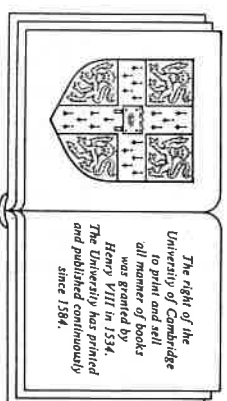


Community and gospel in Luke—Acts

The social and political motivations of Lucan theology

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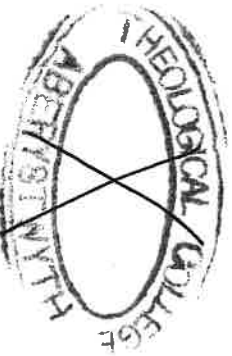
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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

within itself the seeds of its own transformation. So Luke could console his fellow-Christians with the message that it was not they but Jews still attending the synagogue who had abandoned the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Moses and of David.

We shall see in Chapter 8 below that the ancestral theme also had a role to play in legitimating Christianity from a Roman perspective, by showing that it was not a new and revolutionary movement, but actually had ancient roots.

4

TABLE-FELLOWSHIP

1. Table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in Luke-Acts

One issue in Luke-Acts towers above all others as significant for the emergence and subsequent sectarian identity of the type of community for whom Luke wrote: namely, table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles. An almost universal failure to appreciate the centrality of this phenomenon, both to Luke's history of Christian beginnings and to the life of his own community, is one of the most outstanding deficiencies in Lukan scholarship. It is a deficiency attributable to a methodology which is historical or theological or both, but which fails to enlist insights from the social sciences in an attempt to uncover crucial but largely unsuspected patterns of significance in the text. All Lukan commentators, of course, devote some attention to the account of the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10 and to the Council of the Jerusalem church which discusses this event in Acts 11.1-18. Many of them even mention that Peter's fellow-apostles and disciples are concerned that he has entered a house inhabited by Gentiles and eaten with them (11.3). But this aspect of the incident is usually submerged in sweeping statements that the Cornelius account is intended to pave the way for 'the mission to the Gentiles', a catch-phrase beloved of writers on Luke and apparently expressive of his deepest intentions in the work.

There are several features in Luke-Acts which alert us to the fact that Jewish-Gentile table-fellowship had been a matter of intense controversy in the early church and was still of concern for Luke's contemporaries. The most obvious of these features is the conversion of Cornelius, but there are also the Apostolic Council in Acts 15 and the three occasions, discussed above in Chapter 2, on which Paul enjoyed the hospitality of Gentiles (16.14-15, 25-34; 18.7-11). We shall argue below that table-fellowship re-appears in Acts 27.

This phenomenon also led to the tremendous rift in Antioch described by Paul in Gal 2.11–14. There are, moreover, definite indications that the question was one which interested Mark and Matthew and therefore the communities for whom they composed their Gospels.

That our sources contain evidence of a conflict in the early church over the propriety or otherwise of Jews eating with Gentiles is of great assistance in applying a socio-redactional approach to the study of Luke's strategies and purpose. The reason for this has been well explained by Gerd Theissen. Sociological analysis interests itself in features of social situations which are usual and typical, which transcend the individual. Historical records, on the other hand, focus upon what is unusual and atypical, striking and unique. Accordingly, it is often difficult or even impossible to subject such records to sociological analysis. The importance of conflicts is that they are a form of social interaction which does figure prominently in historical records and is available for subsequent sociological examination:

Among the unusual and singular events about which we have some knowledge, however, conflicts play a special role. Here the various customs of social groups collide with one another. In such circumstances the unusual actually sheds light on the ordinary, the dramatic conflict reveals the banal. If ever we can derive information about the social background of our historical traditions, it is through the analysis of such conflicts.¹

Theissen himself has used the techniques of conflict analysis to great effect in his interpretation of the meaning of Paul's eucharistic teaching in his Corinthian correspondence.²

We must now attempt a socio-redaction analysis of the data in Luke—Acts relating to the question of Jewish—Gentile table-fellowship. We begin this with an essential discussion of how such a practice was viewed by the Jews of that period, without which it is impossible to estimate the nature of the pressures, social and ethnic as much as religious, which would be experienced by a community in which Jew sat down at table with Gentile. The result of this analysis will be to show that a theme which most writers on Luke regard as a minor one of mainly theological interest, actually has an all-important social significance as the central arch in the symbolic universe which Luke creates to legitimate the sectarian separation of his community from Judaism.

2. Jewish antipathy to dining with Gentiles

The anthropological perspective: external threat and purity laws

Invaluable assistance in comprehending the significance of the Jewish purity laws has been provided in recent years by the English anthropologists Mary Douglas and Edmund Leach, both of whom have analysed various aspects of the Old Testament data on the subject. In 1966 Mary Douglas published *Purity and Danger*. In Chapter 7 of that book, 'External Boundaries', she offers an explanation for the interrelationships between the purity laws which a society, especially Judaism, imposes on its individual members and the external pressures experienced by that society as a whole. Her main argument is that the human body is often used by a society as a symbol of that society. Thus, the idea of society is a powerful image with form, external boundaries, margins and internal structure. In all these features it is matched by the human body, which is also a complex structure, with definite boundaries and various parts having specific yet interrelated functions.³ The use of the body as symbolical of society emerges most clearly when we see the dangers threatening a particular social system from outside reproduced in miniature on the human body. Accordingly, Mary Douglas strongly criticizes those who suggest that the rituals of the human body dealing with the avoidance of pollution are attributable to personal and private concerns, especially of a psychopathic nature. Rather, she urges, 'to understand body pollution we should try to argue back from the known dangers of society to the known selection of bodily themes and try to recognise what appositeness is there' (p. 121). In particular, she proposes that rituals expressing concern about the body's orifices and boundaries are a reflection of a care to protect the political and cultural unity of a minority group. This was pre-eminently the case with Israel:

The Israelites were always in their history a hard-pressed minority. In their beliefs all the bodily issues were polluting, blood, pus, excreta, semen, etc. The threatened boundaries of their body politic would be well mirrored in their care for the integrity, unity and purity of the physical body. (p. 124)

Mary Douglas noted in *Purity and Danger* that there was a close parallel to the Jewish concern for purity in the Hindu caste system. Although this system embraces virtually all minorities, it embraces

them each as a distinctive, cultural sub-unit. In any particular locality, any sub-caste is likely to be a minority. And the purer and higher its caste status, the more of a minority it will be. 'Therefore the revulsion from touching corpses and excreta does not merely express the order of the caste in the system as a whole. The anxiety about bodily margins expresses danger to group survival' (p. 124). This view subsequently received strong indirect confirmation in Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus*, a magisterial study of the Indian caste system. In this work Dumont showed that the three essential aspects of the system (gradation of status or hierarchy, the detailed rules aimed at ensuring that separation, and division of labour) were reducible to a basic opposition between the pure and the impure.⁴ There are many references in *Homo Hierarchicus* to members of specific sub-castes defining the barriers between themselves and other sub-castes by reference to particular measures of purity, especially relating to the consumption of food.⁵

The importance for the present discussion of Edmund Leach's essay 'The Legitimacy of Solomon', first published in 1966, is that it corroborates the view of Mary Douglas that the political and social problems which the Israelites experienced by virtue of their being surrounded by often hostile neighbours who disputed their title to the land were reflected in the Jewish purity regulations. Adopting the structuralist techniques of Lévi-Strauss for the Old Testament story of the succession of Solomon, Leach attempted, with a very high degree of success, to show that this story was a myth which mediated a major contradiction. On the one hand, there was the Jewish assertion of political title to the land of Palestine as a direct gift of God, which resulted in the rule of endogamy to ensure that the Jews should be a people of pure blood and pure religion living in isolation in the land, while on the other hand was the hard fact that the Jews had won the land by conquest and that to maintain the peace inter-marriage with their neighbours, exogamy, was often politically expedient.⁶

Nearly ten years after the appearance of *Purity and Danger* Mary Douglas published an essay, entitled 'Deciphering a Meal', in which she developed her earlier ideas on Jewish purity regulations with specific reference to the dietary laws.⁷ One feature of her discussion is the proposal that the relevant data in the Old Testament reveal a congruence between the type of animals fit for the altar and for domestic tables and even between such animals and the humans who can enter the various parts of the Temple. She writes: 'It would seem

that whenever a people are aware of encroachments and danger, dietary rules controlling what goes into the body would serve as a vivid analogy of the corpus of their cultural categories at risk.⁸

The relationships which Mary Douglas and Edmund Leach have observed between the need for Israel to preserve its external boundaries and the purity regulations imposed upon individual Israelites also manifest themselves in the means adopted by Jewish religious movements to maintain their separate identities. The two most notable examples are the rules of the Pharisees and of the monks of Qumran. What the Pharisees and the monks of Qumran had in common was a life-style which, in varying degrees, separated them from the rest of Israel. The very name 'Pharisees' probably means 'the separated ones',⁹ while part of the community rule of the Qumran monks declares that they 'shall separate from the congregation of the men of falsehood ...'.¹⁰ For both groups the central mechanism of this separation was a zealous devotion to the Mosaic law, together with other regulations which they added to it, the Pharisees following the 'traditions of the Fathers' (an oral development of the Torah) and the monks 'acting' in obedience to the prescriptions of 'the Sons of Zadok', the sect's priestly hierarchy.¹¹ One aspect common to the life-styles of both was a strict prohibition against eating with outsiders.

The Pharisees were not, however, as isolated as the monks of Qumran. They founded religious fellowships (*haburah*) throughout the villages and towns of Palestine and these fellowships were like islands of purity in a polluted sea. The members of every *haburah* undertook to carry out even in the midst of less observant Israelites ritual laws which were generally neglected. They set up a barrier between themselves and the outsider, who was by definition a source of ritual defilement. In particular, they paid the priest and the Levite agricultural dues which other Jews withheld and ate their food in a state of ritual purity identical to that of the priests in the Temple.¹²

The great concern for purity of the monks at Qumran, in the splendid isolation of their settlement on a hill overlooking the Dead Sea, was also influenced by the ritual practices of the Temple priests. This emerges most obviously in their daily ritual baths and sacrificial meals.¹³ Underlying this influence is the historical factor of the probable origin of their sect in a priestly group who had severed relations with the Temple and gone out to live in the wilderness.

Characteristic of the Pharisees and the Qumran monks, therefore, was an intimate correlation between their isolation from the rest of Israel and the heightened purity regulations imposed on individual

members. This closely parallels what Mary Douglas and Edmund Leach have argued was the general position of Israel *vis-à-vis* the Gentiles in Palestine, and it is highly likely that Israel's methods of protecting itself against external threat served as a model for the Pharisees and the monks at Qumran.

Literary and historical evidence for the Jewish ban on dining with Gentiles

Although Mary Douglas does not specifically investigate the question of table-fellowship between Jew and non-Jew, one would expect that this is an issue to which her argument applies *a fortiori*. This is the case not merely because eating with outsiders carried the risk of being offered food prohibited by the food laws. No, commensality involved a most serious dereliction from the fundamental objective of preserving the separate identity of the Jewish people. How could one keep the outside world at bay and yet sit down at table with its representatives, an action expressing the warmest intimacy and respect (cf. Ps 100.5; LXX)? In a comparable way, the taboos relating to food in the Indian caste system do not merely specify what foods may be eaten, but also with whom one may eat. Among the Indian castes, moreover, inter-marriage is normally only possible between people who can also eat together without risk of defilement; in other words, there is a close coincidence between commensality and commensality. Given the antipathy of the Jews for marrying Gentiles, the Indian comparison suggests that it would be most surprising if they did not also feel a pronounced hostility towards eating with them.

