# SVENSK EXEGETISK ÅRSBOK

78

På uppdrag av

Svenska Exegetiska Sällskapet

utgiven av

Samuel Byrskog

Svenska Exegetiska Sällskapet c/o Teologiska Institutionen Box 511, S-751 20 UPPSALA, Sverige WWW: http://www.exegetiskasallskapet.se/

Utgivare:

Samuel Byrskog (samuel.byrskog@teol.lu.se)

Redaktionssekreterare:

Thomas Kazen –2013 (thomas.kazen@ths.se)
Tobias Hägerland 2014– (tobias.hagerland@teol.lu.se)

Recensionsansvarig:

Tobias Hägerland –2013 (tobias.hagerland@teol.lu.se) Rosmari Lillas-Schuil 2014– (rosmari.lillas@gu.se)

Redaktionskommitté:

Samuel Byrskog (samuel.byrskog@teol.lu.se) Göran Eidevall (goran.eidevall@teol.uu.se) Blazenka Scheuer (blazenka.scheuer@teol.lu.se) Cecilia Wassén (cecilia.wassen@teol.uu.se)

Prenumerationspriser:

Sverige: SEK 250 (studenter SEK 150)

Övriga världen: SEK 350

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.

Utgiven med bidrag från Kungliga humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, samt Thora Olssons stiftelse.

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/.

© SEÅ och respektive författare ISSN 1100-2298 Uppsala 2013

Tryck: Elanders, Vällingby

## Innehåll

Exegetiska dagen 20	12/Exegetical Day 2012
William K. Gilders	Ancient Israelite Sacrifice as Symbolic
	Action: Theoretical Reflections1
Corinna Körting	Response to William K. Gilders23
Göran Eidevall	Rejected Sacrifice in the Prophetic Literature:
	A Rhetorical Perspective31
Gunnel Ekroth	Response to Göran Eidevall47
Stephen Finlan	Sacrificial Images in the New Testament57
Thomas Kazen	Response to Stephen Finlan87
Övriga artiklar/Otho	er articles
Josef Forsling	The Incoherence of the Book of Numbers in
C	Narrative Perspective93
Miriam Kjellgren	The Limits of Utopia: A Levinasian Reading
	of Deuteronomy 7107
Ola Wikander	Ungrateful Grazers: A Parallel to Deut 32:15
	from the Hurrian/Hittite Epic of Liberation 137
Hallvard Hagelia	"every careless word you utter": Is
	Matthew 12:36 a Derivative of the Second
	Commandment of the Decalogue?147
Torsten Löfstedt	Don't Hesitate, Worship! (Matt 28:17)161
Kari Syreeni	Did Luke Know the Letter of James?173
Birger Gerhardsson	Grundläggande uppgifter om de synoptiska
	liknelserna: Vad de är och vad de inte är 183
Bengt Holmberg	René Kieffer – minnesord
Recensioner/Book R	oviows
Klaus-Peter Adam, Frie	drich Avemarie och Nili Wazana (red.)
	Law and Narrative in the Bible and in
	Neighbouring Ancient Cultures (Josef
	Forsling)

Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll,	Paul A. Holloway och James A. Kelhoffer (red.)
	Women and Gender in Ancient Religions:
	Interdisciplinary Approaches (Hanna
	Stenström)
Dale C. Allison, Volker Le	ppin, Choon-Leong Seow, Hermann Spieckermann,
	Barry Dov Walfish och Eric Ziolkowski (red.)
	Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception, v. 3
	(Göran Eidevall)198
Dale C. Allison, Volker Le	ppin, Choon-Leong Seow, Hermann Spieckermann,
	Barry Dov Walfish och Eric Ziolkowski (red.)
	Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception, v. 5
	(Mikael Larsson)199
Joseph L. Angel	Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood
<i>8</i>	in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Torleif Elgvin)202
Eve-Marie Becker och And	lers Runesson (red.)
	Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings:
	Understanding the Earliest Gospels in their
	First-century Settings (Tobias Hägerland)204
Bob Becking	Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Construction of
•	Early Jewish Identity (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer) 207
April D. DeConick	Holy Misogyny: Why the Sex and Gender
•	Conflicts in the Early Church Still Matter
	(Hanna Stenström)210
Daniel R. Driver	Brevard Childs, Biblical Theologian: For the
	Church's One Bible (LarsOlov Eriksson)212
Göran Eidevall och Blažen	ka Scheuer (red.)
	Enigmas and Images: Studies in Honor of
	Tryggve N. D. Mettinger (Stig Norin)215
Weston W. Fields	The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History (Cecilia
	Wassén)
Miriam Goldstein	Karaite Exegesis in Medieval Jerusalem: The
	Judeo-Arabic Pentateuch Commentary of
	Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ and Abū al-Faraj Hārūn (Lena-
	Sofia Tiemeyer)
Leif Hongisto	Experiencing the Apocalypse at the Limits of
	Alterity (Hanna Stenström)
Jan Joosten	The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New
	Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical
	Prose (Ulf Bergström)225

