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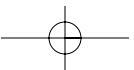
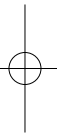
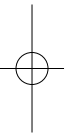
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MATTHEW
AND HIS CHRISTIAN
CONTEMPORARIES

Edited by

DAVID SIM
BORIS REPSCHINSKI



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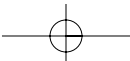
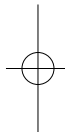
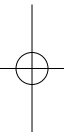
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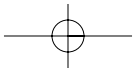
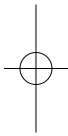
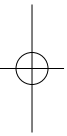
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David C. Sim



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ABBREVIATIONS

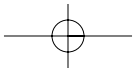
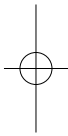
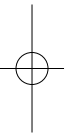
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BVB	Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CBNTS	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ESTNT	Exegetische Studien zur Theologie des Neuen Testaments
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FJCD	Forschungen zum Jüdisch-Christlichen Dialog
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschungen zur Bibel
GNS	Good News Studies
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>HeyJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

xii	<i>Matthew and his Christian Contemporaries</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JGRCJ</i>	<i>Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament,</i> Supplement Series
<i>JSOTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,</i> Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAV</i>	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern
<i>KEK</i>	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LNTS</i>	Library of New Testament Studies
<i>NHC</i>	Nag Hammadi Codex
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i> , Supplements
<i>NTM</i>	New Testament Message
<i>NTMon</i>	New Testament Monographs
<i>NTR</i>	New Testament Readings
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NTT</i>	New Testament Theology
<i>PPFBR</i>	Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research
<i>PRR</i>	Princeton Readings in Religions
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>SBEC</i>	Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>SBLDS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBLSS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
<i>SBS</i>	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>SCJR</i>	<i>Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations</i>
<i>SE</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>SNTW</i>	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
<i>SP</i>	Sacra Pagina
<i>SPSH</i>	Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities
<i>SUNT</i>	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
<i>SVTP</i>	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
<i>TBS</i>	The Biblical Seminar
<i>TCHS</i>	The Church Historical Society
<i>THKNT</i>	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TNTIC</i>	The New Testament in Context

Abbreviations

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TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VC	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VCSup	<i>Vigiliae christianae, Supplements</i>
VF	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>



INTRODUCTION

DAVID C. SIM

It has long been acknowledged that the Gospel of Matthew is the most Jewish of the four canonical Gospels and arguably the most Jewish of all the New Testament documents. Even in the ancient Christian church, Matthew was viewed as a distinctively Jewish text because it was considered to have been written by a Jew for other Jewish followers of Jesus.¹ Since that time the thoroughgoing Jewishness of both the evangelist and his Gospel has not been seriously questioned, except for a period in the 1950s to the 1970s when a number of influential scholars proposed that the author was in fact a Gentile who represented a predominantly Gentile community.² This thesis, however, suffers from a number of serious difficulties,³ and in the last three decades has almost completely disappeared from view.

In the light of the return to the consensus view that the evangelist was a Jewish Christian (or a Christian Jew) who wrote for a Jewish Christian (or Christian Jewish) readership, it perhaps comes as no surprise to learn that Matthaean scholarship in the last two decades or so has tended to focus attention on the Gospel's Jewish context. Of primary importance in this regard have been two related questions. The first of these concerns Matthew's sustained polemical attacks on the scribes and Pharisees. This theme is much more prominent in this Gospel than any of the others, and much of the relevant material is redactional rather than traditional. In

1. The earliest explicit attestation is Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, 3.1.1, in the late second century. Similar views are expressed later by Origen in his *Commentary on Matthew* (cited in Eusebius, *H.E.* 6.25.3-4) and Eusebius himself (*H.E.* 3.24.6).

2. The first scholar to challenge the consensus and propose that Matthew was a Gentile writing for a Gentile church was K. W. Clark, 'The Gentile Bias in Matthew', *JBL* 66 (1947), 165-72. His views gathered support in the following decades. For a list of scholars holding this particular thesis, see W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC; 3 vols; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988, 1991, 1997), I, pp. 10-11.

3. See the critiques by Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, I, pp. 9-58; and G. N. Stanton, 'The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthaean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds), *ANRW*, II, 25, 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), pp. 1889-1951 (1916-19).

order to explain this prominent Matthaean theme, it is now customary to argue that the Matthaean community was in serious conflict with other Jewish groups struggling for recognition and authority in the period immediately following the Jewish revolt of 66–70 CE. The scribes and Pharisees of the Gospel narrative refer to the leadership of what is conveniently referred to as Formative Judaism, a type of Judaism that grew out of the pre-70 Pharisaic movement and which eventually developed into Rabbinic Judaism.

The second area of scholarly interest, and perhaps the issue that has most dominated Matthaean studies in the last two decades, is the question of the relationship between the Gospel (and its community) and the religion of Judaism. Did Matthew's group, despite its allegiance to Jesus, still consider itself to be Jewish and therefore identify its religious tradition as a Christian form of Judaism? If so, then the dispute between Matthew's Christian Jewish community and Formative Judaism was a purely internal Jewish debate.⁴ Alternatively, it might be the case that this conflict had resulted in a definitive break between the evangelist's group and its Jewish roots. If this is the case, then this community had separated from the religion of Judaism and the dispute with Formative Judaism could now be described as a conflict between the Christian Church (cf. Mt. 16.18; 18.17) and the Jewish synagogue (cf. 4.23; 9.35; 10.17; 12.9; 13.54).⁵ No clear winner has emerged in this important debate, and it is reasonable to assume that it will continue to dominate Matthaean scholarship for some time to come.

It is clear from the above that the focus of recent scholarly attention has been the relationship between the evangelist and his Jewish contempo-

4. So J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), and B. Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* (FRLANT, 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

5. For this view, see the following: G. N. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992); J. K. Riches, *Conflicting Mythologies: Identity Formation in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000); D. R. A. Hare, 'How Jewish is the Gospel of Matthew?', *CBO* 62 (2000), 264–77; D. A. Hagner, 'Matthew: Apostate, Reformer, Revolutionary?', *NTS* 49 (2003), 193–209; *idem.*, 'Matthew: Christian Judaism or Jewish Christianity?', in S. McKnight and G. R. Osborne (eds), *The Face of the New Testament: A Survey of Recent Research* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), pp. 263–82; P. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (WUNT, 2.177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004); A. O. Ewherido, *Matthew's Gospel and Judaism in the Late First Century C.E.: The Evidence from Matthew's Chapter on Parables* (*Matthew 13:1-52*) (SBL, 91; New York: Peter Lang, 2006), and U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, rev. edn, 2007), pp. 52–5.

raries, especially the scribes and Pharisees who comprised the leadership of Formative Judaism. While the discussion has for the most part been general in character, it is possible to individualize it. U. Luz has recently devoted some attention to a comparison of Matthew and his Pharisaic Jewish contemporary, Johanna ben Zakkai, the purported initiator of the movement known as Formative Judaism. Luz acknowledges the problems of reconstructing 'the historical Johanna', but he notes that there are striking similarities between some aspects of the Gospel and some features that emerge in the later Rabbinic traditions about this influential Pharisee.⁶ The examination of this theme by Luz, brief as it is, is instructive and informative, and is worthy of further and more detailed consideration.

But it also raises a further point. Have Matthaean scholars, in focusing on the evangelist's Jewish context and his relationship with his Jewish contemporaries, neglected other important contexts and relationships that may be equally worthy of consideration? The short answer is that we have. W. Carter has rightly reminded the field that we have seriously neglected the Roman imperial context of Matthew,⁷ but there is no reason to stop at this point because an even more obvious failing can be identified. I am referring here to Matthew's Christian context, and particularly his relationship with his Christian contemporaries. Where does Matthew stand within the variety of expressions of the first-century Christian tradition? How would he have reacted to these other traditions? What can we learn by comparing the Gospel of Matthew with other early Christian texts, and by comparing Matthew the evangelist with other early Christian authors? In which ways would Matthew have agreed with these texts and authors, and on which issues would he have disagreed with them? Does Matthew's Gospel, which has the honour of being the first book in the New Testament, stand out as a distinctive text within the Christian canon and other early Christian literature?

Many scholars would claim that, while Matthew as a Christian text does share many affinities with other early Christian writings, it is none the less a distinctive Christian document in some ways. The very Jewish nature of the text, which draws us to make comparisons with contemporary Jewish traditions, is the very aspect of the Gospel that invites us to compare and contrast the evangelist with his Christian contemporaries. The most striking issue in this respect is the role of the Torah in the Gospel itself and, by extension, its function in the Matthaean community. The key text is

6. Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, pp. 55–6.

7. See especially W. Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001). Also of importance is his *Matthew and the Margins: A Sociopolitical and Religious Reading* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2000). Cf. too the collection of essays in J. Riches and D. C. Sim (eds), *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context* (JSNTSup, 276; London: T&T Clark International, 2005).

of course Mt. 5.17-19, a triad of sayings near the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount where the Matthaean Jesus first speaks about the fundamental issue of the Law. These three sayings have been subjected to a variety of interpretations,⁸ but they are best taken literally in which case their meaning is perfectly clear and unambiguous.⁹ Jesus has not come to destroy or abolish the Law (or the prophets), and all of the Torah with no exception remains valid until the *parousia*. Therefore those who follow Jesus must obey the whole Law and teach others to do so. It is unacceptable to relax even one of the least commandments and/or to communicate such a view to others.

The positive affirmation in these verses about the whole Mosaic Law has no close parallel in the early Christian literature. Not even Jas 2.8-26, which refers to the 'royal Law' and stipulates that the whole Law must be kept (2.10), is really comparative. The reason for this is that the text does not make clear whether the Law includes all of the Torah's requirements or whether it refers to the love command alone (cf. 2.8). Paul, too, occasionally says some complimentary things about the Law. He denies that the Torah is itself sin (Rom. 7.7) or against the promises of God (Gal. 3.21), and he describes it as holy, just and good (Rom. 7.12). Paul can even say that those of faith uphold the Law (Rom. 3.31), though this position seems to be dependent upon reducing the Torah to the love command (cf. Rom. 13.8-10). But despite these general and perhaps rhetorical flourishes on the part of Paul, the reality is that he believed that the Torah, as normally understood and practised in his day, was rendered irrelevant by the Christ event. The Law is a written code that kills and is a dispensation of death and condemnation (2 Cor. 3.6-9). Its purpose was to serve as a custodian until faith came with Christ, and now that this has happened we are no longer bound by it (Gal. 3.23-25). In other words, Paul could never agree with Matthew that Jesus had not come to abolish the Torah, that all of the Torah with no exception remains valid until the *parousia*, and that those who follow Jesus must obey the whole Law and teach others to do so. By the same token, Matthew could never follow Paul by using the term 'my former life in Judaism' (Gal. 1.13-14) or by referring to his Jewish pedigree as dung (Phil. 3.4-8).

The very great distance between Matthew and Paul on the validity of all the various demands of the Mosaic Law in Christian existence is not unique. We find similar distance between this evangelist and other early Christian authors. Mark, for example, contends that Jesus declared all foods to be clean (Mk 7.19b), thereby dismissing in a single action the Jewish dietary and purity regulations. It comes as no surprise to learn that

8. See the discussion in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, I, pp. 481-502.

9. In agreement with D. C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthaean Typology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), p. 182.

Matthew omits this tradition when redacting his Markan source. The Gospel of John attests that the Law was given by Moses while grace and truth came by Jesus Christ (Jn 1.17), a contrast that Matthew would never have made. The Johannine narrator explains that the Jews wished to kill Jesus because he broke the sabbath commandment (5.18). The Matthaean Jesus, by contrast, fulfils the Torah by providing works of mercy on the sabbath (Mt. 12.1-14). Ignatius of Antioch drew the conclusion that Judaism and Christianity were totally incompatible with one another (cf. *Mag.* 8.1; 10.1-3). Although Matthew does not directly address this issue, we can well imagine that he would have rejected it completely. And one can find comparable points of contrast between Matthew and other New Testament documents and other early Christian authors. The sole exception might be the epistle of James but, as noted above, this is still a matter of dispute. If Matthew is such a distinctive text within the early Christian literature, then this particular fact is worthy of further exploration.

Making the point that scholars have not focused particular attention on Matthew and his Christian contemporaries does not mean that this theme has been totally ignored by scholars. The question of Matthew's relationship to Paul was raised long ago by C. H. Dodd,¹⁰ and later scholars have also devoted some attention to this issue,¹¹ but the fact remains that the comparison of these two early Christians by R. Mohrlang remains the only monograph devoted to this subject.¹² Current Matthaean scholarship shows little interest at all in this question, since it is usually argued that Matthew is independent of the Pauline tradition, or simply un-Pauline to use the current catchphrase.¹³ This position, however, is difficult to justify. Even on the view that Matthew is completely uninfluenced by the Pauline tradition, and this is itself unlikely,¹⁴ a comparison and

10. C. H. Dodd, 'Matthew and Paul', in C. H. Dodd *New Testament Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953), pp. 53-66.

11. See the survey of the literature in D. C. Sim, 'Matthew's Anti-Paulinism: A Neglected Feature of Matthaean Studies', *HTS* 58 (2002), 767-83.

12. R. Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul: A Comparison of Ethical Perspectives* (SNTSMS, 48; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

13. Stanton, *Gospel for a New People*, p. 314.

14. Some scholars have argued that Matthew was influenced by the Pauline tradition and was even aware of some Pauline epistles. See M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974), pp. 153-70; T. L. Brodie, *The Birthing of the New Testament: The Intertextual Development of the New Testament Writings* (NTMon, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004), pp. 206-35; and D. C. Sim, 'Matthew and the Pauline Corpus: A Preliminary Intertextual Study', forthcoming *JSNT*. Despite their agreement that Matthew was probably familiar with the Pauline corpus, these authors disagree over the issue of the evangelist's use of them. Both Goulder and Brodie affirm that Matthew used the Pauline letters because he found them informative and authoritative, while Sim argues the opposite view that he alludes to certain Pauline passages as part of his anti-Pauline polemic.

contrast of these independent Christian authors is still a valuable historical and theological exercise. It should be noted that Mohrlang's important discussion worked on the assumption that Matthew betrayed no Pauline influence whatsoever.

Even less attention has been devoted to a comparison between Matthew and other New Testament authors. In the case of Matthew and Mark, where an obvious comparison presents itself because of the former's use of the latter, all too little has been done. Matthaean scholars of course note Matthew's use of Mark and his editing of this major source, but there is all too little effort given to comparing Mark's particular theological perspective with Matthew's.¹⁵ Even the recent work of A. M. O'Leary on Matthew's judaizing of Mark,¹⁶ despite the promising nature of the title, is concerned with the evangelist's insertion of Old Testament allusions into the Markan narrative and not with Matthew's tendency to judaize Mark's portrait of Jesus. In the case of Matthew and the Epistle of James, the discussion has been concerned less with a comparison of their theological perspectives than with the parallel Jesus traditions found in each text and which are more often than not viewed as James/Q overlaps.¹⁷ Since the time of the Reformation and Luther's rather unkind description of James as 'an epistle of straw', scholars have understandably focused on the relationship between James and Paul.

