

80

SVENSK
EXEGETISK
ÅRSBOK

På uppdrag av

Svenska exegetiska sällskapet

utgiven av

Göran Eidevall

Uppsala 2015

Svenska exegetiska sällskapet
c/o Teologiska institutionen
Box 511, S-751 20 UPPSALA, Sverige
www.exegetiskasallskapet.se

Utgivare:

Göran Eidevall (goran.eidevall@teol.uu.se)

Redaktionssekreterare:

Tobias Hägerland (tobias.hagerland@teol.lu.se)

Recensionsansvarig:

Rosmari Lillas-Schuil (rosmari.lillas@gu.se)

Redaktionskommitté:

Göran Eidevall (goran.eidevall@teol.uu.se)

Rikard Roitto (rikard.roitto@ths.se)

Blaženka Scheuer (blazenka.scheuer@teol.lu.se)

Cecilia Wassén (cecilia.wassen@teol.uu.se)

Prenumerationspriser:

Sverige: SEK 200 (studenter SEK 100)

Övriga världen: SEK 300

Frakt tillkommer med SEK 50. För medlemmar i SES är frakten kostnadsfri.

SEÅ beställs hos Svenska exegetiska sällskapet via hemsidan eller postadress ovan, eller hos Bokrondellen (www.bokrondellen.se). Anvisningar för medverkande återfinns på hemsidan eller erhålls från redaktionssekreteraren. Manusstopp är 1 mars.

Tidskriften är indexerad i Libris databas (www.kb.se/libris/).

SEÅ may be ordered from Svenska exegetiska sällskapet either through the homepage or at the postal address above. In North America, however, SEÅ should be ordered from Eisenbrauns (www.eisenbrauns.com). Search under the title 'Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok'. Instructions for contributors are found on the homepage or may be requested from the editorial secretary (tobias.hagerland@teol.lu.se).

This periodical is indexed in the ATLA Religion Database®, published by the American Theological Library Association, 300 S. Wacker Dr., Suite 2100, Chicago, IL 60606; E-mail: atla@atla.com; WWW: <https://www.atla.com/>.

Omslagsbild: Synagogan i Gamla (1:a århundradet), fotograferad av Anders Runesson

© SEÅ och respektive författare

ISSN 1100-2298

Uppsala 2015

Tryck: Bulls Graphics, Halmstad

Innehåll

Exegetiska dagen 2014/Exegetical Day 2014

Philip A. Harland	Associations and the Economics of Group Life: A Preliminary Case Study of Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands	1
Tessa Rajak	Jewish Culture in the Greek-Speaking Diaspora in the Century after the Destruction: Hellenization and Translation	39
Anders Runesson	Placing Paul: Institutional Structures and Theological Strategy in the World of the Early Christ-believers	43

Övriga artiklar/Other articles

Ola Wikander	Finding Indra, Finding Torah—The Story of Shibamata Taishakuten and Josiah's Renovation	69
Matthew Goff	Warriors, Cannibals and Teachers of Evil: The Sons of the Angels in Genesis 6, the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Jubilees	79
Torsten Löfstedt	Myths, Visions, and Related Literary Forms in the Gospels	99
Sigurd Grindheim	Divine and Human Forgiveness: A Response to Tobias Hägerland	125
Tommy Wasserman	Textkritisk kommentar till provöversättningen av Lukasevangeliet 9:51–19:28	143
Petter Spjut	The Protestant Historiographic Myth and the Discourse of Differentiation in Scholarly Studies of Colossians	169
Paul Linjamaa	The Pit and the Day from Above: Sabbath-Symbolism in the Gospel of Truth and the Interpretation of Knowledge	187

