only the Antoniades edition, published by the Holy Synod of Constantinople, is reprinted today by the Church of Greece" (p.xvii).

agree" (p.xii; emphasis mine). These notes, according to the committee, encompass the four senses represented by the traditional patristic interpretation, namely: historical sense which embraces "the knowledge of things past and visible," allegorical sense which "prefigures the form of some mystery," anagogical sense which "rises from spiritual mysteries even to still more sublime and sacred secrets of the heavens," and tropological sense which is "the moral explanation which has to do with improvement of life and practical teaching" (p.xi).

Ancient fathers are very good at expanding the *co-text* of their biblical text by pulling different texts together in their interpretation. In the case of the Gospels, it is likely that they may not be as conscious of the synoptic-text boundary as modern exegetes would have. Thus it is difficult to ascertain, based on their comments, whether the fathers are actually commenting on the specific passage or the story which is also mentioned in other synoptic passage.<sup>17)</sup> This issue is particularly important when interpreting the patristic quotations for the textual variant. Take the ending of Mark (16:9-20) as an example, where eight patristic quotations from the five fathers (Gregory Palamas, Gregory the Great, Theophylact, Leo the Great, Chrysostom, and Irenaeos) are cited. Without a remark on the textual problem, it is natural for the readers to assume that these quotations would attest the variant endings, but in fact, the fathers might (and likely so) comment on the synoptic parallels which have made up most of the ending.<sup>18)</sup>

This two-volume edition exhibits the Orthodox view of Scripture: "Scripture cannot be disassociated from the Church whose privileged property it is." "Tradition" (paravdosi), rather than indicating merely the passing down of a series of teachings, is actually the living out of the revelation of God by His people. In many ways, ONT may be considered an abridged version of CB or ACCS, but for the Orthodox Church, it is the best representative of the written revelation of God in the Orthodox tradition, at least for the NT.

<sup>17)</sup> Take the Synoptic passage on the "Temptation on Jesus" (Mat 4:1-11 and Luk 4:1-13) as an example, many of the quotations in Luke's text may also apply to Matthew's text.

<sup>18)</sup> Even where there is a textual remark, it is not always expressed adequately, e.g., in John 7:53-8:11, a textual remark on 8:1 reads "This periscope has variant text readings. The *history* of the woman taken in adultery is not discussed by St. Chrysostom or by other Greek commentators." (italic mine; I-509). Incidentally, there is a reason to believe that the story was attested by earlier Greek authors or fathers such as Papias (witnessed by Eusebius) and *Didascalia Apostolorum*, although manuscript evidence does not exist till 5<sup>th</sup> century (Codex Bezae).

The ONT editorial committee has truly done a great service in bringing this publication to the general public, but it does call for a more rigorous scholarly discernment in editing and in scholarly discussion. The following blatant misrepresentation of LXX and the Hebrew MT would alarm any biblical scholar: "Today this pre-Christian Septuagint translation for Greek-speaking Jews takes the place of the original OT, for the original Hebrew text was lost. ... The Hebrew version in circulation today, the so-called Massoretic Text, is chiefly a re-translation of the Septuagint into medieval Hebrew that was produced in stages between the second and ninth centuries, and upon which the OT of KJV is based" (I-582; II-62 9;19) emphasis mine)!

#### 3.2. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture and Church's Bible

These two projects are the two most important publication series in recent attempt in unveiling the patristic interpretation to the public. Both projects reflect very careful planning and admirable quality.

Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture (ACCS) under the general editorship by Thomas C. Oden is planned to have 28 volumes (29 if the volume of Apocrypha is included) out of which at least 21 volumes have already been published (some of these volumes are available in Logos' *Libronix*). The *Church's Bible* (CB) by R. L. Wilken does not seem to aim at covering the entire biblical corpus, but only on "select books" 20); at least three volumes have been published by now. 21) Each volume has its own volume editor(s) from different Christian traditions, and in the case of CB, it has "translator and editor." A major strength of CB, in comparison to ACCS (and ONT), is that many materials cited are fresh translation from Greek and Latin texts, rather than merely excerpts from existing usually archaic English translation (such as ANF and NPNF). Nothing is said on the translation principle, but based on my reading, the translation is very readable and highly idiomatic.

<sup>19)</sup> Quoted from C. Siamakis, Transmission of the Text of the Holy Bible (Mass: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1997), 42. In the original, Siamakis goes on to say that the Masoretic Text is partly a re-translation of all the six Greek translations (LXX, Aquila, Theodotian, Symmachus, Quinta, etc)!

<sup>20)</sup> J. L. Kovacs, trans. and ed., 1 Corinthians: Interpreted by Early Christian Commentators (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2005), p.xviii.

<sup>21)</sup> For ACCS, see http://www.ivpress.com/accs/; for CB, see http://www.eerdmans.com/series/cb.htm.

Both editions have very similar layout and many useful appendix materials such as the biographical sketches of the fathers cited/mentioned, source texts bibliographical (mainly TLG and CETEDOC) data, and subject and scripture indices. The "Timeline of Writers of the Patristic Period" of ACCS is particularly helpful for a bird's eye view of the historical context of the fathers. Reading the introduction to each particular volume would be a good remedy to most biblical scholars who are not so familiar with the patristic interpretation.

Both editions use RSV as the default commentary text, but additional textual notes are often provided wherever it is evident that the text of father differs from the Masoretic reading (representing the Hebrew text behind RSV). This is especially obvious for the OT volumes, say, Job in ACCS, where many textual notes (from the LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta readings) additional to RSV are provided.<sup>22)</sup> CB in this respect would often go an extra mile. As in the case of The Song of Songs, CB provides a parallel translation of LXX and Vulgate. Even in the NT where textual difference is comparatively more subtle (than that of OT), CB would highlight the difference either in footnote or section summary. For example, in 1Co 13:10-12, the volume editor (J. Kovacs) points out specifically that Augustine cites 2 Kings 5:26 in two different versions LXX and Vulgate (see also 213 n.17, 223 n.3). Among all the ancient fathers quoted, Ambrosiaster deserves special mention on text-critical issues. This name is traditionally attributed to an anonymous early commentator on Pauline corpus (minus Hebrew), who was erroneously identified in some manuscripts as Ambrose (ca. 339-97). Ambrosiaster's commentary on 1 Corinthians is the first in the Latin-speaking West, and he used an Old Latin form of the biblical text that precedes Jerome's *Vulgate* (see for example the variant musthyrion in 1Co 2:1 [GNT<sup>4</sup>], cf. Metzger, Textual Commentary). However, none of the comments of Ambrosiaster quoted in this volume seems to exhibit any particular interest in this respect.

Like ONT, ACCS covers how the term "patristic period" is typically understood (i.e., also in GNT<sup>4</sup> and NTG<sup>27</sup>)<sup>23</sup>), namely John Damascus (c. 645 – c. 749) in the east and Bede the Venerable (mid 8th cent.) in the west, but in some volumes, it

<sup>22)</sup> Edited by M. Simonetti and M. Conti; Simonetti is the widely acknowledged expert in patristic biblical interpretation.

<sup>23) 16</sup> patristic sources are cited in NTG<sup>27</sup> (pp. 31\* - 33\*), and only 10 patristic sources found in NTG<sup>27</sup> are not cited in GNT<sup>4</sup>. As is intended, GNT<sup>4</sup> presents more patristic evidence in the apparatus than that of the NTG<sup>27</sup> (176 versus 74).

would include Photius the Patriarch of Constantinople (c. 810 - c. 895) and Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022). CB seems to be more flexible. Generally, it covers the first millennium, although each volume may have limited its own extent. For example, the volume on The Song of Songs (by Richard A. Norris, Jr.) includes some medieval authors such as Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1340), but 1 Corinthians (by Judith L. Kovacs) includes only down to Photius.

Given the enormous corpus of the patristic commentary, any anthology (or catenae) of this kind is deemed to be highly selective. Unfortunately, the principle of selection is often not clear, and if there is any, the specification is so generically described (e.g., "interesting, theologically significant, and spiritually uplifting")<sup>24)</sup> that it hardly says anything. Overall speaking, ACCS would include more but shorter quotations because it purports to expose the reader to a greater variety of patristic interpretation, whereas CB includes less but lengthier excerpts so that "through deeper immersion in the ancient sources can contemporary readers enter into the inexhaustible spiritual and theological world of the early Church and hence of the Bible."25) Take 1 Corinthian as an example: ACCS includes about 1,200 quotations, but CB includes only 287;26) most excerpts of CB are at least a paragraph length, and some are more than 2 pages (e.g., pp. 235-237).

ACCS certainly gives more freedom to each volume editor in the approach, and the principle of selection of different volumes may be quite different. What happens is: the research team will elicit a huge amount patristic interpretation excerpts from various source language texts (mainly digital) for each volume editor, then it is up to the editor to determine what materials should be included. In more recent volumes, the quotations are usually lengthier and the total number is fewer. Most obvious of all is the two-volumes on Matthew (also by Manlio Simonetti) - more than 600 pages of quotations are selected from only 21 fathers/works, compared to 35 in the 316 pages of 1-2 Corinthians. The peculiar principle underlying these two volumes is well-noted when we bear in mind that Matthew is the most frequently

<sup>24)</sup> In "Interpreting of New Testament" written by the general editor R. L. Wilken, see Kovacs, 1 Corinthians, xix.

<sup>25)</sup> J. L. Kovacs, trans. and ed., 1 Corinthians: Interpreted by Early Christian Commentators (Gerand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), viii.

<sup>26)</sup> Time does not permit me to go into detailed comparison between the selection of ACCS and CB, but a comparison on the first two chapters of 1 Corinthians shows significant overlapping between the two series.

quoted gospel in the early Christian period.