This very brief overview of the situation in Matthaean scholarship provides the context for the nature and purpose of the present volume. It is intended to address a real gap in the field by providing meaningful comparisons between the evangelist with his distinctive Christian viewpoint and other early Christian authors. What do Matthew and these Christian writers hold in common and where do they depart from one another? If it is legitimate to envisage a dialogue involving the Jewish Matthew and the Jewish Johannan ben Zakkai, then how much more appropriate is it to envisage similar conversations between the Christian Matthew and his Christian contemporaries? In this volume Matthew is compared with many of the important canonical authors – Paul, Mark, Luke, John, James, and the author of Hebrews – as well as the writers of important non-canonical texts, the author of the *Didache* and Ignatius of

15. An exception is Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, pp. 41–3 who explores the issue of Matthew's theological relationship to both Mark and Q, but his discussion is necessarily brief. Also worthy of mention is the study of identity formation in both Mark and Matthew by J. K. Riches (see note 5 above), but Riches' discussion is also limited in scope.

16. A. M. O'Leary, *Matthew's Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (JSNTSup, 323; London: T&T Clark International, 2006).

17. See, for example, P. J. Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup, 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991). Hartin accepts that the author of James was also aware of Matthew's special source, the so-called M tradition.

Antioch. A final chapter is devoted to Matthew and the historical Jesus. While Jesus of Nazareth cannot be considered in any sense to be a 'Christian', important comparisons can be made between this historical figure and Matthew's determined attempt to depict him in strictly Jewish terms, especially in those areas where the evangelist edits and overturns the portrait in Mark.

As much as the editors would have liked to include all of Matthew's Christian contemporaries, this was not possible within a single volume. Therefore a process of selection was inevitable. In terms of the canonical authors, the choice of Paul needs no justification, nor does the selection of the other three evangelists. James and the writer of Hebrews assume a Jewish background and thus lend themselves to a ready comparison with Matthew's similar background. Of the non-canonical writers, the *Didache* was an obvious choice as well. Scholarly attention on this text has increased dramatically in recent times and many of these studies have been directly concerned with the relationship between the Gospel of Matthew and the *Didache* and/or their respective Jewish contexts.¹⁸ Ignatius of Antioch was also a logical choice, given that he hailed from the same probable location as Matthew (Antioch) but represents a very different Christian tradition. The selection of these texts and authors meant the omission of others. The present volume pays no attention at all to the Deutero-Pauline literature, Colossians, Ephesians and the Pastoral epistles; and the other Catholic Epistles, notably the Petrine letters, are also absent. Nor is there any discussion of Matthew and the author of Revelation, even though these two writers share much in common in terms of eschatological concerns. Of the non-canonical literature, *1 Clement* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are not included. The exclusion of these authors and writings is unfortunate but unavoidable. There is no doubt that interesting results would arise were Matthew to be compared with any or all of these authors. It is our hope that this volume will instigate further research in these areas.

The studies presented in this volume are no more than the first tentative steps to initiate the dialogue between Matthew and his Christian contemporaries. All of the contributors know well that it is impossible in a single chapter to do justice to the variety and complexity of issues involved in a comparative analysis of different writers. Again, it is hoped that these

18. See, for example, H. van de Sandt and D. Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT, 3.5; Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2002); M. Slee, *The Church in Antioch in the First Century C.E.: Communion and Conflict* (JSNTSup, 244; London: T&T Clark International, 2003); A. J. P. Garrow, *The Gospel of Matthew's Dependence on the Didache* (JSNTSup, 254; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), and H. van de Sandt (ed.), *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents From the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2005).

provisional studies will provide an impetus for further and more detailed discussions. Each contributor has focused on certain key issues that he deemed to be of importance or relevance. Not surprisingly the issue of the Torah emerges most often throughout the various chapters, but other important subjects are discussed as well. And it is important to note that the contributors fall across the spectrum in terms of their understanding of Matthew and/or the authors with whom he is compared. For example, some of us accept that Matthew was vehemently anti-Pauline, while others are just as convinced that he was not. Some believe that the Gospel of Mark was very much influenced by Paul, while others see no direct connection between the two. The volume therefore exhibits a dialogue between the various contributors, and once more our hope is that other colleagues will enter the conversation.

Daniel Harrington takes on perhaps the most difficult assignment of all, the comparison between Matthew and Paul. Beginning with the different genres that each author uses and noting their individual historical contexts, Harrington moves on to a direct analysis of certain shared themes – christology, Law and love, the moral life, communal conflicts, and salvation and eschatology. In the course of his examination, Harrington notes the points of contact and the differences between Paul and Matthew. This discussion leads Harrington to make some observations about the relationship between these two important Christian writers. He is not convinced by the view that Matthew wrote in opposition to Paul, but he accepts that it serves as an important reminder of our collective tendency to harmonize the canonical authors.

The next contribution is a comparison of Matthew and Mark by Jesper Svartvik. He starts with a discussion of various ‘circles’ within the early Christian movement, and contends that Mark and Paul should be viewed as representatives of the same theological circle, and that Matthew and James belonged to a very different Christian circle. This preliminary but important discussion sets the scene for an examination of Matthew’s redaction of his Markan source. Svartvik focuses attention on four key aspects – the rejudaization of Jesus, the reinforcement of *halakbah*, the rebuke of the Pharisees and the rehabilitation of Peter. In the final part of his study, Svartvik muses on the irony that many scholars have noted the theological division between Paul and James, but have ignored the similar division between Matthew and Mark.

The comparison of Matthew and Luke is undertaken by Boris Repschinski who confines his discussion to the important issue of the Gentile mission. Matthew emphasizes the people of Israel and the Jewish mission, and even when the Gentile mission is enjoined at the end of the Gospel it is a Law-observant mission that the risen Christ demands. This perspective is sharply contrasted with that of Luke who relates in his two-volume work how the mission unfolds and expands from the original mission to the Jews, to the Samaritan mission and eventually to the Law-

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free mission to the Gentiles. Repschinski concludes his study by noting that Matthew advocates a church of both Jews and Gentiles that remained faithful to its Jewish heritage, while Luke envisages a predominately Gentile Christian community in which the Law no longer played a significant role.

John Painter discusses Matthew and John. After noting that both texts appear to have been written within the context of a struggle with Formative Judaism, Painter argues that this led to different responses by the two evangelists. The Matthaean community still saw itself as a part of the Jewish world. This is evident from the continuing validity of the Torah as well as from the nature of the Gentile mission demanded at the end of the Gospel. In agreement with Repschinski, Painter affirms that this was a Law-observant mission. The Johannine community, by contrast, had broken with its Jewish heritage. The relevant evidence here includes John drawing a contrast between Jesus and Moses (and the Law), and the openness of this community to the world at large based upon its conviction that God loves the world and intends to save it.

The following essay by Martin Hasitschka examines Matthew and the letter to the Hebrews. The first part of the study surveys the common literary elements and motifs between these texts. These include, amongst others, a strong relationship to the Septuagint, an emphasis on Jesus' sonship and an interest in the Jewish Law. Such parallels do not suggest a direct literary connection between these writings, but they do indicate a similar Jewish Christian background. In the major part of the study, Hasitschka breaks new ground by arguing in detail and with conviction that, while other Christian texts link Jesus' sacrificial death with the forgiveness of sins, only in Matthew and Hebrews do we find the theme that the blood of Jesus seals a new covenant that encompasses the forgiveness of sins.

Jürgen Zangenber compares Matthew with the epistle of James. He begins with the social and religious contexts of each document, before moving on to some of their more important theological parallels. These include an emphasis on observance of the Torah, the presence of Jesus traditions and ethical themes. Zangenber does not believe there is a direct relationship between James and Matthew, but he does see them as representative of the same Christian circle, a point also made by Jesper Svartvik. As to whether these two texts were anti-Pauline, a claim often made of James and sometimes made of Matthew, Zangenber is not convinced in either case. They belong to a different Christian tradition, but it is more accurate to describe them as un-Pauline rather than as anti-Pauline.

Huub van de Sandt begins his treatment of Matthew and the *Didache* by referring to their common traditions and the various attempts by scholars to explain these parallels. He then narrows the discussion to the topic of the Torah in both documents and notes that each emphasizes the

love command, the second half of the Decalogue and the idea of perfection as the goal of Christian life. But van de Sandt notes a tension between Matthew and the *Didache* on the practical implementation of the Mosaic Law. The evangelist is absolutely clear that the Law must be upheld in its entirety, while the author of the *Didache* presents a more nuanced position. The Torah should be obeyed by all Christians, but he permits a partial compliance with the ritual demands of the Torah, an innovation that was probably introduced for the benefit of Gentile converts.

In the next contribution David C. Sim compares the evangelist with Ignatius of Antioch. Common residents of Antioch but separated by two or so decades, these two authors and their respective theologies could not be more different. The evangelist was Law-observant and advocated a Gentile mission with full adherence to the Law (so too John Painter and Boris Repschinski), a position at odds with the Pauline tradition (but see Daniel Harrington and Jürgen Zangenberg). By contrast, Ignatius was a thorough Paulinist who knew many of the apostle's letters and was heavily influenced by their theology. In direct contrast to the position of Matthew, Ignatius believed that there was a complete incompatibility between belief in Jesus and the practice of Judaism. Sim notes that Ignatius was opposed by Christian Jews in Antioch, and he suggests that they bear a striking resemblance to the members of the earlier Matthaean community.

The study of Matthew and Jesus of Nazareth, also by David C. Sim, argues that the Gospel of Matthew sometimes gives a more accurate picture of the historical Jesus than its primary source, the Gospel of Mark, a point also made by Jesper Svartvik. Sim contends that on two issues in particular, Jesus' involvement in a Gentile mission and his views on the Law, the portrait found in Matthew is much more reliable than its Markan counterpart. The major evidence cited by Sim in favour of this thesis is the practice of the original Christian community in Jerusalem, comprising the family and disciples of Jesus, which continued to live according to the Law and which showed no interest in a Gentile mission. It is much easier to account for their positions on these issues if Matthew's depiction of Jesus is accepted as more accurate than Mark's.

1. MATTHEW AND PAUL

DANIEL J. HARRINGTON SJ

1. *Introduction*

One of my recurrent fantasies has been to put Matthew and Paul in the same room and allow them to come out only when they had reached a joint declaration regarding Christian theology and life.¹ On the surface they represent two very different theological voices within the New Testament canon. In recent years, however, both writers have been studied by scholars from a 'new perspective' that has emphasized their roots in Judaism and their place in first-century Judaism.²

After discussing the particular historical context in which each author wrote, this study will compare Matthew and Paul on christology, Law and love, the moral life, communal conflicts, and salvation and eschatology. The goal is to allow both their differences and their commonalities to shine forth. In each case it treats Paul first and then Matthew, more for chronological-historical reasons than any other. Paul wrote several decades before Matthew did. Finally, it considers whether Matthew can be construed as a direct response to Paul by promoting a more traditional Jewish Christianity.

1. R. Mohrhang, *Matthew and Paul: A Comparison of Ethical Perspectives* (SNTSMS, 48; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). This work remains a valuable resource for comparing the theologies of Matthew and Paul.

2. For the 'new perspective' on Matthew, see J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998). For the 'new perspective' on Paul, see E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); and J. D. G. Dunn, *The New Perspective on Paul: Collected Essays* (WUNT, 185; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

2. Contexts

Paul wrote letters, while Matthew wrote a Gospel. For Paul, 'the gospel' was the proclamation of the saving significance of Jesus' life, death and resurrection (as in Rom. 1.1, 3), not a full narrative about the public career or life of Jesus. His letters concern pastoral problems (and their resolutions) that arose after the resurrection and the beginning of the church. Their literary or narrative perspective is always post-Easter. In them Paul responds to crises pertaining to Christian identity and practice. If Paul had written a Gospel (as Matthew did), it would probably have looked something like Mark's Gospel (often described as a passion narrative with a long introduction), with perhaps even more emphasis on the saving significance of Jesus' death and resurrection (along the lines of Mk 10.45).

Following the model developed by Mark, Matthew composed a narrative about the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. He added an infancy narrative at the front as well as accounts of the risen Jesus' appearances and material pertaining to the empty tomb at the end. With the device of the five great speeches Matthew greatly increased the amount of actual teaching material attributed to Jesus. If Matthew wrote letters (as Paul did), they probably would have looked much like the letter of James, with a strong emphasis on practical action and drawing extensively on Jewish wisdom teachings. However, in letters from Matthew we can assume that there would be many more explicit references to the person of Jesus and more direct attributions of sayings to Jesus.

Paul wrote his seven undisputed letters in the 50s of the first century CE. His letters were written mostly from Ephesus and Corinth, which he made his bases of operations at various times. Prior to the period of his letter writing, Paul spent time in Antioch in Syria.³ There, according to Gal. 2.11-14, Paul stood up to Peter and rebuked him for his unwillingness to continue to eat with Gentile Christians after 'certain people came from James', who questioned the practice of Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians eating together. Thus Paul is an early witness to tensions at Antioch concerning relations within the Christian community between persons of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

It is often said by modern scholars that Matthew's Gospel was composed around 85 to 90 CE in Antioch of Syria.⁴ This dating would place the composition of Matthew's Gospel 30 or more years after the writing of Paul's undisputed letters. Between the two would stand a pivotal event in

3. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), and *idem. Paul: His Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

4. D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP, 1; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), pp. 8-10.

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Jewish history – the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple in 70 CE, an event of monumental significance for all Jews, including Jewish Christians like Matthew.⁵

While Paul suggests at several points that he had endured opposition from his fellow Jews and from Roman officials, most of the problems addressed in his letters seem to have come from fellow Christians, whether so called ‘judaizers’ or Gentile charismatics.

If recent scholars are correct about Matthew’s Gospel having been composed in the context of the crisis facing all Jews after 70 CE regarding the continuation of Israel’s spiritual heritage as the people of God, then Matthew usually had an eye not only on his fellow Christians but also on his non-Christian Jewish contemporaries. The Jewish group that Matthew viewed as his own community’s most serious rivals were those whom he called the ‘scribes and Pharisees’ (see especially Mt. 23.1-39), most likely a symbol or cipher for what we call Formative or protorabbinic Judaism.

In comparison with other New Testament writers, Paul supplied a good deal of autobiographical information, especially in Phil. 3.4-21 and Gal. 1.11–2.14. Paul put his natural talents, Jewish learning, and rhetorical training in the service of the gospel. Through his decisive encounter with the risen Christ, Paul found a new goal in life (union with Christ in his suffering and in his resurrection) and a new personal identity as a Christian Jew. Without rejecting Judaism *per se*, Paul thought that he had discovered in Jesus the key to the Jewish scriptures and the fulfilment of God’s promises to his people.

The writer whom we call ‘Matthew’ provides little or no personal information. Without relying too heavily on 9.9 and 10.3, we can say with confidence that the author of what we call Matthew’s Gospel was a Jew with a good grounding in the Jewish scriptures and Jewish traditions, and a careful editor of his sources. He too regarded the Christian movement not as a new religion separate from Judaism, but rather as the fullness of the Judaism in which he was raised and the best way to carry on Israel’s heritage as the people of God now that the Jerusalem Temple had been destroyed and the land was under even greater Roman control.

