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MARK AND THE SAMARITANS

By

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ABSTRACT

MARK AND THE SAMARITANS

By

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John Bowman, a leading scholar for Samaritan studies, wrote: "The Samaritan problem does not appear in Mark at all."[1] His statement is challenged by this dissertation.

The introductory chapter establishes the origin of the Samaritans by critically analyzing the highly polemical views of the Judaist and Samaritans. The definitive break between Jews and Samaritans was a gradual process that culminated sometime between c.300 B.C. and 100 B.C.

The second chapter reviews the history, sects and theology of the Samaritans from 100 B.C. to 70 A.D. It was during this time that a major sectarian group arose in Samaritanism: the Dositheans. Their teachings would greatly affect later post-first century Samaritanism. Samaritan theology essentially can be cast in the form of their creedal statement: Belief in the One God, Moses, the Law, Mount Gerizim and the Day of Vengeance and Recompense.

Chapter three reveals the criteria that scholars have used to relate Samaritan studies to the New Testament. Some of these criteria are used to relate Samaritan studies to the Gospel of Mark.

Chapter four reviews the development of Marcan studies through the disciplines of form, redaction and literary criticism. The complex nature

of present-day Marcan studies suggests that no one concensus has been established as to authorship and purpose.

Chapter five applies relevant criteria of chapter three to the Gospel of Mark and finds that Mark's gospel has a historical framework that could easily arise out of the "Stephen-Philip Movement," a missionary enterprise for the Samaritan/Galilee community. The theological concerns and statements in Mark could only be made by such a group (Spiro's observations); i.e., anti-temple, anti-Jerusalem, and the down-playing of Jesus' Davidic descent. The Marcan picture of Jesus as a Taheb-like figure who performs miracles and astounds the people may have been an apologetic to a Samaritan community. The importance of John the Baptist in Mark and John's association with Samaritans suggests affinity between Mark and the Samaritans. The "Gentile world" of Mark could very well have included Samaritans as well as Gentiles. Albright, in agreement with Spiro, even suggested that Mark has a Samaritan background. Because of these findings the Samaritan problem is found in Mark and Bowman's statement can no longer be entertained.

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[1]John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), p. 57.

DEDICATION

To my wife, Carolyn, and to my children, Angela and Scott, from whom I have stolen many irreplaceable hours in order to complete this work, this volume is most affectionately dedicated.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A special word of thanks is due to Dr. Robert Anderson for his patience and encouragement given to me throughout the writing process. Dr. Anderson has a special interest in Samaritan studies, and I am happy to contribute to that interest. I am also grateful for the special accommodation in class scheduling afforded me by all Dr. Anderson's colleagues: Dr. Staudenbaur, Dr. William Tyrrell, and Dr. Eleanor Huzar. Especially helpful was one teacher in the Classics Department I shall affectionately call Chris, who taught me everything I wanted to know about Greek mythology. I wish to thank George Brown, my colleague at Great Lakes Bible College, who taught me grammar and punctuation all over again. Most of all I must acknowledge the tremendous amount of work my wife, Carolyn, put into this project. She typed the dissertation from beginning to end. Carolyn's expertise as a typist is now without an equal. Her willingness to type many pages over because of my mistakes is deeply appreciated.

PREFACE

Samaritan studies has become an aggressive area of biblical study since Professor John Bowman's establishment of the School of Samaritan Studies of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Leeds (1950-1959). Professor Bowman is now with the Department of Semitic Studies, the University of Melbourne. Since 1959, John Macdonald has continued the Samaritan studies at the University of Leeds.[1]

The importance of the Samaritans is to be found in their extreme conservatism. In 1977, there were around 250 Samaritans located at Nablus, near the ruins of the biblical city of Shechem while approximately the same number were located at Holon, just south of Tel Aviv. Today those numbers are increasing.

To study these people, their history, culture, and theology is to place oneself back into biblical times. Bowman has summarized the importance of the Samaritans in this manner:

> The importance of Samaritanism is that we see, as it were in slow motion, the new principles being accepted, but can study the old as they existed, and see how in Samaritanism they were perpetuated long after their disappearance in the other faiths of Hebraic origin.[2]

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[1]John Macdonald, "The Leeds School of Samaritan Studies," The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society 3 (1961-62) 115.

[2]John Bowman, "The Importance of Samaritan Researches," The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society 1 (1958-59) 51.

> In conclusion, the Samaritans are important as living witness to ancient tradition and practice. They are our only link with the old Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem. Their sacrifices, their stress on levitical purity, their calendar, all may be survivals of the early post-exilic period, the period less known to biblical scholars than any other. . . . The more the Samaritan field is studied, the more its importance for Biblical researches will be recognized.[3]

In another place Bowman had written:

> This much insulted and frequently misunderstood community has preserved ancient conceptions of faith and customs which can cast much light both on the intertestamental period and on the background of the New Testament.[4]

It is Bowman's own broad and sweeping statements about Samaritans and the Gospels that has precipitated the topic of this dissertation. He stated:

> The gospel of John is directed to them. On the other hand, the gospel of Matthew is opposed to the Samaritans. The Samaritan problem does not appear in Mark at all, but Luke realizes that the first mission of the church had to be made to Samaria before it could apply itself to the truly pagan world.[5]

While no one would argue concerning John and Luke's approach to the Samaritans, though one might contend against Bowman's own specific view to which segment of Samaritanism each book was written, Bowman's statements about Matthew and Mark leave some valid questions. The easiest part with which to disagree is that Matthew opposed the Samaritans. This hardly seems to be the case since Matthew concluded his gospel with a clear mandate to make disciples of all nations (Matt 28:19-20). The difficult statement is--"The Samaritan problem does not appear in Mark at all." On the surface Bowman's statement appears to be correct, for no direct statement or mention of "Samaritans" can be found in the Gospel of Mark.

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[3]Ibid., p. 54.

[4]John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), p. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. 57.

However, recent interpreters of Mark have shown this gospel to be anything but simple, and thus its complexity may bring forth new insights into its purpose and mission as gospel literature. Is the Samaritan problem found in Mark?

At the risk of having a negative reply to this dissertation, thus vindicating Bowman's generalized statement, the challenge of this question is accepted. The approach will be to: first, study the Samaritans, their origin, history and theology; then determine the methodology by which scholars have related Samaritan studies to the New Testament; next review the progress of Marcan studies to the present and; finally, to focus on target texts in Mark applying the same methodology of Samaritan studies to the gospel of Mark to determine whether or not the Samaritan problem appears in Mark at all.

Chapter one will review the relevant materials concerning the origin of the Samaritans from two perspectives: the Jewish view and the Samaritan view. Then a critical analysis of these two views will be given. The critical analysis will discern any value and historical worth of the polemical nature of Samaritan and Jewish sources. By utilizing what few primary sources are available; i.e., the relevant archaeological finds and digs, the extra-biblical historical literature, Josephus' Antiquities, Samaritan chronicles, the Old Testament, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the study of the Samaritan Pentateuch, one may determine within a certain time-frame the origin of the Samaritans. However, the frustration of a final solution to this initial problem of determining origins is expressed by John Bowman:

> There is no final solution to the Samaritan Problem, whether it be their own history, or the history of their religion--and one cannot think of one apart from the other. There are no clearcut answers to

the relationships which existed between Samaritanism, Judaism, Early Christianity and the Qumran Sect.[6]

Chapter two will continue the history of the Samaritan people from 100 B.C. to 70 A.D.--a 170 year period. With this historical review as a background, the theology of the Samaritans in the first century A.D. will be considered. The primary sources as are available, of course, will be used; but the excellent work by John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, will be the primary guide. It is important to determine the beliefs and practices of the Samaritans in the first century A.D., especially between 50-70 A.D., the possible time period of Mark's Gospel. By this information one may discern any affinity that may exist between Samaritan beliefs and expectations with Marcan gospel presentations. This section of study is complicated by the fact that there are divisions among the Samaritans, one sect in particular called the "Dositheans." How did this sect affect the Samaritan theology of the first Christian century? Fortunately, Stanley J. Isser has written a brilliant dissertation explaining this very problem. With his help, the task of this chapter is much easier--to clearly present the beliefs and practices of the Samaritan sect(s), especially during the years 50-70 A.D.

Chapter three will trace recent Samaritan studies, mostly from journal articles, in order to determine the methodology these scholars use in relating Samaritanism to the New Testament. Such men as John Bowman (1958, 59), Abram Spiro (1967), Wayne A. Meeks (1967), Edwin D. Freed (1968, 70), G. W. Buchanan (1968), C. H. H. Scobie (1973), James D. Purvis (1975), Reinhard Pummer (1976) and R. J. Coggins (1977), just to name the most important contributors, will be considered.

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[6]Ibid., p. xvii.

The fourth chapter will consist of a review of the development and progress of Marcan studies, the journal articles and the major commentaries that control the field of study. A veritable explosion of materials have been issuing forth in regards to Mark's Gospel in light of recent developments in redaction criticism. This chapter, of course, will never settle the Marcan debate and the problems of synoptic studies, but enough information may be grasped so as to shed new light on the gospel's message, purpose, date, etc. This in turn may help answer the question of Mark's relationship to Samaritanism.

Finally, chapter five will apply the methodologies discovered in chapter three to selected texts in the Gospel of Mark. Many texts will be explored only for those possibilities within the influence of Samaritanism, some will open up new probabilities, and a few may suggest genuine contact with Samaritanism. Certainly, John Bowman's statement will either be vindicated or need revision in light of this study. So the question remains: Is the Samaritan problem found in Mark?

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INTRODUCTION: ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS

Roots of a Schism

The historical and geographical circumstances of Judah and Israel reveal a division that had been there from the days of the patriarchs themselves. Joseph was a favorite of his father, Jacob, and certainly the Genesis account hid much trouble and distress in the family clan when it reported:

> Now Israel loved Joseph more than any other of his children, because he was the son of his old age; and he made him a long robe with sleeves. But when his brothers saw that their father loved him more than all his brothers, they hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him (Gen 37:3,4 RSV).

Not only did Joseph's father favor him, but also Yahweh, God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: "But the Lord was with Joseph and showed him steadfast love, . . .because the Lord was with him; and whatever he did, the Lord made it prosper" (Gen 39:21a, 23b RSV).

The fact that Samaritan tradition traced their ancestry back to Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, whom they considered to be the only ones faithful to Yahweh's cult, makes the biblical story of Joseph insightful for understanding the roots of a schism between the house of Joseph and the house of Judah.[1]

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[1]John Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), pp. 86, 112, 114-15.

The Joseph story is too well known to relate here except to say that even though Joseph became a saviour to his father and brothers during an extended famine, the stage was set for future jealousies between the descendants of Joseph and those of his brothers.

Jacob (Israel) gave a special blessing to Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. He considered them equal to his very own:

> "And now your two sons, who were born to you in the land of Egypt before I came to you in Egypt, are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine, as Reuben and Simeon are. . . . They (their descendants) shall be called by the name of their brothers in their inheritance" (Gen 48:5, 6b RSV).

Curiously, Jacob blessed Ephraim as though he was the first-born in spite of Joseph's attempt to reason with his blind father that Manasseh was the first-born. Jacob said: "I know, my son, I know; he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great; nevertheless his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his descendants shall become a multitude of nations" (Gen 48:19 RSV). The blessing included the gift of a mountain to Ephraim and Manasseh. "Moreover I have given to you rather than to your brothers one mountain slope which I took from the hand of the Amorites with my sword and with my bow" (Gen 48:22 RSV). The RSV renders □ כֶּתֶף as "slope" which literally means "shoulder." This is almost certainly the later Shechem located between the "shoulders" of Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal.[2] Shechem became the center for a Samaritan community that had its worship center on the summit of Mt. Gerizim. This city "had a long history with religious associations rivaling those of Jerusalem."[3]

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[2]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975 ed.), p. 1014.

[3]G. Ernest Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 3.

The last "prophetic" blessing of Jacob (Israel) to his sons is recorded in Genesis 49. A brief observation shows that the longest and perhaps best blessings are given to Judah and Joseph. Both houses would grow beyond their own boundaries and absorb the other family clans within their ranks. Eventually, Ephraim would become a synonym for the clans of the North, historically called Israel. Judah's tribe would absorb the descendants of Simeon while Benjamin's progeny, though distince from Judah, would become identified with Judah of the South.[4] The Samaritans identified themselves as "Israel" and even "Hebrews" throughout their history.

Could it be that the jealousy between the House of Judah and the House of Joseph is evidenced by their being among the first to be settled in their inheritances?[5] The tribe of Joseph was concerned about the size of their land: "And the tribe of Joseph spoke to Joshua, saying, 'Why have you given me the one lot and one portion as an inheritance, although I am a numerous people, since hitherto the Lord has blessed me?'" (Josh 17:14 RSV).

At the same time Judah was given more territory than it could conquer or use; thus Simeon obtained an inheritance with Judah's inheritance: "The inheritance of the tribe of Simeon formed part of the territory of Judah; because the portion of the tribe of Judah was too large for them, the tribe of Simeon obtained an inheritance in the midst of their inheritance" (Josh 19:9 RSV).

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[4]The ten tribes of the North seem to be a little artificial, though in general the term can be accepted. In 1 Sam 11:8, Israel and Judah are distinct, and there seems to be no reading back into the text of a later development. cp. 1 Sam 15:4; 18:16; 2 Sam 2:4, 9.

[5]cp. Josh 15:1; 16:1.

Note well that seven of the tribes were yet to receive their inheritances, perhaps due to their own neglect and fear of the Canaanites (Josh 18:1-6). But the dominating Houses of Judah and Joseph remained: "They shall divide it into seven portions. Judah continuing in his territory on the south, and the house of Joseph in their territory on the north" (Josh 18:5 RSV).

Because Judah remained indifferent concerning the unconquered Jebusites in the Benjamite territory (Judg 1:21), Jerusalem remained a foreign city until David's day (2 Sam 21:4). This fact was easily used as a polemic against Jerusalem as the chosen city by the Samaritans in the years to follow.[6]

David reigned over Judah for seven and one half years (2 Sam 2:4), having been anointed king at Hebron before he was anointed king over Israel as well (2 Sam 5:1-4). In reality there was a dual kingdom under one king. David himself owned Jerusalem, for it was captured by his own men (2 Sam 5:6, 7). Thus Jerusalem became a neutral throne and a new cultic center for all Israel (2 Sam 6). Even Isaiah in later years distinguished Jerusalem from Judah and Israel! (Isa 1:2; 2:1; 3:1; 44:26; 36:7; 3:8; 5:3; 8:14; 22:21).

When a conspiracy against Solomon was discovered, David quickly had Solomon anointed king in his stead and he said: "I have appointed him to be ruler over Israel and over Judah" (1 Kgs 1:35b RSV). The dual kingdom under one king still stood!

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[6] A. S. Halkin, "Samaritan Polemics Against the Jews," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 7 (1935-36) 32-40.

At Solomon's death, Rehoboam went to Shechem to be anointed as king (1 Kgs 12:1).[7] Apparently the right of making a king over northern Israel was recognized by Judah as legitimate or at least necessary. Keil wrote:

> The ten tribes of Israel made use of their right on Rehoboam's ascent of the throne; but instead of coming to Jerusalem, the residence of the king and capital of the kingdom, as they ought to have done, and doing homage there to the legitimate successor of Solomon, they had gone to Sichem, the present Nabulus (see at Gen. xii. 6 and xxxiii. 18), the place where the ancient national gatherings were held in the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. xxiv. 1), and where Abimelech the son of Gideon had offered himself as king in the time of the judges (Judges ix. 1sqq.).[8]

After Rehoboam's taskmaster, Adoram, was stoned to death by the Israelites at Shechem, war between the northern ten tribes of Israelites and the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin threatened. However, Shemaiah, a prophet of God, intervened and prevented Rehoboam from going to battle against his brothers of the north. Rehoboam was convinced by Shemaiah of Israel's right to reject him as king and refrained from conflict (1 Kgs 12:21-24).

Later Jehoash of Israel had opportunity to utterly destroy Judah, but he allowed Judah's kingdom to continue (2 Kgs 14:8-14). He simply took gold and silver, the vessels of the Temple, treasuries of the king's house, some hostages, and "he returned to Samaria" (2 Kgs 14:14 RSV). Perhaps this incident demonstrates the recognition by both Israel and Judah that each other's claim to be called "people of Yahweh" was legitimate, and therefore they were not to be destroyed as a people.

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[7] Saul was anointed in Gilgal (1 Sam 11:15) by Israel (the ten tribes); David was anointed in Hebron over Judah (2 Sam 2:4); and later, after seven and one half years, over Israel as well (2 Sam 5:3). Solomon was anointed in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 1:39) hurriedly because of Adonijah's conspiracy and later was anointed again for public display according to 1 Chr 29:22.

[8] C. F. Keil, The Book of the Kings: Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, trans. James Martin (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1965), p. 192.

The next decisive event is the destruction of the Israelites of the North by the Assyrians c.721 B.C. But this event and the Babylonian captivity of Judah c.586 B.C. will be considered more in depth when the Jewish view is compared and contrasted with the Samaritan view, and both in turn will receive critical analysis.

The above points have been made to show that from the very beginning of the Israelite nation there was a definite division between Judah and Ephraim. At times it was hardly perceptible, at other times they waged war with each other. At other times they sought alliances against common enemies. The division, of course, deepened after the Assyrian conquest of Israel. Following the Babylonian Captivity of Judah, the Jews who returned to Judah considered themselves superior to those who had been left in Israel and Judah and even to those who had remained in Babylon. Thus, the schism between Samaritans and Jews was inevitable.

The geographical boundaries of Israel and Judah contributed to their ultimate separation. Israel had the most fertile land with wide valleys for good agricultural crops. Being the crossroads of commercial routes increased Israel's wealth. However, because of this she was susceptible to influences from neighboring countries--politically, culturally, and religiously. Further, she was vulnerable to enemy encroachments. Judah, on the other hand, was separated from her enemies and her friends as well by mountainous areas to her north and east and desert to the south. Because her primary industry was sheepherding, she remained relatively poor. Jerusalem had been a Jebusite fortress until David's day, and it continued to act as a formidable fortress for Judah and her kings. Because of these natural barriers, Judah

was much more isolated from her neighbors and sought a special pride in the famous temple of Solomon until its destruction in 586 B.C.

When considering the origin of the Samaritan sect, one must always keep in mind the fundamental differences and competitive history between the northern tribes, especially Ephraim, and the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Without this understanding, the small amount of data we have would be frustrating beyond measure.

The next section will trace, first, the Jewish view of the origin of the Samaritans, and second, the Samaritans' own view. Finally, a critical analysis will be given of both in order to establish as firmly as the data will allow the origin of the Samaritan sect.

The Jewish View

The Jewish view was derived from 2 Kings 17, and its interpretation by Josephus' Antiquities. The Old Testament books of Haggai, Ezra, and Nehemiah illustrated the tensions brought on by the events of 2 Kings 17. Unfortunately this view is accepted by a large portion of the Christian church. A notable example is John Bright's uncritical acceptance of this view:

> These foreigners brought their native customs and religions with them and, together with others brought in still later, mingled with the surviving Israelite population. We shall meet their descendants later as the Samaritans.[9]

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[9] John Bright, A History of Israel, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), p. 274.

This viewpoint came from a reading of 2 Kings 17 without a critical analysis of its content. On the surface one could view 2 Kings 17 in the following manner: Hoshea, the last king of Israel, had to pay tribute to the powerful state of Assyria. When he refused to pay tribute while at the same time seeking a treaty alliance with Egypt, the king of Assyria, Shalmaneser, bound him in prison and then invaded the land beseiging Samaria for three years (vss. 1-5). "In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria captured Samaria, and he carried the Israelites away to Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kgs 17:6 RSV).

In verses 7-23, the writer of 2 Kings explained why God allowed the destruction of the Northern Israelites; i.e., they had

> feared other gods and walked in the customs of the nations . . . and in the customs which the kings of Israel had introduced. . . . They built for themselves high places at all their towns, . . . pillars and Asherim on every high hill and under every green tree . . . served idols. . . . They despised his statutes, and his covenant. . . . They went after false idols . . . made for themselves molten images of two calves; and they made an Asherah, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Ba'al. And they burned their sons and their daughters as offerings, and used divination and sorcery, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, provoking him to anger. . . . None was left but the tribe of Judah only (2 Kgs 17:7, 10, 12, 15, 18 RSV).

Interestingly, vs. 19 presented Judah as under judgment too, but it was quickly passed over for a short polemic against Israel's existence beginning with Jeroboam (vss. 21-23): "So Israel was exiled from their own land to Assyria until this day" (vs. 23b).

The last half of 2 Kings 17 is the relevant portion to the Samaritan problem, revealing the practice of the Assyrians, i.e., replacing captured peoples in foreign lands. "And the king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cuthah, Avva, Hamath, and Sephar-vaim, and placed them in the cities

of Samaria instead of the people of Israel; and they took possession of Samaria, and dwelt in its cities" (2 Kgs 17:24 RSV).

These peoples were attacked by lions because they did not fear Yahweh, God of the Israelites (v. 25). Therefore, a priest of the Israelites was sent by the king of Assyria to teach the law and proper worship of "the god of the lands" (vss. 25-28). As a result a strong syncretism developed where "they feared the Lord but also served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away" (v. 33).

It should be noted that in vs. 29 our English versions translate the Hebrew word הַשֹּׁמְרֹנִים as "the Samaritans." A critical evaluation will be made of this term later, but it is enough to say here that this English translation has certainly encouraged the perpetuation of the Jewish view of Samaritan origins. The writer of the passage accused this people of developing a false priesthood. "They also feared the Lord, and appointed from among themselves all sorts of people as priests of the high places, who sacrificed for them in the shrines of the high places" (vs. 32). In other words, it was not by God's decree that these people served as priests. Further charges against these people, the so-called "Samaritans," in vss. 34b-40 indicated the strong abhorence of their worship of other gods and neglect of the law and commandments.

The charge of syncretism was important to the writer, for he ended this section (chapter) with: "So these nations feared the Lord, and also served their graven images; their children likewise, and their children's children--as their fathers did, so they do to this day" (2 Kgs 17:41 RSV).

To these colonists were added those introduced by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (Ezra 4:2, 10). These heathens, who had a thin veneer of Yahwism to their cult, were the ones who sought to halt the work on the Jerusalem temple (Ezra 4:2ff; Neh 2:19; 4:2ff).

> In accordance with this view, the Jews dub the Samaritans contemptuously "men of Cutha" כּוּתִים; or--in slightly more charitable vein--speak of them as "lion converts" גֵּרֵי אַרְיוֹת regarding them, at best, as one degree nearer than Gentiles, but still not as full-fledged members of the house of Israel.[10]

Josephus must be considered a major part of the Jewish view. His interpretations of the biblical materials considered thus far, and his general view of the Samaritans gave insight into how the Jews of the first century A.D. viewed the origin of the Samaritans.

There is no doubt that Josephus interpreted 2 Kings 17 as the historical account of Samaritan origins.[11] He wrote that the Assyrians removed a pagan people from Cutha of Persia and settled them in Samaria. The ten tribes were exiled 947 years after the entrance into Palestine. The Cuthaioi or Cuthim were idol worshippers, and therefore Yahweh brought a "pestilence" upon them. Through an oracle they were told to worship Yahweh of the land, so they appealed to the Assyrians to send priests of the captives to teach them how to worship Yahweh properly. The priests were sent and the Cuthim readily accepted their teaching and so were saved.

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[10] George Buttrick, ed., Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. IV, R-Z, Abingdon, p. 191.

[11] Josephus, Jewish Antiquities Vol. VI, Books IX-XI, trans. Ralph Marcus, Loeb Classical Library, ix. 279-80, 288-91.

Josephus commented that "these same rites have continued in use even to this day among those who are called Cuthaioi (Cuthim) in the Hebrew tongue, and Samareitai (Samaritans) by the Greeks."[12] He charged the Samaritans with a vacillating attitude toward the Jews. When the Jews prosper, the Samaritans claim kinship through Joseph; and when the Jews were persecuted, the Samaritans feign no kinship and claim to be aliens of another race.

Josephus claimed that these same people, the Samaritans or Cuthaeans, were the ones who attempted to prevent the Jewish exiles from rebuilding Jerusalem and its temple.[13] He charged that the Samaritans had bribed the satraps and those in charge to neglect the building projects. Cyrus died ignorant of the Samaritan mischief. Josephus stated that the Samaritans asked to be allowed to join the rebuilding of the temple. The Jews rebuffed them but allowed them to worship at the temple if they desired. Angrily the Samaritans again sought to stop the work by writing a letter to Darius accusing the Jews of fortifying the city as a rebellious act. For a while the Samaritans managed to persecute the Jews and delay their building until the Jewish envoy to Darius communicated their plight. Darius forced the Samaritans to cease their harrassment of the temple project and to pay the expenses of the priests' daily sacrifices. Though there were some variations, Josephus based this section on Ezra 4.

Just as the Samaritans tried to halt the construction of the temple (although at first offering to help), they along with the Ammanites and

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[12] Ibid., 290.

[13] Josephus, Jewish Antiquities xi. 19-20, 84-88, 97, 114-19.

and Moabites and those living in Coele-Syria sought to hinder the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls.[14] Josephus' source was probably Nehemiah 4, though he enters slight variations into the text.

Josephus also related how Sanballat gave his daughter, Nikaso, in marriage to Manasses, supposedly the brother of the Jerusalem high priest, Jaddus.[15] This alliance was supposed to secure the goodwill of the Jews by Sanballat, but it backfired. The Jews refused to accept Manasses' marriage to Nikaso, for they considered her "a foreigner." This incident may be the one recorded in Neh 13:28. When he was promised a priesthood, the office of high priest and a temple similar to Jerusalem's temple to be built on Mount Gerizim, Manasses went over to Sanballat's side.[16] The promise was provisional on Darius' orders.

It was at this time that Darius was defeated by Alexander the Great at Issus, October, 333 B.C. Sanballat, therefore, submitted to Alexander. He sought and received permission to build a temple on Mt. Gerizim for his son-in-law, Manasses. Josephus wrote as though the temple had been built before Sanballat's death nine months later, but this would have been too short a period for such a project.[17]

Josephus next related a positive meeting between Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem, one which included the remittance of taxes in the

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[14] Ibid., 174-75.

[15] Ibid., 302-03, 306-07. See R. Marcus' note c on pp. 460, 461 concerning Sanballat and Jaddua.

[16] Ibid., 310-11.

[17] Ibid., 322-25.

seventh year. Then followed his account of the negative encounter with the Samaritans.

When the Samaritans, whom Josephus called "apostates from the Jewish nations," saw Alexander's favorable disposition toward the Jews, they determined to claim Jewish kinship. Josephus claimed that their attempt to gain the seventh year remittance failed.

Alexander's refusal rested in the Samaritans self-given title, "Sidonians of Shechem," which to Alexander means they could not claim to be Jews as well. However, Alexander did allow the temple on Mt. Gerizim, as did his successors.

Josephus claimed that Jews who violated their laws would flee to the Shechemites, claiming to be unjustly expelled. It is clear that Josephus views the temple as connected with Alexander, that the Samaritans collected rebel law breakers from the Jewish south, and continued to vacillate on their claim to be true Jews according to the need of the time.[18]

Josephus' next remarks concerning the Samaritans occurred in his discussion of Alexander's successors and their treatment of the Jewish and Samaritan peoples.[19] In the attempt to control Palestine as a buffer region for Egypt, Ptolemy invaded the area of Judah and Samaria taking captives to Alexandria. Josephus related how the descendants of these peoples argued over the proper place to send their sacrifices, whether the Jerusalem temple or the "Gerizein" temple.

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[18]Ibid., 340-47.

[19]Josephus, Jewish Antiquities Vol. VII, Books XII-XIV, trans. Ralph Marcus, Loeb Classical Library, xii. 7-10.

In a later passage Josephus recounted how the Samaritans claimed pagan origins in order to avoid persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes.[20] When the Samaritans saw the intense persecution of Jews because of their resistance to the Hellenization policies of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, they referred to themselves as "Sidonians in Shechem" in a letter pleading for mercy. According to Josephus, the Samaritans argued that they were distinct from the Jews "in race and in customs." They invited the king to name their temple, "Zeus Hellenios," which previously had no name (cp. 2 Macc 6:2). Josephus pictured the Samaritans as having chosen "to live in accordance with Greek customs."[21] Though Josephus is undoubtedly prejudicial in his recounting of this episode, how much is accurate cannot be easily ascertained. It is possible that the Samaritans suffered similarly as the Jews at the hands of Antiochus, and the Grecian name for their temple was forced upon them.

Resembling an earlier controversy (Antiquities xii, 10), another story is told by Josephus to highlight Jewish superiority over the Samaritans.[22] The Jews in Alexandria and the Samaritans disputed before Ptolemy over whose respective temple was built according to the laws of Moses. They requested the King to put to death those who lost the debate. Sabbaeus and Theodosius spoke on behalf of the Samaritans while Andronicus, the son of Messalomus spoke for the Jews. The latter spoke first. His arguments consisted primarily of two: one, that the succession of high priests for the Jerusalem temple

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[20] Ibid., 257-64.

[21] Ibid., 263.

[22] Ibid., xiii. 74-79.

had been maintained according to the Law; and two, that the kings of Asia had always honored the Jerusalem temple in contrast to their neglect of the temple on Mt. Gerizim. Apparently the king was persuaded without the arguments of the Samaritan representatives being heard. Josephus took it for granted that they were put to death.

Ralph Marcus noted that Buchler believed "that the quarrel was not over the rival claims of the temples of Jerusalem and Gerizim but of the Jewish and Samaritan temples in Egypt."[23] Marcus noted that it is difficult to determine both the historicity of the story and whether its source was Palestinian or Hellenistic Egyptian.[24]

Josephus' polemical interpretations as well as the polemical use of the biblical passages of 2 Kings 17 and Ezra-Nehemiah continued to propagate the Jewish view of Samaritan origins. What do the Samaritans say?

The Samaritan View

The Samaritans' view of their origins pushed the date of the schism back to the days of Eli, descendant of Ithamar, who at 50 years of age led the schism by setting up a rival altar and tabernacle at Shiloh. Uzzi, a descendant of Phinehas, was a mere youth and Eli refused to serve under him. Eli is presented as an ambitious, jealous old man with reprobate children.

The main source for this information is The Samaritan Chronicle II (Sepher Ha-Yamim), translated with commentary by John Macdonald.[25]

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[23] Ibid., p. 263, note d.

[24] Ibid.

[25] John Macdonald, ed., The Samaritan Chronicle II (or: Sepher Ha-Yamim) From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969).

Macdonald has successfully made a listing of the Samaritan Chronicles in their approximate chronological order and categorized them in Roman numeral order I-VII.[26] He wrote concerning Chronicle II: "The second cannot be dated at all, but it is the best and most accurate of all the chronicles."[27]

In order to understand the Samaritans' view of their origins, one must understand the Samaritan scheme of six world periods,[28] even if it is "artificial" and "late": Grace (Ridwan): from the Creation to the Fall

Displeasure (Panuta): from the Fall to the Exodus

Grace (Ridwan): from Sinai to Eli

Displeasure (Panuta): from Eli to the coming of the Taheb

Grace (Ridwan): from the coming of the Taheb to the end of the millenium

Displeasure (Panuta): from the end of the millenium to the Day of Judgment.

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[26] Ibid., p. 225, List of Samaritan Chronicles:

NO.	TITLE	EDITION
I	Asatir	Gaster, Ben-Haim
II	Sepher ha-Yamim	Macdonald
III	Tolidah	Neubauer, Heidenheim
IV	Sepher Yehoshua	Juynboll
V	Shalshalat ha-Kohanim	Gaster
VI	(No Title) Abu'l-fath	Vilmar
VII	(No Title)	Adler-Séligsohn

[27] John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 44.

[28] John Bowman, trans., and ed., Samaritan Documents Relating to Their History, Religion and Life (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1977), p. 104.

Their view of biblical history parallels that of the Jews up to Eli's day with a few exceptions. However, the exceptions are important. The emphasis on Mt. Gerizim as the place God had chosen for worship is found throughout Chronicle II. In the section concerning Joshua the chronicler wrote:

> Q (G*) Joshua the son of Nun built a temple on the top of Mount Gerizim. He set the whole tent of meeting in it with the ark of the testimony, the propitiary and the screen, as well as all the altars and all the accoutrements of the sanctuary, everything on its stand.[29]

Macdonald thought that (G*) could be a second tradition added to an earlier sanctuary tradition in (A*-D*). On the other hand, he surmised: "the use of the word temple may suggest a polemical situation, with the purpose of forestalling the erection of Solomon's Temple in the 10th century."[30] Macdonald noted that the chronicler's purpose in placing Q between Joshua's completed conquest and allotment of land was "to centralize Joshua's kingdom on Mount Gerizim."[31]

Not only did the chronicler emphasize Mt. Gerizim, but also the position of the priesthood.

> J (A*) Now the descendants of Phinehas the son of Eleazar have the position of the high priesthood. (B*) They have charge of the holy things, and they have the supremacy and the final decision. (C*) The King of Israel comes and goes at their command, and only undertakes an action at their direction.[32]

This paragraph established the absolute rights of the high-priesthood and introduced the beginnings of the story of Eli and subsequent period of Divine disfavour.

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[29] Macdonald, op. cit., Joshua Q (G*), p. 93.

[30] Ibid., p. 22.

[31] Ibid., p. 93.

[32] Ibid., Judges J (A*)-(C*), p. 109.

The narratives of the Chronicle II give the Samaritan view of the Schism. Macdonald wrote: "To all Sam. chroniclers & exegetes Israel's loss of the Divine Favour, and the schism between North & South were caused by the defection of Eli and the attendant war between Saul & and the Northerners."[33] The biblical text, of course, is ignorant of this schism. One must note the different approach and materials in the Samaritan chronicles not found in the biblical text. Macdonald commented:

> The Eli-Samuel-Saul tradition in ST & all other relevant chronicles is consequently very different from the BT. The chief question in assessing the ST is whether there is anything in BT which supports the Sam. view of the period. Obviously the removal of Eli to Shiloh, thus breaking with Shechem and challenging its rights, itself represented a schism--even in BT terms. The BT statement of Elkanah going up to worship in Shiloh (I Sam. i 3) has a tenuous link with the end of BT Judg. xxi--a passage whose authenticity is implicitly & explicitly denied by the ST's om., either because the story was not known to the early Sams. or because it 'authenticated' Shiloh (especially verse 19). For the Sams. Shiloh did not exist as a sanctuary until Eli made it so.[34]

The Samaritans considered Eli the culprit who caused the schism by seeking to take over the high priesthood position of Uzzi who was only a youth.[35] Eli controlled the entire revenue of the Israelites' tithe and was prince over the tribe of Levi. Being advanced in age Eli sought one more honor--the high priesthood held by the youth Uzzi.

In the biblical text (1 Samuel 1) Eli was introduced only incidentally as part of the birth and childhood stories of Samuel (1 Samuel 1-3). In the ST Eli was introduced in detail and was a major figure throughout. After Samson was presented as "the last of the kings of the era of Divine Favour,"[36]

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[33] Ibid., p. 27.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., Judges K (A*)-(D*), p. 110.

[36] Ibid., K (F*).

the general statement in Judg 13:1 was elaborated to include Eli's evils, a section that Macdonald considered to be a late addition to the basic material of the Chronicles:[37]

> (xiii 1) And the people of Israel again did, at that time, what was evil in the sight of the Lord; (G*) and furthermore Eli the son of Jephunneh was possessed of evil designs, with the result that many of the Israelites turned from the way of truth. (H*) He seduced them, and they took after idols, formed marriage alliances with gentiles, and even gave their daughters to them. (I*) and they took the daughters of gentiles as wives for themselves.[38]

This view of Eli was a strong contrast to a late statement in L (V*-W*) where Eli and his family were said to depart Shechem and move to Shiloh and copy the true sanctuary with which to worship God. Thus it is almost certainly a later assessment of Eli by Samaritan prejudice as Macdonald noted. The accusations of idol worship and gentile marriages against the Israelites who followed after Eli were the same accusations the Jews had made against the Samaritans.

Of course, one would look in vain in the biblical text for the information that Eli (of the descendants of Ithamar) sought to undermine the high priesthood of Uzzi of the descendants of Phinehas.[39] Eli was not pictured in the BT as having any conflict at all with anyone else over any other sight for worship. Shiloh seemed to be the acceptable sight from earlier times.[40]

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[37] Ibid., p. 28.

[38] Ibid., K (xiii 1), (G*)-(I*), p. 110. The underlined words are from the BT.

[39] Ibid., K (S*); L (A*); (E*)-(J*), pp. 111-12.

[40] O.T. references to Shiloh include the following: Shiloh was the place where Joshua headquartered in order to distribute the land. Also the tabernacle was placed there (Josh 18:1, 8, 9, 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9). Apparently building an altar somewhere else besides Shiloh was considered treachery (Josh 22:12ff.). During the period of the judges Shiloh remained

But because the evil practices of Eli's sons and his refusal to discipline them, God rejected Eli's family as priests over Israel forever (1 Sam 2:30ff.). This section may provide the context for ancient divisions among the Israelites.

The ST constantly emphasized the divisions.[41] After a rebuff by the high Priest Uzzi for offering an offering in error without salt, Eli gathered his own men in protest.

> (T*) The Josephites followed the High Priest Uzzi the son of Bahqi, and the Judahites followed Eli the son of Jephunneh. (U*) The Ephraimites and Manassites drove out Eli and his community from the chosen place Mount Gerizim Bethel.[42]

Macdonald assessed this particular section in ST as late in its present form. He noted that U* gave "the affair a secular, political cast."[43]

Eli was presented in the chronicler as a rebel who gathered his community and sojourned in the territory of Judah at Shiloh.[44] There he

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the worship center as well as a rendezvous point (Judg 18:21; 21:12, 19, 21). Eli, along with his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, served as priests at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:3, 9, 24; 2:14; 14:3). It was the place where Yahweh revealed himself to Samuel, the last judge (1 Sam 3:21). But its fortunes changed when the Israelites removed the ark of the covenant from Shiloh to use it in battle against the Philistines (1 Sam 4:3, 4). The ark was captured and never again would Shiloh regain its former prestige (1 Sam 4:12). Yahweh had spoken against Eli's recalcitrant sons and prophesied against his house continuing in the priesthood (1 Sam 2:31ff.), a prophesy fulfilled in Solomon's day (1 Kgs 2:27). Later, Ahijah the prophet is said to have lived in Shiloh (1 Kgs 14:2, 4). Jeremiah used Shiloh as an example to not trust in a visible temple to save them from destruction (Jer 7:12, 14; 26:6, 9). Shiloh is referred to later by Jeremiah so it was not totally destroyed or perhaps he refers to the region of Shiloh (Jer 41:5). Ps 78:60, a reference to Yahweh's forsaking of Shiloh as the place of His dwelling, is a diatribe against the northern Israelites (Ps 78:67ff.). Gen 49:10 has a textual difficulty that cannot be determined.

[41] Macdonald, op. cit., Judges L (K*)-(U*), p. 112.

[42] Ibid., Judges (T*)-(U*).

[43] Ibid., p. 28.

[44] Ibid., Judges, L (V*)-(EE*), p. 113.

built in imitation the tabernacle and its furnishings including the tablets in the ark of the testimony. "He put into the ark the books of the law which were the version of Ithamar the son of Eleazar son of Aaron the priest;" and it was this version, the chronicler insisted, that Eli did not change but rather "he revised the order of words."[45] Macdonald noted in his commentary that this was "a picture of a man desirous of maintaining Yahweh worship and no tincture of pagan worship in add. to the account--this in contrast to K G*ff."[46] Macdonald considered this passage of the Samaritan version strongly polemical and suspect.

The Samaritans emphasized and underscored the abhorent sins of Eli's sons. It is in this context that the ST related how the age of divine displeasure (Panuta) began; i.e., the story of the hidden cave.[47] The Israelites were divided into three camps: one was worshipping alien gods according to the statutes of the gentiles, a second was following Eli and his sons, while a third were the loyal followers of Uzzi who worshipped on Mt. Gerizim. Yahweh's wrath was against Eli and his Shiloh altar, and therefore he withdrew his divine Presence from the altar. Previously Uzzi had heard a voice calling him from "a large cave" while he was ministering on Mt. Gerizim. The Levites informed by Uzzi encouraged him to obey the voice.

> (S*) So Uzzi gathered together the holy vestments, the golden and silver utensils, the ark of the testimony, the lampstand the altars and all the holy vessels; he placed them in that cave, (T*) and no sooner had the High Priest Uzzi left the cave than the entrance of the cave became sealed up by the power of the Lord--blessed is he. (U*) The High Priest Uzzi inscribed a mark on the entrance of the cave,

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[45] Ibid., (AA*), (CC*).

[46] Ibid., p. 28.

[47] Ibid., I Samuel, B (A*)-(V*), pp. 114-15.

> (V*) and Uzzi rose early next morning to go to the cave. He looked, and lo, there was no cave in that place![48]

The Samaritans expressed this "event" in the form of poetic lament in paragraph C. Macdonald labeled the "Song of Lament" as "the myth of the departing god."[49] The same story can be found in Chronicle VII (Adler-Seligsohn), a nineteenth century production, which emphasized the "illegitimacy" of Eli's priesthood.[50] Bowman's commentary on Chronicle VII's version is insightful:

> This hiding of the Tabernacle marks the end of the period of Divine Grace. The Biblical basis of the concept is the verse Deut. 32:20, "I will hide my face from them.": since the Tabernacle was the place where the Shekinah dwelt, the Shekinah, too, was withdrawn with the withdrawal of the Tabernacle. The root used in Deut. 32:20 for hiding, STR, may have also had in Samaritan usage the meaning of 'to destroy', and is indeed used in the Tolidah for the destruction of the Tabernacle, although it is possible that the destruction originally referred to the Samaritan Temple demolished by John Hyrcanus. The one and only Tabernacle they know was thus presumably projected back to an earlier period.[51]

Chronicle II dated the event at 3,055 (c.1217-1190 B.C.).[52]

In the biblical text of 1 Samuel, Samuel was throughout presented as the Lord's spokesman and judge of the people in the same manner as the judges of the Book of Judges (of whom the Samaritan Chronicles usually referred to as "kings"). Samuel was the maker and breaker of kings; i.e., Saul and David.

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[48] Ibid., (S*)-(V*).

[49] Ibid., p. 29.

[50] John Bowman, op. cit., Samaritan Documents, pp. 89-90.

[51] Ibid., p. 104.

[52] Macdonald, op. cit., Chronicler II, Appendix V, pp. 220-23.

But the Samaritans viewed Samuel in a despicable way because of his associations with Eli.[53] They accused him of behaving like Balaam, worshipping strange gods such as the Ashtaroth and the Baals. Just as Eli's sons were more wicked than he, Samuel's sons were more wicked than their father. So the people demanded a king and Samuel anointed Saul, a Benjamite, king over the Israelites. This anointing the Samaritans rejected:

> H (B*) Now the Phinahasites and the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, the Josephites, and those attached to them from the Levites and the rest of the tribes--those called the Congregation of Israel, the Samaritans--did not accept the rule of Saul over them. (27) And they said, "How can this man save us?" And they despised him, and brought him no present. But he held his place.[54]

The BT referred to the ones who questioned Saul's ability to save them as "worthless fellows" (1 Sam 10:27a). Chronicle II referred this statement to themselves. Saul was presented as a puppet king to Samuel who controlled every act of the new king.[55] Because of the refusal of the Samaritans to accept the kingship of Saul, great persecution broke out against them.[56]

The chronicler had Samuel, King Saul and Jesse arrayed in battle against the Samaritans at Elon Moreh near Shechem. The reason was both political and religious; i.e., the Samaritans had refused Saul's kingship, and they had forsaken Mt. Gerizim Bethel to worship at Shiloh. The Samaritans pleaded for their lives exclaiming that they were brothers who also fought against the Philistines. But Saul and his men did not listen and a battle waged at Elon Moreh. Many were killed including the High Priest, Shishai, son of Uzzi. The battle took place during the Pilgrimage of Tabernacles and for

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[53]Ibid., I Samuel D (G*)-(H*), G (A*), (F*)-(G*).

[54]Ibid., H (B*).

[55]Ibid., I (A*).

[56]Ibid., I (B*)-(J*), (X*)-(DD*), J (A*)-(C*), (Q*)-(V*).

that reason many men were taken captive while others were killed on Mt. Gerizim. Survivors were exiled for twenty-two years unable to worship on Mt. Gerizim or celebrate their festivals properly or sacrifice during the Passover.

Samuel and Saul's men continued to worship at Shiloh. But they prevented any Samaritan from going up to Mt. Gerizim. They captured Samaritan cities and populated them with their own people. The Samaritans, therefore, fled to Sisera, king of Bashon.

From the Samaritan viewpoint this clash with Samuel and Saul and its subsequent slaughter completed the schism. Macdonald succinctly summarized the Samaritan attitude toward the schism at this point:

> Here, then, we have the Great Schism between Samaria and Judah, which all the relevant chrons. describe. It represents, undoubtedly, an old tradition. The chrons. from this point regard the Schism as beyond repair--all this long before the traditional Schism of Ezra's time.[57]

To the Samaritans this was their first exile. The second came in 722/1 B.C. by the Assyrians and the third in 586 B.C. by the Babylonians. The chronicles know of no total destruction of the Israelites of the North. The biblical text, of course, only recorded the last two exiles and do not mention the Samaritans, unless they are mentioned in the 722/1 B.C. exile (2 Kings 17). Macdonald noted that "the admission by the chronicler here that Samaria was populated by non-Sams. is in keeping with his general submission that the Sams. as a group were apart from the main body of Northern Israelites, some of whom had imigrated from Judah."[58]

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[57] Ibid., p. 31.

[58] Ibid., p. 127.

The Samaritan reconstruction of their own history and origins as distinct from the "Judaean" Jews is filled with exaggerated and extended polemical statements even more than the Jewish view represented by Josephus and his interpretations of 2 Kings 17, Ezra-Nehemiah and subsequent history. Both groups attempted to push the Schism back to their earliest possible dates as Coggins explained:

> It would be unwise to treat the Samaritan account as straight history. It would be equally unwise to dismiss it as of no historical value at all. This being so, we have to reckon with a long period of tension between North and South in Israel, within which the Samaritan tradition was one component part--they should not be regarded as 'the North' tout court. This provides a further warning against thinking in terms of a schism in the sense of a sudden dramatic event. . . .it appears characteristic of both Jewish and Samaritan tradition to push back the origin of their divisions to as early a date as possible.[59]

Coggin's remarks encourage a more critical look at both the Jewish and Samaritan views of their Schism.

A Critical Analysis

The Assyrian Period

James D. Purvis's observation is relevant as one takes a critical look at Samaritan origins:

> Just as it is helpful to regard the Samaritan position on their Israelite origins as a naive but necessary sectarian apologetic, it is also helpful to regard the Jewish claim of the pagan origins of the sect as an antisectarian polemic.[60]

This does not mean that 2 Kings 17 is necessarily wrong in presentation; rather, a fresh interpretation of the material over against the Jewish view

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[59]R. J. Coggins, Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of Samaritanism Reconsidered (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975), p. 121.

[60]James D. Purvis, The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 94.

is in order. For everyone who is familiar with the sources of Samaritanism is "aware that it is not a heterogeneous semipagan religion."[61]

Since a brief survey of 2 Kings 17 has already been given, only the relevant section of vss. 24-40 will be considered. Most critical scholars see two separate sources in this section (vss. 24-34a supplemented with 34b-40).[62] The first section accused Israel of syncretism, i.e., "they feared the Lord but also served their own gods" (vs. 33a). The "supplementary" section simply reported, "They do not fear the Lord" (vs. 34b), a stiffer accusation! Coggins saw different sources, too, but showed that the attacks are primarily against the syncretism of Bethel:

> This section itself betrays more than one viewpoint, and it is possible to speak here of different "sources" without attempting to make precise judgements upon the nature--literary or otherwise--of such sources. The first is in vv. 25-8 with the possible addition of v. 32 and is characterized by the fact that it condemns not Samaria nor the Samaritans of Shechem, but Bethel, where it is alleged that a polluted form of Yahvistic worship was maintained. It should thus be regarded as being in line with a number of other passages in the Old Testament which regarded Bethel as <u>the</u> centre of schisms (I Kings 12 and 13; Amos 7:10ff; Jer. 48:13); it throws no light on the Samaritans.[63]

It is unfortunate that the English versions for the most part have translated הַשֹּׁמְרֹנִים (<u>Ha-Shomronim</u>) as "the Samaritans" (vs. 29). In three brief statements Coggins argued against this translation:

> <u>Shomeronim</u> should not in the first instance be taken as having any further meaning than "inhabitants of Samaria". . . . The basic reference in these verses is not so much to the native inhabitants as to those who were introduced into Israel by the imperial authorities of Assyria. . . .
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> . . .It would appear, therefore, that this chapter offers no internal evidence in favour of the view that it was concerned with the origin of the Samaritans.[64]

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[61] Ibid., p. 89.

[62] Ibid., p. 95.

[63] Coggins, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

[64] Ibid., p. 15.