It is not enough to found an argument, however, merely to demonstrate that opposition of Jews to table-fellowship with Gentiles, in the first century CE specifically, exists in the realm of anthropological probability. It is necessary to establish as a matter of historical fact that such an attitude did characterize the Judaism of this period. What then are we to make of the view of J. D. G. Dunn that in the first century CE less scrupulous Jews willingly extended and accepted invitations to meals at which Gentiles would be present,¹⁴ or that of Stephen Wilson that it is doubtful that separation from non-Jews, including a refusal to eat with them, was 'universally practised by all Jews in this period'?¹⁵

Dunn makes his proposal on this matter in the context of an article on the incident at Antioch reported in Gal 2.11–14. After an interesting, although debatable, discussion of the socio-political background to this incident¹⁶ and a consideration of the Jewish

attitudes to table-fellowship, he reaches the conclusion that there was a diversity of attitudes among Jews of the period on the question of eating with Gentiles, with strict Jews avoiding this practice, while those less scrupulous engaged in it. From this he proceeds to suggest that what was at issue among the community at Antioch was not a Jewish-Christian demand for a complete discontinuance of table-fellowship, but merely a tightening up of the manner in which it was taking place, by insisting upon Pharisaical purity standards.¹⁷ Two fundamental objections can be made to this theory. First, Dunn offers not a shred of evidence for Jews eating with Gentiles in this period. Material which he cites in support from the *Mishnah* and the *Talmud* is not only too late to assist him but is actually diametrically opposed to the position he is advocating.¹⁸ Secondly, his proposal is incompatible with Paul's language and argument in Galatians. Peter had been in the habit of eating with the Gentiles (ouvcetlev) in Antioch, but when some friends of James arrived, he stopped (Gal 2.12). For these Jewish Christians from Jerusalem there is no question of degrees of table-fellowship, there is only the stark choice between no fellowship and fellowship following circumcision and acceptance of the Jewish law. As for Stephen Wilson, he justifies his opinion with a footnote reference to an essay by G. Alon which, when examined, does countenance the existence of some social intercourse between Jews and Gentiles but lends no support whatever to the proposition that such intercourse went so far as table-fellowship.¹⁹

More fundamentally, the ancient evidence establishes a conclusion quite contrary to that of Dunn and Wilson: namely, that as a general rule Jews did refrain from eating with Gentiles and that this was a feature which was perceived to characterize their life-style from as early as the late fourth century BCE until far into the classical period, and not merely from the period after 70 CE, when, as Jacob Neusner has demonstrated,²⁰ the Pharisees induced a large number of Jews to adopt higher standards of purity modelled on those of the Temple priests in Jerusalem. The first area of evidence comes from the reactions of classical writers to Jews and Judaism.²¹ One needs to exercise great caution in using this evidence because for far too long it has been thought to indicate a general hostility to Judaism in antiquity. We have shown in Chapter 2 above that Judaism exerted an enormous attraction for many Greeks and Romans, and John G. Gager has recently published a major re-assessment of the attitude of classical authors to the Jews which explains many of the reasons for this attraction and interprets some of the more hostile anti-Jewish

notices as motivated by reasons other than a widespread antipathy to Jewish beliefs and practices as such.²² Nevertheless, Gager has not managed to disprove that a strong measure of exclusivism and separatism, which was unavoidable if the Torah was to be adhered to at all, did characterize important aspects of the response of Jews to the pagan world. His sweeping reply to the viewpoint of J. N. Sevenster, that 'most Jews were not separate at all', is a serious distortion of the evidence.²³ This becomes most evident when authors who are, on his own admission, quite favourable to Judaism comment upon the anti-social behaviour of the Jews, most notably in their refusal to eat with anyone but themselves. A discussion of the significance of table-fellowship in Jewish relations with the pagan world is conspicuously absent from Gager's book, and this is a serious flaw in it.²⁴ Let us turn now to the evidence.

Our first author is Hecataeus of Abdera, who visited Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I (323–285 BCE) and later wrote an *Aegyptiaca* which contained reference to the history, beliefs and customs of the Jews.²⁵ Under Ptolemy I the Jewish community in Egypt, which had existed there for centuries, was very substantially augmented by a wave of Jewish prisoners, mercenaries and immigrants.²⁶ Hecataeus was therefore an eye-witness to the reaction of a flourishing Jewish Diaspora population to the pagan world at the end of the fourth century BCE and the beginning of the third. Now this was an age which thought rather highly of the Jews, with pagan writers being inclined to regard them as a nation of philosophers.²⁷ Hecataeus himself, as Gager notes,²⁸ was not anti-Jewish and held Moses in high esteem. But this assessment only serves to endorse the accuracy of the views of Hecataeus on the life-style of the Jews when he says that the sacrifices which Moses established 'differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living [τὸς κατὰ τοῦ βίου ἀγωγῶς], for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced an unsocial and intolerant mode of life [ἀσάκναστον τὴν καὶ μισόξενον βίον].'²⁹ Thus, he attributes to the Jews a separateness from other people and an hostility towards them. Hecataeus makes no mention of whether Jews dined with Gentiles, but if they had been in the habit of so doing, either in the houses of Gentiles or in their own, it is most unlikely that they would have come to be regarded as a people who were aloof from, and hostile to, their neighbours. Apollonius Molon was a native of Caria who made Rhodes the centre of his teaching and writing. He flourished in the first half of the first century BCE.³⁰ Apollonius does not appear to have had

any positive feelings towards the Jews, but Stern notes that he would have had personal experience of them from his native Caria, where there were Jewish settlements in the second and first centuries BCE.³¹ He thought the Jews atheists and misanthropes (ἄθεοι καὶ μισανθρώποι)³² and saw them as unwilling to associate (κοινώνειν) with those who had chosen to adopt a different mode of life.³³ Some invective must overlie these views, but they surely also contain a reflection of a certain exclusivism on the part of Diaspora Jews with respect to religion and social intercourse with Gentiles.

The earliest pagan author to mention a Jewish refusal to engage in such table-fellowship was Diodorus Siculus, who flourished under Caesar and Augustus and wrote a world history in the period c. 60–30 BCE.³⁴ This is another author whom Gager regards as not having been anti-Semitic,³⁵ yet we find him reporting the view that the Jews 'alone of all nations avoided dealings with any other people and looked upon all men as their enemies' and that they did not engage in table-fellowship with any other nation (τὸ μὴ δὲν ἄλλῳ ἔδδει τραπεζῆς κοινωνεῖν).³⁶ Diodorus does not specify whether this ban applied to eating with Gentiles both in their homes and in Jewish homes, or merely to the former. It would appear to be most unlikely, however, that such a perception of Jewish practice could have arisen if Jews had been in the habit of entertaining Gentiles, especially since this would have been a simple means of reducing pagan apprehensions of Jewish separateness.

Pompeius Trogus lived at the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE.³⁷ He offers an etiology of Jewish apartness by arguing that after the exodus the Jews remembered that they had been driven from Egypt for fear of spreading contagion, so in order not to become odious to their neighbours they took care not to live with strangers (*ne cum peregrinis conviverent*). In time, this rule, from having been adopted for a particular occasion, gradually became a religious institution (*paulatim in disciplinam religionemque convertit*).³⁸ It should be noted that Quintilian at times uses the verb *convivo* in the sense of 'to dine together' (instead of the usual *convivor*),³⁹ and it is not impossible that the word could also have this meaning, or a flavour of it, in Pompeius Trogus.

We will now briefly consider two other authors, Tacitus and Philostratus, to show that these perceptions of Judaism continued beyond the first century CE. Tacitus inserted an excursus on the Jews at the start of Book V of his *Historiae*, which was written in the first decade of the second century CE.⁴⁰ During the course of this famous

discussion he relates that, although the Jews are extremely loyal and compassionate towards one another, towards everyone else they have a bitter enmity. He then specifies that they 'take their meals apart, they sleep apart, and, although they are as a race much given to lust, they abstain from intercourse with foreign women' (*Separati epulis, discreti cubilibus, proicetissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent*).⁴¹ Even allowing for the animus which Tacitus undoubtedly had against the Jews, there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of his describing the Jews as neither eating with nor engaging in sexual relations with Gentiles. It is interesting, moreover, that Tacitus should so couple the very two features which general anthropological factors and the parallel with the Indian caste system suggest must go hand-in-hand if ethnic or caste identity is to be preserved.

Our last classical author is Philostratus, a sophist and writer who lived during the second half of the second century to the forties of the third century CE.⁴² One of the characters in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* describes the Jews as 'a race that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table [οἷς μὴτε κοινῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τρῶμεθα] nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices ...'.⁴³

This persuasive collection of testimonies from classical authors of a Jewish refusal to dine with Gentiles is amply corroborated by material to the same effect from Jewish sources, most of which dates from well before the campaign by the Pharisees for increased attention on the part of ordinary Jews to purity requirements. The background to some of the works we are about to discuss was the action of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, aimed at Hellenizing the Jewish population of Palestine, and culminating in his attack on Jerusalem and virtual prohibition of the practice of Judaism in 167 BCE (2 Macc 6).⁴⁴ One element of the policy of Antiochus was to force Jews to eat swine's flesh, on pain of death if they refused (2 Macc 7.11f.). The latest of the Old Testament books, Daniel, was composed during this emergency (167–3 BCE) and, although having a dramatic date some centuries earlier, during the Babylonian captivity, actually reflects the contemporary situation in many respects.⁴⁵ We need here only refer to Dan 1.3–17, which relate how Daniel, one of a number of Jewish boys selected to be trained for the Babylonian king's service, was assigned a daily allowance of food and wine from the royal table and was most anxious lest he would be defiled (ἀλουργέω) (1.8) by it.

So he sought, and obtained, permission to eat only vegetables and water, and on this diet he and the others flourished.

A similar attitude is revealed in the Book of Judith, which is also to be dated to the period of the Maccabean rising.⁴⁶ When Judith goes off on her mission to beguile and then slay Holofernes, she takes with her a supply of food and wine (10.5). So equipped, she graciously refuses to eat the food and wine which Holofernes offers her, 'to avoid causing a scandal' (ὅνα μὴ γένηται σκάνδαλον) (12.2), and, although she does sit at his table, she eats only her own food which is served to her by her maid (12.17–19). Each night she goes out of Holofernes' camp and bathes in a spring and, after returning to her camp cleansed (or 'pure' – καθαρό) she takes her meal (12.7–9). It is possible that she bathes before eating because she has contracted defilement by contact with Gentiles.⁴⁷

Even in works not written at the time of the Maccabean rising – although, as Martin Hengel notes,⁴⁸ the events of that period made a lasting impression on the Jewish consciousness – there are passages which deal with the necessity of avoiding table-fellowship with Gentiles. Two apocryphal works may be mentioned first. In the Book of Esther, which is difficult to date but does not reflect the Maccabean rebellion,⁴⁹ Esther abstained from eating at the royal table or drinking the wine of libation (4.17), even though she had been brought into the king's harem and had become his favourite wife (2.15–18). Secondly, in the Book of Tobit, which was probably composed before the persecution of Antiochus,⁵⁰ Tobit reports that when he was carried off to captivity in Nineveh, he did not eat the food of the Gentiles even though his brothers and fellow-Israelites did (Tobit 1.11). It is inconceivable, of course, that only Tobit failed to apostatize; this feature of the story is added merely to underline his piety. Tobit behaves in the way which befits a loyal Jew of the Diaspora, and a significant aspect of this behaviour consists of sticking to the dietary laws.

The Pseudepigrapha are also a rich source of references on this theme. The *Letter of Aristides*, although rarely commented upon in this connection,⁵¹ is of particular significance. Most probably written in the early decades of the second century BCE,⁵² this work, as recent scholarship has shown, does not concern itself primarily with how the Septuagint first came to be translated, a feature which occupies a fairly subsidiary place,⁵³ but offers a defence of Diaspora Judaism *vis-à-vis* the Gentile world or Palestinian Judaism or both.⁵⁴ Given this aim, it is clear that the information it contains about the life-style

of Jews in the Diaspora (here, Egypt in particular) must be taken as typical for the vast majority of them and not as characteristic only of a small minority. We note, in the first place, that the author almost revels in proclaiming that very separateness which John G. Gager has denied to Diaspora Judaism at all. Consider how the author of the *Letter* interprets the achievements of Moses:

[he] fenced us around with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.⁵⁵

In other words, the Jews have been 'distinctly separated from the rest of mankind' (παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπων διαστάμεθα).⁵⁶ The most intriguing aspect of this work for the present discussion is that a substantial portion of it relates to conversations between Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Egyptian king who commissioned the translation of the Hebrew scriptures, and the Jewish translators, held at a banquet which extended over seven days.⁵⁷ At first sight, Jewish participation in this feast would appear to contradict the argument advanced so far. On closer inspection, however, this proves not to be the case, inasmuch as the banquet is held in a manner which is specifically in accordance with the requirements of the king's Jewish guests. For Ptolemy, like other kings and cities, so the author records, had a special officer to look after the Jews who were invited to celebrations and to see that everything was prepared according to their customs (κατὰ τοὺς ἑθιμοὺς), 'so that nothing unpleasant might disturb the pleasure of their visit'. In this case, the king's officer had separate stores under his control for use at such receptions and these he brought out for the feast.⁵⁸ Finally, we should note the table arrangements at this banquet. The only participants seem to have been the king and his Jewish guests, and these were seated in two rows, half of them on his right and half behind him.⁵⁹ The author does not specify whether food and wine were passed between the king and the Jews, but it would seem more likely that he ate his and they ate theirs. This would result in a situation similar to the way in which Judith dined with Holofernes.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, also to be dated to the second century BCE,⁶⁰ there is the following passage, forming part of an address by Isaac to Jacob:

Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them: ...
For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.⁶¹

This quotation is particularly significant because the prohibition against mixing or eating with Gentiles is related not to what they eat but to the pollution which attaches to their actions. The *Book of Jubilees* may not be as representative of the broad range of Jewish opinion as the *Letter of Aristeas*, since its parallels with some of the thoughts in the Dead Sea scrolls indicate that it may represent a narrower type of Judaism out of which that of the monks of Qumran evolved.⁶² Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that on the question of the appropriate attitude to Gentiles it expressed a view shared by many, if not most, ordinary Jews in the second century BCE.⁶³

The last work to be discussed from the Pseudepigrapha is *Joseph and Asenath*, composed by a Jewish author, probably in the last decades of the first century CE or the first decades of the second.⁶⁴ *Joseph and Asenath* is an haggadic midrash on Gen 41.45 and describes how Asenath, the daughter of an Egyptian priest, and Joseph fall in love and marry, after she has turned from idolatry and converted to Judaism. It illustrates many themes we have seen already. Thus, it reports that Joseph had often been told by his father Jacob to have nothing to do with foreign women, for such *koinonia* was ruin and destruction.⁶⁵ Moreover, the author mentions that when Joseph was entertained at the house of Asenath's parents 'they set a table before him separately, because he did not eat with [συνοφειε] the Egyptians, as this was an abomination [βδέλυγμα] to him'. Once again, we observe 'table-fellowship' of a very particular kind being afforded to a special Jewish guest, and similar to that offered by Ptolemy to the Septuagint translators in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

The last items in this survey of Jewish evidence are two passages from the *Mishnah* and one from the *Talmud*; these, Dunn claims, support his belief that table-fellowship occurred between Jews and Gentiles in the first century CE.⁶⁷ In the first Mishnaic passage (m. *Berakhot* 7.1) the 'Gentile' whom Dunn cites as present at a meal with Jews is actually a Samaritan, so this example cannot support his case unless he can show that the position of Samaritans on questions of ritual purity had been assimilated in all respects to that of Gentiles.

The second Mishnaic passage (m. *Abodah Zarah* 5.5), which is interpreted in the Gemara section of the *Talmud* passage cited by Dunn (b. *Abodah Zarah* 8a–b), is apposite. This *mishnah* does indeed begin 'If an Israelite was eating with a gentile at a table ...',⁶⁸ but it plainly envisages that the two of them are drinking from different wine-jars (no mention is made of food), since the whole point of the passage (and of surrounding *mishnot*)⁶⁹ is how to determine if the Gentile has tampered with the Jew's wine in such a way as to make it libation-wine for his idol and therefore unfit for Jewish consumption. This can only be described as table-fellowship in a very limited sense, if at all. The corresponding Gemara in the Babylonian *Talmud* does not alter this position.⁷⁰ It does give an example of a Jew and a Gentile sitting at table in an inn and drinking wine, but once again their wine is quite separate, and the discussion revolves around how a Jew can be confident that his wine has not been polluted, which it would be, for example, if the Gentile were to touch it.⁷¹

We must now summarize the results of this examination, before proceeding to analyse the data in Luke–Acts on table-fellowship, in the light of other New Testament writings. In essence, the historical evidence richly endorses the anthropological insights of Mary Douglas and Edmund Leach. From the fourth century BCE right through into the second century CE and beyond there is a wealth of evidence, both from classical authors and in the Jewish sources, for the fact that the Jews were zealous in keeping themselves apart from the Gentiles by means of definite boundaries which were perceived as originating in the Mosaic code (so, in particular, Hecataeus of Abdera, the *Letter of Aristaeas*, and Pompeius Trogus). Such aloofness is not, of course, incompatible with Judaism's having exuded a great attraction for many thoughtful Gentiles. But although Jews were happy to mix with Gentiles in synagogues or possibly even in market-places or streets, eating with them was a very different matter. Eating was an occasion fraught with the possibility of breaching the purity code, one of the most crucial aspects of the Mosaic law for the maintenance of the separate identity of the Jewish *ethnos*. The antipathy of Jews towards table-fellowship with Gentiles, in the full sense of sitting around a table with them and sharing the same food, wine and vessels, was an intrinsic feature of Jewish life for centuries before and after our period.

Oddly enough, there is nothing specifically in the Mosaic code forbidding such table-fellowship, just as there is nothing forbidding inter-marriage with Gentiles, except for the seven nations in Dt 7.1, though

this was a practice also regarded in the sources we have considered as threatening the ethnic identity of the Jews. Yet in one way it was only a short step from the prohibitions on various foods in Lev 11 to the ban on table-fellowship, for a Jew could not safely eat any food supplied to him by a Gentile for fear that it had been stored or cooked in a vessel used for one of the forbidden foods and had thereby become ritually defiled; even Leviticus, after all, recognized that a vessel which had come into contact with some of the kinds of ritually impure creatures itself became defiled and defiling (Lev 11.31–4) and the *Mishnah* was eventually to describe various forms of purification to which utensils purchased from a Gentile had to be put before Jewish use.⁷² But there also developed another reason for avoiding table-fellowship with Gentiles: namely, the fact that they were themselves ritually impure. Judith, for example, bathed in a spring every evening before her meal, as if she had become unclean through contact with Gentiles. The passage quoted above from the *Book of Jubilees*, furthermore, is unmistakable evidence for such a belief in the second century BCE. Alon has argued that the impurity of non-Jews was one of the early *halakhot*, not enjoined in the Torah, but nevertheless rooted in ancient tradition and in many respects a practical law, and that this *halakhah* was 're-established', that is, put on a firm footing, as one of the Eighteen Decrees enacted by the Sages in c. 70 CE.⁷³ Alon regarded this law as an extension of the impurity of the idols worshipped by the Gentiles to the Gentiles themselves. From the time of Ezra, as Z. W. Falk has shown, the Jews had been willing to grant legal status to prescriptions not specifically included in the Torah, although in later times dispute raged between the Pharisees and the Sadducees as to the proper ambit of such supplementary law.⁷⁴ There is a variety of evidence cited by Alon for an early belief in the ritual impurity of Gentiles, but we shall restrict ourselves here to non-Mishnaic and Talmudic examples to avoid problems over dating.⁷⁵ Most of this comes from Josephus, who reports, for example, that Essenes were required to take a bath after contact with a Gentile,⁷⁶ that Hyrcanus urged Herod not to let his Gentile soldiers enter Jerusalem while the people were purifying themselves for the feast of Weeks,⁷⁷ undoubtedly because they would defile the Israelites, and that the vestments of the High Priest had to be purified after they were removed from Roman custody,⁷⁸ presumably because they had become defiled through Gentile contact. From the period after 70 CE, when the impurity of the Gentiles was enshrined in the Eighteen Decrees, we might refer to John's remark that the Jewish leaders refused to enter the Praetorium to avoid pollution (Jn 18.28).

One consequence of this attribution of ritual impurity to Gentiles is that it is difficult to imagine how it would be possible for any genuine table-fellowship to occur even between Jew and Gentile in a Jewish home, though Dunn asserts this is not at all problematic.⁷⁹ For even before 70 CE many, if not most, Jews would have regarded Gentiles as ritually impure and therefore as defiling any vessel or cup which they put to their lips; so unless they were to come along to a Jewish home with their own vessels, and even their own food, and avoid all physical contact with their hosts, they would not be invited. In addition, they would probably have been felt to pollute the house merely by entering it, and even this form of fellowship may not have occurred. After 70 CE the Jewish antipathy to such intercourse can only have increased.

We note finally that, although we have been arguing for what was accepted Jewish practice, we do not claim that there were no exceptions and that some Jews did not breach the rules regulating their relationships with the pagan world. Acts 16.1, after all, refers to the fact that Timothy was the product of a marriage between a Greek man and a Jewish woman. An inscription from Smyrna contains a list of people called *οἱ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου*, who were Jews who had forsworn their faith and received citizenship.⁸⁰ The point is that those Jews who permanently gave up the prohibitions which distinguished them from the Gentiles ceased to be Jews. One must assume that those Jews who did fudge the boundaries between Jew and Gentile were rightly regarded as endangering the ethnic identity of the Jewish people and came under heavy pressure to conform or to abandon Judaism altogether. In Acts 16.1–3, it is instructive to recall, Luke describes Paul as succumbing to just this sort of Jewish pressure by circumcising the anomalous Timothy and re-establishing in his case the all-important line between Jew and non-Jew. Moreover, a possible, though hardly probable, interpretation of Gal 2.3 is that, although Paul was not compelled to circumcise Titus, he did so voluntarily.

3. The attitude to table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in Galatians, Mark and Matthew

Before considering the sensitivity to the Jewish prohibition on dining with Gentiles evident in Luke–Acts, it will be helpful to outline the attitudes on this issue present in three other New Testament works: Galatians, Mark and Matthew. An investigation of Galatians is

particularly important since it is the earliest New Testament document dealing with the subject⁸¹ and it forms an invaluable historical control for distinguishing between history and authorial interpretation in Luke–Acts.

Table-fellowship in Galatians

In the second chapter of Galatians Paul relates that fourteen years after his first visit to Jerusalem he went there for a second time, in the company of Barnabas and Titus, an uncircumcised Greek. He laid before the leaders of the church there the gospel which he preached to the Gentiles and they had nothing to add to it. The Jerusalem leaders recognized that he had been commissioned to preach the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been commissioned to preach it to the circumcised. Finally, James, Cephas and John shook hands with Paul and Barnabas in fellowship and asked only that they remember the poor (in Jerusalem) (Gal 2.1–10). Some time later Peter came to Antioch and at first ate with the Gentiles, apparently the accepted practice in that community, but upon the arrival of certain people from James he discontinued this fellowship, from fear of the Jews (*οἱ ἐκ πετροῦ*) (2.12),⁸² whereupon the rest of the Jews, even Barnabas, did the same. Paul rebuked Peter publicly for this defection, but the fact that he does not report that he succeeded in restoring the *status quo ante* strongly suggests that he failed (Gal 2.11–14). This is confirmed by the fact that those wanting Gentile Christians circumcised were subsequently powerful enough to be a considerable nuisance in Paul's Galatian churches (6.12–13), where they also instituted a reaction against the manner of Paul's evangelism, presumably by insisting on the termination of Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship. Paul may even have been forced out of Antioch altogether; he never mentions the city outside Galatians.

From our previous discussion, it is apparent that James and Peter did not break off table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians for purely theological reasons, but because such a practice threatened to destroy the boundaries which preserved the separate identity of the Jewish people; their motivations were social and ethnic, as much as theological. To an extent, the reader of Galatians is left wondering about the attitude of James and Peter to the Gentiles with whom they now refused to share table-fellowship. Did they consider that these Gentiles were still Christians and could continue to engage in table-fellowship amongst themselves, so that Antioch would have possessed groups of Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, each with separate

eucharists, or did they regard them as being quite ineligible to be Christians without first becoming Jews, by being circumcised and accepting the law? Two considerations militate against the first option, of live and let live. First, in Gal 2.14 Paul accuses Peter of compelling the Gentiles to 'Judaize' (Ἰουδαΐζειν); leaving aside the connotations of this word for the moment, there can be no doubt that Peter (and James behind him) was hoping to elicit some change in the status or behaviour of the Gentile Christians in a Jewish direction. Secondly, the wider context of Paul's argument in Galatians reveals that the essential problem he sees as facing the churches to whom he writes is the pressure on their members to be circumcised and to adopt the Jewish law. Just as in Antioch in the past, so also now in Galatia,⁸³ the form of Christianity which he established in the beginning, with table-fellowship between Jew and Gentile having a central place, is endangered by the forces of an orthodox Jewish reaction which insists on circumcision and the law. We must presume, therefore, that by 'Judaize' in Gal 2.14 Paul means 'to become Jews through circumcision'. This explanation precludes that of Dunn, who argues that the table-fellowship which Peter joined on his arrival in Antioch probably headed the basic dietary requirements of the Torah by avoiding pork and meat not ritually slaughtered and that the reason for his defection and subsequent pressure on the Gentile Christians was the need to tighten up the practice of this fellowship by the adoption of the Pharisaical features of hand-washing and of tithing of the produce used at these meals.⁸⁴ Apart from Dunn's explanation representing a serious trivialization of the issues in dispute, it founders on the fact that apparently for Peter and James, and certainly for the anonymous trouble-makers in Galatia, the only way to rehabilitate this form of table-fellowship was to have the Gentiles become Jews through circumcision.