3. *Christology*

In the greeting introducing the earliest extant New Testament letter (1 Thess. 1.1), Paul mentions Jesus in tandem with God the Father and refers to him as ‘the Lord Jesus Christ’.⁶ We can presume that this usage

5. Harrington, *Matthew*, pp. 10–16.

6. L. W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).

had already become commonplace in Christian circles between Jesus' death in 30 CE and Paul's letter in 51 CE. The formula affirms Jesus' identity as the 'Messiah' (Χριστός) and suggests his divinity as 'Lord' (Κύριος). Throughout his letters Paul assumes an existing set of beliefs about Jesus as Messiah, Son of David, Servant of God, Son of God and Lord. At several points he refers to existing confessions of faith (e.g. Rom. 1.3-4; 3.25) and hymns (Phil. 2.6-11) about Christ. Therefore it appears that Paul represents christological perspectives that had emerged very rapidly in early Christian circles.

The focus of Paul's christological attention was the death and resurrection of Jesus. In 1 Cor. 15.3-5 he characterizes this emphasis as based on the tradition that he had received and handed on to others. This same emphasis was at the heart of the confessions and hymns that Paul cites. However, Paul was not much interested in investigating and describing the historical details involved in Jesus' passion, death and resurrection. What concerned him most was the soteriological significance or theological implications of Jesus' death and resurrection 'according to the scriptures'. The great themes of Pauline theology, especially as they are presented in Galatians and Romans – justification, reconciliation, freedom, peace with God, access to God, atonement, new creation, salvation, and so on – are all tied to the event of Jesus' death and resurrection.

Only rarely does Paul quote or cite as authoritative the teachings of Jesus. In one of the clearest cases (1 Cor. 7.10-16) Paul refers respectfully to Jesus' (whom he calls 'the Lord') prohibition of divorce in spite of Deut. 24.1-4 (see Mk 10.2-12; Mt. 5.31-32; 19.3-12; Lk. 16.18) and presents it as normative teaching. However, Paul immediately takes it upon himself to admit an exception in the case of a Christian who is married to a non-Christian when the latter does not wish to continue in the marriage (see 7.15). In that situation 'the brother or sister is not bound'.

When writing some 30 or 40 years after Paul, Matthew used the same basic set of christological titles, along with 'Son of Man', which is probably very early and is prominent in all the Gospels but mysteriously absent from Paul's writings (unless it underlies Paul's Adam-Christ comparison in Romans 5). In his revised and expanded version of Mark's Gospel, Matthew took over much of the already traditional christology found in Mark (Jesus as Son of Man, Son of David, Messiah, Son of God, Lord, and so on) and supplemented it with the Wisdom christology suggested by the sayings source Q and various early Christian hymns (Col. 1.15-20; Jn 1.1-18; Heb. 1.3-4). Like Paul, Matthew in large part reflects the christological tradition of the early church.

The distinctive focus of Matthew's christology, however, is Jesus' role as the teacher *par excellence* (see 11.25-30). The five great speeches that Matthew has constructed (chs 5-7, 10, 13, 18, 24-25) provide large samples of the content of Jesus' teachings. They tell readers how to live in preparation for the coming kingdom of God (Sermon on the Mount),

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how to carry on the mission of Jesus (Missionary Discourse), how to understand and live out the mystery of the Kingdom (Parables), how to deal with problems and conflicts in community life (Community Discourse), and what to expect in 'the day of the Lord' and why to be on watch for it (Eschatological Discourse). In the narratives (as in chs 8–9 and 26–27) Matthew the careful editor omits unnecessary or confusing details in order to bring out more clearly the theological points that he regarded as decisive. His blistering attack on the scribes and Pharisees in Mt. 23.1–39 insists that the followers of Jesus have only 'one teacher' and 'one instructor, the Messiah' (23.8, 10) and therefore they ought not to take upon themselves the honorific titles of 'Rabbi', 'father', and 'instructor' that Matthew's Jewish rivals were promoting.

Like Paul, Matthew includes Jesus' prohibition of divorce (5.31–32; 19.3–12) despite its tension with Deut. 24.1–4. And like Paul, he also includes an exception for what he terms *πορνεία*, which most likely refers to sexual misconduct on the wife's part. The result is to assimilate Jesus' teaching on divorce to that of the House of Shammai (see *m. Gittin* 9.10) and adapt it to the circumstances and experiences of the Matthaean community.

4. *Law and Love*

Paul's positive and negative statements about the Torah make it difficult to determine exactly what his attitude was toward it.⁷ However, in the final analysis it appears that Paul did not believe that any Christian (even a Jewish Christian) was required to observe every part of the Mosaic Law.

The members of the original audience for Paul's letters were for the most part Gentile Christians. From Paul's perspective these people had already entered into the paschal mystery through their faith and baptism, and had received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. While these Gentile Christians may have had some contact with the Jewish Law through their association with the synagogues as 'God-fearers', it is likely that few of them had ever observed the whole Mosaic Law. It was not part of their experience. Moreover, in Paul's view, in light of their baptism and reception of the Holy Spirit, there was no need for them to observe the Law in its entirety. This is clear from Gal. 3.1–5 where Paul addresses those Gentile Christians who now felt the need to observe the Law as 'you foolish Galatians'.

7. See H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT, 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987); and S. Westerholm, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

Nevertheless, in Romans Paul insists that 'we uphold the Law' (3.31) and that 'the Law is holy, and the commandment is holy and just and good' (7.12). Paul's problem with the Mosaic Law for both Gentiles and Jews was that in his mind it could not do what he believed that Christ had done, that is, bring about right relationship with God (justification). In Paul's view, the mistake made by many of his fellow Jews was their belief that observance of the Law could do so.⁸

Because of misunderstanding and misuse of the Law, the Mosaic Law in turn could become a stimulus to sin and thus an ally of Sin and Death, the powers that held humankind captive before and apart from Christ. It enticed people into sin because it defined and objectified sin, and so made it more tempting. Romans 7.7-25 is an extended Pauline meditation on humankind's enslavement to the Law and sin. However, the Law had served positively as 'a disciplinarian until Christ came' (Gal. 3.24), and revealed the need that Jews (along with Gentiles) had for the revelation of God's righteousness in Christ since they all failed to live up to the demands of the Mosaic Law (cf. Rom. 2.17-3.20).

Later in Romans (13.8-10), Paul claims that 'one who loves another has fulfilled the Law'. The idea is that if one truly loves the neighbour (Lev. 19.18), one will naturally avoid sins against the neighbour such as adultery, murder, stealing and coveting. Paul concludes that 'love is the fulfilling of the Law' (13.10). By this he meant that one who loves will fulfil the deepest and most important intentions of the Law.

Paul resisted all attempts from Jewish Christians to impose the whole Mosaic Law on Gentile Christians. In his view, they did not need the Law, since they had come to Christian faith and experienced the Holy Spirit without observing the Law. Paul never forbids Jewish Christians to observe the Law, though it is doubtful that he himself observed it in all circumstances. Paul's attitude toward the Mosaic Law flowed from his basic insight that the Law could never do what Christ had already done, that is, bring about the possibility of right relationship with God for all humans. Thus at several points (2 Corinthians 3; Gal. 3.19-20; Rom. 10.4-5) Paul subordinates or even denigrates the Mosaic covenant and the Law in comparison with the new covenant represented by Christ. For Paul, fulfilling the Law by love did not necessarily entail for Gentile Christians circumcision, sabbath observance, food laws and ritual purity.

Most of Matthew's original audience were Jewish Christians, and so they would have grown up with the Torah as their primary religious and moral guide. Whether they had been strict observers is another matter.

8. E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983).

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Thus the evangelist could assume to some extent both knowledge and practice of the Torah on the part of many of his hearers and readers. These Jews, however, had come to believe that Jesus, a Jew from Nazareth, was the authoritative interpreter of the Mosaic Law.

Matthew presents Moses in a positive way, finding parallels between his infancy and that of Jesus, and between the gift of the Law at Sinai and the Sermon on the Mount. In the beginning of the highly polemical discourse in ch. 23 the Matthaean Jesus urges a respectful attitude toward the content of the teachings given by those who 'sit on Moses' seat' (23.2).

The key text is Mt. 5.17-19. Here Jesus proclaims that he has come 'not to abolish but to fulfil' the Law and the prophets, that this meant that every letter and every part of a letter in them was to be observed, and that those who broke even the most insignificant of the 613 precepts and taught others to do the same would be called 'least in the kingdom of heaven'. These verses from the Sermon on the Mount constitute the most straightforward and powerful affirmation of the Mosaic Law in the New Testament.

If we take Mt. 5.17-19 at face value and do not try to explain it away, the antitheses that follow in 5.21-48 cannot be understood as abolishing any of the Mosaic Law's precepts ('not to abolish but to fulfil'). Rather, by going to the root of these commandments (as in the case of murder) or building a fence around them (as in the case of adultery and divorce), the Matthaean Jesus shows how they are to be fulfilled.

This strict attitude carries through Matthew's Gospel. In the two passages about sabbath observance in Mt. 12.1-14, Matthew is careful to portray Jesus as in conflict not with the Biblical commandment itself but rather with the traditions surrounding it that were developed by the Pharisees. Likewise in Mt. 15.1-20, Jesus criticizes not the Biblical food laws and concern for ritual purity but rather the traditions that the Pharisees attached to them. In the Eschatological discourse in Mt. 24.20 the Matthaean Jesus tells his audience to pray that the day of the Lord may not come on a sabbath lest it pose a crisis of conscience for observant Jews regarding how far they might travel on the sabbath.

Like Paul, Matthew also makes a connection between the Torah and love. In the last of the controversies situated in Jerusalem (22.34-40), the Matthaean Jesus answers the question about the 'greatest' commandment in the Mosaic Law (a question typically posed to Rabbis) by quoting Deut. 6.4-5 ('You shall love the Lord your God') and Lev. 19.18 ('You shall love your neighbour as yourself'). And then he adds; 'On these two commandments hang all the Law and the prophets' (22.40). The point seems to be similar to Paul's idea that if one truly loves God and neighbour, one will naturally do what the Law intends. However, it is likely that Matthew expected full compliance with the whole Law, at least on the part of Jewish Christians. It is doubtful that Matthew regarded Torah observance as a matter of indifference as Paul seems to have done.

Matthew's Gospel ends with the risen Jesus' command to 'make disciples of all nations' (28.19). I understand πάντα τὰ ἔθνη here to mean 'all the Gentiles' as the uses of ἔθνη elsewhere in Matthew's Gospel suggest.⁹ In the context of Matthaean redaction this command seems to be a mandate directed to the evangelist's largely Jewish Christian audience to be more active in spreading the gospel to non-Jews. There is no indication that Matthew expected these Gentiles to convert to Judaism formally and to be circumcised. But it is possible in view of Mt. 5.17-19 that he did expect them to observe the Mosaic Law, at least as it was interpreted by Jesus. That observance may well have entailed the Biblical rules pertaining to sabbath rest, forbidden foods, and ritual purity (cf. Mt. 12.1-14 and 15.1-20).

5. *The Moral Life*

In his thanksgiving, at the very beginning of his earliest extant letter, Paul refers to the Thessalonians' accomplishments in manifesting the triad of Christian theological virtues: 'your work of faith and labour of love and steadfastness of hope' (1 Thess. 1.2). The object of faith for Paul is God's offer of justification and salvation through Jesus' life, death and resurrection ('faith in Christ'). At the same time, Jesus' fidelity to his Father's will and to his mission provides the best example of faith ('the faith of Christ'). Love is the virtue that empowers and energizes all of Christian life. When in the kingdom of God faith and hope will no longer be needed (since their object is realized), love will remain as the greatest of all virtues (1 Cor. 13.13). What Paul hopes for is fullness of life with the risen Christ in the kingdom of God; 'the prize of the heavenly call of God in Christ Jesus' (Phil. 3.14). This is the goal or *telos* that shapes all of Christian life according to Paul. These three theological virtues – faith, love and hope – have their origin and object in God. As gifts from God made available through the paschal mystery, they give shape and dynamism to all of Christian life.

Within the context of the three theological virtues, Paul also stresses the importance of striving for 'natural' virtues and avoiding vices.¹⁰ Like many of his Jewish and Graeco-Roman contemporaries, Paul provides several lists of vices (Rom. 1.29-31; 1 Cor. 5.9-10; 6.9-10; 2 Cor. 12.20; Gal. 5.19-21) and virtues (Rom. 5.3-5; Gal. 5.22-23).

9. D. R. A. Hare and D. J. Harrington, "Make Disciples of All the Gentiles" (Mt 28:19), *CBQ* 37 (1975), 359–69.

10. W. A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 63–90.

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In Gal. 5.16-26, Paul characterizes the vices as the ‘works of the flesh’ and under this heading includes ‘fornication, impurity, licentiousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousy, anger, quarrels, dissensions, factions, envy, drunkenness, carousing, and things like these’ (5.19-21). By contrast, Paul describes the virtues as the ‘fruit of the Spirit’ and under that heading includes ‘love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control’ (5.22-23).

These lists are illustrative rather than exhaustive. Their content is not far different from the lists produced by contemporary Jewish writers and Graeco-Roman moralists.¹¹ What is most important about them is the Christian theological context in which the virtues (and vices) have been placed by Paul. It is their context in the paschal mystery and in the framework of faith, love, and hope that makes them Christian virtues.

Matthew’s approach to the virtues focuses more on righteousness or justice (δικαιοσύνη) than faith, love and hope.¹² In 5.20 the Matthaean Jesus challenges his followers to seek the righteousness that ‘exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees’. And in 6.33 he urges them to ‘strive first for the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you’.

Matthew’s understanding of what righteousness entails is spelt out in the Sermon on the Mount. The list of beatitudes in 5.3-12 first notes the virtues, attitudes and actions that are appropriate to those who are seeking God’s kingdom and his righteousness: poverty of spirit, compassion, hunger and thirst for righteousness, mercy, integrity, peacemaking, and willingness to undergo persecution for it. Their second parts describe in various ways what are in the final analysis synonyms for the goal or *telos* of the Christian life of virtue: life in the kingdom of Heaven.

The antitheses in Mt. 5.21-48 encourage aspirants to God’s kingdom to go to the root of various Biblical commandments as a way of avoiding their infringement and of fulfilling their deepest purposes. The section devoted to acts of piety in 6.1-18 urges that almsgiving, prayer and fasting be carried out not to gain a reputation for personal holiness but rather as acts of worship directed toward the God ‘who sees in secret (and) will reward you’ (6.4, 6, 18). The miscellaneous wisdom teachings gathered in 6.19–7.12 show how wise and virtuous conduct can and should be part of the better righteousness pursued by the followers of Jesus.

The concluding exhortation in 7.13-27 stresses the challenge posed by the life of Christian virtue (the narrow gate and hard road), the

11. A. Malherbe, *Moral Exhortation: A Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986).

12. Mohrlang, *Matthew and Paul*.

relationship between internal character and external actions, the need for both confession of faith ('Lord, Lord') and action, and the importance of building one's life on firm foundations (such as the wisdom presented in the Sermon on the Mount). For Matthew, the Biblical and Jewish virtue of righteousness or justice is the key to the life of Christian virtue as well as what leads one to the goal of fullness of life in God's kingdom.