Christos Karakolis, Karl-Wi	ilhelm Niebuhr och Sviatoslav Rogalsky (red.)
	Gospel Images of Jesus Christ in Church
	Tradition and in Biblical Scholarship (Mikael
	Sundkvist)
Thomas Kazen	Issues of Impurity in Early Judaism (Cecilia
	Wassén)230
Chris Keith	Jesus' Literacy: Scribal Culture and the
	Teacher from Galilee (Tobias Ålöw)233
Anthony Le Donne	The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typo-
	logy, and the Son of David (Jennifer Nyström) 236
Kenneth Liljeström (red.)	The Early Reception of Paul (Martin
	Wessbrandt)
Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magne	ss and Lawrence H. Schiffman (ed.)
	'Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2):
	Archaeological, Historical and Textual
	Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel (Torleif
	Elgvin)241
David L. Mathewson	Verbal Aspect in the Book of Revelation: The
	Function of Greek Verb Tenses in John's
	Apocalypse (Jan H. Nylund)243
Robert K. McIver	Memory, Jesus, and the Synoptic Gospels
	(Jennifer Nyström)246
Sun Myung Lyu	Righteousness in the Book of Proverbs (Bo
	Johnson)248
Stefan Nordenson	Genom honom skapades allt: En exegetisk
	studie om Kristi preexistens och medlar-
	funktion i Nya testamentet (Hanna Stenström)251
Stefan Nordgaard Svendsen	Allegory Transformed: The Appropriation of
	Philonic Hermeneutics in the Letter to the
	Hebrews (Johannes Imberg)253
Donna Lee Petter	The Book of Ezekiel and Mesopotamian City
	Laments (Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)255
Stanley E. Porter, Jeffrey T.	Reed och Matthew Brook O'Donnell
	Fundamentals of New Testament Greek
Stanley E. Porter och Jeffre	y T. Reed
	Fundamentals of New Testament Greek:
	Workbook (Jan H. Nylund)258
Karl Olav Sandnes	The Gospel 'According to Homer and Virgil':
	Cento and Canon (Maria Sturesson)260

as Petrusona im Jonannesevangenum (Filli	
amgaard)	. 263
Gog of Magog: Reuse of Scripture and	
ompositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39	
Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer)	. 265
elf-designations and Group Identity in the	
Yew Testament (Rikard Roitto)	. 267
Hugh Pyper (red.)	
ext, Image, and Otherness in Children's Bibles	s:
That Is in the Picture? (Mikael Larsson)	. 270
he Assumed Authorial Unity of Luke and Acts:	
Reassessment of the Evidence (Carl Johan	
erglund)	. 272
esus, the Galilean Exorcist: His Exorcisms	
Social and Political Context (Jennifer	
(yström)	. 274
Till redaktionen insänd litteratur	
	Dass Petrusbild im Johannesevangelium (Finn Damgaard) Damgaard) Damgaard) Damgaard) Damgaard Damgog: Reuse of Scripture and Dampositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39 Dena-Sofia Tiemeyer) Delf-designations and Group Identity in the Delf-designations and Group Identity in the Delf-designations and Otherness in Children's Bibles Delf-designations and O

\*\*\*\*\*\*

### Medarbetare i denna årgång/Contributors in this issue:

Göran Eidevall	goran.eidevall@teol.uu.se
Gunnel Ekroth	gunnel.ekroth@teol.uu.se
Stephen Finlan	sfinlan@bu.edu
Josef Forsling	josef.forsling@ths.se
Birger Gerhardsson	kob.gerhardsson@comhem.se
William K. Gilders	wgilder@emory.edu
Hallvard Hagelia	hagelia@ansgarskolen.no
Bengt Holmberg	bengt.holmberg@teol.lu.se
Thomas Kazen	thomas.kazen@ths.se
Miriam Kjellgren	miriamkjellgren@yahoo.com
Corinna Körting	corinna.koerting@uni-hamburg.de
Torsten Löfstedt	torsten.lofstedt@lnu.se
Kari Syreeni	kari.syreeni@abo.fi
Ola Wikander	ola.wikander@teol.lu.se

## Don't Hesitate, Worship! (Matt 28:17)

TORSTEN LÖFSTEDT (LINNAEUS UNIVERSITY, VÄXJÖ/KALMAR)

In this paper I address two questions of translation which are interrelated: the proper translation of προσκυνέω and διστάζω in Matt 28:17. I interact in particular with the contemporary standard Swedish Bible Translation, *Bibel 2000*, but the discussion here is relevant to anyone who is interested in Matthew's christology.