#### 4. Non-Catenae approach: Novum Testamentum Patristicum (NTP)

The most extensive one comes from the German soil, Novum Testamentum Patristicum: Ein patristischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (NTP) under the leadership of Professor Andreas Merkt with 42 volumes under planning<sup>27)</sup> including not only the canonical books, but also the Gnostic and Manichaeans. In contrast to the projects adopting a catena approach, NTP aims at presenting the patristic interpretation of the first six centuries in such a way that their original connection may become visible. Special weight is given to liturgical and historical contexts, in which a verse was particularly cited or commented. It is scheduled that at least the volume on Galatians (and/or the volume on Acts) should have been released by end of the year.

#### 5. Conclusion

The contribution of patristic writings to Biblical Studies has always been manifold such as in the field of textual criticism. However, the recent growing interest in patristic interpretation deserves special attention. The purpose of the paper provides an overview of the sources of patristic interpretation.

Apart from overviewing the resources of the original languages and translation series, this paper endeavores to focus on the recent academic efforts in presenting the patristic interpretation of the Holy Scriptures to the general public. With the exception of the Novum Testamentum Patristicum (NTP) which is yet published, all the other recent major scholarly publication projects reviewed here adopt the literary form of the medieval tradition of the catenae approach; it is similar to an anthology of patristic interpretation to the biblical texts. The two-volumes the Orthodox New Testament (ONT) which resembles an Orthodox Talmud, present the patristic comments alongside an English translation of their traditional text (based on the 1904 edition of B. Antoniades). The two series Ancient Christian

<sup>27)</sup> http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/Theologie/alte-kg/html/ntp.html.

Commentary on Scripture (ACCS) and Church's Bible (CB) deserves special attention because of the magnitude of the project and the scholarly standing that the published volumes have achieved thus far.

Compared with the corpus of the biblical canon, the amount of the patristic text is hundred times more. This would inhibit any reader who attempts to get familiar with the patristic insights to the Bible. Any anthology, or catenae approach, is deemed to be a welcome resource to anyone who would like to tab into this thesaurus.

#### <Keyword>

Patrology, Patristic interpretation, history of interpretation, catenae, ancient Christian writings.

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# Spirits, Scribes and Scriptures: Spiritual Warfare and the Transmission of New Testament Texts\*

Edgar B. Ebojo\*\*

## 1. Texts, Intentions, and Theologies

Textual variances are generally classified under two headings: unintentional changes and sensible intentional changes.<sup>1)</sup> Lately, there has been a remarkable emergence of scholarly interest in studying observable scribal changes with bearings on the intersection of the social history of the ancient scribes and the readings they chose to reflect in their manuscripts. The general intention of this paper is to chart a paradigm on the role of scribes in the transmission of the New Testament texts,<sup>2)</sup> as they underwent the layers of transcriptions and the many text forms that were (re)created as a result. In particular, textual variants with the implications of "spiritual warfare" shall be the focus of this investigation, in an

<sup>\*</sup> This paper is a modified version of an article first presented to the UBS Asia-Pacific Translation Consultation, Phuket, Thailand, 2007.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Philippine Bible Society Translation Manager.

On this, see K. Aland and B. Aland, Text of the NT: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 280-316; B. Metzger and B. Ehrman, Text of the NT: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 250-271.

<sup>2)</sup> While it remains true that the traditional aim of NT textual criticism is the determining and establishing of the "original text", recent studies have successfully demonstrated that alterations in the textual tradition can also become a resource for studying the social history of the nascent church, including their practices and beliefs. On this intersection, see B. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effects of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the NT* (Oxford; NY: Oxford University Press, 1993); J. Royse, "Scribal Tendencies in the Transmission of the Text of the NT", B. Ehrman and M. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the NT in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis in Honor of Bruce Metzger*, Studies and Documents 46 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 239-252; D. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); K. Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); W. Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse and the Scribal Tradition: Evidence of the Influence of Apologetic Interests on the Text of the Canonical Gospels*, Text-Critical Studies 5 (Atlanta: SBL, 2004) among others.

attempt to show that many scribes were, to a large extent, deeply fascinated and influenced by the "other-worldly"3) culture of their community-patrons.4)

#### 1.1. Oral Tradition and the Authority of the Written Tradition

Christianity is practically an "oral religion" by origin. Inspired by the teachings of and about Jesus Christ, and propagated by early itinerant preachers heralding the euangelion, early Christian communities lived it out and transmitted it from one generation to another for the edification of the Body of Christ. Among other things, Christianity's use of (written) "Scripture" is but a necessary consequence of its attempt to survive doctrinal threats, both internal and external, as well as to warrant that Jesus is the long-awaited messiah of the Jewish nation.<sup>5)</sup> On the one hand, the "words of Jesus" and the "testimony of the apostles" were initially construed as a fulfillment of the Jewish Scriptures in order to legitimatize the connection between Judaism (the religious affiliation of Jesus) and the "sect" that emerged from the public ministry of Jesus, and its eventual transmission through apostolic teachings. But on the other hand, it is equally noteworthy that it is these teachings and works of Jesus that laid the foundation for the eventual birth, growth, and expansion of early Christianity.

It is this oral stage that forms the groundwork for the eventual formation of the NT. Nevertheless, the "oral tradition" in due course intersected with the "written tradition". And throughout the four gospels, Jesus' birth, ministry, and death were deemed to be the fulfillment of written prophesies in the Jewish Scripture. Thus, the formulae "just as the Scripture says" and its derivative premise many of the claims by the NT writers. This point hardly needs elaboration. Nor need it be emphasized that the Jewish Scripture (i.e., Greek Septuaginta) was the "Christian" Bible before

<sup>3)</sup> On this term, see R. Henry, Filipino Spirit World: A Challenge to the Church (Mandaluyong: OMF Literature, 1986), esp. 17-35.

<sup>4)</sup> On the role of the commissioning community in the transmission of texts, see B. Aland, "The Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri in Early Church History", C. Horton, ed., The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels, JSNT Supplymentary 258 (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 108-121.

<sup>5)</sup> H. Gamble, "Literacy, Liturgy, and the Shaping of the NT Canon", C. Horton, ed., The Earliest Gospels: The Origins and Transmission of the Earliest Christian Gospels, JSNT Supplymentary 258 (London; New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 27, rightly comments, "Christianity depended on texts to warrant its fundamental proclamation that Jesus is the messiah of Israel".

the NT was gradually formed. In addition, nearly all Patristic quotations appeal to scriptural texts as written authorities, whether for the instruction of the faithful or for apologetic purposes. What we see here, therefore, is an intersection of the "oral" and the "written" traditions that were not mutually exclusive, but complimentary, 6) especially when seen against the milieu of early Christian communities where a majority of its members were functionally illiterate. Such situation ideally calls for dynamic creativity in order to sustain the message of the Gospel. It is for this reason that the texts used for public reading<sup>7</sup>) in Christian assemblies were rather more energetic and dynamic than the written documents; they were meant to be vibrant and relevant to the communities' context. But this also brings to fore the observation that for a span of time there was a period of textual fluidity - a historical stage where different forms of the NT texts were simultaneously circulated in the ancient Christian communities almost without geographical boundaries. This situation had persisted until "the texts were standardized" in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries as a logical consequence of recognizing specific books and tagging them as authoritative for Christian faith and conduct, i.e., the invention of the NT canon and the articulation of the doctrine of inspiration by those who upheld "orthodoxy". Such fluidity was fairly non-problematic at first as practically all Christian traditions prior to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries were never seen as a threat to the doctrinal survival of the Christian religion at large, so long as they suffice the "scripture needs" of a particular Christian community. 8) But things radically changed at the invention of canon which would later attest to the increasing value of the written word and the authority<sup>9)</sup> that can be located on a particular text form.

However, there was a pronounced divide between the "popular" and the "official", and this divide can be deduced from the creedal statements of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries, wherein various (and most of the times conflicting) positions were taken by different communities. This only shows that the ancient church was far from

<sup>6)</sup> As Parker, *Living Text*, 19, explains, "it is important to be aware that the relationship between the written and the spoken word in the early church was quite different from that which we assume today. The Gospels were written rather to support than replace the oral tradition."

<sup>7)</sup> On the role of public reading of Christian texts in the ancient church, see Gamble, "Literacy", 27-39.

<sup>8)</sup> In relation to this, see the points raised by L. Bautista, "The Bible: Servant in the Formation of Communities of Faith", T. Gener, ed., *Doing Theology in the Philippines* (Quezon City; Mandaluyong: ATS/OMF Literature, 2005), 59-62.

<sup>9)</sup> On the Patristic use of particular text form(s) for polemic and apologetic purposes, see Kannaday, *Apologetic Discourse*, 1-57.

monolithic, both in theology and praxis. The mere fact that the ancient church was geographically divided between "East" and "West" is in itself already descriptive of the differing positions on many issues that confronted them. This gulf can be explored in many ways but is demonstrated most clearly through the variegated forms of NT texts that have been transmitted to us. These textual variances enshrine the socio-cultural and theological proclivities of those who transmitted the text of the NT. In this regard, scribal inclinations and tendencies can serve as a viewing deck to the praxis and dogma of the ancient Christians, which were not handed down to us by traditional sources of church history, e.g., Eusebius's Historia Ecclesiastica.

## 1.2. Social History and Textual (Re)-Writings: Scribes as Reader-**Participants**

Intentional textual changes did not happen in a vacuum; they were performed either due to the scribes' socio-cultural environment or to their theological preferences. Along this line, scribes (re-)wrote some Christian traditions in an attempt to better understand them and to make the "Word" of God relevantly speak to their contemporary "world", so much so that the text of the NT (particularly the Gospels) was for a long time considered a "living text" 10) - a sacred text that directly addressed their context. In a sense, this was Scripture engagement at its best. However, this also implies that there was no dominical prescript on which an idea of an "original text" (1) could be based, especially during the primitive age of the church when divergent readings emerged and simultaneously disseminated in ancient churches in various geographical areas, and that these were publicly read in the churches. From this perspective, various (and sometimes conflicting) theological currents crossed paths, without causing major upheavals so long as churches found solace and edification in the text they used in *their* churches.