John Bowman made the same claim, but he gave a broader rationale for this view:

> Shomronim means the inhabitants of Shomron the city which Omri (1 Kg. 16:23) built. Later the term Shomron was applied to the country of Northern Israel. Shomronim in II King 17:29 can mean inhabitants of Samaria, i.e. the land of Northern Israel and not merely the city of Samaria. Those brought in by the King of Assyria from Babylon, Kutha, Ava, Hamath and Sepharvaim were placed in the cities of Samaria (II Kg. 17:24) instead of the Israelites who had been carried captive. It is reiterated three times (v. 24, 26, 29) that the incomers dwelt in the cities of Samaria, but v. 24 states that they also possessed the country as a whole. In v. 29 it is stated that the Shomronim (here the N. Israelites) had already made 'houses of the high places' and that it was into these that the newcomers placed their own gods. Indeed in v. 28 it is stated that one of the priests carried away from Shomron (the land?) who was brought back after the incident of the lions, dwelt in Bethel (itself a house of a high place) and taught the incomers how to fear YHWH. The result is summed up in v. 41. 'So those nations feared YHWH and served their graven images.' It is important to note that the incomers, the new aristocracy, lived in the cities. Not all Israelites had been taken (cf. the contemporary Assyrian record), and those exiled (cf. II Kg. 17:24) had come from the cities. Presumably Israelites did remain in the country, but the leaders of the people and of the priesthood had been taken.[65]

In his remarks, Bowman noted the contemporary Assyrian record of the events of 2 Kings 17. The Assyrian king, Sargon II, who actually completed the conquest and exile of the Samarians wrote in his Annals:

> I beseiged and conquered Samaria (Sa-me-ri-na), led away as booty 27,290 inhabitants of it. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots and made remaining (inhabitants) assume their (social) positions. I installed over them an officer of mine and imposed upon them the tribute of the former king.[66]

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[65] John Bowman, "The History of the Samaritans," Abr-Nahrain 18 (1978-79) 101.

[66] James B. Pritchard, ed., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 284-85.

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"It has been estimated that this represented at the most one-twentieth of the population of the Kingdom,"[67] according to H. H. Rowley. His remarks were derived from Roland de Vaux's estimate of Israel's population at the time.

> The grand total, then, would not amount to 800,000 inhabitants for the whole kingdom of Israel, and would scarcely pass the million mark even with the addition of Judah, for the latter was only one-third as large as Israel, and much of it was more sparsely populated.
> . . . . . .
> Sargon II says that he carried off 27,290 persons from Samaria. This deportation affected mainly the capitol, and was wholesale, but it must have included those who had taken refuge there during the siege. The archaeologists who have excavated it also assert that the town must have contained about thirty thousand inhabitants.[68]

What this means is that there was a large proportion of the population remaining in the land, impoverished to be sure and devoid of their major cities with their political and religious rulers. The Rabbinic polemic gave the impression that Israel was practically destroyed and what population remained intermarried with the pagans who were brought in by the Assyrians.

James Montgomery's thoughts on this issue have remained relevant:

> A very considerable remnant of Israel remained in Samaria. Yet possessing neither spiritual nor secular heads, they must have been both politically and religiously a weak community. Without doubt many of them--how large a proportion there is no means of judging--amalgamated with the new settlers and syncretized with them in religion, thus giving a basis to 2 Ki. 17 and to the later Jewish tradition that all the Samaritans were idolaters. Yet we must believe that some few thousands of the sucession of Elija and Hosea, "that had not bowed the knee to Baal," must have remained faithful.[69]

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[67] H. H. Rowley, "The Samaritan Schism In Legend and History," Israel's Prophetic Heritage, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1962), p. 209.

[68] Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Social Institutions, Vol. I (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), p. 66.

[69] James Alan Montgomery, The Samaritans (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1968, first published in 1907), pp. 53-54.

Indeed, the Samaritans sought to maintain their innocence during the Assyrian invasion, for they have pushed their roots back to Samuel's day. In the 1 Kings section of Chronicle II (Macdonald), the Samaritan tradition divided the Israelites into four groups: (1) believers in Mt. Gerizim Bethel, descendants of Phinehas the son of Eleazer, descendants of Joseph, a few Levites and others from various tribes--"a small number"; (2) the tribe of Judah, "those who substituted for the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim Bethel the one in the city of Jebis; (3) "those who were in the city of Pir'aton. . .the Sect of Forsakers," those who followed the pagan gods of the nations surrounding them; (4) "the rest of the tribes of Israel who followed Jeroboam. . .the Rebellious."[70] The latter group was referred to as the eight tribes of Israel.[71] Thus the Samaritans categorized themselves as the faithful: "the tribe of Ephraim and the tribe of Manasseh and a small number from the tribe of Benjamin and a few men from the rest of the tribes remained steadfast to the truth of the law."[72] Again, the chronicler advocated the innocence of the Samaritans:

> (H*) But the community of the Samaritan Israelites, that is the tribe of Ephraim and the tribe of Manasseh, sons of Joseph, and a few of the priests and a small number from the rest of the tribes of Israel, did not deviate from the way of the holy law, nor did they worship other gods.[73]

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[70]Macdonald, op. cit., Chronicle II, I Kings E (C*)-(K*), pp. 157-58.

[71]Ibid., I Kings E (N*), p. 158. See also pp. 175-77. (Note that on p. 176, 2 Kgs 15:17 the "ten" tribes of Israel seems to be a mistake for "eight tribes" in Hebrew text.)

[72]Ibid., I Kings E (P*).

[73]Ibid., 2 Kings H (H*).

Macdonald expressed the Samaritan contention by his summary statement:

> Thus the downfall of Samaria in 722/1 was not the downfall of the Samaritans, or even the ancestors of those later called Samaritans, in the religious sense; it was the downfall of Israelites of many tribes who formed a political unit in the course of time, and especially after the death of Solomon, a political unit enjoying friendly relations with the other political unit in Palestine, predominantly Judaean, in the south.[74]

The issue is clear. 2 Kgs 17:24ff cannot be used to explain the origin of the Samaritans. Even if the Samaritan interpretation in their Chronicles is unhistorical, one must accept the possibility of a faithful remnant (a few thousand) existing through the troublesome times of the Assyrian invasion. Indeed, the Samaritans recorded their own exile in Chronicles II, 2 Kings L.[75] They always separated themselves from the northern Israelite community:

> (CC*) This happened to all Israel, to the community of the Samaritan Israelites, to the community of the eight tribes of Israel, and to the community of the Judaeans.[76]

Coggins wrote:

> It is at least clear that the religious features of later Samaritanism show no sign of any syncretism brought about by a mixture between native Israelites and those whom the Assyrians brought into the country.[77]

But later Rabbinic polemics used 2 Kings 17 as their source for accusing the Samaritans of syncretism. This polemic said that the admixture of the people of Cuthah with the remaining Israelites produced the semi-pagan Samaritans. Purvis explained:

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[74]Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 20.

[75]Macdonald, op. cit., Chronicle II, pp. 182-84.

[76]Ibid., L (CC*), p. 184.

[77]Coggins, op. cit., p. 18.

> Rabbinic traditions, preserved in the Talmud and the Midrashim, maintain that Samaritanism and the Samaritans came into being as a result of this situation. This claim is underscored in the name given to the sectarians: They are called Kutim (from Cuthah, Kuta, II Kings 17:24). The Samaritans have not allowed this charge to go unanswered. They have contended that the designation Kutim is not derived from the Mesopotamian Kuta, but from a valley of the same name in Palestine. Also, they claim that true worship was restored with the return of a Yahwistic priest to Samaria, with no subesquent religious syncretism.[78]

Perhaps the rebuttal of the Samaritans was forced and unnecessary.

The continual concern of Judah for Israelites residing in the North after 722 B.C. indicated that there remained in Israel a remnant of Yahweh worshippers, perhaps even a "righteous" remnant. Montgomery initially offered this insight:

> But the key to the problem of the continuance in the North of a remnant of Israel true to Yahwism and able to resist the temptations offered by aliens, must be found in the support offered to those weak brethren by the more persistent community of Juda.[79]

One such example is the invitation given to Israel, especially Ephraim and Manasseh, by Josiah (c.620 B.C.) in order to celebrate the Passover according to the "new-found law." Here Josiah acknowledged a legitimate people of God who ought to celebrate God's feast (2 Chr 30:1, 10-11, 18-20). A second example is Jeremiah's record of a curious event at the murder of Gedaliah, Babylonia's governor over Judah after the exile:

> On the day after the murder of Gedaliah, before any one knew of it, eighty men arrived from Shechem and Shiloh and Samaria, with their beards shaved and their clothes torn, and their bodies gashed, bringing cereal offerings and incense to present at the temple of the Lord (Jer 41:4-5, RSV).

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[78] Purvis, op. cit., p. 95.

[79] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 54.

Coggins offered two suggestions concerning this text:

> . . . first that it gives a very clear indication of a continuing veneration for Jerusalem in the great northern sanctuaries of Shechem and Shiloh and in the administrative center of Samaria, and secondly, it suggests very strongly that some at least of the inhabitants of these places, far from being an alien and immigrant population as implied in 2 Kings 17, continued to look to Jerusalem as their religious centre.[80]

Not only was there the possibility that Israelites of the North remained pure racially but by contrast Ezekiel presented the Jerusalem inhabitants as having doubtful racial purity: "Your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite" (Ezek 16:3 RSV). No doubt this was an exaggerated metaphorical use, but as Rowley said: "There is at least as much to be said for this as for the charge of alien origin made against the Samaritans in II Kg. 17."[81]

Ezekiel envisioned a reconstituted people of God--one united nation from both Israel and Judah (Ezek 37:15-28) with "David" as its "one shepherd." Also his new Temple (Ezek 40-48) would be located not in Jerusalem, but in the center of the land--very close to Shechem on Mt. Gerizim. Since the vision is highly symbolic, nothing should be made of this except to say that Ezekiel does not harbor any anti-Israel or Samaritan biases. Purvis concluded:

> The absence of any anti-Samaritan bias in the policies of the kings Hezekiah and Josiah, in the book of Deuteronomy, and in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel strongly suggest, however, that there was no organized Samaritan sect in the late pre-exilic or early exilic periods.[82]

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[80] Coggins, op. cit., p. 30.

[81] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 213.

[82] Purvis, op. cit., p. 96.

An interesting picture emerges from the foregoing. Because of historical circumstances, a group of Israelites, both from the north and the south, are forced to survive together in war-torn, poor, and uncertain conditions. Since the leaders, the wealthy, and the leading citizens had been exiled by both the Assyrians (722 B.C.) and the Babylonians (597, 586 B.C.),

> the status both of the northerners and of those who had remained in Judah during the exile came thus to be lowered. Indeed, as we shall see, these two groups came to be identified with one another, and both would be dismissed as no part of the true people of God."[83]

The Persian Period

Coggins examined the three references in Isaiah that a few scholars have claimed refer to the Judaeo-Samaritan divisions: Isa 59:9-57:13; 63:7-64:11; and 65 and 66. Because of the great difficulties in these passages due to the assumptions of the scholars involved, Coggins stated:

> Consequently the majority of recent commentators find no Samaritan reference here, and prefer to explain the sections mentioned in terms of internal dissensions within the Jerusalem community after the return of some of its members from exile and in the face of the problems of re-establishing their cultic and economic life.[84]

The same could be said about the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. No direct statements could be said to refer to the Judaeo-Samaritan conflict. In Hag 2:4, "people of the land," and 2:14, "this people," do not give one enough evidence to support such a theory. Besides, the concern of these prophets is Jerusalem and rebuilding of the temple. The references could easily refer to the returned Jews.[85]

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[83] Coggins, op. cit., p. 37.

[84] Ibid., p. 39.

[85] See Coggins, Samaritans and Jews, p. 50.

Ezra, perhaps written over a hundred years later according to most critical views, wrote about the events that concerned Haggai and Zechariah:

> Now when the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the returned exiles were building a temple to the Lord, the God of Israel, they approached Zerubbabel and the heads of fathers' houses and said to them, "Let us build with you; for we worship your God as you do, and we have been sacrificing to him ever since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria, who brought us here." But Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the rest of the heads of fathers' houses in Israel said to them, "You have nothing to do with us in building a house to our God; but we alone will build to the Lord, the God of Israel, as King Cyrus the king of Persia had commanded us."
>
> Then the people of the land discouraged the people of Judah, and made them afraid to build, and hired counselors against them to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia (Ezra 4:1-5, RSV).[86]

In this text there is a "veiled and somewhat obscure allusion to northerners of a somewhat derogatory kind."[87] Note that the biblical account of Ezra 4 has not mentioned Shechem or Samaria. Again it was later interpreters who imposed a "Samaritan" understanding of this text. Clearly, Josephus in the first century A.D. interpreted it in this way:

> But the Samaritans wrote to Darius and in their letter accused the Jews of fortifying the city and constructing the temple so as to resemble a fortress rather than a sanctuary. . .[88]

H. H. Rowley observed:

> So far from being opposed to this rebuilding, the northern community desired to share in the work, but was rebuffed, and in reporting this approach and rebuff the compiler of the book of Ezra levels the charge of alien origin against the northerners, but in a different form from that found in II Kg. 17. Here it is said that they had been brought into the land by Esarhaddon, and there is no mention of any immigration of foreigners in the previous century.[89]

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[86] See also I Esdras 5:66-73; Josephus Antiquities xi. 88, 97, 114-15.

[87] Coggins, op. cit., p. 53.

[88] Josephus Antiquities xi. 97.

[89] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism p. 215.

When one considers that during the period of the Babylonian exile there existed on Palestinian soil "the two distinct factors of the imported or immigrant Gentile races and the remnants of the Hebrew race scattered throughout the highlands of Juda and Ephraim,"[90] the rebuff by Zerubbabel and the remnant from Babylon was caused by a strict separationist attitude. John Bowman wrote: "There is here a significant change of attitude from that of Hezekiah and Josiah, probably for political reasons more than religious."[91] Even though the Babylonian remnant considered itself above the Jews who had remained in Palestine, both north and south, the main opposition to the rebuilding project came from the Persian overlords, i.e. the political authorities. With this thought many scholars are in agreement. James Montgomery initially wrote:

> In general the adversaries of the Jews appear to be the Political chiefs of the Persian province of Abar-Nahara, i.e. Syria, as in Ezra, 5-6, or more particularly the Persian officials and Babylonian colonists in Samaria, as in 4, 7ff, and as in the case of Sanballat, of Bethhoron on the Samaritan border, who had behind him the support of what is generally translated "the army of Samaria" a phrase which may mean "the aristocrats of Samaria." . . .
>
> . . .The explanation of the opposition to the Jewish restoration on the part of the Persian officials, from the satrap of the province down to the local bureaucracy of Samaria, is to be explained simply as on the score of political envy against the privileges received or assumed by the Jews. . . . The hostility to the new Juda was, in a word, of a political, not a religious character.[92]

Whether it was the rebuilding of the Temple or the walls of Jerusalem, the causes of opposition remained the same. Bickerman wrote concerning the the conflict over rebuilding the walls:

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[90]Montgomery, op. cit., p. 61.

[91]Bowman, op. cit., "History," pp. 102-03.

[92]Montgomery, op. cit., p. 58-59.

> The conflict between the two cities under Persian rule was primarily a political one. Samaria opposed the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem because the resurrected capital in the south would be a natural rival of the northern fortress.[93]

H. H. Rowley agreed:

> It was essentially the intervention of the Persian authorities in Samaria, who were jealous of the rise of Jerusalem to become once more a city that would rival in importance the city of Samaria.[94]

Coggins settled on the same conclusion that "the basic cause of tension between North and South at this period would centre on the claims of the imperial authorities in Samaria, rather than the mass of the people."[95]

So far there has been no reason to accept a definitive division between the Jews of Judea (the returned exiles) and the Jews of both the north and south who had remained in Palestine throughout the exilic period. If there is no "Samaritanism" yet,[96] either from the Assyrian period or immediately after the Babylonian exile, then the next period to examine would be the middle of the fifth century, the events surrounding Nehemiah.

Nehemiah, one of the exiled Jews, was cupbearer to Artaxerxes I (464-424 B.C.).[97] In the twentieth year of the king's reign (Neh 2:1), Nehemiah asked to return to Jerusalem to rebuild her walls and re-establish the city.

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[93]Elias Bickerman, From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees (New York: Schocken Books, 1947, 1962), p. 43.

[94]Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 216.

[95]Coggins, op. cit., p. 53.

[96]Ibid., p. 57.

[97]See the convincing arguments put forward by Ralph Marcus in his "Josephus on the Samaritan Schism," Appendix B, Antiquities, Vol. VI, pp. 505-07, that Nehemiah served under Artaxerxes I rather than the II (404-359 B.C.). If, as some scholars propose, Nehemiah did serve under Artaxerxes II, then his first visit to Jerusalem was in 384 B.C., but this seems highly unlikely.

This favor was granted. So with the necessary preparations Nehemiah returned c.444 B.C. but only to be rebuffed by Sanballat, the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh 2:10). In Neh 2:19 Geshem the Arab is added to the list of Nehemiah's adversaries. The encounters between Nehemiah and Sanballat became furious (Neh 2:10, 19; 4:1ff., 7; 6:1, 2, 5, 12, 14, 18; 13:28). First, there was mockery and taunting (2:19); then extreme ridicule (4:1ff); then open warfare (4:8); and finally after those means failed to stop the work, political intrigue (6:2). After Nehemiah successfully rebuilt the walls, he returned to the Persian king briefly. On his second visit to Jerusalem (432 B.C.) he discovered that Sanballat's daughter was married to the son of Jerusalem's high priest (Neh 13:28). Therefore, Nehemiah expelled the priest and Sanballat's daughter and barred them from returning.

On the basis of the Nehemiah-Sanballat conflict, Ralph Marcus strongly suggested that "the Samaritan schism must have taken place in the second half of the 5th century B.C. . . . But it is likely that the schism had taken place soon after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C."[98] Earlier Marcus had written: "But that there was a definite separation between Judaeans as a whole and the people of Samaria in the time of Nehemiah can hardly be questioned."[99] This statement could have been true if he had referred to the political structures alone, but he did not. He spoke of "the Samaritan schism."

Concerning the expulsion of Sanballat's daughter and son-in-law by Nehemiah, James Montgomery noted that "the Old Testament vouchsafes nothing

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[98]Marcus, op. cit., Antiquities Vol. VI, "Appendix B," p. 507.

[99]Ibid., p. 504.

more about this scandal, and in no way connects it with the Samaritan schism. Our authority for such an identification is found solely in Josephus."[100] Many others agree with this estimate.

H. H. Rowley gave this insight about Sanballat:

> Sanballat, the arch-enemy of Nehemiah and the governor of Samaria, was no idolater, but a worshiper of Yahweh, as we know from the Elephantine papyri. His daughter married the son of the Jerusalem high priest, and this provides the clearest indication that there was no religious hostility between Sanballat and the Jerusalem priesthood. Still less is there evidence of hostility between the people of Samaria and the people of Jerusalem. When Nehemiah returned from a visit to the court and found the daughter of his worst enemy married to the son of the Jerusalem high priest, he chased him from the city.[101]

Coggins compared and contrasted Sanballat with Samaritans. Samaritans were primarily defined as a religious group centred upon Shechem and Mt. Gerizim. Sanballat was a representative of the imperial government.[102] Indeed, Sanballat was linked with other political leaders; "Samaritanism would eschew such links." Further, Sanballat associated himself with the high-priestly line in Jerusalem (Neh 13:28) and thus its temple. Such associations would have been repulsive to the Samaritans.[103]

Of the biblical book, Nehemiah, Coggins made two negative points:

> The first is that no mention is made in the Nehemiah material of Shechem or of Mount Gerizim, nor is there any implication that Nehemiah's opponents had Shechemite links of any kind, in any tradition earlier than the Josephus story already mentioned. The second point is the complete absence of any reference to Nehemiah in the Samaritan traditions, apart from some allusions in the Chronicle II which appear to be based upon the biblical material.[104]

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[100] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 66.

[101] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 217.

[102] Coggins, op. cit., p. 58.

[103] Ibid., p. 59.

[104] Ibid.

The "Josephus story" Coggins referred to is found in Josephus' Antiquities xi. 302-325. But this tradition has placed the Nehemiah-Sanballat story in the time of Alexander the Great. This problem will be considered in the next section, the Hellenistic period. To add further to this point, Purvis wrote:

> Apart from Josephus, there is nothing else which would suggest that a Samaritan schism occurred as a result of the expulsion of a Jerusalem priest in the time of Nehemiah. No such consequences are noted in the biblical account of Nehemiah 13, and there is no reference to a Samaritan schism or the construction of a Samaritan temple in any other post-exilic biblical literature. . . .the claim that a Samaritan schism occurred in the Persian period as a result of the Nehemiah 13 incident rests solely upon an interpretation of the Josephus account in Antiquities xi. 302-325.[105]

The Elephantine papyri, which throws an interesting sidelight on the issue, has been interpreted in opposite directions. The papyri of Elephantine gave testimony of a Jewish Temple having been burnt by Egyptians in cohort with Persian authorities in 410 B.C. Letters were sent to Jewish and Samarian authorities petitioning for authorization to rebuild the Temple of Yahweh. Part of the letters is as follows:

> We have also sent a letter before now, when this evil was done to us, (to) our lord and to the high priest Johanan and his colleagues the priests in Jerusalem and to Ostanes the brother of Anani and the nobles of the Jews. Never a letter have they sent to us. . . . We have also set the whole matter forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria.[106]

This appeal was made to Bigwai (Josephus' "Bagoses"),[107] the Persian governor over Judea. A joint reply from Bigwai and Delaiah authorized the rebuilding project.

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[105] Purvis, op. cit., p. 101.

[106] Pritchard, op. cit., ANET, p. 492.

[107] Marcus, op. cit., "Appendix B," p. 501.

The evaluation of this correspondence varies. H. H. Rowley wrote: "The Jews of Elephantine do not seem to have been aware of any absolute breach between the two communities, or they would hardly have mentioned to the one their approach to the other."[108] Torrey and others agreed that since the Jews of Elephantine appealed to both the Samaritan leaders and to Bigwai in 408 B.C. there was no schism between them. But Ralph Marcus disagreed:

> But no such inference need be drawn. On the contrary, the fact that the Jews of Elephantine appealed to the Samaritans after they had been ignored by the priests of Jerusalem, the high priest Johanan, and "the nobles of the Jews", and the fact that Bigwai, the Persian governor, was allied with the Samaritans and hostile to Johanan (according to Josephus' story), would indicate that there was a break between Judaeans and Samaritans, which the Jews of Elephantine learned about some time before 408 B.C. They may or may not have known about it when they first appealed to Johanan in 411 B.C. But it is likely that the schism had taken place soon after Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem in 432 B.C.[109]

Marcus' comments cannot be ignored, but at the same time it must be remembered that it is to Persian authorities the appeals were made--more political in nature than religious. Also the Elephantine papyri make no mention of Samaritans or Shechem, simply their Persian overlords. On this point, Coggins noted that "Samaritan tradition consistently repudiates any connection with Samaria."[110] Consequently, these appeals for the rebuilding of an Elephantine

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[108] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 218.

[109] Marcus, op. cit., "Appendix B," p. 507.

[110] Coggins, op. cit., p. 103.

Temple could hardly prove a definitive schism between Jews of Jerusalem and Samaritans. More evidence is needed.[111]

Having already considered the events of Ezra 4:1-5 (1 Esdras 5:66-73), the person and work of Ezra himself presents a puzzle to the search for Samaritan origins. Many critical commentaries suggested that Ezra (or perhaps a scribe or scribes of his) was the author of the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Ralph Marcus interpreted this body of literature to be anti-Samaritan:

> The resemblances of style between the larger part of Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles show that both books are part of a single work compiled by a writer with a special interest in the cult of the temple at Jerusalem and a strong prejudice against the Samaritans whom he regards as the descendants of the eastern peoples settled in Samaria by the Assyrians and therefore as not true Israelites.[112]

H. H. Rowley essentially agreed with Marcus but added that it took on a "religious flavor":

> The division between the Jews and the Samaritans, which had developed in the reign of Artaxerxes I and had taken on a religious flavor because of the growing segregation of the two communities, appears to have sharpened and to have become linked more definitely with religion, though it was in no sense fundamentally religious in its origin.[113] The two communities continued to drift ever more and more apart.

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[111] The fact that there even existed temples outside Jerusalem makes for an interesting observation in light of the Deuteronomic requirements: two in Egypt, Elephantine and Leontopolis, one probably at Araq-el-Emir in Transjordan associated with the Tobiads, and possibly at "the place Casijsha" (Ezra 8:17). Even the Qumran convenanters had some form of sanctuary. The Samaritan Temple on Gerizim does not seem to have been built at the time of Ezra; and even when it was built, it may not have provoked a clear cut schism as previously imagined.

[112] Marcus, op. cit., "Appendix B," p. 505.

[113] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 219. See also Pfeiffer and John Bowman for the same view, Bowman's Samaritan Documents, p. 175, note 8.

He also queried that "it is curious that the Samaritans are nowhere mentioned in the Bible in connexion with Ezra and yet in Samaritan tradition Ezra is associated with the schism more bitterly than is Nehemiah."[114]

Coggins criticized the view that the Chronicler (author of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah) betrayed an anti-Samaritan bias saying that it was an argument from silence. Besides, the increased knowledge of Judaism in the last centuries B.C. has presented a complex political and religious picture. Coggins suggested that "it may be better to say that the beginnings of Samaritanism represented one only of the rivalries which the Chronicler saw as a dangerous alternative to that worship of Yahweh which for his school could only be carried out properly at Jerusalem."[115] This writer agrees with Coggins.

The hostility of the Samaritan tradition against Ezra's strict separation policies and his law reforms are understandable. But the worst accusation is that he tampered with the text, introducing the square script (Aramaic influence) and amending certain texts such as Deut 27:4, substituting "Ebal" for "Gerizim," thus diminishing the holy place of the Samaritan community. Unfortunately, even the Samaritan tradition does not give any real evidence for Samaritan origins, for this is not their problem with Ezra. Only after the historical events of Ezra's life was past was he hated by Samaritans and loved by Jews.

> Ezra's real significance, it is clear, is symbolic. No specific charges brought against him can be upheld, but he, more than anyone else, stands for the exclusiveness of Judaism. Still more important

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[114] Ibid., p. 218.

[115] Coggins, op. cit., p. 69-70.

> and more specific, Ezra represents an exclusiveness based on Jerusalem and its claims to a unique status. It was this traditional picture of Ezra which made him so unacceptable a figure to the later Samaritans, and caused him to be so greatly venerated by later Jews.[116]

Macdonald had a more positive evaluation of the Samaritan tradition:

> As far as the Samaritan historical sources show, the Judaists under Ezra firmly rebutted any Samaritan attempts to press their claims in the eyes of the Persians to possess the true and only sacred mountain and the correct text of the Pentateuch. From now on Samaritans and Judaists are enemies.[117]

On the other hand, Coggins continually pushed a definitive Samaritan/Jewish breach to a later date by stating that there is "no evidence in what can be traced of the mission of Ezra to point to any significant Judaeo-Samaritan development associated with his work."[118]

The Hellenistic Period

The problem with Sanballat spilled over into the Hellenistic period. Actually, it was Josephus' account in his Antiquities xi. 302ff., that posed the problem. He mentioned a Sanballat who gave his daughter, Nikaso, in marriage to a Manasseh, brother of the high priest of Jerusalem, Jaddus (Juddua). This event occurred during Alexander's conquest of the area.

Victor Tcherikover dismissed all attempts to "rescue Josephus' chronology":

> It is clear that we have here two different narratives which have been linked together by Josephus: the first dealing with the disputes between the Jews and Samaritans and the erection of the temple at Samaria; the second with Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his negative attitude to the Samaritans.[119]

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[116] Coggins, op. cit., p. 73.

[117] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 21.

[118] Coggins, op. cit., p. 64.

[119] Victor Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (1959; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1977), pp. 43-44.

Tcherikover listed many contradictory and incompatible ideas that made Josephus' narrative very suspect for historical reliability.[120] He declared:

> Josephus' narrative is not to be regarded as a serious historical source . . . . it is a historical myth designed to bring the king into direct contact with the Jews, and to speak of both the laudatory terms. Here is material for research worthy not of the historian, but of the student of literature.[121]

When confronted with Spak's theory of there being two Sanballats, one in Nehemiah's time and the second under Alexander, Tcherikover reacted strongly in an endnote:

> If this were so, we would have to assume that there were also two Jewish priests who married daughters of governors of Samaria, one in Nehemiah's time, the son of Yoyada who became the son-in-law of the first Sanballat (Neh. 13:28), the second under Alexander, Yadoa's brother who became the son-in-law of the second Sanballat (Ant. XI, 302ff.). I do not think that we can accept this strange repetition of events as historical fact; scholars, indeed, do not generally endorse Spak's conjecture.[122]

James Montgomery had earlier expressed the same opinion when he wrote: "There could hardly have been two Sanballats in succeeding centuries, each of whom married his daughter to a member of the high priestly family, an offence in each case visited with excommunication."[123]

Montgomery simply considered Josephus to be irresponsible in Persian history and chronology. Montgomery, as well as Tcherikover, viewed Josephus' "confusion" as part of a great attempt to connect Jewish history with Alexander the Great and his legends.[124]

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[120] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[121] Ibid., p. 45.

[122] Ibid., p. 419.

[123] Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

[124] Ibid., pp. 68-69. See also V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization, pp. 420-21.

> The story of the origin of the Samaritan schism has been drawn into the great vortex of the Alexander Legend . . . . Just as the Jews had their legend concerning Alexander's favor to Jerusalem, so the Samaritans told their fables concerning his connection with their sect and temple; probably in this point Josephus was depending upon some Samaritan tradition, which he, or rather the legend-cycle which he followed, brought into connection with the history of Sanballat.[125]

These negative reports of Josephus' accuracy have recently been examined anew because of a remarkable discovery of Samaria papyri. Frank M. Cross, Jr. gave a fascinating report of how these papyri were discovered, deciphered, and evaluated.[126] The papyri were accidentally discovered by Taamireh bedouin in the spring of 1962. The cave was the Mirgharet Abu Sinjeh in the Wadi Dalijeh, an almost impenetrable position. After intolerable diggings through the habitations of bats and their centuries old residue, up to eighty skeletons, male, female, young and old, were initially found (later c.300 skeleton remains were found) along with fourth century pottery. As Cross expressed it:

> The excavation was rich also in other finds: two clay bullae, bits of cloth, personal jewelry, remains of food stores, and above all, vast quantities of pottery from a little known period, precisely dated by external data.[127]

One of the bullae had this inscription written in Paleo-Hebrew. . .-- yhw bn (sn'--) blt phr smrn; "...iah, son of (san)ballat governor of Samaria." Another one examined read: ". . .this document was written in Samaria."

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[125] Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[126] See Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," The Biblical Archaeologist Reader 3, ed. Edward F. Campbell, Jr. and David Noel Freedman (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1970), pp. 227-39; also Paul W. Lapp, "Bedouin Find Papyri Three Centuries Older Than Dead Sea Scrolls," Biblical Archaeology Review 4 (Mar. 1978) 16-24.

[127] Ibid., p. 231.

Above this line it read "(before) Jesus son of Sanballat (and) Hanan, the prefect." Because the papyri consisted of legal and administrative documents, precise dating of the material was easily discerned. Cross reported one example:

> It read b20 l'dr snt 2 r's mlkwt (d)ryhws mlk' bsmry (. . .), "on the twentieth day of Adar, year 2 (the same year being) the accession year of Darius the king, in Samaria. . ." Only one Achemenid king died in the second year of his reign, Arses, who was succeeded by Darius III. In short the document was written on March 19, 335 B.C.[128]
>
> The latest date preserved complete is that of Papyrus I: March 19, 335. Several documents are from the 350's, including Papyrus 8 written on March 4, 354, "before Hananiah governor of Samaria." The earliest dated piece belongs between the 30th and 40th years of Artaxerxes II, that is between 375 and 365 B.C. Thus the range of dates extends from about 375 B.C. down to 335 B.C. forty years.[129]

Is there a known historical situation that can explain this discovery in the Wadi Delijeh? Prof. Cross suggested:

> One must look to the coming of Alexander as the terminus ad quem for the massacre of Samaritan patricians and the abandonment of the series of pre-Alexandrine documents and artifacts in the cave. A precise occasion for the dread event easily suggests itself. If Josephus is to be believed, the Samaritans initially ingratiated themselves with Alexander. Later while Alexander was in Egypt, Curtius reports, the Samaritans burned alive Andromachus, Alexander's prefect in Syria. The crime was not only heinous, it was the first sign of revolt in Syria-Palestine, and Alexander returned in all haste to Samaria, and according to Curtius, took vengeance on the murderers who were "delivered up to him." According to Syncellus, and one passage in the Chronicon of Eusebius, Alexander destroyed the city and settled a Macedonian colony on the site, according to another passage in Eusebius, and Jerome, Perdiccas settled the city with Macedonians. While it is highly likely that Alexander destroyed the city, it is probable that he hurried on to Babylon, and that Perdiccas during Alexander's lifetime was designated to found the Macedonian city.[130]

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[128] Ibid., pp. 229-30.

[129] Ibid., p. 232.

[130] Ibid., pp. 235-36. See also the primary source of which Prof. Cross referred to: Josephus Antiquities xi. 297-345 (ed. R. Marcus); Q. Curtius Rufus Hist. Alex. (ed. Hedicke), iv. 8, 9-10; Chronicon, Armenian text, II, p. 223, (ed. Archer).

Two archaeological discoveries reported by G. Ernest Wright at about the same time helped confirm Cross' historical hypothesis: the rebuilding of Shechem in the latter half of the fourth century and the existence of round towers in Samaria, probably of the Greek world, built during this time. Wright concurred with Cross' theory:

> What were all those Samaritans doing in that cave so far from home? The most reasonable hypothesis is that they had fled Alexander the Great's punitive expedition against Samaria in 331 B.C., . . . Shechem, then, was Samaria's replacement as the Samaritan capital. This explains why so large a building program, the creation literally of a new city, was carried out in a comparatively brief period.[131]

The round towers would have been constructed after Alexander's punitive action and resettlement of Samaria, either by Alexander or more likely Perdiccas, "thus by inference supporting the Eusebius-Syncellus report."[132] Because of these unusual discoveries, the story of Josephus is now taken quite seriously by several reputable scholars.

John Bowman saw it as evidence of a continuing bond between the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem and the ruling family of Samaria.

> Two marriages between the actual high priestly family of Jerusalem who were rulers of a theocratic state and the Sanballat family of Samaria in less than a century testifies to the existence of bonds between the Zadokites of Jerusalem and the ruling family of Samaria. Plainly Nehemiah's treatment of the first case did not prevent the second marriage alliance happening. . . . Even if the second to do so was expelled from the Jerusalem high priestly succession, it is surprising that it should have recurred. Was the Sanballat family regarded by the Zadokite high priests of Jerusalem as levitical?

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[131] G. Ernest Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 181. Abram Spiro wrote in private letters to W. F. Albright that he thought the bones were the remains of Samaritan slaves. Albright concurred.

[132] Ibid., p. 179.

> Or was this a second attempt by the Sanballats to strengthen their Zadokite claims within Samaria?[133]

Cross explained Josephus' confusion of Sanballats on the basis of the ancient practice of papponymy:

> Such confusion is readily explained, however, when it is recognized that the practice of papponymy (naming grandson after grandfather) operated in these families. We have much evidence of the popularity of papponymy in this period. One need only refer to its systematic practice in the Oniad and Tobiad families.[134]

The governor list of Samaria would look like this:

> Sanballat I
> Delaiah, son of Sanballat
> Sanballat II
> Hananiah, son of Sanballat II
> Sanballat III

With this scheme, Cross presented a hypothetical reconstruction of the Sanballat dynasty:

> Sanballat I was governor of Samaria and probably, at least forty years of age in 445 when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. Reckoning twenty-five years to a generation, a long time in antiquity, his son Delaiah would have been born c.460. By the beginning of the last decade of the century Delaiah and his brother had taken over Sanballat's powers, as we know from Letters 30 and 32 from Elephantine. Delaiah then would have been in his early forties. Sanballat II was the father of Hananiah, who was governor in 354 B.C. Following the sequence of twenty-five year generations, Sanballat II, son of Delaiah or Shelemiah would have been born around 435. Hananiah his son, born around 410, in 354 would have been fifty-six years old. Sanballat II son of Hananiah, born around 385, would have been at least fifty-one when appointed governor by Darius III, and in his early fifties when he gave away his daughter Nikaso in marriage to a Jewish noble of high priestly family.[135]

He warned that this was "merely hypothetical," but at the same time made it clear that the Sanballat of the papyri was not the same as the Sanballat of

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[133] Bowman, op. cit., "History," pp. 103-04. Ralph Marcus in his "Josephus on the Samaritan Schism," Appendix B, p. 507 notes Cowley as saying that "two Sanballats, high priest, is a solution too desperate to be entertained."

[134] Cross, op. cit., BA3, p. 238.

[135] Ibid., pp. 237-38.

Josephus or the Sanballat of the fifth century.[136] Thus, the hypothesis had good reasoning behind it. Purvis, having surveyed the same materials, concluded:

> We are thus given evidence of two Sanballats, whom we may designate Sanballat I and II. The latter Sanballat still does not qualify for the Sanballat who gave his daughter Nicaso to Manasseh; but since he had been succeeded by his son Hananiah by 354, he could easily have been a grandson with the same name (Sanballat III) who was governor when Alexander the Great invaded the East. . . .
>
> It is, then, the early Greek period, rather than the time of Nehemiah, to which one is to look for the establishment of a Samaritan Sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim. There is no reason to doubt, and good reason to accept, the general reliability of Josephus's account of the role of Sanballat (III and his son-in-law Manasseh).[137]

Bowman concluded with the same reasoning:

> As a result we see there was a descendant of the Biblical Sanballat who married his daughter into the Jerusalem Zadokite high-priestly family in the later half of the 4th century B.C.E. and who would seem to be the Sanballat who according to Josephus (Ant. xi. 4.2) with Alexander's help got a temple built for his Jewish high priestly son-in-law.[138]

If Josephus' account of a Sanballat during Alexander's time and the added phenomena of the Samaria papyri cannot substantiate Cross' hypothetical events, then scholars must remain cautious especially of Josephus' account. As Rowley has stated:

> If both stories are accepted as historical, then the husband in the second case was the nephew of the husband in the first, and both husbands were chased out of Jerusalem as the result of their marriage. For so exact a repetition of history at an interval of a century, at a distance of two generations on the wife's side and a single generation on the husband's, we should need stronger evidence than Josephus's account can supply.[139]

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[136] Ibid., p. 238.

[137] Purvis, op. cit., p. 104.

[138] Bowman, "History," p. 103.

[139] H. H. Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 38 (1955) 172-73.

F. M. Cross, Jr. and G. Ernest Wright and others have attempted to provide the stronger evidence. Indeed, in an important article in the Biblical Archaeology Review, Cross gave this fair estimate of the evidence:

> Josephus is not wholly vindicated. It is clear that he identified Biblical Sanballat and Sanballat III, jumping from the fifth to the late fourth century. But we can no longer look at the Judean-Samaritan intermarriage Josephus describes with the same historical skepticism. The names and relationships are not all identical in the two stories, but it appears that the noble houses of Samaria and Jerusalem were willing to intermarry despite the ire of certain strict Jews. This intermarriage is evidence that the final and irreversible schism between the Jews and the Samaritans did not come, as an earlier generation of scholars supposed, in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This is consistent with further evidence that the schism was as late as the fourth century B.C. The religion of Samaria is clearly derived from late Judaism. Its feasts and law, conservation toward Torah, and theological development show no real evidence of archaism or religious syncretism. Even late Jewish apocalyptic left its firm imprint on Samaritanism. For these and other reasons, scholars have increasingly been inclined to lower the Samaritan schism into the fourth century B.C.[140]

Before this information came to light, Torrey attempted to solve the problem by transferring Nehemiah to the reign of Artaxerxes II and combining the biblical account with Josephus' account. This "solution" created more problems than it solved; besides Rowley had adequately argued against the proposal.[141] Whether one accepted one solution or another concerning the

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[140] F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Historical Importance of Samaria Papyri," Biblical Archaeologist Review 4 (Mar. 1978) 27. See also his "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," Harvard Theological Review 59 (July 1966) 205, where Cross defended his interpretation: "What, then, are we to say about the marriage of the son of Joiada to a daughter of Sanballat I, and the marriage of the brother of Jaddua to the daughter of Sanballat III? Certainly we can no longer look at the episode with the same historical skepticism. After all, the names and relationships are by no means identical. It appears that the noble houses of Samaria and Jerusalem were willing to intermarry despite the ire of certain strict Jews, presumably the progeny of the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra."

[141] Rowley, op. cit., "Sanballat," pp. 173ff.

Sanballats, many scholars have thought Josephus was correct in his dating of the building of the Gerizim Temple during Alexander's conquests.[142]

Certainly the abandonment of Samaria and re-establishment of Shechem would offer the occasion for having a temple on Mt. Gerizim. The dating of such a Temple is difficult to determine. Purvis added some information concerning excavations underneath the temple erected by Hadrian 117-138 A.D.:

> Excavations of the foundations of this temple disclosed beneath it a large building (Building B) made of large semi-hewn stones laid with mud mortar. Work at the site in the summer of 1966 revealed that the building was about twenty meters square and eight meters in height. Pottery found along the south face of the building was predominately second and third century B.C. Hellenistic. It now seems most likely that this structure is the Samaritan temple erected in the late fourth century B.C., although a more definitive judgment must await further archaeological work.[143]

Rowley was skeptical of the whole matter, for he wrote:

> Nowhere in the Old Testament are we given any account of the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim, and we are left wholly to conjecture as to when that event might have taken place, with very scanty evidence to support our conjecture.[144]

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[142] Ibid., p. 179. H. H. Rowley listed the scholars who accepted Josephus as correctly dating the erection of the Samaritan Temple, footnote 3, pp. 179-80. Purvis mentioned on p. 11 of his Samaritan Pentateuch the various views of scholars on when the Samaritan Temple was built. The Persian Period advocates are J. Wellhausen, B. Stade, H. E. Ryle, T. K. Cheyne, R. H. Kennett, J. N. Rothstein. Others accept the Greek Period (with Sanballat not connected with the Temple): A. E. Cowley, E. Kautzsch, J. Spak, L. E. Browne, R. Kittel, E. Sellin, G. Ricciotti. Also the Greek Period (with Sanballat as the grandson of the Sanballat of the Persian Period, i.e. papponymy): I. Vossius, G. E. Wright, F. M. Cross, Jr.

[143] Purvis, op. cit., p. 106, footnote 42. See also R. J. Bull and G. Ernest Wright, "Newly Discovered Temples on Mt. Gerizim in Jordan," Harvard Theological Review 58 (1965) 234-37; R. J. Bull, "The Hadrianic and Samaritan Temples," American Schools of Oriental Research Newsletter No. 10, ed. E. F. Campbell, pp. 5-8; F. M. Cross, Jr., "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," Harvard Theological Review 59 (July 1966) 207; R. J. Bull, "An Archaeological Footnote to 'Our Fathers Worshipped on This Mountain,' John iv. 20," New Testament Studies 23 (July 1977) 460-62.

[144] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 217. See also his discussion in "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple," pp. 187-90.

John Bowman, on the other hand, accepted the Josephus testimony in his commentary on the Chronicle of Abu'l Fath: ". . . it was probably Alexander who allowed them to build it (cf. Josephus, Antiq. XIII, III, 4)."[145] Bickerman suggested that it was the pride of the former Assyrian aristocrats that laid the foundation for the Samaritan temple and consequently the break between Samaritans and Jews. He added:

> But the Jewish tradition itself, repeated by Josephus, states that the Samaritan temple was founded at the time of Alexander the Great. The fact that it did not receive any subvention from the Macedonian rulers, as well as the fact that it belonged not to Samaria but to "that foolish nation which dwells in Shechem" (as Ben Sira says), offers the definitive proof of its foundation after the Macedonian conquest.[146]

G. F. Moore contended that the building of a temple was not the decisive element for schism but rather a deep theological difference over the place where God would put His Name:

> All this took an entirely different complexion when the claim was set up that Gerizim, and not Zion, was the place which God had chosen for his habitation, or "to put his Name there" (Deut. 12, 5, and often), the only place in the land where sacrifice was legitimately offered, vows absolved, festivals observed, and the rest. It is this claim, not the mere building of the Shechemite temple, that constitutes the Samaritan schism.[147]

Purvis gave a different evaluation. He considered the temple on Gerizim to be an embarrassment to the Jerusalem leaders. For the Jews in Jerusalem the Former and Latter Prophets and the Hagiographa supported the primacy of Jerusalem as their cultic center. Deuteronomy 12 was so interpreted.

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[145] Bowman, op. cit., Samaritan Documents, p. 119. The Josephus testimony is found in Antiquities xi. 324 and xiii 74.

[146] Bickerman, op. cit., p. 45.

[147] George Foot Moore, Judaism In the First Centuries of the Christian Era, Vol. I (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 24.

Other Jewish temples were tolerated such as Elephantine and Leontopolis, but a temple in north Palestine constituted a direct threat to the Jerusalem cult. Not only being a rival, the Gerizim temple could make a strong claim for legitimacy with a long history from the patriarchal stories to the conquest and settlement. "If the people who worshipped on Gerizim were heretics, they were extremely orthodox--even fundamentalistic--heretics."[148]

Victor Tcherikover placed the final schism at the point of the building of the Gerizim Temple: "the construction of the shrine was carried out only in Alexander's time, when all hope of healing the breach between the two camps had gone."[149] In spite of Rowley's skeptical approach to Josephus' historical scheme he expressed essentially the same idea: "That the Samaritan Temple was in existence by the time the breach was complete, at whatever time it may have come into existence, is highly probable."[150]

Certainly there is no agreement as to when the Samaritan temple was erected or to its significance in regards to the schism, but there is agreement that the Old Testament Apocrypha offers positive proof of Samaritans living in Shechem and enjoying their worship on Mt. Gerizim.[151]

Literary Evidence of O. T. Apocrypha

There are at least five literary sources which demonstrate a strong division and animosity between Samaritans living in and around Shechem and worshipping on Mt. Gerizim and Jews of Judea. The first source to consider is Ben Sira 50:25-26:

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[148]Purvis, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[149]Tcherikover, op. cit., p. 419.

[150]Rowley, op. cit., "Sanballat," p. 197.

[151]Coggins, op. cit., p. 82.

> For two nations doth my soul feel abhorrence,
> (Yea), and (for) a third, which is not a people;
> The inhabitants of Seir and Philistia,
> And that foolish nation that dwelleth in Sichem.[152]

This passage is found at the conclusion of a section that praised "Simeon, the son of Jochanan the priest." Oesterley's notes suggested that this was "the second of the name, who lived at the beginning of the second century B.C.; it was the Simeon, not Simeon I, who was surnamed 'the righteous' . . . because he was the last of the house of Zadok to observe the Law."[153] The date of composition of this passage is c.200-175 B.C. (preferably c.180 B.C.), and it was translated into Greek by Ben Sira's grandson in Egypt c.132 B.C.[154]

Following Oesterley, earlier commentators have suggested that the Hellenization of Shechem in the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes provided the context for Ben Sira 50:25-26. The Samaritans in order to save themselves joined with the Seleucid rulers against the Jews; therefore, creating the fierce animosity expressed by Ben Sira and others. Oesterley wrote:

> But the most hated of all were the people of Sichem, i.e. the Samaritans, as is well known; they were, as Smend points out, especially dangerous to their neighbors at this time, because the Seleucidae had made common cause with them against the Jews.[155]

T. H. Gaster wrote the same:

> Under the oppressive regime of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Samaritans appear to have quitted themselves with far less fortitude than the

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[152]Ben Sira 50:25-26 in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 1:511.

[153]Ibid., p. 507.

[154]Robert H. Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972), pp. 354, 364.

[155]Charles, op. cit., p. 511.

> Jews, and it is perhaps for this reason also that they are characterized in Hellenistic Jewish literature as a foolish or churlish people.[156]

Purvis, on the other hand, considered Ben Sira 50:1-26 to have been written before Antiochus IV Epiphanes appeared in Jewish history. He noted the context of Simon the Just (Simon II).[157]

> Since certain anti-Judaic activities of the Samaritans are noted in Rabbinic traditions as having occurred in the time of Simon the Just, it is perhaps to these that one should look for the occasion of Ben Sira's invective. Ben Sira's admiration of Simon could have prompted his words against the Samaritans if the latter were a source of vexation to the high priest and his career.[158]

The support Purvis gave to this idea was a scholion to Megillat Ta'anit and Josephus' obscure reference to Samaritan harassment of Jews during Antiochus III, the time of Simon II (the Righteous). "At this time the Samaritans, who were flourishing, did much mischief to the Jews by laying waste their land and carrying off slaves . . ."[159] The only other support was the political picture of the time reconstructed in this way:

> The Samaritans followed a concurrent pro-Ptolemaic policy--in opposition to Simon and in agreement with the transjordanean Tobiads--and that this was the reason behind their harassment of Simon.[160]

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[156] T. H. Gaster, "Samaritans," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George A. Buttrick, Vol. R-Z (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1962), p. 193.

[157] See Moore, Judaism, vol. 1, pp. 34-35; also R. Marcus, "The Date of the High Priest Simon the Just (the Righteous)," Appendix B, Antiquities Vol. VII, pp. 732-36. The important point is that Josephus had confused Simon the Just with Simon I.

[158] James D. Purvis, "Ben Sira and the Foolish People of Shechem," Journal of Near Eastern Studies 24 (Jan.-Apr. 1965) 90. See the same article as an appendix in his The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect, pp. 119-29.

[159] Josephus Antiquities xii. 156. Purvis noted that Josephus is almost certainly mistaken to refer this to the "high-priesthood of Onias."

[160] Purvis, op. cit., "Foolish People," p. 92.

Coggins agreed with this reconstruction in general: "In general terms a reconstruction along these lines may well be right, for tension over the priesthood was a major issue dividing Jews from Samaritans."[161] But he warned of the tentative nature of the support; i.e. the highly legendary character of the rabbinic work Megillath Ta'anith, the reference in Josephus could very well be "Samarians" rather than "Samaritans" according to the Greek text, and the anti-Syrian stance of the Samaritans was reversed a generation later.[162] Rather than be precise in relating Ben Sira 50:25-26's background, Coggins was content for a general assessment:

> All we can say is that we have an indication of hostility between the Samaritans and a Jewish group, probably Jerusalemite, and showing some links with later Sadduceeism, but otherwise not precisely placeable within our knowledge of the spectrum of Judaism.[163]

Whether general or specific interpretations are given as to the background of Ben Sira 50:25-26, there is a definite schism between Jerusalem Jews and Shechemite "Jews" (between Mt. Zion and Mt. Gerizim) c.200-150 B.C.