Recensioner/Book Reviews

Heinrich Assell, Stefan Beyerle och Christfried Böttrich (red.)	<i>Beyond Biblical Theologies</i> (Hanna Stenström)	207
Jean-Dominique Barthélemy	<i>Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project</i> (LarsOlov Eriksson)	209
Brennan W. Breed	<i>Nomadic Texts: A Theory of Biblical Reception History</i> (Mikael Larsson)	210
Walter Brueggemann och William H. Bellinger Jr	<i>Psalms</i> (David Willgren)	212
Sean Burt	<i>The Courtier and the Governor: Transformation of Genre in the Nehemiah Memoir</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	214
Chrys C. Caragounis	<i>New Testament Language and Exegesis: A Diachronic Approach</i> (Dan Nässelqvist)	217
Cavan W. Concannon	<i>“When You Were Gentiles”: Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul’s Corinthian Correspondence</i> (Adam Sabir)	219
Ovidiu Creangă (red.)	<i>Men and Masculinity in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond</i>	
Ovidiu Creangă och Peter-Ben Smit (red.)	<i>Biblical Masculinites Foregrounded</i> (Mikael Larsson)	220
Roland Deines	<i>Acts of God in History: Studies Towards Recovering a Theological Historiography</i> (Tobias Ålöw)	225
Anders Ekenberg, Jonas Holmstrand och Mikael Winnige (red.)	<i>2000 år med Paulus</i> (Hans Leander)	227
Magnus Evertsson	<i>Liknelser och läsningar: Reception av liknelseberättelser ur Lukasevangeliet, kapitel 10–15, i predikoutkast för Svenska kyrkan 1985–2013</i> (Karl Olav Sandnes)	229
Josef Forsling	<i>Composite Artistry in Numbers: A Study in Biblical Narrative Conventions</i> (Ola Wikander)	231
Ida Fröhlich and Erkki Koskenniemi (eds.)	<i>Evil and the Devil</i> (Torsten Löfstedt)	233

Susan Gillingham	<i>A Journey of Two Psalms: The Reception of Psalms 1 and 2 in Jewish and Christian Tradition</i> (David Willgren).....	235
Raimo Hakola, Nina Nikki and Ulla Tervahauta (eds.)	<i>Others and the Construction of Early Christian Identities</i> (Cecilia Wassén)	238
Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas (eds.)	<i>The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretation in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer).....	241
Yulin Liu	<i>Temple Purity in 1–2 Corinthians</i> (Martin Wessbrandt)	243
Peter W. Martens	<i>Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life</i> (Carl Johan Berglund).....	245
Gerson Lameck Mgya	<i>Spiritual Gifts: A Socio-rhetorical Interpretation of 1 Cor 12–14</i> (Mikael Tellbe)	247
Takayoshi Oshima	<i>Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer).....	249
Stanley E. Porter och Eckhard J. Schnabel (red.)	<i>On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday</i> (LarsOlov Eriksson).....	251
Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten	<i>Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8</i> (Stefan Green)	253
C. A. Strine	<i>Sworn Enemies: The Divine Oath, the Book of Ezekiel, and the Polemic of Exile</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer).....	255
Michel Tuval	<i>From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism</i> (Gunnar Haaland)	258
Markus Vinzent	<i>Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels</i> (Martin Wessbrandt)	260
Georg A. Walser	<i>Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews: Studies in their Textual and Contextual Background</i> (Tommy Wasserman).....	262

Ellen White	<i>Yahweh's Council: Its Structure and Membership</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	264
Al Wolters	<i>Zechariah</i> (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer).....	267
Lorne R. Zelyck	<i>John among the Other Gospels: The Reception of the Fourth Gospel in the Extra-Canonical Gospels</i> (Carl Johan Berglund).....	269
Till redaktionen insänd litteratur		272

Medarbetare i denna årgång/Contributors in this issue:

Matthew Goff	mgoff@fsu.edu
Sigurd Grindheim	sgrindheim@gmail.com
Philip A. Harland	pharland@yorku.ca
Paul Linjamaa	paul.linjamaa@teol.lu.se
Torsten Löfstedt	torsten.lofstedt@lnu.se
Tessa Rajak	tessa.rajak@orinst.ox.ac.uk
Anders Runesson	runess@mcmaster.ca
Petter Spjut	petter_spjut@msn.com
Tommy Wasserman	tommy.wasserman@efk.se
Ola Wikander	ola.wikander@teol.lu.se

Jewish Culture in the Greek-Speaking Diaspora in the Century after the Destruction: Hellenization and Translation*

TESSA RAJAK

Oxford University

What can we say about Jewish cultural life in the Greek-speaking Eastern Mediterranean in the ‘second century’? I mean here the period of time that began with the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, that saw the revolt under Trajan in 115–117, the Bar Kokhba uprising in 132–135 and the ensuing years of complex relations between the Jewish populations and their non-Jewish neighbours in the diasporic areas. The question is difficult to answer, not least because of the tenuous character of the sources and the challenges inherent in interpreting them. Literary and material evidence does not always, or even usually, lend itself to a precise reconstruction of chronologically ordered events and historical circumstances.

The resultant picture that can be drawn of the conditions of the Jews in the Diaspora is ambiguous. On the one hand, some of the evidence points to a marginalized existence marked by adversity and hardship. Jews were deprived of their own ancestral cult and instead had to contribute to gentile worship through the Jewish tax (*fiscus Iudaicus*). Jewish religion was commonly dismissed as superstitious, impious and fanatic. The intensification of apocalypticism and the development of a martyrological ideal, both of which can be detected in Jewish texts of the period, could be seen as responses to such hostility from non-Jews. On the other hand, there is archaeological evidence for a synagogue culture that appears to have been quite well integrated with local societies and norms.