It is regrettable, however, that we only know the scribes simply as passive copyists who carefully endeavored to come up with manuscripts that "faithfully"

<sup>10)</sup> Parker, Living Text, 200.

<sup>11)</sup> As to whether Early Christians were actually conscious of the rigid existence of "original text" is a matter of debate. On the other nuances of the term, see, W. Petersen, "What Text Can NT Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?" B. Aland and J. Delobel, eds., NT Textual Criticism, Exegesis, and Early Church History: A Discussion of Methods (Kampen: Pharos, 1994), 136-152.

reflect their *exemplars*. Probably, that is what we expect. That would be a great relief if it were real. The truth is, ancient scribes were not detached transmitters of the text working in a context-less vacuum. They were also participant-readers, <sup>12)</sup> with particular interests and agenda – interests and agenda which were largely shaped and dictated by their prevailing socio-cultural milieu. <sup>13)</sup> Because of the geographical discrepancy, the scribes' socio-cultural contexts were frequently very different from those in which their source texts were originated. Bart Ehrman is precisely correct when he notes that

··· the meanings readers derive from their texts are in fact responses determined by what they bring to these texts··· Similar to the way we all 're-create' or 're-write' texts whenever we construe them, the scribes··· actually did re-create them, so that their orthodox construals··· actually determined the way these texts have been transmitted to us.<sup>14</sup>)

One of the ways to better illustrate this "textual re-creation" is through passages with pronounced textual variations with implications on the early Christians' view and appreciation of the "spirit world", and through the extent to which this world view had influenced the shape and form of the manuscripts that inclined scribes have copied and transmitted.

# 2. The "Word" in "Other Words": Towards a Textual Construct for Spirit World Studies and Bible Transmission

<sup>12)</sup> For a good introduction to reader-response criticism of Mark, see R. Fowler, "Reader- Response Criticism: Figuring Mark's Reader", J. C. Anderson and S. Moore, eds., *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 50-83. From a text-critical view, see P. Comfort, "Scribes as Readers: Looking at NT Textual Variants according to Reader Reception Analysis", *Neotestamentica* 38 (2004), 28-53.

<sup>13)</sup> As Haines-Eitzen, Guardians, 116, notes, "The discursive debate in the second and third centuries intersected with textual transcription in the activity of copying and the (re)-production of texts and creation of new readings. Intentional scribal changes did not occur in a vacuum, nor were they random in nature; rather, they were constrained by the discursive contexts of the scribes themselves."

<sup>14)</sup> B. Ehrman, "The Text of Mark in the Hands of the Orthodox", M. Burrows and P. Rorem, eds., *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspectives* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 31.

Fidelity to the scribe's *Vorlage* is presupposed in any context of transcription. But things change when scribes become too "actively involved" in the process, to the point that they interfere with the text. Hence, the so-called "errors" or "miscopyings" soon arise for deliberate interventions by scribes wanting to make the "Word" more responsive, relevant, and vibrant to their context. This section identifies select passages and attempts to provide a historical framework for the emergence of these divergent readings.

#### 1.3. Exorcism and the Different Endings of the Gospel of Mark

Modern "Christian" exorcism is preceded by some forms of elaborate "rituals" which normally include intense/ecstatic prayer (plus speaking in tongues) and many days of fasting on the belief that these are portals to the spirit world and are clearly legitimated by Jesus himself (cf. Mat 17:21 and Mar 9:29). But here lies a question of biblical presupposition: What if the supposed "biblical supports" are not textually authentic but are later additions by scribes who belonged to the Christian groups subscribing to the concept of the spirit world? Can they still be used as a support for the practice of prayer-and-fasting-laced exorcism, which is very common in many Pentecostal and Charismatic churches today? Does this invalidate our belief in the spirit world? The last chapter of the Gospel of Mark may shed light on this inquiry.

Mark 16 in our modern translations includes 20 verses, and is commonly structured into four literary units, representing various layers of traditions that have accrued throughout its transmission history. 15) However, insofar as extant manuscripts are concerned, there are at least four major endings for the Gospel of Mark: the Short but abrupt Ending (vv. 1-8), 16) the Intermediate Ending, 17) the Long Ending (with vv. 9-20), 18) and the Expanded Long Ending (expanded form of vv. 14

<sup>15)</sup> i.e., a) an angel's appearance and mandate to the three women (vv. 1-8), Jesus' appearance and mandate to Mary Magdalene (vv. 9-11), Jesus' appearance and mandate to his Two Disciples (vv. 12-13), and Jesus' appearance and reprimand of the Disciples for their unbelief (vv. 14-20).

<sup>16)</sup> This reading is supported by relatively early manuscripts including codices and B, minuscule 304, as well as versional materials (syr<sup>s</sup>, cop<sup>sams</sup>, arm<sup>mss</sup>, geo<sup>1.A</sup>) and patristic quotations (Eusebius, Epiphanius, Hesychius, and Jerome). For citation of evidence, see GNT<sup>4</sup> and NTG<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>17)</sup> i.e., "And all that had been commanded them they told briefly to those around Peter. And afterward Jesus himself sent out through them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation" (NRSV). This variant is supported by codices L, , 083, 099, 274<sup>mg</sup>, 579; by lectionary 1602 and by ancient versions (k, sy<sup>hmg</sup>, sa<sup>mss</sup>, bo<sup>mss</sup>, eth<sup>mss</sup>).

-15).19

Most textual critics take these last 12 verses as non-original; and the differences in theology, vocabulary, and style point toward a non-Markan origin.<sup>20)</sup> Admittedly, both the external and internal evidences point to this direction.<sup>21)</sup> As such, it is a big injustice to the manuscript evidence not to point this out in the translation. At the very least, marginal notes should be deliberately made to account for this textual conundrum.<sup>22)</sup>

There are interesting twists here, however. While the manuscript evidence favors the shorter text, it leaves some important questions unanswered. For one, it places a stumbling block insofar as the overall literary tempo of this gospel is concerned. Ending this gospel at v. 8 with a statement that the three women "said nothing to anyone because they were afraid…" (oudeni ouden eipan; ephobounto gar) proves anti-climatic and contrary to the triumphalistic tendency of the Gospel of Mark as a whole. Furthermore, the lack of reference to the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, which has been a pivotal component of a "Gospel", begs the question of whether accidence transpired in the process of transmission or Mark deliberately intended to leave the reference to resurrection appearances ambiguous, which is very unlikely of a "Gospel". To leave the resurrection reference out is, in fact, to undermine not

<sup>18)</sup> This reading enjoys the support of the majority of manuscripts where this portion is intact including the witnesses of the uncial codices A, C, D, , , f<sup>13</sup>, and a horde of other manuscripts.

<sup>19)</sup> Among modern English translations, only NRSV has reflected this variant reading: And they excused themselves, saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits. Therefore reveal your righteousness now"--thus they spoke to Christ. And Christ replied to them, "The term of years of Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near. And for those who have sinned I was handed over to death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more, that they may inherit the spiritual and imperishable glory of righteousness that is in heaven." This reading is supported by only one manuscript, codex W, but a partial version is also traceable in Jerome's treatise Against Pelagius 2:15.

<sup>20)</sup> For dissenting opinions, see J. Burgon, The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel According to Mark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1871); W. Farmer, The Last Twelve Verses of Mark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) among others.

<sup>21)</sup> E.g., B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek NT*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Stuttgart: UBS, 1994), 105, concludes, "On the basis of good external evidence and strong internal considerations it appears that the earliest ascertainable form of the Gospel of Mark ended with 16:8".

<sup>22)</sup> While it is true that manuscripts without vv. 9-20 are the earliest, it is equally true that manuscripts with the Long Ending are also pretty early. In order to account for this, many modern translations have reflected the major endings. This is accompanied by a marginal comment at the footnote indicating the late origins of the Long and Intermediate endings, e.g., GNB, CEV, NRSV, ESV, among others.

only the very message Mark was intending to convey but also the "received" tradition of the churches within which he was writing.<sup>23)</sup> A gospel should be a pointer to the resurrection event which is the core of Christian kerygma. As Parker has rightly noted, "A Gospel without resurrection appearance is incomplete, for the Gospel is about the resurrection and salvation."24)

Such textual difficulty is indeed question-begging, and several proposals have been advanced to account for this conundrum.<sup>25)</sup> This textual maze, however, can be alternatively appreciated by investigating the socio-historical milieu of the scribes who transmitted these various forms of the text. With this perspective in view, the Long Ending of Mark with all its "otherworldliness" 26) then presents itself as an evidence of a scribal attempt to articulate what some early Christians believed and practiced which did not suit well to the theological palate of the powerful and the mighty – the (proto)orthodox sector of the ancient Church.<sup>27</sup>) It may not have the status of a canonical text but for those who adhered to it, its authority emanates from the fact that it is being used by some Christian communities for their spiritual nurture.

Notice that the Long Ending is full of otherworldly components, and apparently it is this "otherworldliness" that made the (proto)orthodox segment of the primitive church uncomfortable – a feeling derived from the belief that authority exclusively lies in the nature of "the" document they called as *Holy Scripture*. Hence, we see here the tension between what some Christian sectors believed and what the other (more powerful) Christian groups thought should be believed, as reflected in their Scriptures. This tension has been monumentalized in the different text forms replicated in extant manuscripts.

While the Short Ending comparatively has the best manuscript support, both the Short and Long Endings independently existed quite early in the history of

<sup>23)</sup> R. T. France, The Gospel of Mark, NIGTC (Grand Rapids; Cambridge: Eerdmans; Paternoster, 2002), 683.

<sup>24)</sup> Parker, Living Text, 144.