This is clearly seen in the second Apocrypha text: 2 Macc 6:1-2.

> Shortly after this the king sent an old Athenian to compel the Jews to depart from the laws of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God; further the sanctuary in Jerusalem was to be polluted and called after Zeus Olympius, while the sanctuary at Gerizim was also to be called after Zeus Xenius in keeping with the hospitable character of the inhabitants.[164]

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[161] Coggins, op. cit., p. 87.

[162] Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[163] Ibid., p. 85.

[164] 2 Macc 6:1-2 in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 1:139.

This passage related the attempt by Antiochus IV Epiphanes to Hellenize his entire empire, perhaps to enforce a unity that would bind together a multi-ethnic people. The attacks were brought against the worship centers in Jerusalem and Gerizim. Even though 2 Maccabees was written to expose the evils of the Hellenizers and those who refused to resist them, this reference in 2 Macc 6:1-2 did not show the same condemnation of the Samaritans as Josephus' account: He had the Samaritans reject their Jewish origins and call themselves "Sidonians," being distinct in both race and customs, and even requesting that their temple be known as that of "Zeus, Hellenios."[165]

However, in 2 Macc 5:23, Antiochus had appointed a governor, Andromicus, at Gerizim, and this perhaps implied that the Samaritans were compelled to accept the Hellenizing policies and new name for their temple just as the Jews in Jerusalem had to do. Josephus took the opportunity to castigate the Samaritans once more for not vigorously resisting Antiochus, twisting the truth to the disadvantage of his hated enemies of the first century. Of this point Montgomery wrote:

> That the Samaritans took no part in the immortal struggle of the Maccabees is without doubt a fact; probably they bowed before the storm in silence if not with acquiescence. It must be borne in mind that the trouble which came upon the Jews was contributed to by their own factions, and that Antiochus's innovations were a response to the Hellenizing party which had control in Judaea. Nor could we expect that the northern sect would have gone to the assistance of the Jews. But this point is clear that the Samaritans preserved their faith through these troublous times.[166]

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[165] Josephus Antiquities xii. 257-64; note should be taken that 2 Macc 6:2 has the temple called "Zeus Xenius" as over against Josephus' "Zeus Hellenios." See R. Marcus' note C in Antiq. xii. 261, pp. 134-35; also Montgomery, Samaritans, p. 77. The better reading is "Xenios," according to Marcus, meaning "protector of strangers."

[166] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 78.

A third text from the Apocrypha is Judith 5:16 where the author listed the enemies of true Israel who were driven out before them when they conquered the promised land: "And they cast out before them the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Jebusite, and the Shechemite, and all the Girgashites, and they dwelt in that country many days."[167]

Cowley's notes on this verse pointed out that "Shechem" was not named in the list in Joshua 12. He commented, "It is introduced here out of hostility to the Samaritans."[168] There is no question of a prejudice against Samaritans (Shechemites), for in chapter nine of Judith the incident of Gen 34 (the vengeance of Simeon against the Shechemites) is used to attack the enemies of the people of God. Coggins supposed that "the real point of this reference was to the contemporary inhabitants of Shechem."[169]

The same use of Gen 34 can be found in a fourth text, a pseudepigrapha: Testament of Levi 6:7-7:2:

> For we sinned because we had done this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for evil upon Shechem; for they sought to do Sarah and Rebecca as they had done to Dinah our sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young; and Eblaen, who was born in his house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their wives by force, and they banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the uttermost. And I said to my father Jacob: By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be called a city of imbeciles; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them.[170]

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[167]Judith 5:16 in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 1:252.

[168]Ibid.

[169]Coggins, op. cit., p. 89.

[170]Testament of Levi 6:7-7:2 in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 2:308.

R. H. Charles proposed 137-107 B.C. to be the date of composition for the Testaments. If the text specifically referred to the destruction of Samaria (T. Lev. 6:11), then it was written between 109 and 107 B.C.[171] Note how similar is the phrase, "Shechem . . . a city of imbeciles," to "that foolish nation that dwelleth in Sichem" (Ben Sira 50:26).

Another reference in the pseudepigrapha using the same reference in Gen 34 gave a much stronger polemic for the total destruction of Shechem: Jubilees 30:5, 6, 23.

> And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled, for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of Israel should be defiled. . . . And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.[172]

In discussion of the date of Jubilees, R. H. Charles, wrote:

> But it is in the destruction of Samaria, which is adumbrated in the destruction of Shechem, XXX 4-6, that we are to look for the true terminus a quo. Now all accounts agree in representing the destruction of Samaria as effected by Hyrcanus about four years before his death. Hence we conclude the Jubilees was written between 109 and 105 B.C.[173]

The strong language used in Jubilees against the Shechemites suggest an existing separation between the groups, both religiously and politically. Concerning Jubilees 30 Coggins wrote:

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[171] Ibid., pp. 289-90.

[172] Jubilees 30:5-6, 23 in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 2:58-59.

[173] Ibid., p. 6.

> There may be the beginnings of a warning against any intermarriage with the Samaritans, a theme which frequently recurs at a later period, in the rabbinic writings; and the stress on, and justification of, the destruction of Shechem suggests some connection with John Hyrcanus' destroying of the city in 128, so that a justification for that action may also be found here, and this would fit in with the usual dating of Jubilees, at the end of the second century B.C.[174]

Indeed, during the Hasmonean reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) the strength of the new Jewish state became powerful enough due to Syrian weakness[175] that it sought to destroy the Samaritans. In 128 B.C. John Hyrcanus destroyed the temple on Mt. Gerizim and in 107 B.C. he conquered Samaria, and subsequently Shechem. G. Ernest Wright proposed that "the final destruction of Shechem and the covering over of Wall A on the west end of the ruins of the Northwest Gate were probably his work at about the same time."[176] Wright's note suggested a terminal point for a complete Jewish and Samaritan split: "It was probably these events which led to the final and definite split between the Samaritans and Jerusalem Jews."[177]

Purvis offered several reasons why John Hyrcanus destroyed Shechem and the Temple on Mt. Gerizim. First, the Temple itself was "an irritant to the Jews," it would have been "a divisive factor in the allegiance of the people of the rural areas of the north." Secondly, he sought greater unity for Palestine by removal of all other oppositions. Finally, "animosities

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[174] Coggins, op. cit., p. 92.

[175] Emil Schurer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D.135), Vol. I, revised English edition by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973), pp. 207-10. See Josephus, Antiquities xii. 256.

[176] Wright, op. cit., Shechem, p. 184.

[177] Ibid., p. 262.

between Shechem and Jerusalem had been increasing from the time Shechem was re-established as a Samaritan center to the time of the Hasmonaeans."[178]

> Although Hyrcanus's actions thus appear to have been motivated by political expediency, it is also possible that the destruction of the Samaritan temple was carried out for reasons that can properly be called religious. He was, after all, firmly established in the office of high priest in Jerusalem, as was his father Simon before him.[179]

This last point, the religious motive of John Hyrcanus, as high priest, needs more elaboration. As already noted at least once, possibly twice, the Sanballats sought intermarriage with the priestly family in Jerusalem. Each time the marriage was rebuffed by Judaist authorities. But the marriages had been consummated and the rivalries begun.[180]

John Bowman surmised:

> The Samaritans [sic] priesthood was a branch of the Jerusalem Zadokites; the Samaritans received the Law as edited in Babylon, brought to Judah from Babylon, and from Jerusalem by Shechem by Jewish priests, the ancestors of their own priests.[181]

In another place Bowman expressed clearly this Zadokite relationship:

> The Samaritan Zadokites needed the Jerusalem Zadokites as both a buffer and support. After 180 the Jerusalem old Zadokite High priestly family then displaced never regained power in Jerusalem. When the Maccabean family eventually took over they had no close family ties with the Shechem Zadokites. Relations steadily worsened and eventually it was Hyrcanus who deliberately tried to destroy Shechem and the Samaritans. Hyrcanus had thus destroyed the tolerant relationship which had existed between the Sanballat Zadokites of Shechem and the Zadokites of Jerusalem.[182]

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[178] Purvis, op. cit., p. 113.

[179] Ibid.

[180] See John Bowman's "History," p. 105 for a possible Samaritan interpretation of their own history in light of possessing a "true priesthood."

[181] John Bowman, "The Samaritans and the Book of Deuteronomy," Glasgow University Oriental Society 17 (1957-58) 11.

[182] Bowman, op. cit., "History," p. 105.

Coggins criticized the arguments by Bowman concerning the Zadokite priesthood and the Samaritan claim to true priesthood. First, the

> Zadokite links of the Samaritans are extremely tenuous. There is a Zadok in the line of Samaritan high-priests, but he cannot be identified with the Zadok of the time of David, and the references cited by Bowman from the Samaritan Chronicle III (the Tolidah) are extremely confused chronologically . . . . The second objection to Bowman's theory is that it attempts to be much too precise in reconstructing the history behind the story in Nehemiah and that in Josephus. Rowley has pointed out how many questions are begged at this point, and concludes that there is no real evidence for a Zadokite claim on the part of the Samaritans. It seems, therefore, that the precise cause of the division concerning priesthood must remain obscure, though the quarrels of the second century B.C. do much to illustrate it.[183]

Coggins seemed to be overly cautious in his assessments, especially in light of Dr. Lapp, Cross, and Wright's recent works. He suggested that the origin of the Samaritan priesthood came from rivalries within the Jerusalem priesthood that left and settled at Shechem. Even this has to be "an open question."[184] Purvis pinpointed the break between the priestly families to be the crucial event that destroyed all social contact between Jerusalem and Shechem:

> The breakdown of channels of communication between the priesthood of Jerusalem and the priesthood of Shechem was completed by the time of Hyrcanus, if not earlier in the time of Simon (that is, when the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem was replaced by the Hasmoneans). Montgomery's suggestion that the Samaritans continued to maintain cultural contacts with Jerusalem after this time and that the Sadducean Hasmonaeans used the Samaritans as a counter-weight to the Pharisees is untenable. See Montgomery, Samaritans, p. 80.[185]

In spite of "geographical, ethnic, and cultural factors," Purvis felt that the Samaritans could have remained part of the family of Judaism were it not for their adoption of Mt. Gerizim as a worship center (Jerusalem Talmud, Sanhedrin 29c).[186] There is no question in the mind of this writer

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[183] Coggins, op. cit., pp. 143-44.

[184] Ibid., pp. 142-43.

[185] Purvis, op. cit., p. 116.

[186] Ibid., p. 10.

that the Samaritan claim to a Zadokite priesthood while at the same time the usurpation of the same by the Hasmonaeans in Jerusalem more than sealed the schism that would forever separate these two peoples, both claiming to be the "true people of God."

That the Samaritans existed, thrived, and even survived the destruction of their temple by Hyrcanus is known. They maintained their ancient cultic site on Mt. Gerizim with their own priesthood and their own sectarian version of the Torah. As Montgomery expressed it: "The Samaritan sect at last comes forth into the clear light of day in the Maccabean period, for which we possess the abundant Jewish sources."[187]

Even after many years of hostilities, the Talmudic (Babylonian) literature in the Masseket Kutim (printed with an English translation by Montgomery, The Samaritans) offered a positive and favorable gesture to the Samaritans:

> When shall we take them back? When they renounce Mount Gerizim, and confess Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead. From this time forth he that robs a Samaritan shall be as he who robs an Israelite.[188]

It is evident that Samaritan eschatology was similar to that of the Sadducees due to their adoption of the Torah only. Otherwise, the major controversy resided on the issue of rival holy places. Perhaps a Samaritan boast of a true priesthood after the Hasmonaeans took power both politically and religiously gave John Hyrcanus all the motivation he needed to devastate his near rival.

At this point one last issue relating to the origin of the Samaritans must be considered: the development of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

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[187] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 70.

[188] Ibid., p. 203.

The Samaritan Pentateuch

Very early W. F. Albright observed the connection between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the origin of the final schism of Samaritans and Jews:

> If we compare the oldest lapidary examples of Samaritan writing with the coins of the Hasmonaeans (for which see the convenient table in Narkiss, Coins of Palestine (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1936), dated between 135 and 37 B.C., a relatively late date for the origin of the Samaritan script as such seems highly probable. Moreover, since Shechem and Samaria were conquered by the Jews between 128 and 110 B.C. and were lost to the Romans in 63 B.C., it would be only natural to date the final schism between the sects somewhere in the early first century B.C. It was presumably then or somewhat later that the entire Samaritan Pentateuch was transcribed into the archaizing "Samaritan" script, which symbolized the refusal of the Samaritans to follow the "modernists" of Jerusalem.[189]

Cross has done extensive study of the Samaritan Pentateuch along with his students Purvis and Bruce K. Waltke. Their commentary is valuable. Cross wrote:

> From whatever side we examine the Samaritan Pentateuch, by whatever typological development we measure it, we are forced to the Hasmonaean period at earliest for the origins of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch.
>
> This evidence suggests strongly that the definitive breach between the Jews and Samaritans must be sought in the special events of the Hasmonaean era, before the Roman period when Jew and Samaritan look upon each other in loathing, or as corrupters of the faith.[190]

In another place Cross revealed that the Samaritan text was a relatively late branch, no earlier than the Hasmonean times. He noted that this has

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[189] William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (2nd ed; Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Company, 1957), pp. 345-46.

[190] Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History In Late Persian and Hellenistic Times," Harvard Theological Review 59 (July 1966) 210.

always been likely on historical grounds but now it is confirmed by both paleographical and orthographic studies. "The Samaritan script is a derivative of the Paleo-Hebrew script which was revived or became resurgent in the Maccabean era of nationalistic archaism."[191]

Purvis followed his teacher in accepting a three text theory for the Old Testament text. He presented this senario for the Hasmonean period:

> The destruction of Biblical manuscripts in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (I Maccabees 1:56-57) would have created a need for texts, and would have led to later scribal activity. Thus it was during the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods a number of textual traditions of distinct development--Palestinian, Egyptian, and Babylonian--came together in one general locale. These could not have existed concurrently for any great length of time, and not long after their coming together some attempts at recensional activity were of necessity made.[192]

Cross' other student, Waltke, in his doctoral dissertation, Prologomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch, summarized his findings:

> Probably the Palestinian recension diverged from the Babylonian recension in the fifth century B.C. Shortly thereafter, about 400 B.C., a representative of this recension found its way into Egypt. The Palestinian text was developed by "scholarly" reworkings in the fifth to second centuries B.C. After the time of the creation of the sectarian recension during or shortly after the Hasmonean era, the Proto-Massoretic text, "the local text of Babylon which emerged in the fourth to second Centuries B.C.," was reintroduced into Palestine. The superiority of its text type exerted an influence on the line of the Palestinian recension adopted by the Samaritans. The Samaritans transformed this recension by introducing their distinctively sectarian readings. After its creation as a sectarian recension the text did not undergo further recensional activity. Through scribal negligence and lack of external controls the text gradually deteriorated and drifted away from its archetype which more closely conformed to the carefully preserved Massoretic text.[193]

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[191]Frank Moore Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran & Modern Bible Studies (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1980), p. 172.

[192]Purvis, op. cit., p. 82.

[193]Bruce Kenneth Waltke, "Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, the Dept. of N. E. Language and Literature, Harvard University, March, 1965), p. 270.

It seems evident now that the building of the Samaritan Temple (if c.330 B.C.) and the development of their Pentateuch is separated by two hundred years or so. Thus the Samaritan Pentateuch was developed out of the crisis of the temple's destruction by John Hyrcanus c.128 B.C. In a note concerning the sectarian reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Purvis gave this opinion:

> I maintain that the distinctive sectarian readings of the Samaritan text were added at the time of this recensional activity, and not earlier (that is, at the time of the building of the Temple). Indeed, it was the sectarian claim represented in these readings which necessitated the recension and promulgation of the text, which must now be dated in the Hasmonaean period.[194]

What were the distinctive sectarian readings? Basically, they were changing of names in Deut 27:4: either "Ebal" (MT) or "Gerizim" (SP); and that either God "will choose" (MT) or "has chosen" (SP) the place of worship. In the Samaritan Pentateuch Deut 27:2-8 (11:30) with its reading of "Gerizim" is interpolated after the Ten Words found at Ex. 20:17 and Deut. 5:21. Also the Samaritan Pentateuch wanted only one sanctuary, so the references in Exod 20:24 and Lev 26:31 are singular in contrast to the plural of the Massoretic text. In Deut 11:30 the SP adds "opposite Shechem" after Moreh and in Gen 22:2, the SP has "Moreh" for "Moriah", the place where Isaac was offered as a sacrifice. "In order to validate its claims,

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[194]Purvis, op. cit., p. 14. For further study, Purvis gave this information on note 48, p. 37: "For the Palaeo-Hebrew script during the Hasmonaean Period, see Richard Hanson, 'Palaeo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonaean Age,' BASOR, 175, (1964), 26-42. One will find in this publication excellent charts of the scripts of this period, from the coins and the manuscripts, as well as a first-rate palaeographic analysis of the materials. The present work on the Samaritan script was originally done independently of Hanson's study. Since then, I have rechecked my work against his and have found that his conclusions support my own."

Samaritans identify Gerizim with several places mentioned in the Torah."[195] There are many other differences between the MT and the SP, mostly of secondary significance, but over-all Waltke expressed the purpose of the recension of the Samaritan Pentateuch:

> The Samaritan text has been adapted to defend the honor of God . . . Moses and other great persons of antiquity . . . preserves readings reflecting a different interpretation of the Law . . . to defend Mt. Gerizim as the cultic center of Yhwh.[196]

But which reading, "Ebal" or "Gerizim," is the original? Which is corrupted? Scholars differ widely in their opinions.[197]

Waltke gave eight arguments to support the MT over against the SP.[198] Concerning Deut 27:4 he argued: (1) The context demands the building of the altar nowhere but upon Mt. Ebal; i.e. the use of "self-maledictory oaths," appropriate on Mt. Ebal (cursing); (2) General character of SP text, i.e. (proclivity for emphasizing Mt. Gerizim); (3) After Samaritans had built their temple on Gerizim they would be led naturally to introduce the name in vs. 4; (4) The Jews were not interested in Ebal or Gerizim but rather Gerizim vs. Zion; (5) All of the later history is against the Samaritans. Their only recourse was to falsify the Pentateuch, which was otherwise neutral; (6) Ebal is north--the curse mountain; Gerizim is south--mountain of blessing; (7) Ebal is higher--3076 ft. while Gerizim in only 2848 ft.; (8) Archaeologically, Ebal shows more extensive remains. Purvis held the same opinion. While giving some detail to the redactional activity he wrote:

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[195] Gaster, op. cit., p. 194.

[196] Waltke, op. cit., p. 321.

[197] See Waltke's dissertation, p. 329, for a list of scholars who differ on which text is corrupted.

[198] Ibid., pp. 332ff.

> The alterations of a sectarian nature in SP are quite obvious, however, and are clearly the result of redactional activity. These are generally well known. In SP, the Decalogue, in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, includes a lengthy interpolation based on Deuteronomy 27:2, 3a, 4-7, and 11:30. Thus, the command to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim (according to the old Palestinian reading in 27:4 it is Gerizim rather than Ebal) was strengthened by making it part of the Ten Words of Moses. Also, in all twenty-one occurrences of the Deuteronomic phrase, "the place which the Lord thy God will choose," SP reads "the place which the Lord thy God has chosen." The omission of the yod - prefix, changing the imperfect to a perfect, implies a reference to the Patriarchal traditions associated with Shechem.[199]

Rowley, after having considered the alternatives, decided that there was "little motive for a deliberate alteration" by the Jews and accepted the MT as "probably the superior reading."[200]

In contrast to the above estimates, George Foot Moore has suggested that Samaritanism started with a complete and legitimate argument:

> The temple may have been built and a high priest of indisputable legitimacy installed, and a complete copy of the Judaean lawbook, the Pentateuch, procured, with no further intention than to match Jerusalem. The idea of supplanting Jerusalem came from the law itself. In it they found that Moses had enjoined the people, as soon as they came into the land, to put the blessing on Mt. Gerizim and the curse on Mt. Ebal (Deut. 11:29; cf. 27, 11-26; Josh. 8:33f.). In Deut. 27, 4, the Jewish text has "Mount Ebal," where the whole tenor of the context demands "Gerizim," as the Samaritan Hebrew reads; the same change has been made in the Jewish Text in Josh. 8, 30. At Shechem, also, Joshua, at the end of the complete conquest, made the final covenant with the people and set up a memorial of it by the sanctuary of the Lord. Shechem - Gerizim was therefore manifestly the place so often spoken of in Deuteronomy where God would put his name; Jerusalem had ursurped a precedence never meant for it. So far as the letter of Scripture went, the Shechemites could make out an embarrassingly good case; but it was worthless against prescriptive possession.[201]

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[199] Purvis, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[200] Rowley, op. cit., "Schism," p. 210. See also p. 194.

[201] Moore, op. cit., pp. 25-26. For the Samaritan Josh 8:30 reading see John Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle II, p. 86: "Then Joshua built an altar of stones on Mount Gerizim."

In an early article published in the Bibliotheca Sacra for October, 1903, William E. Barton argued for the genuineness of the Samaritan text where there were discernible deliberate changes from the Massoretic text. He agreed with Dean Stanley's treatment that Gerizim and not Jerusalem was probably the place of Isaac's sacrifice (Gen 22:2) and Abraham's meeting of Melchizedek (Gen 14:18).[202] Barton agreed with other scholars that the SP had interpolated a syncretized version of Deut 11:29; 27:2ff.; 11:32 after the Ten Words in Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21 but disagreed that the MT was necessarily the correct reading. He suggested that intentional change can be found in the MT at Judges 8:30 where a Jewish scribe has inserted a Nun (ן) in Moses name to change it to "Manasseh" in order to prevent Moses' grandson from being labeled an idolater and also "at the same time to give a gratuitous fling at the Samaritans."[203] He insisted that "if the Jews were not too good to make such a change for a trivial advantage, they can hardly have been too good to have changed the passage in Deuteronomy when the question of the priority of their places of worship was involved."[204] Following Kennicott's arguments, Barton presented the following "proofs":

> 1. That Gerizim was the mountain of blessings, and altogether more sacred in its association than Ebal. It is quite unlikely that the altar would be erected on the mount of cursing.
>
> 2. That the Samaritans, building their new temple, the rival of that in Jerusalem, would gladly place it in a spot known to be sacred, even as Jeroboam erected his calf at Bethel, because of its ancient and recognized sanctity. Political considerations, as well as religious would have determined this choice by Sanballat and Manasseh.

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[202] William E. Barton, The Samaritan Pentateuch (Oberlin, Ohio: The Bibliotheca Sacra Company, 1903), p. 31.

[203] Ibid., p. 35.

[204] Ibid.

> 3. That, as seen from Shechem, Ebal is parched and barren, while Gerizim's more verdant, fruitful, and beautiful side is toward the city; so that in all times Gerizim must have had the more pleasant associations in the city, the valley, and among the people who passed through the gateway between the two great hills.
>
> 4. That Jotham chose Gerizim as the pulpit for his parable, probably because it was already a sacred spot.
>
> 5. That probably Gerizim was the traditional spot of the offering of Isaac.
>
> 6. That Joshua's own tribe, Ephraim, the tribe whose capital Shechem was, was stationed upon Gerizim, at the time of the dedication of the memorial stones, and that Joshua would certainly have been with his tribe near the stones that were being dedicated.
>
> 7. That the stones were to be used as soon as set up for sacrifice; who were to offer the sacrifices on Ebal? Were sacrifices to be offered by Reuben, or Gad, or Asher, or Zebulun, or Dan, or Naphtali? For these were on Ebal. The great tribes were on Gerizim; and there were stationed the Levites, who only had the right to offer sacrifices. It is absurd to suppose that the altar was erected on the mountain where no one could use it.[205]

Thus, Kennicott's conclusions with Barton's blessings were that the Jews corrupted the text in Deut 27:4 as well as Josh 8:30. Barton's conclusion were that this change in the text was a tragic mistake for the unity of the kingdom. He strongly criticized Judah for its haughtiness and arrogance in pride of position. In a supporting statement for the Samaritan viewpoint Barton iterated:

> Jerusalem and Judah were established at the expense of Shechem and Ephraim, and the burden of taxation under Solomon fell heavy on the other tribes, that Judah might escape. The nation grew wider with prosperity, but the kings thought limited the real kingdom to Judah, and at last came the inevitable rending apart of Judah and Israel. Judah with its provincial capital stood alone against the real and greater Israel.[206]

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[205] Ibid., pp. 36-39.

[206] Ibid., p. 41.

Which view is correct? "Ebal" or "Gerizim"? The arguments on both sides seem strong to this writer. John Bowman has offered a slightly different twist to the question when he wrote:

> The typically Samaritan reading "Gerizim" instead of "Ebal" in Deut. 27:4 and "the place that God chose" instead of "the place which the Lord shall choose" in Deut. 12:14, 26, etc., it is easy to say, are deliberate Samaritan alterations. I agree, but go on to ask are they innovations or restorations?[207]

Bowman became bolder in his evaluation of the Samaritan claim later in the same article:

> Just as Ex. 24 gives the covenant scene at Sinai, Deut. 27f. gives the Mosaic instruction for the covenant scene at Shechem with Gerizim as the Mount of Blessing. It is hard to see how the altar and the twelve stones would have been erected on Ebal, the Mount of Cursing . . . . I think the Samaritans are right in regarding Deut. 27:1-4 as the tenth commandment.[208]

It is difficult to decide which is the correct view. Perhaps there need be no real decision, for the dating of the schism need not be affected by this knowledge. Coggins wrote:

> In no instance, however, does it seem likely that agreement on a solution of this kind of difficulty would help to throw light on the problem of dating. The differences usually appear to reflect polemic on one side or the other, and this could have taken place at any point during the very long period.[209]

In spite of the inability to determine the correct text, the work of Cross, Purvis, and Waltke have established the Hasmonaean period as the place of final and definite schism. For Cross the idea is a key to many mysteries concerning the origin of the Samaritans:

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[207] Bowman, op. cit., "Samaritans and Deuteronomy," p. 12.

[208] Ibid., p. 15.

[209] Coggins, op. cit., p. 155.

> This reconstruction of the history of the Samaritans solves many problems which have perplexed us in the past. As we have suggested, it dissolves the mystery of the specifically Jewish character of Samaritanism. It explains the close ties of Samaritanism to Zadokite traditions, provides the background of Essene or apocalyptic Zadokite strains in late Samaritan law and doctrine. The historian is no longer required to contend with a parallel, but unrelated, evolution within two sects over a half millennium after their separation.
>
> Similarly, the new reconstruction of the history of the Samaritans clears up confusion concerning the history of the text of the Pentateuch.[210]

The fact that Sadduceeism accepted only the Pentateuch as canonical and still was regarded as part of Judaism "invalidates the argument that Samaritan non-acceptance of the Prophets and the Writings automatically implied a break from the mainstream of Judaism in the fourth or third century."[211] Certainly Purvis is correct when he wrote: "Recent investigations of Jewish history have revealed that Judaism in the last few centuries of the pre-Christian era was more complex and less monolithic than had previously been thought."[212]

If the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Gerizim (c.128 B.C.) and the ravaging of Samaria and possibly Shechem later (c.107 B.C.) precipitated the crisis of a final schism, then certainly the coming of the Romans who placed the Samaritans under different jurisdiction created an impenetrable barrier that would last for centuries. Cross observed: "When Pompey in 64 B.C. freed Samaria from vassalage to the Hasmonaean priest-kings, we may be sure the Samaritans severed all ties with Judaism, to traverse their own isolated and involuted path."[213]

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[210] Cross, op. cit., "Samaritan and Jewish History," p. 211.

[211] Coggins, op. cit., p. 154.

[212] Purvis, op. cit., p. 9.

[213] Cross, loc. cit., "History."

Conclusion

It has become evident that there is no one viewpoint or opinion that holds sway the mind of scholars concerning the origin of the Samaritans. But the trend seems to be toward a much later date than earlier students on the subject held.

Those who have come to appreciate perhaps the Samaritan plea more than others, such as Gaster and Macdonald, have given more than ordinary credence to their chronicles and personal views as expressed through their Torah and other literature. Indeed, Macdonald maintained that Samaritanism is "Northern Israelite religion developed, modified and substantially expanded with the aid of Christianity."[214] There may have been a faithful northern Israelite remnant throughout Biblical history, but it cannot be legitimately traced in the Old Testament. Certainly the Samaritan Chronicles are extremely polemical and should be suspect for reliable historical sources as far as Samaritan origins are concerned. Howbeit, this is not to suppress their value in many other ways. Josephus, also, was extremely polemical against the Samaritans; and as has been shown sufficiently, his use of the biblical materials to perpetuate that polemic has done great harm to the search for truth in Samaritan origins. Even Macdonald acknowledged the polemical approaches of Samaritan and Judean sources and the skeptical view one should take of them. He wrote: "As far as our purposes are concerned, the Judean version of the origin of the Samaritans must be suspect. This is not to say, however, that the Samaritan version is therefore reliable.[215]

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[214] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 419. See Purvis, p. 93, for his rebuttal of this statement by Macdonald.

[215] Ibid., p. 23.

The Biblical record does reveal a fundamental division, perhaps better to say competition, between the tribes of the North and Judah of the South. There is no question that those from the dominating tribe of Ephraim were, in many places, in conflict with Judah. Coggins suggested "that there is some link between this tension and that which later developed between Jews and Samaritans."[216] Though these should not be identified, the occasion was always there, perhaps even inevitable. The Old Testament did attest to conflict over places of worship, true priesthood, and interpretation of sacred traditions in changing times. These provided the roots for later schism.

Extra-biblical literature did not help the search for Samaritan origins until well into the Hellenistic period, even the Hasmonaean era. Coggins had noted that "there is no overt anti-Shechemite polemic" in the Old Testament "until we reach Ecclesiasticus 50:26, with the doubtful exception of Hosea 6:9."[217] A few apocryphal and pseudepigrapha materials have demonstrated a definite schism during the Hasmonaean period.

From an archaeological analysis, very little has helped to pinpoint Samaritan origins. Rejected times for Samaritan origins has been Eli's day (Samaritan view), the Assyrian conquest of Israel and settlement of foreigners in the land c.721 B.C. (Josephus and the Judaist view), Nehemiah's rebuff of Sanballat and his son-in-law, and Ezra's law reforms. Even Alexander's conquests and the building of the Temple on Gerizim has not been considered

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[216] Coggins, op. cit., p. 81.

[217] Ibid., p. 26.

a final break. But the latest work of Lapp and F. M. Cross, Jr., along with G. Ernest Wright at Shechem, has added to the growing opinion that the Hellenistic period should be considered as the beginning point for Samaritan origins. Not until the Hasmonaean era when John Hyrcanus struck hard his sectarian rivals and the Samaritan Pentateuch was "redacted" (or restored?) can one say with certainty: "Now is the schism complete!" Sometime between c.300 and 100 B.C. the Samaritans emerged as a unique people claiming to have the original Torah, the true priesthood, and the only authorized place of worship on Mount Gerizim.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SAMARITANS (100 B.C.-70 A.D.), THEIR SECTS AND THEIR THEOLOGY

Samaritan History c.100 B.C.-70 A.D.

John Hyrcanus (135/4-104 B.C.) precipitated the Samaritan crises in the latter part of the second century B.C. when he destroyed the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim (128 B.C.) and later Shechem (c.108/7 B.C.) in his attempt to complete the policies of conquest begun by the Maccabeans, Jonathan and Simon. In contrast to the Samaritan view that John Hyrcanus' reign was tyrannical and devastating to their communities, Josephus considered his rule a good one:

> And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak, and lived happily thereafter; and when he died after administering the government excellently for thirty-one years, he left five sons. Now he was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges, the rule of the nation, the office of high-priest, and the gift of prophecy.[1]

During these difficult times for the Samaritans, especially after the destruction of their temple and later Shechem, only a "residual community" remained "at the foot of Gerizim in the towns of Sychar and Neopolis."[2] Most fled to Samaria. However, scholars are not certain how widespread was the Samaritan Diaspora at this time. A. D. Crown conjectured "that if the

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[1] Josephus Antiquities xiii. 299.

[2] Robert T. Anderson, "Mount Gerizim: Navel of the World," Biblical Archaeologist 43 (Fall 1980) 219.

Samaritans did migrate in response to the Hasmonean persecutions, . . . they joined their kinsmen in Egypt and, perhaps, Damascus."[3]

John Hyrcanus' son, Aristobulus (104-103 B.C.), usurped his father's power as well as his will, for he took complete control of the government, banished family members, and contemptuously appropriated the title of king. His brief reign did contribute one item that would create interesting political and social boundaries in future generations: the conquest and Judaizing of Galilee.

After Aristobulus' painful death, his widow, Salome Alexandra, married the next oldest brother, Alexander Jannaeus, and for twenty-seven turbulent years he reigned as king and high-priest. During his reign the division between the Sadducees and Pharisees deepened. Indeed, civil war broke out between Alexander Jannaeus and the Pharisees, but in the end he conquered at the expense of weakening internally the Hasmonaean state. Alexander Jannaeus continued to battle his neighbors, especially Transjordan, until his death in 76 B.C.

Alexandra (76-67 B.C.) reversed her husband's policies toward the Pharisees and allowed them more power in the government. This brought peace internally to the Jews and peace to the conquered territories of the Jewish state including Samaria. But it would not remain long. At Alexandra's death in 67 B.C., a power struggle ensued between her sons, Hyrcanus II (the eldest and high priest) and Aristobulus II. The political struggle between the brothers resulted in an absolute Roman control as the Romans

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[3]Alan D. Crown, "The Samaritan Diaspora to the End of the Byzantine Era," Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology 2 (1974-75) 112.

were called in to "help." The Roman commander, Pompey, took complete control of the Jewish state of Palestine:

> With Pompey's decrees the freedom of the Jewish nation was carried to its grave after barely eighty years of existence (reckoning from 142 B.C.). He was admittedly shrewd enough not to make any essential changes in the internal condition of the country. He left the hierarchical constitution unaltered, and gave the people Hyrcanus II, the man favoured by the Pharisees, as their High Priest. But their independence was at an end, and the Jewish High Priest was merely a Roman vassal.[4]

Montgomery aptly remarked: "From this time forth the Samaritan sect is forever free of the hated domination of the sister-sect."[5]

Gabinius, a Roman consul, rebuilt Samaria while he governed the Syrian Province (57-55 B.C.). Later, this site became Herod the Great's favorite rebuilding project. These circumstances would all prove to benefit the remaining Samaritans as over against their Jewish neighbors. John Macdonald evaluated Roman rule as a positive force for the Samaritans and stated that according to Samaritan Chronicle II "Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14) was responsible for ending the oppression of Samaritans by Herod."[6]

The Hasmonaean rule (166 B.C. to 63 B.C.) was an unhappy one for the Samaritans who were more and more "driven back upon their own ideas." Macdonald called it a period of "consolidation and recapitulation." At the end of this period or the beginning of Roman rule "Rabbinic authority in

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[4]Emil Schurer, The History of the Jewish People In the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135), Vol. 1 (revised English edition by Geza Vermes and Fergus Miller; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1973), p. 241.

[5]James Alan Montgomery, The Samaritans (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1968, first published in 1907), p. 81.

[6]John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: SCM Press, 1964), p. 26.

Judaism was approaching its peak and Judaism moved further and further away from the line of Samaritan development."[7] Herod the Great's rise saw better days for the Samaritan people.

In 40 B.C. Herod was appointed King over Judea by the Romans but he had to return to the area and free it for himself from the hands of Antigonus. After three years he succeeded with Roman help, and in 37 B.C. Herod began his rule.

That one of Herod's wives may have been Samaritan could explain his absence of malice toward them. Josephus reported that Herod had married a wife (among nine others) who was a native of Samaria (Antiquities xvii. 20). In his Jewish Wars the name of the Samaritan woman is given: "Antipater and Archelaus were sons of Malthrace, the Samaritan; Olympias, a daughter of this last wife had married Joseph, the king's nephew."[8] Montgomery revealed the importance of this marriage:

> A Samaritan lady was one of his wives. If then it was a king of Jerusalem who reigned over the district, he was nevertheless a king in Samaria, and his favor and presence must have contributed not a little to the well-being of his Samaritan subjects, Israelites as well as Pagans.[9]

Herod had favored the district of Samaria as his seat of government, and it was the city of Samaria that he rebuilt and renamed Sebaste in honor of Augustus. Josephus recorded his project:

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[7] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

[8] Josephus Jewish Wars i. 562.

[9] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 83.

> In the district of Samaria he built a town enclosed within magnificent walls twenty furlongs in length, introduced into it six thousand colonists, and gave them allotments of highly productive land. In the centre of this settlement he erected a massive temple, enclosed in ground, a furlong and a half in length, consecrated to Caesar; while he named the town itself Sebaste. The inhabitants were given a privileged constitution.[10]

For generations to come the Samaritans and their land, favored by Herod the Great, would become a detestable area to the Jews of both Galilee and Judea, especially the latter. Bowman summarized the historical circumstances up to this time in this way:

> While Galilee became Jewish and the Southern district of Ephraim went to Judah, Samaria remained a district unto itself, although it was ruled by the Romans together with Judea. Since Herod took Sebaste in Samaria to be his seat of government, this strengthened the power of the Samaritans.[11]

Herod used the stronghold of Sebaste as a threat against the turbulence of the Jews, for as Montgomery explained, "Its majority of pagan citizens despised the Jews, while the Shechemites hated them."[12] Even after Herod's death and the subsequent deposing of Archelaus by the Romans, the Samaritans still enjoyed favorable conditions in the political arena. After Archelaus' demise (A.D. 6), the Samaritans' favorable condition continued because of the uniting of Judea and Samaria in a province of the third class, subordinate to the proconsulate province of Syria. Caesarea, also one of Herod's rebuilding projects, became its seat "so that now the political centre lay to the extreme northwest, a condition favorable to the Samaritans."[13]

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[10] Josephus The Jewish Wars i. 403. Also see Antiquities xv. 292-93.

[11] Bowman, op. cit., p. 5.

[12] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 82.

[13] Ibid., p. 84.

While the political climate favored the Samaritans, they seemed to be the most aggressive in conflicts throughout the period of early Roman rule. Montgomery noted that "the ancient rivalry was still maintained, and when Jews and Samaritans met in town or on country road it blazed out in acts of violence, wherein either party gave and took."[14] Almost all of the primary sources for these conflicts come from Josephus, so they could very well be prejudiced against the Samaritans; but there is no reason to doubt the essential historicity of his texts. Two major conflicts were reported.

The first conflict occurred while the first prefect governed Judea (6-9 A.D.). During the time of Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread some Samaritans sneaked into the gates of the Temple after midnight and scattered human bones throughout the precinct, thus desecrating the Temple for worship. The priests had to exclude everyone from the temple and protect it from further desecration.[15] This was a major desecration. No retaliation was recorded by Josephus, but certainly the incident was never forgiven. Bowman inferred from this text that "Samaritans apparently were not forbidden admission to Jerusalem Temple feasts until . . . they scattered dead men's bones in the Temple at one Pesah in Coponius' procuratorship."[16] This may not be the case since the Samaritans "secretly entered Jerusalem." Regardless, the damage was done. The hatred between Samaritans and Jews burned brightly.

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[14] Ibid., p. 82.

[15] Josephus Antiquities xviii. 29-30.

[16] John Bowman, "The History of the Samaritans," Abr-Nahrain 18 (1978-79) 107.

Josephus recorded a second incident that occurred c.52 A.D. This time there was retaliation and subsequent Roman intervention. A group of Galileans were on their way to a festival in Jerusalem and as was their custom were passing through Samaritan territory. Some Samaritans from the village of Ginae, situated on the border between Samaria and the Plain of Esdraelon, attacked the Jewish pilgrims and slew a great number. The Galileans begged Cumanus, the Roman procurator in charge, to seek out the murderers responsible. Cumanus was either bribed by the Samaritans or involved with other affairs he thought more important. As a result, the Galileans retaliated with their own leader, Eleazar, a brigand of renown. They burned and sacked certain Samaritan villages killing indiscriminately. Only then did Cumanus put down the retaliations. Quadratus, the governor of Syria, brought the combatting parties before Caesar's court. Caesar concluded with the prodding of his wife, Agrippina, that the Samaritans had been responsible for the debacle. He crucified both Samaritan and Jewish leaders caught in the action, exiled Cumanus, and executed a Roman tribune, Celer, ignominously in Jerusalem.[17]

The ancient historian, Tacitus, also acknowledged the Samaritan-Jewish conflicts. Unfortunately, his account of the controversy cannot be reconciled with Josephus' Antiquities xx. 118ff.[18]

> In the interval, Felix was fostering crime by misconceived remedies, his worst efforts being emulated by Ventidius Cumanus, his colleague in the other half of the province--which was so divided that the natives of Galilee were subject to Ventidius, Samaria to Felix. The

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[17]Josephus Antiquities xx. 118, 121-22, 129, 136; see also a parallel account in Josephus' The Jewish Wars ii. 232-33, 235, 245. Several details are changed in this account. The former is probably the more accurate account.

[18]Tacitus, The Annals Vol. IV, Books IV-VI, XI-XII, Trans. John Jackson, Loeb Classical Library, p. 393, note 5.

> districts had long been at variance, and their animosities were not under the less restraint, as they could despise their regents. Accordingly, they harried each other, unleashed their troops of bandits, fought an occasional field, and carried their trophies and their thefts to the procurators.[19]

The incident of the Samaritans showing great animosity toward the traveling Galileans (in this case murder) has a near parallel in the New Testament. In Luke 9:51 it is recorded that Jesus had determined ("set his face") to go to Jerusalem and thus he took the more direct route through Samaria:

> And he sent messengers ahead of him, who went and entered a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him; but the people would not receive him, because his face was set toward Jerusalem. And when his disciples James and John saw it, they said, "Lord, do you want us to bid fire come down from heaven and consume them?" But he turned and rebuked them. And they went on to another village (Luke 9:52-56 RSV).

Apparently even the apostles were willing to retaliate with "murder" for the Samaritan rebuff! The hatred ran deep.

Josephus also recorded two more conflicts involving Samaritans, this time with the Romans. The first incident involved Pilate and a rather large group of Samaritans who followed a self-proclaimed Taheb (Restorer). The belief in a Taheb was based on the Samaritan Pentateuch reading of the tenth commandment and on Deut 18:15, 18 which suggested that a prophet will come out of the tribe of Levi, like Moses, and that he will uncover the hidden vessels of the disappeared temple on top of Mount Gerizim.

> The Samaritan nation too was not exempt from disturbance. For a man who made light of mendacity and in all his designs catered to the mob, rallied them, bidding them go in a body with him to Mount

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[19] Tacitus Annals xii. 54.

> Gerizim, which in their belief is the most sacred of mountains. He assured them that on their arrival he would show them the sacred vessels which were buried there, where Moses had deposited them. His hearers, viewing this tale as plausible, appeared in arms. They posted themselves in a certain village named Tirathana, and, as they planned to climb the mountain in a great multitude, they welcomed to their ranks the new arrivals who kept coming. But before they could ascend, Pilate blocked their projected route up the mountain with a detachment of calvary and heavy-armed infantry, who in an encounter with the firstcomers in the village slew some in a pitched battle and put the others to flight. Many prisoners were taken, of whom Pilate put to death the principal leaders and those who were most influential among the fugitives.[20]

Pilate, perhaps, in his secular thinking, saw this group as a threat to his control of the area and thus slaughtered many of them. Complaint was made by the Samaritan community to Vitellius, governor of Syria. He in turn left his friend, Marcellus, in charge of Judea and immediately sent Pilate to Rome to face the emperor regarding his conduct toward the Samaritans. Before he arrived at Rome, Tiberius had died (c.March 16, 37 A.D.).[21] The Pilate incident revealed two important insights: (1) "that the Samaritan sect possessed considerable influence with the imperial administration,"[22] and (2) that the Samaritan sectarians themselves had great influence over the Samaritan community.

The other incident between the Samaritans and the Romans recorded by Josephus is dated c.67 A.D. Josephus wrote:

> Assembling on their sacred mountain called Gerizim, they did not move from the spot, but this mustering of the clan and their determined

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[20] Josephus Antiquities xviii. 85-87.

[21] Josephus Antiquities xviii. 88-89.

[22] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 86.

> attitude contained a menace of war. . . . Vespasian therefore dispatched to the spot Cerealius, commander of the fifth legion, with a force of six hundred calvary and three thousand infantry. . . . The Samaritans happened to be short of water at the period of a terrific heat-wave; . . . The result was that several died of thirst that very day, while many others, preferring slavery to such a fate, deserted to the Romans. Cerealius, concluding therefore, that the rest, who still held together, were broken down by their sufferings, now ascended the mountain and, having disposed his troops in a circle round the enemy, began by inviting them to treat, exhorting them to save their lives and assuring them of security if they laid down their arms. These overtures proving ineffectual, he attacked and slew them to a man, eleven thousand six hundred in all; this was on the twenty-seventh of the month Daesius. Such was the catastrophe which overtook the Samaritans.[23]

Thus, on July 15, 67 A.D., a massacre interrupted the relatively good relations that the Samaritans had had with their Roman overlords. The good fortunes had ended.

John Strugnell has published an extant Samaritan inscription which he believed referred to the same Josephus story. The inscription, translated by Strugnell, revealed two differences. Trajan was the general dispatched by Vespasian rather than Cerealis and there were 10,000 men of valor killed rather than 11,600 men.[24] The two stories are so similar that Strugnell's belief that they refer to one event is justified.

The reason for such a massacre is not easily discerned. Bowman followed Josephus' attitude that the Samaritans had gathered "in apparent revolt against the Romans" and were destroyed as an example by Cerealis (or Trajan?).[25] On the other hand, Anderson hinted that the event was

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[23]Josephus The Jewish War iii. 307, 310, 312.

[24]John Strugnell, "Quelques Inscriptions Samaritaines," Revue Biblique 4 (Oct. 1967) 562.

[25]Bowman, op. cit., "History," p. 107.

simply "fevered Samaritans fleeing Roman oppression who gathered by the thousands at the holiest sanctuary they knew."[26] Even with two independent witnesses to the massacre the motivation is difficult to assess. Probably the Roman "nervousness" over the Jewish revolt precipitated such an incident. Montgomery supposed:

> At the beginning of the Jewish War (A.D. 66), Samaria-Sebaste shared the fate of many a neighboring city, and was burnt to the ground, and in general we have to suppose that the fires which raged in Judaea, Peraea and Galilee seared the valleys of Samaria, and involved its inhabitants, however involuntarily, in the horrors of that war of Armageddon.[27]

Immediately after the war with the Jews, Vespasian established a new city, calling it "Neapolis," locating it close to Shechem on a place formerly called Mabortha or Mamortha.[28] Shechem quickly became identified with Neapolis.[29] While Samaria never recovered from its calamity during the War, Shechem rose to new heights of prestige, but it proved to be both a blessing and a curse. Looking ahead to what Neapolis became, Montgomery evaluated its fortunes:

> Neapolis rapidly forged ahead of the old capital, and is spoken of in the IVth Century as one of the greatest cities in Palestine. This new creation brought wealth and prestige to the centre of the Samaritan sect, which by the IVth century seems to have entirely abandoned the elder Shechem; but the change was fraught with danger to that community, for the colonization of a Pagan metropolis in their midst contributed to the fanatical exasperation of the Samaritans against the Romans, which ultimately brought upon them the same ruin that had befallen Jerusalem.[30]

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[26] Anderson, loc. cit.

[27] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 86.

[28] Schurer, op. cit., p. 520.

[29] Josephus The Jewish Wars iv. 449.

[30] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 89.

So from the destruction of Shechem by John Hyrcanus (c.107 B.C.) to the beginning of Herod's reign (c.37 B.C.), the Samaritans were caught in the many conflicts of the Jews. From Herod to the Destruction of Jerusalem the Samaritans enjoyed their happiest years. Herod and the Romans saw the value of their land as a "foothold against the tumultuous Jews."[31] The enjoyment would be a few years more, but it could not last. After the great Jewish War with Rome there existed "a long lacuna in Samaritan history, extending to the reign of Hadrian, (117-138)."[32] When the Samaritan sect does reappear in historical sources, it is involved in the great conflict between Church and State "which began with the fall of Jerusalem and terminated in the triumph of Christianity."[33]

One aspect of the Samaritan history (100 B.C. to A.D. 70) that needs to be considered before a brief overview of their theology is given is the rise of Samaritan sectarians, especially the Dositheans.

The Samaritan Sectarians: The Dositheans

One of the mysteries of Samaritan studies has been the origin and influence of the Dositheans upon "mainstream" Samaritans. The issue revolved around the doctrine of the resurrection. But the primary sources are confusing and so the opinions of scholars have differed through the years. At the turn of the century (1901) S. Krauss saw three Dositheoi in the sources.[34] Montgomery considered there to be two Dosithean sects, "One sect of Dositheans

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[31]Ibid., p. 87.

[32]Ibid., p. 89-90.

[33]Ibid., p. 90.