6. *Communal Conflicts*

As the founding apostle of the churches addressed in his letters (except Romans), Paul exercised a great deal of moral authority. Indeed, large parts of 1 Corinthians consist of Paul's responses to pastoral questions put to him by the Corinthians themselves. And in turn Paul's letters were pastoral vehicles that allowed the founding apostle to continue teaching and advising those whom he had brought to Christian faith.

Paul is most authoritative and judgemental in the case of the incestuous man (1 Cor. 5.1-5).¹³ That man was living with his stepmother or father's concubine, an action forbidden by both the Jewish Law (Lev. 18.8) and Roman law. He may well have justified his action by the slogan 'All things are lawful' (6.12; 10.23) and so garnered support from some of the more 'progressive' advocates of Christian freedom at Corinth. In this case Paul rejects this reasoning and demands that the incestuous man be excommunicated, not only to spare the community further scandal but also to shock the incestuous man into recognition of his sin in the hope that 'his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord' (5.5).

At the opposite end of the spectrum is Paul's very sensitive treatment of the communal conflict over eating food sacrificed to 'idols' in 1 Cor. 8.1-11.1 (cf. also the somewhat similar case in Rom. 14.1-15.13). The problem here is the fact that much of the meat sold in the markets had previously some connection with rituals carried out in pagan temples. For those designated as the 'strong' this practice posed no real problem and was a matter of indifference since 'no idol in the world exists' and 'there is no God but one' (8.4). On the intellectual and theological levels Paul agreed with the 'strong'. However, on the pastoral level he was sensitive to the concerns (scruples?) of the 'weak' for whom eating meat sacrificed to pagan gods seemed to be a form of participation in pagan worship, something that they had left behind with their baptism.

13. R. F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (SP, 7; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), pp. 205-16.

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Paul's advice was that the 'strong', while intellectually and theologically correct, should nevertheless respect the conscience of the 'weak' and be careful not to be an occasion for 'scandal' (literally, a stumbling block or obstacle) to them. In the market they may buy or they may eat at someone else's home whatever is presented to them, and need not ask about the status of the meat. However, if a fellow Christian raises a question about the meat's status, then the 'strong' should refrain from eating the meat if it had been sacrificed to pagan deities and their eating might scandalize their fellow Christians.

In adjudicating communal conflicts Paul is not simply appealing to or acting upon his own moral authority as an apostle. Rather, he frequently appeals to the person or example of Christ. With regard to the problems of factions within the Corinthian Christian community Paul asks rhetorically, 'Has Christ been divided?' (1.13). With regard to Christians visiting prostitutes, he reminds them of their status as members of the body of Christ (6.15). In commenting on Christians participating in meals at pagan temples, he appeals to the significance of sharing in the Lord's Supper for Christians (10.14-22). In treating disorder in the gatherings associated with the Lord's Supper he quotes what very likely had become the liturgical 'words of institution' (11.23-26) and thus recalled the example of Jesus' life and death. In trying to put more order into the Christian assembly Paul repeatedly in chs 12 and 14 appeals to the concept of the church as the body of Christ. And in ch. 15 he is careful to ground the Christian's hope for life after death in the death and resurrection of Jesus. While in 1 Corinthians and other letters Paul often draws on his own moral authority as the founding apostle, for him and his readers the ultimate theological authority and norm was the risen Christ.

By choosing to write a Gospel, a narrative about Jesus from his birth to his death and resurrection and stressing his teachings, Matthew necessarily presented Jesus as the moral exemplar and authority *par excellence* for his community. Moreover, by arranging traditions associated with Jesus into what has been aptly described as 'Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community' in 18.1-35, the evangelist gives some insights into conflicts within his community and how he might have dealt with them.¹⁴

In 18.1-5 the Matthaean Jesus first of all insists on humility as a necessary virtue for all aspirants to the kingdom of Heaven and thus to the Christian community. When all regard the kingdom as a gift and receive it as children receive gifts (without pretensions to earning or

14. W. G. Thompson, *Matthew's Advice to a Divided Community: Mt 17,22-18,35* (AnBib 44; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970).

owning it), then they are more likely to give respect and deference to their fellow Christians.

Next, in 18.6-9 the Matthaean Jesus emphasizes with some drastic examples the importance of avoiding scandal within the community and in particular being an obstacle or stumbling block to those other Christians referred to as 'these little ones'. From the parable of the lost sheep in 18.12-14 it appears that Christians leaving the community (going 'astray') presented a real problem. Matthew has edited the parable (cf. Lk. 15.3-7) to highlight the importance of seeking after the strays in the hope of making sure that they are not lost entirely.

The procedure outlined in 18.15-20 for correcting an erring or offending member has roots in the Old Testament (Lev. 19.17; Deut. 19.15) and is paralleled in part by the Qumran *Community Rule* (1QS 5.24-6.2). The final step is excommunication (as in 1 Cor. 5.1-5). Before that, however, there must be the opportunity for correction at the individual, small group and communal levels. The Matthaean community instruction ends with a demand for practically unlimited opportunity for forgiveness (18.21-22) and a parable that links God's unlimited willingness to forgive sinners and their willingness in turn to forgive those who have offended them (18.23-35; cf. 6.12, 14-15).

Despite the differences in genre, time frame, and relation to the community (founding apostle versus evangelist), both Paul and Matthew acknowledge the reality of communal conflicts, the danger of scandal, the possibility of apostasy, the value of humility and mutual respect, the need for forgiveness and reconciliation, and the use of excommunication as a possible extreme procedure. They differ in the literary frameworks in which they operate, with Paul confronting the issues directly by letter and Matthew rooting them in the ministry of the earthly Jesus.

7. *Salvation and Eschatology*

In Romans especially, Paul seems to presuppose something like the modified apocalyptic dualism described with greatest clarity in the Qumran *Community Rule* (1QS 3.13-4.26). God is sovereign over all creation. In the present, however, God has allowed the world to be dominated by two spirits, the Angel of Light and the Prince of Darkness. The children of light do the deeds of light, and the children of darkness do the deeds of darkness. But in the impending divine visitation the powers of darkness will be wiped away, and the children of light will be vindicated and rewarded.

Paul is both more pessimistic and more optimistic than his Qumran contemporaries. For Paul (cf. Rom. 7.7-25), all those before and apart from Christ are under the dominion of Sin, Death and the Law (the Pauline equivalent of the Prince of Darkness). But now through Jesus'

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death and resurrection and the experience of the Holy Spirit (the equivalent of the Angel of Light), it is possible for all persons of faith to be led by Christ and his Spirit and to walk in the light (cf. Rom. 8.1-39).

One of the major aims of Paul's theology was to help believers recognize what they have become through Christ (children of God, co-heirs with Christ). In this sense Paul emphasizes realized eschatology and the presence of salvation. According to U. Schnelle, 'the eschatological presence of God's salvation in Jesus Christ is the basis and center of Pauline thought'.¹⁵ In this regard Paul was very much the optimist.

Paul's ethical teaching is primarily concerned to challenge believers to act in ways that are consonant with their new identity in Christ. This approach is neatly summarized by the Latin dictum *agere sequitur esse* ('action follows being'). The ethical commands (the imperatives) that Paul proposes are the attitudes and actions that are in accord with and flow from the identity of those who are 'in Christ' (the indicative).¹⁶

Nevertheless, Paul develops his theology against the horizon of the last judgement and the future fullness of God's kingdom. He insists that on the day of the Lord 'God's righteous judgment will be revealed', and that God 'will repay according to each one's deeds' (Rom. 2.5-6).

Matthew places more emphasis on the future dimension of salvation and future eschatology than Paul does. Again, their respective literary genres are partly responsible for this difference. Paul writes explicitly in the full afterglow of Easter, whereas Matthew is writing what purports to be a narrative of Jesus' earthly life up to his death and resurrection.

Matthew summarizes the preaching of Jesus in 4.17; 'Repent, for the kingdom of Heaven has come near' (see Mk 1.15). The present or anticipated dimension of the Kingdom is glimpsed especially in Jesus' mighty actions or miracles (11.4-5) and in the parables that stress the beginnings of the kingdom in Jesus' ministry (13.31-32, 44-46). The Kingdom is enough of a present reality to suffer violence from its opponents (12.12), and Jesus' ability to cast out demons is taken as proof that 'the kingdom of God has come to you' (12.28).

Nevertheless, the thrust of Matthew's eschatology is toward the future. The various rewards promised in the beatitudes (5.3-12) are to be enjoyed in the future fullness of God's kingdom. The parables in 13.1-52 promise a far greater future than any of the kingdom's present manifestations can ever bring. The Eschatological Discourse in chs 24-25 offers a scenario for the full coming of God's kingdom comparable to what one finds in

15. U. Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), p. 389.

16. B. S. Rosner (ed.), *Understanding Paul's Ethics: Twentieth Century Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

Jewish apocalypses such as Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*. Moreover, with the many parables in 24.37–25.30 it instils a constant watchfulness in the face of the certain coming of the Kingdom and the uncertainty regarding the precise time of its arrival.

The last judgement plays an important role in Matthew's future eschatology. From the parables of the weeds and wheat (13.24-30, 36-43) and the dragnet (13.47-50), it is clear that 'at the end of the age' Matthew (following Jesus) expects a divine judgement in which the righteous will be vindicated and the wicked will be punished. The climax of the Eschatological Discourse is the great judgement scene in Mt. 25.31-46. With the Son of Man as judge, 'all the nations' will be assembled and either rewarded or punished on the basis of their acts of loving kindness to 'the least'. In the context of Matthew's emphasis on future eschatology and the last judgement it is easy to understand how the ethical teachings of Jesus could be taken as imperatives and viewed as necessary for one's eternal salvation.

8. *The Relationship Between Matthew and Paul*

It is possible that Paul and Matthew never crossed paths, and that they simply represent two different, parallel Christian traditions. But might there have been some more direct relationship between the two? Given the difference in dating, Paul obviously could not have used Matthew's Gospel. However, it is conceivable that Matthew's Gospel was intended as a response to Paul by promoting a more traditional, Jewish kind of Christianity with Jesus as the one and only teacher.¹⁷ There is no clear reference to Paul (as in 2 Pet. 3.15) or allusion to his theology (see Jas 2.14-26). But then given Matthew's genre, we could hardly expect one (though Mt. 5.17-19 could be one). And if Antioch really was the place where Matthew composed his Gospel, his work might be a witness to the continuation of the controversy there about relations between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians glimpsed in Gal. 2.11-21.

It is not impossible that Matthew wrote his Gospel to 're-judaize' the portrait of Jesus in Mark's Gospel and to counter the influence of Pauline theology. In that event, Matthew would be not merely non-Pauline but rather anti-Pauline. And texts such as Mt. 5.19 ('whoever breaks one of the least of these commandments, and teaches others to do the same, will be called least in the kingdom of Heaven') and 7.21 ('not everyone who

17. S. Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher: Didactic Authority and Transmission in Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism and the Matthean Community* (CBNTS, 24; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994).

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says to me, “Lord, Lord”, will enter the kingdom of Heaven’) could be construed as not-so-veiled criticisms of Paul and the Law-free Christian movement that he inspired.

In a series of publications, David C. Sim has argued that Matthew and Paul are neither theologically close nor even complementary but rather stand in opposition.¹⁸ Sim contends that Mt. 5.19 was formulated by Christian Jews in response to the Law-free gospel of Paul (and others), and that these Christian Jews would have excluded outright the Law-free Pauline Christians from having any place in the kingdom of Heaven unless they changed their ways and fully observed the Mosaic Law.

Sim regards the evangelist Matthew as a Law-observant Christian Jew who advocated a Law-observant Gentile mission, and in this respect stood closer to Paul’s Christian Jewish opponents in Galatia than to Paul himself. He finds cases of Matthaean anti-Paulinism not only in Mt. 5.19 but also in 5.17 (‘not to abolish but to fulfil’; cf. Rom. 10.4), the instructions at the end of the Sermon on the Mount (7.13-27), the enemy mentioned in the parable of the wheat and the weeds (13.24-30, 36-43), and the promise to Peter (16.17-19) as the one who had received divine revelations and was chosen to lead the church (rather than Paul). According to Sim, Matthew was engaged ‘in a bitter and sustained polemic against Paul himself’.¹⁹ While the evidence for Sim’s hypothesis may not seem totally convincing to all, at the very least he has provided a stimulus for us to rethink our largely canon-influenced tendency to harmonize Paul and Matthew.

The Jewish Christianity promoted by Matthew did not win out. The success of Christianity among Gentiles, facilitated in part by the theological and practical foundations supplied by Paul, quickly drove out the more traditional Jewish Christianity of Matthew. However, Paul did not win out either. It is doubtful that Paul would have accepted a Christianity conceived without the strong presence of Jews like himself providing the root (cf. Rom. 9–11) or as a religion different and separate from Judaism.²⁰ In the New Testament canon both Paul’s letters and Matthew’s Gospel were integrated into a larger and different entity called the ‘great’ or ‘catholic’ church in the second and third centuries.

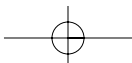
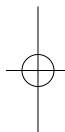
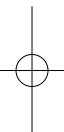
18. See Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, pp. 188–211; *idem.*, ‘Are the Least Included in the Kingdom of Heaven? The Meaning of Matthew 5:19’, *HTS* 54 (1998), 573–87; *idem.*, ‘The Social Setting of the Matthean Community: New Paths for an Old Journey’, *HTS* 57 (2001), 268–80; *idem.*, ‘Matthew’s Anti-Paulinism: A Neglected Feature of Matthean Studies’, *HTS* 58 (2002), 767–83, and *idem.*, ‘Matthew 7.21-23: Further Evidence of Its Anti-Pauline Perspective’, *NTS* 53 (2007), 325–43.

19. Sim, ‘Matthew’s Anti-Paulinism’, p. 777.

20. D. J. Harrington, *Paul on the Mystery of Israel* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992).



Although Paul and Matthew differed on many matters, it is conceivable that they could have produced a joint declaration of common theological principles at the end of their discussions. But I suspect that their debates would have been much more lively and interesting than whatever their joint statement might have revealed.



2. MATTHEW AND MARK¹

JESPER SVARTVIK

Consult yourself, and if you find
 A powerful impulse urge your mind,
 Impartial judge within your breast
 What subject you can manage best;
 Whether your genius most inclines
 To satire, praise, or humorous lines;
 To elegies in mournful tone,
 Or prologue 'sent from hand unknown'.
 The rising with Aurora's light,
 The muse invoked, sit down to write;
 Blot out, correct, insert, refine,

Enlarge, diminish, interline. (Jonathan Swift, 'On Poetry')

In his justly famous poem 'On Poetry' Jonathan Swift (describing himself as 'an old experienced sinner') instructs an implicit colleague (addressed as 'a young beginner') how to compose a text: 'blot out, correct, insert, refine, enlarge, diminish, interline'.² These seven Swiftean recommendations on how to create a text may help us understand the Matthaean redaction – or should we rather say his *re-creation*? – of the Markan narrative.³ The overall purpose of the present volume is to draw attention to Matthaean distinctiveness by comparing it to other early Christian texts and authors; the chief concern of this chapter is to address the specific issue of the Markan-Matthaean axis.