<sup>25)</sup> For instance, see Metzger and Ehrman, Text, 322-27; Metzger and Ehrman, Textual Commentary, 105, n. 7; and Aland and Aland, Text, 293.

<sup>26)</sup> It is noteworthy that exorcism, speaking in tongues, snake-handling, poison drinking, and laying on of hands in vv. 9-20 have inter-textual resonances with other parts of the Bible; see, Parker, Living Text, 138-141.

<sup>27)</sup> For the intersection of proto-orthodoxy and intentional textual changes, see Ehrman, Orthodox Corruption, 3-46; Ehrman, Lost Christianities: The Battles for Scripture and the Faiths We Never Knew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 159-257.

transmission; both can be confidently dated around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>28)</sup> This is pregnant with implications. First, this underscores the extent of NT textual fluidity before the emergence of textual standardization<sup>29)</sup> – an intentional enterprise which transpired as a consequence of the "invention" of the concept of biblical canon<sup>30)</sup> in the ensuing 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. This shows that extant manuscripts exhibiting divergent readings are a vivid testimony of the scope of diversity in the early history of Christianity, both in terms of praxis and theology, which on the one hand can enrich our historical appreciation of the social contexts from which our NT texts emerged. Second, and in reference to the first, this textual fluidity affords us an alternative paradigm to the way we understand and appreciate the different ideologies behind the "Text" that we are now translating into our modern languages. Early church history, as a viewing deck for us, Bible transmitters, opens for us alternative avenues to appreciate textual variances, which for so long were otherwise immediately adjudged as "non-originals". But using this paradigm, one may argue that the Long Ending of Mark could provide a socio-cultural situation wherein the affirmation and actualization of the "otherworldly" was suppressed by those who wielded enormous power, using the concept of an "authoritative" text as a leverage. As such, readings longer than verses 1-8 can be taken as representing the "suppressed" spirit world beliefs of the less popular and less powerful echelon of the ancient church. Paradoxically, however, we also witness here a form of "subversion" on the part of the otherworldly-oriented scribes; a subversion tenacious enough to influence the text-form of future copies of the text of the NT,

<sup>28)</sup> See Aland and Aland, *Text*, 292-93; Parker, *Living Text*, 137. Incidentally, an Armenian manuscript (MS 229) dated 989 AD has the ascription *Ariston eritsou* (Of the Elder Ariston) before verses 9-20, implying that the verses have come from the hand of the Elder Ariston who lived in the first century, a contemporary of Papias, and is said to be the disciple of John the Apostle. If this scribal suggestion is to be accepted, then this is yet another pointer to an even earlier existence of the Longer Reading in the transmission history; see F. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1958), 236-237. However, given the remoteness in time of MS 229 to the historical Ariston, the authenticity of such ascription proves to be very nil; on this see, Metzger and Ehrman, *Text*, 325.

<sup>29)</sup> On this textual consciousness, see Aland, "Significance of the Chester Beatty Papyri", 20, who comments, "... the readers of the manuscripts... were well aware of the divergences, omissions, and transpositions, but regarded them as trivial because they did not yet have a highly developed tradition of Holy Scripture with corresponding procedures of controlling its transmission."

<sup>30)</sup> For the formation of the NT canon from an alternative perspective, see the chapter "The Invention of Scripture: The Formation of the Proto-Orthodox New Testament" in Ehrman, *Lost Christianities*, 229-246.

and by extension, even the NT text that we now use in our churches.

The content and theology of the Longer Ending could have predictably provoked the ire of those who did not subscribe to the idea of the "otherworldly", particularly the explicit mention of speaking in different languages, poison-drinking, snakehandling, and exorcism. But this did not deter those who subscribed to it, as represented by those who transmitted "different versions" of the NT text to us. We owe it to these scribes who enshrined in the Long Ending the experiences of their patrons and churches – the communities that have experienced and participated in the encounter with "principalities and powers".

#### 1.4. When Prayer is not Enough: Exorcism and Scribal Intervention

The exorcism account recorded in Mark 9:29 (with parallel occurrences in Mat 17:21 and Luk 9:43-45) also strikes the crux of the present issue. According to the synoptic tradition, Jesus, having been affirmed of his special relationship with the Father on the Mount of Transfiguration, was asked to personally exorcise a man's son possessed by evil spirits, because his disciples were unable to drive the demons out. Jesus willingly "delivered" the boy from demon possession but not without making that event a learning opportunity for his disciples. He pointed out that spiritual "encounters" such as this requires special spiritual discipline and preparation. And here the use of modern Bible versions comes to the fore. Depending on which Bible version one is using, one is once again confronted with a textual problem of the same nature: Did Jesus really say that to be effective exorcism should be preceded by prayer and fasting,<sup>31)</sup> or simply by prayer?<sup>32)</sup> Or, as suggested by the omission of Matthew 17:21 in some manuscripts, did Jesus ever utter such a statement?33)

Again, external and internal evidences favor the shorter reading, both in Mark and Matthew. We cannot at this juncture extensively expound on the merits of the evidences but only to point out that this type of textual scenario also affirms our observation that there were indeed some sectors in the ancient church that truly put

<sup>31)</sup> As in TEV, CEV, N/RSV, N/JB, ESV, among others.

<sup>32)</sup> As in N/KJV.

<sup>33)</sup> Verse 21 is omitted in three uncial codices ( $x^*$ , B,  $\Theta$ , three minuscule codices (33, 579, 892\*), one lectionary (1 253), as well as versional materials (it<sup>e.ffl</sup>, syr<sup>c, s, pal</sup>, cop<sup>sa, bopt</sup>, eth<sup>ms, and</sup> geo<sup>1, A</sup>). Major manuscripts supporting this reading include codices C, D, L, W, among others.

a premium on the practices pertaining to the "otherworldly", particularly exorcism through prayer *and* fasting. In fact, the textual changes in these two verses betray the hand of scribes with ascetic leanings, underscoring the paramount role of prayer coupled with fasting in the context of exorcising demonized victims.<sup>34)</sup> While this revising may have not won the favor of those who stand on the other side of the theological pole, it nevertheless gives us a vivid example that exorcism was indeed a solid fact for many Christians of the earlier history of the church, so much so that this is now enshrined in some of the NT manuscripts that we have as well as in non-biblical manuscripts and exorcism-related materials which we shall underscore in the next section.

#### 1.5. When Theology meets Reality: Magic, Miracles, and Manuscripts

The intersection of the otherworldly cultural orientation of some of the early Christians and the "copies" of the Scripture can be conspicuously established. To a large extent, this is due to the cognizance of the spirit world exercising influence over virtually all aspects of life. In fact, some of the early believers even literally used actual manuscripts themselves as protective devices functioning as amulets.<sup>35)</sup> For instance, in order to ward off evil spirits and misfortunes some manuscripts were worn as protective necklaces or placed under the pillow, probably to avoid having "devilish" nightmares.<sup>36)</sup> Ehrman describes these manuscripts as "small in size, often single sheet folded over, sometimes provided with or tied together with a string, and normally inscribed with texts that could prove useful for warding off evil

<sup>34)</sup> In the context of marriage, the same thing can be said of 1 Corinthians 7:5, where some scribes equally elevated the role of fasting and prayer. In the case of Jude 12 in Bodmer codex, the change from *suneuochoumenoi* (while feasting) to *suneuchomenoi* (while praying) also points to the ascetic tendencies of its scribe; see Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians*, 114.

<sup>35)</sup> As E. A. Judge, "The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri", E. Conrad and E. Newing, eds., *Perspectives on Language and Text* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 340, rightly comments, "Everyone in the fourth century knew that magic was one of the major forces in society. Like the state, the churches fought constantly to suppress it. But the trouble was that ordinary believers had to take practical steps to protect themselves, particularly against the demons that crept into their houses in the form of scorpions, or the various kinds of fever. It was hardly surprising if some of the protective devices took on the colour of the magical system which controlled the demonic world. What made the engagement between the church and magic so close and desperate was the fact that neither side doubted the reality of the forces to which the other appealed."

<sup>36)</sup> See for instance, Chrysostom, Homilies 19.4.

spirits or for effecting healing".<sup>37)</sup> They believed that by wearing these one became invincible to any attacks from supernatural forces that might attempt to harm them or their business interests. Accordingly, Metzger and Ehrman report of manuscripts so unusually small in size to be used for public reading; the smallest being at 3 \(^3/\_4\) x 2 7/8 inches (i.e., codex 0169, 4th century).38) Furthermore, Pickering also reports of a small papyrus manuscript dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Papyrus Vindob. G 2312) containing Psalm 90:1-2; Romans 12:1-2; and John 2:1-2. Its original size is 6 cm x 15 cm but is folded into a small packet about 2.5 cm x 2 cm, the size of a typical amulet or magical invocations.<sup>39)</sup> These manuscripts may have been used as talismans for effecting healing upon a penitent believer or for invoking divine providence and protection upon an inquiring believer. As such, these manuscripts have become symbols of otherworldly phenomenon as well as the depth of the interplay of the natural and the supernatural forces that have confronted the early Christian believers.

In the magical papyrus of the ancient Near East, the efficacy of a healing prayer using religious manuscripts or relics depends on two factors: the invocation of divine names and the use of forceful orders in commanding the deities to perform the request for healing and deliverance among others.<sup>40)</sup> But this was not only true among the paganic culture. In time, this practice also penetrated the Christian phalanx – or at least those who had been exposed to it. Hence, the names Iao, Osiris, Anubis, Ra, Zeus, and others would soon be substituted with Logos, Iesous Christos, Kurios, Alpha and Omega, and many other conceivable Christian divine designations.<sup>41)</sup> For instance, in the rare collections of Duke University, Christian non-biblical papyri can be found, wherein Christian divine names and titles are invoked in prayers. One such example is PGM 80, a fragmentary 3<sup>rd</sup> century Greek papyrus amulet. After two lines of garbled letters, the next two lines read "Lord Jesus, heal Helena, daughter of [...] from every illness and every shivering and

<sup>37)</sup> Ehrman, "Text as Window", 370.