Extrapolating backwards from the events in Antioch to the agreement reached between Paul and Barnabas, and James, Peter and John in Jerusalem is no easy task. But it is hardly likely that Paul could have failed to explain his belief that the gospel and not the law was the means of salvation, a belief which enabled Jewish-Gentile commensality to occur, when he laid before them the gospel he preached to the Gentiles.

The clash between Paul and the Jerusalem church is, therefore, one between a leader who has made a revolutionary leap to the realization that the old boundaries which preserved the Jewish *ethnos* from outside contamination have, in Christ, ceased to have any

significance, since 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, ... but you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3.28), and, on the other hand, a group which, firmly believing in the election of the Jewish *ethnos*, wishes to restrict the power of the Gospel exclusively to Jews. In sociological terms, it is a clash between someone determined to establish a form of religious belief whose relationship to its mother church can only be described as sectarian, and others who see this new religious impulse as merely an intra-Judaic Messianic movement.

Table-fellowship in Mark

It is a most significant fact for an understanding of the development of the early Christian communities that Mark also presents Jesus as dismantling the barriers between Jew and Gentile by endorsing table-fellowship between them. We recall from our previous discussion that the desire of the members of a society to maintain their integrity in the face of external threat may be reflected in regulations governing personal purity. One aspect of this phenomenon is that rules as to what food one may eat will be a vital factor in deciding with whom one may eat. A decision to dine with outsiders will normally necessitate a disregard for the food laws, while a rejection of the food laws will allow one to change dining companions. The circumstances of each particular case will determine which decision comes first. What makes Mk 7.1-30 remarkably germane to this discussion is that these verses combine a rejection of the food laws in Lev 11 (7.1-23) with an incident in which Jesus himself enters into fellowship with Gentiles (7.24-30).

Let us begin with the words attributed to Jesus in 7.15: 'Nothing that goes into a man from outside can make him unclean; it is the things that come out of a man that make him unclean' (JB). This is almost certainly an authentic saying of Jesus. Does it, however, constitute a rejection of the food laws in Leviticus? In spite of claims to the contrary,⁸⁵ the answer is 'no'. Long before the time of Jesus, Jews had subscribed to the view that, whatever the rationale behind its various parts, the Torah was to be obeyed simply because God had commanded it.⁸⁶ Even today, this view is current among Jews. Moreover, if this saying did constitute an abrogation of the food laws, it is difficult to imagine how Jewish Christians could so ardently have advocated their preservation.⁸⁷ But the historical Jesus and the Marcan Jesus are not identical; the setting which Mark provides for this dominical saying specifically interprets it so as to abrogate Lev 11. This effect is achieved not so much by 7.19a, as by 7.19b: '[Thus]

he purified all foods.' While it cannot be denied that this clause is awkwardly situated, the chief textual witnesses are virtually unanimous in its support. Accordingly, since it appears to belong to the text in its earliest form, it may reasonably be attributed to the evangelist himself.

In any event, even if 7.19b was inserted into the text after it left Mark's hands, much the same moral is conveyed by the story of Jesus healing the daughter of the Syrophenician woman in 7.24–30. Although rarely noticed by commentators, 7.24 is quite an extraordinary verse because it describes Jesus entering a house in territory occupied by Gentiles. The text does not specify whether Jesus took food in the house, although it would seem reasonable to assume that he did. Yet even if he did not, his visit amounted to a serious attack on the boundaries which Jews had erected between themselves and Gentiles. As T. A. Burkill has observed, in 7.24–30 Jesus puts into practice what Mark describes him as having preached in 7.1–23.⁸⁸ Burkill also locates Jesus' attack on the purity laws and his residing with Gentiles within a wider Marcan desire to present the gospel in a way acceptable to the Gentile Christians among his readers.⁸⁹ In this he is surely correct, but do not the data in the text call for a more specific explanation? Is not Mark's insertion of 7.1–30 into his Gospel best explicable as a means of legitimating table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in the community for which he was writing? Two considerations support this view. First of all, we have seen from our discussion of the incident at Antioch described by Paul in Galatians that conservative Jewish Christians advocated a rigid demarcation between themselves and Gentile Christians and that they attempted to impose on Gentile Christians the full burden of the law. If Mark was writing for a community where conservative Jewish Christians had gained the upper hand, there would have been no table-fellowship between them and Gentile Christians and there would have been no occasion for breach of the Levitical food laws. In such a case, there would not have been any need for Mark to include material so inimical to Jewish ethnic solidarity as Mk 7.1–30. It is no answer to say that Mark was simply recording the preaching of the historical Jesus, since, as we have just seen, form-critical analysis of 7.14–23 and what we know of early church history from elsewhere indicate that Jesus himself did not announce the demise of the laws on forbidden foods. In view of all this, the most plausible reason for the inclusion of this material in Mark is that he was writing for a community in which Jews and Gentiles were in the habit of engaging in table-fellowship with

one another. This practice had begun at some discrete point in the history of this community and it had become necessary immediately or soon after to counter the extreme antipathy it aroused among Jews or, more specifically, Jewish Christians appalled at this blurring of the distinction between themselves and Gentiles. It must have been perceived quite early by the advocates of commensality that one way in which such a development could be legitimated was to attribute it to the words and deeds of Jesus. This is the function of Mk 7.1–30.

A second, more particular, consideration can be summoned in support of this view. It derives from the specific details of 7.24–30. What is at stake in this pericope is whether Jesus will assist the Syrophenician woman by exorcizing the demon from her daughter. At first Jesus declines her request for help, saying: 'The children should be fed first, because it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs' (7.27). It is generally agreed by exegetes that here 'children' means Jews and 'dogs' Gentiles, so that Jesus is, in effect, disclaiming any interest in a Gentile mission. But the woman wins Jesus over with her reply: 'But the dogs under the table eat from the children's scraps' (7.28). In this reply there is an image of Jews and Gentiles eating bread from the same table, and since Mark establishes several connections between bread and the eucharist in this section of his Gospel (especially 6.30–44)⁹⁰ we are surely meant to see this image as a justification for the eucharistic fellowship of Jews and Gentiles in the Christian community.

Matthew and table-fellowship

On considering Matthew's treatment of Mk 7.1–23 one is immediately struck by two features in particular: first, that he has omitted Mk 7.19b (assuming that it occurred in his copy of Mark) and, secondly, that by the addition of the new verse Mt 15.20 he has drastically read down his source so that his version relates solely to the question of whether one can be defiled by eating with unclean hands. Matthew makes it crystal clear, therefore, that Jesus did not annul the Levitical code by declaring all foods pure, but merely rejected the oral tradition of the Pharisees. That this is the effect of his redactional alterations has been noted by New Testament scholars. But what has passed unnoticed is that the underlying motivation for this change was most probably the fact, of social as much as of theological significance, that table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles was frowned upon in Matthew's community and was regarded as being in contravention of the teaching and actions of Jesus.

This conclusion is suggested by the way in which Matthew redacts Mark's story of the Syrophenician woman (Mk 7.24–30; Mt 15.21–8). Matthew's first significant alteration is to the context in which Jesus encounters the woman. Mark describes this as happening in a house, but in Matthew Jesus and his disciples do not enter a house (15.21) and meet the woman in the open air while they are on the move (Mt 15.23). F. W. Beare, one of only a small company of commentators who remark upon this alteration, says of it: 'Matthew revises Mark's picture, perhaps because he would not have Jesus violate Jewish custom by entering a house in a heathen city.'⁹¹ This is true, although Beare does not go far enough. For it is surely the case that Matthew, whose devotion to the Levitical code is evident in the passage immediately before this, must have been deeply embarrassed by his Marcan source attributing to Jesus behaviour which attacked the very isolation from foreigners which Leviticus was, at least in part, designed to enforce. The same embarrassment appears in a second significant alteration Matthew makes to his source: namely, in the woman's reply to Jesus' remark that it is not fitting to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs. Mark, it will be recalled, had her reply that even the dogs under the table eat from the children's scraps and thus symbolically legitimated Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship. Matthew, on the other hand, has her speak of dogs eating the scraps 'falling from their masters' tables' (15.27). This interpretation means that the children and the dogs no longer eat the same bread and, therefore, eliminates the symbolical picture, present in Mark, of Jews and Gentiles eating from if not around, the same table.

These changes to the very features in his Marcan *Vorlage* which served to legitimate, by both the words and deeds of Jesus, table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles seem to indicate that Matthew's community neither engaged in nor countenanced that practice. This suggests, furthermore, that his community was composed either exclusively of Jews or exclusively of Gentiles. For although it is not inconceivable that his community contained Jews and Gentiles who partook of separate eucharistic meals, this option would appear to be precluded by the fact that Matthew has included no feature in his Gospel which would legitimate the troublesome disunity that would arise from separate eucharists, and has, moreover, toughened the teaching on the Levitical food laws in a way which would be well-nigh inexplicable if there were Gentiles in his community who were exempted from their effect. This latter consideration is also, of course, a strong argument for choosing Jewish Christians as the group

exclusively represented in the Matthean community. This consideration seems to have an important role to play in determining the social setting and composition of Matthew's community. Although such a task is quite beyond the scope of this book,⁹² it is worthwhile to note that its notorious difficulty arises largely because of the contradictory signals Matthew emits: on the one hand, his Gospel contains a number of features apparently stemming from a Jewish and Torah-abiding milieu, which were subsequently to make it the favourite Gospel of various 'heterodox' Jewish Christian groups and individuals,⁹³ and yet on the other hand it presents a number of features which indicate some form of institutional split with Judaism (Mt 21.43; 28.15)⁹⁴ and a mission to the Gentiles (28.19).

4. Table-fellowship in Luke–Acts

The conversion of Cornelius

The most prominent indication in Luke–Acts of the author's interest in Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship comes in the account of events surrounding the conversion of Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, by Peter in Acts 10.1–11.18. The central issue in this narrative is not that the gospel has been preached to Gentiles, but the far more particular fact, of great ethnic and social significance, that Peter has lived and eaten with them. This is, after all, the substance of the complaint against him by members of the church in Jerusalem in Acts 11.3. A detailed examination of the text is called for, especially since this incident is frequently misinterpreted and its importance underestimated by Lucan commentators.

The vision which Peter has just before the arrival of the messengers from Cornelius (10.9–16) centres upon his being instructed to eat food which is ritually impure. Lev 11 had proscribed virtually all animal flesh except that from beasts which had cloven hoofs and were ruminants, and here is Peter being told to eat from a collection encompassing all quadrupeds, birds and even reptiles. To Peter's objection that he has never eaten anything profane (*κονὸν*) and impure (*ἀκάθαρτον*), the voice in the vision replies, 'Do not call profane those things which God has purified [*ἐκαθάρισεν*]' (10.15), although it does not specify when or how God has effected this purification of creatures banned by the Torah. Many scholars, including F. Hauck and S. G. Wilson,⁹⁵ wrongly assert that Peter deduces from this vision, or interprets it to mean, that God has also cleansed the Gentiles, thereby allowing Jewish fellowship with them, as announced

by Peter in 10.28. In fact, Peter arrives at this conclusion not by the processes of logical deduction from what he has seen in the vision, but by the direction of the Spirit in 10.19–20. At the end of the vision, Peter is left cogitating as to its meaning (10.19), not with any realization of its extension from impure things to impure persons. At this juncture, however, the Spirit tells him that three men have arrived and he must go with them, without having any doubts, because, says the Spirit, 'I have sent them' (10.19–20). The narrative which follows is allusive and condensed, but it can easily be understood in the light of our previous discussion on Jewish attitudes to the Gentiles. Peter goes down to the men, one of whom, a soldier (10.7), is almost certainly non-Jewish, while the others are probably Gentiles as well, and enquires about their purpose. They reply: 'The centurion Cornelius, who is a just and God-fearing man, and highly regarded by the entire Jewish people, was directed by a holy angel to send for you and bring you into his house and to listen to what you have to say' (10.22). In asking Peter to visit the house of a Gentile, the three men obviously thought they were likely to offend his Jewish sensibilities, for that is why they prefix their request with a statement of Cornelius' virtues, especially his good reputation with the Jewish *ethnos*, to make the notion of entering his house less shocking. That these good qualities were not of themselves sufficient to legitimate Peter's entering his house is manifest from our general discussion of Jewish attitudes to such fellowship, from the particular confirmation which that discussion receives in our analysis of the dispute between Paul and Peter in Antioch (Gal 2.11–14) and from the fact that they are entirely absent from Peter's subsequent justification of his baptism of Cornelius before the church in Jerusalem (Acts 11.1–18). Peter, however, now knows that, since the Spirit has directed him to go with these men, and they wish to conduct him to the house of a Roman centurion, then God himself has abrogated the Jewish ban on the more intimate forms of fellowship between Jew and Gentile. The immediacy of Peter's realization of this is implied in the text by the fact that he actually invites the men into the house where he is staying and gives them overnight lodging there.