1. I am most grateful for constructive comments from the two editors of the present volume, B. Repschinski and D. C. Sim. I am also indebted to two colleagues, Jan Hermanson and Göran Larsson, for reading and commenting on this article in draft.

2. See J. Swift, 'On Poetry', in P. Rogers (ed.), *The Complete Poems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 522–36 (524 = lines 87–88).

3. For a recent study on this subject, see A. M. O'Leary, *Matthew's Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (JSNTSup, 323; London: T&T Clark International, 2006). She describes Matthew's redaction as 'far more creative and sophisticated than is often presented by scholars who comment on Matthew's modifications of his Markan source' (p. 2). It should perhaps be noted that in this study, as in most scholarly literature, the two-source hypothesis is taken for granted, i.e. it is assumed that Matthew is dependent on Mark (or a proto-Markan text) and on a second source, conventionally termed Q. For an alternative understanding of the relation between Matthew and Mark, see C. S. Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 27; New York: Doubleday, 1986).

Matthew is a text whose absence in the history of Christianity cannot be imagined. Due to its prominent role in the formation of Christian theology and liturgy, however, there is a risk that we assume that the most common interpretations of the text are the only possible readings. *This study seeks to show to what extent Matthew has been read eclectically.* Whereas some parts of this text, seemingly at least, have become indispensable ingredients in Christian theological and homiletic discourse, Matthew's interpretation of other facets of the teaching of Jesus has not attracted a similar attention. The study consists of two parts. We will first ponder the significant circumstance that the writings of Matthew and Paul are more influential than are those of Mark and James. Secondly, on the basis of that observation, we will seek to identify four aspects of the Matthaean strategy when he remodelled the message of his predecessor.

1. *Matchmaking in the New Testament*

Before the particulars of Matthew are analysed, it might prove fruitful to ponder the textual and theological pluralism within the covers of the New Testament, and before taking that argument any further, we need to transcend simplifying and disobliging dichotomies. In this study, it is not a matter of either establishing historical-genetic dependence or denying the relation between various textual *corpora*. In order not to go into the certainly intriguing but in this context tangential discussion of whether and to what extent there existed 'schools' in early Christianity, the term 'circle' will be used in this study to describe the thematic-theological affinities between some of the New Testament texts.⁴

a. *The Johannine Circle*

There is an obvious linguistic and theological relationship between the Gospel of John and the Johannine epistles. Although A. D. Callahan in a recent and thought-provoking book has recently questioned the traditional chronology of the four Johannine writings, it is likely that the time-honoured chronology will also be advocated by a considerable number of scholars in the future.⁵ R. E. Brown has argued that some in the Johannine circle emphasized the pre-existence motif of the Gospel Prologue to such an extent that the author of 1 John formulated the epistle's Prologue 'almost as a corrective to be read alongside the community hymn (in order)

4. For this choice of word, see the title of O. Cullmann's book on the Johannine texts; *Der johanneische Kreis: Sein Platz im Spätjudentum, in der Jüngerschaft Jesu und im Urchristentum* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1975). The English translation of the book was termed *The Johannine Circle* etc.

5. A. D. Callahan, *A Love Supreme: A History of the Johannine Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), pp. 2–3.

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to prevent misinterpretation of it'.⁶ In other words, Brown suggests that there exists a certain tension between the Gospel and the epistles; 'The Gospel stressed that Jesus is the *Son of God*: the Epistles stress that *Jesus* is the Son of God... It must mean that the opponents so stress the divine principle in Jesus that the earthly career of the divine principle is neglected'.⁷

It falls outside the scope of this article to discuss the precise chronological order of the Johannine texts. Suffice it here to conclude that although the careful reader may detect something of a friction between these four texts, they nevertheless all belong to one and the same theological 'circle'. A matchmaker would not hesitate to combine the Gospel of John and the three epistles.

b. *The Lukan Double Work*

Fewer, if any, scholars today would contest the theological parallels between Luke and Acts. It is most likely that the two texts were written by one person and that both texts are dedicated to another person, quite extraordinarily addressed by the author as κρότιστε ('Your Excellency'). As early as 1927, H. J. Cadbury argued that this should trigger students of the New Testament to read the two texts as 'a single continuous work. Acts is neither an appendix nor an afterthought. It is probably an integral part of the author's original plan and purpose'.⁸ During the last decades of the twentieth century narrative critics fostered our understanding of how the two Lukan narratives could and should be read in the light of each other.⁹ Given the distinctly Lukan nature of Acts, one rightly wonders what a Matthaean, Markan or Johannine Acts of the Apostles would look like. What would they choose, with Swift's expression, to 'blot out, correct, insert, refine, enlarge, diminish, interline'? It is quite certain that it belongs to Lukan idiosyncrasy to accentuate the importance of history and also the role of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ Another distinctly Lukan concern is to draw attention to the danger of relying on material goods (μαμωνᾶς, from Aramaic ܡܡܘܢܐ).¹¹

6. R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), p. 97.

7. Brown, *Community of the Beloved Disciple*, pp. 111–12.

8. H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: Macmillan, 1927), pp. 8–9.

9. For an extensive commentary which interprets the two Lukan texts as a unity, see R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (2 vols; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

10. For 'A Sketch of Lukan Theology', see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB, 28 and 28A; New York: Doubleday, 1981), I, pp. 143–270.

11. See Lk. 16.9, 11, 13. Cf. Mt. 6.24.

c. *Is Mark Unfolding the Beginning of the Pauline Gospel?*

But what about the oldest narrative account of the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth? Are there texts in the New Testament which are so close to Mark in terms of theological emphases that they help us understand the theological distinctiveness of the Markan narrative? The habitual answer to this question has been to rely on a Papiian fragment which presents Mark as the interpreter of Peter (Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γινόμενος), thus locating the first Christian narrative in a Petrine frame of reference.¹² The question we need to pose is whether this actually is a good match. How well do Mark and the premier disciple go together? The answer to this question has led a growing number of scholars to doubt the traditional Papiian hypothesis. They maintain that arguments in favour of a Markan-Petrine axis do not hold water. Indeed, it is difficult to understand why scholars would take Papias' statement in the second fragment as a historical fact without further discussion, while ignoring his statement in the third fragment about the fate of Judas. There Papias reports that the body of Judas after the death of Jesus had swollen to such an extent that he could not pass where a chariot could easily enter. This tale is proof enough that the information in these fragments cannot be taken as evidence without a critical discussion simply because they are old. *External* evidence outside the actual texts needs to be combined with the *internal* evidence (i.e. actual similarities between various New Testament texts). In our quest for New Testament pairs, we need better arguments than the slippery statement by Papias. It was previously mentioned that a number of scholars point to strong arguments in favour of an alternative match-making. They are of the opinion that Mark, as a matter of fact, should be described as *a Pauline Gospel*.

In the discussion above about the Johannine literature, the term 'circle' was used. Are there indications that Mark and Paul could have belonged to the same theological 'circle'? Once again, what is suggested here is not that the historical Paul and the author of Mark need to have been related in a historical-genetic sense, i.e. that they actually met or that Mark had access to the Pauline epistles. What is suggested, however, is that the similarities between the authentic Pauline letters and the Markan Gospel are so conspicuous that placing them together actually furthers our understanding of earliest Christianity. Whereas some students of the New Testament may think that not enough proof can be provided for identifying a Pauline theology in Mark, a number of recent scholars have argued that the similarities cry out for explanation. D. C. Sim describes Mark as 'pro-Pauline', while J. Marcus has persuasively demonstrated the correspondence between Pauline and Markan *theologiae cruces*. Similarly,

12. Papias, quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* 3.39.15.

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J. Painter, in a commentary on Mark, supports the Pauline-Markan theory, arguing that the Pauline mission to the nations is the social context of Mark's Gospel.¹³ Since the Pauline-Markan axis is of some importance to the line of thought in this study, it might be worthwhile to ponder, albeit briefly, the arguments in favour of this thesis.

Several facts indicate that there exists a thematic correspondence between the texts of Mark and Paul. In this short essay it will suffice to mention three of them. The first is that both Paul and Mark emphasize *the importance of the cross*.¹⁴ Indeed, it is quite impossible to remove the cross event from the Markan narrative plot without tearing it apart. Similarly, it is difficult to imagine a Pauline christology without, so to speak, 'cross-references'. A consequence of the prominence of the cross in the Markan and Pauline theologies is an astounding lack of interest in the teaching of Jesus. Mark often states *that* Jesus taught, but the reader seldom learns in *what* that teaching consists. Strictly speaking, it is only in chs 4 (about parables) and 13 (about eschatology) that the author allows the reader of his text to encounter not only the teacher but also his teaching. What R. Bultmann once stated about the Johannine Jesus is perhaps as applicable to the central character in Mark's Gospel: *the Markan protagonist is a revealer without a revelation*.¹⁵ In short, Mark accentuates the importance of his protagonist, but prefers not to disclose his proclamation. In a similar way, Paul emphasizes the implications of the death and resurrection of Jesus rather than the teachings of Jesus. One is reminded of the other side of the spectrum of early theological responses to the message and mission of Jesus of Nazareth. Whereas the protagonist in the *Gospel of Thomas* is continuously called 'the living Jesus', his death and alleged resurrection are insignificant.¹⁶

13. D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), p. 198; J. Marcus, 'Mark – Interpreter of Paul', *NTS* 46 (2000), 473–87, and J. Painter, *Mark's Gospel: Worlds in Conflict* (NTR; London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 4–6, 213. See also W. R. Telford, *The Theology of the Gospel of Mark* (NTT; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 164–9; J. Svartvik, *Mark and Mission: Mk 7:1–23 in its Narrative and Historical Contexts* (CBNTS, 32; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2000), pp. 344–7; and J. R. Donahue and D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (SP, 2; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2002), pp. 39–40.

14. See Marcus, 'Mark – Interpreter of Paul', pp. 479–81.

15. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament. Vol. 2* (London: SCM, 1955), p. 66; He 'reveals nothing but that he is the Revealer'. As a matter of fact, the Johannine protagonist actually reveals *more* than does the Markan central character; in John we are at least told that the Father sent him, that he came as the light, the bread of life, witness for the truth, and so on. See Bultmann, *Theology*, p. 62.

16. The name of Jesus is often contracted; see the Prologue (NHC II, 2, 32.10).

In this comparison between Paul and Mark it is also of interest and some importance that Paul is considerably less interested in the guilt question than is Mark. The two exceptions from the overall impression prove not to be relevant: (1) there are strong reasons to believe that the sudden outburst in 1 Thessalonians 2 is a deutero-Pauline gloss, and (2) good arguments suggest that the Greek sentence behind the NRSV translation 'on the night when he was betrayed' in 1 Cor. 11.23 should be translated as 'on the night when he was handed over (i.e. possibly but not necessarily by God)'.¹⁷ I have elsewhere suggested that the difference in interests and emphases between Mark and Paul should be ascribed to the difference in genres. It is the narrative genre, emphasizing the *complot*, which has promoted the blame discourse in Christendom.¹⁸

Secondly, it is not difficult to discern in Mark as well as in the Pauline correspondence a *profound critique of the twelve disciples*, Peter in no way being excluded. More than three decades ago T. J. Weeden coined the unforgettable expression that

Mark is assiduously involved in a vendetta against the disciples. He is intent on totally discrediting them. He paints them as obtuse, obdurate, recalcitrant men who at first are unperceptive of Jesus' messiahship, then oppose its style and character, and finally totally reject it. As the coup de grace, Mark closes his Gospel without rehabilitating the disciples.¹⁹

Mark's understanding of Jesus' parabolic language underscores this observation. The insiders (i.e. the disciples) became outsiders, and the outsiders (i.e. the minor characters) developed into insiders; part and parcel of Markan characterization is the principle that minor characters see and understand whereas the disciples do not. Narrative readings have also highlighted the omnipresence of Gentiles in the Markan text. The present writer has elsewhere suggested that Markan spatial settings, characterizations and plotting all underscore that Mark is dependent on Gentile *dramatis personae*.²⁰ Thus, it can be argued that *the Markan protagonist is never more himself than in relation to the Gentiles*. It is not difficult to

17. See D. E. Garland, *1 Corinthians* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), pp. 545–6.

18. For further comments, see J. Svartvik, 'Forging an Incarnational Theology Two Score Years after *Nostra Aetate*', *SCJR* 1 (2005), 1–13 (4–6).

19. T. J. Weeden, *Mark – Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 50.

20. See Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, pp. 222–305. An instructive example is Mark's geopolitical and geo-theological presentation of the Sea of Galilee with a Jewish terminology in the scenes which take place on the western shore (e.g. synagogue and sabbath in 6.2), and distinctly Gentile symbols in the scenes on the eastern side of the sea (e.g. 'a great herd of swine' in 5.11, and the Decapolis in 5.20).

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see that someone with such a theological position has much in common with a person who describes himself as ‘the apostle to the Gentiles’ (Rom. 11.13; ἔθνῶν ἀπόστολος).

Thirdly and finally, the Markan and Pauline solutions to *the problem of Christian commensality* seem to have much in common. Paul argued vehemently that Christians would remain in whatever condition they were when they were called by God (1 Cor. 7.17-24).²¹ In other words, Gentiles should remain Gentiles and not adhere to Jewish *halakhah*. Hence, according to Paul, interaction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians was to be at the expense of the Jewish Christians, given that Jewish food laws were not applicable. In the words of J. Marcus; ‘Not everyone agreed with Paul that the Law was passé for Christians – but Mark did’.²² The present writer has elsewhere suggested that Gal. 2.1-14 testifies both that Paul did not adhere to the stipulations from Jerusalem, and that Peter’s withdrawal from commensality in Antioch is best understood as a symbolic act of disapproval with the Pauline position. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to argue with H. Räisänen that Paul in Rom. 14.14 does not refer to a dominical saying. In fact, it is not only possible but also plausible that *Mk 7.1-23 draws the theological conclusions of the Pauline Gentile mission*. In short, it seems probable that Mk 7.19b (‘cleansing all foods’) deserves attention in relation to commensality in Pauline communities. It replicates less the teaching of the historical Jesus, and all the more the debate among Pauline Christians some 20 years later.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it might be necessary to repeat once more that it would be a mistake to see in the foregoing paragraphs an argument in favour of a historical-genetic connection between Paul and Mark. There may well have been such an affinity – it is under all circumstances considerably more plausible than a Markan-Petrine connection à la Papias – but the texts at our disposal are too fragmentary to allow such secure conclusions. This study simply seeks (1) to recapitulate the fact that Pauline insights from missionary experiences *chronologically* precede by one or two decades the writing down of the final redaction of Mark; and (2) to establish that the Pauline and Markan texts favour the conclusion that, with the qualifications stated above, *the Gospel of Mark could and should be understood as a Pauline Gospel*. Hence, the readers of Mark knew Paul and the Pauline proclamation. When they wanted to know more about pre-Pauline times, Mark decided to write the narrative beginning of the kerygmatic Pauline Gospel. This might be the actual

21. For a survey of Paul and slavery, see J. Svartvik, ‘How Noah, Jesus and Paul Became Captivating Figures: The Side Effects of the Canonization of Slavery Metaphors in Jewish and Christian Texts’, *JGRCJ* 2 (2005), 168–227.