Διστάζω signifies being in two minds about something, being in two minds about what to do, and being in two minds about what to think. In the first case it corresponds to the English "to hesitate," in the second it corresponds "to doubt." In the present context, I argue, it is more likely that the verb means "to hesitate."

In favor of translating it "to doubt" we may compare the resurrection narratives of John and Luke. Both Gospels tell of people not immediately recognizing Jesus. According to John, Mary Magdalene mistakes Jesus for a gardener (20:14–15) and Luke gives two examples of people not recognizing Jesus; he tells of two disciples on the way to Damascus who did not recognize their fellow traveler as Jesus until he broke bread with them at which point "their eyes were opened, and they recognized him" (24:31); and Luke also tells that when Jesus later appeared to the disciples, they at first thought they were seeing a ghost, whereupon he asked them, "Why are you frightened, and why do doubts  $(\delta \iota \alpha \lambda o \gamma \iota \sigma \mu o \iota)$  arise in your hearts?" (24:38). Both Gospels also tell of witnesses to the resurrection not being believed. In John's Gospel, Thomas, one of the twelve, did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bibelkommissionen 1999. The new standard Swedish translation of the NT was first published in 1981; the complete Bible was published in 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Danker 2000, 252: "1) to have doubts concerning something; 2) to be uncertain about taking a particular course of action."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> So also the *New Jerusalem Bible*. Ellis 1967, 577: "the eleven worshipped, but some of them wavered."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For such a comparison, see Howe 1975, 174–175, who concludes: "it is ... apparent that sense perception *alone* was not adequate to convince the early Christian community that Jesus was alive – some saw but doubted."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Unless otherwise specified, English language Biblical quotations are taken from the NRSV.

believe the testimony of the other disciples (20:24–29). Luke similarly relates that the disciples did not believe the witness of the women (Luke 24:11).<sup>6</sup> In Luke's Gospel when the disciples encounter the risen Christ they don't know what to think; they don't recognize him. One may also compare Paul's encounter with Jesus in the form of a blinding light on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:3–7); he too did not know at first what it was he saw.

But verses in Matthew's Gospel should be interpreted primarily in their own context. Aside from the possible reference in this verse, Matthew does not say anything about people not recognizing the resurrected Jesus.<sup>7</sup> Nor does Matthew say anything about Jesus' disciples not accepting the testimony of others. He does mention the women witnesses, but unlike Luke he says nothing about them not being believed. While Jesus proves his identity to the doubting Thomas (John 20:27) and allows the eves of the disciples to be opened in Luke's account during the breaking of the bread (24:31), he seems not to address the disciples' doubt in Matthew's account. There is nothing inherently unlikely about some of Jesus' disciples not being certain that the person they saw alive before them was the same Jesus who they knew had been killed. But while the NRSV, in common with Bibel 2000, Folkbibeln, KJV, RSV, NIV, NASB, and many other translations, has it that some of the disciples doubted, that translation seems theologically motivated. As Hagner notes, in all other contexts in Matthew where of  $\delta \dot{\epsilon}$  is not used in conjunction with of  $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu$  it can be taken to refer to the same group as was previously mentioned. In this case, it would refer to all eleven disciples (Matt 28:16), not a subset of them, nor a larger group of disciples, such as those referred to in 1 Cor 15:6.10 Yet Matthew probably does not mean that all eleven were doubters; the

<sup>6</sup> So also Hagner 1995, 886.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> On the other hand, he mentions that the disciples had once earlier mistaken Jesus for a ghost (Matt 14:26).

He does mention the chief priests' false story, however (Matt 28:12–15).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ellis 1967, 575.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Hagner 1995, 884, following Grayston 1984, contra Davies and Allison 1997, 681–682, and now France 2007, 1111. Hagner notes, "the decision about the sense of the [οἱ δέ] construction in 28:17 is usually influenced by the problem posed by the idea of all eleven 'doubting'."

immediate context suggests that they were not in two minds about whom they saw, but about what they should do. 11

What is it that the disciples were to do? In Matt 28:17 NRSV translates the verb προσκυνέω "worship" and I shall argue this is the best translation in the present context. The verb is derived from κυνέω "to kiss" and Danker explains that it was "freq[uently] used to designate the custom of prostrating oneself before persons and kissing their feet or the hem of their garment, the ground, etc." On occasion the verb co-occurs in the Gospels with phrases indicating physical submission such as falling down (Matt 4:9; 18:26), falling to one's knees (Mark 15:19), or grasping someone's feet (Matt 28:9). The verb implies that the subject shows submission in some way, a nuance that is at times hard to capture in English or Swedish translations. In the Septuagint the verb προσκυνέω often has God as object and is used to designate an act of worship, but it may have other objects than a deity, and may appropriately be translated "to beseech" in some contexts, even in Matthew's Gospel, for example, in 18:26.