With all this behind him, Peter is thus able to say to the people assembled in the house of Cornelius to hear him: 'You know it is forbidden [ἀθέμιτον] for a Jew to mix with people of another race or to visit them, but God has revealed to me that I must not call anyone profane [κοινὸν] or unclean [ἁκάθαρτον]' (10.28). After the Spirit has confirmed this principle by vouchsafing to these Gentiles what is

virtually a Pentecost experience (10.45–6; 11.15), Peter baptizes them and stays with them for a few days, presumably engaging in table-fellowship with his Gentile hosts, and all the while having the reassurance of the vision that he may eat whatever is put before him. It is this fellowship that gets Peter into trouble on his return to Jerusalem. For Luke describes the church there as taking issue with Peter not on account of his having been responsible for the conversion of Gentiles, but because, as they bluntly put it, 'You have been visiting the uncircumcised and eating with them' (11.3). Peter must then justify his behaviour in the light of this reproach, and the role of the Holy Spirit, both in instigating (11.12) and in confirming (11.15) Jewish-Gentile fellowship, plays the central role in that justification.

The time has come to ask why Luke has placed the narrative of the conversion of Cornelius at this point in Acts and why he has treated it in such detail. For conservative scholars the answer is easy – Luke is merely rehearsing hard, historical fact. But the difficulties in the way of this are so great and have been so meticulously exposed by German scholarship in particular⁶ that its persistence into the present is a cause for wonder. The primary objection to the narrative in Acts is not that it is so heavily mythological, although that characteristic is no small objection to its historicity, but that it is wildly inconsistent with the subsequent attitude of Peter (and James behind him) to Jewish-Gentile table-fellowship in Antioch (Gal 2.11–14). In spite of various attempts to explain such a dramatic about-turn (with I. Howard Marshall, for example, attributing it to the possibility of vacillation in Peter's character⁷),⁸ it is just too much to believe that Peter and James, having openly accepted that Jewish-Gentile table-fellowship had been authorized by an overwhelmingly attested divine command, should later explicitly disregard that authorization and break off such table-fellowship in Antioch. It is also difficult to credit that, when Paul visited Jerusalem for the second time (Gal 2.1–10), he should have been regarded there as 'the apostle to the uncircumcised' and Peter as 'the apostle to the circumcised' if it had been Peter who had initiated the Gentile mission as described in Acts 10.1–11.18. And if, when Paul visited Jerusalem on that occasion, the church there had already sanctioned Jewish-Gentile commensality, how eagerly he would have played this trump card in his charge of inconsistency against Peter and James in Gal 2.11–14! But there are other serious grounds for doubting the historicity of the Cornelius story as Luke relates it. The first of these is that it has virtually been forgotten by the time of the Apostolic Council in Acts 15. Of course

Peter and James refer back to the conversion of Cornelius (15.7–11, 14), but that fails to resolve the difficulty of why people would have travelled from Judea to Antioch and urged the need for Gentiles to be circumcised (15.1) if the matter had already been settled by an earlier decision of the apostles and the brothers in Jerusalem (11.1–18). (The problems surrounding the account of the Apostolic Council itself are dealt with in the next section of this chapter.) Secondly, the Cornelius episode is very awkwardly intruded into the narrative between the persecution in Jerusalem following the martyrdom of Stephen and the subsequent mission to the Gentiles in Antioch. Acts 11.19 takes up immediately from 8.4 and does not envisage any intermediate evangelism by Peter. The text lacks any sign that the mission to the Gentiles in Antioch is a consequence of the conversion of a Roman centurion by Peter. For all these reasons, it is preferable to follow the many scholars, especially Martin Dibelius and Ernst Haenchen, who hold that Luke has abandoned an exact reproduction of history in Acts 10.1–11.18 in favour of presenting a truth of a different sort to his audience.

But what is the message that Luke is attempting to convey? Without doubt, his broad aim is to show that 'God instigated the mission to the Gentiles', as Haenchen,⁹⁸ like Dibelius before him,⁹⁹ concludes. Unfortunately, however, this solution fails to do justice to the particular issue with which Luke was concerned in the Cornelius narrative – not the legitimization of the Gentile mission in general, but the table-fellowship between Jew and Gentile within the Christian community that he presents as essential to that mission. It is for this reason that commentators, such as I. Howard Marshall¹⁰⁰ and R. R. Williams,¹⁰¹ who find it curious that Peter is called to account by the church in Jerusalem not for baptizing Gentiles, but for eating with them, have missed the entire point of the narrative. What matters to Luke is the legitimization of complete fellowship between Jew and Gentile in the Christian community, not just the admission of the Gentiles to those communities, which could, indeed, have been legitimated by accounts of apostolic baptism of non-Jews. Moreover, although Overbeck was correct to insist that the effect of the Cornelius narrative was to show Paul's mission as 'prepared and legitimized' by the precedent set by Peter,¹⁰² one must add the vital qualification that, for Luke, Paul's mission is not simply the broad task of baptizing Gentiles, but also that of initiating Christian communities where Jews and Gentiles share common eucharistic meals. Thus, there inevitably arises the question of why Luke, probably writing in the eighties of

the first century CE, should take such pains to underline so carefully this particular theme in the work. There would appear to be a strong likelihood that this is a question with great bearing on the composition of Luke's community; which, as we argued in Chapter 2, most probably contained a significant number of Jews, as well as Gentiles. It is an issue which is also relevant to the relations of Luke's community with Judaism. But before reaching some final conclusions on these matters, the remaining material in Luke–Acts on the subject must be considered.

The Apostolic Council

The principal result of the Apostolic Council, as described by Luke in Acts 15, was that circumcision and the rest of the Mosaic law would not be imposed on Gentile Christians. But it was also agreed that the Gentiles should at least keep away from things polluted by idols, from incest, from strangled meat and from blood (15.20). This fourfold prohibition is incorporated into a letter addressed to the brethren in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia, which is joyfully received in Antioch (15.31).

There is a very strong case against the historicity of Luke's account of the Apostolic Council. Let us first consider the external grounds for this view, namely, the inconsistencies between Luke's version and the facts as we know them from Paul's letters. Acts 15 is surely incompatible with both of the trips to Jerusalem that Paul recounts in Gal 1–2, with the first because of its private nature and with the second because Paul says the leaders in Jerusalem imposed no condition on him (Gal 2.6), which indicates that Luke's presentation of the Apostolic Decree is not historically accurate. Moreover, if such a decision had been taken in Jerusalem before Paul wrote Galatians he would surely have mentioned it to strengthen this argument, since it relates to the table-fellowship question which was at the centre of the dispute in Antioch (Gal 2.12). Furthermore, although the circumcision issue did, at times, interfere with Paul's evangelism elsewhere – for example, at Philippi (Phil 3.2–3) – he never cites the decision of the Apostolic Council in Acts 15 which would have been so useful to his cause. Internal factors also confirm that Luke is not presenting historical fact in his narrative. Dibelius has drawn our attention to a number of elements in the account which show that Luke has constructed it for his readers and has not just reproduced one or more sources. Thus, the references by Peter and James to the conversion of Cornelius (15.7, 14) are so abbreviated and allusive as to have been

virtually meaningless to their audience but are readily intelligible to the readers of Acts.¹⁰³ Likewise, the fact that no details are given of the signs and wonders which Paul and Barnabas claim God caused to be performed among the Gentiles (15.4) makes very little sense before the audience in Jerusalem, for whom such details may have had a decisive effect, but is readily intelligible if the statement is really directed to the readers of Acts, who have just read an account of such things in Acts 13 and 14.¹⁰⁴ Haenchen notes that it is very difficult to believe that the events surrounding the conversion of Cornelius could simply have been forgotten and the earlier ruling of the Jerusalem church (Acts 11.1–18) ignored by the dramatic date of the Council in Acts 15.¹⁰⁵ Even more damaging to any argument for the historicity of this narrative is the fact that, although Luke presents James as speaking in Aramaic (by having him refer to Peter as 'Symeon'), James quotes Amos 9.11–12 in the Septuagint version and thereby makes a point which is impossible if he had been following the Massoretic Text.¹⁰⁶ This feature shows quite conclusively that Luke was not using some source originating in the *ipsissima verba* of James, and may easily have drafted the whole speech himself.

For these reasons, therefore, we may be sure that the account of the Council in Jerusalem is a Lucan creation for a purpose to be discussed below. However, it seems likely that Luke did not construct the actual fourfold prohibition, because it would then be difficult to explain its narrow scope (to the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia), and also because there is much evidence to suggest that at least two of the prohibitions – on meat offered to idols and meat with blood in it – were still being observed by Gentiles in various parts much later.¹⁰⁷

The question of table-fellowship between Jew and Gentile is not explicitly raised in Acts 15, but its presence is everywhere implied. We may confidently assume that Luke would have intended his readers to understand that what prompted the teaching by the Judeans in Acts 15.1 of the need for circumcision of Gentiles was simply the fact that they were sitting around the same table, for the eucharist especially, with Jews. This would have raised their Jewish hackles for the reasons we have already identified, especially if, as seems very likely, they too were Pharisees (15.5) or influenced by them and had accepted a much more zealous attitude to questions of purity. Circumcision was not something pressed upon Gentile Christians for some abstract theological reason; it was seen as a remedy for a situation involving grievous risk to the continued existence of the Jewish people.

Similarly, in the references to the Cornelius story made by James and Peter the reader of Acts can hardly fail to remember that the essential element of that story was not the broad notion that God had authorized the mission to the Gentiles, but the far more particular idea that what had received divine endorsement was Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship in the Christian communities. This theme is very apparent in the four prohibitions. These originate in Lev 17 and 18 as those rules imposed upon strangers living in Israel: that is to say, although such strangers are excepted from adherence to the vast majority of the commandments of the Torah, there is a small group of rules in these chapters of Leviticus which are imposed on the foreigners, obviously because they proscribe behaviour regarded as particularly loathsome to the Israelites and not to be allowed even to foreigners.¹⁰⁸ Now it is quite clear that these four prohibitions are singularly appropriate in a context where a Christian community has been established in which Jews and Gentiles engage in table-fellowship – a situation not unreasonably seen as parallel to the Levitical model of strangers living among the Israelites; the Gentiles have agreed to observe a code of conduct which precludes them from activities notoriously abhorrent to their Jewish brothers. On this view, the difficult verse 15.21 may be interpreted as a recognition that the fourfold prohibition goes a long way to satisfying Jewish or Jewish Christian criticism of Christian fellowship, which would otherwise be patently in breach of a well-known part of the Mosaic law: namely, Lev 17 and 18. Accordingly, Acts 15.1–31 is a passage intimately connected with the theme of Jewish–Gentile commensality, which, we have argued, is of pre-eminent importance in Luke–Acts. But before concluding our argument on this subject, we must briefly consider the remaining passages on table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles, all of which figure in Paul's ministry to the Gentiles.