<sup>38)</sup> Metzger and Ehrman, Text, 93.

<sup>39)</sup> S. R. Pickering, "The Significance of Non-Continuous NT Textual materials in Papyri", D. G. K. Taylor, ed., Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts: Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the NT, Text-Critical Studies 1 (Atlanta: SBL, 1999),

<sup>40)</sup> H. C. Kee, Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in NT Times, SNTSMS 55 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 107-112.

<sup>41)</sup> But cf. Judge, "Magical Use", 340.

[fever]", which is followed again by several lines of garbled letters. On the one hand, this papyrus amulet and the likes, no doubt, function *therapeutically* through an appeal to the divine name. But on the other hand, it is also vested with *apotropaic* function, i.e., to protect oneself from demons as could be deduced from the magical papyri.<sup>42</sup>)

Other manuscripts are more aesthetically sophisticated, which in turn is very suggestive of their function. For instance, E. A. Judge notes that a fragmentary magical papyrus (*PGM* 4), containing Matthew 4:23-24, was deliberately arranged to form a pattern of crosses.<sup>43)</sup> The content of these two verses and the title given by the scribe (i.e., "The Gospel of Healing according to Matthew") indicate that this cruciform manuscript was used for effecting healing. But a more extensive Gospel manuscript, codex 047, now housed at the Princeton University library, indicates that cruciform manuscripts were not only used for effecting healing but also as protective gadgets to ward off "unfriendly" spirits. Codex 047 does not simply have an artistic design to soothe the eyes of its users: its form is indicative of its function, in the same way that some modern-day Christians nail wooden crosses to the main doors and major parts of their building structures in the belief of their keeping evil spirits at bay.

Given the low literacy rate among Christian believers in the early church, scribes were commissioned to copy an *exemplar* for public reading. However, there are interesting indications that some manuscripts, on top of their official ecclesiastical purposes, were later used for other purposes: they were used for their magical or fortune-telling functions! For instance, the Greek section of the Gospel of Mark in codex Bezae (D/05) exhibits a fascinating characteristic in that Scripture text, which does not fill the page, is followed by the Greek word *hermēnia* (literally, *interpretation*), centered as a title and followed by various sentences or phrases. Some of the typical phrases are "Expect a great miracle", "You will receive joy from God", "From pain to joy", "After ten days it will happen", "What you seek will be found", among others.<sup>44</sup>) There is no logical sequence in the arrangement of these supposed interpretations (*hermēnia*), and they are more likely to have been inscribed there rather arbitrarily and randomly. However, what is striking about this

<sup>42)</sup> Kee, Medicine, Miracle, and Magic, 111-112.

<sup>43)</sup> Judge, "Magical Use", 342.

<sup>44)</sup> On this, see Frederick Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge, 1864; repr. Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1978), 451-452.

is that these hermēnia notes are totally irrelevant to the Scripture passages where they are located! There is no noticeable exegetical relationship between these notes and the Scripture passages. Paleographically, these notes are obviously not the handiwork of the original scribe(s) of codex Bezae; the calligraphic differences are far too conspicuous. They may have been the work of later scribes who had access to this manuscript and used it for purposes other than public reading. This led many textual critics to believe that this manuscript, along with other similar manuscript s,<sup>45</sup>) was actually used for fortune telling by some enterprising believers. Ehrman explains how this fortune telling might have been done: "... one who had a question would roll a pair of dice and, by the use of a specially prepared table, be instructed to turn to a particular page of the text, on which would be provided the appropriate answer (fortune)".46) Apparently, there was a very thin line of distinction between magic and miracle. Hence, what we have here is an evidence that some early Christians ascribed special power to the manuscripts of Scripture themselves, to the point that they were being used to predict the future of an inquiring "believer", to make petitions for healing more efficacious, or to appeal for some other daily concerns.

This traceable interplay of the spirit world and the manuscripts, admittedly, is not so explicitly pronounced in the writings of the ancient Christian writers. But the dearth of discussion could be explained on grounds that magic has been largely associated by the well-heeled and educated upper classes with the uneducated and the poor, who were more prone to the spiritually-slanted way of thinking such as "demon's attack". As Aune correctly observes, "Those who were educated and affluent associated magical practices with the uneducated and poor in the lower strata of society... Certainly the Greek of the magical papyri is the unpretentious common language of the people, not the cultivated, literary and atticistic language of the educated. Since the Graeco-Roman literature which is extant was produced and transmitted by the educated, rarely are the views of the common people adequately represented."47) At any rate, the readings enshrined by the scribes in their manuscripts afford us to see how extremely important the weight of the spirit world was in the daily lives of the common, ordinary Christians, who were more

<sup>45)</sup> See also the text of the Gospel of John in the following manuscripts: P<sup>55</sup>, P<sup>55</sup>, P<sup>55</sup>, P<sup>55</sup>, P<sup>55</sup>, 0145. 0210, 1256.

<sup>46)</sup> Ehrman, "Text as Window", 370.

<sup>47)</sup> D. E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity", ANRW II.23.2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980), 1521.

likely to interpret practically all events in their lives in light of the spiritual realm. Fortunately or unfortunately, these scribes' inclinations or proclivities toward the spiritworld have influenced the shape and form of the NT texts that we now read privately and corporately in our churches.

# 3. Scriptures, Scribes, and Spirits: a Summary

The textual variations frequently observed in our NT are a rich repository of information as to the socio-cultural contexts of the early Christian believers. One area that can be explored in studying these variations is the slant on the otherworldly orientation of the ancient scribes who copied and transmitted not only a "sacred text" but also the religio-cultural environments of their commissioning communities. These variances are not easily detected as they are now "encrypted" in the textual apparatuses of standard biblical texts that, unfortunately, only the specialists can "decode". Some of them are noted in the footnotes of some modern translations; but most of them are "fossilized" in the apparati criticus of the critical text editions. However, their value goes beyond scholarship; they are a rich reservoir for appreciating Christian origins and their implications for the modern church. Along this line, many of the intentional alterations pertaining to the otherworldly were in fact changes that intersected with the socio-historical milieu within which otherworldly-oriented scribes transcribed their text. Hence, noticeable textual variations did not occur in a historical vacuum; they are to a large extent wrought by the socio-cultural context within which particular manuscripts emerged. Scribes with otherworldly leanings were not unengaged parties; they were not disinterested copyists; but like many other scribes before and after them, they were active participants in a dynamic dialogue between them, their commissioning communities (patron), together with all the accompanying socio-cultural and theological packages, and the copy of a book which they considered their "Scripture". In their desire to see a sacred text speaking to their context, these scribes took it to heart to ensure that *their* "otherworldly" practices will find support in their Scriptures. Arbitrary as it may seem, but it knocks on our consciousness that a document considered by many moderns as "holy" and "beneficial for teaching and reproof" could not escape the realities of life in which early Christians were

involved: reflecting on the "Word" and making it relevant to their own "world", even though it meant "re-writing" them.

## <Keyword>

Spiritworld, oral tradition, textual transmission, textual re-creation, other-worldly

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# Exegeting "Places": Territoriality and Hospitality in Luke 16:19-31\*

Hortensius Florimond\*\*

Place and spatial dimensions were much forgotten in academic and theological discourse.<sup>1)</sup> On one hand, the importance of place is obvious; we all live in a place and nothing exists without place. On the other hand, it is precisely because we are "in a place" from the very beginning of our life that we have not thought very much about this very fact. It is evident that spatial motives and themes have a prominent place in the Bible. The Bible begins with the story of the creation of a "living place" for all creatures. The story of Israel is a story about promising, leaving, having, and losing a place (the land).<sup>2)</sup> Mark's Gospel can be outlined according to three indications of "place": Galilea, the Way, and Jerusalem. Matthew and Luke, by and large, follow Mark with some elaborations and modifications. The author of John's Gospel sometimes plays a very interesting combination between "time" and "place" (cf.  $\alpha\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$  = "again" and "from above"). The "Way" (journeys, sailings, shipwrecks, etc) becomes a prominent motive in Acts. Pauline letters were sent to "local" churches. These large amounts of evidence need a critical reading that gives more attention to spatial dimensions of the text. The following study is an attempt to shed some new light in that direction. Luke's well-known parable Lazarus and a Rich Man will be used as a methodological test-case to provide some new insights into reading and translating the biblical text.

<sup>\*</sup> United Bible Societies Asia-Pacific Area Translation Consultation Paper, June 2007.

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<sup>1)</sup> H. Moxnes, Putting Jesus in His Place (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 6-8.

<sup>2)</sup> Some scholars, therefore, prefer to speak of "Enneateuch" (nine scrolls) instead of Pentateuch. For them, history of Israel is based on the central theme of land. The land is promised (Genesis), traveled toward (Exodus-Numbers), conquered (Joshua), defended (Judges), united and divided (1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings), and finally lost. This is the Israel's "primary history" that needs to be differentiated from the "History of the Chronicler" (1-2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah) which pays a particular attention to Davidic dynasty.

#### 1. What is "Place"?

### 1.1. Place: Identity, Power, and Normality

Spatial theorists have provided the concepts and language for studying space and place critically. They insist that humans are historical, social, and spatial.<sup>3)</sup> Place is a cultural element produced by societies, and has the function of replicating (and sometimes subverting) those societies' power structures. Place, therefore, is not just an inert container for human action, and is not seen merely as a projection screen for human activity in history. A social and anthropological reading brings forth several aspects that inherently come together within a place. First, place is closely related to *identity*. In the Bible, we find examples that show how closely place is connected with identity. Place identifies someone or a nation/people. In NT times, a person's identity was given by his/her place in society. So, we have Jesus (from) Nazareth, Maria (from) Magdala, Simeon (from) Kirene, etc. The place makes the person distinctive, unique, and different from other persons with the same name. Second, place is a matter of power. Having a place means having the power to control access to and from that place. To maintain a place means also gaining advantage from that place, etc. Place maintains power and control. Third, place is connected with *normality*. Place is used to protect and maintain normality, and to keep everyone and everything "in his/her/its place".