While the NRSV translates the verb προσκυνέω "worship" in Matt 28:17, the standard Swedish Bible translation (*Bibel 2000*) renders it instead "hylla" which corresponds more closely to the English "praise" (or "honor"), where the element of ritual submission is lacking.<sup>16</sup> Earlier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> So Parkhurst 1979: "Jesus speaks directly to the doubts about the justifiability of worshipping him, and not to doubts about his appearance." Hagner (1995, 885): "The doubt here amounts to hesitation, indecision, and perhaps uncertainty."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Danker 2000, 882.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Compare Gen 24:52 where it is said that Abraham's servant προσεκύνησεν επὶ τὴν γῆν κυρίω. (The NRSV translates the Hebrew text, "he bowed himself to the ground before the LORD.") See also 2 Chr 7:3; 29:29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Danker 2000, 882: "to express in attitude or gesture one's complete dependence on or submission to a high authority figure, (fall down and) worship, do obeisance to, prostrate oneself before, do reverence to, welcome respectfully ..."; Hurtado 2003, 337: "The verb designates a reverential posture that one adopts toward a social superior when pleading for mercy or seeking a favour."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "So the slave fell on his knees before him [the king], saying, 'Have patience with me, and I will pay you everything'" (NRSV).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "När de fick se honom där föll de ner och hyllade honom, men några tvivlade." *Norstedts stora svensk-engelska ordbok*, 394, offers the following equivalents to hylla: "Congratulate, pay tribute (homage) to; honour; cheer, applaud; swear allegiance to ...." To worship would be *tillbe* or *dyrka*. In his commentary on Matt 28:17, Swedish NT scholar Fornberg (1999, 485) explains that the disciples "hyllade Jesus som Gud," honored him as God, thus retaining *Bibel 2000*'s choice of verb, but clarifying that it signifies worship here.

Swedish translations used in its place the verb "tillbedja," which has a connotation of bestowing religious homage to someone and is roughly equivalent to "worship." I suggest that the translators of *Bibel 2000* are showing exactly that kind of hesitation that Jesus told his disciples not to have. The translators have presumably reasoned that there is no way that a Jew (which Matthew clearly was) could consider it proper to worship a man, even one that had risen from the dead. Indeed, in Matthew's Gospel Jesus himself rebukes Satan by saying that only God is to be worshipped (Matt 4:10), quoting the Law of Moses (Deut 6:13). For this reason, the translators of Bibel 2000 rather consistently avoid using references that would equate Jesus with God. In Matthew's Gospel they time and again choose to refer to people doing something other that worshipping Jesus, vet when the same verb is used with Satan or God as the object, it is translated "worship" (e.g., Matt 4:9: "tillbe"). The wise men from the East do not worship Jesus, but honor him according to this translation ("hyllade" Matt 2:11). The leper who asked Jesus to make him clean fell down before him (Matt 8:2), 19 as did the leader of the synagogue (Matt 9:18), 20 the Canaanite woman who asks that Jesus free her daughter from a demon (Matt 15:25),<sup>21</sup> and the mother of the sons of Zebedee who asked that Jesus give her sons the most prestigious positions in the kingdom (Matt 20:20).<sup>22</sup> The two Marys "honor" Jesus when they see him after he has risen from the dead (Matt 28:9).<sup>23</sup> In John's Gospel the Swedish translators have also avoided equating Jesus with God; if Jesus is God, it is with a lower case "g" (John 1:18). 24 There too the verb προσκυνέω when used with God as the object is translated worship ("tillbe") (e.g., John 4:20, 21,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Bibeln 1917: "Och när de fingo se honom, tillbådo de honom" (Matt 28:17). Similarly Åkesson, Giertz 1981; Hedegård 1966; Folkbibeln 1996. "Tillbe" is defined by Norstedts svenska ordbok, 1158: "Ägna religiös vördnad bl.a. genom bön" (To bestow religious veneration upon, through prayer inter alia). "Worship" as defined by the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 1243: "To adore as divine, pay religious homage to."

<sup>18</sup> Matthew (like Luke) uses προσκυνήσεις in his translation of this passage in Deuteronomy, while the Septuagint reads φοβηθήση ("fear").