Other instances of table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in Acts

An illuminating reflection of the general failure of Lucan scholars to be sufficiently sensitive to the table-fellowship question in Luke–Acts is the fact that S. G. Wilson, in a discussion of Peter's entering into fellowship with Cornelius, can assert that 'it is of some interest that it is Peter rather than Paul who is allowed the one break with Jewish legal tradition'.¹⁰⁹ In saying this, Wilson has overlooked the fact that Luke specifically describes Paul as engaging in fellowship with Gentiles, of precisely the kind established between Peter and

Cornelius, on three separate occasions: with Lydia, a God-fearing Gentile in Philippi (16.14–15), with the Roman gaoler in the same city (16.25–34) and with Titus Justus, a God-fearer in Corinth (18.7). These incidents have already been discussed in Chapter 2 above, mainly to illustrate the type of converts which Luke describes Paul as making in the Diaspora. It is surely not without significance that all of these occasions occur after the Cornelius narrative *and* the account of the Council in Jerusalem finally approving the mission to the Gentiles in a form obviously related to the establishment of table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles. The reason for this is that Luke does not wish it to appear that there was such fellowship until the practice has been given the most watertight endorsement by the church in Jerusalem. We saw in Chapter 2, moreover, that sense can only be made of conversion accounts before Acts 15, especially those at Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Pisidian Antioch (11.19–20; 13.13–48), on the basis that the Gentiles who converted were largely God-fearers beforehand and that Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship was a feature of the Christian communities established in those cities. In Chapter 2 it was also shown that for the Lucan Paul the expression ‘from now on I will go to the Gentiles’ in the Corinth narrative (18.6b) did not mean an abandonment of the mission to Jews in favour of the Gentiles, but simply the public establishment of table-fellowship between Jew and Gentile. We are now in a better position to understand the full import of Acts 18.6b, for Paul actually says ‘From now on I will go to the Gentiles καθάπερ.’ The word καθάπερ, which has a very emphatic position at the start of the sentence in the Greek text, is often translated as an epithet signifying general moral blamelessness: thus, ‘with a clear conscience’ (*JB*) or ‘innocent’ (*RSV*). From our previous discussion of the Jewish attitudes to mixing with the Gentiles, it is very probable that this word should be taken in its cultic sense to mean ‘unpolluted’. Thus, the Lucan Paul is affirming that he is ritually pure in moving into the house of a Gentile and, it is implied, will remain so thereafter.

But even though the Gentile mission and the fellowship intrinsic to it are depicted by Luke as having been twice authorized by the Jerusalem church, his presentation of Paul’s role in bringing the Gospel to the Gentiles still reveals traces of embarrassment. This is apparent in Luke’s suppression of specific references to Paul’s eating with Gentiles before Acts 15, of course, but it is also evident in the way he presents the occasions where this does occur. At Philippi, for example, Luke notes that Lydia ‘urged’ or ‘pressed’ (παραβιάσατο)

Paul’s party to stay at her house, as a sign of their belief in her faith in the Lord (16.15). It quite misses the point to attribute their initial disinclination to stay with her to Paul’s wish not to be a burden on anyone.¹¹⁰ Paul may have wished to work to support himself, but the available evidence contradicts the notion that this led him to stay at an inn rather than under someone’s roof.¹¹¹ No, they are at first chary of accepting Lydia’s offer because she is a Gentile. Not unnaturally, against their refusal from a position of Jewish ethnic solidarity she proffers their common faith. So they accept her hospitality (as confirmed in 16.40). Luke’s embarrassment over this issue is not quite so manifest in the account of the table-fellowship in the house of the gaoler at Philippi following the baptism of himself and all his family (16.34), but it can, nevertheless, be detected even there. This is probably the explanation for Luke’s awkwardly describing Paul’s preaching to the gaoler and all in his house (16.32) and mentioning their baptism (16.33), before the gaoler brings them into his house and feeds them (16.34). By this rather artificial plot sequence Luke avoids having Paul enter into table-fellowship with an outright pagan. Thirdly, Luke presents Paul’s moving into the house of the God-fearer Titus Justus in Corinth, which involves his leaving the house of the Jews Aquila and Priscilla (18.1–3), not as having been the result of some spontaneous decision by Paul, but as a response to the blasphemous opposition he encountered from the Jews of that city (18.6–7).

From Luke’s treatment of these three occasions on which Paul established with Gentiles the same kind of fellowship which Peter had with Cornelius, it is apparent that, in spite of the legitimization for the practice provided by the Jerusalem church in Acts 11 and 15, the subject was still problematic for Luke. Why this should be the case is considered a little below. In the meantime, it is desirable to investigate the possible reference to table-fellowship in Acts 27.

The nature of the meal in Acts 27.33–8

Let us consider the main features of Acts 27.33–8. It is just before dawn. The boat in which Paul is travelling to Rome has been driven before a storm for fourteen days but is now anchored off an island, which turns out to be Malta. On board are Paul, his companion Aristarchus, who is from Macedonia and may be either Jew or Gentile, possibly some other companions of Paul, whose presence is suggested by the first person plural narration, other prisoners on the way to Rome, some of whom are most probably Jewish since they

were embarked at Caesarea (27.1), their Roman guard under the command of the centurion Julius, and the ship's owner and crew. At this point, Paul addresses his fellow-voyagers and urges them to eat, for this is in the interests of their deliverance (σωτηρία) (27.34). He tells them that not a hair from the head of any of them will be lost. Then, having taken bread, he gives thanks to God before all of them, breaks it and begins to eat (λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν) (27.35). They all take heart and begin to eat. There are 266 souls on board the boat.

What does Luke wish to convey by this incident? Some scholars, who interpret the first person plural narration of Acts 27 as proof that Luke has used an eye-witness account¹¹² or even that he was present on board himself,¹¹³ see in the narrative a record of historical fact. But since there is evidence that the first person plural was used as a stylistic feature by Hellenistic writers to instill a sense of vividness into descriptions of sea-voyages,¹¹⁴ no such deductions can be drawn from the first person plural in Acts 27. Moreover, Paul's voyage to Rome has such a miraculous character as to counsel caution in attributing too great a degree of historicity to all the details of Luke's presentation of it.¹¹⁵ For Ernst Haenchen, the whole account of the voyage has the literary intention of depicting the evangelist as 'the strong, unshaken favourite of God who strides from triumph to triumph',¹¹⁶ and there is much to be said for this view.

But what of the possible eucharistic reference some scholars have discerned in Acts 27.35? Kirsopp Lake and Henry Cadbury regarded this verse as denoting nothing more than the usual Jewish custom of offering thanks before meals and derided as absurd the idea that it contained any reference to the eucharist.¹¹⁷ Haenchen, too, rejects the eucharistic interpretation,¹¹⁸ as does G. W. H. Lampe, albeit a little more diffidently, who comments that since 'they all partake, it evidently cannot be the Eucharist itself'.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, many scholars have argued that 27.35 is eucharistic,¹²⁰ and this cause has recently been championed by Paul Walaskay.¹²¹ Bo Reicke has published a strong defence of this position, which falls short of being totally convincing because of his failure, admittedly shared by all other writers in the field, to appreciate the connection between 27.33–8 and the Lucan interest in Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship. Reicke does make some excellent points, however. First, he argues that it is difficult to regard the meal instigated by Paul in 27.33–6 as an ordinary, everyday meal when Luke has otherwise taken such pains to present him as being quite extraordinary in his insight into the divine will

(see especially 27.22–6).¹²² Secondly, Reicke points to the strong similarity between the language of Acts 27.35 and other New Testament passages on the eucharist, such as Lk 22.19, Acts 20.11 and 1 Cor 11.23 ff. That Acts 27.35 contains no reference to Paul distributing the bread (except in the Western Text) is hardly an obstacle to its eucharistic interpretation, since there is also no mention made of such a distribution in Acts 20.11 or in 1 Cor 11.23 ff.¹²³ Thirdly, Reicke sensibly accounts for the odd reference to the number of persons on board the boat in 27.37, rather than at the beginning or end of the voyage narrative, on the basis of analogy with the Synoptic references to the numbers of those who were fed by Jesus during the miracles of the loaves and the fishes (for example, Mk 6.44; Lk 9.14).¹²⁴

In spite of these arguments, however, Reicke is unwilling to regard the meal as eucharistic in the full sense, because it is shared by outright pagans ('lauter Heiden'). A view similar to this, we recall, was also expressed by Lampe, and Walaskay too gives some credit to it by speaking of the possibility of a eucharist restricted to the Christians on board. So what is Reicke's solution? He sees a close parallel between those on board and the crowds who partook of the bread miraculously produced by Jesus, whose members too were neither disciples of Jesus nor baptized, so that both groups can be said to 'participate in a prefiguration of the Christian Lord's Supper as a potential preparation for later discipleship'.¹²⁵

The problem with this solution, of course, is that it entirely neglects to take into account the theme of table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles so prominent elsewhere in Acts. Acts 27.33–7 is the fourth occasion in the work in which Paul enters into table-fellowship with Gentiles, thereby necessarily raising once again the problems for Jewish ethnic integrity which such behaviour entailed. In view of this, the eucharistic features persuasively expounded by Reicke are relevant, but as aspects of the fundamental social problem of the proper relationship between Jews and Christians in the Christian community, not simply in isolation as indicative of a Lucan interest in the theology of the eucharist. One might argue against this interpretation that, because Paul was taking measures in an emergency, no Jew would have found his actions objectionable, since the usual ban on eating with pagans would have been regarded as temporarily suspended. But two factors may be opposed to this objection. First, Paul could have eaten privately, but instead chose solemnly to initiate a meal involving everyone on board. Secondly, that Paul is caught

up in an emergency is central to Luke's argument. This is shown by Luke's having him say 'Not a hair from anyone's head will be lost' (27.34). Although this is an Old Testament proverb (1 Sam 14.45; 2 Sam 14.11; 1 Kgs 1.52), its only other occurrence in the New Testament is at Lk 21.18, where it is used by Jesus to reassure his disciples that they will survive the troubles which await them in the period before the End. That Luke repeats this saying in 27.34 indicates that he is establishing a parallel between the situation of those on board the boat and the fate Jesus predicted for his disciples. And just as Jesus tells his disciples in Lk 21.19 that they will win their lives (τὰς ψυχὰς) by endurance, so Paul can prophesy that no one on board will lose his life (ψυχή) in Acts 27.22. Thus, while on the literal level of the story in Acts 27 Paul takes action appropriate to an emergency, there is another level being created in which the fate of those on the boat symbolizes the experience of the disciples of Jesus after his resurrection but before the End. In one sense this is an emergency, but it is only what the disciples must expect during this time. Accordingly, the existence of this parallel and the eucharistic meaning of 27.33–7 necessitate interpreting σωτηρία (27.34) as operating on both the literal and the symbolical level, to convey survival of shipwreck and the salvation which comes from Christ for Jew and Gentile.

From this analysis, it seems highly plausible that Luke has used the story of Paul's voyage and shipwreck to communicate a message of quite specific importance to his readers. We should remember that Günther Bornkamm has shown how Matthew re-interpreted Mark's description of Jesus stilling the storm to present it as an image of Jesus' relationship to his disciples in the 'little ship' of the church.¹²⁶ Luke's interpretation is not quite the same as this, however, since not all those on board Paul's vessel are disciples or even look like becoming such (27.42–4). Nevertheless, Paul's exhortation to everyone on board (and we have argued that there were Jews as well as Gentiles) to take food, for this pertains to their σωτηρία (27.33–4), reinforces Luke's persistent emphasis on the fact that the old barriers between Jew and Gentile have been decisively shattered in the eucharistic fellowship of the Christian community and that an era of salvation for all humanity has now been inaugurated, even if there are some who do not yet realize it.

Table-fellowship and Luke's legitimatory purpose

The time has now come to locate Luke's presentation of table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles within the wider context of his intentions and strategy. From the Jewish point of view, Jews ate with Gentiles in the Christian community only at the price of denying their *ethnos* and their faith. For Luke, it is this objection, as much social and ethnic as religious, that constitutes the main problem for the spread of Christianity throughout the Diaspora, even though he attempts to suppress its significance in the early stages, before the Council in Jerusalem recorded in Acts 15. As a description of Luke's subject in Acts, the phrase 'the mission to the Gentiles' is something of a misnomer. Even when he has Paul say 'we are turning to the Gentiles' (13.46) and 'from now on I will go to the Gentiles' (18.6), he is not suggesting that Paul is thenceforward transferring his missionary endeavours from Jews to Gentiles, but rather that Gentiles also may become part of the Christian communities, which means they may share table-fellowship with Jews.

Yet how is the table-fellowship question relevant to Luke's own community? If the most popular view as to the composition of his community were correct – namely, that its members were predominantly Gentile, with Jews either absent or an insignificant minority – it would be difficult indeed to account for the fact that his presentation of the early history of Diaspora Christianity focuses so intensely upon the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the Christian communities and not simply on the admission of Gentiles to those communities. In Chapter 2 above, however, there was presented a body of evidence for the view that Jews were a significant component of the community for whom Luke was writing. This finding is strongly corroborated by the prominence Luke accords to table-fellowship. The most plausible explanation for why he has shown such an interest in this question is that in his community there were Jews and Gentiles who did sit down to table together and who were attracting criticism because of this. Such opposition, originating in an apprehended danger to continued Jewish identity, threatened the unity and even the existence of Luke's community and constitutes one of the prime motivations for the unique way he presents his material, in other words, for his theology.