# 1.2. Territoriality

The above three aspects of place introduce us to the discussion of *territoriality*. R.D. Sack defines territoriality as "the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area ··· Territories require a constant effort to establish and maintain".<sup>4)</sup> Simply stated, territoriality means: classification,

<sup>3)</sup> For modern spatial theories see among others: H. Lefebre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), E. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

<sup>4)</sup> R. D. Sack, *Human Territoriality. Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19; also: J. Neyrey, "Spaces and Places, Whence and Whither, Homes and Rooms:

communication, and control.<sup>5)</sup> Classification refers to the ways in which humans invest space with meaning or label it for some purpose. Territoriality, for example, involves every attempt to classify a place as my/our and your place, and so classification implies inclusion and exclusion. Communication refers to every attempt to communicate that a place "belongs to me". A person always personalize (with name, colour, style, arrangement, ornaments, decorations, etc) his/her place to communicate that this particular place is "my place". Control refers to the power and ideology that *manage* a particular place. In "my place", I am the hero; I have the full control and power over my place (Louis XIV: "the Kingdom is me"). Place, therefore, expresses control and power. In other words, territoriality is the geographic expression of power. Furthermore, a place also fixes control and power as something usual, natural, and normal, as *normality*.6)

With the help of these socio-anthropological insights, let us now turn to the Lukan text. Our attention will be focused upon how the narrator creates and develops each of his actors in relation to his/her place, how power and normality is connected with a place, and how the narrator questions it.

#### 2. Structure and Location

The pericope can be divided into three parts according to indications of place:

In the first scene (vv. 19-21), the narrator places the rich man in his own house and Lazarus at the rich man's gate. As we shall see, each place replicates each social-place and identity. No change of place or dialogue takes place between the two in this scene (and there is no dialogue between them even in the whole story!). In the second scene (v. 22), there is a change of place regarding the two main actors. They are both dead and each goes to his own new place. The third scene (vv. 23-31) takes place in the new place for each: Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and the rich man in Hades

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Territoriality' in the Fourth Gospel", Biblical Theological Bulletin 32 (2002), 60-63; H. Moxnes, Putting Jesus in His Place, 12-16.

<sup>5)</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

<sup>6)</sup> For the commonsense and everyday nature of ideology, created and maintained by and through a place, see T. Cresswell, In Place, out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 14-18.

Both actors, then, are placed in different places, and they undergo a change of place. Lazarus's place is changed: from the rich man's gate, he is carried by the angels and then stationed in the bosom of Abraham. He is absolutely passive throughout the story. His place is determined by others: put or simply "thrown" (ἐβέβλητο) at the gate, "carried away" (ἀπενεχθῆναι) by the angels, "comforted" (παρακαλεῖται) by God. Note that the verbs are all in passive voice. Lazarus is placed in *his place*, each time *higher* (gate - Abraham's bosom) by others, who are also increasingly exalted in their 'places' (men – angels - God).

The rich man's place is also changed: from his house, down to the grave and finally is stationed at Hades, "the lowest place on earth" (Psa 86:13). In contrast with Lazarus, the rich man is more active throughout the story. In the first scene, he is depicted as a round character, who actively *controls* his place (house): dresses in purple and fine linen and feasts sumptuously everyday. In other words, he actively builds his image/self-identity by his dress and feasts. He remains active even after his death in a lively dialogue with Abraham.

# 3. A Reading<sup>7)</sup>

#### 3.1. Social Place

Luke (the extra-diegesis narrator) through Jesus (the intra-diegesis narrator) opens the story by introducing two principal actors. The Greek construction highlights the 'social places' of the two actors:

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"Ανθρωπος δέ τις ἦν πλούσιος, a certain man \cdots rich πτωχὸς δέ τις ὀνόματι Λάζαρος a poor man \cdots by the name of Lazarus
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Not only are these introductory clauses nicely balanced literally, but they also

<sup>7)</sup> The term 'reading' is used to underscore the role of the reader in producing meaning. Reading is a reflective act that produces meaning, not merely a 'preparatory' stage in exegesis/interpretation. A. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics: The Theory and Practice of Transforming Biblical Reading* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 498: "The paradigm of 'reading' in literary theory and the question about 'reading competence' have tended to replace the hermeneutical terminology about 'interpretation' and understanding".

show the distance between the two actors' places within society. The narrator, from the first line of the story, provides definition and classification. The rich man is anonymous, nameless but full of possessions; the other is poor, empty except for a name. Only in this parable is an actor given a proper name. Naming is a way to express the narrator's point of view. Naming provides the reader with some expectation regarding the dynamics of the story and each actor's fate. Lazarus means "God helps". 8) The choice of the name cannot be accidental for its meaning holds out a promise.

#### 3.2. House, Dress and Feast

Place expresses and maintains identity. The rich man is in his house. The "gate" 9) (πυλῶνα) indicates a big and luxurious house, normally owned by landlords at that time. This big, luxurious house, therefore, speaks about the identity of its owner: he is a rich man, and above all, he is a man of honor. His wealth and honor are exemplified and communicated by his clothing and eating habits:

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ένεδιδύσκετο πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον
He habitually dressed in purple and fine linen
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Dress is closely related to honor-shame values in ancient Mediterranean culture. Dress displays and communicates who you are (identity) and what you are (social standing).<sup>10)</sup> "Purple" as a sign of royalty is well attested (Jdg 8:26; Est 8:15) and fine linen is a sign of luxury (Pro 31:22; Rev 18:12). Purple and fine linen, therefore, places the man among the elites and the rich who have the power of a king! In his society, he is a *patron*.

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εὐφραινόμενος καθ' ἡμέραν λαμπρῶς.
feasted sumptuously everyday
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<sup>8)</sup> It is a grecisized, shortened form of Hebrew or Aramaic 'El 'āzār. The fuller Greek form would be Eleazaros. See, J. E. Fitzmyer, The Gospel According to Luke, I (New York: Doubleday, 1981), 1131.

<sup>9)</sup> Pylōna (different from 'door' tyra) is normally used for the gate of a fortified city (Rev 21:12), the Temple (Act 14:13) or palace (Mat 26:71).

<sup>10)</sup> J. J. Pilch, The Cultural Dictionary of the Bible (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 19-20.

"You are what you eat". The rich man habitually uses his big and luxurious house to hold parties for his guests. The word εὐφραινόμενος does not mean simply "joyously living" (NAB) or to "live in luxury" (NIV) but "making a feast" as Luke uses it elsewhere (Luk 12:19; 15:23, 24, 32). The text, however, should not be read as simply talking about an individual lunch/dinner. It is a party with many guests. Feasting and eating together are ways to express and maintain honor. 11) By holding a party everyday, the rich man expresses and maintains his social standing as a man of honor and as a patron. Feasting and eating together have another function: it strengthens one's group identity and underscores their difference from another group. So, by "feasting sumptuously everyday", the rich man also strengthens his group as the rich and maintains his social distance from Lazarus and his group. In this text, feasting then functions as a boundary-marker: to keep Lazarus outside, always as a stranger, and to keep the rich man and his rich fellows inside. Everyone is in his place. It continues everyday as a normal way of life; the imperfect ἐνεδιδύσκετο and καθ' ἡμέραν underscore this. The place maintains distance and boundaries as normality!

The adverb  $\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\varsigma$  — derived from the verb which has the meaning: to give light, shine, be bright, etc — fittingly underscores the function of feasting as a display (communication) of honor. Display of richness (by feasting every-day and wearing luxurious dress) serves to maintain, promote, and enhance the honor of the rich man and his group.<sup>12)</sup> The point here is not simply an individual's lavish lifestyle or insensitivity, but honor and self-definition. The rich man *displays* his richness in his big-luxurious house, which he 'personalizes' by his clothing and eating habits. In terms of territoriality, the big and luxurious house *defines* and *classifies* him as a man of honor and power, who takes full *control* in his house (see below), and *communicates* it by his clothing and eating habits.

#### 3.3. The Gate and the Skin

Literally, Lazarus is "thrown" (ἐβέβλητο) at the rich man's gate. He does not choose his place of his own will. The poor is forced to the gate by others.  $^{13)}$  Lazarus

<sup>11)</sup> J. J. Pilch and B. J. Malina, *Biblical Social Values and Their Meaning* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson Pub, Inc. 1993), 76-79.

<sup>12)</sup> This is a part of 'dramatic orientation' in ancient Mediterranean culture and mentality, Ibid., 47-49.

<sup>13)</sup> The verb is usually used to depict a person confined to his or her sickbed (cf. Mat 8:6, 14; Mar

has to receive his place at the gate. In other words, he has to receive his identity as a poor man at the gate. At the Rich Man's gate, Lazarus is not yet "the one whom God helps" but "the one whom men have thrown at the gate".

The gate is a place through which one can come in or out. It is a means to let in or to keep out. The gate, therefore, is a means of control: to oversee and select who can come in and who cannot. For the rich man, the gate is a means of letting his fellow rich people come in and participate in his banquet, but at the same time the gate is used as a means to keep Lazarus (and his fellows poor people) outside. The gate is also a possibility for the rich man to show himself as a patron for the poor, <sup>14</sup>) as Luke underscores it elsewhere (cf. Luk 14:12-14). Here, the rich man fails to perform his function as a patron for the poor. He fails to perform hospitality to Lazarus. He fails to receive Lazarus, the outsider and stranger, and transform him into his guest. For him, the gate simply serves as a means to control and select his guests. The gate serves as a boundary-marker or a margin that must always be guarded so that the unclean cursed poor person such as Lazarus cannot come in and defile his house.