<sup>&</sup>quot;föll ner för honom"; cf. NRSV: "knelt before him." <sup>20</sup> "föll ner för honom"; cf. NRSV "knelt before him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "föll ner för honom"; cf. NRSV "knelt before him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "föll på knä"; cf. NRSV "kneeling before him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "de... grep om hans fötter och hyllade honom" (they grasped his feet and honored him).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> After the resurrection the editors of *Bibel 2000* consider that Jesus was thought to be God with a capital G - cf. John 20:28. For Jesus as god in the lower case in John's prologue, see Dunn 2010, 134-135. (The earliest Greek manuscripts do not yet distinguish between upper and lower case, having only capitals.)

22, 23, 24; 12:20), but when the same verb is used of action directed toward Jesus an alternate translation is used (John 9:38 "föll ner för honom" [fell down before him]). The Swedish Bible Commission seems to assume that Paul too cannot be thought to have equated Jesus with God, so if Jesus is called "god," it is in the lower case (Rom 9:5; 2 Thess 1:12; Tit 2:13).<sup>25</sup>

Bo Reicke claims that in Matt 8:2 and 9:18 the verb προσκυνέω designates veneration, not worship; he writes, "Even if religious veneration is always involved, it is obvious that an isolated act of this kind cannot be termed worship."26 I do not share his confidence that we can readily tell where Matthew uses προσκυνέω to designate veneration and where the verb "really means worship."<sup>27</sup> Reicke's distinction between worship and veneration seems anachronistic and theologically motivated and is not supported by actual usage of the New Testament authors themselves. While the proper translation of some uses of the verb may be controversial, it seems clear that Matthew intends to say that the disciples upon seeing Jesus after his resurrection did render him worship, the kind of worship that is properly given to God alone, and that they were right to do so. 28 This explains how the final three verses of the Gospel relate to those that precede them. It is precisely because all authority has been given to Jesus that it is appropriate to worship him; it is only in this light that the command to baptize people "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" makes sense. For how else could the name of the Son be on the same level as that of God the Father? Along the same lines, Jesus' promise to be with his disciples "always, to the end of the age" (Matt 28:20) only makes sense if Jesus is somehow divine. In the Old Testament context God is said to be present through his Spirit;<sup>29</sup> in Matthew's Gospel

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  In none of the three verses is it absolutely certain that Paul is actually referring to Jesus with the word θεός. By placing commas differently in our editions of the NT, the term θεός can be made to refer to God (the Father) instead (cf. Dunn 2010, 133). That Paul considered Jesus Lord but not necessarily God is apparent as he identifies the one God as the Father and the one Lord as Jesus Christ (1 Cor 8:6). The author of Ephesians speaks of "the God of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Eph 1:17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Reicke 1959, 195, 208, n. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Reicke 1959, 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. Bauckham 2008, 130–131. So also Parkhurst 1979, 179: "I contend ... that the justification of the worship of Jesus was precisely one of the important purposes for Matthew as he compiled his gospel."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Cf. Psalm 139:7: Dunn 2010, 72.

the Son acquires the same status; "Jesus himself constitutes that divine presence." <sup>30</sup>

But one may counter this by noting that the devil too implied that he was in a position to give to Jesus all the kingdoms of the world (Matt 4:8– 9); he thereby makes an implicit claim to all authority on earth – and still he was not to be worshipped. How then does Jesus differ in Matthew's view? One difference is that Jesus, after he has been raised from the dead. can claim all authority both in heaven and on earth. While one may ask how Satan got authority over the earth, and one might suggest that it was improperly given to him by a fallen humanity, it is clear that the only one who could give Jesus authority in heaven would be the heavenly Father himself.<sup>31</sup> It is hard to imagine Matthew not intending for his readers to note the parallels in setting (on a mountain) and content between Satan's temptation at the beginning of Jesus' messianic career, and this event, the culmination of his career, and it is therefore hard to imagine him not intending for the same verb προσκυνέω to be interpreted in the same way in both places.<sup>32</sup> In the first instance worship was inappropriate, in the second it was appropriate. Worship of Jesus is appropriate because when he has been given "unique divine sovereignty over all things" he is included "in the unique divine identity to which alone *proskunēsis* is due." <sup>33</sup> These closing verses in Matthew's Gospel allude to the Son of man passage in Daniel (7:13-14); although the LXX does not use the verb προσκυνέω, the heavenly Son of man's earthly authority given him by "the Ancient One" is indicated there. 34 The Son of man is worthy of worship because of the position given him by God the Father himself.