[34]Stanley Jerome Isser, The Dositheans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), p. 115.

denied the resurrection, and so are placed in connection with the Sadducees."[35] T. Caldwell also accepted the two sect theory.[36] Bowman rejected the two sect theory and postulated that "most of the Samaritan sects were only modifications of the Dosithean sect."[37] Macdonald followed Montgomery and his two Dosithean view, only slightly modified.[38] Coggins did not commit himself to any one view but did accept the notion that the Dositheans denied the resurrection.[39]

Not until Stanley J. Isser researched the topic in his dissertation (1976) did anyone discover a way to unravel the problem of the sources that testified to the existence of Dositheans as a Samaritan sect. Isser's approach was surprisingly simple:

> There has been no thoroughgoing critical analysis of the sources or satisfactory attempt to see the material about Dositheus in terms of literary traditions whose difficulties might be explained by the history of textual transmission rather than by the actual history of Dositheus the man/men and of the Dositheans.[40]

Isser criticized Montgomery's approach accordingly: "Montgomery, too, was guilty of treating his sources as historical accounts, to be harmonized rather than literary traditions to be traced."[41] In fact, almost all scholars

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[35]Montgomery, op. cit., p. 261.

[36]T. Caldwell, "Kairos," 4 (1962) 105-17.

[37]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 38.

[38]Macdonald, op. cit., p. 34ff.

[39]R. J. Coggins, Samaritans and Jews, (Atlanta, Georgia: John Knox Press, 1975), p. 145.

[40]Isser, op. cit., p. 3.

[41]Ibid., p. 116.

writing on the subject made the same approach as Montgomery, varying only slightly in their opinions. Isser, on the other hand, first traced the literary traditions[42] very carefully before evaluating their worth and contribution to the knowledge of the Dositheans sect(s). His conclusions must be considered before any new issues are raised concerning the Dositheans.

> Of the literary sources on the Dositheans, only Epiphanius, the Clementia, and the Samaritan chronicles offer what purports to be a historical narrative. Other sources, such as those in the Pseudo-Tertullianic tradition and the Karaite and Muslim writers, give only a brief account of Dositheans beliefs, barely enough to place Dositheus in their heresiological catalogues. . . . Origen is not dependent on these sources, but his material offers little tangible on the career of the historical Dositheus. The Clementine Homilies and Recognitions give Dositheus a historical role in connection with the main narrative about Simon Magus, but we have argued that this account of the association of the two men is fictional and unsupported by any literary evidence.[43]

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[42]Josephus Antiquities xiii. 79-79 (first century A.D.); Eusebius H.E. iv. 22.4ff (Hegesippus - second century A.D.); Clementina (Pseudo), Homilies ii. 22-25 (2nd and 4th centuries), Recognitions ii. 7-12 (from Rufinus' translation, 410 A.D.); Origen, De princpiis iv. 18 (17) (c.185-253 A.D.), Homily on Luke 25 (middle), Commentary on Matthew, series 33 (on Matt 24:4f.), Commentary on John 13.27 (on John 4.25), Contra Celsum i. 57, vi. 11.; Eusebius, Theophany, iv. 35 (263-339 A.D.) used Origen as source; Pseudo-Tertullian (Hippolytus of Rome c.222 A.D.); Panarion 9ff. (Epiphanius, Bishop of Constania in Cyprus c.370's A.D.); De. Haer. 4ff. (Philaster, c.380 A.D.); Recognitions i. 54 (Clementine - Rufinus' influence); Photius 25-30 (Photius - 9th century Patriarch of Constantinople - summarizing Eulogies, Pat. of Alexandria, c.580-607 A.D.); Arabic (Middle Ages); Baladhuri, Qirqisani, Mas'udi, Maqrizi (9th - 10th century); Shahrastani, Chronicle Neubauer (Tolidah) (Chronicle III) (12th Century) Abu'l Fath (Chronicle VI) (14th Century), Chronicle Adler (Chronicle VII) (19th Century).

Isser has published the primary sources in their original language, mainly Greek, Latin, Arabic and Aramaic, in his The Dositheans, pp. 167-213. In his text he has provided an English translation of each source with full commentary concerning their literary traditions, pp. 5-106. His conclusions are on pp. 106-11.

[43]Isser, op. cit., p. 151.

One of the initial problems Isser had to face was the contradictory nature of the testimony of the sources to the Dositheon belief or non-belief in the resurrection. Isser observed: "Philaster says unequivocally that Dositheus denied the resurrection a fact contradicted implicitly by Pseudo-Tertullian and explicitly by Epiphanius."[44] One of the keys to unlocking the mystery was to discover the literary relationships before any doctrinal statements could be made. Isser discovered the following relationships:

> (1) Epiphanius followed the patristic sources on the Jews, making Dositheus a forerunner of the Sadducees and continuing with descriptions of the Sadducees, Pharisees, etc. (2) He even used the patristic passage on the Samaritans, but knowing them to be separate from the Jews, he removed them from the Jewish catalogue and supplemented the patristic account with his independent source on the Samaritan sects.[45]

In summary, he found two traditions flowing through the patristic sources: the Pseudo-Tertullian tradition and the Epiphanius account. The Pseudo-Tertullian tradition considered Dositheus a proto-Sadducee, a description Isser regarded as "an error based on a lumping together of Sadducees, Samaritans, and Dositheans."[46]

> Epiphanius appears to be the only Church writer of antiquity who both mentions Dositheus and knows that the Samaritans were not a monolithic group. Furthermore, he knew the story of Dositheus in the literary form of a reverse aretalogy which must have been the creation of "orthodox" Samaritans who regarded Dositheus as a faker and heretic. . . . The Dositheans accepted the doctrine of resurrection. I prefer to see the Epiphanius-Samaritan chronicles account as the "authentic" literary tradition about Dositheus, the Ps.-Tert. version as an artificial literary tradition which originated in the ignorance of the Church Fathers.[47]

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[44] Ibid., p. 50.

[45] Ibid., p. 60.

[46] Ibid., p. 159.

[47] Ibid.

Having established the foregoing, Isser was able to critically oppose the association that Hegesippus (as recorded in Eusebius H.E. iv. 22.4f) made between Dositheus and Simon Magus (Acts 8). The close association of Dositheus and Simon was "a fabrication for dramatic purposes," according to Isser. He continued, "Nevertheless, the setting of Samaritan miracle-working eschatology could easily fit the 'historical' Dositheus."[48]

As to the literary tradition of the Karaite and Islamic sources, Isser was puzzled. He simply noted that the traditions knew the Samaritans to be divided into two major sects, the Kushaniya and Dustaniya.[49]

Isser's analysis of the sources produced a convincing argument for understanding the "historical" Dositheans.[50] He noted that the crux of the problem was the "Syntagma" tradition attested first by Pseudo-Tertullian. This tradition placed Dositheus (either as a Jew or Samaritan) as a forerunner or founder of the Sadducees. Sadducean theology which included the denial of resurrection, angels, and spirits was attributed to Dositheus and his followers. The Pseudo-Tertullian tradition was followed by Jerome, Philaster, parts of Epiphanius, interpolations in Clementine Recognitions i.54, and a gloss in Photius' account of Eulogius' synod. Hegesippus' sectarian list placed Dositheus in the first century A.D., contemporary with Simon Magus, but only later by Theodoret were the two connected as the Simonian group.

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[48]Ibid., pp. 159-60.

[49]Ibid., p. 160.

[50]Ibid., pp. 106-08. For a diagrammed view of the above analysis see Isser's "Hypothetical Schema of Literary Sources on Dositheus," in the Dositheans, p. 110, reproduced as an Appendix.

In an early form of Clementina, Dositheus was a forerunner of Simon Magus and both were involved with the sect of John the Baptist. This tradition seemed to be influenced by the Syntagma tradition, for it connected both Dositheus and Simon with the Sadducees. The Apostolic Constitutions was dependent on both Hegesippus and the early form of Clementina. Origen provided an independent source. His Dositheus was a first century messianic pretender who was a sabbath observer. Eusebius' Theophany depended on Origen. Epiphanius, who followed Hegesippus and the "Syntagma" only in order of the sects, was an independent source which gave much detail of Samaritan sectarianism as well as much more detailed accounts of the doctrines and practices of all the sects. Epiphanius' Dositheus believed in the resurrection. All of these details Isser surmised came from reliable Samaritan sources. The Karaite-Muslim traditions contributed very little. The Samaritan Chronicles, especially Abu'l Fath, followed earlier Samaritan traditions on Dustan and Dusis. They were highly inaccurate in chronology for the period. Thus, Isser's analysis presented Epiphanius as the most reliable and accurate tradition.

Mention has already been made of Josephus' story of Alexandrian Jews in conflict with the Samaritans (Antiquities xiii. 74-79). In this story Josephus gave the names, "Sabbaeus" and "Theodosius," to the Samaritan leaders who attempted to defend Mt. Gerizim as the lawful place to worship while Andronicus spoke for the Jews in support of the Jerusalem temple before Ptolemy Philometor. Interestingly, Sabbaeus and Theodosius are not allowed to speak since the Jewish argument is accounted right and supposedly the two men are put to death. The historical value of this story is highly questionable but the names remain. Isser remarked that "the relevance of this

passage to our subject depends on the argument of Krauss and Montgomery that the names Theodosius and Dositheus are interchangeable."[51] If the names are equal and refer to the same person, then there may be support for a Dosithean sect in B.C. It is surprising how positive Isser evaluated this slight evidence. He wrote:

> Although the possibility that these names are fictional eponyms is great, and although they appear in stories written several centuries after the events, one is tempted to argue that the origin of these two Samaritan sects, i.e., the Sebuaeans and Dositheans, and perhaps the lives of their leaders, belong to the second century B.C. or earlier.[52]

Having examined the Samaritan literature, Bowman also placed a Samaritan sect in B.C. Bowman saw the Samaritan sect(s) as opposing the Samaritan priestly authority.

> The first mention of Sectarianism at work within Samaritanism is attributable to the time of John Hyrcanus. . . . it is in the reign of 'Arkiya the son of Simon, the King of the Jews, that the Dustan sect splits off from the community of the Samaritans. While from the text the Dustan appears to rise in the Persian period, it is clear that it is associated with 'Arkiya, i.e. Hyrcanus. . . . The Tolidah mentions a heretic Dustis of the time of the High Priest 'Akbon of the 3rd century C.E. Abu'l Fath after speaking at length about Baba Raba, introduces his long digression on related Samaritan sects with the heresiarch Dusis. . . . Abu'l Fath (ibid., p. 161-2) refers to the tenets of a Samaritan sect led by Salyah the son of Tairun the son of Nin. On p. 162 we are told that Salyah said he was the father of all who accepted his teaching, and that the Dustan addressed him as 'our father'. . . . Running through the Samaritan sects as a whole is a challenge to Samaritan priestly authority.[53]

In another place Bowman placed the Dustan sect in the second century B.C., a sect that challenged the priestly authority. He suggested:

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[51] Ibid., p. 7. See Montgomery, Samaritans, p. 254, n.8.

[52] Ibid., p. 8.

[53] Bowman, op. cit., "History," pp. 105-06.

> We do not know when the authority of the Samaritan priests in Shechem was questioned for the first time. But there are indications that it happened about 120 B.C. when John Hyrcanus destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim.[54]

Close to Bowman's views were Kippenberg's whose thesis Isser described:

> The latest published work which includes a study of Dositheanism is H. G. Kippenberg's Garizim and Synagoge, Berlin, 1971. His major thesis is that after the destruction of the Samaritan temple by John Hyrcanus, the Samaritans developed two groups and tendencies: priestly with emphasis on Gerizim, and laic--especially of biblical students--with emphasis on the synagogue.[55]

Isser criticized heavily Bowman's arguments, which included Kippenberg's, that there was a necessary division between the Samaritan priests and laity. Also he rejected Bowman's attempt to associate Dositheanism with the Zadokites of Damascus and Qumran:

> Aside from his assertion that the Dustan and Dusis references were a double account of the same sect, Bowman made no attempt to analyze any of the written sources, which contain nothing to substantiate his hypothesis. In effect, what he did was to refine the Dosithean association with the Zadokites, assume that in Samaritanism a rivalry developed between the priests and the lay synagogues and proceed from there despite the lack of evidence.[56]

The events surrounding the destruction of the Samaritan Temple (c.128 B.C.) have suggested to many scholars that sectarianism was running rampant. In the years before 104 B.C. John Hyrcanus had pulled away from the Pharisees to join the Sadducean party. Jewish as well as Samaritan controversies abounded.

It is important not to consider the Samaritan sects as monolithic, but rather as diverse and changing. The sources indicated that there was a

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[54]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 34.

[55]Isser, op. cit., p. 124.

[56]Ibid., p. 121.

tendency to reduce the sects as time passed. Isser related the common source of the Samaritan sects:

> Abu'l Fath lists a possible nine, but the Chronicle Adler condenses the list to seven, . . .
> The sects derive from the followers and writings of Dusis, some in agreement with the original teaching and some opposed to it.[57]

This source is rather late and very difficult to determine how reliable it may be for early sectarian Samaritanism. The sects would normally be considered as one, lumped together under the Dositheans ("Theodosius" of Josephus) or Dustaniya (of the Arabic authors).

Isser has adequately shown that Montgomery and others "failed to consider the evidence in terms of a corruptible literary tradition." Thus, they presented a sect called Dustan (perhaps led by Dusis?) which opposed resurrection. On the contrary, if there was a Dustan sect of the first century B.C., it leaned toward Pharisaism--"the acceptance of resurrection or the world to come."[58] Further, he clearly explained:

> Our thesis is . . . that the tradition in the patristic literature which made Dositheus a denier of resurrection was a purely literary invention based on a lumping together of Dositheans with the Samaritans and Sadducees. Of the Church writers only Epiphanius was fully aware of sectarianism within Samaritanism, and he notably, is the one writer to see Dositheus as accepting resurrection.[59]

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[57] Ibid., p. 103. Abu'l Fath's list of Samaritan sects: The added information in parentheses are not quoted materials but added so that some idea of their comparison and importance can be ascertained. See also John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, pp. 49-53. (1) Ba'unay (Bashan), (2) Qilatay (antinomian - revered Gerizim), (3) Saduqay (offshoot of #1. Believed in resurrection), (4) Abijah and Dosa (120 followers, abolition of religious law), (5) Shlih/Sakta-Adler (rejected Gerizim, reinterpreted law), (6) Aulian (?) of Alexandria (imminent salvation, realized eschatology), (7) Fasqutay (no paradise or resurrection).

[58] Ibid., p. 90.

[59] Ibid., p. 143.

The Samaritan Chronicles supported the same conclusions and it was some such source that Epiphanius probably used. Therefore, "the historical Dositheans were a pro-resurrectionist sect within a Samaritan population that generally denied the doctrine of resurrection."[60] Stated in a different manner Isser made the same point:

> I think the primitive Dosithean sect which denied resurrection is a fiction, for which the Syntagma tradition is to blame. The other evidence, especially Epiphanius and Abu'l Fath, our most extensive sources, indicates something else. . . . In their belief in resurrection, and in their legal interpretations, they are similar to the Pharisees; this fact would explain the hostility of the Samaritan sources and the reason Dositheanism was considered a heresy.[61]

The resurrection doctrine is clearly found in Marqah's Memar (3rd or 4th cent. A.D.). But Isser disagreed with Bowman that Marqah was a member of the Dosithean sect. Isser thought that the Memar did not originally teach the resurrection, rather the teachings of resurrection and advanced ideas of the Taheb were interpolated much later (c.1000 years!) when the Dosithean beliefs in resurrection and perhaps an expanded concept of the Taheb was assimilated into the main body of Samaritans. Many passages in the Memar would have been added from the Islamic period.[62] Whether Isser

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 108.

[62] Concerning the issue of "resurrection: in Marqah's Memar Isser warned: "Macdonald's text of Marqah, which we have been citing, is based on a group of manuscripts from the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (Macdonald's D for"Danafite" MSS.). There is, however, an earlier manuscript, Macdonald's K (for Kahle) from the fourteenth century. The K text is much shorter than the D version, but more important are the contents of the sections missing in K; virtually every passage dealing with resurrection and the Taheb is lacking in K. . . . Ben-Hayyim. . . warned of extensive interpolation in the entire text." Isser, The Dositheans, pp. 146-47.

is correct or not, all the scholars in Samaritan studies agree that the fourteenth century saw a renewed and unified Samaritanism that accepted the doctrine of the resurrection. Isser explained the historical development of the resurrection doctrine among the Samaritans:

> It was the fourteenth century which saw a sort of Samaritan renaissance in literature and the beginnings of the modern formulations of Samaritan doctrine. By that time, too, the Dosithean heresy no longer existed, having either died out completely or having been assimilated into a new unified Samaritanism. By this time resurrection was an accepted doctrine, no longer tied up with Dositheanism alone.[63]

By tracing the literary traditions before determining the historical and doctrinal origins, Isser was able to determine the origins and basic doctrinal positions of the Dositheans.[64] He suggested that there existed only one sect, though subsects later developed from it. Isser offered two alternatives as to origins. One, the Dositheans developed in the first half of the first century A.D. from a Pharisaizing group perhaps represented by the mysterious Zar'ah. The sect made Dositheus their leader and took his name. In Judaism the Pharisaizing group became the majority party, while in Samaritanism the Pharisaizing group (the Dositheans) remained a minority, considered heretics by "normative Samaritanism." Secondly, Abu'l Fath's testimony to a pre-Christian Dustan sect may have been only an anachronism. The second alternative was dismissed as a reflection of the later Dosithean sect.

Isser also established the "historical" Dositheus as an early first century eschatological figure who pretended to be the "Prophet like Moses"

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[63] Isser, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

[64] Ibid., pp. 109-10.

(Deut 18).[65] He probably portrayed himself as a miracle-worker (magician?) and either author of new texts or interpreter of biblical law. Dositheus took over an established Dustan sect which was Pharisaic in character in contrast to the "normative Samaritans" who were Sadducean. The sect created a Dositheus aretalogy molded after the form of the Moses tradition. The main body of Samaritans parodied this with a "reverse" aretalogy which became the source for Epiphanius and the Samaritan Chronicles. Dositheus' role was like the Moses-Taheb figure, or Elijah or Jesus rather than a priestly Messiah who would restore the temple (tabernacle). His followers looked for his return. By the fourteenth century the Dosithean sect had either disappeared or was assimilated into the main body of Samaritans. Ironically the Dosithean doctrine of resurrection was accepted at that time.

Historically, the Samaritans experienced a vigorous period between 100 B.C. and 70 A.D. There were skirmishes with their Jewish brethren, precipitated evidently by the Samaritans themselves who felt confident in their more favorable position with their Roman overseers. The sectarian spirit had also permeated their ranks, thus the Dositheans and perhaps subsects from them kept the "mainstream" Samaritans in turmoil. Sadly, there were the "prophet" or "messianic" (?) pretenders who led many to Mount Gerizim only to be slain by the impatient Roman administrators. It is within this milieu that the Samaritan creed will be considered.

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[65] Ibid., pp. 163-64.

The Samaritan Theology

The most complete work on Samaritan theology is The Theology of the Samaritans (1964) by John Macdonald. The primary sources to determine Samaritan theology are listed in chronological order and described adequately on pp. 40-49 of his book. The most important source, of course, is the Samaritan Pentateuch and its Targums (Aramaic version of the Pentateuch). After that the Memar Markah (The Teaching of Markah), probably late third or early fourth century A.D., is most important. The Defter (Book of "Common Prayer") may also come from the third century. The Asatir (Chronicle I) has been dated anywhere between the third and ninth century, more likely the Byzantine period. Beyond these, the Samaritan sources are very late in order to determine early Samaritan theology.

However, the materials found in the Memar could easily date back even before the Christian era. Macdonald, who has also published a translation of the Memar, wrote:

> In the Memar the religious atmosphere is similar to that found in Palestine and surrounding regions from the period of Persian rule, through the Hellenistic era, up to the early decline of the Roman Empire. A comparison of the Samaritan Asatir, a book of ancient legends which may belong to the Hellenistic period or possibly the Roman, with the many apocryphal works from the 3rd century B.C., will reveal the same or closely similar ideological climate.[66]

Isser has suggested that Markah was not a Dosithean and that many references in the Memar are later interpolations. Macdonald has also recognized this possibility as he wrote about Markah:

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[66] John Macdonald, ed. and trans., Memar Marqah, Vol. 1: The Text, (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1963), p. xix.

> Markah may or may not have been a Dosithean, and the Samaritan historical sources themselves are not agreed about this or about his religious affinities in general, beyond the fact that he was a Samaritan, but his general teaching was accepted by all later writers, so that we can feel sure that his position was not far removed from that of the priestly authorities.[67]

Also, Macdonald acknowledged the problem of texts in the Memar.

> There is, however, the special problem of the oldest (14th century) MS, called herein K. This MS differs considerably in content and exact working from the Danafi and Levitical text-types. . . . this is a text possibly dictated from someone's memory and not copied from an earlier text.[68]

The difficulty with using Macdonald's Theology of the Samaritans is that almost all the discussions on the various beliefs of the Samaritans come from late sources and more often than not, the early (or earliest) sources cannot be ascertained. Bowman has pointed out the same problem with Cowley's work on Samaritan liturgy:

> One gets a wholly wrong impression of early Samaritanism if one takes Cowley's two volume Samaritan Liturgy as representing early Samaritan worship or even theology. It is a composite work whose metrical contents span over a thousand years and which by concentrating on such to the exclusion of the readings from the Torah, in full or in Qataf, gives an erroneous impression of Samaritan worship.[69] It is as if one judged early Christian worship by modern hymnbooks.

To read the Samaritan literature, one can readily note the similarities with Christian thought, Gnostic ideas, and of the later works, Islamic terminology. Macdonald noted that "Samaritanism is really Pentateuchal

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[67] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 35.

[68] Macdonald, Memar, Vol. 1, p. xxi; note that Isser has suggested that the later doctrines about resurrection and increased role of the Taheb were part of a late text interpolated into the Memar.

[69] Bowman, op. cit., "History," p. 109.

religion evolved along lines influenced by Christianity. . . . The Samaritans knew about Christ and spoke of him without any hostility."[70] In Macdonald's introduction to the Memar he expressed similar convictions:

> We have now to re-examine thoroughly the history of Christian missionary activity in Samaria, so that we may explain why so much of the Johannine (and other) writings of the New Testament has been acceptable to the Samaritans and incorporable into their Christological and soteriological systems. . . . Trotter has set out a fairly strong case for thinking that the Epistle to the Hebrews was in fact either written to the Samaritans (who prefer the title "Hebrews" to "Israelites"), or was composed for Samaritan Christians.[71]

Samaritan theology, therefore, has been influenced by its spiritual and philosophical surroundings. In fact many of the Samaritan teachings would have been very acceptable to the early Church and the teachings of Christ (Matt 5-7). Montgomery saw this characteristic as unique to the Samaritans as over against Judaism. The Samaritans laid greater stress on the moral side of the Law in contrast to the Jewish emphasis on the exposition of sacrificial laws even when they were obsolete. A certain tone of spirituality pervaded Samaritan theology so that "it appears in a way as one of those numerous developments of Old Testament religion which were forerunners of the spiritual worship of synagogue and of Christianity."[72]

The Samaritan Creed

The Samaritan confession of faith included five points: (1) Belief in the one God, (2) Belief in Moses, (3) Belief in the holy Law, (4) Belief in Mount Gerizim, (5) Belief in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense.[73]

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[70] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 32.

[71] Macdonald, op. cit., Memar, Vol. 1, p. xliii.

[72] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 230.

[73] Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 30.

The same confession of faith from a defensive note was expressed by the Defter:

> My Lord, we shall never worship any but thee, nor have we any faith but in thee and in Moses thy prophet, and in thy true scriptures and in the place of worshipping thee, Mount Gerizim, Bethel, the mount of rest and of the divine presence, and in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense.[74]

How did these five tenets become part of the Samaritan Creed? Most scholars see development in the creed. Montgomery observed:

> The first three points of the Samaritan creed are identical with the cardinal beliefs of Judaism, while the fourth is the cause of schism between the two communities. These first four points sometimes appear by themselves, the fifth article concerning the Latter Things being a later addition to the Samaritan theology.[75]

The creed seems to be expressed by the Memar in a very simple way--the first two tenets:

> It behoves us to bless Him and believe in Him and in Moses His prophet, the like of whom has not arisen and never will arise.
>
> Let us believe in the Lord and in Moses His servant.
>
> We believe in Thee and in Moses Thy Man and in Thy Scripture, which Thou didst send down through him from Thy holy place in heaven.[76]

In the Defter (prayer of Markah) the first four tenets are given. Could this mean that the belief in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense was not yet developed as suggested by Montgomery? In the Abdallah (c.p.491.12) all five tenets are given, which is the attestation of the 14th century A.D. Macdonald proposed that "the Dosithean sect may have been responsible for

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[74] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 55.

[75] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 207.

[76] Macdonald, op. cit., Memar iv, 5, 7, 9.

the late formal acceptance of the fifth tenet."[77] However, Macdonald gave this warning:

> There is no evidence as to when exactly any one Samaritan doctrine reached its final form, and we are forced to processes of deduction more often than not in order to determine the probable history of doctrines or creed.[78]

In spite of these doubts there seems to be no real objection or evidence for denying an early adherence to a five (or at least four) tenet creed. Bowman allowed this:

> The liturgical version of their confession of faith says nothing about the resurrection, the appearance of the Saviour, or a man like Moses. However these points appear as extensions of the five points in the form of the confession of faith which is used in their personal prayer. Therefore there can scarcely be any doubt that this liturgical form is very old. Even the Samaritan woman at the well of Sychar expected the Ta'eb or the Messiah, as the author of John's gospel says.[79]

The problem cannot be easily solved and certainly that is not the intention here. Enough has been said to suggest that the Samaritan creed could very well be old, certainly going back to the beginning of the first century A.D. Even the fifth tenet in some form could be early. The Samaritans "stressed the importance of faith more strongly than the Jewish religion;"[80] and therefore, they stressed faith in these five (or four?) creedal statements which will be reviewed in the same order.

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[77] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 55.

[78] Ibid., p. 51.

[79] Bowman, op. cit., Problem, pp. 30-31.

[80] Ibid., p. 31. To be sure, the Jewish religion, too, stressed the importance of faith but here the idea is that by comparison the Samaritans seem to excel in this approach because of their missing temple (tabernacle) and lack of rituals connected with a visible, physical temple.

Belief in the One God

Essentially the Samaritans' belief in God is based on their Pentateuch. But through the years they were not hesitant to develop their ideas about God using terminology "from current systems of thought." The development can be seen in Markah's Memar. "In that work there is a notable philosophical and metaphysical flavour, and so the conservative religious expression of God's attributes tends to be submerged in the broader, more comprehensive language of philosophy."[81]

Like the Judaists the Samaritans understood Deut 6:4 to be a very basic and fundamental truth about God--"Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD" (RSV). But unlike them the Samaritans did not allow it to become part of their creed. Macdonald explained: "They do not base their claim to believe in the oneness of God solely on scriptural warrant; they have worked the belief out in the climate of reason and in the sanctuary of the heart."[82] And again Macdonald explained why the Samaritans do not accept the concept of "unity" for God:

> The Samaritans do not speak of the unity of God; such a concept is alien to them. Like Judaist and Muslim, the Samaritan had no reason to believe that God was a unity, that divinity meant a Godhead.[83]

To illustrate this point graphically the Samaritan Pentateuch does not follow the Massoretic Text where Elohim, God, is used with a plural verb, rather it is "corrected" to the singular (Gen 20:13; 31:53; 35:7; Exod 22:9).

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[81] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 59.

[82] Ibid., p. 65.

[83] Ibid.

The Samaritan view of God was one of "incorporaelity and impassibility." The Targums of the Samaritan Pentateuch try to avoid the original anthropomorphisms. Yet, Montgomery (among others) noted one exception:

> The one standing exception to this rule is the constant reference to the writing of the Tables of the Law by the finger of God; here the effective anthropomorphism of Scripture and the reverence for the Law are too strong for the otherwise spiritualizing Samaritan theology.[84]

The Samaritans seemed to possess a more philosophical and spiritualized view of God at least by Markah's time. God's infinity is expressed both in a positive and negative way by Markah's Memar:

> He does not increase or decrease; He is eternal in His oneness, I AM in divinity, everlasting in awesomeness. His greatness is not localized--indeed He created every place by His power.
>
> He has no place in which He is known and no area in which He is recognized; He does not reside in a place; He is devoid of any locality. . . . He has no place where He can be sought.[85]

Macdonald commented on this text:

> This is an important passage in that it demonstrates (1) the Samaritan avoidance of pantheistic concepts, and (2) the fact that although Mount Gerizim is the "chosen place, the House of God" (Beth-el), where his people can worship him, no place is distinguished as being a location where the essential form of God can be observed.[86]

Particular characteristics of God taught by the Judaists were not considered by the Samaritans, i.e., the fatherhood of God,[87] and the Logos-Doctrine.[88] By contrast the personal name of God (YHWH) appears throughout Samaritan literature, used "without any trace of that fear at even the writing of it

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[84] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 212.

[85] Memar iv. 5, 7.

[86] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 72.

[87] Ibid., p. 66.

[88] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 209.

which characterizes Judaism."[89] Indeed, the Samaritans seemed to emphasize God's love and a personal faith in Him as evidenced by the Memar:

> He gives relief to those who love him and he remembers them.
>
> He is near to all who seek him and cares for all who love him, a strong shield to those who believe in him, for he is merciful and full of pity.
>
> Blessed is our Lord,[90] who magnifies his beloved and cares for them in all their activity.

Because the Samaritans were strict literalists with regard to their Pentateuch but at the same time used philosophical vocabulary that prevailed around them with reference to their God, they created a puzzling phenomena that Macdonald found contradictory:

> If God has no self, how can he have personal characteristics like love, mercy, patience, and so on? This is perhaps the greatest single theological problem confronting the Samaritans, for their philosophical background accredited to God an unsubstantial existence, while their religious training and faith taught them of a God who loves, serves and cares.[91]

The explanation is probably one of developments where early Samaritan concepts of God were mainly Pentateuchal in nature while later writings exhibit the more philosophical version but never go beyond the limits of their Torah. Their God was simply unfathomable. As Montgomery noted: "Samaritan theology in general draws the sharpest line between God and his creatures."[92] However, according to the Samaritans, God had revealed Himself in two acts (1) the creation and (2) the giving of the Law through Moses. It is Moses who became second in importance to God.

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[89] Ibid., p. 213.

[90] Memar iii. 5, iv. 2,4.

[91] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 87.

[92] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 222.

The Belief in Moses

Macdonald has pointed out the importance of understanding the Samaritan Moses:

> It developed a belief in Moses, its only prophet, as the pre-eminent one of all humanity, the specially endowed of God. Like Christianity, it elevated its chief historical figure to the highest degree, but unlike Christianity it did not accredit him with divine sonship. So pre-eminent is Moses in Samaritan belief that it is true to say that Samaritanism cannot be understood without regarding belief in Moses as basic and central.[93]

The Memar gave many examples of this belief in Moses.

> Let us believe in Him and in Moses His prophet, and let us bow down before Him and testify, saying, "There is only one God."[94]

> Let us follow after the great prophet Moses who leads us well for our Lord sent him to us. Where is there a prophet like Moses, who was a good father to all Israel, bringing them up and caring for them, atoning for them in his fast and also giving them life through his prayer. He delivered them from the hands of their enemies and established them in perfect faith. He was a good physician, healing and giving reward. The Elders he honoured, the men he strengthened, the young he illumined, the infants he brought up, the youths he made strong, the children he kept alive. When he prophesied, he delivered them; when he received the tablets he saved them; His words were from the words of his Lord. Believe in Him--you will be safe from all wrath, in the Day of Vengeance you will find rest; in the fire you will not be. It will have no power over you.
>
> He who believes in him believes in his Lord. . . . Let us believe in the Lord and in Moses His servant.[95]

Notice the injunction to "believe in Moses"! These words are reminiscent of John's Gospel sayings (cf. John 14:10, 24; 3:16; 14:1, 1:3).

Just as Macdonald compared the Samaritan Moses to the Christ of Christianity, Montgomery compared him also to Islam's Mohammed as well as the Christ:

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[93] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 147.

[94] Memar iv. 8

[95] Memar iv. 7.

> In the Samaritan sect Moses takes a place parallel to that enjoyed by Mohammed in Islam: "Moses is the Prophet of God." and there is none other like him. But the Samaritan doctrine even surpasses Islam in reverence for its prophet. For while Muslim orthodoxy thinks of the Arabian prophet with rational soberness, the Samaritan advances the great Lawgiver to a position where he becomes an object of faith. He is rather like the Christ of Christianity, one whose origin is often held to be mysterious, who now lives to make intercession for his brethren, who will appear effectually for the saints at the last day; the Messiah himself will be but an inferior replica of that absolute prophet.[96]

Since the canon of the Samaritans consisted only of the Pentateuch it is only natural that Moses should take center stage, especially since he is deemed the author of the Pentateuch. Whereas the Jews knew Moses as the first of a long succession of prophets, the Samaritans saw Moses as the end of all prophecy.

Macdonald puts the Samaritan attributes of Moses into two categories: (1) those derived or implied from the Pentateuch and (2) "those that have particular significance, esoteric or cosmic in the main."[97] Of the first category Moses is called "good one," "righteous one," "faithful one of God," "the highest of men," "the most choice of humanity," "master of knowledge," "honoured leader," "teacher," "priest," "judge," "King," "messenger," "apostle," and "supplicator." Macdonald noted that "all these titles are or could be applied to Christ by Christians."[98] In Samaritan literature Moses is called in a unique way "the Levite" and "the elect son of Amran." The

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[96] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 225.

[97] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, pp. 152ff.

[98] Ibid., p. 152.

latter title should be read, "the elect, son of Amram," according to Macdonald, for he wrote: "Moses pre-existed as an entity, but within the human context and especially the context of salvation, Moses was obviously not like other men."[99]

On the second category Macdonald listed the following titles: "servant of God," "the son of his House," "Man of God or his Man" (Deut 33:1), "speaker," "our lord," "saviour," and "the star." Most, if not all, of these titles come from late Samaritan literature. It is difficult to know when the unique titles attributed to Moses began. Reason would suggest that certainly the Pentateuchally derived titles were available from the beginning but that the more esoteric and unique titles came after the first century, more likely the third or fourth century A.D., Markah's time.

Whatever the beliefs the first century Samaritans held about Moses, it is evident that they later accepted pre-existent attributes as well as a heavenly superiority over angels. Isser discovered that "the Memar Marqah has the largest number of passages in which the Sinai ascent appears with what looks like the picture of a pre-existent Moses in heaven."[100] Macdonald more than once suggested that the Samaritan teaching on Moses was influenced by the Christian teachings about Christ.

> It seems fairly certain that the New Testament comparisons between Moses and Jesus which seem to lead to the New Testament belief that Jesus was, as it were, a greater Moses, encouraged the Samaritans, who were after all the first corporate body within a specific community to recognize the Messianic claims attributed to Christ (John 4:39f), in their development of their doctrine of Moses.[101]

From Moses came the Law, the third creedal tenet.

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[99] Ibid., p. 154.

[100] Isser, op. cit., p. 136. See especially Memar i. 1; ii. 12; iv. 1, 3, 5, 6, 12; v. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[101] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 189.

Belief in the Law

The Memar Marqah described the origin of the Law:

> It was written by the finger of God and is descended from heaven in two stone tablets. It was established from Creation; it was made in the light; it was made known from the mouth of its Composer; a prophet received it, who was worthy of this glory from his very birth.[102]

It is clear also that the Torah alone is the sole revelation from God:

> The book we possess is a book of truth, but all the writings of the prophets are foul things.[103]

Evidently, only the Decalogue was given and Moses expanded the Law by receiving more from God:

> After this Moses went back and requested the words of mercy (Ex. 34:6-7) which are attributive names. Our Lord appeared and wrote before him these scriptures which He wrote by His greatness.[104]

Macdonald described the finished product in this manner:

> The process, we are told, was that thereafter Moses went on adding to and expanding his material until the whole Law as we now have it was completed. His prophetic function made it possible for him to write of things he would not do, places he would not see, and even of his own death.
>
> The Law thus finalized was the final revelation of God direct from God to man; thereafter revelation was to be through the mind. God had made his final personal appearance to the world. His voice was heard at Sinai, his will was on record for all time.[105]

Like the Judaists the Samaritans counted 613 commandments within the Torah (Pentateuch), but they categorized them differently. They counted 248 positive commands to be obeyed and performed while there were 305 negative

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[102] Memar vi. 2. (cp. Exod 24:12; 32:16; 34:1; Deut 5:22, 10:2, 4.)

[103] Ibid., Macdonald noted in footnote #17 that "if an attack on the Jewish prophets"; i.e. the "foul things," "it is the only clear instance in Marqah's writings" (p. 218).

[104] Ibid.,

[105] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 288.

commands or prohibitions. Sixty of the laws were completely obligatory upon everyone for all time. Listed in the Malef, they reveal the Samaritan emphasis upon faith and obedience as a way of life--a much more spiritual tone than the Judaists.[106]

Samaritan belief in the Law corresponds to the Christian belief in the Holy Spirit. The Law was "lord and giver of life which proceeds from God through his Man."[107] The man, of course, was Moses. For the Christian the Holy Spirit is giver of life which proceeds from God through His Son, Jesus Christ. The Samaritan statement may have been late, but certainly the first century Samaritans had similar attachments to their Law.

Belief in Mount Gerizim

The Memar made an interesting assertion:

> There are SEVEN BEST THINGS in the world which the True One chose and set apart as divine; the light, the Sabbath, Mount Gerizim, Adam, the two stone tablets, the great prophet Moses, and Israel. . . . Mount Gerizim is especially holy. God made it the dwelling place of His glory.[108]

Since the Samaritans had built a temple on Mount Gerizim sometime in the fourth century B.C. and it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus c.128 B.C., the fourth tenet of the Samaritan creed was the distinguishing mark between the Samaritans and the Jews, for it had been part of their belief from the inception of the sect. No sect of the Jews held any more tenaciously to their holy mount than did the Samaritans to theirs; witness the Roman slaughters recorded by Josephus.

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[106] Ibid., p. 289.

[107] Ibid., p. 293.

[108] Memar ii. 10.

Montgomery took the position that the Samaritans falsified the Torah in order to make valid their religious claim upon Mt. Gerizim. Simply by changing "Ebal" to "Gerizim" in Deut 27:4, the Samaritans "invented Mosaic authority for the sanctity of Gerizim, proceeded to dignify the mountain with every epithet of honor, and to identify it with every possible transaction of sacred history."[109] Bruce Waltke's Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch concurred with this opinion. As already noted in chapter one, others hold that the Samaritan Pentateuch was original and the Massoretic text was changed. Regardless, the Samaritans did elevate the sanctity of Mt. Gerizim. Its praise is found throughout all Samaritan literature. Even verses that do not mention "Gerizim" in the Pentateuch are connected to the Mount.

> The Samaritans apply many biblical passages to Mount Gerizim. So it is called "the mount of inheritance" (Ex. 15:17). Although only mentioned twice in the Pentateuch by name, the Samaritans find scores of references to it by implication. According to Markah's study there are thirteen names for the sacred mount; these are:
>
> The mountains of the East (Gen. 10.30)
> Bethel (Gen. 12.8)
> The House of God (Gen. 28.17)
> The gate of heaven (ibid.)
> Luza/Luz (Gen. 28.19)
> Sanctuary (Ex. 15.17)
> Mount Gerizim (Deut. 11.29)
> The house of the Lord (Ex. 23.19; 34.26)
> The goodly mount (Deut. 3.25)
> The chosen place (ibid.)
> The everlasting hill (Deut. 33.15)
> One of the mountains (Gen. 22.2)
> The Lord will provide (Gen. 22.14)
>
> . . .After Markah every Samaritan to discuss the subject depended on his categories. . . . In Chronicle II it is regular practice to describe the mountain as "Mount Gerizim, Bethel, the chosen place."[110]

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[109] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 235.

[110] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 328.

Every conceivable historical event in the Pentateuch that had any significance to the Samaritans "occurred" on Mt. Gerizim. It became the center of not only their worship, but their lives and heart. It was their means of grace. Macdonald again described this faith in the mountain:

> Mount Gerizim is the "height" (highest spot) of the Samaritan world. As such it is nearest to heaven! It was the first land to be uncovered after the flood in Noah's time. It is to be the central focus of the Taheb's activities in the Second Kingdom. Its real form will present the setting for the hereafter of perfect bliss and purity. . . . Mount Gerizim, Bethel, is essentially pure, that it represents the focal point in the world for prayer and praise. Possession of and worship on this mountain is undoubtedly the means of grace that most strikingly marks out the Samaritans as a unique community in Palestine.[111]

Even to this day the Samaritans hold their festivals on Mt. Gerizim. Bowman reported:

> Pilgrimages to the summit of Mount Gerizim are made on the seventh day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, at Pentecost, and on the first day of the Feast of the Tabernacles. Even Passover is celebrated on Mount Gerizim.[112]

There is no reason to suppose that the first four tenets of the Samaritan Creed did not exist from the very beginning of their particular sect. Certainly each tenet was elaborated on and embroidered through the centuries, but the same creed was there. The Samaritans clearly are of Jewish religious heritage, i.e., their strict monotheism. Also their belief in Moses and the five books attributed to him made them a very conservative people. Their hold on Mt. Gerizim became their distinguishing mark and perhaps the only drawback

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[111] Ibid., p. 333.

[112] Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 43.

to a reunited Jewish-Israelite people. The fifth creedal statement is the only one that could possibly have been a late development, though it need not have been.

The Belief in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense

> The Day of Vengeance and Recompense is the grand objective of the Samaritan philosophy of history which lies at the base of all the chronicles.[113]
>
> The Age of Disfavor - Fall of Adam to Moses
> The Age of Favor - Moses to Samson (Eli)
> The Age of Disfavor - Samson (Eli) to the Present
> The Age of Favor - The Day of Vengeance and Recompense

Again the Samaritan Pentateuch comes into play for this teaching. The Massoretic Text of Deut 32:35 reads literally: "To me (is) vengeance and recompense." The Samaritan Pentateuch reads: "To (for) day of vengeance and recompense." The difference is the addition of two Hebrew letters to the prepositional phrase לי; i.e. ליום: The variant readings reveal that the Septuagint (LXX) agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch. Macdonald considered this teaching to be very early in Samaritan doctrine:

> It is certain that Samaritanism, like its sister religions, developed belief in a "day of judgment" very early, and indeed all the oldest known literature shows an already evolved belief.[114]

An entire section of the Memar is devoted to the idea. By the time of Markah it is a fully developed doctrine:

> The Day of Recompense is for all the good, the Day of Resurrection for all men, the Day of Regret for all the wicked, the Day of Reckoning for all things done, the Day of Recompense for the good

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[113] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 241.

[114] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 380.

> and the evil, the Day of Interrogation about all things done by all creatures, the Day of Trembling for all feet, the Day of Terror for all limbs, the Day of Reckoning for all action.[115]

Isser would probably object and declare this section a late interpolation because of its close proximity to the "Day of Resurrection," a doctrine he considered to be assimilated only in the fourteenth century. This could be, but there is no way to prove it either way. Montgomery considered the resurrection doctrine to be fully developed by Markah's day:

> The elder Samaritan doubtless held to the primitive notion, exhibited almost throughout the Jewish Scriptures, that the dead went to Sheol, herein agreeing with Sadducaean doctrine as against Pharisaism. However, the dogma of the resurrection appears already to full bloom in Marka in the IVth Century.[116]

The Memar phraseology on the resurrection does remind one of the New Testament:

> He will summon His creatures as He wills. The earth will be split because of the great terror (then), and all of them will come forth as quick as a wink of the eye and will arise in one moment before Him. The earth will be renewed and its split mended where it was split.[117]

The Samaritans used the Pentateuch to support their doctrine of resurrection. In Gen 3:19 the MT reads: "You are dust, and to dust you shall return." The SP reads: "You are dust, and to your dust you shall return," the difference of one Hebrew letter.

> We do not know if they deliberately altered the text of Gen. 3:19 in order to accommodate a belief already in existence amongst them, or whether this variant like many others has as great antiquity as the equivalent in the Masoretic text employed by the Judaists and Christians. What is certain is that their sacred Scripture gives them warrant for such a belief.[118]

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[115] Memar iv. 12.

[116] Montgomery, op. cit., p. 239.

[117] Memar iv. 12.

[118] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 375.

Connected to the Day of Vengeance is also the Taheb:

> The Taheb will arise and the Lord will have compassion. The place of the Day of Vengeance is the evil place of the Calf. I will be fierce in anger when I do away with the people. . . . Therefore on the Day of Vengeance the great fire will be kindled. Those who abode by the True One will not be overcome by it.[119]

Gesenius is credited by Montgomery for having reached the meaning of the term Taheb:

> The word is the participle of the root תוב, the Samaritan Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew שוב, "return," "do again," "restore," the latter form also appearing rarely in the Epistles as שהב. Through the Samaritan indifference in the use of gutterals, the participle also appears spelt תהב but without influencing the pronunciation. The root is used, as in the Hebrew religious language, of the change of the heart, or repentance, of man or God; hence Taheb has been interpreted by some as the Penitent One, who vicariously meets God's demand. But, with Gesenius, it is to be understood in the active voice, as in the Biblical שוב השיב "make restoration," so that the Samaritan Messiah is the Restorer. And this is in fact the interpretation that is given by the Samaritans themselves, as thus in one of their most recent Epistles, that to Kautzsch: "This word תהב means the one who converts the people."[120]

Somehow he will be involved in the Last Days.

The Memar added: "When the Taheb comes he will reveal the truth and God will glorify the dead."[121] The sources have indicated many pretenders of such a person. Josephus (Antiquities xviii. 85-87) told of the man who rallied a mob to follow him to the top of Mt. Gerizim where he promised to reveal the sacred vessels secretly buried there. Bowman has defended his opinion (opposed by Isser):

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[119] Memar iv. 12.

[120] Montgomery, op. cit., pp. 246-47.

[121] Memar iii. 9.

> The whole Samaritan doctrine of the Ta'eb (Saviour) is patterned after Ezekiel's hope for a Nasi, except that the Ta'eb is naturally not a descendant of David but is one who is like Moses. By the way, Deut. 18:18 was also used as a messianic verse by the Zadokites in Damascus and Qumran. According to the Samaritan conception, the Ta'eb will find the last vessels and the incense-altar of the Tabernacle again.[122]

Surely in Acts 8 Simon portrayed himself as such a figure, for through his magic the people cried out, "This man is that power of God which is called Great" (vs. 10). Even the Samaritan woman in conversation with Jesus at the well of Sychar knew of a coming "messiah" and that "he will show us all things" (John 4:25). To this Samaritan village Jesus was "the prophet" like Moses, i.e., the Taheb! The term "Christ" is an anachronism in this context of John, as Isser explained:

> The term "messiah" (= "anointed one") is uncommon and unimportant--if it occurs at all--in the literature of the Samaritans. Their eschatological beliefs include no anointed figures like the Davidic Messiah.[123]

Only the late medieval Samaritan sources give detailed information on the Taheb. According to them he is to come to establish the New Kingdom, restore the vessels and temple of worship on Mt. Gerizim, and then will die before the Resurrection. He will be buried next to Joshua and Joseph, the patriarchs of the northern Israelites. The priests will continue to present offerings and sacrifices on the altar until the Day of Resurrection when all the righteous enter into a new world of bliss through Mt. Gerizim untouched by a final conflagration. Macdonald has stated it as clearly as the sources will allow:

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[122] Bowman, op. cit., Problem, pp. 40-41.

[123] Isser, op. cit., p. 127.

> The evidence suggests that in earliest times the Taheb was to be the restorer and no more. His function was to bring victory to the elect in the world, and there was no suggestion that he was to have anything to do with the Day of Vengeance and what follows. It is understandable that the main hope about the Taheb was that he should, like the Davidic Messiah of Judaism, make an end of persecution and bring military victory to Israel. However, the Samaritan concept of the divine favour, derived from other parts of the Law, was a concept that probably ran parallel to that of the Taheb for a long time, and eventually the two became integrated, with the result that the Taheb came to be the restorer of the true worship, himself a priest--after the fashion of Moses. . . . It was priesthood, not kingship, that was expected to be the sovereign force in the new kingdom.[124]

It is the contention of this writer that at least the first four tenets of the Samaritan creed were in force from the very beginning of the sect. But the belief in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense developed early along with the growing desire for a Taheb (Restorer) to come. Perhaps in the "likeness of Moses," but not greater than Moses, the Taheb should restore Samaritan worship in its true form on Mt. Gerizim and inaugurate the Era of Divine Favour. Surely because of the influence the early Church's teaching (especially the Gospel of John) had upon the Samaritans, this last tenet could easily thrive among them. All of the elaborations of each tenet with its Christian and Islamic influences came much later but became a "normal" part of Samaritan thought and vocabulary by the 14th century A.D.

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[124] Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 362.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CRITERIA FOR RELATING SAMARITAN STUDIES TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

The criteria by which scholars have related Samaritan studies to the New Testament have proliferated considerably in the last twenty-five years. Examining these criteria will help to determine the best approach for relating Samaritan studies to the Gospel of Mark.

Direct References to Samaritans

The most important criterion, of course, is the direct references to Samaritans in the New Testament.[1] Only one reference is found in Matthew (10:5) while the remaining references are concentrated in John and Luke-Acts.

The Matthew passage involved Jesus' charge to the Twelve as he sent them out on a preaching tour: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt 10:5b-6). John Bowman evaluated this reference in a negative manner when he wrote, "The gospel of Matthew is opposed to the Samaritans."[2] This negative evaluation need not be. The fact that Jesus had to charge them not to go to Gentiles or Samaritans may have indicated that they had

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[1] The Greek concordance listed the few passages where there is mention of "Samaritans" or "Samaria": σαμαρίτης- Matt 10:5; Luke 9:52; 10:33; 17:16; John 4:9, 39, 40; 8:48; Acts 8:25. σαμαρῖτις- John 4:9, 9. σαμαρία- Luke 17:11; John 4:4, 5, 7; Acts 1:8; 8:1, 5, 9, 14; 9:31; 15:3.