The well-guarded gate of the rich man is contrasted with the unguarded skin of Lazarus. Skin is the margin of the human body and keeps the body as an enclosure by keeping bodily fluids inside (i.e. in their place), and so keeps the body "pure". 15) Skin is always guarded and controlled in relation to bodily emissions that come out or everything (especially food) impure that comes in. Skin diseases make someone impure because they are a sign that the body's margin is uncontrolled. Lazarus' skin "covered with sores" (v. 20 and v. 21) is, therefore, a sign of an impure condition. As the luxurious house provides a self-definition of the rich man, so the skin with sores functions as a definition of who Lazarus is: he is an impure person. This condition underscores his status as a cursed one. 16)

Lazarus is placed at the gate with "dogs". In the narrative, dogs have two

<sup>7:30)</sup> and points to his/her helplessness (cf. Joh 5:7).

<sup>14)</sup> Altruism is an inescapable obligation for the rich in a society of 'limited good' and as a key way of maintaining honor and avoiding shame. See, ibid., 7-8.

<sup>15)</sup> Purity and holiness also have the connotation of wholeness, see M. Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1966), 51-

<sup>16)</sup> The passive heilkomenos, "be covered with sores", further underscores Lazarus' passivity. His identity is given and communicated by the narrator, not something he actively acquires and displays.

functions. First, they underscore<sup>17)</sup> Lazarus' impure condition/status. Dogs are unclean animals for the Jews. There are OT references that dogs consume the dead, especially the cursed one (cf. 1Ki 14:11; 16:4; 21:24; Psa 16:2; Jer 5:3). Here the description of Lazarus's impurity reaches its climax! He is impure not merely because of his ulcers, but above all, because he is now a dying man, a near corpse that would be consumed by dogs. For the Jews, this is the most degrading condition that a man can undergo.<sup>18)</sup> Second, dogs further contrast the rich man and Lazarus. In his house, the rich man is feasting sumptuously with his fellow rich men, while at his gate, Lazarus is accompanied by dogs. The rich-honorable-blessed group is clearly contrasted with the poor-impure-cursed group! In his house, the rich and his friends are eating and drinking abundantly daily, while at his gate, Lazarus is competing with dogs to feed himself with what is left from the table.

The first scene shows two persons in their own places. No change of place has occurred, though the 'gate' provides the possibility for that. The rich man maintains his place: his identity as a rich man and a man of honor. He takes control over his place for his own advantage (maintaining honor and friends), and he communicates it by his daily feasts and way of dressing. Lazarus is put in his place (gate) by others and kept there by the rich man. He cannot control his own place. The gate reveals his identity as a poor, cursed, and impure person. Sores and dogs communicate that! So, everyone is in his place, which maintains the distance, control, and power as normality!

# 3.4. Death: Departure (v. 22)

Death becomes the scene of transition: the change of the two actors' places takes place as they both *depart* from their respective places.<sup>19)</sup> The Greek construction

<sup>17)</sup> Alla kai in v. 21 can have an intensive tone "and worst of all".

<sup>18)</sup> The imperfect *epileichō* points to a habitual situation, hence seen as *normality*. Note that the corpse is also impure (Lev 21:1-2). All this evidence weakens A. Hutgren's opinion that Lazarus is most likely to be understood as pious, see A. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus* (Cambridge: W. E. Eerdmans Publ. Co, 2000), 112. It is true that Luke commonly equates poverty and piety (as in Luk 1-2), but that is very unlikely here!

<sup>19)</sup> Even the verb *apothnêskô* maintains the local nuance from *apo*, implying 'separation'. The noun *thanatos* is generally also thought to be a 'place'. Modern languages maintain this local/spatial nuances of 'death': 'meninggal' or 'berpulang' (Indonesian), pass away (English), 'su jalan' (Kupang), etc.

shows this change. Luke uses his typical ἐγένετο δε to introduce this decisive point in the story (cf. 3:21). Lazarus is presented first and his fate is lavishly described (ἀπενεχθηναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸν κόλπον 'Αβραάμ), while the rich man's fate is marked by poverty and starkness of language (ἐτάφη). The distance between the two is maintained. The poor man is lifted out of this world into the bosom of Abraham, and the rich man is buried in the ground (in this world). With his death, any patron-client relation is aborted.

The rich man is buried. The narrator gives him a new self-definition: he is no longer taking control over his 'place'; he is a passive corpse (cf. aorist-passive [ἐτάφη]); he is a dead man as many other human beings. Honor that he has displayed, communicated and maintained during his life, makes no difference!

#### **3.5.** Hades

Two actors are placed in their new places: Lazarus at Abraham's bosom and the rich man in Hades. Abraham is a model of hospitality (cf. Gen 18:1-15).<sup>20)</sup> Lazarus who had been ignored as a guest by the rich man is now carried away by angels. Whatever its source, the point of the way it is expressed is that the divine care is being lavished upon Lazarus. He is now welcomed by Abraham as his special guest. Lazarus's new place in the bosom of Abraham points to a banquet context (as in John 13:21, see Luk 13:28-29). This new place gives Lazarus a new identity: he is an honorable guest at Abraham's banquet. The meaning of his name, "the one whom God helps", is now realized.

The rich man is now in Hades. Luke's usage of Hades here is maybe under the influence of LXX. In LXX, Hades almost exclusively stands for sheol. Sheol generally points to a 'place', that is the lowest place on earth (cf. Exo 32:22; Psa 86:13, Eze 31:14-18) to which the dead must descend (yrd) (Num 16:30; Job 7:9), a place of darkness (Psa 143:3; Lam 3:6), and a place of dismal silence (Psa 94:17; 115:7).21)

The new place gives the rich man a new identity. But now he cannot control and personalize his place; he cannot take advantage of his place. It is the narrator who

<sup>20)</sup> See B. B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 153 for later speculations on the virtue of Abraham's hospitality in the Midrash.

<sup>21)</sup> D. E. Gowan, ed., The Westminster Theological Wordbook of the Bible (Louisville, London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 188-190.

'personalizes' the rich man's place. Note how his 'new' condition is depicted in spatial terms: he is "being in torments" (ὑπάρχων ἐν βασάνοις vv. 23 and 28; basanos has a "spatial" meaning: the touchstone for testing gold, etc). In v. 24, the rich man also communicates his new place as a place of "great pain" and a "place of fire" (ὀδυνῶμαι ἐν τῆ φλογὶ). His territoriality changes: from one who controls and manages his place to one who has lost control of it and suffers a lot because of his place (cf. passive ὀδυνῶμαι = suffer torment). His place of honor is now completely lost.

#### 3.6. Here and There

In v. 24, the rich man seeks to bridge the gulf separating himself and Lazarus<sup>22)</sup> for the first time in the story. Lazarus remains passive. The rich man makes a request of Abraham because he is the model of hospitality. By calling Abraham as "father" (also in vv. 27 and 30), the rich man is defining himself as a descendant of the patriarch and insisting on his kinship with him (Abraham responds by calling him his child in v. 25). But at the same time, the request shows that the rich man tries to maintain control over his place. He asks Lazarus to come, move from his place, and serve him. In other words, he sees Lazarus as a *client* who serves him. He is still defining himself as a *patron*; he wants to control his place and Lazarus's place for his own advantage.

Abraham's answer indicates the change of the place of the two actors:

ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθά σου ἐν τῆ ζωῆ σου καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά νῦν δὲ ὧδε παρακαλεῖται σὺ δὲ ὀδυνᾶσαι

you received your good things *in your life* and Lazarus likewise evil things now he is consoled *here*<sup>23)</sup> but you are tormented

The surface structure of these verses graphically reverses each place. The contsruction of Greek text shows us *spatially* how in the past, "in his life" ( $\epsilon \nu \tau \eta$ )

<sup>22)</sup> The adverb *makrothen* "from afar" in v. 23 already suggested a 'spatial distance' between the two actors.

<sup>23)</sup> The best reading is the adverb  $h\bar{o}de$ , "here", although it can be taken as demonstrative pronoun "this one". We take "here" as a spatial contrast with "in your life", maintaining the spatial dimension of the text.

 $\zeta \omega \hat{\eta}$  σου), the rich man is presented first and Lazarus last. Now, "here" ( $\hat{\omega} \delta \epsilon$ ), Lazarus comes first and the rich man last. Abraham is simply stating each place then and now, there and here. Note the difference in verbal usage here. In life, the rich man actively "receives" (ἀπέλαβες)<sup>24)</sup> his "good things". This language points to his honor that has been actively acquired and maintained by his luxurious house, banquets, dresses, and friends. Lazarus also "receives" evil things: his place at the gate, dogs as 'friends', and ulcers in his skin! But now, here, the situation is changed. All the verbs are in passive voice. New places are given to both of them, and each place communicates a new condition: Lazarus is consoled, and the rich man is tormented! It is true that the rich man is Abraham's descendant, and Abraham seemingly does not refuse their kinship (cf. τέκνον in v. 25), but the power to control the place now is in someone else's hands!

#### 3.7. The Great Chasm

V. 26 is clearly formulated in territorial terms. There is a clear *classification*: μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν "between us and you (plural)", between here (ἔνθεν "from here") and there ( $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\theta\epsilon\nu$  "from there"). Abraham and Lazarus are classified as one group; Lazarus is aligned with Abraham, the father of the Jews, and a clear distance between Abraham and Lazarus on the one hand and the rich man (and others like him) on the other hand is established!

The two groups are now separated by a great chasm. This χάσμα μέγα communicates a fixed classification and distance. The difference and distance that have existed throughout the parable now come to have divine sanction (ἐστήρικται 'has been fixed' is a theological passive). The divisions in the afterlife reflect those on earth: those divisions are the result not of divine will but of human insensitivity. The great chasm here has the opposite function to that of the gate. If the gate has the possibility to let Lazarus in, the great chasm marks the impossibility for the two parties to come together.<sup>25)</sup> The gate gave the rich man the possibility to perform hospitality; the great chasm marks the *impossibility*<sup>26</sup> of any patron-client relation

<sup>24)</sup> Or even 'receive in full' if we take into account the intensive/perfective force of apo, see M. Zerwick, Biblical Greek, J. Smith, trans., (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994), 45.