Along the same lines, it is likely that Matthew intends the visit of the wise men from the East, inspired by the sight of a star in heaven, to fore-shadow the time when Christ could say that all authority in heaven and on earth had been given to him, and his subsequent command to his disciples

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Dunn 2010, 134. Jesus' promise to be with his disciples echoes the name attributed to him in Matt 1:23, quoting Isa 7:14, and its place in a commissioning narrative is in turn modeled (*inter alia*) on the promise of the Lord's continuing presence with Joshua (Deut 31:23; Josh 1:9) (Davies and Allison 1997, 680).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hagner 1995, 886; Hurtado 2003, 331; Bauckham 2008, 180. The likelihood of an allusion to Dan 7:13–14 supports this interpretation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> So also Bauckham (2008, 179) who writes regarding Matt 28:17, "this scene forms a kind of antithesis to the temptation of Jesus."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Bauckham 2008, 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Davies and Allison 1997, 682–683.

to make disciples of all nations. Matthew probably imagined their intention as not merely being to praise ("hylla") the king of the Jews (Matt 2:2, 11; *Bibel 2000*), nor even only to "pay homage" to him (Matt 2:2, 11, NRSV), but to worship him.<sup>35</sup> Herod's deceitful claim that he too wished to find the new born king to "pay him homage" (2:8 NRSV) is a form of dramatic irony; Herod is unaware of how appropriate his words were. Here too the translation "worship" would not be inappropriate.

The two verbs we are discussing co-occur in one other context in Matthew. Διστάζω is also used Matt 14:31 where Jesus addresses Peter who had tried to walk on the water to Jesus, "You of little faith, why did you doubt?" Peter expresses hesitation in face of the strong wind (14:30), rather than doubt in Jesus' identity. After Jesus brings Peter into the boat, the wind stills and the disciples "worshipped him, saying, 'Truly you are the Son of God'." (14:33).<sup>36</sup> While it may seem anachronistic for the disciples to worship Jesus before the resurrection, I think Matthew's point is that it is because the disciples recognized Jesus for who he was, i.e., the Son of God, that they worshipped him. In contrast, in Mark's account the disciples were "utterly astounded" (6:51) and seem not to have understood the significance of what they saw "for their hearts were hardened" (6:52). There is no suggestion there that they worshipped him. I agree with Hurtado who writes regarding the use of the verb προσκυνέω in Matthew's account here as well as in the postresurrection narratives, "In all three scenes Jesus' transcendent status and power are indicated, and it seems undeniable that the intended readers were to take the scenes as paradigmatic anticipations of the reverence for Jesus that they offered in their worship gatherings."37 As Hurtado points out, when Matthew uses the term "Son of God" it does not primarily refer to an earthly ruler but has a "transcendent connotation." But Hurtado is a little too restrictive in translating this verb as "worship." Bauckham notes that Matthew uses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Here the Swedish translation from 1917 is similar to *Bibel 2000*: "Vi ... hava kommit för att giva honom vår hyllning"; so also Giertz; "vi har kommit för att hylla honom." (Åkesson, Hedegård, *Levande Bibeln* use various forms of the verb "tillbe." In this context *tillbedja* may seem rather odd, as it may be hard to imagine the magi making requests of the baby Jesus.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Bibel 2000: "föll ner för honom" (fell down before him). In Reicke's interpretation the disciples "showed reverence to him" (1959, 199).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Hurtado 2003, 338.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Hurtado 2003, 339.

προσκυνέω with Jesus as its object ten times, which is much more often than Luke (once) and Mark (two uses), and notes that on several occasions where Mark uses another verb, Matthew replaces it with προσκυνέω.<sup>39</sup> Bauckham concludes that while it is only in the final occurrence of this verb that its full significance becomes clear, "Matthew does not reserve worship of Jesus for the post-Easter situation."<sup>40</sup> Elsewhere he explains,

Whereas in Mark and Luke the gesture of obeisance to Jesus is probably no more than a mark of respect for an honoured teacher, Matthew's consistent use of the word *proskunein*, and his emphasis on the point, show that he intends a kind of reverence which, paid to any other human being, he would have regarded as idolatrous.<sup>41</sup>

As Luke reserves the use of προσκυνέω with Jesus as its object until he has just been taken up into heaven (24:52), I doubt it is intended as "no more than a mark of respect for an honoured teacher." <sup>42</sup> Here too Jesus is given the worship due God. 43 However, Bauckham is right in noting that in Mark's Gospel προσκυνέω is not a technical term for worship, while in Matthew it is.