[2] John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), p. 57.

already been among Samaritans and a few Gentiles with Jesus in his ministry. Certainly Luke and John are two witnesses to that fact. The time was not "right" for the Twelve to go either to Samaritans or to Gentiles. This seems to be a better explanation.

In addressing himself to the references in Luke and John, Bowman concluded that both Gospels have been "conditioned by the special kind of Samaritanism to which both evangelists addressed themselves."[3] John is addressed to the Dosithean sect which would later greatly affect Samaritan theological orthodoxy.[4] Luke is addressed to the more priestly oriented orthodox Samaritans among others of the Gentile world.[5] After having surveyed the Samaritan affinities in the Gospel of John, Charles H. H. Scobie thought it remarkable that "a Gospel which is so often held to be non-Palestinian, Hellenistic and late in date, shows an astonishing interest in the bringing of the gospel to the Samaritans, and a considerable knowledge of Samaritan customs, beliefs and topography."[6] He suggested an early date for the Gospel of John. "Johannine theology appears in a new light if the Gospel is regarded as the product of Galilean and Samaritan Christian communities,stemming from the Stephen-Philip movement."[7] This evaluation of the over-all approach to John and Luke will have value for later criteria.

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[3]Ibid., p. 89.

[4]Ibid., p. 142. See note 57.

[5]Ibid., p. 59.

[6]Charles H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," New Testament Studies 19 (1972-73) 403.

[7]Ibid., p. 408.

The direct references to Samaritans in John consist of two episodes: first, Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman at the well and a brief two day visit with her village (John 4); and second, Jesus' debate with the Pharisaic Jews who accused him of being a Samaritan and having a demon (John 8:48). Both episodes offer much information in regard to Samaritanism in the first century A.D.

When Jesus addressed the Samaritan woman she queried Jesus, "'How is it that you, a Jew, ask a drink of me, a woman of Samaria?' For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans" (John 4:9 RSV). The usual translation suggests non-communication between Jews and Samaritans, but the better rendering might be, "Jews do not use vessels in common with Samaritans."[8] From this encounter developed a conversation that has shed much light on Samaritanism in the New Testament era. Other criteria will consider the event more fully.

In the second episode of direct reference to Samaritans, Jesus is accused by his adversaries of being a Samaritan and of having a demon. The context of the passage helps to explain the meaning. The testimonies given of Jesus by John the Baptist ("He who comes after me ranks before me, for he was before me." John 1:15), Andrew ("We have found the Messiah." John 1:41), Nathaniel ("Rabbi, you are the Son of God! You are the King of Israel!" John 1:49) were presented by the Gospel of John in concert with the testimony of the Samaritans (4:42) that Jesus was "the Savior of the world." Then

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[8]See the scholarly work of D. Daube, "Jesus and the Samaritan Woman: The Meaning of συγχράομαι," Journal of Biblical Literature 69 (1950) 137-47 and J. Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (London, 1969), chap. 17, "The Samaritans," pp. 352-58. See also Scobie's article, p. 403, footnote 4.

by contrast the Jews "testify" that Jesus was a Samaritan and had a demon (John 8:48; cp. 7:30, 8:52, 10:20). Jesus simply ignored the accusation of being a Samaritan (John 8:49) but rejected the notion that he had a demon. Bowman asked rhetorically: "But why then does he allow Jesus to remain silent to the accusation that he may be one?"[9] Purvis suggested that the charge by the Pharisees was caused by Jesus' claim to divine origin as well as his accusation to the Pharisaic Jews that they were "not of God" (8:47) and were not Abraham's offspring (8:39). These statements could have been made easily by a Samaritan. Jesus needed only to respond to one of the accusations because they belonged together. The Samaritan false prophets were considered demon-possessed; and therefore, Jesus is cast in the role of a Samaritan cult leader (cf. Mark 3:22-30; Matt 9:34; 12:24-37; Luke 9:15-26). Jesus' reply indicated that "he is no false prophet of the Dositheus type."[10]

In light of the above episode Purvis noted that John may have been contrasting the "signs" of Jesus with the "signs" of the Samaritan and Jewish false-prophets. The magicians worked for their own fame and glory (cp. Simon in Acts 8). Jesus had come from God as over against the false prophets and magicians of Jewish and Samaritan fame.[11]

Besides the direct references in John, a larger concentration is found in Luke-Acts. Three separate times "Samaritans" are mentioned in the Gospel

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[9]Bowman, op. cit., p. 61.

[10]James D. Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," Novum Testamentum 17 (1975) 196.

[11]Ibid., p. 197. See especially footnotes 110 and 111.

of Luke. The first occurred in an episode when Jesus rebuked his disciples for wanting to rain fire on an inhospitable Samaritan village. They were taking the "short cut" through Samaria on their way to the Jerusalem Passover celebration. The text implies that they went to another Samaritan village (Luke 9:56). The second reference is found in the parable of "The Good Samaritan" (Luke 10:33). Through this parable Jesus made the extreme point that the Samaritan traveler had been the true neighbor to the Jewish robber victim though his Jewish kinsmen had not. In light of the hostilities existing between the two peoples, the point could not be lost. The third reference unmistakably elevates the Samaritans in the eyes of the reader by presenting the thankful leper as a Samaritan. Jesus traveled close to Samaria (Luke 17:11) and encountered a group of ten lepers. After healing them, only one, a Samaritan, returned to give thanks to Jesus (Luke 17:16). Jesus called the Samaritan leper an alien (ἀλλογενής). The significance of this will be made later.

Luke seems to have structured his narrative in Acts, at least partly, on the geographical outreach of the gospel beginning from Jerusalem. "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8b RSV). After Stephen was stoned (Acts 7), a general persecution among Jerusalem Christians scattered them throughout Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1). Philip went into "a city of Samaria" (Acts 8:5) and there proclaimed the gospel. Many accepted the message of Philip. Even Simon the Samaritan magician (Acts 8:9), perhaps a "messianic" pretender, believed and was baptized following after Philip (Acts 8:12, 13). Peter and John were sent from Jerusalem to confirm the work of Philip and to impart

the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands (8:14-17). Simon offered money to the Apostles so that he might have the power to impart the Holy Spirit to anyone. He was immediately condemned. This is possibly the beginning of the Simonian Gnostic sect if Simon pulled away from the mainstream of Christianity at that time. Peter and John, on their return trip, preached to many Samaritan villages (Acts 8:25). The remaining two references consists of one of Luke's church growth reports (Acts 9:31) and a missionary report given by Paul and Barnabas to the Samaritan churches (Acts 15:3).

The foregoing scriptures indicated the importance of Samaritans in the thought of John and Luke's gospels as well as Luke's second volume, Acts. Bowman wrote: "If Judaism took the Samaritan problem seriously, it is all the more likely that the Christian church did so."[12] Besides these direct references to Samaritans in the New Testament there are other criteria that scholars have used to help relate Samaritan studies to the New Testament.

Use of the Samaritan Pentateuch

While attempting to write a book about Stephen, Abram Spiro[13] examined Stephen's speech in Acts 7 and noticed four peculiarities that corresponded with the Samaritan Pentateuch: (1) In Gen 11:32 (MT) Terah lived 205 years, 60 years beyond Abraham's departure from Haran (Gen 11:26; 12:4). However,

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[12]Bowman, op. cit., p. 57.

[13]Abram Spiro, "Stephen's Samaritan Background," in The Acts of the Apostles, by Johannes Munck, rev. by W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann (The Anchor Bible 31, New York, 1967), pp. 285-300.

Stephen has Abraham leaving his father at his death (Acts 7:4) which corresponds with the SP where Terah lived only 145 years. (2) God promised Abraham the land but "gave him no inheritance in it, not even a foot of ground" (Acts 7:5), a text based on Deut 2:5b. The MT has "inheritance" only in 2:5c. In the SP it appears in vs. 5b as in Stephen's speech. (3) In the phrase, "I am the God of your fathers" (Acts 7:32), Exod 3:6 (MT) has "father" (singular) while the SP manifests the plural agreeing with Acts 7:32. (4) Stephen's history depended on Genesis and Exodus, but in Acts 7:37 reference is made to Deut 18:15 (18?). Spiro did not see this as a reference to Deuteronomy but rather to the Samaritan Pentateuch's tenth commandment which included a pericope at Exod 20:17 composed of Deut 18:18 and other references to Gerizim.

For the most part Scobie accepted without argument Spiro's thesis on the SP readings in Acts 7,[14] but Spiro was not without his critics. Purvis rejected Spiro's second SP reading in Acts 7:5 as a Samaritan reading and warned that "these readings could simply reflect use of non-Masoretic Palestinian textual tradition (of which the Samaritan Pentateuch was itself a redaction)."[15] In similar manner Reinhard Pummer[16] warned of Scobie's (and others') ready acceptance that Stephen's speech contained or was based on the Samaritan Pentateuch. His warning was based on F. M. Cross, Jr.'s definitive study on the development of the various families of Hebrew texts.

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[14]Scobie, op. cit., pp. 393-94.

[15]Purvis, op. cit., pp. 174-75. See Footnote 45.

[16]Reinhard Pummer, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the New Testament," New Testament Studies 22 (1976) 441-43.

The proto-Samaritan Pentateuch developed along with a Palestinian text whose characteristics were "wide-spread glosses, expansions from parallel passages, transpositions, and similar features."[17] Pummer suggested that instead of jumping to the conclusion that a particular reading is from the Samaritan Pentateuch, one should rather say that the New Testament knew a developed Palestinian text whether Samaritan or not. In all the four references in Acts 7, Pummer could explain the differences by simply saying: "There were texts that had readings that differed from MT and LXX," and "There is nothing specifically Samaritan about it," or "Such expansions are now known from other texts found near the Dead Sea, and by themselves they cannot be adduced to prove Samaritan influence," and finally, "another instance of a variant reading."[18] Pummer has, therefore, warned that an agreement between the SP and the OT quotations or allusions in the NT "is not sufficient to postulate Samaritan influence. Such influence may be there or it may not be. We have to find other ways to determine this."[19] Pummer's point is a good one and was taken seriously by Earl Richard of Berea College.[20]

Richard critically analyzed the criterion of textual data. He noted that only Purvis considered "the textual data as a minimal importance."[21]

Richard's main argument for the chronological difficulties involved in Acts 7:4 leaned on a reading of Philo's Migration of Abraham 177 where

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[17]Ibid., p. 442.

[18]Ibid., p. 443.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Earl Richard, "Acts 7: An Investigation of the Samaritan Evidence," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (Apr. 1977) 190-208.

[21]Ibid., p. 196, note 28. See Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel," p. 174, note 45.

it is stated that the father had died before the departure for Canaan.[22] He suggested that Luke (Acts), Philo, and the Samaritan Pentateuch point to a common textual tradition, i.e., a non-traditional Palestinian text (Cross). "No one," Richard added, "would maintain that Philo employs the SP."[23] Richard expressed concern that only Scobie had noted the Philo reference and that only in a passing statement in a footnote,[24] intimating that those who espoused a Samaritan Pentateuch solution were being less than honest with the available evidence.

Similarly, Richard's solution for the complex textual arrangements in Acts 7:5 rested on a comparison with other texts besides the SP. The Old Latin and Ethiopic versions, the Peshitta--all provide terms equivalent to κληρονομίαν in Acts 7:5a. Therefore, his argument ran, "The author of Acts had at his disposal a Greek Vorlage with such a reading, a reading which, as indicated by the Samaritan texts, had its roots in a Hebrew recension."[25]

In the Acts 7:32 passage where the MT and LXX of Exod 3:6 (and versions) read the singular "your father," Luke used the plural, "your fathers." After a complicated comparison of texts demonstrating the fluidity of the textual tradition bearing of the uses of the singular and plural of this phrase, Richard concluded that "the readings of Justin and Acts 13:13 support an original LXX plural reading of Exod 3:6--'the God of your fathers,'"[26] and

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[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 197.

[24]Ibid. See Scobie, "Samaritan Christianity," p. 393, note 2.

[25]Ibid., p. 199.

[26]Ibid., p. 201.

therefore "in regard to Acts 7:32 . . . the most likely explanation of the occurrence there of ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου is to be found in consideration of textual history rather than in Samaritan hypotheses or even redactional theories."[27]

In regards to Acts 7:37 where the SP proponents adhere to the use of the SP tenth commandment (the use of Deut 18:18 found in Exod 20), Richard criticized their use of Kahle's support for such a theory, for Kahle had proceeded to list LXX manuscripts[28] and many non-biblical Jewish writings such as Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, and Fourth Ezra. Yet the SP adherents ignored Kahle's full notes and conclusions. Richard's conclusion to the Acts 7:37 problem was "that the additions of Exodus 20 as found in the SP are not of Samaritan origin but belong instead to the Palestinian expansionists text-type so much in evidence at Qumran."[29] His ultimate opinion on the subject was that Luke simply made use of the Deuteronomy passage (Deut 18:18) and inserted it into his textual arrangements.

> A major conclusion of the present survey is the realization that the passages of Acts 7, which bear a textual resemblance to the SP (except v. 37), present evidence not of some biographical, historical, or theological situation but rather of the OT text and traditions employed by the author of Acts.[30]

Certainly Richard has challenged the easy use that scholars have made to the SP in regards to Stephen's speech (Acts 7). This one criterion must now be used with much finer arguments and supporting data. Many other

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[27]Ibid., p. 202.

[28]Ibid., p. 203. See p. 207 for Richard's sharp criticism of the proponents of Samaritan theories who have neglected P. Kahle's initial proposals.

[29]Ibid., p. 205.

[30]Ibid., p. 207.

criteria must be used to support one's theory. Richard has done Samaritan studies a good turn by forcing these studies to be more precise and faithful to all the data and evidence available.

One criticism of Richard is that in spite of all his efforts, the Samaritan Pentateuch is still a viable option for the biblical scholar to use as the basis for some of the Acts 7 texts. Scobie himself had acknowledged the severe criticism leveled against Spiro's original edited article in the Anchor Bible (Acts) by such men as Pummer, Richard and Mare.[31] G. Stemberger and S. Lowy also added to the negative evaluations.[32] Scobie declared that "What most of the above writers have succeeded in demonstrating is that the textual evidence in Acts 7 is by itself inconclusive."[33] But he also added "that this evidence in no way disproves the use of a Samaritan source."[34] R. J. Coggins agreed with Scobie and optimistically wrote of this criterion: "It is noteworthy that no text other than the Samaritan Pentateuch supports any of the suggested deviations, and 'Samaritanisms' of this type have not been alleged elsewhere in Acts."[35]

Besides the Acts 7 readings that seem to correspond to the SP text, another text (Heb 9:3, 4) seems to have a SP background. The author of

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[31]W. H. Mare, "Acts 7: Jewish or Samaritan in Character?", Westminster Theological Journal 34 (1971-72) 1-21.

[32]See G. Stemberger, "Die Stephanusrede (Apg 7) und dis judische Tradition" in A. Fuchs, Jesus in der Verkundigung der Kirche, Studien zum Neven Testament und seiner Unwelt, Band 1 (Linz: 1976), p. 154; and S. Lowy, The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), pp. 50-57.

[33]Charles H. H. Scobie, "The Use of Source Material in the Speeches of Acts II and VII," New Testament Studies 25 (1978) 405.

[34]Ibid.

[35]R. J. Coggins, "The Samaritans and Acts," New Testament Studies 28 (1982) 424.

Heb 9: 3, 4 described the golden altar of incense as though it were within the holy of holies, but according to the MT of Exodus, this is not so. Scobie noted that in the SP, Exod 30:1-10 (the description of the altar of incense) came between Exod 26:35 and 26:36, so that the altar of incense followed immediately upon the description of the veil which separates the Holy of Holies. "The misunderstanding evidenced in Heb. ix. 3, 4 can thus be understood if the writer based his knowledge of the Tabernacle on the SP."[36] If other criteria are considered, then the SP readings become a viable option for explaining the texts in Acts 7 and Hebrews 9.

The Alteration of OT Texts to Give Them a Samaritan Bias

Scobie gave this title to one of the criteria that Spiro had used in Acts 7.[37] Spiro's initial work on this criterion helped scholars to see the Samaritan bias. In Acts 7:42-43 Stephen recounted the oracle of Amos 5:25-27, a prophecy against God's people who sinned in the wilderness, but he made it specifically refer to Judah's Babylonian captivity by changing the term "beyond Damascus" to "beyond Babylon," a slight revision of history. Thus, the saints are those who followed Joshua into the Promised Land and established the tabernacle on Mt. Gerizim (Josh 24). Therefore they fulfilled God's promise to Abraham (Acts 7:7). This reconstruction of the text was done by changing "sanctuary" (Josh 7:26) to "tabernacle" and transferring it from Shechem (Josh 7:1, 25) to nearby Gerizim.

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[36]Scobie, op. cit., "Samaritan Christianity," p. 413.

[37]Ibid., p. 392.

Other scholars have sought a solution to the Acts 7:43 problem of textual change. Archer and Chirichigno, as co-authors, wrote:

> This variant seems to be a valid inference from Damascus, because the captive Jews dragged off to Babylonia by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C. had to pass through Damascus on their way, so Babylon was indeed beyond Damascus. The highway to Babylon went north-northeast to Tadmor or Tiphsah to the Euphrates River, and then southeast down to Babylon itself. Stephen's purpose was to bring out the implication of Amos 5:27 that the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities would result from Israel's sin.[38]

The explanation above may be correct but it still does not take away the possibility of a Samaritan bias in the Babylonian emphasis. Coggins wrote: "This can scarcely be called a Samaritanism, even though it is not incompatible with a Samaritan background."[39]

Another interesting change is found in Acts 7:45b-46: "So it was until the days of David, who found favor in the sight of God and asked leave to find a habitation for the house of Jacob."[40] This text is based on Ps 132:5 which reads: "until I find a place for the LORD, a dwelling place for the Mighty one of Jacob" (RSV). For the Samaritan the "place" was already founded so "Stephen followed Samaritan tradition by only using the second half of the verse and changing it; instead of 'the Mighty One (i.e. God) of Jacob,' he has 'the house of Jacob.'"[41] Therefore, David is viewed as having sought a secular capital, not a religious headquarters, for that was already established by God according to Samaritan historical orientation.

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[38]Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirchigno, Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament (Chicago: Moody Press, 1983), p. 153.

[39]Coggins, op. cit., p. 425.

[40]Note that the RSV used the variant reading "God" instead of the better textual reading "house" (οἴκῳ).

[41]Spiro, op. cit., p. 287.

The final example in the third criterion is Stephen's use (Acts 7:47-50) of Isa 66:1-2 where the text has been slightly altered in order to create three rhetorical questions that denounce Solomon's temple as being of human construction, of the wrong material, and in the wrong place.

The third criterion has been given a place of its own because of its peculiarities. In some respects it could have been subsumed under the next criterion.

Dependence on Samaritan Traditions

Bowman related the Gospel of Luke to mainstream Samaritanism by appealing to Luke's content in relationship to Samaritan traditions. He sought in a highly speculative manner to establish the birthdays of John the Baptist and Jesus, for he thought that Luke with his interest in priestly concerns "tried to make a certain symbolism apparent."[42] Bowman conjectured that John was born on Shebat and Jesus on Ab. He noted that the Samaritans have two special sabbaths, one before the Passover festival and the other before the Feast of Tabernacles. "They are called the Sabbaths of Zimmut and fall respectively in Shebat and in Ab--apparently therefore on the respective birthdays of John and Jesus."[43] The Sabbath of Zimmut Pesah was called "the door to the festival time period." On these two Sabbaths the Samaritan high priest published the religious calendar for the next six months. John the Baptist's birth would have symbolized to the Samaritans that he was opening the door to the coming salvation. Jesus' birth before the festivals in the

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[42]Bowman, op. cit., "Problem," p. 76.

[43]Ibid., p. 77.

7th month when the sabbatical year was announced on the 7th year would have given him further significance in their eyes.

But there is more symbolism according to Bowman. Zimmut is considered by the Samaritans the day of the meeting of Moses and Aaron when they began to work together to bring about the freedom of the Israelites. Therefore, the meeting of Elizabeth and Mary (the child in Elizabeth's womb jumped--Luke 1:44) reminded the Samaritans of the meeting of Aaron and Moses, since John was of a priestly family and Jesus was considered the new Moses (cf. Acts 3:22; 7:37).

> What is suggested to the Samaritans by the birth of John, in a season during which they were preparing for the coming festival of salvation, appears here to be said to the Jews in a way that they could also understand what is meant.[44]

The above is based on so many conjectural ideas that it remains a weak argument. However, Bowman thought Luke touched on several Samaritan traditions.

Bowman suggested that Luke's emphasis on the Samaritans also receiving the Holy Spirit by the Apostles' laying on of hands (Acts 8:17) was due to the legalism of the Samaritan priests, an even more lifeless form than that of the Pharisees. Bowman asked:

> Would Luke have considered it really necessary to emphasize the end of legalism and to emphasize the necessity of the Spirit, if he wrote for gentiles who did not know the Law before they were confronted with the Gospel? Is it not more likely that he wrote for the Samaritans?[45]

Samaritan traditions and literary emphasis on Moses gave R. J. F. Trotter the criteria he needed to imply Samaritan influence in Hebrews. On internal evidence Trotter noted the over-all theme of Hebrews--the proper relationship

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[44]Ibid., p. 79.

[45]Ibid., p. 88.

of Moses and Jesus, a subject that would have been intimately related to a people who held Moses in high veneration. Trotter accepted Bowman's thesis when he wrote: "It is to be remembered that of the four Evangelists only Luke and particularly John show clear sympathy toward the Samaritans."[46] The fact that two other N. T. Books (authors) had Samaritan concerns, Luke-Acts and John, Trotter showed that "Moses" is mentioned fourteen times in Acts, eleven times in John and ten times in Hebrews and only nine times in the rest of the N.T. This implied that the book of Hebrews may also have had similar Samaritan concerns. The weakness of this argument is evident because the Jews, too, could have been concerned about Moses. The context in which Moses' name was used must also be considered before relating it to Samaritan concerns.

The stress on "high priest" in Hebrews (sixteen times) may indicate that the writer had the Samaritans in mind, for they have always allowed almost all authority over the community reside in their high priest.[47] Also in Hebrews 7 the Levitical priesthood was brought to the fore. The Samaritans insisted biblically that from Levi came the true priesthood and not from Judah. "For it is evident that our Lord was descended from Judah, and in connection with that tribe Moses said nothing about priests" (Heb 7:14 RSV). Trotter asked: "Is the stress on the expression 'our Lord' due to the writer's

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[46] R. J. F. Trotter, "Did the Samaritans of the Fourth Century Know the Epistle to the Hebrews?" Leeds University Oriental Society, Monograph Series No. 1 (Oct. 1961) 9.

[47] Ibid., p. 23.

knowledge that the Samaritans spoke of 'our lord (Moses)?'"[48] The Hebrew writer pressed home the fact that the Law made nothing perfect and that that same law appointed "men in their weakness" (Heb 7:28) as high priests. This, according to Trotter, would force the Samaritans to think seriously concerning their high priests.

While Trotter attempted to discover whether the Samaritans of the Fourth Century knew the Hebrew epistle, Scobie suggested that the epistle was written to Samaritan Christians. The demonstration of Jesus' superiority over angels (Heb 1:1-2:18), Moses (3:1-19) and Joshua (4:1-10) is seen as a logical approach for Samaritan Christians. Further, in all the discussion of priesthood, sanctuary and sacrifice, there was no interest in contemporary Judaism or reference to the Jerusalem Temple. All references to the Tabernacle would have been natural, for Samaritans held only to the Pentateuch where no concept of a temple was expressed, only the Tabernacle.

With reference to Stephen's speech in Acts 7 Spiro noted that one-fifth of the speech was devoted to the section on Joseph (Acts 7:9-18) where the brothers of Joseph are not even named and who are "jealous of Joseph" (Acts 7:9).[49] Spiro revealed how, in contrast to ancient Jewish writers who showed the Jewish story from Moses through Solomon to be "harmonious and victorious" culminating in the building of the Temple, "the story from Abraham through Isaiah's oracle provided him with the framework for a glorification of the Samaritans and a denunciation of the Jews."[50]

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[48] Ibid., p. 29.

[49] Spiro, op. cit., p. 293.

[50] Ibid., p. 289.

Edwin D. Freed investigated the question, "Did John write his Gospel partly to win Samaritan converts?" Freed discovered that John downgraded both Moses and Abraham, especially Moses, "precisely to appeal to prospective Samaritan converts, because for John Jesus has assimilated the legends and functions of Moses."[51] Coggins rejected the "down-grading" of Moses argument presented in Spiro's article (on Acts 7), and thus also Freed's. Coggins wrote: "Neither the alleged down-grading of Moses nor the outline of Samaritan history seems acceptable."[52] But he gave little or no reasoning to his objections. On the other hand, Scobie argued strongly that Acts 7 presented an interpretation of history which corresponded with "the Samaritan view according to which the true sanctuary was set up by Joshua at the Shechem site immediately following the conquest."[53] Only where Eli set up a rival sanctuary at Shiloh did the "Era of Divine Disfavor" begin. Scobie discerned a Samaritan source behind Acts 7:2-41, 44-45, 47-48, 53 through the process of redaction criticism. On the same basis he proposed the Christianizing of the original Samaritan source by the addition of vss. 42-43, 46, 49-52.[54] Beyond this, Scobie held "that Luke did not draw directly on the Samaritan source but used what he may refer to as a Christian tract which had already appropriated material from the source."[55]

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[51]Edwin D. Freed, "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" Novum Testamentum 12 (July 1970) 242.

[52]Coggins, op. cit., p. 427.

[53]Scobie, op. cit., "Source Material," p. 408.

[54]Ibid., p. 410.

[55]Ibid., p. 412.

The above examples show that the New Testament may have depended on certain Samaritan traditions, and it is through this dependence that Samaritan affinities can be found.

Common Ideas With Samaritan Theology

Bowman suggested that the Gospel of John deliberately showed Jesus' teaching to be in agreement with Samaritan faith in order to build a bridge to the Samaritan people. Bowman's review of Samaritan theology was taken from the Malef, a study for Samaritan children.[56] It gave basic Samaritan beliefs about God, Creation, Man and Salvation. It also paralleled the teachings of the Samaritan Liturgy. How far back into Samaritan history these teachings go is difficult to tell. Bowman considered them to be rather old and certainly conservative in nature, for they were basic doctrines taught to children. The emphasis was on "belief," not on certain prescribed religious actions as the Rabbinic Jews emphasized. Bowman reviewed the Malef in this way:

God created with Ten Words. When God said, "Let there be light," the light was the Holy Spirit which resided in the prophets (patriarchs) until its manifestation in the Lord Moses both in the invisible and visible world. Moses is considered to be the pre-existent Holy Spirit--light. The whole creation was created for the sake of Moses who is the highest of all creatures and the source of light for all the redeemed. Adam was created on the sixth day from the dust of the earth (Gerizim?) by the angel of the Lord. While Adam and Eve were in the garden they had no evil impulse nor

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[56]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, pp. 63-65.

sexual intercourse, for Eden was holy while sex was impure. They were clothed in light. But Eve was seduced by the evil spirit, Belial, who used the serpent to tempt Eve. The evil impulse was passed on to Adam from Eve who had received it from Belial. Adam would have died immediately after he ate the forbidden fruit except that he had within him the light of the first day; i.e., the image of Moses. In the Samaritans' own peculiar reading of the text God said, "Behold, Adam has become like one <u>from him</u>," (not "one <u>from us</u>" MT). That is, Moses was the "him," knowing good and evil. Adam and Eve were stripped of their clothing of light and given "tunics" of skin; i.e., their fleshly natures. In the skin (flesh?) is the evil impulse and therefore the occasion for sin. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Samaritan Pentateuch read in Gen 3:19: "Dust you are and to <u>your</u> dust shall you return." In other words, the spirit will one day return to its own flesh in order to be judged at the last day. Afterwards, the spirit will receive a new body of light in order to live in Paradise forever.

Eight days after Adam left Eden, he knew Eve and she bore Cain and his twin sister, and then Abel and his twin sister were born. Those descended from Cain are called sons of Belial. They represent fallen humanity and all its evil. After Cain slew Abel, Adam repented of his sin for a hundred years keeping a vow of sexual abstinence. God forgave Adam and then Adam had Seth who represents a pure lineage wherein dwells "the light" and from which the prophet Moses came. The pure lineage, of course, after Moses included only the Samaritans. All the rest of mankind were "fallen," of the sons of Belial! Eternal life is gained through the Law, a virtual "tree of

life" from which one eats its fruit and lives. Death is necessary to rid oneself of the flesh in order to receive the new body of light as Adam had in the beginning.

> Moreover, it is especially noteworthy that men could not participate in the eternal life until Moses, the Light of the World, brought the Law. But then and even now eternal life is only for the true Israel, which the Samaritans consider themselves to be.[57]

After this brief review, Bowman revealed the contacts that the Gospel of John had with Samaritan Theology. The first is the emphasis in John on "light." The prologue propounds the idea throughout: "In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it" (John 1:4,5 RSV). John the Baptist came "to bear witness to the light;" "he was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light" (1:7,8 RSV). "The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world" (1:9 RSV). Bowman translated John 1:10 without using the personal pronoun reference but rather the impersonal to refer to the "light," which is legitimate: "It (i.e. the light) was in the world and the world was made through it, but the world knew it not." Jesus designated himself as "the light of the world" (John 8:12, 9:5 RSV) and those who believed on Him would become "children of the light" and would "have the light of life."

Bowman made a comparison of Samaritan ideas with the thought of John in order to reveal common interests as well as differences. For a contrast he used the Johannine pre-existent Christ who was active in creation. It is not clear in Samaritan sources what relationship the initial "light"

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[57] Ibid., p. 65.

which is the Holy Spirit, the pre-existent Moses, had with the creation of the world.

> However, it is said that the light of Moses was the origin of the light of the stars and the spirit of the prophets, i.e., it was utilized in the creation and was at work in men before Moses came in the flesh into the world.[58]

In spite of these differences, Bowman made direct identification of the Samaritan concept of Holy Spirit and light with John's Gospel, for "in John the Holy Spirit is the spirit of Jesus and Jesus is the light."[59] Thus, the use of the term "Holy Spirit" and "light" are used identically in both John and Samaritanism.

Why was Jesus accused of being a Samaritan (John 6:42) even though everyone knew Jesus was not a Samaritan? Bowman was inclined to see Jesus' emphasis on "faith," instead of the fulfillment of religious acts such as the Jews required, as the likeness to Samaritan theology (John 8:1ff.). When the Jews wanted to kill Jesus, Jesus accused them of acting like Cain, the first murderer: "You are of your father the devil" (John 8:44 RSV). "The Samaritan Fall story does not mention the seduction of Eve by Belial, but the sons of Cain are called the sons of Belial."[60] Therefore, it seemed to the Jews that Jesus was acting like a Samaritan when he called them "sons of the devil," a Samaritan polemic! Bowman's conclusion is that

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[58]Ibid., p. 66.

[59]Ibid.

[60]John Bowman, "Samaritan Studies I. The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 40 (1958) 307.

"the Fourth Gospel interprets Jesus' preaching in a way which would be more attractive to the Samaritans, and which even the Jews themselves must have considered to be friendly to the Samaritans."[61]

The comparisons and contrasts of Samaritan theology with the Gospel of John are remarkable. The comparisons include: (1) What is ascribed to the pre-existent Moses by the Samaritans as regards the creation, John's Gospel ascribed to the pre-existent Christ. (2) While the Law gives eternal life to the Samaritans, Christ gives eternal life to the Christians (all people) through faith. (3) In the same manner, Moses intercedes for the Samaritans now and in the last day, so Christ intercedes for all people who are in Him. The contrast (according to John) is that men are now able to become sons of light, released from sinful flesh. The Samaritans can only expect this on the day of resurrection when their mediator "Moses" appears.

Bowman offered an appealing argument involving the five-tenet Samaritan creed; i.e., belief in God, Moses, Law, Mt. Gerizim, and the Day of Vengeance and Recompense. In John 4:20 the Samaritan woman had stressed "this mountain" (Mt. Gerizim) as the place of worship. After the rebuttal by Jesus that on neither Mt. Gerizim nor Mt. Zion would true worship be performed, the woman asked if he is the "Messiah" (Taheb--"restorer"). Bowman strongly suggested that the author of the Gospel of John knew the Samaritan Tenth Commandment as it appears in the Samaritan Pentateuch because of the position in the text of Mt. Gerizim (or "that mountain") to the Taheb.[62] Bowman connected

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[61]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 68.

[62]John Bowman, "Samaritan Studies II, Faith in Samaritan Thought," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 40 (1958) 308-15.

the Taheb with the fifth tenet which cannot be proven conclusively. However, it is a reasonable assumption that the "Taheb" was developed from the fifth article of faith as evidenced in John 4. He suggested that whereas the fourth chapter of John spoke of the fourth and fifth tenets; i.e., Mt. Gerizim and the Taheb, the fifth chapter of John condemned the Jews for not having the love of God in them (vs. 42), not having believed Moses (vs. 46)[63] nor in his writings (vs. 47). One can easily see the other three tenets here: God, Moses, and the Law--in that order! Although the Samaritans are put down for their belief in Mt. Gerizim (John 4:21), the Jews fare much worse, for not only is Mt. Zion rejected (4:21), but the Jewish unbelief of God, Moses, the Law and Jesus Himself (the Samaritan "Taheb" as well as the Jewish "Messiah") is condemned. Bowman thinks that the Samaritan creed is well in the mind of the Gospel writer. The argument is not without merit.

The emphasis Samaritanism gives to the incorporeality of God and his moral nature as love and light suggested to Freed[64] that Jesus' statement to the Samaritan woman that "true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him" (John 4:23b RSV) would appeal to the Samaritan conception of God. Freed wrote: "In the whole Bible only in the gospel and first epistle of John do we find the characterization of God in language so clearly indicative of incorporeality. 'God is spirit' (Jn iv 24); 'God is light' (I Jn ii 5); and 'God is love' (I Jn iv 8, 16)."[65] John used "spirit" in contrast to the corporeality view of "spirit" in the Greek world. Perhaps he meant "in the reality of God."

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[63] Note should be taken that Bowman misquoted the text of John 5:46, for he wrote "not believing in Moses," (p. 313), while the text simply has, "If you believed Moses." Perhaps Bowman is forcing the issue by making the Gospel text fit the Samaritan terminology!

[64] Freed, op. cit., p. 253.

[65] Ibid.

Another fundamental belief of Samaritanism was the person and position of Moses, already delineated. Moses was directly responsible for the giving of the law. Freed suggested that John very carefully chose his words to make that very point (John 1:17; 7:19, 23; cp. 1:45; 5:46f).[66] Moses is the Samaritan Savior and either Moses or one like Moses (a prophet) is to return and restore the temple vessels on Mt. Gerizim. This belief may be indicated by the Samaritan woman's acceptance of Jesus as "the prophet" (John 4:19) and the village's proclamation that he is the "savior of the world" (John 4:42).[67]

Since Samaritanism was based on the Law, Freed considered any emphasis on the law in the Gospel of John might indicate some Samaritan relationship. With only one direct quote in John (Exod 12:46 or 12:10 in John 19:36), he considered Aland's count of thirty-five allusions to the Pentateuch significant.

> But for Johannine Christianity, based as it is on the person of Jesus, any appeal to Jews and Samaritans alike, to be effective, would have to show that Jesus was greater than the law. This is precisely what John does emphatically.[68]

The references in John (1:17; 7:19; 8:17; 10:34; 15:25) indicate that Jesus presented himself above or apart from the law, perhaps replacing it with himself.

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[66] Ibid., p. 247.

[67] Freed made the comment that "only in Jn. iv 42 in the four gospels is Jesus acclaimed as savior" (p. 248). Then in a footnote he acknowledged that Luke 2:11, a birth narrative, is an exception. So why make the statement in the first place unless he thought it would lose its force to make his point that Jesus was recognized as the Samaritan Taheb? That point could have been made anyway!

[68] Freed, op. cit., p. 247.

There is no question that the fourth tenet in the Samaritan creed (Belief in Mt. Gerizim) was mentioned in John's Gospel. Both Jesus and the woman at the well referred to Mt. Gerizim as "this mountain," perhaps having gestured toward its summit (John 4:20, 21 RSV) and the ancient temple ruins.[69]

If Stephen's speech (Acts 7) has a Samaritan source, it could account for the down-playing of the Jerusalem Temple. The Samaritans viewed the Jerusalem Temple as not only being in the wrong "place," but also constructed by human hands (Acts 7:48-50). By contrast the Mt. Gerizim Temple had never been "touched" by human hands because of its heavenly pattern (Acts 7:44). The Old Testament clearly makes the Jerusalem Temple a heavenly project (2 Sam 24:18; 1 Kgs 18:24, 38; 1 Chr 21:18-26; 28:19; 2 Chr 3:1; 7:1; Ps 78:68-69), but the Samaritans refused to accept the canonicity of these texts just as the Jews rejected the Samaritan Pentateuchal claims.

Trotter's study of Hebrews and its influence on Samaritans uncovered a verse (Heb 10:30) that recalled the Samaritan fifth creedal statement: "The Day of Vengeance and Recompense," based on Deut 32:35. Other references did the same: "recompense of reward" (Heb 2:2; 10:35; cp. Deut 32:16, 41).[70] To the Samaritans God was their Creator, Savior, and Judge, one who recompenses according to a person's deeds.

The day of judgment included also the beginning of the "time of Divine Favour." Bowman saw in the angelic announcement (Luke 2:9-14) to the shepherds enough ideas attractive to the Samaritans, such as "the glory of the

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[69]Robert J. Bull, "An Archaeological Footnote to 'Our Fathers Worshipped on This Mountain,' John iv. 20," New Testament Studies 23 (July 1977) 460-62.

[70]Trotter, op. cit., p. 25.

Lord" (equal to the angel of the Lord in Samaritan literature) and "good news of a great joy which will come to all people," that they would see in the announcement the beginning of the "time of Divine favour."[71]

Luke's approach to Jesus and his ministry may suggest the fifth tenet of the Samaritan creed. The emphasis on divine grace in Jesus' childhood and growth (Luke 2:52) and baptism (3:22) could not be overlooked by the Samaritan reader. The genealogy of Jesus (3:23ff.) goes back to Adam, "the holy seed" according to the Samaritan priests. Jesus' announcement of his ministry in Nazareth from Isa 61:2 (Luke 4:19) would not only signify a messianic claim to the Jews, but also for the Samaritans that he was the Taheb who had announced the beginning of the "Time of Divine Grace and of Favour." After Jesus had raised the son of the widow of Nain from the dead the people shouted, "A great prophet has arisen among us! God has visited his people!" (Luke 7:16 RSV). Later in the same context John's disciples ask Jesus, "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?" (Luke 7:19 RSV). For the Jews he was the Davidic Messiah but for the Samaritans he was the "one like Moses," i.e. the Taheb. The downplaying of Davidic sonship by Jesus (Luke 20:41f.; cf. Ps 110:1) in Luke may be part of Luke's appeal to the Samaritans. Bowman wrote that the transfiguration of Jesus with the presence of Moses and Elijah "clearly shows that Jesus is the hope of the Jews and Samaritans, for the Jews consider Elijah to be the forerunner of the Messiah, while the Samaritans believed that the Messiah (Ta'eb) would be one who is like Moses."[72]

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[71]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 79.

[72]Ibid., p. 82.

The New Testament suggests that Samaritan eschatology, especially the concept of the Taheb and his coming, was fully developed by the first century A.D. Certainly elaboration on the subject came much later (third and fourth centuries A.D.?). In the midst of theological debate Jesus informed the woman that "salvation is from the Jews" (vs. 22). The woman's reply that she knew that "Messiah" was coming and that "he will show us all things" (vs. 25) indicated that she expected the Samaritan "Taheb," not the Jewish Davidic "Messiah." He would have been patterned after the Deut 18:18 passage. And yet Jesus identified himself with her idea: "I who speak to you am he" (vs. 26). Even though the term "Messiah" was used by the woman, her earlier perception of Jesus was that he was a "prophet." The only prophet the Samaritans were looking for was the Taheb, one like Moses. Bowman noted that no Rabbinic source can be found that has applied the Deut 18:18 passage to the Davidic Messiah. Thus, it was Bowman's suggestion that John 7:40-43 may have been a controversy between Jews and Samaritans. The latter would ask, "Is this really the prophet?" while the former, "Is this the Messiah?"[73]

In connection with the Samaritan village's acceptance of Jesus as Savior, the statement by Jesus to his disciples takes on more significance: "The fields are already white for harvest" (John 4:35 RSV). Jesus had revealed himself as the "Samaritan Messianic hope"[74] while expressing the fact that salvation is of the Jews. Jesus saw a great harvest among the Samaritans, and he wanted his disciples to see it too.

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[73]Ibid., p. 60.

[74]Ibid., p. 61.

Purvis attempted to modify the contention that the Moses-model for an eschatological figure was an early doctrine due to the interpolation of Deut 18:18-22 in Exodus 20 in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Rather than a sectarian reading, he considered it an expansionistic reading designed to "complete" the text, a characteristic prevalent in the SP. The sectarian readings are found interpolated in the Ten Commandments of Deuteronomy 5 (SP) whereas the Deut 18:18-22 passage was not. This argument led Purvis to say: "There is evidence that Samaritan Mosaism had little eschatology associated with it in early times."[75] He suggested that the Samaritan sects were responsible for developing the concept of the Mosaic Taheb and that only later was it accepted into the main body of Samaritans.[76]

He warned that the textual tradition of the Samaritan literature was late. For example, Purvis noted Isser's "insight" that "virtually all of the passages dealing with such eschatological subjects as the Taheb and the future resurrection are lacking in the older manuscript."[77] This is not to say that some of the later manuscripts may be the better texts. Still Purvis and Isser must reckon with the eschatological figure of Jesus as a Samaritan Taheb in John 4. This means an advanced development of the idea may be found in the biblical text. Samaritan theological concepts produce a strong criterion for relating Samaritans to the New Testament.

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[75] Purvis, op. cit., p. 189.

[76] In a discussion on the various views of the Samaritan Taheb, Purvis noted Freed's inaccurate statement that the Mosaic Taheb "developed as the fifth article of the Samaritan creed." (See Freed's "John's Gospel and Samaritan Converts," p. 183, footnote 69). This is an obvious mistake by Freed that one is inclined to suggest that he meant that the Taheb developed as part of the fifth article of the Samaritan creed.

[77] Purvis, op. cit., p. 165. See footnote 16.

Geographical Place-names

Freed supported Bowman's thesis that the geographical place-names of Aenon (John 3:23), Salim (3:23), Sychar (4:5), and Ephraim (11:54) clearly place Jesus and John the Baptist in Samaria, including a vigorous ministry among the Samaritans.[78] In Stephen's speech Haran is mentioned twice (Acts 7:2, 4). Spiro remarked that Haran is "insignificant in Hebrew tradition" but is "central in Samaritan lore, where in an ordeal by fire the sanctity of Gerizim and the Samaritan Pentateuch were demonstrated."[79] In the same speech Shechem has become the burial place of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and his sons, whereas the cave of Machpelah is located in Hebron (Gen 23:1-20; 49:31).[80] This tradition is certainly Samaritan in origin.[81] Geographical place-names that connect Samaritans with certain biblical texts are excellent criteria used by scholars.

Literary Style and Peculiarities

Freed noted that the most frequent name for God in Samaritan literature was "I AM" or "I AM THAT I AM." Therefore, John has associated this name and many names associated with it (the "I am . . ." passages) with Jesus. Jesus is clearly superior to Moses, for he carries the names of God the Samaritans could easily recognize. To them only Moses was worthy to receive the name of Yahweh.

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[78] Freed, op. cit., p. 242. See also Purvis, "The Fourth Gospel and the Samaritans," p. 168, footnote 26.

[79] Spiro, op. cit., p. 286.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Scobie, op. cit., p. 407.

> Perhaps these peculiar uses of the name in John imply that he believed the divine name given to Jesus was ἐγώ εἰμι. If so, we would have here another span in the "bridge between Samaritans and Jews in Christ" used by John in an effort to win converts from both groups to the Jesus of his own faith.[82]

Spiro considered the six-times-repeated demonstrative "this" (Acts 7:35-40) "a Samaritan formulary construction."[83] Spiro had compared it with a Samaritan liturgical poem which had dozens of lines with "this is he," ending with the phrase, "this is Moses the son of Amram."

In Acts 7:7 the peculiar phrase "they shall come out and worship me in this place" is part of two half verses, one of which God spoke to Abraham (Gen 15:14) and the other to Moses (Exod 3:12). Spiro explained the further development of the peculiar phrase:

> Stephen's tradition altered a "mountain" (vii 7) to a "place." Moreover, he combined two appearances of God to Abraham--one at Shechem (Gen xii 7) and the other at an unnamed locality (Gen xv 1-21)--into one and placed it at or near Shechem. Since the Old Testament term "place" for a shrine is standard Samaritan usage--appearing innumerable times in their literature and in the New Testament on the lips of Samaritans (John iv 20 and Acts vi 14 in Stephen's words)--it follows that God ordained the shrine ("place") of Shechem, that is, Gerizim.[84]

Against the review of negative criticism concerning Samaritanism in Acts 7, Scobie sought to identify something in Acts 7 that was "exclusively Samaritan."[85] He considered Spiro's analysis of "in this place" (Acts 7:7) to be inviolate and an important contribution to Samaritan studies.

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[82]Freed, op. cit., p. 252.

[83]Spiro, op. cit., p. 286.

[84]Ibid., pp. 286-87.

[85]Scobie, op. cit., p. 406.

Spiro also discussed the usage of "place" (τόπος) as a favorite Samaritan term for a shrine. Stephen is reported by Luke to have used it (Acts 6:14) "even though his words are based on the logion of Jesus (Mark xiv 58 and par.; cf. John ii 19), who used 'temple,' naos, not 'place.'"[86] Since the term does not seem to be used in any technical sense in Jewish traditions, Spiro thought it came from Samaritan literary usage. Freed agreed with Spiro and added references to John 4:20 and 11:48.[87] Scobie included in the same category the use of the phrase "our father(s)" at John 4:12, 4:20, and 6:31 (cf. John 8:39, 53; 6:49 and 8:38, 41, 56).[88]

Trotter approached the main part of his arguments by comparing key words and phrases found in fourth century Samaritan literature with the Book of Hebrews.[89] Although he is attempting to show that the fourth century Samaritans knew the Book of Hebrews (a reverse treatment in the above criteria), his methodology is valuable for this criteria of literary style and peculiar word usage. The use of the words "perfect" and "perfection" in the Defter and Memar Marqah parallels that of Hebrews. The stress in the Memar of the perfection of Moses, men, Law and Tabernacle is similar to the Hebrews' "perfection" of Jesus Christ, men, the Law, and the Tabernacle. The phrase in Heb 10:21, "great priest over the house of God," seems to be duplicated in Memar iv 1 as "Son of the house of God," an unusual phrase for the Samaritans according to Trotter, hence possible influence by Hebrews. The

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[86]Spiro, op. cit., p. 294.

[87]Freed, op. cit., p. 242.

[88]Scobie, op. cit., p. 406.

[89]Trotter, op. cit., pp. 33-35.

term "rest" is emphasized in Hebrews (twelve times) and is used in the same manner as the Samaritan conception of "rest." Just as Hebrews used the terms "Sabbath rest" (4:9) and "seventh day" (4:4), but no Sabbath day, so the Memar accords with this usage. Other terms that find affinity in Samaritan literature of the fourth century are "unseen and seen" worlds (Heb 7-9), "subjection" (Heb 2:10), "captain of salvation" (Heb 2:17-18), "drawing near" (Heb 7:25), and"heart." Trotter puzzled over the Hebrews omission of circumcision, temple, and reference to God as Father. But he suggested that among the Samaritans circumcision was more spiritualized, as it had become for Christians. As for the temple, Trotter guessed that the Hebrew writer wanted to avoid the subject altogether, perhaps aware of its sensitive nature in Samaritan history. Finally, the references to God as "Father" are only implied, and this may have been in deference to the Samaritan view of God. The number of references to angels in Hebrews (1:4, 5, 7, 13; 2:2, 5, 16; 12:22; 13:2) reminded Trotter of the Samaritan use of them in their literature. No names are given them in Hebrews and only four names are given in Samaritan literature, and that was seldom.

Concept of a "Gentile World"

For the Luke-Acts material, Bowman challenged popular thinking about the "Gentile world" to which Luke addressed himself. If Luke wrote his gospel for Gentiles, Bowman asked, "then I wonder for what part of the gentile world it could have been destined."[90] He noted (1) the references to the temple (Luke 1:5, 9ff.; 24:53) at the beginning and end of the

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[90]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 58.

gospel, (2) Jesus' reference to the thankful Samaritan leper as an "alien" (ἀλλογενής),(3) Jesus' scolding his disciples for wanting to destroy an inhospitable Samaritan village, (4) the neighborliness of the Good Samaritan over against his Jewish kinsmen. For Bowman all of the above revealed the great interest Luke had for the Samaritans; i.e., the essential part of the "Gentile world."

In Luke's second volume, Acts, the same positive interest in the Samaritans is made. In Acts the mission to the Samaritans is clearly a priority in order to reach the Gentile world (Acts 1:8; 8:1ff.). Bowman's thesis is that the Samaritans represented an "essential part of the Gentile world" to which Luke wanted to turn.[91] His argument turns on the "priestly concerns" of Luke which would have hardly been the case had Luke's interests been toward the conventional notion of "Gentiles," i.e., non-Jews and non-Samaritans. The priestly concerns included the following: (1) the mentioning of Zechariah's priestly order (Acts 1:5); (2) the circumcision of Jesus on the eighth day (2:21); (3) Mary's purification and delivery of her first born (12:22-24); (4) the incident of Simeon's recognition of Jesus in the temple (2:25ff.); (5) at the Passover when Jesus (twelve years old) sat among the scribes (2:41-46); (6) Jesus tempted on the pinnacle of the Temple (4:7); and (7) lepers told to show themselves to the priests (5:14; 17:14).[92]

Not unlike the above argument, Bowman interpreted the "other sheep" in John 10:16 ("And I have other sheep, that are not of this fold") to be

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[91]Ibid., p. 70.