It is possible, moreover, to chart in greater detail the dynamics of this opposition and Luke's response to it. We begin with our view that Jewish–Gentile table-fellowship was an important feature in the life of his community. Now it is clear from Paul's letter to the

Galatians (and also from Mark's Gospel) that there was a stage, early on in the spread of Christianity through the Diaspora, when such fellowship was considered permissible. However, some time in the late forties or early fifties of the first century CE there was a Jewish Christian reaction against this practice. This was initiated by Peter, at James' prompting, in Antioch, but the movement to revoke such fellowship, or to have the Gentiles taking part circumcised, and thereby to remove the offence to Jewish ethnicity it involved, then spread to other parts of the Diaspora, including to Paul's Galatian churches (whatever their exact location). Matthew's Gospel provides further evidence of this reaction. The Jewish Christian reactionaries against table-fellowship with Gentiles were able to cite as authority for their views the potent names of Peter and James, the leaders of the church in Jerusalem, and did so as far afield as Galatia. Given the non-historicity of the Council in Acts 15 and the fact that Paul does not mention in his letters that the church in Jerusalem had changed its mind on this subject, it appears that the Jewish Christians in that city were never reconciled to Jews eating with Gentiles in the Christian communities.

But in Luke's community the Pauline view on this matter had triumphed and Jews engaged in table-fellowship with Gentiles. The fourfold prohibition quoted by Luke in Acts 15 probably represents the core of a compromise agreement reached between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians, with the Gentiles undertaking to adhere to the four prohibitions, and the Jews in return re-establishing table-fellowship. This was regarded as an arrangement which went a long way to satisfying Jewish Christian scruples, in view of the parallel to the rules enforced on foreigners living in Israel in Lev 17 and 18. We have seen that this decree did not originate in Jerusalem, but the fact that it has for its destination the brothers in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia (15.23) is best explained on the grounds that it was among the churches in these regions that the compromise agreement was reached. So Paul's opinion on the matter, probably some time after his death, was victorious at last in Antioch. Now while it is not certain in which Hellenistic city Luke's community was located, it is clear that it had either seen a restoration of table-fellowship after a period during which it had been prohibited because of Jewish-Christian hostility, or that it had maintained table-fellowship throughout the history of the community in spite of opposition from the leaders of the Jerusalem church, including Peter and James. The former alternative is probably more likely, but in either case it is evident that it

was vital for Luke to legitimate, that is, to explain and justify, the practice to his Christian contemporaries. If any feature needed to form part of the symbolic universe he was creating for them in the face of the symbolic universe rooted in Jewish ethnicity, it was table-fellowship.

The particular method employed by Luke to legitimate Jewish-Gentile table-fellowship against the background of persistent opposition from the Jerusalem church in the period before the events of 67-70 CE is both simple and yet thoroughly audacious - he re-writes the history of early Christianity relating to this subject and assigns to Peter, James and the church in Jerusalem exactly the opposite roles to those which they played in fact. Thus, was not Paul known as the pioneer, if not the initiator, of the great task of bringing the message of salvation to the Gentiles, while Peter was the evangelizer of the Jews (Gal 2.1-10)? Then Luke makes Peter begin the mission to the Gentiles (Acts 10.1-11.18). Had not Peter come to Antioch and, at the instigation of James, broken off table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians there (Gal 2.11-14)? Not at all, says Luke, it was other Christians with Pharisaical links who caused the trouble in Antioch (Acts 15.1, 5), for Peter had seen Jewish-Gentile commensality as commanded by God as early as the conversion of Cornelius and this attitude had been endorsed by the Jerusalem church on that occasion and was subsequently re-affirmed by that church, under firm direction by James, during an authoritative council (Acts 11.1-18; 15.6-26). Had there not been a tremendous showdown between Paul and Peter over the table-fellowship in Antioch, with Paul failing to carry the day on that issue? By no means, Luke tells us, there was never any dispute between Peter and Paul on this or any other issue. Was not the notorious split between Paul and Barnabas after years of joint missionary work a result of Barnabas siding with Peter in Antioch (Gal 2.13)? No, the undeniable division between them was caused by their differing attitudes to taking John Mark along on a missionary journey (Acts 13.13; 15.36-40). Had not the form of Christianity developed in Antioch lacked authorization and supervision from Jerusalem? How could this be true, implies Luke, when Barnabas was actually an envoy from Jerusalem sent to Antioch very early in the history of the community there and one who was perfectly happy with what he found (Acts 11.22-3)?

That Luke should plainly feel compelled to be able to plead the support of Peter, James and the Jerusalem church, even though that meant reversing historical fact at many crucial points, tells as much

about the opposition his community was encountering in maintaining table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles. This Lucan strategy would appear to necessitate the conclusion that the names of Peter and James were being invoked by people as authorities against that practice. Such an attitude is most plausibly to be regarded as originating among Jewish Christians who held Peter and James in respect and remembered their views on Jews eating with Gentiles in the Christian community. No doubt these Jewish Christians were being influenced or even pressurized by ordinary Jews to do all they could to oppose such fellowship. In his letter to the Galatians, after all, Paul records that those advocating circumcision did so to escape persecution for the cross of Christ (Gal 6.12), and such persecution is only to be expected from Diaspora Jews alarmed at the attack on their ethnic identity involved in Jews dining with non-Jews. Some of the Jewish Christians giving Luke's community trouble could have preserved links with it, while others might have dissociated themselves from it, perhaps even by renouncing all Christian claims and returning to the synagogue. In this way we are able to see at least one aspect of both the internal and the external threat to the flock which Paul prophesied would be its lot in his speech to the Ephesian elders in Acts 20.28–30.

It should be mentioned, finally, that there is nothing in the subsequent history of early Christianity that weighs against this reconstruction of the social and religious setting of Luke's community and his response to it. There appear to have been continuous efforts in some quarters to push Christianity in a Jewish direction. Ignatius of Antioch, writing between 105 and 115 CE,¹²⁷ complains of Judaizers in the Eastern churches¹²⁸ and insists upon the importance of unity in the eucharist in a way Luke would have fully approved.¹²⁹ Later in the second century, Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* is evidence both for the existence of Jewish Christians (46.1) and for continuing attempts to impose circumcision and the Mosaic law on Gentile Christians (47.1–2). Among some of the Jewish Christian groups, such as the Ebionites,¹³⁰ there was a strong tendency to elevate the importance of Peter, matched by a pronounced hostility to Paul. These themes emerge, for example, in the *Epistula Petri* (1.1–3) and in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*.¹³¹ Accordingly, the split in the Christian fold which opened up at least as early as Paul's confrontation with Peter in Antioch (Gal 2.11–14) appears to have persisted until well into the second century and beyond, and it is not at all surprising that Luke should have felt compelled to

take a considered position on it in the eighties or nineties of the first century.

In conclusion, we have shown that a legitimization of table-fellowship between Jews and Gentiles forms a vital arch in the symbolic universe which Luke creates for his community. It was this issue that in the early history of Christianity had led to the development of a distinct Christian identity *vis-à-vis* Judaism, and it was still central to the life of Luke's Christian contemporaries.

- 145–55; A. J. Mattill, Jr., 'Naherwartung, Fernerwartung, and the Purpose of Luke–Acts: Weymouth Reconsidered', *CBQ*, 34 (1972), 276–93; C. H. Talbert, 'Shifting Sands: The Recent Study of the Gospel of Luke', *Interpretation*, 30 (1976), 381–95; and S. G. Wilson, 'Lukan Eschatology', *NTS*, 16 (1969–70), 330–47.
- 52 R. H. Hiers, 'The Problem of the Delay'.
- 53 S. G. Wilson, 'Lukan Eschatology'.
- 54 Josef Ernst, *Herr der Geschichte. Perspektiven der lukanischen Eschatologie* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1978), pp. 28, 46.
- 55 For example, S. G. Wilson, 'Lukan Eschatology', p. 340; and R. H. Hiers, 'The Problem of the Delay', p. 153.
- 56 This is so despite the fact that Luke's three other examples of ἐν τάχει all mean 'quickly' or 'soon' (Acts 12.7; 22.18; 25.4).
- 57 Conzelmann, *Luke*, p. 105.
- 58 G. Schneider, *Parusiegleichnisse* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975), p. 60.
- 59 For an analysis of the original Jesus movement in Galilee having been characterized, at least in part, by the age-old antipathy of country folk for the city, see G. Theissen, 'Die Tempelweissagung Jesu. Prophetie im Spannungsfeld von Stadt und Land', *ThZ*, 32 (1976), 144–58.
- 60 J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), *passim*.
- 61 For L. T. Johnson, for example, Luke's problem is one of 'theodicy', to show that God has not been untrue to his word to Israel and that the Gentiles may therefore be confident in their faith – see his *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke–Acts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), p. 122.
- 62 See p. 203 and p. 255, n. 4.
- 63 Conzelmann, *Luke*, pp. 95–6.
- 64 H. J. Cadbury's essay, 'Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts', *Beginnings*, Vol. V, pp. 375–92, remains the best treatment of this subject.
- 65 On 'believers', see *ibid.*, p. 382.
- 66 *Ibid.*, pp. 387–8.
- 67 *Ibid.*, pp. 379–80.
- 68 H. B. Mattingly, 'The Origin of the Name "Christian"', *JTS*, n.s. 9 (1958), 26–37.
- 69 H. J. Cadbury, 'Names', p. 386, notes that the word is absent from all the Apostolic Fathers except Ignatius. Its only other occurrence in the New Testament outside Acts is at 1 Peter 4.16.
- 70 H. J. Cadbury, 'Names', p. 390.
- 71 Josephus, *BJ*, 2.119–166.
- 72 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 643, and elsewhere.
- 73 For example, N. A. Dahl, 'The Story of Abraham in Luke–Acts', *Studies in Luke–Acts*, pp. 139–58; and L. T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions*, pp. 17–18.

4. Table-fellowship

- 1 G. Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*, p. 121.
- 2 *Ibid.*, Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4.
- 3 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 114–15.
- 4 Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and its Implications* (London: Paladin, 1970), pp. 80–1.
- 5 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–9, 180–7.
- 6 Edmund Leach, 'The Legitimacy of Solomon', in his *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), pp. 25–83 (p. 39).
- 7 Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', in her *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 249–75.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
- 9 J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 246.
- 10 G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 78.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 12 J. Neusner, *Fellowship in Judaism: The First Century and Today* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1963), pp. 22–3.
- 13 K. G. Kuhn, 'The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran', in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 65–93 (p. 68); M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), pp. 108–11.
- 14 J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–18)', *JSNT*, 18 (1983), 3–75 (p. 23).
- 15 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 70.
- 16 Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', pp. 7–11, for criticism of which see Rabbi Dan Cohn-Sherbok, 'Some Reflections on James Dunn's: "The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–18)"', *JSNT*, 18 (1983), 68–74.
- 17 Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', pp. 35–6.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 21, citing *Mishnah Berakhot* 7:1 and *Abodah Zarah* 5:5, and the Babylonian Talmud, b. *Abodah Zarah* 8a–b. This evidence is discussed below.
- 19 Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 70, together with n. 19 on p. 124, citing G. Alon, 'The Levitical Uncleaness of Gentiles', in *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1977), pp. 146–89. Alon never suggests in this essay that Jews ate with Gentiles, and the whole point of his argument, that Gentiles had been regarded as ritually impure through their association with idolatry from early in Israel's history, is quite antipathetic to the notion of Jews dining with them. Alon's essay is considered in more detail later in this chapter.

- 20 J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety*, pp. 146ff.
- 21 Cf. Stern. This work replaces T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs au Juifs et Judaïsme* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1895).
- 22 John G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes Toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 31, in reply to J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), especially Chapter 3, pp. 89–144, in which Sevenster attempts to show that 'the most fundamental reason for pagan anti-Semitism almost always proves to lie in the strangeness of the Jews midst ancient society' (p. 89).
- 24 A failure to appreciate the significance of the table-fellowship question also characterizes Sevenster's *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism*, which devotes three sentences (p. 139) out of 235 pages to the question, and other writings on ancient anti-Semitism, such as Jerry L. Daniel, 'Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic–Roman Period', *JBL*, 98 (1979), 45–65.
- 25 Stern I, p. 20.
- 26 John Bright, *A History of Israel*, second edition (London: SCM Press, 1976), pp. 416–17.
- 27 Stern I, p. 24, in reference to the views of Theophrastus, Megasthenes, Clemens Alexandrinus and Clearchus. Also see J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, p. 39.
- 28 J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, p. 40.
- 29 Stern I, p. 26 (Greek text) and p. 28 (English translation).
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 149.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 34 *OCD*, p. 347.
- 35 J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, p. 68.
- 36 Stern I, p. 182 (Greek text) and p. 183 (English translation).
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 332.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 335–6 (Latin text).
- 39 C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969), s.vv. *convivio* and *convivor* (pp. 465 and 466).
- 40 Stern II, p. 1.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 19, for the excerpt from Tacitus, *Historiae*, V.5.2. The English translation is mine.
- 42 Stern II, p. 339.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 341 (text and translation).
- 44 See J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, pp. 420–5.
- 45 Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, ET by Peter R. Ackroyd (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), pp. 520–2.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p. 587.
- 47 G. Alon, 'The Levitical Uncleanliness of Gentiles', p. 154.