There is then good reason to consistently translate προσκυνέω as worship in Matthew's Gospel, even where it seems anachronistic. But if Matthew consistently speaks of people worshipping Jesus, why should he portray the disciples as hesitating to worship? Hagner argues that "the worship of Jesus is no problem for the evangelist, and he would hardly make it one for the disciples,"44 and therefore does not advocate translating διστάζω as "hesitate." A simple explanation is that Matthew was aware that the worship of Jesus was a problem for many of his fellow Jews, the people for whom he is writing. 45 Similarly, when Matthew tells

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Bauckham 2008, 131.
 <sup>40</sup> Bauckham 2008, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Bauckham 2008, 131. Some manuscripts (D, Old Latin) do not include this verbal phrase, but they also drop the preceding verse; the majority of the editorial committee for the Greek New Testament favored the longer reading (Metzger 1998, 162).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Bauckham 2008, 131. So also Marshall 1978, 910: "[Luke] appears to have deliberately avoided the word until this point, conscious that recognition of the divinity of Jesus by men did not precede the resurrection."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Once again, the Swedish translation is unnecessarily cautious ("hyllade" [honoured] Bibel 2000).

<sup>44</sup> Hagner 1995, 885.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This difficulty is referred to time and again in John's Gospel (e.g., John 10:33).

of Peter hesitating to walk to Jesus on the water, he is likely saying more about the followers of Jesus in general than about Peter.

Curiously, when Matthew tells of the soldiers mocking Jesus after his trial, he, in contrast with his source (Mark 15:19), does not use the verb προσκυνέω, but γονυπετήσαντες (Matt 27:29). While the verbs denote the same physical action of falling to one's knees, in Matthew's account, the soldiers do not understand who Jesus really is and they do not actually worship him. Similarly Mark (5:6) describes the Gerasene demoniac as doing προσκύνησις before Jesus; Matthew (8:29) drops that verb because for him it has become a technical term designating worship, something which the demoniac is clearly not doing.<sup>46</sup>

It would have made the translator's job easier if Matthew had used an unambiguous term for worship, such as λατρεύω, of the homage paid Jesus. (That term is used parallel with προσκυνέω in the account of Jesus' temptation [Matt 4:10] where he quotes Deut 6:13.) But as Reicke suggests this term was too closely "connected with the Jewish temple" and with the sacrificial cult (cf. Rom 12:1).<sup>47</sup> The variety of uses of προσκυνέω also has its advantages; it allows the reader to read the Gospel on two levels, and to find a deeper significance in the actions of its characters. The term κύριος is equally ambiguous, as it was used as a normal honorific equivalent to Sir or Mister (e.g., when used in addressing Pilate, Matt 27:63), but it was also used by Greek-speaking Jews as the equivalent of the Divine name (e.g., Matt 4:7, 5:33). When a person in the gospel narrative addresses Jesus as κύριος, the reader is aware of how appropriate that term really is (see especially Matt 8:2 and 15:25 where this address is used together with the verb προσκυνέω). 48 Apparently. while it was not yet a technical term for Mark, by the time Matthew wrote his Gospel the term προσκυνέω has come to be reserved for worship, an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Bauckham 2008, 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Reicke 1959, 197. Similarly Danker (2000, 587) defines λατρεύω as "serve, in our lit. only of the carrying out of religious duties, esp. of a cultic nature, by human beings." Cf. Dunn 2010, 13. See further Dunn 2009, 66: "It is important to note that the absence of a sacrificial cult and sacrifice-offering priesthood within first-century Christianity actually prevented the practice of worshipping Jesus from becoming an issue for Christians still claiming to worship one God."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> In Matt 3:3, following Mark (1:3), the evangelist applies to Jesus the word κύριος of the Greek translation of Isa 40:3 that corresponds to the tetragrammaton of the Hebrew text (cf. Hurtado 2003, 307).

action that is properly directed to God, including the Son as God. This seems to be the case in other Christian texts roughly contemporary with Matthew as well. Thus, according to Acts 10:25–26, Peter refuses the προσκύνησις of Cornelius, explaining that he too is human; once again, the translation of *Bibel 2000* seems unnecessarily cautious.<sup>49</sup> While προσκύνησις is given to God in Revelation (Rev 4:10) and to the Lamb (5:14),<sup>50</sup> angels (19:10 and 22:8–9),<sup>51</sup> demons and idols, the dragon and the beast (9:20; 13:4; 14:9, 11) are not to be the object of προσκύνησις.<sup>52</sup>

The notion that it is appropriate to worship Jesus because he shares in divine identity developed relatively early, as it is one that Paul shared. Even if he doesn't use the verb  $\pi \rho o \sigma \kappa u v \epsilon \omega$  with Christ as object, 53 the so-called Christ hymn in Philippians expresses the same idea as we found in Matthew: "Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name, so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil 2:9–11).  $^{54}$ 