[92]Ibid.

Samaritans while "this fold" were Jews. This was done on the basis of Ezek 34:22-24 where the emphasis is on "one flock, one shepherd," (cp. Ezek 37). The one shepherd is God's servant, David, (the Davidic Messiah) and the one flock is the reunited "sticks" of Ephraim and Judah (Ezek 37:15-23). Ezek 37:24 restated the 24:23-24 passage: "My servant David shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd." Bowman's argument is that the Samaritans were the only non-Jewish group that had been approached and that had accepted Jesus as "Messiah" according to John's gospel.

To see the Samaritans within the scope of "the Gentile world" in Luke and John may give a key criterion for the same view in other gospel presentations of the Gentile world, particularly Mark.

Additional Criteria

Juxtaposition of Texts

Bowman offered an interesting insight into John's literary purposes when he pointed out the juxtaposition of Nicodemus (chapter 3) with the Samaritan woman (chapter 4).[93] In the first a Jewish teacher cannot understand the principles of spiritual new-birth while in the next story an adulterous Samaritan woman readily accepts Jesus as the long awaited "Messiah" (Taheb) or "prophet." Bowman connected the words to Nicodemus about the new birth; i.e., "water and spirit," to Ezek 36:25f. where God will "sprinkle clean water upon" Israel of the north and will give them "a new heart" and "a new spirit." There is no question that Ezek 34-37 is the great unification plea of the Old Testament and that the Gospel of John has used it fully in order to reach both Jews and Samaritans.

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[93] Ibid., p. 62.

The Stephen-Philip Group

Spiro had accepted the late Samaritan tradition that Stephen was a Samaritan. Also he considered the term, "Hebrews," as a Samaritan self-designation. Spiro wrote, "Obviously, the Samaritans chose the name 'Hebrews' because of "Abram the Hebrew' (Gen xiv 13)."[94] Therefore, he viewed the Stephen-Philip movement as primarily a Samaritan Christian group. Scobie rejected Spiro's arguments for "Hebrews" noting the use of that term in Phil 3:5 to refer to the Apostle Paul.[95] Scobie countered that "Stephen and his followers . . . were representatives of some type of Palestinian sectarian Judaism (Northern? Galilean?), with little use for the Jerusalem cult, and possibly with certain contacts with and sympathies for Samaritanism."[96] He saw the Book of Hebrews as representing the developed theology of a branch of the Stephen-Philip movement. Also John's gospel was related to this movement. Scobie theorized concerning the Stephen-Philip missionary movement:

> The closest affinities with the Stephen-Philip movement as it is revealed by the tract Acts 7 are to be found in Johannine theology, and a strong case can be argued for holding that the Johannine community was founded originally as an offshoot of the Stephen-Philip movement.[97]

Recognizing the Stephen-Philip group as a missionary movement, perhaps on behalf of Samaritans and/or northern Galileans, may help provide a historical context for gospel materials.

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[94] Spiro, op. cit., p. 292.

[95] Scobie, op. cit., "Samaritan Christianity," p. 399. See also footnote 2. Also M. Black's, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961), pp. 190-91.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Scobie, op. cit., "Source Material," p. 421.

Samaritan Christian Theology

Related to the above criteria is the attempt to establish a Samaritan Christian theology.[98] Purvis accepted Spiro's statement that Stephen was a Samaritan, for "the evidence inclines in that direction."[99] Perhaps Purvis was quick to accept this theory because he wanted to establish a Samaritan Christian theology from Stephen's speech and support that theory with similar ideas from John's Gospel. According to Purvis the Samaritan Christian theology theoretically could be reconstructed as follows:

> Jesus was compared with Abraham and Moses as being the fulfillment of the revelation-tradition associated with them in particular, rather than the family of David of Jerusalem (although David himself was not denigrated). The temple of Jerusalem was viewed as theologically non-viable, just as it had been illegitimate in the first place. And, finally, the Jewish nation was viewed as being at enmity with God, disobeying his Law and killing the prophets, especially Jesus the Righteous One. . . . Jesus was greater than Moses (as the fulfillment of the promise is greater than the promise, vii 37) and greater than the Law, inasmuch as it was delivered only by angels (against the position of Samaritanism) and the people were unable to keep it (so vii 53).[100]

Purvis never explained how Stephen, "a Samaritan," could use angels in a most un-Samaritan fashion, unless there was a "Christian" influence.

With regard to John's Gospel and Samaritan Christian Theology, Purvis made a tentative proposal that the Gospel arose from a Samaria-Galilee community using the theological traditions and concerns of that region such as a

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[98] See Scobie's "Samaritan Christianity," pp. 390-414.

[99] Purvis, op. cit., p. 176.

[100] Ibid., pp. 176-77.

> . . . Moses-piety popular . . . among the Samaritans, but displacing Moses with Jesus who, as prophet-Christ, was superior to Moses. The community would thus have found itself as much at enmity with Gerizim-based Samaritanism as it was with Jerusalem-based Judaism.[101]

Rather than a missionary tract (Freed) or unification attempts (Bowman, Scobie), Purvis saw the Gospel as a self-serving message to instill belief in Christ in order to have eternal life (John 20:31). He considered it a polemic against a northern Palestinian "leader of a baptizing sect, a wonder-worker, and someone who claimed that he was a divine being."[102] Simon Meander and Dositheus were suggested, the latter being the more probable, though biblically Simon is overtly mentioned (Acts 8:9-24).

Coggins, though critical of most Samaritan studies, accepted and supported the phenomena of "Samaritan Christianity" just as there existed "Jewish Christianity." He saw traces of Samaritan Christianity in Luke-Acts and John but doubtful in Hebrews. Acts 7 "does suggest the possibility that it may emanate from a milieu analogous to, if not precisely identifiable with, Samaritanism."[103]

The above examples are the chief criteria that scholars have used to relate Samaritan studies to the New Testament. Of these some will prove useful in relating Samaritan studies to the Gospel of Mark.

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[101] Ibid., p. 191.

[102] Ibid., p. 192.

[103] Coggins, op. cit., pp. 432-33.

CHAPTER FOUR: A REVIEW OF MARCAN STUDIES

There is an almost fanatic interest in the Gospel of Mark shown by present-day scholars. This fascination with the second Gospel of the New Testament has developed slowly over the past one hundred or more years as a result of higher critical studies applied to the Gospel texts. The attempt in this chapter to review Marcan studies will certainly not be complete, but rather selective of those works which represent certain schools of thought or which break new ground or are representative of various viewpoints unique to the subject.

Sean P. Kealy in his brief but insightful Mark's Gospel: A History of Its Interpretation quoted Peter E. Ellis' unique outline of the evolution of interest in Mark:

> Mark has progressed from "the period of 'simple' Mark (Papias to Wrede) to the period of 'tricky' Mark (Wrede to Marxsen) on to 'subtle' Mark (Marxsen to Minette de Tillesse) and finally in recent years to 'theological Mark."[1]

Even though the above outline may be novel and considered arbitrary, it does follow the general pattern and progress of Marcan studies from form criticism to redaction criticism to present-day theological studies that have become varied both in breadth and depth.

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[1]Sean P. Kealy, C. S. sp., Mark's Gospel: A History of Its Interpretation (New York: Panlist Press, 1982), p. 1.

"Simple" Mark may best be described as the Mark of Papias' testimony (c.130 A.D.) as recorded in Eusebius' account, Ecclesiastical History iii 39, 15:

> And the Presbyter used to say this, Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord's oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them."

Eusebius described this testimony as having been in volume four of Papias' five-volume work entitled, "Interpretation of the Oracles of the Lord." Papias was Bishop of Hierapolis, S. Phrygia of Asia. This early testimony suggested that the author was John Mark who became a companion of Peter (1 Pet 5:13). Mark's Gospel, then, is basically a recording of Peter's messages about Jesus and his life, not necessarily in chronological order according to the tradition. The date of writing would have been after Nero's persecution (c.64-70 A.D.). The authorship, date and composition of Mark's gospel as noted above held sway in the church for the most part for many centuries, and even today among most conservative scholars, Papias' testimony is regarded as adequate evidence for the position.[2] However, with the rise of gospel criticism this position began to be attacked from all sides.

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[2]See the acceptance of this testimony by Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., 1959), p. 26f.; Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (London: Tyndale Press, 1970), p. 69f.; William L. Lane, The New International Commentary of the New Testament: Commentary on the Gospel of Mark (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 21f.

The Roots of Twentieth-Century Marcan Studies

H. S. Reimarus (1691-1768), an eighteenth century deist, helped perpetuate the rationalism in religious studies to the point that today he is "considered the father of modern gospel criticism and even of its most recent emphasis--radaction criticism."[3] He rejected all the supernatural in the gospels, rationalizing the miracles of healing and resurrection of Jesus. Reimarus discovered that the gospel writers had other than biographical concerns of Jesus' life. The authors were describing a later view, expressing their own doctrinal positions, and imposing on the textual tradition distinct biases. He would be the first of a long list of scholars in quest of the historical Jesus.

Johann J. Griesbach (1745-1812), an eminent theologian during the revolutionary years of France and America, contributed to gospel studies his "Greek Synopsis of 1774-6 and the theory about the interrelationships among the Gospels which resulted from it."[4] His mature view of the interrelationships of the gospels placed Mark as dependent on both Matthew and Luke. This view was perpetuated by his disciple, Wilhelm M. L. de Wette, and enjoyed great popularity due to its adoption by the Tubingen School led by F. C. Bauer. But Griesbach's theory would be short-lived due to the new and contemporary theory of Marcan priority, a competitive theory that would bury Griesbach's hypothesis for almost two hundred years. In recent times,

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[3] Kealy, op. cit., p. 59.

[4] Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, eds., J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and Text-Critical Studies 1776-1976 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. xi.

a resurrection of Griesbach's theory in modified form has occurred.[5]

G. E. Lessing treated the relationships between the gospels as a purely literary problem in his essay, "New Hypothesis Concerning the Evangelists Regarded as Merely Human Historians" (1778). Avoiding the presupposition of inspiration, he postulated an Aramaic Gospel of the Nazarenes which was translated into several Greek versions. Each gospel evangelist used these translations. His idea of a lost gospel (authentic) somewhere behind the canonical gospels would be perpetuated until present times.

J. G. Eichhorn (1794) developed Lessing's thesis further in a complicated manner. He considered that one had to opt for either the interdependence of the three gospel writers or they all depended upon a common source. Eichhorn opted for the latter. Others suggested an oral gospel behind the canonical gospels (C. L. Gieseler in 1818), and thus the groundwork was being laid for what would later become form criticism.

Because of C. G. Wilke's investigations into the synoptic problem, he is credited for being "the first to provide evidence that Matthew used Mark."[6] He had noted that almost all of Mark was to be found in Matthew and Luke, and therefore, he inaugurated the Marcan Priority hypothesis. C. H.

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[5]This "resurrection" will be considered briefly later in this chapter. One should especially see William R. Farmer, The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1976), and his article, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," New Testament Studies 23 (Apr. 1977) 275-95; Hans-Herbert Stoldt, History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis, trans. and ed. by Donald L. Niewyk (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1980); Frank Beare, "Book review of Farmer's work listed above," Journal of Biblical Literature 84 (1965) 295-97; C. H. Talbert and E. V. McKnight, "Can the Griesbach Hypothesis be Falsified?", Journal of Biblical Literature 91 (1972) 338-68; George Wesley Buchanan, "Has the Griesbach Hypothesis Been Falsified?", Journal of Biblical Literature 93 (1974) 550-72.

[6]Kealy, op. cit., p. 68.

Weisse (1838) also developed the Marcan hypothesis and the two-source theory, but the two scholars could agree on little else and therefore went their separate ways.[7]

B. F. Westcott (1851) not only accepted the priority of Mark, but he did it without the skepticism of others before him of its historical reliability. His position would be accepted by the more conservative scholars of the future.

A turning point in synoptic gospel studies occurred when H. J. Holtzmann did a detailed study of the linguistic nature of the gospels (1863). By this means he practically assured the Marcan hypothesis to be "fact." His study of the small details, language, style and diction of Mark enabled Holtzmann to announce with confidence that Mark was behind Matthew and Luke, and where the latter two agreed there lay a written source made up mainly of discourses. The Q symbol for this source was yet to be ascribed.

Paul Wernle (1899) solidified the two-source theory by using Luke 1:1-4 of which he noted that (1) Luke was not the earliest gospel and had many predecessors, (2) these predecessors had used common oral traditions and they themselves were not eyewitnesses, (3) Luke's intention was to provide a more complete and chronologically accurate account of Jesus' life. Mark, a "Petrine" gospel, became the source (among others) for both Matthew and Luke. Wernle's contribution is that he began his studies by looking at the text (Luke's Prologue) rather than beginning with an hypothesis.

Source criticism of the nineteenth century and its attempt to isolate the documents in order to establish a scientific history of Jesus was the

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[7]Ibid.

backdrop to Martin Kahler's criticism of the validity of historical study of the Bible, especially of the gospels for a life of Jesus. He wrote (1896):

> We have no sources for a biography of Jesus of Nazareth which measure up to the standards of contemporary historical science. . . they tell us only about the shortest and last period of his life.[8]

This led him to refer to the gospels and probably Mark in particular as "passion narratives with extended introductions."[9] Kahler considered an infallible Bible as a detriment to one's faith, for "one's whole faith in the revelation of God is called into question when the accuracy of any detail recorded in the Bible is cast into doubt."[10] Kahler clearly separated history from faith in order to "rescue" the believer from drowning in the fruitless search for the real historical Jesus.

> He distinguished "historic" from "historical" in the sense that "historic" aims not to provide particular data but to describe the impact Jesus had on the people of his time. The historical Jesus is the attempted reconstruction of the Jesus of history which varies from scholar to scholar.[11]

Kahler saw the gospels as simple "recollections" being "confessional in nature."[12]

> I deny that the purpose of the Gospels is to serve as documents for a scientifically reconstructed biography of Jesus. . . . Their purpose is to awaken faith in Jesus through a clear proclamation of his saving activity.[13]

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[8]Martin Kahler, The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic, Biblical Christ, trans. and ed. Carl E. Braaten (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964 ed. 1896), pp. 48-49.

[9]Kealy, op. cit., p. 87.

[10]Kahler, op. cit., p. 114.

[11]Kealy, loc. cit.

[12]Kahler, op. cit., p. 126.

[13]Ibid., p. 127.

Kahler's influence would be felt later by such men as Bultmann, Karl Barth, and Paul Tillich. With Kahler the nineteenth century came to an end with liberal scholarship still in search of the historical Jesus. The roots of the twentieth century gospel studies had been laid deep and so entered the era of what Peter Ellis called "tricky" Mark (Wrede to Marxsen).

Form Criticism and The Gospel of Mark

Wilhelm Wrede's (1859-1906) The Messianic Secret in the Gospels dealt a serious blow to the optimism of liberal scholarship's quest for the historical Jesus. Wrede was influenced by the "history of religions" school which envisioned Paul as the perverter of an original Jewish Christianity. He introduced an existing Hellenistic myth of a heavenly redeemer and thus did not base his writings on a historical Jesus. According to Wrede, the "messianic secret" was portrayed differently in each gospel, and therefore each had to be studied separately for its own emphasis for a "proper" interpretation. On the basis that Mark has early recognition of Jesus' messianic ministry and passion (2:19f.; 2:10, 28) by the disciples and Jesus himself, Wrede concluded that "the psychological and historical portrayal of the lives of Jesus had in fact been read into Mark's text."[14] Wrede contended that Mark "no longer has any real picture of the historical life of Jesus."[15] His key text for his theory was Mark 9:9 where Jesus told his disciples immediately after the transfiguration not to tell anyone what they had seen until after his resurrection. In the same manner, Wrede considered the

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[14]Kealy, op. cit., p. 91.

[15]Ibid.

parables to be reinterpreted according to Mark's own purposes and not historically oriented. Everything was a "riddle" to those outside the church, but those who were on the inside believed in the Messiah, the Son of God, and thus understood the meaning of the resurrection. This was the key idea--only after the resurrection could Jesus' messiahship be understood. The commands to secrecy (1:34, 44; 3:12; 5:43; 7:36; 8:26, 30; 9:9) were literary devices to explain the lack of faith the people had in Jesus while he was alive.

So Wrede developed his "messianic secret" theme under the umbrella of three separate ideas: (1) Mark's parable theory (9:9), (2) the commands to be silent, and (3) the misunderstanding of the disciples. Wrede actually anticipated the basic approach of the redaction critics, an approach developed more strongly since Marxsen. For Wrede Mark was a theologian who developed a gospel which was theological in nature and purpose. Mark was no less theological than John's gospel! "Wrede failed to distinguish consistently between Mark's tradition and his redaction. Later Bultmann would show that Mark had worked the messianic secret into his materials."[16]

Albert Schweitzer's great volume, The Quest of the Historical Jesus,[17] was a critical study of the "quest" from Reimarus to Wrede. It had a great influence over the scholarly world, which saw the end of the rationalistic, mythical and liberal approach to the gospels. He thought it impossible for the gospel writers to create any kind of objective, historical account

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[16]Ibid., p. 93.

[17]Albert Schweitzer, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, trans. W. Montgomery, 1906 German ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

of Jesus' life. His constant complaint was that the German scholars of his day and the nineteenth century knew more about the historical Jesus than the gospels themselves! Schweitzer did not consider the gospel description of Jesus' ministry to be historical. However, he viewed the "messianic secret" as a genuine part of Jesus' ministry, historical or not, as over against Wrede's view.

His main interest in the gospels had to do with the Lord's Supper. Since neither Matthew nor Mark had the phrase, "Do this in memory of me," and since he considered Mark to be the earliest gospel, Schweitzer concluded that the command for repetition of the Lord's Supper was a development of the disciples much later than during Jesus' lifetime. The parables in Mark 4 were never intended to be interpreted and understood. Rather, they were to teach the mysteries of the kingdom.

Schweitzer's view of Jesus was certainly human, but "divinely" compassionate. His trip to Jerusalem was supposed to force the hand of God in bringing the kingdom of God to earth. His "secret" was divulged by Judas and he was killed by the rulers as a messianic pretender.

To Schweitzer a history of Jesus was no longer tenable nor necessary. It was even a stumbling-block to religion! The "heroism" of Jesus was what was admired and was to be emulated. His ethical teachings were only provisional or "interim" until the kingdom arrived.

Schweitzer insisted that Jesus could never be understood by our own time and culture and that most "liberal" scholars had created their own "historical Jesus" to suit their own tastes and imagination. The gospel of Mark was found by him to be patchwork of non-sequential stories. In

his zeal to make sense out of the "chaotic confusion of the narratives," Schweitzer restored what he called "thoroughgoing eschatology" to the interpretation of Jesus' teaching:

> The choice according to Schweitzer had to be made between the thoroughgoing skepticism implied by Wrede in his challenge to the common belief that Mark was a historical view of Jesus and the thoroughgoing eschatology to which J. Weiss had pointed in a study published in 1892.[18]

Schweitzer oversimplified the gospel tradition problem in a summary of the three basic concerns of nineteenth century research:

> The first was laid down by Strauss: either purely historical or purely supernatural. The second had been worked out by the Tubingen schools and Holtzmann: either Synoptic or Johannine.[19] Now came the third: either eschatological or non-eschatological!

Schweitzer considered both Matthew and Mark to be products of an earlier common source which went back to eyewitnesses of Jesus' ministry. "In brief, for Schweitzer we need to de-eschatologize the gospel of Jesus in contrast to Bultmann's view that we need to demythologize the gospel."[20]

Julius Wellhausen in The Gospel of Mark (1903) and Introduction to the First Three Gospels (1905) contributed three main ideas to gospel studies which later form critics would develop into major axioms: (1) The original source of the Gospels was oral tradition that circulated in small units. (2) These oral sources had been brought together by various ways and redacted in various stages by a given community, of which the evangelists were only one stage. (3) The written materials, therefore, give information not only of the ministry of Jesus, but also about the beliefs and practices (problems) of the early Church.

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[18] Kealy, op. cit., p. 97.

[19] Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 238.

[20] Kealy, op. cit., p. 98.

Wellhausen saw Mark as not wanting to make Jesus' person manifest or even intelligible. He only wished to establish Jesus' divine vocation; i.e., that he was the Christ. For Wellhausen, Jesus was only a teacher who accommodated his disciples by the acceptance of the title, "Messiah." Mark was written in the decade after Jerusalem's destruction (70-80 A.D.), and the author deliberately ended his gospel with the puzzling statement, "they were afraid" (Mark 16:8). Mark was known by the other gospels.

Johannes Weiss, a teacher of Wellhausen, published a study of Mark: The Oldest Gospel which developed his earlier study on Preaching of Jesus on the Kingdom (1892). Weiss based his studies on the Jewish apocalyptic books of Enoch, Apocalypse of Baruch, and 2 Esdras. He presented Jesus strictly as an eschatological herald who preached a future kingdom to be inaugurated only after his return from death to be the Son of Man judge according to Daniel.

Weiss considered Mark to be a collection of Peter's reminiscences but not necessarily by the John Mark of Acts 12:12, 25 and 15:37. He noted the difficulties with the Markan priority hypothesis, for in many places Matthew and Luke agreed against Mark. He saw the gospel writers as both collectors of traditional materials and authors expressing their own conception and convictions.

"F. C. Burkitt in The Gospel History and Its Transmission (1906) asked for the first time the question how to explain the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark."[21] The existence of Mark and Q were the "assured results" of synoptic scholarship. He saw Mark as a highly accurate document for portraying the historical Jesus who had to break away from

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[21]Ibid., p. 101.

official Judaism. For him Matthew only elaborated, revised and rearranged the gospel of Mark while Luke devised a new gospel using Mark and other sources.

A. Loisy published The Synoptic Gospels (1907) and The Gospel According to Mark (1912). Loisy essentially held to the same source view as the above; i.e., that Mark was a collection of notes which originally recorded Jesus' Galilean ministry and then the messianic adventure in Jerusalem with its culmination on Golgotha. He believed that the author of Mark tried to cover up the political activity of Jesus by confusing the chronological and topographical order of his sources. Jesus was unconscious of his own divinity, which in reality was imposed upon him by later Church interpretations of which Mark is one result. "Like J. Weiss and many others, Loisy thought that Mark was influenced by Paul whose main idea he borrowed. He dated Mark in Rome A.D. 75-80 like Goguel, Branscomb and Bacon."[22]

B. W. Bacon in Beginnings of the Gospel Story (1909) presented Mark (the author) as a Paulinist and his gospel as involving a large redactional element. In a 1919 essay, "Is Mark a Roman Gospel?", Bacon argued that Mark was a member of the Roman church and anti-Jewish; i.e. anti-Petrine. The Gospel's final form was only the result of development and successive periods of redactions.

M. J. Lagrange, a Catholic scholar, published his commentary on Mark, and it became an "epoch-making event" for Catholic New Testament exegesis. He was traditional in that Mark was dependent on Peter as an eyewitness to

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[22]Ibid., p. 105.

Jesus' ministry, but he also stressed the autonomy of Mark as an author. He gave Mark high marks for historical accuracy due to the small picturesque details evident throughout the book which was due to eyewitness accounts. Mark depended on Peter's preaching, his primary source, while Matthew (the Greek text) depended both on Aramaic Matthew and Mark.

Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos (1913), anticipated several of the developments of form criticism. The oral traditions are what stamped the character of the gospel framework. The germ cells of the gospel tradition are the individual closed pericopae that together with the passion story make up the gospel story. Bousset put little emphasis on the gospel writers as authors. The Jesus of the gospels was originally created to meet the needs of the Christian community. There were two phases of development: the primitive Palestinian community and the later Gentile community before Paul. The "Son of Man" Christology derived from the former while the cultic "Kyrios" Christology belonged to the latter. Thus he saw Jesus, a simple ethical teacher, as an original stage that developed into Palestinian Christianity, then to Hellenistic Christianity, then to Paul. Afterwards came Johannine Christianity and Gnosticism which further mythologized the Christ myth of Paul until the writings of Irenaus, when Christianity had become institutionalized. This developmental methodology in terms of the worshipping community would have its effect upon future critical studies on the gospels.

The works above helped precipitate the contribution of three men, Karl L. Schmidt (1891-1956), M. Dibelius (1891-1956), and Rudolf Bultmann (1884-1976), who produced the movement known as form criticism (or form-history).

In 1919, Schmidt published his Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu (The Framework of the Story of Jesus). He, like the others, accepted Mark and Q

as prior to Matthew and Luke, but he sought to penetrate behind the extant gospels to the period of oral tradition that produced the various pericopae. These pericopae were built into a framework that originated with the author of the gospel according to his own interests. Each individual pericope arose out of a worshipping community that had preserved certain pericopae because they had met the needs of the community. Therefore, the gospels were looked upon as reflecting the life of the early Christian community rather than any factual account of the life of Jesus.

> Schmidt carefully studied the entire Synoptic tradition from the perspective of the framework which the Gospel writers gave to the life of Jesus. He also gave some helpful suggestions as to the nature and origin of the individual units making up the Synoptic tradition. But Schmidt did not really utilize the tools of form criticism to pry back into the oral period of Gospel origins. This task was left for Martin Dibelius and Rudolf Bultmann.[23]

In the same year, Martin Dibelius produced a slim volume entitled Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums (The Form-History of the Gospels), from which the movement gained its name.[24] His assumption was that the oral tradition consisted mainly of preaching materials with the exception of the passion narrative, the earliest part to be written down. He sought to establish the historical circumstances (Sitz im Leben) of the various forms found in the gospel; i.e., paradigms, tales, legends, myths, and sayings. V. Taylor's evaluation of Dibelius's work is somewhat positive:

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[23]Edgar V. McKnight, What Is Form Criticism? (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. 15.

[24]See the English translation: Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. Bertram Lee Wolf (New York: Scribner, 1965).

> In the main, his treatment of the tradition is constructive. It is especially attractive that the inquiry is pressed beyond the work of Evangelists dealing with sources into the many-sided life of the earliest communities. Inevitably in such investigations the inquiry extends beyond 'forms', and Form Criticism becomes a branch of historical criticism.[25]

By far the most influential of the three was Rudolf Bultmann who in 1921 published his The History of the Synoptic Tradition.[26] Bultmann was complete in his analysis of the Synoptic material dividing it into two parts: the sayings of Jesus and the narrative material. The sayings of Jesus were divided into two: apophthegms and dominical sayings, each one further divided. The narrative material also was divided into two parts: miracle stories and historical and legendary stories. After having established the various forms in the gospel, in great detail he outlined the editorial work of Mark.[27] Bultmann was convinced that the gospel traditions could only be traced to the primitive Palestinian Church. Only isolated sections were initially used and made to conform to the needs of the community. "For the idea of an unified presentation of the life of Jesus, knit together by some dominant concept, which first constitutes the Gospel, was obviously far removed from the Palestinian church."[28] It was not until the Hellenistic Church took over that the need for the gospel arose, and thus the traditional materials were reshaped into this gospel form: Mark being the earliest and Matthew and Luke following the basic outline.

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[25]Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co. 1959), p. 19.

[26]Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, trans. John Marsh (New York: Harper & Row, 1963).

[27]Ibid., pp. 338-50.

[28]Ibid., p. 369.

In many places where Bultmann discussed the relationship of theology to the biblical material, he has clearly separated faith from history, as for example concerning the messianic consciousness of Jesus:

> The acknowledgement of Jesus as the one in whom God's word decisively encounters man, whatever title be given him--"Messiah (Christ)," "Son of Man," "Lord"--is a pure act of faith independent of the answer to the historical question whether or not Jesus considered himself the Messiah. Only the historian can answer this question--as far as it can be answered at all--and faith, being personal decision, cannot be dependent upon a historian's labor.[29]

To Bultmann the quest for the historical Jesus was irrelevant. The important element is the Christ of faith, that which the Church has actually given in faith that others may have faith. To his credit he attempted to make relevant the gospel tradition to modern-man in every way possible. The New Testament world was filled with myth of a kind quite foreign to twentieth century man's scientifically-oriented world. The answer for Bultmann was simply to demythologize the Scriptures and thereby establish the biblical messages by which modern-men should live in faith. The jarring statement is clear for those who would hold to the "myth": "We can no longer look for the return of the Son of Man on the clouds of heaven or hope that the faithful will meet him in the air (I Thess. 4:15ff.)."[30]

Bultmann considered Mark to be more mythical than Matthew and Luke. James M. Robinson explained his view in this manner:

> In distinction from Matthew's Jewish pattern of prophecy and fulfillment, Mark sees Jesus' life in the Hellenistic pattern of an 'epiphany of the Son of God', so that one could speak of the history of Jesus

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[29]Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 26.

[30]Rudolph Bultmann, Kerygma and Myth ed. Hans Werner Bartsch (New York: Harper & Row 1961), p. 4.

> only in quotation marks. Emphasizing miraculous events like the baptism and transfiguration, Mark sees in Jesus 'the miraculous manifestation of divine healing in the cloak of earthly occurrence'. Yet Mark, by the very fact of giving his presentation 'the form of an historical presentation, a "life of Jesus",' reflects the early Christian awareness that their revelation comes not in the pictures of ecstatic visionaries, nor by some unconfirmable myth, but 'by an historical figure, Jesus.'[31]

Kealy has noted that Bultmann propounded the view that Mark used the Apostles in his gospel as indirect targets for the critical and negative portrayal of his contemporary Jewish Christians, a view that has been developed in recent times by T. J. Weeden (1971).[32]

About the same time of Bultmann's growing influence, B. H. Streeter proposed his Four Document Hypothesis in The Four Gospels (1924). Based on the two source theory he separated materials peculiar to Luke (L) and Matthew (M) and placed each in a Christian center where supposedly the tradition and text grew; i.e. Jerusalem (M c.56), Caesarea (L c.60), Antioch (Q c.50) and Mark in Rome c.65-70 A.D. Streeter theorized that Luke was completed c.80 and Matthew c.85 A.D. Perhaps an interesting side-light in his investigations of the synoptic relationship was to show the verbal agreements between Mark and John. His conclusion was that John knew Mark's gospel well.

In the midst of form critical developments, there were a few scholars who held to traditional viewpoints even after in-depth studies. One such was C. H. Turner who made a detailed study of Mark's linguistic features

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[31]James M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark (London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 19. Note #1.

[32]Kealy, op. cit., p. 126.

and concluded that Mark was very important for eyewitness accounts of Jesus' life--a very important historical document. This was a complete reversal of Bultmann's view, but of course, it did not affect the growing concerns of form criticism.

By contrast R. H. Lightfoot's History and Interpretation in the Gospels (1934) developed form-criticism to the extent that he is often called the first redaction critic.[33] Having debunked all that he had been taught about Mark as "pure history," he discovered that Mark was not biographical but rather theological in nature. Influenced by Wrede, he called Mark the book of the secret Messiahship of Jesus. Later he understood geographical places and names as theologically oriented rather than literal. In his final work, The Gospel Message of St. Mark (1950), Lightfoot offered many insights into the Markan text in terms of parallels which he interpreted theologically. He saw Mark's purpose as having been written in Rome soon after Nero's persecution in order to answer the problem of suffering; i.e., why did the Messiah have to suffer? Why must Christians suffer today? This idea was not new and many have placed Mark's purpose in this category.

In 1939 H. J. Ebeling reviewed the history of the criticism of Wrede's theory concerning the Messianic secret in The Messianic Secret and the Message of the Evangelist Mark. Whereas all scholars agreed that Mark presents a "Messianic secret," they differed on interpretation.

> Wrede had seen it as an invitation of the early Church to explain the difference between its cult of the risen Lord and its memories of the past. Jesus had foreseen that it would happen. Dibelius

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[33] Ibid., p. 141.

> similarly saw it as part of the apologetic of the early Church as it tried to explain the humble nature of Jesus' life. Bultmann related the messianic secret to the evangelist's redaction. Ebeling reduced it to a literary device so that there is no secrecy motif in Mark's gospel.[34]

Ebeling, therefore, saw the "secret" as really a "revelation" to the readers that they may rejoice in having the "secret" made known to them! Other traditional interpretations view the messianic secret as Jesus' teaching to avoid the Jewish misunderstanding of his true messiahship and on the other hand to avoid the blinding of his contemporaries by a full revelation of his divinity.

Commentaries on Mark are plentiful throughout this period such as B. H. Branscomb (1937), A. M. Hunter (1949) and Vincent Taylor (1953). Vincent Taylor's commentary has since become a classic for its combination of holding to a very conservative position but at the same time seeking to preserve the best results from form criticism of his day. It is a good mediating commentary. Taylor expressed very simply the historical value of Mark:

> Mark was not seeking to write history and is not a historian. His purpose was simpler. He wanted to tell how the Good News concerning Jesus Christ, God's Son, began. . . . In addition to Petrine narratives, forms of Church tradition, including pronouncement stories and sayings, were used by the Evangelist. The historical value of the Gospel depends on the nature and the use made of these sources of information.[35]

Mention should be made of Bultmann's pupil, Ernst Kasemann who sought to correct some of his formidable teacher's skepticism about the historical Jesus. He attempted to reunite faith and history and to show that a Christian's

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[34]Ibid., p. 146.

[35]Taylor, op. cit., pp. 130-31.

faith requires confidence in the continuity between the earthly and risen Jesus while not denying that the gospels were a product of the Early Church's faith.

The fact that many scholars at this time were continually searching for further development of form criticism or new ways from which to view the gospel tradition, the next period of time (from Marxsen to Minette de Tillesse) may be described as "subtle" Mark.

Redaction Criticism and The Gospel of Mark

Harald Riesenfeld, a Swedish scholar, was one of those who seriously questioned the fruits of form criticism. He did recognize that form criticism had permanently achieved "the formal analysis of the individual elements in the Gospel material, of the parables and other words of Jesus, of the accounts of the deeds of Jesus, or of happenings in the life of Jesus."[36] But he criticized its claim that the methodology of form criticism had enabled it to explain the beginnings of the Gospel tradition. To give as the "Sitz im Leben" (situation in life) of the Gospels "preaching" or "catechetical instruction" or "controversy" contexts was inadequate and even unbelieveable to Riesenfeld. He argued that the gospel tradition actually went back to Jesus himself, and that his teaching of the apostles was parallel with the methodology of the rabbis who scrupulously had their disciples repeat exactly their teachings. The dividing line of interpreting Mark's gospel was one's view of the "messianic self-consciousness." Riesenfeld's attitude toward

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[36]Harald Riesenfeld, The Gospel Tradition, trans. Margaret Rowley and Robert Kraft (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), p. 4.

Jesus' self-consciousness as the Jewish Messiah led him back to the "classical" method of interpretation.[37] Although Riesenfeld's views were different from Willi Marxsen's, his contemporary who firmly established redaction criticism for gospel studies, he produced many of the same results. Riesenfeld wrote concerning the composition of the Gospel of Mark:

> This Gospel is the work of a man who, with firm grip and with a definite theological view, has arranged and molded the material handed down. It is inevitable that the evangelist found himself in living contact with the preaching and teaching of the church of his time, but he was certainly more than a mere exponent of an anonymous community's view and opinions. Rather he seems to have belonged to the leading figures within early Christendom who had the ability comprehensively to select and systematize the material.[38]

Riesenfeld saw Mark as a Christological outline imposed upon a pre-existing geographical historical outline. Mark 1:14-8:26 he entitled, "The Son of man and Israel," which emphasized "the call," while 8:27-10:52 was entitled, "The Messiah as teacher and prophet," which emphasized "discipleship."[39]

Riesenfeld accounted for the differences among the synoptic gospels by establishing two principles of composition:

> First, the firm elements of tradition, to which belong both a stylized basic plan of the outward course of the public ministry of Jesus and characteristic details of the "framework" of the pericopes, and secondly, the evangelist's intention from a theological point of view to edit and systematize the material handed down. These two principles cannot simply be united or superimposed on one another. The analysis of the Marcan material had shown rather that here and there the one or another principle falls short, which is the cause of inconsistencies in one direction or another.[40]

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[37] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

[38] Ibid., p. 54.

[39] Ibid., pp. 57, 65.

[40] Ibid., p. 74.

While Riesenfeld touched on many redactional ideas in his critical analysis of form criticism and gave much weight to the historical aspects of the gospel tradition (in line with Dibelius), Willi Marxsen (in line with Bultmann) gave new directions to Marcan studies in terms of redaction criticism. Today Marxsen is noted for pioneering the application of redaction criticism to Mark, even though redaction criticism can be traced back to Lightfoot, Wrede and Reimarus. Marxsen's book, Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel,[41] appeared in 1956, two years after Hans Conzelmann's The Theology of Luke. With these two works gospel studies moved into the period of redaction history. In contrast to form criticism's anti-individualistic view of the Gospels, Marxsen plainly stated that "Mark is the first to bring the individualistic element to the forming and shaping of the tradition."[42] In other words, redaction criticism saw three "life-situations" in the text, rather than the two of form criticism. The first was Jesus' activities and sayings, the second was the situation of the primitive church, and the third was "the author's point of view and the situation of his community."[43] "Although some scholars still argue that only two situations-in-life exist, most scholars have accepted the correctness of Marxsen's thesis."[44]

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[41]Willi Marxsen, Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel, trans. James Boyce, Donald Juel. William Poehlmann, with Roy A. Harrisville (Nashville: Abingdon, 1969).

[42]Ibid., p. 19.

[43]Ibid., p. 25.

[44]Robert H. Stein, review of Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel, by Willi Marxsen. Translated by James Boyce, Donald Juel, William Poehlmann, with Roy A. Harrisville, Nashville: Abingdon, 1969, in Journal of Biblical Literature 88 (Sept. 1969) 360.

Marxsen applied redactional-historical investigations to four areas in Mark: The Baptist, geographical locations, concept of evangelion, and Mark 13 (the Little Apocalypse). After the application to the four areas of study, Marxsen postulated that Mark was a "sermon" to the Christian community of his day to flee the church in Judea and its coming destruction by the Romans (c.66-70 A.D.) unto Galilee and to await the imminent return of Jesus. In the midst of great tribulation flee to the place where the Messiah first appeared, for He will soon appear a second time. Just as Jesus suffered before glory, so must the Christian suffer and prepare for the glory to be revealed.

Robert H. Stein, who reviewed Marxsen's book in the JBL, was very critical of Marxsen's thesis for three reasons: (1) In Mark 13:10 the concern is the delay of the parousia rather than its imminence. (2) Marxsen has Mark 12:28 and 16:7 refer to the parousia but Stein maintained that, Peter having already been dead, the passages must refer back to the resurrection. (3) Mark's explanation of Jewish customs and Aramaic terms preclude Aramaic-speaking Judean Christians as the recipients of the gospel.[45]

In spite of all criticisms of Marxsen, the methodology by which Mark and the other gospels were approached have been changed considerably. Jack Dean Kingsbury cited three areas of Marcan research where Marxsen has made a lasting contribution:

> (a) the attempt to distinguish in the analysis of Mark's Gospel between traditional materials, which the evangelist inherited, and

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[45]Ibid.

> "framework" materials, which stem from his hand; (b) the importance of regarding the evangelist Mark as an "author-personality" whose genius reveals itself in the "framework" materials of his Gospel; and (c) the need to reconstruct, for the purposes of correct interpretation, the historical and sociological situation in which Mark's Gospel arose.[46]

In other words, the "Marcan hypothesis" that Mark being the earliest gospel and a major source for Matthew and Luke, thus providing a reliable historical source and a basis for a Life of Jesus, is no longer tenable.[47] Redaction criticism set the stage for a voluminous response from scholars who either criticized the discipline offering alternatives or those who positively contributed to the study and expanded its influence. Norman Perrin has already pointed out that Marxsen himself was moving beyond redaction criticism to a newer stage in which he worked from a theological insight to the historical situation of that insight.[48]

In 1957 James M. Robinson responded to the problem of history that redaction criticism presented. In his book, The Problem of History in Mark,[49] he maintained "that Mark sees the history of Jesus from an eschatological perspective." Presented by Mark as a unity, his history was prepared by John the Baptist at Jesus' baptism and temptation, "carried on through the struggles with various forms of evil," until Jesus' death on the cross, the ultimate experience of history and "diabolic antagonism." "In the

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[46]Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Gospel of Mark in Current Research," Religious Studies Review, 5 (Apr. 1979) 102.

[47]Norman Perrin, What is Redaction Criticism? (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) p. 7.

[48]Ibid., p. 39.

[49]James M. Robinson, The Problem of History in Mark (London: SCM Press, 1957).

[50]Ibid., p. 52.

resurrection the force of evil is conclusively broken and the power of God's reign is established in history."[51] This is Mark's understanding of Jesus' history according to Robinson but what is Mark's understanding of his own history? "The result of this investigation into Marcan history after A.D. 30," concluded Robinson, "is that history since the resurrection is conceived of as a continuation of the same cosmic struggle which Jesus began."[52] Thus, Mark is seen as providing an understanding of history (of Jesus and the early Church) which applies to each reader. Christian experience in Christ is to enter into history, a history determined by Old Testament prophetic words, up to John the Baptist, Jesus' life and mission, and the early Church.

Etienne Trocmé, a French writer, accused both Robinson and Marxsen of imposing the framework of very modern theological categories onto Mark's Gospel. Robinson borrowed O. Cullmann's theology of the history of salvation while W. Marxsen used R. Bultmann's existentialist theology. Trocmé saw this as a dangerous approach; i.e., "projecting a too elaborate and abstract system of thought on to a work as closely linked to events as Mark's Gospel."[53] For Trocmé's part in Marcan studies he theorized that canonical Mark is "the 'second edition, revised and supplemented by a long appendix' of an earlier Gospel."[54] He sees the first edition as Mark 1-13 by an author of Palestinian origin who attacked the Jerusalem and Judean Christian establishment

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[51] Ibid., p. 53.

[52] Ibid., pp. 66-67.

[53] Etienne Trocmé, The Formation of the Gospel According to Mark, trans. Pamela Gaughan (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 141. See note #1.

[54] Ibid., p. 240.

(James, Peter and the Twelve).[55] He surmised that the original Mark (1-13) could have been written by Philip, the evangelist to the Samaritans (Acts 8). Trocmé viewed the work of Philip as a break from the church of Jerusalem. In the midst of his missionary travels throughout Samaria and Galilee, he composed his gospel (Mark 1-13) probably around 50 A.D. Only later was Mark 14-16 added and that in close time sequence with Luke-Acts (c.80-85 A.D.). This unusual proposal led Trocmé to question why there was no mention or reference to Samaria and the Samaritans in Mark's gospel.

> It is hard to see why our Evangelist did not refer to this part of the country in passages such as 3.7-8 or 10.1. It seems doubtful that he could have basically detested the Samaritans in particular, since his hostility to the Temple of Jerusalem would have drawn him to them.[56]

Trocmé's suggestion that the Samaritan mission field may have produced "bitter fruit," or that it was the "preserve of missionaries who did not belong to his own group," or that "his silence probably conceals some kind of bitterness" hardly seems plausible. One last reason was suggested:

> Is it the result of a disappointment suffered by himself or by somebody close to him? It is clear in any case that the evangelization of Samaria has encountered unforeseen difficulties (Simon Magus: cf. Acts 8:9-13, 18-24) and provoked certain rivalries among Christian missionaries (Acts 8.5-8, 12, 14-17, 25; John 4.37-8).[57]

J. Schreiber, two years earlier, had proposed similar ideas about Mark's purpose in an article, "The Christology of Mark's Gospel" (1961).[58]

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[55] Ibid., p. 252.

[56] Ibid., p. 250. Footnote #3.

[57] Ibid. Possible alternatives will be given to Trocmé's query in the next chapter.

[58] J. Schreiber, "Die Christologie des Markusevangeliums," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 58 (1961) 154-83.

Schreiber was the first to develop the idea of two competing Christologies in Mark: one of a gnostic Redeemer belonging to Hellenistic theology, and the other of the "divine-man" miracle-worker of whom Mark uses the title, "Son of God" (Mark 15:39). Mark played down the Jewish-Christian church and denigrated Peter and the other apostles for their blindness in regards to the mission to the Gentiles. Thus, the extolling of the Galilean mission was an exhortation for the Christian to follow his Lord through the pattern of humiliation-exaltation (Phil 2:6-11), the example of a "divine-man" experience.

Of a much more conservative and traditional approach was C. E. B. Cranfield's article on "The Gospel of Mark" in the Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (1962).[59] He took the traditional line that the author was John Mark who wrote from Rome c.65-67 A.D. for Gentiles. Cranfield's concept of the theology of Mark turned on his use or non-use of the word Kurios (Lord). "The whole gospel presupposes the early church's faith that Jesus is Lord (cf. Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5, etc.)--it would never have been written if Mark had not shared this faith."[60] Cranfield argued that Mark considered Jesus to be the divine pre-existent Son of God (i.e. according to John's Gospel!), yet who humbled himself to become a man with the result that he deliberately "hid" his Lordship. Then after the humiliating death on a cross and burial, he was exalted as the living Lord over the Church and was expected to return in order to manifest the kingdom. Cranfield

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[59]C. E. B. Cranfield, "Gospel of Mark," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible ed. George A. Buttrick, Vol. 3, K-Q (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 267-77.

[60]Ibid., pp. 272-73.

outlined his Markan Christology in this manner: (1) The Lord who "was rich," (2) The Lord who "became poor," (3) The Lord who was exalted, and (4) The Lord who is coming.[61]

In this same period (1963) Dennis E. Nineham[62] stressed his opinion that Mark's material "bears all the signs of having been community tradition and cannot therefore be derived directly from St. Peter or any other eye-witness."[63] In line with form and redaction criticism Nineham wrote:

> The older view that the Gospels were attempted biographies of Jesus, as adequate as the education of the Evangelists and the circumstances of the time would allow, has given place to the recognition that each of them was produced to meet some specific practical and religious needs in the church of its origin, and that it is those needs which have very largely controlled each Evangelist's choice, arrangement, and presentation of material and distribution of emphasis.[64]

Using the same approach Eduard Schweizer thought that Mark was primarily criticizing inadequate views of Jesus which were prevalent in the mid-first century A.D.[65] First, the Jewish-Christian community viewed Jesus as no more than an outstanding teacher. Mark wrote to show that one must go beyond the teachings of Jesus to understand who he really was. Second, there were Hellenistic or Gentile Churches such as Corinth who ignored Jesus' humanity and overemphasized the resurrection and the heavenly Christ to the point of developing a serious heresy (proto-gnostic type). Finally, there were those

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[61] Ibid., pp. 273-75.

[62] Dennis E. Nineham, The Gospel of Mark: The Pelican New Testament Commentaries (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1963).

[63] Ibid., p. 27.

[64] Ibid., p. 29.

[65] Eduard Schweizer, The Good News According to Mark, trans. Donald H. Madwig (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1967).

(probably in Syria) who put the emphasis on Jesus' mighty deeds, one who incarnated divine power. Through magic this "divine man" (theios aner) aroused his audiences to an enthusiastic following.[66]

Schweizer believed that Mark wrote his unique "gospel" to counter-act the false-views men possessed of Jesus; i.e., a Christological corrective! By looking at the structure of Mark as a whole, Schweizer summarized three areas where most scholars would agree: (1) Jesus was rejected by men all through Mark's Gospel. (2) Man was called to follow Jesus. (3) Jesus cannot be understood without the cross.[67] Why the "messianic secret" in Mark? Schweizer wrote:

> Mark's answer is that the time for proclamation has not come, since the secret of Jesus will become really apparent only on the cross, and one must follow him in the way of the cross to be able to really understand it (see 8:34).[68]

Roy A. Harrisville gave credit to Bultmann for his "suggestion that Mark's Gospel is a combination of Hellenistic preaching with the tradition of the story of Jesus," and to Marxsen for his "attention upon the theology of Mark."[69] Harrisville saw Mark's Gospel as a "sermon" which used a death-motif throughout:

> Mark's Gospel at the outset strikes the death-note, quietly, even so indistinctly, but with each succeeding chapter adds a bit of volume until all the fury of hell breaks loose in that agonizing cry: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"[70]

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[66] Ibid., pp. 380-86.

[67] Kealy, op. cit., p. 190.

[68] Schweizer, op. cit., p. 56.

[69] Roy A. Harrisville, The Miracle of Mark (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967), p. 7.

[70] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

In spite of his redaction critical approach, Harrisville accepted John Mark as the author who wrote sometime between 63 and 70 A.D. for a Roman audience.

In 1968, T. J. Weeden in an article, "The Heresy That Necessitated Mark's Gospel," attempted to think like a first century reader and to be guided by the same principles and procedures of literary analysis.[71] Later, he expanded and refined his dissertation and presented a book with an extremely creative approach to Mark's interpretation: Mark--Traditions in Conflict.[72] He used H. I. Marrou's A History of Education in Antiquity as a basis for his theory that the first-century Hellenist would have used characters in the story to dramatize his viewpoint. The conflict between Jesus and his disciples represents the key to Mark's interpretation according to Weeden. The disciples were viewing Jesus as a theios aner (divine man) and their activity and requests reflected the pattern of theois aner discipleship. In rejection of this attitude, Jesus constantly presented the suffering servant Christology and discipleship which represented Mark's viewpoint. His enemies were represented by the non-understanding disciples.