<sup>25)</sup> See the two verbs expressing 'distance' in v. 26: διαβηναι and διαπερώσιν.

<sup>26)</sup> It is well underscored by μη δύνωνται, μηδέ ··· of v. 26.

or act of hospitality. The place for each has been established by God. Everyone is in his place forever! God takes control over the place. No human being can take advantage of his/her place now. The rich man cannot help himself, and neither can Abraham nor Lazarus help him.

#### 3.8. Back to the World: Father's House

Many scholars have concluded that the main point of the parable is to be found in this part (Luk 16:27-31).<sup>27)</sup> The parable is primarily a warning to persons who, like the five brothers of the rich man, still have time to repent and do the will of God. From the territorial point of view, it is in these verses that the narrator *questions* power and normality expressed through places up to this point. The narrator now provides 'imagined places'<sup>28)</sup>: places that conjure up new meanings and possibilities for spatial practices. The narrator brings back the readers to this world, i.e., to the 'house/home' of the rich man's father.

Home/house is a place of identity, socialization for children, and religious worship. In the ancient world, there was no division between private and public place in homes, as there is in modern times. Galilean homes displayed the 'house with a shop (taberna)' style.<sup>29)</sup> Households conducted business and domestic affairs together. One's identity was defined by one's house, village, and kinship. When the rich man asked Abraham to send Lazarus to "my father's house" (τον οικον τοι πατρός μου), it is the household that is intended. A household is a group of people who share a residence, and who also share work. A household is most often under the leadership of a pater familias (father). This group includes husband and wife, children, sometimes other relatives, servants, and other dependents living in the house.

It is this household that must be changed and become an *imagined place*. How is

<sup>27)</sup> So for example Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, I, 1128-1129. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 146, regards these verses as a Lukan addition to the original Jesus parable and says: "nothing in the first part of this parable implies the supposed conclusion". From the territorial perspective, however, the parable is a continuous and coherent story, well intertwined by 'having and losing place' theme/motif.

<sup>28)</sup> See especially Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place*, 12-14. He suggests that 'oikos/oikia' is better translated as 'house/household' and not as 'home' which -in our modern mentality- has the nuance of 'private' in contrast to 'public'.

<sup>29)</sup> Ibid., 39. See his chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on 'home and place'.

this "change of place" possible? Abraham, the model of hospitality, gives the key: by hearing (i.e. obeying, v. 29 and v. 31: ἀκούω) the Scripture! The household must become a new place for identity-making, socialization for children, and religious worship which are based on hearing Moses and the Prophets! The Scripture will change the household to become an "imagined place", where places are determined not by differences and divisions but by hospitality and solidarity; where the rich man does not fail to come through the gate.

#### 4. "Places" in Translation

This kind of text reading gives several insights into translating "places". First, "place" is not merely a geographical concept, but also a socially, culturally and ideologically loaded notion. In the analysis of the above parable, for example, I have given some insights into the implications of the "gate" and "house" of the rich man, and how these are closely related to Lazarus's body and skin. These places tell more about both actors' social standings and how those places are maintained as something normal and natural. So we should not simply translate  $\pi \nu \lambda \tilde{\omega} \nu \alpha$  with the generic word such as 'door' but rather 'gate'. Maybe we should also make it explicit that the rich man is in a 'big and luxurious house' so that the readers can catch the meaning better.

Second, we have to recognize our own places and how they color our translation. H. Moxnes<sup>30)</sup> mentioned how the translation of oikos/oikia gives an impressive example. KJV translated these terms almost exclusively as "house" and only in the four instances as "home" (Mat 8:6; Mar 5:19; Luk 9:61; 15:6). Then there is a steady increase in the use of "home" (RSV had 21, NRSV has 24, NAB has 43, GNB has as many as 62). This reflects the change in cultural presuppositions in modern society about "home" with its stronger meaning of private in contrast to public. As we have noted, in first century Palestine, there was no division between private and public places in homes, as there is in modern times. In several instances, this modern stereotypical usage of "home" is used even when it is not appropriate. For example, Luke 23:56 "they went back home" (GNB): this does not refer to their

<sup>30)</sup> Ibid., 26. He also cites several instances where GNB -with this modern mentality- added "home" for clarifying (Luk 2:43; 12:43; 15:27, 30; 19:12).

(the women's) own houses in Galilee, but rather to Jerusalem (presumably to acquaintances with whom they stayed). Similarly, in the narrative on "hospitality", GNB uses "home" in the sense of modern secluded and private area, whereas the story clearly intends there to be on "public display" in a house (see Luk 10:38; 14:1; 19:7).

Third, a place is closely related to identity. One's identity was defined in the house and the village, and by kinship. This must be taken into consideration in our translation of verses like those of Mark 10:29-30 οὐδείς ἐστιν δς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν ἢ άδελφοὺς ἢ άδελφὰς ἢ μητέρα ἢ πατέρα ἢ τέκνα ἢ ἀγροὺς ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ ἕνεκεν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἐὰν μὴ λάβῃ ἑκατονταπλασίονα νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῷ οἰκίας καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ ἀδελφὰς καὶ μητέρας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀγροὺς μετὰ διωγμῶν, καὶ έν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Note how οἰκίαν ("house", the physical place in which the household lives) and ἀγροὺς ("land", the center of work for their livelihood) frame the references to family members, and hence situate them in a broader context. It is the household as a working group, interdependent for work to secure a living that is in focus. Therefore, Jesus' call to "leave the place" should be heard as a call to be displaced from one's place of identity (acquired in one's house, village, and kinship) into a new place (or "no place"?) of identity. A classic example from the OT is the relationship between ha'adam and ha'adamah, human being is from fertile soil, human from humus. In Genesis 2:15, the human being's relation with the garden is expressed with two ambiguous verbs 'abad: to work it and to work for it and shamar: to protect and "observe" (i.e. learn from it, respect the limits it sets, etc). Land gives identity to human beings; the relationship between them must, therefore, be of mutual service.

#### 5. Conclusion

Our special interest in "places" in the Lazarus story has given us some new insights into reading and translating biblical texts.

*First*, space and place in biblical texts are implicated in the production of social relationship, and are themselves, in turn, socially produced. This social and ideological subtext should be made explicit both in reading and translating biblical texts.

Second, space and place are situated within relations of power. Power is performed through spatial relations and encoded in the representation of space as 'normality'. The Lazarus story has revealed, for example, that the house and the gate should not be read and translated simply as an architectural/physical setting for a scene, but as a communication of power or powerless.

Third, spatial relations and places associated with those relations are multiple and contested. A place does not mean the same thing for one group of social agents as it does for another. The 'gate' is a means of control and a boundary-maker for the rich. It is a place that communicates his identity as a man of honor and a place to let his guests in and Lazarus out. For Lazarus, it is a place forced unto him by others and a place that keeps him out as a stranger. But by the end of the story, the narrator transforms these dynamics of power and boundaries by redefining and promoting household as an 'imagined place', where human places are determined not by differences and divisions but by hospitality and solidarity.

<Keyword>

territoriality, place, identity, power, normality, hospitality, honor.

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<Abstract>

# Book Review - Translating Culture: An Introduction for Translators, Interpreters and Mediators

(D. Katan, Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2004)

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D. Katan's *Translating Culture* contains useful information and examples for the beginning translator and interpreters who need handy introduction to this area. The book helps readers to go beyond the traditional view of interpreters and translators. Katan indicates that translators/interpreters have been viewed as dealing with words, phrases and sentences and thus their roles have been understood as copier who should translate the source text with exactness. However, the author asks readers to view translators/interpreters as dealing with two cultures: the one standing behind the source text on the one hand and the other lying beyond the target language. In short, according to Katan, translators/interpreters translating culture, not simply text and thus they are cultural mediators.

Katan's book consists of four parts. The first part is entitled 'framing culture: the culture-bound mental map of the world.' It focuses on culture, introducing some important concepts such as frames, logical levels, and filters. Part two is entitled 'shifting frames: translation and mediation in theory and practice.' The author presents useful practical examples by concentrating on translation process including generalization, deletion, distortion and chunking. The third part (the array of frames: communication orientations) looks at contexting, transactional communication and interactional communication. The last part concludes the author's book by clarifying the six stages according to which translators decide his/her attitudes toward other cultures and suggesting the translator student should understand how culture operates behind text.

Katan's book enable the translators at their beginning stage to appreciate how to approach the source text and how to mediate cultures. First, the presentation of the author's discussion is relatively easy to follow in that he mentions what he will explain briefly before he goes into detail information in each body section. He

introduces important terminology and concepts with clarity at the beginning part of each chapter. However, the presentation and organization of Katan's discussion is sometimes disproportional and thus inconsistent since he assigns more than a section and a paragraph to explain some concepts while he occupies two or three sentences to explain other terms and ideas. Secondly, the book looks at more cultures in theory than translation in practice. Although the author presents practical examples to show how to translate text in the light of cultural differences, most of his practical examples are provided briefly. Rather, he assigned too many portion of the book in dealing with culture. Thirdly, considering the applicability of Katan's theory to Bible translation, there is a significant gap between his theory of cultural mediator and Bible translation. Katan is concerned to translate two contemporary cultures. Yet. Bible translation is related to two cultures that stand in distance in terms of time: the Bible is an ancient text while the target langue is modern.

In conclusion, Katan's book contains useful information and guides that help translators/interpreters to find a way to more appropriate translation and it also enable the beginning translators to understand their role as cultural mediators who do not deal with text but cultures