Matthew's Gospel was written primarily for use in the Christian community. Matthew's goal is not strictly historical, but primarily theological. While we may find it historically unlikely that people worshipped Jesus during his earthly ministry, Matthew wrote after the resurrection for people who did worship Jesus and he encourages them to continue doing that. Matthew gives many examples of how to approach Jesus. Time and again, he relates how people who come to Jesus in faith fall down and worship him just as they worship God, be they the magi, the disciples on the lake, the leader of the synagogue, the Canaanite woman, the mother of the sons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Kastade sig vördnadsfullt för hans fötter" (Threw himself with reverence at his feet). Contrast NRSV: "On Peter's arrival Cornelius met him, and falling at his feet, worshiped him" (Acts 10:25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> In Rev 5:14 the verb "tillbe" is used even in *Bibel 2000* even though the Lamb is one of the objects. As was mentioned, the Swedish Bible commission can imagine the risen Christ being the object of worship. In addition, "The One seated on the throne" is also an object of the verb.

 $<sup>^{51}</sup>$  Rev 19:10 "Och jag föll ner för hans fötter för att tillbe honom." 19:11 "Gud skall du tillbe" ( $Bibel\ 2000$ ).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> But see Rev 3:9, which promises that the angel of the church in Philadelphia will be object of προσκύνησις, suggesting that the author is not completely consistent in his use of the term.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Paul uses the verb only in 1 Cor 14:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> So also Bauckham 2008, 57.

of Zebedee, the women at the tomb, or the disciples to whom he gave the great commission. It seems to be the case that members of the Swedish Bible commission had a hard time imagining Jesus being the object of divine worship, but Matthew did not share their hesitation.

#### **Bibliography**

- Allén, Sture, et al. (eds.) 2003. *Norstedts svenska ordbok*. Stockholm: Norstedts akademiska förlag.
- Bauckham, Richard, 2008. Jesus and the God of Israel: God Crucified and other Studies on the New Testament's Christology of Divine Identity. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Bibel 2000. Bibelkommissionen. Stockholm: Verbum, 1999.
- *Bibeln.* Gamla och Nya testamentet: de kanoniska böckerna. Översättningen gillad och stadfäst av Konungen 1917. Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsen, 1970.
- Danker, Frederick William (rev. and ed.); Bauer, Walter, 2000. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davies, W. D. and Dale C. Allison, 1997. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. Volume 3. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Dunn, James D. G., 2009. New Testament Theology: An Introduction. Nashville, TN: Abingdon.
- Dunn, James D.G., 2010. Did the First Christians Worship Jesus? The New Testament Evidence. Louisville, KY: WJK.
- Ellis, I. P., 1967–68. "But some doubted." New Testament Studies 14: 574–580.
- Fornberg, Tord, 1999. *Kommentar till Nya testamentet: Matteusevangeliet 13:53–28:20.* KNT, 1B. Stockholm: EFS förlaget.
- France, Richard Thomas, 2007. *The Gospel of Matthew*. NICNT. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Giertz, Bo, 1981. Nya testamentet. Göteborg: Pro caritate.
- Grayston, K. 1984. "The Translation of Matthew 28:17." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 21: 105–109.
- Hagner, Donald A., 1995. Matthew 14–28. WBC, 33B. Waco, TX: Word Books.
- Hedegård, David, 1966. *Nya testamentet på vår tids språk: ny översättning med förklarande noter.* 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Stockholm: Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen.
- Howe, E. Margaret, 1975. "… But Some Doubted.' (Matt. 28:17): A Reappraisal of Factors Influencing the Easter Faith of the Early Christian Community." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 18: 173–180.
- Hurtado, Larry W., 2003. Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Marshall, I. Howard, 1978. *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.

- Metzger, Bruce M., ed., 1998. A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies.
- Nya testamentet: Svenska Folkbibeln, 1996. Stockholm: Svenska Folkbibeln.
- Parkhurst, L. G., Jr., 1979. "Matthew 28.16–20 Reconsidered." *Expository Times* 90: 179–180.
- Petti, Vincent (ed.), 2000. Norstedts stora svensk-engelska ordbok. Stockholm: Norstedts ordbok.
- Reicke, Bo, 1959. "Some Reflections on Worship in the New Testament." In A. J. B. Higgins (ed.), *New Testament Essays: Studies in memory of Thomas Walter Manson*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 194–209.
- Sykes, J. B. (ed.), 1982. Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English: Based on the Oxford English Dictionary and its Supplements. Oxford University Press.
- Åkesson, Helge; Bo Giertz, and David Hedegård, 1993. *Nya testamentet i sex versioner*. Örebro: InterBible.