> The delay of the parousia had led to the appearance of a group of "illuminati", of spirit-filled "divine men" (13:6, 22; Mt. 7:21-23; 2 Cor. 11:13-15; Acts 8:9ff.; 19:13-16) who claimed to be Jesus figures in the churches and to have esoteric knowledge of Jesus as a "divine man" and to be his personal envoys on earth. The community is full of eschatological excitement awaiting impatiently the return of Jesus (13:30). Mark, who is hostile to the Twelve, presents them as false teachers. He contrasts the true picture of Jesus the Suffering Servant with the false picture of the triumphalistic wonder-worker in chapters 1-8.[73]

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[71] Kealy, op. cit., pp. 193-94.

[72] Theodore J. Weeden, Mark--Traditions in Conflict (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971).

[73] Kealy, op. cit., p. 194.

In those chapters Weeden followed Johannes Schreiber--"that the interest in narrative and collecting epiphany stories began in a Christian circle which sought to establish Jesus as a theios aner for missionary and cultic interests in the Hellenistic world."[74] Schreiber had contended that it was not unlikely that the Stephen circle (the Seven) may have initiated the new Christian kerygma.

The approach that Mark took to combat this new heresy was to use the "historical Jesus!" "That is, he stages the Christological debate of his community in a 'historical' drama in which Jesus serves as a surrogate for Mark and the disciples serve as surrogates for Mark's opponents."[75] In three stages the drama was developed: the disciples were "unperceptive" (1:16-8:26) in the first stage; in the second, they had many "misconceptions" (8:27-14:9); and finally, they totally "rejected" Jesus (14:10-72).[76] Once this drama has been unfolded Mark's conclusion was simply a presentation of Jesus alone before Pilate and the Passion scenes.

Weeden attributed Mark's "success" to the way he used his opponent's own tradition (the miracle stories, theios aner concepts) against them. But by so doing, Mark weakened his own position and thereby experienced at best "a limited victory."[77] In a review of Weeden's book, Vernon K. Robbins observed:

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[74]Weeden, op. cit., p. 160. Note #1.

[75]Ibid., p. 163.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid., p. 168.

> If Weeden's hypothesis about the origin of Mark wins the day within NT scholarship, then a new era has been launched in Marcan interpretation. As Wrede's view of the Messianic Secret has pervaded seventy years of Marcan interpretation, so Weeden's view of the Messianic Misunderstanding could take center stage as the hermeneutical key to the origin of Mark.[78]

But Weeden's hypothesis did not win the day, for it has been the subject of debate and critical review in spite of a few who followed his thinking.[79]

Sean Kealy used G. Minette de Tillesse's Le secret Messianique dans l'evangile de Marc (1968), a French study on the messianic secret in Mark, to conclude this section. Kealy related how Tillesse advocated that "the messianic secret in Mark plays the same role that the developed account of the temptation scene plays in Matthew and Luke."[80] Jesus chose the way of humiliation and suffering in order to save mankind. The "messianic secret" is the way in which he accomplished his task, not his messiahship. Yet, his glorious sonship could not be hidden for those who knew (demons) and for those who were healed. This book is only one of many of a long line from Wrede's original study on the "messianic secret."

The last section, somewhat arbitrarily called "Theological" Mark (1969 to Present), was chosen by Kealy because in 1969 the Catholic church developed a series of lectionaries that gave Mark's gospel an equal place with the other three gospels. He considered it "Mark Restored: 1969 Onward."[81]

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[78]Vernon K. Robbins, review of Mark-Traditions in Conflict by Theodore J. Weeden, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971, in Journal of Biblical Literature 91 (Sept. 1972) 417.

[79]For a review of the Theios Aner controversy and a well-stated corrective of Weeden's thesis, see Carl H. Holladay, Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977). Holladay's work deals mainly with the Theios Aner concept in Hellenistic-Jewish literature.

[80]Kealy, op. cit., p. 197.

[81]Ibid., p. 198.

Theological Studies and The Gospel of Mark

In 1969, K. G. Reploh wrote Teacher of the Community the thesis of which was that Mark's goal was not to give a historical account of Jesus' life, but rather to teach his own Christian community how to live the Christian life through the Jesus traditions. Mark 1:14-8:26 taught them the misunderstandings the Christian community had while 8:27-10:52 led them into true discipleship. Throughout the 1970's scholars would attempt to discover the social setting of the gospel and its particular message for that community, each one a variation of the other.

A unique interpretation of Mark in terms of its social setting can be found in the emphasis on the Eucharist by Quentin Quesnell who wrote The Mind of Mark: Interpretation and Method through Exegesis of Mark 6:52 (1969). The text of Mark 6:52, "For they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened" became for Quesnell the transition in the literary development of the narrative of Mark. The Eucharist became the essence of Christianity. It meant death and resurrection with Christ, the union of all men in one Body, his abiding presence. "Presumably Quesnell meant that 'the event' is the death of Jesus, and 'the reality' is the Eucharist which furnished the meaning of the death."[82]

In 1972, Ralph P. Martin rendered students of Marcan studies a favor by surveying and summarizing the main contributions of major scholarly works on Mark from Augustine to the present (1972). Martin's review and criticisms were not without his own biases. His own interpretation of Mark was developed

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[82]Howard Clark Kee, "Mark's Gospel in Recent Research," Interpretation 32 (Oct. 1978) 356-57.

from the ideas of E. Schweizer, T. J. Weeden and S. Schulz. The evangelist-theologian Mark sought to combat a spiritual, gnostic Christ or Jesus as a "divine man" by his "innovative joining of a Jesus-tradition and a Passion narrative, of the twin elements which made up the Pauline preaching. These are the humiliation and enthronement of the church's Lord."[83] Taking a more traditional view of Mark's purpose Martin wrote:

> It is our theorem that Mark wrote his gospel-book as a theological and practical exercise related to a specific and pressing need. In order to offset what he believed to be a dangerous trend in the church of his day he wished to set out the character of Jesus' life, death, and triumph with a view of dispelling the doubt that he was truly human as well as fully divine.[84]

M. Robert Mansfield, in a book review, criticized Martin's views in three areas: (1) Mark's Leitmotiv as the consistent rejection of signs and the appeal to faith in order to recognize the true character of Jesus was "too bold, overstepping the evidence." (2) "The close association between the Pauline churches and the Marcan Sitz im Leben is too readily assumed without adequate analysis and defense." (3) His methodology was sometimes inconsistent, at times concerned with Mark's theology but at many points "engrossed in the issue of determining the attitude or ipsissima vox of the historical Jesus."[85]

Recent papyri discoveries regarding the gospel of Mark may alter what has been theorized about its date. Jose' O'Callaghan, a papyrologist of the Biblical Institute in Rome, caused great excitement about a possible

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[83]Ralph P. Martin, Mark Evangelist and Theologian (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1972), p. 161.

[84]Ibid., p. 163.

[85]M. Robert Mansfield, review of Mark Evangelist and Theologian by Ralph P. Martin, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1972, in Journal of Biblical Literature 94 (Mar. 1975) 136.

discovery of two small fragments of the gospel of Mark, 6:52-53 (7Q5) and 4:28 (7Q6, 1). The full information has been published as a supplement to the Journal of Biblical Literature.[86] Other scholars besides O'Callaghan dated the papyri c.50 A.D. If the fragments are genuine copies of Mark's gospel, it would radically change New Testament dating, Mark in particular. But since there is a possible time span of twenty-five years for the dating process, the traditional and modern dates for Mark (c.64-75 A.D.) were not necessarily affected. Also, the evidence is still tenuous and inconclusive but the possibilities from Qumran caves remain exciting. For the most part scholars have taken a wait-and-see position on this "discovery."

Morton Smith discovered at the Monastery of Mar Saba near Jerusalem a document written by Clement of Alexandria.[87] In the writing was reference to " a secret gospel" by Mark. Ultimately, Smith interpreted his "find" as part of an expanded version of canonical Mark written by a secret society that gathered for nocturnal baptisms, including hints of homosexual practices.[88] Smith's two highly idiosyncratic and conjectural books have been reviewed and criticized in detail. Quesnell debated with Smith through

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[86]Jose O'Callaghan, "New Testament Papyri in Qumran Cave 7?" and Carlo M. Martini, "Notes on the Papyri of Qumran 7," Supplement to JBL 91, (1972) No. 2.

[87]Morton Smith, The Secret Gospel (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) and Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

[88]Morton Smith, The Secret Gospel (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 113-14.

appropriate articles, but most scholars today have refused to respond to Smith's theories.[89]

Although Norman Perrin died in 1976 before finishing his commentary on Mark, he has probably contributed more to Marcan studies than anyone else on the American scene, especially through his students who continue to write. Perrin continued the Christological debate in Mark and developed his ideas from T. J. Weeden who acted as a "catalyst" for his thoughts: "A major aspect of the Markan purpose is Christological: he is concerned with correcting a false Christology prevalent in his church and to teach both a true Christology and its consequences for Christian discipleship."[90]

It is clear to Perrin that Mark addressed his own Church through the tradition about Jesus and his disciples. In light of Peter's confessions (three) in Mark (8:27-10:45), Perrin wrote:

> In these interpretations of Peter's confession, Mark is presenting his own passion-oriented Christology, using Son of Man, and then drawing out its consequences for Christian discipleship: in the first, the necessary preparedness Jesus exhibited; in the second the necessity of servanthood; in the third, the climactic presentation of servanthood culminating in the ransom saying. At no point

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[89]See Q. Quesnell's article, "The Mar Saba Clementine: A Question of Evidence," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 37 (1975) 48-67; Morton Smith, "On the Authenticity of the Mar Saba Letter of Clement," CBQ 38 (1976) 200-203. See also for a sidelight on the issue, Raymond E. Brown, "The Relation of 'The Secret Gospel of Mark' To the Fourth Gospel," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly 36:4 (Oct. 1974) 466-85. For an excellent review and more complete bibliography see Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume, s.v. "Secret Gospel of Mark."

[90]Norman Perrin, A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 110. See also his What is Redaction Criticism? (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) for a clear explanation of redaction criticism and its application to Mark.

> in the Gospel, except for the discourse in chapter 13, is Mark so clearly addressing and exhorting his own readers.[91]

Perrin noted in Mark that every major section of the gospel ended with a note looking toward the passion (3:6; 6:6; 8:21; 10:45; 12:44) while the central section 8:27-10:45 sought to interpret the passion. He saw geographical references as both symbolic and a concern for the Gentile mission (i.e. Galilee). While Perrin admitted there was no consensus among scholars as to Mark's purpose in writing, he thought there was consensus that the evangelist writing shortly before or after 70 A.D. (The Fall of Jerusalem) was addressing Christians caught up in the apocalyptic events of that period in order to help them endure their trials until the imminent return of the Son of Man. Perrin named five themes with which Mark was concerned: the messianic secret, Christology, discipleship, Galilee, and eschatology.[92]

Some of Perrin's students have contributed greatly to Marcan studies. John R. Donahue wrote Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark (1973), a work which continued Perrin's view that Mark employed the title Son of Man to interpret properly the title, "Son of God." Donahue explained that the title "Son of God," used in the first half of Mark, was a false, Hellenistic theios-aner Christology (3:11; 5:7), which could not be applied to Jesus until at his trial. The Son of God was seen as Jesus, Son of Man, who must suffer, die, and return in glory.

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[91] Norman Perrin, A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), p. 111.

[92] Norman Perrin, "The Gospel of Mark," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume, gen. ed. Keith Crim (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), p. 572b.

> Mark's purpose was to establish an ideal paradigm of trial behavior and also a theological rationale for Christians who were facing trials (13:9ff.) as a result of the Jewish wars in the late 60's. His problems caused by messianic pretenders and a false eschatology were the result of Zealot activity in Jerusalem. He intercalated the trial within the denial scene to warn his Christians against faltering during trial like Peter.[93]

Apparently Donahue has shifted his position on the Christology of Mark, for in a recent essay he followed Philipp Vielhauer (1964) and Joseph Fitzmyer (1974) by asserting that Mark's Christology must be seen in the light of Jewish royal messianism.[94] Another student of Perrin, Donald Juel, wrote his Yale dissertation from the same perspective and thus strengthened the shift by Donahue.[95]

Another student of Perrin to make a major contribution to Marcan studies, as well as to honor his master teacher through the editing of The Passion in Mark,[96] was Werner H. Kelber who published his book, The Kingdom in Mark (1974),[97] based on his doctoral dissertation at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Kelber traced the key ideas of past scholars who contributed to his book:

> Among the scholars, past and present, who guided my thinking in fundamental ways, the following deserve special mention: Ernst Lohmeyer who discovered the significance of Galilee in Mark; Robert

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[93] Kealy, op. cit., p. 212.

[94] John R. Donahue, S. J., "Temple, Trial, and Royal Christology," The Passion of Mark, ed. Werner H. Kelber (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 72-79.

[95] Donald Juel, Messiah and Temple, SBL Dissertation Series, 31 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977).

[96] Werner H. Kelber, ed., The Passion in Mark (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976). Most of the contributors were students of Norman Perrin, and the work is in essence a tribute to Perrin. See a balanced review by Howard Clark Kee, Journal of Biblical Literature 97 (Mar. 1978) 143-44.

[97] Werner H. Kelber, The Kingdom of Mark (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).

> H. Lightfoot who insisted on the relevance of space and place in the gospels; Willi Marxsen who pioneered the redaction-critical exegesis of the oldest gospel; Theodore J. Weeden who brought the discipleship phenomenon in Mark into focus; Rudolf Pesch who contributed a magisterial work on chapter 13; Norman Perrin who during the last decade has prepared the ground for a theology of Mark.[98]

Kelber concentrated on Perrin's views of Mark's historical situation and its eschatological meaning. It was Kelber's opinion that Mark wrote in Galilee after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The story of Mark "is not an historical account of the life of Jesus, but the mythological reconstruction of a critical moment of Christian history."[99] The new place for the kingdom of God was Galilee where the kingdom was to be initiated by Jesus' parousia. But due to the women's failure to report this to the disciples (Mark 16:8), they failed to leave Jerusalem. Thus, they forfeited their opportunity to enter the kingdom. Now it is up to the Jerusalem Christians (represented by the disciples) to discern the new time and new place of the kingdom; i.e., they are to leave Jerusalem and its destruction (the new time) and flee to Galilee (the new place) in order to establish the Gentile mission. Mark's gospel "furnishes the new spatiotemporal universe in which one can breathe again, relate and orient oneself, find identity, and undertake new action."[100] It is a new beginning for Christianity outside the now judged city of Jerusalem with a new orientation to the kingdom of God, Jesus, and discipleship. Whereas Weeden saw Mark combatting a false Christology, Kelber saw him combatting a false eschatology.

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[98] Ibid., p. xi.

[99] Ibid., p. 147.

[100] Ibid., p. 144.

Jack Dean Kingsbury made a note of reservation about Kelber's thesis: "Because of the methodological difficulties inherent in any attempt to reconstruct the historical situation in which Mark's Gospel arose, Kelber's thesis necessarily remains tentative."[101]

When Dibelius and Bultmann considered Mark's gospel as "kerygmatic history," Bultmann, followed by Marxsen, Perrin and his disciples, emphasized the kerygmatic dimension of the gospel while minimizing its historical value. This led to a great diversity of ideas relating to Marcan theology. But in the last decade some scholars have begun to approach Mark with Dibelius' emphasis on its historical aspects. Such scholars as Jurgen, Roloff, Hejne Simonsen, Keikki Raisanen and Rudolph Pesch[102] would argue that Mark was a "conservative redactor" who interpreted his material by the way he organized it in his gospel.

> And whereas Marxsen admits to no intention on the part of Mark to speak of the "time of Jesus", this is, in fact, what was uppermost in his mind. Mark's purpose was not to write something like a sermon, but to tell the Christians of his church about the "time of Jesus". For them, the time of Jesus was a vital significance, for it was foundational for their Christian faith and life. Consequently, Mark, by narrating the story of the earthly ministry of Jesus, was informing his church of its roots in the age of Jesus. Except perhaps

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[101] Kingsbury, op. cit., p. 103.

[102] Jürgen, Roloff, "Das Markusevangelium als Geschichtsdarstellung," Evangelische Theologie 29 (1969) 73-93; Hejne Simonsen, "Zur Frage der grundlegenden Problematik in form-und redaktions - geschichtlicher Evangelienforschung", Studia theologia 27 (1972) 1-23; Heikki Räisänen, Das "Messiasgeheimnis" im Markusevangelium, Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschift, 28, (Helsinki: Finnische Exegetische Gesellschaft, 1976); Rudolph Pesch, Das Markusevangelium, 2 vols, Herders theologischer Kommentor Zum Neven Testament, 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1976).

> for chapter thirteen, seemingly the one place in the Gospel where the Marcan church is addressed directly, it is only in this "indirect manner" that Mark tells these Christians of their faith and mission in the world.[103]

Mark's aim, according to Pesch, was to arrange his traditional materials in such a way as to instruct the church in its gospel foundations (the ministry of Jesus) and its mission to the world (the ministry of the Church). The European scholars' approach seems to be a much more conservative stance than their counterparts in this country. In fact, it seems to be a reaction against Marxsen's influence of a "de-historicizing hermeneutic."[104]

In this same time period, a conservative scholar, William L. Lane, acknowledged the contributions of redaction criticism initiated by Marxsen.[105] He, however, pointed out its weakness[106] and proceeded to follow very much the same line of arguments for authorship, date, purpose, etc. as Taylor's classic commentary.

Paul J. Achtemeier's commentary was a good example of how a writer has taken contemporary scholarship on Marcan studies and presented it in such a form as to be useable for pastors in the local church.[107] He covered Mark's intention, method of creating a narrative, structure, Christology, Jesus as preacher and teacher, miracle worker, the passion, disciples, and

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[103] Kingsbury, op. cit., p. 104.

[104] William L. Lane, The Gospel According to Mark, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 6.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[107] Paul J. Achtemeier, Mark, Proclamation Commentaries, ed. Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

Jesus' parousia. In regard to the literary problems of Mark, Achtemeier remained "tentative" concerning authorship, date and origin. According to Achtemeier Mark's emphasis for Christians of his day was "faith."

In a new direction, Howard Clark Kee wrote a commentary that took up the suggestion which Dibelius made but never developed: the social setting of the gospel.[108] Kee's goal was "to employ a social-cultural-historical method in New Testament study," and to do so by using the Gospel of Mark.[109] Using the Dead Sea writings as an analogy to the Gospel of Mark, Kee viewed the gospel as a document for a self-conscious community.

> In both there are esoteric interpretations of the Jewish scriptures, which point to the coming of the founder of the community of the New Covenant and promise that beyond his suffering and death lies divine vindication. There are regulations for the on-going life of the community, as in the Dead Sea Scroll of the Rule. There are oblique references to worldly powers as well as to the demonic powers and the struggle with them in which the community will be involved. These conflicts are depicted in the War Scroll and the biblical commentaries at Qumran on the one hand, and in Mark 13 on the other. What we have in Mark, therefore, is a foundation document for an apocalyptic community.[110]

Kee rejected Mark's gospel as being an aretalogy,[111] even though he admitted it may have been influenced by Hellenistic culture. Rather, Kee

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[108] Howard Clark Kee, Community of the New Age: Studies in Mark's Gospel (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977).

[109] Ibid., p. ix.

[110] Kee, op. cit., "Recent Research," pp. 365-66.

[111] Morton Smith defined "aretalogy" as "a miracle story or a collection of miracle stories and that the primary use of such collections was praise of and propaganda for the deity supposed to have done the deeds." See M. Smith, "Prolegomena to a Discussion of Aretalogies, Divine Men, the Gospels and Jesus," Journal of Biblical Literature 90 (June 1971) 176. This idea was expanded to include the Gospel of Mark (1-10) as an aretalogical gospel. The

suggested, the major influence upon Mark was the OT Book of Daniel.[112] Mark's gospel is a new genre according to Kee which shared affinities with Jewish apocalyptic literature. Kee described Mark's community as:

> . . . a community which is influenced both by the Jewish-Hasidic-Essene-apocalyptic tradition, with its belief in cosmic conflict about to be resolved by divine intervention and the vindication of the faithful elect, and the cynic-Stoic style of gaining adherents by itinerant preaching, healing, and exorcisms from village to village, existing on the hospitality that the local tradition offered.[113]

Thus "Mark was produced by an apocalyptic community, probably in the years just prior to the fall of Jerusalem."[114] He wrote in Greek for Septuagint users and shaped the tradition to reveal Jesus as God's final plan of the ages, the triumphant Son of Man who would vindicate the evil and stress in the world. Kee suggested that Mark was written in southern Syria for itinerant charismatics who radically followed the precepts of their Lord. Kee presented his work as "a holistic approach"[115] and encouraged others to do the same.

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first half of Mark "would be understandable as an expansion and Judaizing reinterpretation of this primitive aretalogy" (p. 197). (See also M. Hadas and M. Smith, Heroes and Gods, New York, 1965). Isser, on the other hand, wrote, "The creators of the Jesus aretalogy used as their principal model the preexistent and already Judaized Moses aretalogy; i.e., Jesus became the miracle-working, authority-bearing, divine man: the prophet like Moses," The Dositheans, p. 156.

[112] Kee, op. cit., Community of the New Age, p. 45.

[113] Ibid., p. 105.

[114] Ibid., p. 176.

[115] Ibid., p. 177.

Conclusion

One can only marvel at how far Marcan studies have traveled from "simple" Mark of the early church fathers to the "theological" Mark of today. At present Marcan studies seem to be continuing at an unrelenting pace. H. C. Kee has listed four areas in which the literary analyses of Mark is presently continuing to provide insights to the aims of Mark:

> (1) studies of the literary relationships among the Gospels (new approaches to the old synoptic problem); (2) attempts to identify the literary genre or model used by Mark; (3) efforts to employ contemporary literary criticism--especially in relation to narrative--in interpreting Mark; (4) detailed study of component elements of Mark.[116]

The first area is more like a battle. Hans-Herbert Stoldt on the German front revitalized the Griesbach theory that Mark came after Luke as well as after Matthew.[117] William R. Farmer on the American front continued the debate with his espousal of the Griesbach theory with modification.[118] Farmer admitted that "Griesbach redivivus" has met with negative reaction in the United States but in Europe the reaction was more cautious.[119] The debate and studies continue.[120]

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[116]Kee, op. cit., "Recent Research," pp. 360-61.

[117]Hans-Herbert Stoldt, History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis, trans. and ed. Donald L. Niewyk (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1980). See especially Pierson Parker, "A Second Look at the Gospel Before Mark," Journal of Biblical Literature 100 (Sept. 1981) 389-413 where he admits that he is "unsettled" by Griesbach's hypothesis and "by its reflections in the work of Buchanan, Farmer, Longstaff, Orchard, and Stoldt" (p. 393).

[118]Farmer, op. cit., Synoptic Problem.

[119]William R. Farmer, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," New Testament Studies 23 (Apr. 1977) 276. For a good review of this continuing debate see pp. 275-95 of the above article. Also see Bernard Orchard and Thomas R. W. Longstaff, ed., J. J. Griesbach: Synoptic and text-critical studies 1776-1976 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

[120]Bernard Orchard, Matthew, Luke and Mark: The Griesbach Solution to

The second area is the literary model Mark may have been using. Perrin listed three models used by scholars: (1) aretalogy (Loester and Robinson), (2) passion narrative (Marxsen and Burkill), and (3) apocalyptic (Kee and Perrin in different ways).[121] C. H. Talbert in his What is a Gospel? The Genre of the Canonical Gospels proposed biography as a mode. "Much less likely is the proposal of D. O. Via that Mark is patterned after Hellenistic comedy."[122] Kee rejected Via's use of structuralism because the structure of Mark was located in the Evangelist's mind--a place not available for analysis! The interpretations by the French structuralists, such as Jean Starobinski on the Gerasene demoniac in Mark 5, is also rejected by Kee.

> Like the existential hermeneutics of the sixties, one can expect that this new psycho-allegorization will flourish in some quarters, but its anti-historical stance encourages intellectual irresponsibility and its use of the text as a point of departure belies the announced aim of the method's proponents: to direct attention to the text alone.[123]

The third area is a further development of redaction criticism. In order to investigate the editing and use of traditional materials by the

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the Synoptic Question (Manchester: Koinonia, 1976); Thomas R. W. Longstaff, Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study In the Synoptic Problem, SBL Dissertation Series 28 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977); John M. Rist, On the Independence of Matthew and Mark (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978). These references are not meant to be complete or exhaustive but only suggestive of the continuing study of the problem.

[121] Perrin, op. cit., IDB, Supplement, p. 572.

[122] Kee, op. cit., "Recent Research," p. 362.

[123] Ibid., p. 363. See for another example of the structuralist approach Jean Callous, "Toward a Structural Analysis of the Gospel of Mark," Perspectives of Mark's Gospel, Semeia 16, ed. Norman R. Petersen (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1980), pp. 133-65.

evangelist (redaction criticism), literary criticism has come to the fore in order to "isolate pre-Markan material in the text of the gospel and then to observe how it has been redacted."[124] The study of its structure and how the various parts of the text relate to the themes of the author help to better interpret the book as a whole. Tannehill's explorations in this field are good examples of this approach.[125]

The fourth area is concentration on the component elements that make up Mark's Gospel. Etienne Trocmé's investigations in this area (already reviewed in this chapter) are in stark contrast to Werner Kelber's analysis in his forthcoming book, The Making of Mark. Kee's review of Kelber's work revealed the reason for Mark's Gospel as a written gospel:

> Kelber proposes that by reproducing the Jesus tradition in written form, Mark has sought to bring to an end the free-wheeling transmission of the Jesus tradition by wandering prophets, who place their claims on at least as loftly a level as that of Jesus: the central opponents whom Mark is attacking are the false prophets and false Christs of Mark 13:5, 21-23 with their wild pronouncements.[126]

When one surveys the latest journal articles for Marcan studies, one will find a myriad of detailed theological interpretations of Mark. The interesting point to make is that both conservative and more critical views of Mark place the gospel in the milieu of the Jewish War with Rome (c.66-70 A.D.). Debate will continue on the "historical" questions of its contents.

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[124] Perrin, op. cit., IDB, Supplement, p. 572a.

[125] See Robert C. Tannehill, "The Gospel of Mark as Narrative Christology," Perspectives on Mark's Gospel, Semeia 16, ed. Norman R. Petersen (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1980), pp. 57-95 and "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," Journal of Religion 57 (1977) 386-405.

[126] Kee, op. cit., "Recent Research," p. 365.

But almost all are certain that Mark established a new model in writing his gospel. Because no one scholarly school or person commands the field, no one can authoritatively say, "This is the true meaning of Mark!"

CHAPTER 5: MARK AND THE SAMARITANS

The relating of Samaritan studies to the Gospel of Mark is a new idea. Tradition of many years is against these two areas of study having anything to do with each other. The Gospel of Mark according to patristic tradition is a product of Mark's (John Mark?) recounting of Peter's gospel stories about Jesus, and the recipients are Romans (1 Pet 5:13). The date is usually placed somewhere between 65 and 70 A.D. Most conservative commentators have followed the patristic tradition or similar lines of thought.[1] There are scholars who by the employment of form and redaction criticism consider patristic traditions non-viable. The new interpretation was begun by Willi Marxsen. His idea that Mark is a summons to Jerusalem Christians to flee to Galilee, where the expected parousia of the risen Lord was imminent, has had its share of criticism. But Marxsen opened the door to a host of new theologians who used redaction criticism to search for Mark's purpose or theological designs as an author of a gospel. Because Marcan studies

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[1] C. E. B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary, gen. ed., C. F. D. Moule (London: Cambridge University Press, 1959), pp. 3-9; Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan, 1959), pp. 26-32; A. M. Hunter, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: SCM Press, 1949), pp. 16-18; R. A. Cole, The Gospel According to St. Mark: The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, gen. ed., R. V. G. Tasker (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1961), pp. 28-50; William Barclay, The Gospel of Mark: The Daily Study Bible Series (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956, 2nd ed.), pp. xiii-xxi; William L. Lane, The Gospel According to Mark: The New International Commentary on the New Testament, gen. ed., F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1974), pp. 7-25; William Hendriksen, The Gospel of Mark: New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1975), pp. 3-16.

is in a state of extreme flux, one recent commentator on Mark's Gospel wrote: "It is a fair deduction that in our present state of knowledge it is proving virtually impossible to fix precisely the historical locale and circumstances within which Mark carried through his task."[2] The most this commentator will say is that

> Mark's Gospel reflects a community undergoing considerable duress, most probably from incipient persecution (8:34ff.; 8:38; 10:30; 13:8, 10), and agitated by great theological turbulence, particularly over the question of the true nature of Jesus' authority.[3]

Any statement about the gospel of Mark, then, must be subject to scrutiny. The possibility that Samaritanism is related to Mark must be approached with caution.

John Bowman's statement that Mark disregarded the Samaritans[4] seems to dismiss such a possibility. His statement rests on the fact that there are no direct references to Samaritans (or Samaria) in the Gospel of Mark. This first criterion (of "direct references"), though important, does not necessarily preclude the possibility that the relationship exists. It is possible that certain words do not appear in the text, but that the idea is expressed through different words or perspectives. One example is 1 Peter. The word "church" is not used in the epistle. But who would argue that the epistle is not referring to the church throughout? Primarily it uses Old Testament terminology in reference to the church. So the principle must

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[2]Hugh Anderson, The Gospel of Mark: The New Century Bible Commentary, gen. eds., Ronald E. Clements and Matthew Black (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981 ed.), p. 44.

[3]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[4]John Bowman, The Samaritan Problem, trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), p. 57.

stand that simply the absence of a particular word does not prevent the idea from being a focal point of discussion, either with different terminology or from an entirely different perspective.

Criteria already established by various scholars as discussed in chapter three will now be employed to determine if indeed "the Samaritan problem" can be found in Mark.

Geographical Place-names/John the Baptist

If it can be demonstrated that John the Baptist had close associations with Samaria, it can be contended that Mark's emphasis of the role of John in his Gospel would at least disprove the suggestions that he was either anti-Samaritan or apathetic toward them. John the Baptist's associations with Samaria; i.e., Salim and neighborhood, are therefore very important. They can be proposed for two reasons. The first consists of the criteria of geographical locations. In John 3:23-24 it is reported that John baptized at Aenon near Salim: "John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim, because there was much water there; and people came and were baptized. For John had not yet been put in prison" (RSV). This indicated that John's ministry of baptizing occurred before Jesus actually began his ministry (Mark 1:14a). Most Bible atlases place Aenon and Salim just south of Scythopolis (Beth-Shean): "John's activity was concentrated in the Jordan valley, either at Bethabara at the fords of the Jordan near Jericho, or higher up the river at Aenon near Salim, south of Scythopolis (Beth-Shean)."[5] This description

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[5]Johanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-Yonah, The Macmillan Bible Atlas, revised edition (New York: Macmillan, 1977), p. 143.

located the cities eight miles south of the pagan city of Scythopolis which was part of the Decapolis.

W. F. Albright, long ago, questioned this tradition by asking why John had to go north into a pagan area to baptize Jews. The traditional site does not make sense. Albright wrote:

> The only Salim (Σαλειμ) of which we know from other sources is the ancient town of the name, modern Salim, east of Nablus. This town is referred to (Gen. 33, 18) as existing in the time of the patriarchs, again (Jer. 41, 5) in the time of Jeremiah, later in Judith, and elsewhere. . . . Now Conder pointed out long ago that Aenon near Salim must be modern 'Ainun, with identically the same name, nearly eight miles northeast of Salim. It is true that the modern site has no water, but the name alone shows that the ancient village of this name lay nearer the head of the Wadi Far'ah, now three miles away, either at Hirbet es-Smeit, or at Tammun. Wadi-Far'ah is a perennial stream, with five springs at its source, and in ancient times pools where immersion could be conveniently practiced. In fact, it is the nearest suitable place of baptism to Neapolis, the Samaritan centre. There can be little doubt that John preached to the Samaritans as well as to the Jews proper; otherwise it would be very hard to explain how his name came to be associated with that of the Samaritan Dositheus. Moreover, there is surely some nucleus of truth in the persistent tradition which places his burial-place at Sabaste (Samaria). Here, therefore, we have a clear case in which the Gospel of John is more accurate in its topographical documentation than Eusebius or the other patristic students of Palestinian topography.[6]

The arguments by Albright seem conclusive that the geographical location of Aenon, near Salim, is indeed in Samaritan territory and that John's ministry included a vigorous proclamation to the Samaritans as well as to the Jews.

In a more recent discussion of these geographical locations of Aenon, Raymond E. Brown concurred with Albright that locating Aenon in Samaria

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[6]W. F. Albright, "Some Observations Favoring the Palestinian Origin of the Gospel of John," Harvard Theological Review 17 (Apr. 1924) 193-94.

answered the question of why John was there; i.e., "where water was plentiful." The other two locations given by Brown, Perea and south of Scythopolis, would have been superfluous because the Jordan river was close at hand. Brown added that "it would agree very well with the strong traditional ties that connect John the Baptist with Samaria."[7]

At least in John, Edwin D. Freed believed that these place names (including Jesus at Sychar and Ephraim, John 4:5 and 11:54) was a "clue to the writer's effort to show that Jesus is the fulfillment of Israel's hope for a people united, not only the Jews of Judah, but also the Samaritans, who claimed descent from the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh."[8]

John the Baptist's association with the Samaritan Dositheus is the second reason for associating John with Samaria. The following passages from Clementine Homilies II, 23, 24 refer to John the Baptist:

> 23. But that he (Simon Magus) came to deal with the doctrines of religion happened in this way. There was a certain John, a Hemerobaptist, who was also, according to the system of syzygies, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus; and as the Lord had twelve apostles, bearing the number of the twelve months of the sun, so also John had thirty chief men, according to the monthly reckoning of the moon. . . . But of these thirty, the first and most esteemed by John was Simon; and the reason that he did not become chief after John's death was as follows:
> 24. When Simon was away in Egypt to (acquire) practice in magic, and John was killed, a certain Dositheus, who desired the leadership, falsely gave out that Simon was dead, and succeeded to the leadership of the sect. But Simon returned not long after and strenuously claimed the place of his own.[9]

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[7] Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John I-XII: The Anchor Bible 29, gen. eds., W. F. Albright and David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966), p. 151. For a different opinion that holds to the Decapolis area, see Leon Morris, The Gospel According to John: The New International Commentary on the New Testament, gen. ed., F. F. Bruce (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1971), p. 237, note 97.

[8] Edwin D. Freed, "Did John Write His Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?" Novum Testamentum 12 (July 1970) 242.

[9] Stanley Jerome Isser, The Dosithians (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 19-20.

In another place of the Pseudo-Clementine literature (Recognitions II, 8), a slightly different version is given.

> 8. After John the Baptist was killed, as you yourself know, Dositheus breached his heresy with thirty other chief disciples and one woman who was called Luna--these thirty appear to have been appointed with reference to the number of days in the course of the moon.[10]

All of the above concerning John the Baptist, Simon, and Dositheus fit well the picture of the Samaritan eschatological prophet. S. J. Isser stated "that a messianic pretender belonging to these groups would claim to be the True Prophet, and that people would evaluate him by comparison with the Prophet's attributes, is historically plausible."[11] As has already been pointed out, Isser separated Simon and Dositheus, although both are considered first century Samaritan Taheb pretenders and leaders of a Samaritan sect. Isser reduced the above information to a bare outline:

> There apparently existed a story, known to the Homilist, that John the Baptist had a sect of thirty members, one of whom was Dositheus, who became its leader after John's death because John's most esteemed disciple, Simon, was absent in Egypt. After his return, Simon eventually forced Dositheus out, claimed the title "Standing One", and became the new leader of the sect. Dositheus died shortly thereafter.[12]

How much of the above is historically accurate? Isser believed that "hostility toward John on the part of the originator of the account may have been responsible for the invention of the details about the Baptist's sect and his role as teacher of Dositheus and Simon."[13] Thus, Isser rejected the association of Simon with Dositheus and John the Baptist as their teacher. However, he

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[10] Ibid., p. 20.

[11] Ibid., p. 21.

[12] Ibid., p. 25.

[13] Ibid.

accepted that they were first century contemporaries. Even if the hostility produced a fictional account, there may have been some associations of John with the Samaritans to the extent that a later polemic against him could easily make the associations, even though from an evil intent. There were those who did think of John as "the prophet" (John 1:25). It could very well be that some of John's disciples were taken over by Samaritan pretenders of messiahship or "that great prophet," i.e., "the Standing One."

If John the Baptist was closely associated with Samaritans during his ministry, then Mark's placement of the Baptist tradition (Mark 1:2-11, 14a; 6:14-29) into his gospel is important.

Associations of John and Jesus

In Mark's account of John's death (Mark 6:14-29), John and Jesus are closely related. In the Gospel of John, Jesus is even accused of being a "Samaritan" (John 8:48). Thus, if John and Jesus are identified both in terms of activities and speech as being in some sense "Samaritan," it is because of their willingness to be associated. If there is any historical value to the Clementine literature regarding John the Baptist's associations with the Samaritan sectarians led by either Dositheus and/or Simon, then these events took place following the incident of John's beheading. John's arrest and beheading seems to be placed very early in Mark's gospel (Mark 1:14), but the story of his beheading is told in Mark 6:14-29 to account for Herod's fear of John's "reappearance" in the "guise" of Jesus.

Morton Smith considered the "fear" of Herod to be evidence of the cultural milieu of magicians.[14] "King Herod heard of it [Jesus' miracles of

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[14]Morton Smith, Jesus the Magician (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 34.

healing and exorcisms] ; for Jesus' name had become known. Some said, 'John the baptizer has been raised from the dead; that is why these powers are at work in him'" (Mark 6:14 RSV). Smith placed John and Jesus in the same category as Simon, the magician (Acts 8). He followed Kraeling's thinking concerning the text of Mark 6:14:

> Jesus was called "John" because it was believed that he "had", that is possessed, and was possessed by, the spirit of the Baptist. . . . Particularly interesting in relation to Mk. 6:14 is a prayer to Helios-Iao-Horus to assign to the magician, as perpetual "assistant and defender," the soul of a man wrongfully killed. This would establish approximately the sort of relation Jesus was believed to have with the soul of John. In the light of these beliefs it seems that Mk. 6:14 should be understood as follows: "John the Baptist has been raised from the dead ⟨by Jesus' necromancy; Jesus now has him⟩ . And therefore ⟨since Jesus-John can control them⟩ the ⟨inferior⟩ powers work ⟨their wonders⟩ by him ⟨that is, by his order⟩ ." A little later, after Jesus had been executed, the Samaritan magician, Simon, was similarly thought to "be" Jesus. The Christians, of course, maintained that the spirit by which Simon did his miracles was not Jesus, but merely a murdered boy.[15]

Even though Herod may have responded in a pagan way; i.e., belief in necromancy, others considered this power to be from "Elijah," a Jewish expectation (Mal 4:5).[16] Still others thought that it came from a "prophet." Could this have been a Samaritan reaction? Samaritans were looking for an eschatological prophet who would perform signs and miracles and reveal the temple vessels that had been "hidden" since the days of Eli. The possibility must remain.

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Kent Brower, "Elijah in the Markan Passion Narrative," Journal for the Study of the New Testament 18 (1983) 85-101.

Samaritan Literary Style and Peculiarities

One of the peculiarities of Samaritan literature, especially in the Memar was the frequent use of the phrase "I AM" or "I AM HE" or "I AM WHO I AM," names for Yahweh (see p. 148). The Memar frequently used אני הוא.[17]

In Mark 13:6 Jesus warned, "Many will come in my name, saying, 'I am he!' and they will lead many astray" (RSV). Matthew added a predicate noun and made the meaning more "Jewish": "I am the Messiah," (Matt 24:5). Luke retained Mark's original saying, "I am" (ἐγώ ειμι). When Jesus faced the high priest and was asked, "Are you the Christ, the son of the Blessed?" he replied, "I AM!" (Mark 14:61-62). The "I AM" passages in John become significant in this light. The names of Dositheus and Simon readily come to mind as Samaritan messianic pretenders. Jesus said, "False Christs and false prophets will arise and show signs and wonders, to lead astray, if possible, the elect" (Mark 13:22 RSV). In Pseudo-Clementine Homilies II 24 Dositheus was presented as confronting Simon with the question, "If you are the Standing One, I also will worship you." Simon replied simply, "I am," whereupon Dositheus fell down and worshipped him.[18] The Clementine passage is reminiscent of the Marcan passages. Although one cannot say that the "I AM" phrases are strictly Samaritan, the warning passage in Mark 13:6 may have been directed toward the Samaritan sectarians as well as Jewish messianic pretenders. No other particularly Samaritan style as such could be found in Mark.

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[17] See in particular Memar i. 2 (p. 8), iv. 8 (p. 162), iv. 12 (p. 187).

[18] Isser, op. cit., p. 20.

The Scope of the Gentile World

There are three texts which imply that Mark presents Jesus as one who included all men in his vision of the Kingdom. The first is Mark 11:17 (RSV): "And he taught, and said to them, 'Is it not written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations"? But you have made it a den of robbers.'" Mark is the only gospel to record the use of Jesus' phrase: "for all the nations"(πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) (cp. Mark 11:17 with Matt 21:13 and Luke 19:46). This is in contrast to his sharp denunciation of the religious leaders who are responsible for commercialization of the Jerusalem Temple. Hugh Anderson wrote:

> Mark is presenting Jesus not as the reformer of an institution that remains viable, but as the one who declares the final word against an inward-looking and enclosed institution whose day of exclusivism is now over and done with, since the grace of God offered in the place of prayer must be available not just for a select group, but for all peoples.[19]

This is reminiscent of Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman who argued for Mt. Gerizim as the place of worship. Jesus declared that no mountain, either on Gerizim or Zion, will be sufficient, but rather true worshippers will worship in spirit and truth (John 4:21-24). Mark made it clear. A whole new way of worship is given and this is for all nations--Jews, Samaritans and Gentiles!

The second text, Mark 12:14, records that Jesus' enemies knew that he held no partiality toward men. Did this include Samaritans? It is this writer's opinion that the Pharisees and Herodians, enemies who themselves

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[19]Anderson, op. cit., p. 267.

united against Jesus, were thinking of Jesus' non-partiality of Jews, Samaritans and Gentiles. Jesus, indeed, was different.

Finally, in Mark 13:10 (RSV), "And the gospel must first be preached to all nations," it is probable that Jesus' words, "to all nations" included Samaritans, for the first missionary effort caused by persecution and affliction was to Samaritans and Galilean Jews. Note that the statement is made in the context of future persecution (see Mark 14:9-13). Could not "Gentiles" refer to Samaritans as well as non-Jews? Though most if not all commentaries recall Paul's ministry as an example of this prophecy (2 Cor 11:23ff.), the Stephen-Philip movement (Acts 6-8), earlier than Paul's ministry, could very well be implied or at least included. The Samaritan mission must be included in the statement: "To all nations."

Common Ideas with Samaritan Theology

The first of these commonalities is that two of the names used of Christ may satisfy both Jewish and Samaritan concepts. In answer to the question, "Who do men say that I am?" the disciples gave the popular answers that had been known in Herod's court (Mark 6:14-16). Some thought Jesus was John the Baptist. This group is represented by Herod and perhaps his court who may have believed in the necromancy of Jesus; i.e., the magic of taking on the spirit and power of a man who died violently. Others said that Jesus was Elijah. The Jews would have been represented here because of the text of Mal 4:5. Although the Jews never understood, Jesus taught his disciples that John the Baptist had fulfilled the prophecy about Elijah (cf. Matt 17:10; 11:10, 14). Others said Jesus was one of the prophets.

It could be a general phrase to include both Jewish and Samaritan expectations of a coming prophet like Moses. When Peter replied, "You are the Christ," the same term was used by the Samaritan woman: "I know that Messiah is coming (he who is called Christ); when he comes, he will show us all things" (John 4:25 RSV). Thus there is no reason to insist "Christ" is exclusively a Jewish term. Even the first term, "John the Baptist," had associations with Samaritan place names.

The Transfiguration scene (Mark 9:2-8) suggests two contacts with Samaritan theology: (1) the "high mountain" (vs. 2), and (2) "Elijah with Moses" (vs. 4). Tradition has identified the mountain as Mount Tabor, a mountain overlooking the Galilean valley. But the sources themselves do not identify the mountain in any way (Matt 17:1; Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28). Luke does not use the adjective "high" but simply uses the definite article, "the mountain." Whatever the case, the exact location is either not known by the original gospel writers or else it is merely taken for granted. Anderson observed that "what matters here for Mark is that the mountain is the place where God reveals himself as usual in the biblical tradition (cf. eg. Exod. 24 and 34; I Kg. 18:20; 19:8, 11; Mat. 4:8; 5:1; 28:16)."[20] Could the "high mountain" possibly be Mt. Gerizim? For the Samaritans this mountain would have been the only mountain of worth as well as the sacred mountain of revelation, especially of the Taheb (Restorer).[21]

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[20] Ibid., p. 224.

[21] Robert T. Anderson, "Mount Gerizim: Navel of the World," Biblical Archaeologist 43 (Fall 1980) 217-21.

The second contact, the symbolic nature of Elijah and Moses, will help to support the hypothesis. There is no question that Elijah is connected with the Jewish eschatological expectations from Mal 4:5ff. onward. But Moses is not easily associated with the eschatological events in Jewish sources. On the other hand, the Samaritans expected a prophet like Moses, or at least a priestly-prophet who would restore the temple and her vessels to Mt. Gerizim. The voice in vs. 7, "this is my beloved Son; listen to him," is clearly an echo of Deut 18:15, 18-19. Isser stated: "The Marcan transfiguration passage, and Peter's speech in Acts, for example, clearly associate Jesus with earlier Israelite prophets and with the 'prophet like Moses' reference from Dt. 18."[22] This text was not used by the Jews; but on the other hand, the Samaritans used it as a reference to their eschatological prophet to come.[23] The suggestion is that Elijah would appeal to the Jews while Moses appealed to the Samaritans. Bowman argues thus:

> The transfiguration of Jesus together with Moses and Elijah (9:28ff.) clearly shows that Jesus is the hope of the Jews and Samaritans, for the Jews consider Elijah to be the forerunner of the messiah, while the Samaritans believed that the messiah (Ta'eb) would be one who is like Moses. Here Jesus has the approval of both of them, and Luke expects that Jesus will be accepted by the Jews and Samaritans.[24]

Although he applies this argument to the Luke passage (9:28-36), it applies equally well to the Mark account. The implication by Mark would be that Jesus is to be received by both branches of God's People. It must be admitted

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[22]Isser, op. cit., p. 156.

[23]John Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 160, 198, 360, 363, 367, 443.

[24]Bowman, op. cit., Problem, p. 82.

that Elijah and Moses could also be "an expression in concrete historical terms of the early Christian conviction that the Law and the Prophets testified to Christ. Cf. Matt 5:17, Luke 24:27, 44; 16:29, 31."[25] But the fact that Elijah is mentioned first may dictate against this thought.

On the other hand, in the Samaritan tradition, it is clear that they are very conscious of the Mount of Transfiguration. "The Samaritans seem to give proof of their dependence on the Christian story when they insist, almost ad nauseum, that there was no third person between Moses and God on Sinai."[26] They were consciously comparing Moses with Christ. Macdonald related how a fourteenth century Samaritan poet described creation with Moses the Word having declared the divine fiat. The heavenly host marvel at its glory and in a mystical fashion the poet wrote: "The two stars were speaking with Moses and were visible."[27] The two stars advised Moses of his mission and expressed that the divine Word must be incarnate to express the divine life.

> It is impossible to identify the two stars, since nothing is said that helps in this. If the Samaritan poet Abisha is really incorporating elements of the New Testament Transfiguration story, then he may well be interpreting Moses and Elijah cosmically, as Samaritans were always wont to do when religious tradition and expression did not prevent it. Certainly he puts into the Sinai experience of Moses much of what Christ experienced on the Mount of Transfiguration.[28]

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[25]Nineham, op. cit., p. 235.

[26]Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 428.

[27]Ibid., p. 429.

[28]Ibid.

This is, of course, reverse influence where Christianity has affected Samaritan tradition, but it does show that the biblical story was known well enough that it had to be "answered" by the Samaritan poet. However, it is a rather late tradition. There is little that can be gleaned from this in regards to Mark's Transfiguration story except to say that it may have been a polemic against the Samaritan view of Moses' supremacy over Christ. This would have been true for the Judaists as well. Samaritans did not accept Elijah as a good prophet (nor did they accept any of the prophetic literature). Again, perhaps the detailed discussion occasioned by Mark in this section concerning Elijah is not only showing Jesus as supreme over the great Old Testament prophet to Israel, but also revealing the true mission of Elijah in the form of John the Baptist (see p. 145). If John's close association with Samaritans is established, then it is not too much to consider that Mark's comments about Elijah (in the words of Jesus) as the "restorer" is significant for Samaritans as well as Jews.

As the three disciples descended the mountain, they asked Jesus the question: "Why do the scribes say that first Elijah must come?" (Mark 9:11 RSV). Jesus replied: "Elijah does come first to restore all things; and how is it written of the Son of man, that he should suffer many things and be treated with contempt? But I tell you that Elijah has come, and they did to him whatever they pleased, as it is written of him" (Mark 9:12-13 RSV).[29] Although the Jews did not recognize John the Baptist as Elijah, the fulfillment of Malachi, Jesus' reply to the disciples absolutely identified John as him. The important point in this text is the idea of Elijah-John

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[29]See the passages in Mal 4:5ff.; Mark 9:11-12; and Acts 3:19-22.

as the "restorer." Literally, Elijah having come first ἀποκθιστάνει πάντα (restores all things). The question of the restoration of dominion for Israel is put to the risen Lord (Acts 1:6). Only Matthew followed Mark in the use of Elijah restoring all things (Mark 9:12; Matt 17:11).