22. Marcus, ‘Mark – Interpreter of Paul’, p. 486.

reason for opening his narrative with the formula ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Mk 1.1; ‘the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ’). Borrowing an expression from R. Williams, it was a matter of ‘a quest for the historical church’.²³ Pauline Christians asked whether the origin of their movement was in agreement with Pauline proclamation and paraenesis. Mark answered their question affirmatively by giving them a narrative account of how it all began. Hence, in this sense it seems to be correct to state that Mark’s *narrative* Gospel unfolds the beginning of Paul’s *kerygmatic* gospel.

In short, it can be stated with some degree of confidence that the writings of Mark and Paul belong to a common ‘circle’ in early Christianity. While the epistles of Paul might be described as a pre-Markan kerygmatic articulation of the Markan narrative, the Gospel of Mark may best be described as a narrative presentation of what preceded the Pauline *kerygma*. Now, what are we to say about Matthew? Is there an עֶזְרַת כַּנְגָדוֹ (‘a fitting match’) for him?²⁴

d. *Is James a Matthaean Epistle?*

Interestingly, it has been suggested that there is a connection – once again, thematic if not genetic – between Matthew and James. M. H. Shepherd was one of those who, several decades ago, explored the relationship between these two New Testament texts. He claimed that the series of eight ‘homiletic-didactic discourses’ in James are all built around – and in some cases even contain – a central *macarism* or gnomic saying.²⁵ Furthermore, he argued that the Matthaean parallels relate to every single section in James, and to almost every major theme.²⁶ One needs to remember that when James was written, Matthew was not yet regarded as scripture. The author therefore *quotes* the LXX, but only *alludes* to Matthaean tradition. This is an indication of how James regards Matthew. It is *significant* but not (yet) perceived as *scripture*. Shepherd argues that James ‘avoids any parade of learning by frequent citations from his reading; yet it contains many echoes of phrases and ideas that suggest

23. See R. Williams, *Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005). Needless to say, this is an echo of the title of the English translation of Albert Schweitzer’s critical and influential examination of *Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung*.

24. Cf. Gen. 2.18.

25. Jas 1.2-18; 1.19-27; 2.1-13; 2.14-26; 3.3-12; 3.13-4.10; 4.11-12; 4.13-5.6; 5.7-18. See M. H. Shepherd, ‘The Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew’, *JBL* 75 (1956), 40-51 (41-2).

26. See Shepherd, ‘Epistle of James’, p. 44; ‘James knew a group of Beatitudes about the poor, the mourners, the merciful, and the afflicted, and possibly also macarisms upon the meek, the pure in heart, and the peace-makers’.

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varied associations and relationships... at no point does his comprehension of the nature of Christianity contradict the Matthean Gospel'.²⁷ In short, the Matthaean tradition is one of James' sources, although it is not scripture in the same sense as the LXX.²⁸ Jesus, according to James, is rooted in the scriptures, and this is demonstrated with the help of Matthew. Hence, Matthew is 'a transcript of the tradition held in his Church concerning the life and teaching of his Lord'.²⁹ In this context it is especially relevant to note Shepherd's conclusion: 'every one of these discourses provide parallels to Matthew even though there is no precise quotation'.³⁰

Every undergraduate student of the New Testament is acquainted with the fact that James has not had an easy time throughout history. Martin Luther's formulation from his *Vorrede auf das Neue Testament* is notorious: the epistle is 'eyn rechte stroern Epistel' ('a genuine epistle of straw').³¹ The problem facing those who subscribe to a similar understanding of James is the fact that James is so strikingly similar to the Matthaean Sermon on the Mount. It is true that James does not express himself as does Paul in his theological cross-centred parts of his epistles, but does that necessarily mean that 'sie doch keyn Euangelisch art an yhr hat' ('it contains no Gospel 'art')?³² Should not James' paraenesis be compared to Pauline paraenesis and not to Pauline theological cross-centred discussions? In short, we cannot compare some parts of some Pauline epistles with James, and then be surprised to find that James is less Pauline than some of the Pauline epistles!³³ There is reason to concur with R. Bauckham; 'James is as Christological as we should expect the kind of

27. Shepherd, 'Epistle of James', pp. 40, 47.

28. This should be compared to *Barnabas*, in which Matthew is quoted as scripture with the *terminus technicus* γέγραπται ('it is written [i.e. in Scripture]'; 4.14).

29. Shepherd, 'Epistle of James', p. 48.

30. Shepherd, 'Epistle of James', p. 42. For similar conclusions, see R. Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (NTR; London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 93, 107–8, 111.

31. M. Luther, 'Vorrede auf das Neue Testament', in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Die Deutsche Bibel. 6 Band* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1929 [1522]), pp. 2–11 (10). For further information about the prehistory and editions of the *Vorrede*, see F. Mussner, *Der Jakobusbrief* (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), pp. 42–5. For a discussion of Luther's notorious *Tischrede* on James, in which he argues that James should be thrown out of the University of Wittenberg, see R. Kugelman, *James and Jude* (NTM, 19; Dublin: Veritas, 1980), p. 7.

32. Luther, 'Vorrede auf das Neue Testament', p. 10.

33. P. W. van der Horst, 'Pseudo-Phocylides and the New Testament', *ZNW* 69 (1978), 187–202, has argued that there is a 'spiritual affinity' between James and the *Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides*; 'they contain many imperatives without revealing their underlying indicatives' (p. 102).

Christian literature he writes to be. We have no way of telling whether he would have been more Christological had he written a different kind of literature'.³⁴

The purpose of this section of the study is to highlight the significant similarities between Matthew and James. The latter text should not be marginalized as some sort of a watered-down version of the original cross-centred kerygmatic gospel. Quite the contrary, James may represent one of the earliest layers of Christianity. R. Kugelman states that 'with the exception of the gospels, there is no other New Testament writing which rings with so many echoes of Jesus' sayings as does James'.³⁵ If Kugelman is correct, and we have found nothing which contradicts his statement, then readers of the New Testament should approach James with greater interest and, perhaps also in some circles, with greater respect.

In short, Matthew and James wrote texts so similar to each other in theological tenor that they could be described as a theological pair, on a par with (1) the four Johannine writings; (2) the Lukan Gospel and Acts; and (3) the texts of Mark and Paul. In other words, in terms of theology Matthew is as different from Mark as James is from Paul. These four matchmakings may help the present reader to identify and appreciate the diversity in the New Testament.

2. *Four Aspects of the Matthaean Redaction of the Gospel Tradition*

It has already been mentioned that the purpose of this study is to ponder the specific features of the Matthaean text by comparing it to its Markan predecessor. Although the synoptic problem has been part of New Testament scholarship for several hundred years, the scholarly community has only begun to appreciate the breadth of Matthew's radical revision of the pre-Matthaean gospel tradition. It is suggested here that his re-creation can be expressed with the help of four key terms: *rejudaization*, *reinforcement*, *rebuke*, and *rehabilitation*. Although all four are part and parcel of Matthaean theology, it is relevant to examine the four words in this specific sequence in order to elucidate the theological process which gave rise to the text which we know as Matthew.

a. *Rejudaization of Jesus*

Why did Matthew write his Gospel? One imperative reason seems to have been that he was of the opinion that his predecessor did not report an adequate amount of the teaching of Jesus. In the form in which Matthew

34. Bauckham, *James*, p. 140.

35. Kugelman, *James and Jude*, p. 9.

has been preserved, it is quite obvious that this is an important aspect; in its final chapter, Jesus commands his disciples to teach new generations of disciples everything that he has taught (28.20: τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν). Now if this teaching were to be based on Mark, this would create a problem since there are almost no records of what Jesus taught in the Markan account. As the Ethiopian eunuch cried 'How can I understand unless someone guides me?', the Markan readership could have exclaimed 'How can I teach what Jesus has commanded unless someone guides me?'. Hence, Matthew considered the proclamation of the Markan protagonist to be too scarce. This lack of teaching in Mark's account was an important impetus, but it was not the only reason for Matthew taking up the pen. In this study it is argued that Matthew not only regarded Mark as *insufficient* and *inadequate*, but also as *inaccurate*. Mark was, according to Matthew, clearly off the mark. The Markan presentation of the beginning of the gospel was simply not in accordance with Matthaean theological priorities. According to Matthew, the *nova lex* of Jesus did not nullify the *antiqua lex*.³⁶ To use Swift's recommendations, Matthew writes his Gospel not only to *insert, enlarge and refine* (as when organising his material into five speeches), but also to *blot out, diminish and correct* (as when challenging Markan antinomianism).

Thus, what is suggested is that Matthew wanted both to present the teachings of Jesus more bountifully and to express his critique of the palpable Markan antinomianism. Jonathan Swift wrote; 'Consult yourself, and if you find a powerful impulse urge your mind, impartial judge within your breast what subject you can manage best'. There is reason to believe that Matthew was led by such 'a powerful impulse' when he wrote his influential Gospel. Matthew sought to re-judaize the protagonist of Christianity.³⁷ He felt that Jesus of Nazareth had been stripped of his Jewishness in the Markan-Pauline interpretation of Christianity, and he wanted to present Jesus in a way that made sense to his Jewish-Christian audience. Matthew is the first known attempt to perform a *Heimholung Jesu ins Judentum*. This conclusion brings us to our next point.

b. Reinforcement of Halakhic Observance

Biblical passages such as the pericope on the scribe and Jesus discussing the greatest commandment in the Torah have stimulated Christians to rank

36. W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC; 3 vols; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988, 1991, 1997), III, p. 686.

37. O'Leary, *Matthew's Judaization of Mark*, p. 118 n. 1, defines Matthaean judaization as 'the literary process by which Matthew, in rewriting Mark, increases the density of explicit and implicit references to Judaism and OT Scripture'. In this study it is suggested that Matthew's judaization should be described not only as such an increase, but also as a *decrease* of Markan antinomianism.

the commandments.³⁸ Speaking from a general point of view, Jewish tradition cannot be said to have encouraged such ranking, one important reason probably being that Jews have been suspicious of Christian attempts to convince them that there is a fundamental difference between ‘ritual’ commandments (which, according to most Christians are superseded *post Christum*) and ‘moral’ commandments (which are eternally engraved on the tablets of the Law). As the student of Rabbinic *corpora* well knows, however, there are several texts which do tend to rank the commandments, i.e. the discussion on what commandments (מצוות) Jews are allowed to breach if life is at stake (פיקוח נפש). According to *halakhah*, Jews are even *required* to infringe 610 of the 613 commandments in order to save life. Jews are never allowed, however, to violate the three remaining commandments – murder, idolatry and forbidden sexual relations (e.g. incest).³⁹

These three commandments have two things in common: they are all negative (‘thou shalt not...’) and they are discussed in extreme situations such as פיקוח נפש. Another approach would be to explore religious behaviour in everyday life. In that context three other commandments are often singled out, the circumcision of boy children on the eighth day, the sanctification of the seventh day of the week and the food laws.⁴⁰

The purpose now is to explore how Matthew develops the texts which discuss these three important parts of Jewish *praxis*.⁴¹ The first of these, circumcision, is not discussed at all in the canonical Gospels.⁴² It is significant that it was not until the Pauline mission to the Gentiles that this question needed to be explored by Christians. The Gospels, even the antinomian Markan account, are all silent. This raises the intriguing question why circumcision, playing as it does such an important role in Pauline discourse, is virtually absent from the canonical Gospels. As a matter of fact, circumcision is mentioned only thrice in the New Testament Gospels, and all these instances actually *affirms* the validity of circumcision. Luke recounts the circumcisions of John the Baptist and Jesus, and John mentions circumcision as a premise in a קל יוחזר discussion.⁴³

38. Mt. 22.34-40 and Mk 12.28-31.

39. The Biblical basis for פיקוח נפש is Lev. 18.5. For Talmudic discussions of the interpretations and implementations, see *b. Yoma* 83a-84b and *b. Sanh.* 74a-b.

40. See J. D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM, 1991), pp. 28-31.

41. For extensive presentations of Matthean *halakhah*, see A. J. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (CSHJ; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 124-64, and Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, pp. 19-27. See also Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, pp. 116-17.

42. See, however, *Gos. Thom.* 53.

43. See Lk. 1.59; 2.21, and Jn 7.22-23.

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How is this fact to be interpreted? J. J. Collins is in all likelihood right when he argues that Paul, before his calling on the way to Damascus, ‘probably was at the stricter end of the spectrum in terms of the importance he attached to circumcision. After his circumcision he continued to attach greater importance to it than did many Jews of the Diaspora, but for largely negative reasons’.⁴⁴ Collins’ historical reconstruction explains the discrepancy between the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. While the ‘pre-Christian Paul’ (an admittedly anachronistic term used to describe his life-transforming experience on the way to Damascus) argued *in favour of* circumcision to a higher degree than did most contemporary Jews, the ‘Christian Paul’ (once again, anachronistically speaking) *downplayed* the importance of circumcision more than did most Jews of that period.

The epistles which constitute the *corpus paulinum* give vent to questions which arose in the Gentile mission; circumcision was one of the hotly debated issues. The *Sitz im Leben Jesu* described in the Gospels was different. Admittedly, some of the minor characters in the Gospels are Gentiles, but the narrative setting is firmly Jewish, and in such a setting circumcision need not be argued for or against – it is part and parcel of the religious discourse to such a degree that the Johannine Jesus even takes it for granted in a *halakhic* discussion about whether it is permissible to heal a person on the sabbath.⁴⁵

The second pillar, the commandment to observe the sabbath, is referred to in the Gospels.⁴⁶ One could say that Matthew here applies Swift’s seventh suggestion, i.e. to *interline*.⁴⁷ Whereas the Markan Jesus urges his followers to pray that they need not flee to the mountains *in the winter* (13.18, χειμῶνος), the Matthaean protagonist says; ‘Pray that your flight might not be in winter *or on a sabbath*’ (Mt. 24.20, μηδὲ σαββάτω, emphasis added). W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison give five possible expla-

44. J. J. Collins, ‘A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century’, in J. Neusner and E. S. Frerichs (eds), *To See Ourselves as Others See Us: Christians, Jews, ‘Others’ in Late Antiquity* (SPSH; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 163–86 (186).

45. It should perhaps be pointed out that Luke takes great pains to underline that the Pauline Gentile mission did not imply that Jews should forsake Jewish *halakhah* (e.g. Acts 21.24). Needless to say, this is a distinctly Lukan portrayal of Paul, but it is nevertheless confirmed by Paul’s own letters, arguably most explicitly in 1 Cor. 7.18; ‘Was anyone at the time of his call already circumcised? Let him not seek to remove the marks of circumcision’ (μη ἐπισπάσθω).

46. Mt. 12.1–12; 24.20; 28.1; Mk 1.21; 2.23–28; 3.2–4; 6.2; 15.42; 16.1; Lk. 4.16, 31; 6.1–9; 13.10–16; 14.1–5; 23.54–56; Jn 5.9–18; 7.22–23; 9.14, 16, 31.