Especially well worth studying are the conditions of Jews living in the Roman province of Syria, particularly in the city of Antioch. The Jews of Antioch seem to have experienced to an extraordinary degree the tension

* This is a summary of my lecture at the Swedish Exegetical Day in Uppsala, September 2014. A fuller version will appear in *Christianity in the Second Century*, ed. James Carleton Paget (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), forthcoming.

between traditional Jewish culture on the one hand and Hellenistic cosmopolitanism on the other. Since Syria was relatively close to the land of Israel, the influence from Jerusalem was continuous and strong. At the same time, according to Josephus in *Jewish War* book 7, the Jews were well integrated in Antioch, to the point of having been accorded citizenship and the right to be designated ‘Antiochenes’. A series of crises beginning in 66 CE caused the conditions to deteriorate remarkably. As Jerusalem was revolting against Rome, a mob led by the apostate Antiochus attacked the Jews of Antioch and ultimately forced them to choose between pagan worship and death. Subsequently, Sabbath observance was prohibited throughout the cities of Syria. A few years later, following the destruction of Jerusalem, Antiochus once again instigated violence against the Jews, who were saved only by the intervention of the Roman governor. It is clear that, whereas the Jewish population by and large took part in civil life on the same preconditions as their non-Jewish neighbours, the co-existence between Jews and non-Jews in Antioch was inherently unstable and vulnerable. This larger pattern of relationships was certainly replicated elsewhere in the Diaspora.

Jewish diasporic culture mirrors the ambivalence characteristic of the social situation. Greek language and culture were constant and dominating factors in the Jewish life of the Diaspora. However much the conflicts were perceived as clashes between Jews and Greeks, we must keep in mind that the Jews of the Greek-speaking Diaspora were also, culturally, Greek. Jewish resistance to pagan ‘Hellenism’ often comes in literary forms that, paradoxically, emulate Greek culture and learning. Strikingly, the Fifth Sibylline Oracle employs Homeric hexameters to praise the destruction of pagan temples, and the section of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies arguably stemming from a second-century Jewish text denounces Greek myths while itself being full of Greek learning.

The core texts for the Jewish communities were their scriptures in Greek, particularly the Greek Torah. Launched in Alexandria under the early Ptolemies, this translation project lasted for several centuries. In an earlier work, I have interpreted the very form of Koine Greek in this translation as facilitating a two-sided reaction to the implications of ‘going Greek’: in its Hebraisms, it embodied both acceptance of and resistance to Greek influence. The idiom functioned as a badge of cultural identity.¹

¹ Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 125–75.

Thus, the Bible of Diaspora Jews reflected their lives, enabling them to bridge two systems of thought and expression. These Jews were exponents of a ‘translation culture’, by which I basically mean that dependence on a translated Bible which made Jewish life through the medium of the dominant local language in the Greek cities possible. At some point during the second century CE, new versions of biblical books were produced. This demonstrates that a scholarly class in a range of Greek cities must have continued the work of reception, translation and revision – and that those who worked on it had the hope of a good reception and even a livelihood.

Beside the translation and revision of the Greek Bible, effort was put into translating apocryphal, pseudepigraphic or other works from Hebrew or Aramaic into Greek. This could have happened anywhere, even if the original works were authored in Palestine. Scripture-based compositions whose Greek translations may well belong to the post-70 CE Diaspora include 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch (surviving in Syriac), 4 Baruch, the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the possible Jewish prayers in the Apostolic Constitutions, parts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Testament of Abraham. Even if translated earlier, they are at least likely to have been added to through our period.

A special case in point is 4 Maccabees, the epitome of a negotiation between cultures. The author, plausibly writing in Antioch at a date between the late first and mid-second century CE, combines a Stoic/Platonic outlook with scriptural *exempla* and with loyalty to the Jewish/Hebrew people, their *nomos* and their God, in a more or less harmonious co-existence. The author’s dependence on 2 Maccabees 6–7 makes it highly likely that 2 Maccabees was still available, credible and meaningful to Jewish readers at this time. Thus, 4 Maccabees is a pointer to continuing Jewish involvement with the Hellenistic-Jewish heritage at the beginning of the second century. And if one considers this heritage, it emerges that 2 Maccabees must still have been in circulation into the high empire, while other such items may well have been circulating among Jews in Antioch and elsewhere.