Jesus' statement about Elijah could also be connected with the Samaritan concept of the Taheb. Isser gives insight into the Samaritan concept of refreshment as it relates to restoration:

> Elijah became the Restorer par excellence of all things; his coming precedes that of the Christ and of the times of refreshing. The parallel with the Taheb is immediately obvious, but this in itself is no surprise. What is more interesting is the reference to the times of refreshing. The Samaritans awaited the period of rehuta (Divine Favor or Refreshment--so Montgomery, p. 242). The Acts passage seems to refer to the restoration (not "establishment" as in RSV) of just such a period of Favor or Refreshment (anapsuxis). The association of this term with the prophet motif from Dt. 18 is striking. It makes Elijah (and Jesus?) a virtual Taheb. We may be dealing here with an idea taken over from Samaritanism.[30]

The Memar Marqah explicitly revealed that "the Taheb will come in peace to repossess the place which God chose for those good people. . . . The Taheb will come in peace to possess the places of the perfect ones and to manifest the truth. Give ear and hear! . . . Their souls have relief within the kingdom."[31] Macdonald's footnote on this section is instructive:

> The ref. to a kingdom and one coming as an inaugurator is unique to this passage. There is no doctrine of a kingdom of God as understood in Christianity, but the Sam. teaching is that God has a kingdom composed of His beloved--otherwise unspecified. The one to come is the Taheb; his function of restoration involved relief for the hard-pressed believers on earth. It is possible that the kingdom ref. to is earthly.[32]

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[30] Isser, op. cit., p. 141.

[31] John Macdonald, ed. and trans., Memar Marqah: The Teaching of Marqah Vol. II: The Translation (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Topelmann, 1963), IV 12, pp. 185-87.

[32] Macdonald, op. cit., Memar, p. 187, note 273.

Certainly the early disciples of Jesus expected an "earthly kingdom" (Acts 1:6). This is in contrast with Jesus' words: "My kingship is not of this world" (John 18:36 RSV).

Perhaps embedded in Mark's account of the Transfiguration and Jesus' conversation about Elijah is a polemic against the Samaritan view of their Taheb as well as a corrective to the Judaist misunderstanding of Elijah (or non-identification of Elijah with John the Baptizer). In other words, from Mark's viewpoint the "Restorer" was John the Baptist. For the Judaists Elijah was to restore all things, but they did not recognize the spirit of Elijah in John (Mal 4:5f). For the Samaritans their "Restorer" (Taheb) would be in some sense a prophet like Moses or Moses redivivus. It has already been argued above that John the Baptist was associated with the heretics Simon and Dositheus, two who claimed to be the Samaritan Taheb. Perhaps there were some Samaritans who made this claim for John the Baptist, and Mark's Gospel is a "corrective" or a "confirmation" of the identification, although John did not do what the Samaritans expected in terms of recovery of the Temple and vessels on Mt. Gerizim. What he did do according to Mark was <u>restore people's hearts</u> by means of repentance to the coming Messiah (Mark 1:2-4).

Macdonald had noted particularly that the Samaritans interpreted their laws in a much more spiritual fashion than the Rabbinic interpreters (see pp. 101-03.

> The New Testament view of the Sabbath as opposed to the Pharisaic is perhaps reflected in the Samaritan attitude: "The worker is not wearied on the Sabbath, nor the labourer oppressed during it. Servant

> and master alike are sustained when they observe it." This is very much the principle of "the Sabbath for man, not man for the Sabbath" as in Mark 2:27.[33]

Not only would Samaritans have been comfortable with the way in which the Law was presented in Mark (by Jesus' words), but also their whole theological thrust in life was based on "faith." Bowman observed that Samaritans placed much more emphasis on faith than the Judaists who emphasized ritual religious acts (pp. 103, 106, 137). In his discussion on the Gospel of John and Samaritans he wrote:

> The emphasis which he puts on faith instead of on the fulfillment of ritual religious acts must have made him appear strange in comparison with the former. If the speeches in 8:1ff. have real historical foundations, it cannot be surprising that "the Jews" looked upon Jesus as a Samaritan.[34]

The same emphasis on "faith" can be found in Mark.[35] Jesus' ministry of preaching began with the command to "repent and believe in the gospel" (Mark 1:15b RSV). Jesus saw the <u>faith</u> of those who let the paralytic down through the roof (Mark 2:5). He chided his disciples in the midst of a storm: "Have you no faith?" (Mark 4:40 RSV).[36] The woman who touched Jesus' garments was healed because (Jesus said): "Your faith has made you well" (Mark 5:34 RSV). To the ruler of the synagogue, he said: "Do not fear, only believe,"

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[33]Macdonald, op. cit., <u>Theology</u>, p. 434.

[34]John Bowman, <u>The Samaritan Problem</u>, trans. Alfred M. Johnson, Jr. (Pittsburgh: The Pickwick Press, 1975), p. 66.

[35]Note the references in Mark to πιστεύω - Mark 1:15; 5:36; 9:23, 24, 42; 11:23, 24, 31; 13:21; 15:32; (16:13, 14, 16, 17) longer ending; πίστις - Mark 2:5; 4:40; 5:34; 10:52; 11:22.

[36]Note that this seems to be a stronger statement used by Mark than either by Matthew or Luke - Matt 8:26 - ὀλιγόπιστοι Luke 8:25a ποῦ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν.

and this with reference to his dead daughter! (Mark 5:36 RSV). To the father with the demon-possessed boy Jesus exclaimed: "All things are possible to him who believes" (Mark 9:23 RSV). The father replied, "I believe, help my unbelief!" (9:24 RSV). Jesus cared for those who believed in him (9:42). The blind man at Jericho was healed because (Jesus said) "your faith has made you well" (10:52 RSV). Due to the disciples' astonishment at the withered fig tree, Jesus said, "Have faith in God," or better, "Reckon upon God's faithfulness;" i.e., God will fulfill his word (11:22 RSV). In this context the disciples are encouraged to believe what God says (11:23) and ask in prayer believing (11:24). Jesus' enemies do not want to believe (11:31). Jesus warned against believing in false Christs and prophets (13:21). Jesus' emphasis on faith was hurled back into his face at the cross (15:32).

Even though the word is not used, the confession of the centurion when Jesus breathed his last was perhaps the climax of faith in the gospel: "Truly this was the Son of God!" (Mark 15:39b RSV). From this brief study there is demonstration that "faith" was emphasized in Mark. If the Gospel of John appealed to Samaritans on this basis, so did Mark (see p. 140).

The Samaritans believed that the age of grace and mercy had disappeared with the disappearance of the Tabernacle on Mount Gerizim after Eli's schism. At the appearance of the Taheb the "Time of the Divine Favour" would begin and thus the mercy of God returned. Bowman suggested that any Samaritan reading Luke 2:8-14 in which the heavenly host proclaim: "Glory to God in the highest,and on earth peace among men with whom he is pleased" (Luke 2:14 RSV) would have understood that the "Age of Mercy" had begun.[37]

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[37]Bowman, op. cit., p. 80.

Just as an idea may be emphasized by its frequent occurrences, so in an opposite way an idea may be specially presented by rare occurrences. The very few references (Mark 5:19; 10:47-48) to God's mercy in Mark may be singular enough to give it a special emphasis. After being healed the demoniac (Mark 5:1-20) begged Jesus to stay with him while the city entreated him to leave, perhaps out of fear of his "power." Jesus told the man: "Go home to your friends, and tell them how much the Lord has done for you, and how he has had mercy on you" (Mark 5:19 RSV). In other healings the command to secrecy was given, but now the "mercy" of God was to be proclaimed. The man was from Decapolis where there were Samaritans as well as Gentiles. The message of mercy would have been welcomed by the Samaritans.

The other incidence of mercy was Jesus' healing of blind Bartimaeus outside of Jericho (Mark 10:46-52). He cried: "Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on me!" but was rebuked by the disciples. He was to be silent! The end of the story suggested a message to all would-be disciples by Mark: "Go your way; your faith has made you well." But rather than go his own way, he followed Jesus <u>in the way</u> (Mark 10:52), the path to suffering and death. Could Mark's message be: The age of mercy can only come through radical discipleship and commitment to Jesus as the true Messiah?

In the first story of "mercy" (Mark 5:1-20) Jesus performed a powerful miracle in a predominately Gentile area. He told the healed demoniac to tell his neighbors about the "mercy" of God. If the Gentile world and early mission of the church included the Samaritans (and it did according to Bowman's analysis of Luke's gospel), then the demoniac incident may have been an announcement of "the age of Divine favor" for the Samaritans as well as "mercy" for Gentiles (non-Samaritans).

The second story suggests a deliberate down-playing of the Davidic messiahship by the disciples, yet not a denial of it. By the blind man's faith, the "age of mercy" had begun for him and he followed Jesus "in the way."

The common ideas with Samaritan theology in Mark included the Taheb (Restorer) and his associations with Moses who is cast in a secondary position on the "mount" of Transfiguration. For Mark "Elijah" is truly the "Restorer" before Messiah comes. The Samaritan emphasis in their theological writings on "faith" and "mercy" can be seen in Mark. At least there are enough affinities to Samaritan theology to suggest a relationship.

Dependence on Samaritan Traditions

The perspective of Jesus as presented by Mark against the Pharisaic traditions of the elders would have been recognized by Samaritans. The Samaritans held to a more literal reading of the Law and did not seek to elaborate and circumscribe it by traditions such as "Corban." Mark makes special note of Jesus' accusation against the Pharisaic tradition of Corban--a tradition that avoided the care of parents in their old age (Mark 7:9-13), "And many such things you do." Such denunciation would have agreed with Samaritan tradition. Samaritans would have enjoyed witnessing the encounter.

A second tradition which suggests a Taheb type wonder worker, is seen in the unnamed exorcist in Mark 9:38-39, "John said to him, 'Teacher, we saw a man casting out demons in your name, and we forbade him, because he was not following us.' But Jesus said, 'Do not forbid him; for no one who does a mighty work in my name will be able soon after to speak evil of me.'" Jesus' attitude toward the exorcist was extremely tolerant. Who was this strange exorcist?

Most critical commentaries view this episode as reflecting the problem that the early church had with pagan exorcists, who used Jesus' name to affect their cures without themselves becoming Christians (Acts 19:13ff.; 8:18ff.).[38] If the answer was Jesus' tolerant attitude, the early Church emphatically did not practice it (cf. Acts 19:15ff; 8:20ff, 13:10). But there is no reason to reject this as an event in Jesus' time. The application, of course, could and was made for Mark's day (cp. vs. 40). It certainly corresponded with Jesus' liberal attitude toward outsiders as recorded by other gospel writers (e.g. Matt 8:5-13; Luke 7:1-9; 10:29-37). But the question remains: Who was this unknown exorcist? Could he have been Simon Magus or one like the magician? The fact that Jesus was accused of being a "Samaritan" (John 8:48) may suggest that Jesus appeared to be like one of these exorcists who demonstrated extraordinary powers. Although this writer emphatically rejects Morton Smith's main premises in his book, Jesus the Magician, Smith offered insight on this point:

> Simon like Jesus was thought to "be" or "have" a "great power of God." He had some sort of connection with Jesus--perhaps they had both been disciples of the Baptist--and he had an enormous success both in Samaria and in Rome. When the gospel of Jesus was written he was the outstanding example of the miracle working magician who claimed to be a god, so John made the Jews reply to Jesus' claims of deity and miraculous powers with the accusation, "You are a Samaritan (like Simon the magician) and (like him) have a demon."[39]

Inasmuch as Luke claimed to write an "orderly" account of the gospel (chronological order?), he placed this episode immediately before Jesus' journey to Jerusalem through Samaria (Luke 9:51-56). Because a Samaritan

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[38]Anderson, op. cit., p. 235 and Nineham, p. 253.

[39]Smith, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

village would not welcome them, James and John wanted Jesus to rain down fire from heaven and consume them (vs. 54). But Jesus' tolerant and gracious spirit prevailed again. He rebuked James and John (vs. 55). Presumably they went on to another Samaritan village that did receive them (vs. 56). It is possible that the unknown exorcist was a Samaritan, but the evidence is too slight to be dogmatic.

A third tradition, the Samaritan expectation of a priestly Messiah rather than the Davidic Messiah as the Jews were expecting, was clearly down-played by the words of Jesus himself:

> And as Jesus taught in the temple, he said, "How can the scribes say that the Christ is the son of David? David himself, inspired by the Holy Spirit declared, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand, til I put thy enemies under thy feet.' David himself calls him Lord; so how is he his son?" And the great throng heard him gladly (Mark 12:35-37 RSV).

Samaritan tradition as well as their theology rejected any connections with the Davidic Messiah. Because Samaritanism was Pentateuchal, Moses became their messianic model--Moses redivivus. Without necessarily denying the Davidic messiahship, Jesus down-played the idea. Mark is the only synoptic gospel to record the enthusiastic response of the crowd: "the great crowd were hearing him gladly" (Mark 12:37b). Matthew's reaction was negative in description: "No one was able to answer him a word" (Matt 22:46a) while Luke recorded no reaction at all, perhaps content with the Marcan statement used before Jesus' statement: "No one dared to ask him any question" (Mark 12:34b, cp. Luke 20:40). The enthusiastic hearing of the crowd would have pleased any Samaritan, but there is no evidence that Samaritans were part of the crowd. The context of the saying is somewhere in the Temple area (Mark 13:1). The crowd would have been a mixture of many Jewish people

arriving in Jerusalem in preparation for the Passover. Yet, if the down-playing of Davidic sonship in Luke may have appealed to Samaritans (see p. 145), then Mark's Gospel had the same appeal with even a stronger response from the crowd.

A fourth tradition is the negation of the Jerusalem Temple and the support of Mt. Gerizim. If the down-playing of Davidic messiahship were not enough, the down-grading of the Temple itself became part of false testimony against Jesus at his trial.

> And as he came out of the temple, one of his disciples said to him, "Look Teacher, what wonderful stones and what wonderful buildings!" And Jesus said to him, "Do you see these great buildings? There will not be left here one stone upon another, that will not be thrown down" (Mark 13:1-2 RSV).

Perhaps one can say that the climax of Jesus' (Mark's?) denunciation of the Jerusalem authorities and cult practices was given here. Of course, Samaritan tradition had always denounced Jerusalem (Mt. Zion) as the place for worship. Mt. Gerizim only was chosen by God according to their Pentateuch. These words of Jesus would have been welcomed, especially when the Samaritan temple had lain in ruins since 128 B.C., if indeed the temple had not been rebuilt (see p. 51).

At the trial of Jesus false witnesses were brought forward to testify against him. Even though their testimonies did not agree, there was some basis for one of the testimonies as follows:

> "We heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands'" (Mark 14:58 RSV).

Some justification for such an accusation can be found in John 2:19 RSV: "Jesus answered them, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."

Later Stephen was similarly accused by false witnesses who used the same attack:

> "This man never ceases to speak words against this holy place and the law; for we have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth will destroy this place, and will change the customs which Moses delivered to us" (Acts 6:13-14 RSV).

The only parallel passage for Mark 14:58 is in Matthew. Note the striking differences: "This fellow said, 'I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days'" (Matt 26:61 RSV). For Matthew the temple is "of God," for Mark it is a temple "made with hands" χειροποίητον. What is the significance of the synoptic difference? Nineham wrote: "The whole idea suggests the outlook of later Christians like Stephen who questioned the permanence and significance of the temple rites."[40] Hugh Anderson's explanation was that it

> . . . reflects the perspective of the Hellenistic Church which understood itself as the promised new Temple (cf. 1C. 3:17; 2 C 6:16; Eph. 2:22), the community whose rich inward spiritual life through the power and presence of the risen Christ made quite obsolete the outward observances of the old Temple (cf. Ac. 7:48; 17:24; Heb. 9:11, 24; Eph. 2:11).[41]

Certainly Stephen's speech was an anti-Jerusalem temple polemic: "Yet the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands" (Acts 7:48 RSV). Stephen spoke to Jews. Paul spoke to pagans the same message: "The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by man" (Acts 17:24 RSV). The Hebrew writer suggests a definition for the term "made with hands":

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[40] Dennis E. Nineham, The Gospel of St. Mark (Baltimore: Penquin Books, 1963), p. 406.

[41] Hugh Anderson, The Gospel of Mark (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 330.

> But when Christ appeared as a high priest of the good things that have come, then through the greater and more perfect tent (not made with hands, that is, not of this creation). . . (Heb 9:11 RSV).
>
> For Christ has entered, not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf (Heb 9:24 RSV).

Thus a temple "not made with hands" would be God ordained, heavenly, not of this creation. Its opposite is man-made, earthly, temporal. By the same terminology the Apostle Paul wrote of the Christians' new life (by repentance) as a circumcision "made without hands" (Col 2:11 RSV) and of the Jewish circumcision as "made in the flesh by hands" (Eph 2:11 RSV). The resurrection for the Christian will be "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor 5:1b RSV). Samaritan tradition had emphasized that Solomon's Temple was strictly man-made, a project of his own doing: "Now Solomon proposed to build a temple representing the Lord, and a palace representing his own kingship."[42] When Solomon commanded all to worship at the Temple, the Samaritans say of themselves that they disobeyed and did not forsake the chosen place Mount Gerizim Bethel.[43] The anti-temple polemic of both Jesus and Stephen would have had a great appeal to the Samaritans as a whole although they looked forward to a restoration of their own temple on Mt. Gerizim.[44] Yet there was the Dosithean sect that for a while at least were anti-temple oriented.[45] As Isser concluded: Dositheus "was not a priestly Messiah who would restore the temple or tabernacle, he is said, in fact, to have temporarily

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[42]John Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), 2 Chr. 1:18, p. 145.

[43]Ibid., p. 148.

[44]Macdonald, op. cit., Theology, p. 365.

[45]Isser, op. cit., p. 91.

rejected worship on Gerizim."[46] All Samaritan attitudes would be against the Jerusalem temple, but the Dosithean sect especially would have been anti-temple.

Abram Spiro in his investigations into Samaritan studies, already investigated in chapter three, made an interesting turn through a series of correspondence between himself and William F. Albright over a period of almost two years.[47] While attempting to write a book on Stephen, Spiro was investigating Acts 6-8, but his studies began to widen. He became convinced that "Mark used a Samaritan document which portrayed the life of Jesus and the crucifixion. Mark apparently had sympathy with the Samaritans. At any rate, whether or not he sympathized with them, he used their documents."[48]

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[46]Ibid., p. 163.

[47]On December 16, 1981, Dr. C. S. Mann, presently of St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore, Maryland, sent to Dr. Robert T. Anderson, Chairman of the Department of Religious Studies at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, a package of materials that contained correspondence between W. F. Albright, late Professor at the John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, and Abram Spiro, late Professor in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literature at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. Dr. Anderson acknowledged the receiving of the materials and their contents on January 7, 1982. Dr. Anderson then proceeded to catalogue the materials. The correspondence dates from April 7, 1964 to December 29, 1965, between A. Spiro and W. F. Albright. Several letters were then written by A. Spiro to C. S. Mann and one to an unknown "Jim" between January 4, 1966 and July 13, 1967. All total there were 108 different letters. Spiro died shortly thereafter and Albright, a few years later. The bulk of the correspondence consisted of Spiro's letters dealing with his theological interests, including his special study on Stephen's Speech in Acts 7. Albright's brief responses were more of an encouragement or corrective suggestions to Spiro's theological probes. Not only are the letters of interest for historical value and insight into the personalities of Spiro and Albright, but they contain relevant ideas to the relationship of Mark and the Samaritans. The letters will be referred to in the text by their date and page numbers.

[48]Letter, Spiro to Albright (March 12, 1965), p. 1.

Spiro came to this conviction when he noticed the Logion of Jesus in Acts 6:14 and compared it with Mark 14:58 and the parallels in John 2:19 and Matt 26:61. Again he wrote:

> It became clear to me instantly that, while Matthew and John tried to weaken the force of the offensiveness of this Logion of Jesus, Mark, far from weakening it, makes it even more damaging, for he adds gall to the vinegar. It is bad enough to make a statement of the destruction of the Temple in a moment of provocation, but it is quite a different story when you add a theology to it and say that the Temple is made by hands. It dawned on me instantly that Mark reflects the words of Stephen in Acts 7:48. No Jew would say that the Temple was made by hands; it is always the other fellow's Temple which is made by hands. Stephen says that the Jewish Temple was made by hands. His own tabernacle, of course, was patterned by an angel; therefore, it is not handmade (Acts 7:44).[49]

Spiro, then, asked why Mark was completely silent about the Samaritans. He answered himself: "It dawned on me that this silence is not due to indifference. Rather, it is a studied silence in order not to give himself away."[50] At this point Spiro made several observations on Mark: (1) Mark did not carry the genealogy of Jesus that led to David whereas Luke and Matthew did even though they vary. (2) Jesus denied that the Messiah was a descendant of David (Mark 12:35-36). (3) The idea of Jesus being a descendant of David came from the scribes in Mark (vs. 35). (4) When the Phoenician woman cried out, Matthew had her cry out, "Son of David," while this was not found in Mark 7:25-30. (5) At the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, Jesus was not directly addressed in Mark as the Son of David (Mark 11:9-10) as he was in Matthew (Matt 21:9). (6) In Mark 1:44, Jesus commanded a cleansed

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[49]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[50]Ibid., p. 2.

leper to go to "the priest." Spiro suggested: "It seems to me that he did not send him to the Temple in Jerusalem but he asked him to go to a local priest." Spiro thought this priest was a Samaritan priest. (7) Spiro declared that Jairus (Mark 5:21-24, 35-43) was a "good Samaritan and Tobiad name. Apparently Jairus was the head of a Samaritan synagogue."[51]

Finally, in the last paragraph of this letter Spiro made one last conjecture for Mark's Gospel and the Samaritans:

> Of course, many commentators have suggested that Mark's anti-Jewishness was due to the fact that he wrote for a Gentile audience. I do not believe this to be true. Had Mark been thinking of Gentiles, he would not have attributed to Jesus the words that the Gentiles are "dogs" (Mark 7:27). Obviously, Gentiles were not foremost in his mind when he wrote his Gospel. This being the case, his anti-Jewishness is not anti-Semitism, but it is Samaritanism.[52]

Surprisingly, Albright's response (March 16, 1965) was very positive, and he welcomed the new conjectures. He wanted to change Spiro's "studied silence" to "a prudent avoidance of non-essential but controversial issues," even though he agreed that Mark was indeed using Samaritan traditions. Albright concluded his response with this tabular statement:[53]

Now we have:

Paul - Pharisee background
Mark - Samaritan background
John - Essene background
Luke - conciliatory synthesis

In another letter Spiro added:

> All of Jesus' activities according to Mark take place in Galilee, which was a country with a mixed population, heavily Samaritan. . . . Neither in his lifetime nor after the resurrection would Jesus have anything to do with Jerusalem except to censure it and its institutions.[54]

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[51] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[52] Ibid., p. 4.

[53] Letter, Albright to Spiro (March 16, 1965) p. 2.

[54] Letter, Spiro to Albright (March 21, 1965), pp. 3-4.

Spiro even went so far as to speculate that 1 Clement did not quote from Mark's Gospel because "he didn't like his Samaritan bias [Italics mine]."[55]

Albright, after study of his own on Mark, wrote:

> After rereading Mark this morning, I think that he was influenced by both Samaritan and Essene ways of thinking; he may well have been a young follower of Stephen, since he presumably lived well after A.D. 60 and was probably the half-grown lad referred to in Mark 14:51f. I still concede Samaritan influence on Mark (perhaps through Stephen). (Incidentally, Stephen was presumably a native of Caphargamala, which was less than 9 km. north of the home of the house of Sanballat.) There were probably a good many Samaritans in this region of northwestern Judaea, which was well outside of the pre-Hellenistic Judah.[56]

Albright considered Mark "a Jew from the Disapora who had been influenced by some Samaritan ideas and probably knew Stephen personally."[57]

Spiro was convinced that Mark and Acts 6-8 were taken from Samaritan tradition because of the similar plots and false witnesses against Jesus and Stephen respectively. According to Spiro the condemnation of the Jews by both Mark and Acts 6-8 was final and unremitting--unlike the other Gospels and the rest of Acts.

Spiro made some brilliant observations. He did present an alternative to Trocme's answer for why Mark did not mention Samaritans in his gospel (see pp. 181-82). But his "studied silence" is difficult to maintain and takes too much for granted. It is an argument from silence! Even Albright's more balanced view that Mark was only avoiding certain controversial issues is an argument from silence, but less innovative.

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[55]Ibid., p. 7, underlining mine.

[56]Letter, Albright to Spiro (March 25, 1965), pp. 1-2.

[57]Letter, Albright to Spiro (April 17, 1965).

However, Spiro's observations (seven in number) do force one to listen to his arguments. Spiro's observation that Mark avoided a genealogical list is not clear. If it is to avoid the mention of David, it is again an argument from silence. Most commentators suggest that Mark's audience (Gentiles?) would have had no interest in genealogies such as the Jews had. Even though the point by Spiro is weak, still it is relevant to his over-all scheme. Spiro's second observation is stronger. Jesus' denial that the Messiah was a descendant of David (Mark 12:35-36) is also found in Matt 22: 42-45 and Luke 20:41-44, thus diluting Spiro's point. Matthew, an essentially Jewish gospel, uses the same saying. Why? Because it was recognized as a genuine saying of Jesus and its point was not so much denial of Davidic descent but rather a statement about Divine origins for the Son of God. Spiro's third point suggests that the origin of the teaching about a Davidic-Messiah came from the scribes. In Mark the blind beggar, Bartimaeus, knew the Messiah as "Son of David." Evidently the common people followed scribal teaching according to Spiro. It should be noted that Bartimaeus was rebuked for his outbursts. Spiro's fourth observation of the Phoenician woman crying out, "Son of David," in Matthew but not in Mark is a strong argument. Also the fifth observation that Jesus was not directly addressed as Son of David in the Mark account of the triumphal entry (Mark 11:9-10) demonstrates that the author was deliberately down-playing that Davidic relationship in contrast to Matthew (Matt 21:9). Even though some of Spiro's observations to this point were weak, together they add up to a clear picture that Mark is indeed down-playing the Davidic-descent of the Messiah without totally denying it. This perspective would certainly agree with Samaritan traditions and prejudices. And why take this perspective if Mark's only interest were Gentiles (Romans)?

Spiro's sixth observation that "the priest" was a local priest and Samaritan at that has no real evidence, though the fact that Jesus is far from Jerusalem somewhere in Galilee (Mark 1:39) makes the hypothesis plausible, especially if the entire tradition of Mark's Gospel is found to be "Samaritan-Galilee" in any fashion. Spiro's seventh observation about Jairus' name being a "good Samaritan and Tobiad name" is rather flimsy. No evidence is given to support either this conjecture or the postulation that Jairus was the head of a Samaritan synagogue. Spiro's last remark, however, has substance. Why should Mark refer to Gentiles as "dogs" (Mark 7:27) if he is primarily writing for them? Thus the anti-Jewishness of the Gospel is not anti-Semitism, but rather Samaritanism. It is a bold thought and not conclusive, but it would make sense if placed along side more evidence.

Spiro's point that Galilee was heavily Samaritan should be considered an exaggeration. As far as the "Samaritan bias" of 1 Clement, that was a figment of Spiro's imagination.

Albright's more "calm" appraisal seems to be more satisfactory with the sources at hand. However, Albright conceded that Spiro had broken new ground, and even he was for a Samaritan background in regards to Mark's Gospel. But in order to substantiate the probings of Spiro and Albright, a broader historical framework must be established for Mark. A few scholars have found this in the Stephen-Philip Movement.

The Stephen-Philip Movement

Etienne Trocmé introduced an important hypothesis in regard to Mark's formation and its relationship to early Christianity that affected Mark's

relationship to Samaritanism (see pp. 181-182). Trocmé, through elaborate arguments, postulated that canonical Mark is the "'second edition, revised and supplemented by a long appendix,' of an earlier Gospel."[58] This earlier Gospel is for all practical purposes the same as Mark 1-13. The "long appendix" is Mark 14-16. This is just the opposite of earlier proposals where the Passion Narratives were considered central and the rest considered merely "an introduction."

As to the origins of Mark 1-13, Trocmé suggested a Palestinian Jewish author wrote for fellow-Palestinians, urging them to accept the pure gospel and "wrest Israel from its bad shepherds, at the same time opening the door wide to their Gentile neighbors."[59] The main adversaries of the author are the Jerusalem authorities. Perhaps these represented (in Mark's application to his community) the Jerusalem Church leaders who have placed too high a regard on Jerusalem and cult (Temple and laws). "Our author," Trocmé maintained, "concentrates attention on the part of Palestine situated north and north-east of Samaria . . . with a special interest in the whole of the region of which Galilee forms the core."[60]

Trocmé thought that he could detect the same polemical and theological concerns of Mark in the group of the Seven (Acts 6-8; cf. Acts 11:19-21; 22:20). This is reminiscent of Spiro's work. In examining their missionary activity Trocmé concluded that "their missionary method relies largely on wonder-working(Acts 6.8; 8.6-8.13), appeals to the people (6.8; 8.6) and provocative speaking (Acts 6.10-11, 13-14; 7.2-53). In all these fields they practice

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[58]Etienne Trocmé, The Formation of the Gospel According to Mark, trans. Pamela Gaughan (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1975), p. 240.

[59]Ibid., p. 250.

[60]Ibid.

exactly what the original Mark teaches."[61] Indeed, he thought he could discern why Mark 1-13 was written--its plan and primary intention:

> Harshly persecuted by the Jewish authorities, the Seven and their group have fled out of reach of their mortal enemies but they have kept, in their refuges not far from the land of the Jews, the mentality of emigres preparing to return in triumph and looking for the best mode of attack for their religious revolution. Expelled from Samaria by their rivals from Jerusalem, they thought to find revenge in Galilee and the neighbouring areas, where they walked with the risen Christ in the steps of the earthly Jesus.[62]

Trocmé relunctantly suggested an author for Mark 1-13. In light of all his proposals he selected "Philip, the evangelizer of Samaria and the only one of the Seven, apart from Stephen, of whom we know a little,"[63] limited however in Acts 8 and 21:8ff., if the tradition of the patristics is true that Philip lived at Hierapolis after 70 A.D.[64] Trocmé conjectured that Philip made missionary expeditions throughout northern Palestine, Samaria included, from Caesarea (Acts 8:40; 21:8-9). Having been driven out of Jerusalem and Judea by persecution in the 40's A.D. and having settled in Caesarea, Philip wrote the gospel of Mark (1-13) sometime in the 50's A.D.[65] When Luke discovered it for his gospel account, he was staying with Paul in prison at Caesarea for a two-year period in the late 50's A.D.[66]

Trocmé has placed Mark in the same historical framework (the Stephen-Philip missionary movement) as Spiro did. Trocmé's arguments are strong,

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[61] Ibid., p. 254.

[62] Ibid., pp. 256-57.

[63] Ibid., p. 257.

[64] See Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History iii, 39, 9.

[65] Note that Trocmé's dating of Mark's "first edition" coincides with Jose' O'Callaghan's dating of the Qumran fragments of "Mark" based on his very tentative "discoveries."

[66] Trocmé, op. cit., p. 259.

but his low view of Mark as an author would unsettle the most broadminded of all conservatives: "The author of Mark was a clumsy writer unworthy of mention in any history of literature."[67] If there is any validity at all to his conjectures, then the Gospel of Mark must be viewed in a new light.

It was Philip who opened up the Samaritans to the gospel, though some had been prepared by Jesus' own evangelistic activity (John 4; Luke 9:56). Philip seemed to have had great success in "a city of Samaria" (Acts 8:5) (Shechem?) where he even converted Simon, the magician, who was proclaimed by the populous as "that power of God which is called Great" (Acts 8:10). Philip's preaching ("good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus," Acts 8:12 RSV), at least in heading, was the same as Mark's ("the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" and "the kingdom of God is at hand," Mark 1:1, 14, 15 RSV).

Thus Trocmé saw the author of Mark as having an ecclesiology that was a radical break with the Mother-church in Jerusalem. As part of the Stephen-Philip movement, Mark launched a vigorous missionary enterprise among the common people in Palestine, obeying the risen Christ and following the example he had set in his earthly ministry. It was possibly Philip, the Evangelist, who wrote to encourage the itinerant missionary enterprise throughout Palestine and to combat the Jerusalem Christian community which had failed her Lord in proclaiming the gospel to the whole world. Since Trocmé viewed Mark (Mark 1-13) as a Palestinian document produced by the group of Seven, he questioned why there was the absence of any reference to Samaria or Samaritans in the text (see p. 182). His suggestion that the author of Mark (Philip?) had

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[67] Ibid., p. 72.

suffered some kind of disappointment in his ministry among the Samaritans is more plausible than Spiro's "studied silence" or even Albright's "prudent avoidance of non-essential but controversial issues." Trocmé considered Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-13, 18-24) to be the one who provoked certain rivalries among Christian missionaries in Samaria (Acts 8:5-8, 12, 14-17, 25; John 4: 37-38).[68]

Another possibility is the rise of the Dositheans sect as a major obstacle for missionary efforts in Samaria. Isser has confirmed the possibility that Dositheus led a sect of Samaritans in the first century and that he considered himself the "prophet like Moses" (Deut 18), performing "miracles" in the same manner as Simon, the magician, who made similar claims. Isser wrote: "His role is much like that of the Moses-Taheb combined figure, or Elijah, or Jesus."[69] Would it be too much speculation to see Mark's Gospel as an appeal to Samaritans (among Jews and Gentiles!) to avoid such charlatans as Dositheus or Simon or any other magician? In other words, Jesus was presented as the true Jewish Messiah, the Samaritan Taheb, and only hope for Gentiles. All of the polemic against the Jerusalem cult and leadership would sit well with all the major groups outside Jerusalem and her immediate locale, especially the Samaritans.

Another scholar, Michael Goulder, developed his Christology within the framework of the Stephen-Philip movement in his chapter: "The Two Roots

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[68]Ibid., p. 250.

[69]Isser, op. cit., p. 164.

of the Christian Myth."[70] The two roots were (1) the Galilean eschatological myth and (2) the Samaritan gnostical myth. Concentrating on the second point, Goulder argued that the Samaritan mission was an embarrassment to Luke who recorded very little of it in Acts (twenty-two verses). That embarrassment was caused by the corrupting influence of Thebuthis, who became vengeful for not having been chosen bishop after James the Just's martyrdom. Thus began the corrupting influence of various Samaritan sects (seven according to Hegesippus).[71] Goulder further postulated that Simon's claim to be "that power of God which is called Great" (Acts 8:10b RSV) equaled a claim to be God incarnate.[72] He contended that "the Samaritan Christians were a powerful section of the first-century church, and that their movement grew into Christian Gnosticism in the second."[73] Goulder thought he could discern a dualism in the Samaritan Pentateuch and literature. It is his thesis that "dualism and a doctrine of incarnation were accepted features of belief among some of the Samaritans who actually became Christians in the first decade of the church's life."[74] Therefore, when Philip came to Samaria, he proclaimed Jesus as the prophet like Moses, a message couched in Gnostic terminology. Instead of a Jewish son of David, Jesus is presented as a

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[70]Michael Goulder, "The Two Roots of the Christian Myth," chapter four, The Myth of God Incarnate, ed. John Hick (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977), pp. 64-86.

[71]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History iv. 22, 5.

[72]Goulder, op. cit., p. 65.

[73]Ibid., p. 67.

[74]Ibid.

Samaritan God become man.[75] Goulder, then, hypothesized that a Samaritan Christology would have tended to contribute five points to an interpretation (Galilean) of the significance of Jesus:

> (i) an emphasis on wisdom and knowledge as the primary fruits of conversion, rather than faith and love; (ii) the myth of Jesus' pre-existence in the Godhead, and of his incarnation; (iii) a 'glory'-ministry instead of a Son-of-Man ministry, with Moses instead of David as the type-figure; (iv) a minimizing of the cross and resurrection--Jesus should rather just go his way to the Father; and (v) a realized eschatology rather than a futurist eschatology.[76]

According to Goulder these characteristics belonged to Paul's opponents, but that sometime later "Paul appropriated the idea of Jesus' incarnation in the course of dialectic with the Samaritan missionaries in Corinth and Ephesus between 50 and 55."[77] Goulder's Samaritan theory is an attempt to place the concept of "incarnation" beyond the origins of Christianity to a competing force against Paul and the early church; i.e., the Christian Samaritan community. Thus Goulder believes that the incarnation doctrine was introduced into the church by Simon Magus and his Samaritan followers; consequently the doctrine has become dispensable for Goulder and his colleagues today.

Goulder's arguments for dualism (or binitarian or incarnationism) in Samaritanism is highly unlikely, even in the texts he cited. Samaritans have always held to a strict monotheism, even more so than Jewish philosophical speculations on "Wisdom" and "Logos." The whole concept of "incarnation" would have been unthinkable for Samaritans as far as a deity is concerned.

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[75] Ibid., p. 75.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 79.

Graham Stanton has appropriately responded to Goulder's theory by showing that Goulder's reconstruction of Samaritan theology and New Testament Christology is inadequate and inconclusive.[78] Goulder's contribution is not his view of Christology, which this writer firmly rejects, but rather his emphasis on Samaritan Christianity in the early Church.

One of the emerging ideas from several scholars is their view that Samaritan Christianity somehow was in constant opposition with Jewish Christianity, this in spite of the plain testimony of scripture. C. H. H. Scobie suggested that "despite Luke's editorial efforts to disguise theological division within the early Church and to reduce Stephen and Philip to 'deacons', they are to be regarded as preachers and teachers, and representatives of a separate wing of the Church."[79] Scobie viewed the Stephen-Philip group as representatives of a Palestinian sectarian Judaism, possibly Galilean, who opposed the Jerusalem cult and had sympathies with Samaritanism. "Clearly they did not share the view of the majority of Jews that the Samaritans were descendants of foreigners settled in the North after the Fall of Samaria, the true Ten Tribes being still in exile in some far distant land."[80] This view would not be at variance with Trocmé's; that is, of an itinerant missionary thrust by Philip(?) and his community in northern Palestine and surrounding territory. The text (Acts 8) would suggest less disharmony, but at the same

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[78]Graham Stanton, "Samaritan Incarnational Christology?" Appendix 1, Incarnation and Myth: The Debate Continued, ed. Michael Goulder (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), pp. 243-46.

[79]Charles H. H. Scobie, "The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity," New Testament Studies 19 (1972-73) 398.

[80]Ibid., p. 399.

time has all the earmarks of problems in the Samaritan Christian community caused by such men as Simon (Acts 8), Dositheus, and other sectarian leaders (Christian or non-Christian).

Spiro's view of the "seven" (Stephen-Philip Group) is similar to Trocmé, Goulder, and Scobie. Spiro emphasized that the gospel of Mark "had heavily drawn on the Samaritan-Hellenistic sources, that is on the sources of the 'seven.'"[81] He did not accept the reasonable account in Acts 6 as the way the true history of the early church occurred. Due to Spiro's observation that Mark was negative against Jerusalem and the disciples (apostles), especially Peter, he surmised that there was a radical break between the Jerusalem Church and the Samaritan-Galilee mission by the Stephen-Philip missionary group. Spiro explained why he thought Jesus commanded his followers to flee Jerusalem and meet him in Galilee:

> How, then could Mark report that Jesus bade Peter and the others to leave Jerusalem. All the attempts at harmonization--which already began in John 21--must be regarded as a failure. Just as in Acts an attempt is made to make the seven orthodox and subordinate to the "twelve," in John 21, another solution for the troublesome "seven" is found. Jesus appeared before seven disciples headed by Peter by the Sea of Galilee! Seven disciples! Five are named, two are unnamed! Are they Stephen and Philip? Was Stephen originally Simon the Zealot? But the answer is simple: all the disciples failed Jesus, even his own mother and brothers failed him and remained in the "heretical" church of Jerusalem and Israel. Yet Jesus bade them not to remain in Jerusalem. This is the message of Mark and the church of the "seven."[82]

Spiro went too far in his speculations. In fact, Albright called them "dubious hypotheses" and suggested to Spiro that he "go very slowly in

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[81] Letter, Spiro to Albright (August 10, 1965), p. 6.

[82] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

dealing with the role of the 'seven' in the history of early Christianity."[83] Albright went so far as to relegate the role of "the seven" to a minor one in early church life. He wrote: "I earnestly suggest that you omit all references to the 'seven' as more than a significant institutional phase of the development of early Christianity."[84]

The "seven" or Stephen-Philip group had a profound effect upon the early church as it initiated a missionary movement beyond the borders of Jerusalem and Judea. The Samaritans, whom the gospel writers considered part of the Gentile world, were a vital step toward the evangelization of all Gentiles. There is no need to doubt or impugn the motives of Peter and John as they "inspected" the Samaritan mission (Acts 8:14-16). After all, it was for the purpose of giving Apostolic approval through the gift of the Holy Spirit. The missionary movement afterwards continued with renewed vigor and power. There is no reason to postulate a "troublesome" seven as Spiro does.

Conclusion

Several of the criteria used in relating Samaritan studies to the New Testament have proven profitable in relationship to Mark. Although no one argument can be considered conclusive, the accumulative effect of the foregoing arguments suggests that indeed the Samaritan problem is found in Mark. The following points can now be properly evaluated:

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[83]Letter, Albright to Spiro (August 14, 1965), p. 1.

[84]Ibid., p. 2.

1. The historical framework from which the gospel of Mark may have developed is called the "Stephen-Philip Movement." Trocme, Spiro (Albright), Goulder, and Purvis have all contributed to this idea, howbeit, for different purposes and with varying interpretations. But the fact that almost all can see the contents of Mark's gospel as in some way being part of the Samaritan/Galilee missionary thrust suggests a relationship between Mark and the Samaritans. A Galilean (Jewish) background is, thereby, not rejected as a possibility but the missionary efforts in Galilee included Samaria as well.

2. The Gospel of Mark manifests a concern for perseverence in the midst of persecution and a concentration on Jesus' death (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:32-34; 14:8-9; 14:26-28 etc.). The Samaritan/Galilee mission thrust began out of persecution (Acts 8:1). Thus the historical framework already proposed would fit the contents as well as the emphasis of the gospel. The historical milieu could easily be accounted for in the Stephen-Philip Group. Trocme suggested that Philip was the author but this is arbitrary. Even the patristic tradition that "Mark" (John Mark?) was the author could be entertained within this historical framework. Albright's suggestion of a young lad (Mark 14:51f.) who was a follower of Stephen has merit.

3. Why there is no mention of "Samaritans" in Mark was answered in various ways: Spiro, "A studied silence;" Albright, "deliberate avoidance of controversial issues;" and Trocme, "a root of bitterness due to missionary problems among the Samaritans." Given the historical framework above, the answer could be that Mark's traditions are looking from the inside out.

It is a tradition arising out of a Samaritan/Galilee community with the northern area of Galilee emphasized due to the stress of persecution and conflict from the southern territory of Judea and perhaps areas of Samaria by messianic pretenders.

4. The theological framework of the Stephen-Philip Group would have coincided with the theological concerns of Mark. The most important is the anti-temple (Jerusalem) stance of the gospel. Spiro's observation of the temple "made with hands" (Mark 14:58) as compared with the charges (in the Logion of Jesus) against Stephen (Acts 6:14) makes sense. His argument that this accusation could only be made by a Samaritan is exaggerated, but still possible. It is also possible that a "Christian" Jew could have made the point, i.e., John Mark. But that would not damage the claim for Marcan tradition arising out of a Samaritan/Galilee milieu.

5. The down-playing of Davidic descent in Mark is unquestionable (Mark 12:35-36; 11:9-10). The omission of any Davidic genealogy in Mark is evident as is the addition of "son of David" by Matthew to the address given by the Phoenician woman (Mark 7:25-30). In two places Jesus is called "son of David." One is from his enemies (Mark 12:35) and the other is from a blind man (Mark 10:47f.) who was commanded to "be silent" concerning his address.

6. Spiro's pithy statement that if Mark was writing for Gentiles only, why would he call them "dogs" (in the words of Jesus)? Perhaps the original expression was not as harsh as it sounds since the Greek word means "little dog or house dog." Regardless, the point is well made to suggest an audience beyond Gentiles alone.

7. Marcan emphasis on "faith" seems to be a very strong argument for suggesting affinities with Samaritan theology and its emphasis on "faith." Bowman argued similarly for John's Gospel.

8. The Marcan picture of Jesus presents a Taheb-like figure who performs miracles and astounds the people. He is a prophet like Moses who speaks against the Jewish traditions and "ignorance" of the Law. Mark is seeking to reveal Jesus as the true Messiah for Jews and Samaritans.

9. The Mount of Transfiguration must be considered as an appeal to Jews and Samaritans through Jesus' assimilation of the ministry and work of Elijah (for the Jews) and Moses (for the Samaritans). The "corrective" by Jesus that John the Baptist was "Elijah" suggested that the "Era of Divine Favor" (refreshment) had arrived. This theological thought would certainly have appealed to Samaritan expectations. Mark's rare use of "mercy" suggested that the age of mercy had dawned in Jesus (a Samaritan expectation!). At least the terminology was similar.

10. Mark presents a strong moral view of the Law by Jesus. The same view of Law prevailed among the Samaritans. They emphasized God's love and personal faith in regards to the Law. Faith and obedience was a way of life.

11. Mark's view of the Gentiles (Mark 11:17; 13:10) may very well include Samaritans as well as Gentiles (non-Jewish and non-Samaritan). The first "Gentiles" reached by the gospel were Samaritans (Acts 8). Jesus' statement, "My house shall be called a house of prayer <u>for all nations</u>," is unique to Mark. Surely the concept included Samaritans.

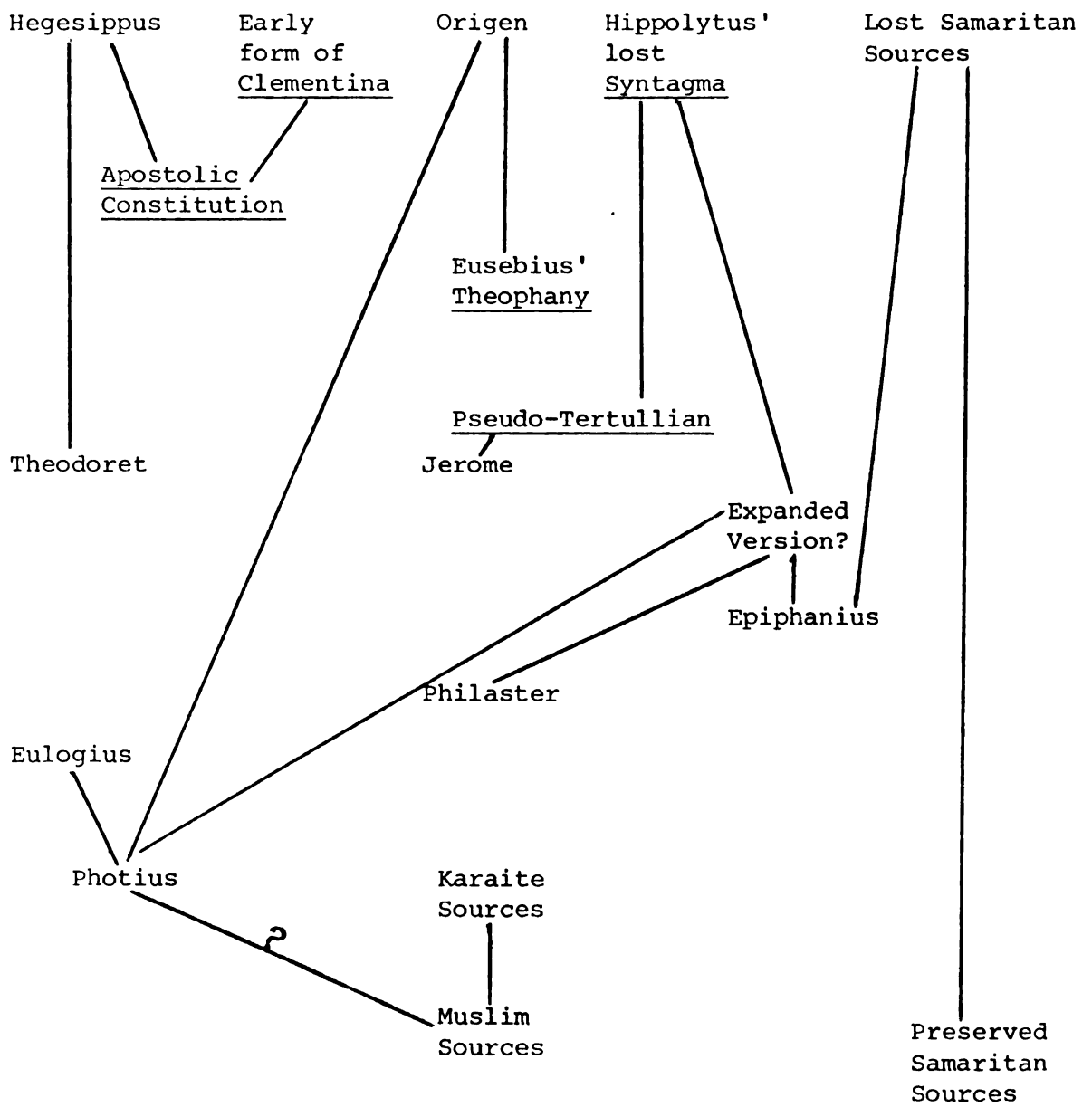
12. Mark's use of the tradition about John the Baptist as an essential part of the gospel suggests that Mark was not anti-Samaritan nor apathetic toward Samaritans, if indeed it is proven that John was closely associated with Samaritans (Bowman).

Other arguments have been suggested throughout the text, but these have been marshalled to reveal the strong possibility that Mark indeed has a Samaritan background (as Albright propounded). Even though Marcan authorship and purpose cannot be determined absolutely, at least the statement, "the Samaritan problem does not appear in Mark at all," can no longer be entertained.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

HYPOTHETICAL SCHEME OF LITERARY SOURCES ON DOSITHEUS



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