47. Swift defines ‘interline’ as ‘to write or insert between lines already written or printed, as for correction or addition; to write or print something between the lines of; as, to interline a page or a book’, see *Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, s.v. <http://machaut.uchicago.edu/CGI-BIN/WEBSTER.page.sb?page=777>.

nations to the Matthean interlining, and correctly draw the conclusion that the most probable of these five suggestions is that the ‘members of Matthew’s community still observed the Sabbath; and, given the traditional travel restrictions, they would be both hesitant and unprepared for flight on the day of rest’.⁴⁸ They base this conclusion on the conviction that ‘in Matthew the Sabbath remains in force’.⁴⁹

We come now to the third pillar, the food laws. Matthew’s creative skill comes to the fore in his fifteenth chapter.⁵⁰ The Matthean disciples ask Jesus whether he knew that the Pharisees took great offence at what he said, which gives the Matthean Jesus opportunity to condemn the Pharisees for being blind guides (see further below). This adaptation gives vent to characteristic Matthean anti-Pharisaism. Furthermore, by replacing the Markan general and rather inexact wording (Mk 7.15, τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκπορευόμενα) with a more specific statement (Mt. 15.11, τὸ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος), Matthew is more precise. Furthermore, he is more in line with developing Rabbinic theology on the peril of evil speech (לשון הרע) and the writings of the Church Fathers.⁵¹ As a result of the Matthean elaboration of the Markan narrative, it is more difficult to perceive the relation between Mt. 15.1-20 and the literary context (i.e. the bread miracles, the walking on the water and the healings). But it is all the more easy to see the connection with the quotation from Isaiah (cf. χεῖλος, στόμα, and καρδία). Furthermore, the above-mentioned clarification of the statement wards off the alternative understanding that it referred to excrement (i.e. what goes out of a person into the sewer).⁵² By clarifying with the word στόμα, Matthew limits the focus to *food*, but avoids the Markan conclusion of a Jesus declaring *all* foods clean. In sum, Matthew has recast the Markan pericope in such a way that the antinomian Markan flavour can no longer be detected. He has managed to rewrite the Gospel tradition to such an extent that the

48. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, III, p. 349.

49. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, III, p. 350.

50. This has been pointed out by Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, pp. 132–5, and B. Repechinski, *The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship Between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism* (FRLANT, 189; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 154–66.

51. For more information about the Rabbinic *terminus technicus* לשון הרע, see J. Svartvik, ‘The Markan Interpretation of the Pentateuchal Food Laws’, in T. R. Hatina (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels, Vol. 1: The Gospel of Mark* (JSNTSup, 304; London: T&T Clark International, 2006), pp. 169–81 (178–80). For a survey of all the tannaitic and also of the most relevant amoraic texts, see Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, pp. 375–402.

52. It is true that ἀφεδρῶν (‘sewer’) is mentioned in Mt. 15.17, but it is marginalized by the expression ἐκ τοῦ στόματος.

Markan upheaval of the food laws (Mk 7.19, 'cleansing all foods') is transformed into an inner-*halakhic* discussion on how to apply the regulations in terms of the washing of hands before meals (Mt. 15.20, 'but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile'). As astonishing as it may seem, the factual result of the Matthaean recasting of the Markan pericope is that it actually stresses the *validity* of the scriptural commandments, and this is congenial to the spirit of Matthew; after all, his protagonist came 'not to destroy, but to fulfil'.⁵³ It is no longer *Biblical* food laws which are called into question, but *Pharisaic* interpretations of the purity laws, which is something completely different. The Matthaean Jesus takes part in the ongoing discussion of the extension and application of the developing *halakhah* by using a *mashal* stating that eating with unwashed hands does not render humans impure. Arguably, Matthew would be quite surprised to hear his readers assessing that his protagonist sought to extirpate a greater part of contemporary *halakhah*. Part of the problem should be ascribed to the fact that some members of the scholarly community have not taken into account that the practice of declaring something clean was not unknown to the theological context out of which Matthew grew. Indeed, one of the most important tasks for subsequent generations of Rabbis in the Land as well as in the Diaspora was to do exactly that, i.e. to decide whether things were pure or impure, or whether actions were permitted or not.⁵⁴

It is not Biblical food laws, but Pharisaic traditions and interpretations, which are called into question. In short, *Markan antinomianism has been transformed into Matthaean anti-Pharisaism*. This brings us to the next part of this description of the Matthaean redaction.

c. Rebuking the Pharisees

The word ὑποκριτής occurs 17 times in the New Testament, 13 of which can be found in Matthew.⁵⁵ Some of these instances can be traced to pre-Matthean sources, either to Mark⁵⁶ or to Q⁵⁷, but the majority of them stem from the Matthaean redaction of his sources. Six of them are found in stereotypical formulae in the Matthaean denouncing of the scribes and Pharisees (οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί).⁵⁸

53. Mt. 5.17.

54. The most illustrious example is *b. B.M.* 59a.

55. Mt. 6.2, 5, 16; 7.5; 15.7; 22.18; 23.13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29; 24.51; Mk 7.6; Lk. 6.42; 12.56; 13.15. Cf. *Gos. Thom.* 39 and its *Vorlage* in p. Oxy 655 ii.11-23.

56. Mt. 15.7; cf. Mk 7.6.

57. Mt. 7.5; cf. Lk. 6.42.

58. All occurrences in the Matthaean *vae scribes et phariseis* (23.13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29).

The three instances in ch. 6 also elucidate that the word is being used to rebuke a religious group which, according to Matthew, did not come up to standard in terms of almsgiving, prayer and fasting.⁵⁹ In short, Matthew accuses the ‘scribes and Pharisees’ of being deceitful and duplicitous. While reinforcing the Torah-centric teaching of the historical Jesus (as was seen in the previous section), Matthew takes the anti-Pharisaic discourse to vertiginous heights never reached in previous Christian literature.⁶⁰ We will return to this observation in the concluding remarks, but it can be mentioned here as well, albeit in passing, that there is a lesson in this: *the rejudaization of early Christianity need not necessarily result in a more broad-minded presentation of Jesus’ theological context (i.e. Judaism), either in antiquity or in modern times.*

The reader of Mk 12.28-34 looks in vain for hostility against the scribe. Whereas, according to Mark, scribes *en masse* are devious, this scribe as an individual is ‘not far from the kingdom of God’ (v. 34; οὐ μακρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ). Or to put it in a Clermont-Tonnerrean way, Mark’s opinion seems to have been *to the scribes as a party nothing, to the scribe as an individual everything.*⁶¹ This Markan character did not survive the transfer from Mark to Matthew; the friendly scribe is transformed into a Matthaean testing Pharisee. Matthew converted him into an insidious Pharisee, simply wanting to test Jesus (πειράζων αὐτόν).⁶² The elusive Markan scribe who is commended by Jesus for his religious insights is depicted by Matthew as yet another cartoonish antagonist, a Forsterean ‘flat character’.⁶³ This metamorphosis is hardly an editorial gaffe; it is an example of Matthew’s zeal to rebuke the Pharisees.

A second example will demonstrate the importance of polemical discourse to the Matthaean narrative. Logion 26 in the *Gospel of Thomas* could, and should, be understood as a non-polemical advice to someone who is willing to help another person; ‘When you take the beam out of your own eye, then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother’s eye’. It is, so to speak, an ophthalmological handbook to a

59. Mt. 6.2, 5, 16.

60. Needless to say, the assertion that the anti-Pharisaic discourse plays an important role in Matthew is not new. For important studies, see Saldarini, *Matthew’s Christian-Jewish Community*, pp. 44–67, J. A. Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis: The Gospel according to Matthew* (TNTIC; Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1996), pp. 12–16, and, extensively and exhaustively, Repschinski, *Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew*.

61. For further comments, see Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, pp. 275–7.

62. Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, p. 128, also emphasizes the shift from the Markan ‘interested and open-minded inquirer’ to the Matthaean ‘hostile Pharisee’.

63. See E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 170; ‘A flat character can always be recognized by the reader whenever it reappears’. See also pp. 73–7.

person who heeds Jesus' exhortation in the preceding logion; 'Love your brother like your own soul, protect him like the pupil of your eye'. By inserting a single word (ὑποκριτά in Mt. 7.5), Matthew has changed the genre of the saying. Thomas' ophthalmological instruction manual on how to help one's beloved brother has been changed into a critique of hypocritical behaviour. Nothing in logia 25-26 suggests that polemics is its original genre. Given the growing rivalry between Pharisees and Nazarenes – or, anachronistically speaking, between 'Jews' and Christians', as the members of the two movements later would be known – it seems reasonable to assume that the non-polemical version is older than the polemical one.⁶⁴ Hence, the logion in the *Gospel of Thomas* reflects an earlier stage; Matthew has clearly added a polemical element to the saying.

The reader of Matthew should not take the radicalism of his critique of the Pharisaic movement lightly. As can be seen in his fifteenth chapter, Matthew argued that the Pharisees should be compared to weeds deserving to be destroyed; 'Every plant that my heavenly Father has not planted will be uprooted. Let them alone; they are blind guides of the blind. And if one blind person guides another, both will fall into a pit'.⁶⁵

These three examples disclose the duality in Matthaean theology. On the one hand, the Matthaean protagonist urges his followers to be *meticulous in their halakhic observance*. In 23.2 he goes as far as to instruct the crowds and disciples to do whatever the Pharisees teach them, and in the concluding commission of the disciples in Mt. 28.20, he urges them to teach new generations of disciples to obey everything that he has commanded them. Hence, Matthew's theology is profoundly *halakhic*. On the other hand, Matthew presents a protagonist who is distinctly *anti-Pharisaic in his theology*. This is quite obvious to the reader of ch. 23, but it is also apparent to those who carefully compare the Matthaean text *in toto* with its pre-Matthaean sources.

d. Rehabilitation of Peter

One of the most remarkable facets of the Matthaean account is the unwavering rehabilitation of some of the most important characters in the Markan narrative. Jesus' family members are presented more favourably

64. For arguments in favour of this conclusion, see S. J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1993), pp. 29–31. For an illuminating examination of the relation between p.Oxy. 655, Q, the *Gospel of Thomas*, Matthew and Luke, see J. M. Robinson and C. Heil, 'The Lilies of the Field: Saying 36 of the *Gospel of Thomas* and Secondary Accretions in Q 12.22b-31', *NTS* 47 (2001), 1–25.

65. Mt. 15.13-14. The expression τυφλοι ... ὀδηγοί ('blind guides') also occurs in Mt. 23.16, 24.

by Matthew than by Mark, and the disciples are not criticized to the same degree as in Mark. The *primus inter pares*, Peter, can thank Matthew for being rescued from the Markan vendetta against him and his fellow disciples. In Matthew's account Peter is Πέτρος, the Rock on which the ἐκκλησία will be built. He is appointed the exclusive leader of the church. This is quite an extraordinary rehabilitation: Matthew is Peter's *Rehabilitierungsschrift*. One can hardly imagine the consequences for Christendom had Mark rather than Matthew been the more influential of the two evangelists in shaping the contours of Peter as a *persona dramatis* in the Christian master story. Matthew forged Peter as the foremost disciple of Jesus. Matthew's importance for the development of Christian high ecclesiology cannot be overestimated; it is quite similar to Luke's significance for subsequent mariology and John's for high christology.

In this section we will examine Matthew's *impetus* for this remarkable rehabilitation of Peter.⁶⁶ In the words of Edgar Lee Masters, 'how did you, Peter... worthy of blame, arise to this fame?'⁶⁷ It is suggested that we will only find the reason for Matthew's rehabilitation of Peter (1) if he is not isolated from the rest of the disciples; (2) if Matthew's understanding of the ἐκκλησία is considered; and (3) if the magnitude of Matthaean anti-Pharisaism is measured.

It is obvious that the disciples in the Matthaean account are portrayed more favourably than in the Markan narrative. They may not understand everything Jesus has to tell them, but at least they show a willingness and ability to take his teaching into consideration. In the words of D. Senior, 'Matthew does not idealise the disciples; they are still capable of failure, but much more evidently than in Mark, the disciples are able to penetrate the mystery of Jesus' identity'.⁶⁸ Scholars have for a long time recognized Mark's hidden agenda when portraying the disciples as failing and, thus, as failed followers of Jesus. In this study we need not go into the discussion whether Mark wanted his readers to *associate* themselves with the Twelve ('they too were fallible followers!') or to *dissociate* themselves from them ('I can do better!').⁶⁹ The question which needs to be posed, however, is to what extent also the Matthaean presentation is ideological by nature. The student of the New Testament might spontaneously assume that Matthew rehabilitates the disciples either because that is how they *eigentlich* were or because he pitied them.

66. For a thorough survey, see Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, pp. 188–99.

67. E. L. Masters, 'Simon Surnamed Peter', quoted in R. Bartel, J. S. Ackerman and T. S. Watson (eds), *Biblical Images in Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1975), pp. 289–91 (289).

68. D. Senior, *What Are They Saying About Matthew?* (New York: Paulist Press, rev. edn, 1996), p. 92.

69. See Svartvik, *Mark and Mission*, pp. 270–4. Nor do we address the issue of to what extent the characterisation should be understood as being determined by text-external (i.e.

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In his classical essay first published as early as 1928, E. von Dobschütz presented arguments in favour of the conclusion that Matthew was a Jewish Christian who had undergone a Rabbinic schooling. This ‘converted Jewish Rabbi’ installs Peter as the ‘Christian chief Rabbi’ with the authority to bind and loose.⁷⁰ The expression ‘bind and loose’ should not be understood in relation to the institution of confession, but all the more as the inauguration of Peter as the *halakhic* authority to declare valid and void, to put a fence around the Torah (לעשות סיג לתורה), and to be the true interpreter of the scriptures (*ut supra* on Matthean *halakhah*).⁷¹ Matthew’s motivation to plead for a cessation of Markan hostilities against the disciples is that he needs Simon Bar Jona, Πέτρος, as the *primus inter pares*, as his chief Rabbi. Thus, the most reasonable explanation for the Matthean rehabilitation of Peter is that *Matthew, with his anti-Pharisaic message, could not afford Peter to be a religious leader ‘worthy of blame’*. Peter was rehabilitated because Matthew needed him to be a more convincing character than were the Pharisees. In other words, Matthew’s Swiftean strategy – to blot out, correct, insert, refine, enlarge, diminish and interline – can be detected in the *depreciation* of the Pharisees as well as in the *appreciation* of Peter.

3. How Odd to Choose Matthean Polemics but to Spurn His Theology!

This study consists of two main parts. In the first part a matchmaking was suggested which combines similar texts. A minority of Biblical scholars would question that the four Johannine texts belong to a common ‘circle’. Few would call into question that Luke and Acts together form a narrative entity. A number of students of the New Testament, including the present writer, argue that there is a Markan-Pauline axis. It has also been maintained that Matthew and James are so similar to each other that they deserve to be understood as part of a common ‘circle’. Hence, according to this line of thought the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are as dissimilar as are the epistles of James and Paul.

this is what really happened) or text-internal factors (i.e. the agenda of identification and/or repudiation).

70. E. von Dobschütz, ‘Matthew as Rabbi and Catechist’, in G. N. Stanton (ed.), *The Interpretation of Matthew* (IRT, 3; London: SPCK, 1983), pp. 27-38 (32, 33). This is not the context to address the anachronistic problems which his expression provokes. A number of scholars would hesitate to use the expressions ‘converted’ (as if Judaism and Christianity at that time were understood as separate religions, from which and to which one could convert) and ‘Rabbi’ (as if nomenclature which was established only later in history were applicable to first-century Judaism).

The second part specified some of the features of the Matthaean narrative, especially as it was compared to its Markan predecessor. It was suggested that the Swiftean seven recommendations to a writer with 'a powerful impulse' can help us appreciate the extent of the Matthaean re-reading and re-making of Mark.

Assuming that Matthew was written around year 80 CE – in the present context it is not necessary to fix with more precision the time for its composition – some 50 years had passed since the death of Jesus. During that momentous half-century, in the mind of the majority of his followers (and that is what has a bearing in this analysis), Jesus had already been detached from his historical and theological contexts. Influential theological texts, such as the kerygmatic Pauline epistles and the narrative Markan Gospel, were already written, spread, read, studied and sermonized. Whatever Paul and Mark wanted to say about the Jewishness of Jesus, the result was not one that encouraged his followers to appreciate Jesus in his contemporary setting. If Jesus ever were a 'marginal Jew', as suggested by J. P. Meier, or a 'Mediterranean Jewish peasant', as J. D. Crossan describes him, this was certainly no longer what his followers thought of him.⁷²

It is only when we understand the historical and theological contexts of Christianity at the time of Matthew's writing his narrative presentation of the mission and passion of Jesus, that we comprehend the radicalism of Matthew's re-judaization of Jesus. In the history of interpretation, his Gospel has sometimes been presented as a concession to influential judaizing Christians. Few presentations of earliest Christianity could be more wrong. Matthew did not follow the tide; he actually went *against* the current. The veracity in this statement can be seen in the fact that even parts of Matthew's *Heimholung Jesu in das jüdische Volk* was anachronistic. The conflict between what would eventually be called 'Judaism' and 'Christianity' was at the time of his composing the Gospel so ferocious that he thought that the vitriolic and vicious anti-Pharisaic discourse was original.

A growing number of Biblical scholars admit that Matthew is right when he situates Jesus firmly in his historical and theological contexts as a

71. See *m. Avot* 1.1.

72. For these examples, see W. A. Meeks, *Jesus is the Question* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), p. 39. On the other hand, one must not forget that when reading the Gospels diachronically an even older image emerges. See T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus: Studies of its Form and Content* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1948), p. 101; 'We are so accustomed... to make Jesus the object of religion that we become apt to forget that in our earliest records he is portrayed not as the object of religion but as a religious man'.

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Torah-observing Jew living during the late Second Temple period.⁷³ The question is whether students of the Bible have sharp enough perceptions to identify the anti-Pharisaic outbursts in Matthew as evidence not of the earliest stratum of Christianity, but as an imprint of the rising hostilities between those we today know as ‘Jews’ and ‘Christians’, as much an imprint of the circumstances and perspectives of the author as are the infamous Johannine *Ἰουδαῖοι* .

It is suggested here that it actually was the *rejudaization* of Jesus which increased Matthew’s anti-Pharisaism. This process is not unlike the fate of the various quests for the historical Jesus during the last two centuries. These quests have often led scholars to assume rather than argue for the historical uniqueness of the teaching of Jesus. But there are no imperative reasons that Jesus’ teaching *in toto* was anti-contextual.⁷⁴ As it is time to summarize and evaluate what has been discussed in this article, one is easily reminded of a famous couplet.

How odd of God, to choose the Jews!
But odder still of those
who chose a Jewish God
but spurn the Jews!⁷⁵

In a similar vein, one would like to exclaim; *how odd of Matthew to rewrite Mark’s narrative, but odder still of those who chose the Gospel of Matthew, yet spurn the epistle of James*. If nothing else, this discrepancy plainly shows that Matthew has not always been read on its own terms.⁷⁶

In this study it has been argued that the theological differences between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are as inherent as those between the epistles of Paul and James. Whereas readers of the New Testament early on recognized the theological tension between Paul and James (and in addition took sides when they in their historiography decided to favour Paul over James), the friction between Matthew and Mark has hitherto

73. See, for example, the study of Matthew and Jesus of Nazareth by David C. Sim in this volume.

74. For a study devoted to the problems which such an approach creates, see J. Svartvik, ‘The Quest of the Unique Jesus and Its Implications for Global Interreligious Dialogue’, in W. Jeanron and A. Lande (eds), *The Concept of God in Global Dialogue* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2005), pp. 126–44.

75. The tradition history of this couplet is intriguing, but fortunately of minor importance in this study. It has been attributed to Ronald Knox (*in toto*), Frederic Ogden Nash (*in toto*), William Norman Ewer (former half), Cecile Browne (latter half), and so on. Since the authorship is disputed, there is no one established version of the couplet. It is quoted above as it appears in H. Ucko, *Common Roots, New Horizons: Learning about Christian Faith from Dialogue with Jews* (Geneva: WCC, 1994), p. 1.

76. For a similar conclusion, see Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, p. 302.

not been recognized to a similar extent.⁷⁷ Why have students of the New Testament not been as willing, perhaps not even able, to identify the differences between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark? After all, as this study has sought to demonstrate, these differences are no less significant than are those between the epistles of Paul and James. One answer to that question is that they have not been recognized because both Matthew and Mark proved to be indispensable in the remarkable reception history of the Gospels; since Christians combined *Markan antinomianism* and *Matthean anti-Pharisaism*, they did not need to separate the texts from each other. Another reason is that people in the pew, the ecclesial pulpit and the scholarly podium have normally read the Gospels in order to learn more about *the authors' protagonist*. It is quite exceptional for readers of the Gospels to be interested in *the perspectives of the authors*, and therefore to seek to isolate the narratives from each other in order to appreciate their literary and theological distinctiveness. The narratives have simply been understood and treated as windowpanes with a view over the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. It is only when they are read on their own terms that their idiosyncrasies are recognized, appreciated and celebrated.

This article provokes a second paraphrase of the couplet; *how odd to choose Matthew's anti-Pharisaic polemics, but to spurn his scriptural interpretation* (which was the very cause of his polemical discourse). It was mentioned above that there is a lesson to be learnt here. Christian groups which seek to re-judaize the message and mission of Jesus, as did Matthew long before our time, do not necessarily end up portraying Second Temple Judaism in a more positive way. Indeed, in the history of Jewish/Christian relations these groups have more than occasionally given vent to anti-Jewish theology.⁷⁸ They seem to think that since they are offering the Gospel as a *kosher* stew, it will be accepted by the Jewish people. When this does not happen, their now rejected love for the Jewish people sometimes turns into contempt. The fact that readers of the New Testament have tended to favour Matthaean polemics over his theology also says something about a general tendency. It is far more common to absorb polemical and easily won finger-pointing, a *tua culpa* theology if you like, than to see that Matthew's Gospel actually *challenges* the vast majority of Christianity. The Christian tradition has more often than not failed to reflect on the relation between the *nova lex* and the *antiqua lex*, between what Jews and Christians believe God had already revealed and what Christians believe God has manifested through Jesus of Nazareth.

77. There are exceptions; see Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, pp. 188–96.

78. See J. Rousmaniere, *A Bridge to Dialogue: The Story of Jewish-Christian Relations* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991).

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Matthew was arguably the very first Christian seeking to re-judaize Jesus of Nazareth. Throughout two millennia, and undeniably most intensively during the last half-century, many students of the Bible have followed in his footsteps. Although he was successful in many respects, we must not forget who paid the price for his endeavour: the Pharisees, the proto-Rabbis and the Founding Fathers of those we know as the Jewish people, those whom Jesus knew as his own.

3. MATTHEW AND LUKE

BORIS REPSCHINSKI SJ

1. Introduction

The Gospel of Matthew has often been taken as a document that illustrates the difficult parting of the ways between Judaism and the Christian communities emerging from it into a Gentile world.¹ There certainly is a lot of evidence to suggest that the Gospel of Matthew is indeed a document reflecting quite grave differences with at least some strands of the Judaism it encountered. Even if the Gospel does not contain uncontested evidence that the break with Judaism is already a fact, it certainly looms large on the horizon. But there is also another parting that seems at least alluded to, if not present as distinctly as the conflict with Judaism. It is the conflict between the kind of Jewish Christianity proposed by Matthew and the Gentile Christianity in a Pauline tradition which abandons circumcision and the strict observance of the Law. Matthew's Gospel is written at a point in time where the evangelist can look back on the rich theology offered by its Jewish origin. However, he also looks into a future of a church that is inexorably becoming Gentile. Thus it is quite proper to speak of a parting of the ways that affected various traditions in the early church.² Matthew may have regretted this development, but the subsequent history of the Gospel and its prominent use among Gentiles like Ignatius of Antioch show that he could not stop this development. At about the same time as Matthew, the author of Luke-Acts faced a similar situation. From both the Gospel and the Acts it is quite obvious that Luke knew about a somewhat painful relationship between Jewish traditions

1. G. N. Stanton, 'Matthew's Christology and the Parting of the Ways', in J. D. G. Dunn (ed.), *The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135* (WUNT, 66; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), pp. 99–116. For a history and a critique of this concept, see A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed (eds), *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (TSAJ, 95; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

2. 'To the abiding impoverishment of the church, the Jewish and Gentile sections of the church were going their separate ways by the turn of the century'. W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew* (ICC; 3 vols; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988, 1991, 1997), III, p. 722.

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and the Gentile future of the greater Church. The aim of this study is, therefore, to look at the different strategies of both authors in dealing with the advent of Gentiles in their Christian communities with their Jewish heritage. This will include first and foremost a look at the approach to the Gentile mission, taking up from there issues like the observance of the Law, salvation and christology.

2. *The Gentile Mission in Matthew*

Looking at the Gospel of Matthew one cannot be but impressed by the enormous influence of Mt. 28.16-20 over Matthew's interpreters. Perhaps this was most poignantly expressed by O. Michel when he took the command of the risen Jesus to the universal mission as the key to the Gospel and went on to state; 'Seit der Erhöhung Jesu Christi fällt die Scheidewand des Gesetzes hin, wird das Evangelium zur Botschaft für "alle Völker", d. h. für alle Menschen, ohne Rücksicht auf die Gesetzesfrage'.³ Michel is basically repeating what still seems the consensus among scholars, namely that the Gospel exhibits a positive attitude towards the Gentiles and that it consequently embraced the Gentile mission without reservations. It has even been suggested that the commission to the Gentile mission concludes the mission to Israel, so that the Jews are no longer included in πάντα τὰ ἔθνη of Mt. 28.19.⁴ Still, the mission to the Gentiles comes as something of a surprise after the Gospel was concerned to portray the mission of Jesus as one to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt. 15.24).⁵ Such a view usually appeals to the seemingly unqualified positive appearance of the Gentiles in the Gospel.⁶ There are references to Abraham as the father of all nations, to the women in the genealogy, to the appearance of the magi, to the two fulfilment quotations in Mt. 4.15 and 12.18, to the centurion and his admirable faith surpassing that of all Israel (Mt. 8.5-13), to Jesus' visit to Gadara (Mt. 8.28-34) or Tyre and

3. O. Michel, 'Der Abschluss des Matthäusevangeliums', *EvT* 10 (1950), 16-26 (26). Michel goes on to place the final redaction of the Gospel squarely within Gentile Christianity.

4. See D. R. A. Hare and D. J. Harrington, "Make Disciples of All the Gentiles" (Mt 28:19), *CBQ* 37 (1975), 359-69 and D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew* (SP, 1; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 416.

5. Thus D. A. Hagner writes, 'Now, after the death and resurrection of Jesus, for the first time the limitation of the gospel to Israel (cf. 10:5; 15:24) is removed'. See D. A. Hagner, *Matthew 14-28* (WBC, 33B; Dallas: Word Books, 1993), p. 887. S. Brown speaks of the Gentile mission as a 'deus ex machina'. See S. Brown, 'The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission', *NovT* 22 (1980), 193-221 (221).

6. A good example of such a position is B. Byrne, 'The Messiah in Whose Name "The Gentiles Will Hope" (Matt 12:21): Gentile Inclusion as an Essential Element of Matthew's Christology', *ABR* 50 (2002), 55-73.

Sidon (Mt. 15.21-29) where he heals the daughter of the Canaanite woman, to the Gentiles as part of the kingdom of God in Mt. 21–22, to whom the kingdom may be given after it has been taken from the Jews (Mt. 21.43), and finally to the confession of faith of the centurion under the cross (Mt. 27.54). Some scholars have argued that the affinity for the Gentiles goes so far that Matthew can no longer be considered a Jewish writing.⁷ But even if one retains the majority view of the Gospel as a writing born out of a Jewish milieu, the Gentile mission can still be viewed as a result of the conflict with competing Jewish groups. These positions would at the same time often assume that the Jewish mission proposed in Mt. 10.5 and 15.24 had come to an end or was at least unsuccessful.⁸

One attempt to challenge the assumption that Matthew takes a positive attitude towards Gentiles or a mission to them has been made by D. C. Sim.⁹ Sim contends that when one looks at the relevant passages in detail it is quite hard to discern a positive attitude towards Gentiles at all. He divides the passages above into two groups and adds a third group of sayings that are hostile to Gentiles. The first group concerns passages that have traditionally been taken as indicators of Matthew's liking for the Gentiles. But Sim points out that these passages may not be concerned with the religious affiliation of the characters appearing in the narrative. This is certainly right with regard to the women in the genealogy,¹⁰ and Sim's case with the fulfilment quotation in Mt. 4.15-16 is equally convincing. In Mt. 4.15 the expression ὁ λαὸς ὁ καθήμενος ἐν σκότει probably does not refer to Gentiles or a coming mission to Gentiles but to the beginning

7. See, for example, K. W. Clark, 'The Gentile Bias in Matthew', *JBL* 66 (1947), 165–72; P. Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium: Ein judenchristliches Evangelium?* (ATDan, 1; Åarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958); J. P. Meier, *The Vision of Matthew: Christ, Church and Morality in the First Gospel* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979). This thesis has not reached anything near a scholarly consensus. The latest proponent of this theory is P. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* (WUNT, 2.177; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

8. An example of such a position pushed to its extreme is given by Brown, 'The Matthean Community and the Gentile Mission'. He proposes that the Matthean community relocated from Palestine to Syria after the Jewish war and came into conflict with the local Jewish authorities. This made a Gentile mission highly attractive to parts of Matthew's group. Brown sees the purpose of the Gospel in the evangelist's attempt to persuade the community to engage in a mission that at the same time was still controversial.

9. See D. C. Sim, 'The Gospel of Matthew and the Gentiles', *JSNT* 57 (1995), 19–48. He later refined his arguments in D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), pp. 215–56.

10. I think that Sim's attempts to discredit the Gentile affiliation of the women is questionable. See Sim, *Matthew and Christian Judaism*, p. 218.