- 48 M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, Vol. I (London: SCM Press, 1974), p. 77.
- 49 Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, p. 510.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 585.
- 51 It is, for example, omitted from the lists of passages pertinent to Jewish attitudes to table-fellowship given in Marc Philonenko, ed., *Joseph et Aseneth* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), p. 49, and by S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 69.
- 52 James H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, reprint with supplement of the 1976 edition (Chicago: Scholars Press, 1981), p. 78, and Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 47–52.
- 53 For a possible connection between the seventy (-two) Septuagint translators and the despatch by the Lucan Jesus of the seventy (-two) disciples in Lk 10.1, see Sidney Jellicoe, 'St Luke and the "Seventy (-Two)"', *NTS*, 6 (1959–60), 319–21.
- 54 Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, pp. 49–50. George Howard has forcefully argued that the Letter was written in response to unjustified criticism of Diaspora Judaism by Palestinian Judaism – 'The Letter of Aristaeas and Diaspora Judaism', *JTS*, 22 (1971), 337–48.
- 55 *Letter of Aristaeas*, 139; the Greek text is taken from André Pelletier, ed., *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1962), p. 170, and the ET from Charles, Vol. II, p. 108.
- 56 *Letter of Aristaeas*, 151 – Pelletier, ed., *Lettre*, p. 174 (Greek text); ET in Charles, Vol. II, p. 109.
- 57 *Letter of Aristaeas*, 187–294.
- 58 *Letter of Aristaeas*, 182–3 – Pelletier, ed., *Lettre*, p. 188 (Greek text); ETT by the author.
- 59 *Letter of Aristaeas*, 183.
- 60 J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, p. 143.
- 61 *Jubilees*, 22.16 – Charles, Vol. II, p. 46 (ET).
- 62 J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, p. 143.
- 63 J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 58.
- 64 Marc Philonenko, ed., *Joseph et Aseneth*, pp. 99–109. There is an ET by E. W. Brooks, *Joseph and Asenath* (London: SPCK, 1918).
- 65 *Joseph and Asenath*, 7.
- 66 *Ibid.*; for the Greek text, see M. Philonenko, ed., *Joseph et Aseneth*, p. 150.
- 67 J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', pp. 20–1.
- 68 H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, p. 444.
- 69 *M. Berahot* 4.8–5.12.
- 70 See M. L. Rodkinson, *The Babylonian Talmud*, Vol. X (Boston: New Talmud Publishing Company, 1903), pp. 146–52.

- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- 72 M. Abodah Zarah, 5.12.
- 73 G. Alon, 'The Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles'.
- 74 Z. W. Falk, *Introduction to the Jewish Law of the Second Commonwealth*, Part I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 5–8.
- 75 G. Alon, 'The Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles', pp. 153–4.
- 76 Josephus, *BJ*, 2.150.
- 77 Josephus, *AJ*, 14.285.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 18.94.
- 79 J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', p. 14.
- 80 Cited by J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World*, p. 112.
- 81 Galatians should probably be dated to between 50 and 55 CE – see H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), pp. 9–12.
- 82 For other interpretations of *οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς*, see Betz, *Galatians*, p. 109, n. 467.
- 83 On the location and characteristics of Paul's addressees, see Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 1–4.
- 84 J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', pp. 35–6.
- 85 For example, by S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 52. If Wilson were correct in thinking that this verse constituted a 'profound and radical criticism of the law', why would Matthew have retained it (Mt 15.11)?
- 86 Ecclesiasticus 35.5: 'All these things must be sacrificed because of the commandment' (ἅπαντα ἐντολῆς). And see T. A. Burkill, *New Light on the Earliest Gospel* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 81.
- 87 V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, second edition (London: Macmillan & Co. 1966), p. 343.
- 88 T. A. Burkill, *New Light*, p. 82.
- 89 *Ibid.*, pp. 71–2.
- 90 V. Taylor, *St. Mark*, p. 350; for a discussion of bread and heaven motifs in Mk 6.30–8.21, see V. K. Robbins, 'Last Meal: Preparation, Betrayal, and Absence', in W. H. Kelber, ed., *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16*, (Philadelphia: The Fortress Press, 1976), pp. 21–40 (pp. 25–8).
- 91 F. W. Beare, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p. 341.
- 92 For a recent discussion, see G. Stanton, ed., *The Interpretation of Matthew* (Philadelphia and London: Fortress Press and SPCK, 1983), pp. 12–18, from the editor's Introduction.
- 93 Such as the Ebionites and Cerinthus – see J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, ET by J. A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), pp. 58 and 68.
- 94 D. R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), *passim*.
- 95 F. Hauck, 'Clean and Unclean in the NT', part of an article on

- καθαρός, *TDNT*, Vol. III, pp. 423–6 (p. 424); S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 68.
- 96 See the excellent discussion in Haenchen, *Commentary*, pp. 355–63.
- 97 I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction and Commentary* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), p. 182.
- 98 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 362.
- 99 Martin Dibelius, 'The Conversion of Cornelius', in Dibelius, *Studies*, pp. 109–22 (especially p. 122).
- 100 I. Howard Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 181.
- 101 R. R. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: SCM Press, 1969), p. 94.
- 102 Cited by Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 356.
- 103 Martin Dibelius, 'The Apostolic Council', in Dibelius, *Studies*, pp. 93–101 (pp. 95–7).
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 105 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 463.
- 106 *Ibid.*, pp. 447–8.
- 107 R. P. C. Hanson, *Acts* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 155–6.
- 108 Contact with idols appears to be proscribed by Lev 17.8–9, which does not just regulate the location of sacrifices (so S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 87), but effectively prevents sacrifice to any God but Yahweh. The consumption of blood is prohibited by Lev 17.10–14 and of animals that have been strangled, that is, not ritually slaughtered, by Lev 17.15–16. Incest is banned by Lev 18.6ff., which apply to resident foreigners by virtue of Lev 18.26.
- 109 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 70.
- 110 As supposed by the editor of *Acts* in *JB*; see the footnote to 16.15, p. 229.
- 111 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 495, considers that prior to moving in with Lydia they had probably lived in an inn at their own expense. But while the Lucan Paul refuses to take money or clothes from anyone (Acts 20.33–5), he has no objection to staying in disciples' houses (Acts 18.3, 7). In both respects he parallels the attitudes of the historical Paul.
- 112 R. P. C. Hanson, *Acts*, p. 243.
- 113 So Zahn, Ramsay and E. Meyer – cited Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 709.
- 114 V. K. Robbins, 'By Land and by Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages', in Talbert, *Perspectives*, pp. 215–42.
- 115 R. P. C. Hanson, *Acts*, p. 243, denies this with respect to the Sidon to Malta section of the voyage at least. But even in this section Paul is presented as a visionary in touch with God's purpose – Acts 27.10 (θεοπέω being used of a vision as at 7.56 and 10.11), 23–5 and 34.
- 116 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 711. Haenchen adopts the position that Luke did, indeed, possess a journal of this voyage but that he has heightened Paul's role in the proceedings – *ibid.*, p. 709.
- 117 *Beginnings*, Vol. IV, p. 336.
- 118 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 707.

- 119 G. W. H. Lampe, Commentary on Acts, in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, edited by Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1963), pp. 882–926 (p. 925).
- 120 So Belser, Blass, Olshausen, Ewald, Reicke and Menoud – cited Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 707.
- 121 P. W. Walaskay, 'And So We Came to Rome: The Political Perspective of St Luke' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 60–2.
- 122 Bo Reicke, 'Die Mahlzeit mit Paulus auf den Wellen des Mittelmeers Act. 27, 33–38', *ThZ*, 4 (1948), 401–10 (pp. 402–4).
- 123 *Ibid.*, pp. 404–6.
- 124 *Ibid.*, pp. 406–8.
- 125 *Ibid.*, pp. 408–9.
- 126 G. Bornkamm, 'The Stilling of the Storm in Matthew', in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. H. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (London: SCM Press, 1982), pp. 52–7.
- 127 J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, Vol. I (London: Macmillan & Co., 1885), p. 30.
- 128 *Philadelphians*, 6.1; *Magnesians*, 8.2, 10.
- 129 *Philadelphians*, 4 and 8.
- 130 See J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, pp. 55–64, on the Ebionites.
- 131 Relevant extracts from these two works are conveniently provided by H. D. Betz, *Galatians*, pp. 331–3. For the possible connection between the *Epistula Petri* and the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* and the Ebionites, see J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, pp. 59–64.

5. The law

- 1 J. Jervell, 'The Law in Luke–Acts', in *Luke and the People of God*, pp. 133–51.
- 2 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*.
- 3 C. L. Blomberg, 'The Law in Luke–Acts', *JSNT*, 22 (1984), 53–80.
- 4 Cited by Jervell in 'The Law in Luke–Acts', p. 133.
- 5 Haenchen, *Commentary*, p. 223.
- 6 H. Schürmann, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien* (Düsseldorf: Patmos–Verlag, 1968), pp. 126–36.
- 7 R. Banks, *Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 172, 247 and *passim*.
- 8 B. H. Branscomb, *Jesus and the Law of Moses* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930), pp. 100–1.
- 9 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 57.
- 10 J. Jervell, 'The Law in Luke–Acts', p. 141.
- 11 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, pp. 111–12.
- 12 P. S. Minear, 'Luke's Use of the Birth Stories', in *Studies in Luke–Acts*, pp. 111–30.
- 13 G. Schrenk, article on ἐντολή, *TDNT*, Vol. II, pp. 545–56 (p. 546).

- 14 G. Schrenk, article on δίκαιωμα, *TDNT*, Vol. II, pp. 219–23 (p. 220).
- 15 Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, p. 425.
- 16 The word εὐαγγέλιον also occurs in Acts 2.5; 8.2 and 22.12 to express pious dedication to God's law. S. G. Wilson, inexplicably, thinks that its occurrence at Lk 2.25 is unique in the New Testament – *Luke and the Law*, p. 22.
- 17 For G. D. Kilpatrick's view on 'the light of the Gentiles', see Chapter 2, no. 46.
- 18 Fitzmyer, *Commentary*, p. 9 and *passim*.
- 19 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 56.
- 20 R. Banks, *Jesus and the Law*, pp. 247–8.
- 21 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 39.
- 22 G. Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus*.
- 23 B. J. Malina, *The New Testament World*, especially pp. 94–121.
- 24 S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 40.
- 25 J. A. Ziesler, 'Luke and the Pharisees', *NTS*, 25 (1979), 146–57, has argued that Luke aimed to soften the opposition evident in Mark between Jesus and the Pharisees and to present the Pharisees favourably in Acts, although Ziesler does not venture an explanation as to why the evangelist should have adopted such a policy. This view is, however, difficult to reconcile with the many features unique to Luke which are antipathetic to the Pharisees: for example, Lk 7.30; 11.53; 12.1 (Luke specifies the 'yeast' as hypocrisy); 16.14–15 and 18.10–14. The alleged friendliness of the Pharisees in Acts founders on the anti-Christian campaign waged by that eminent Pharisee, Paul.
- 26 Similarly, R. E. Brown argues that John's uniformly hostile references to the chief priests and scribes express antipathy towards the synagogue authorities of his own time – see his *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1979), p. 66.
- 27 R. Banks, *Jesus and the Law*, p. 170.
- 28 Bultmann, *HST*, p. 196.
- 29 Conzelmann, *Luke*, p. 23.
- 30 For an interesting treatment of Lk 16.18, see J. L. Houlden, *Ethics and the New Testament* (London and Oxford: Mowbrays, 1979), pp. 79–80.
- 31 So S. G. Wilson, *Luke and the Law*, p. 53.
- 32 H. Schürmann, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 280, 281 and 287.
- 33 H. Schürmann, *ibid.*, proposes the joint operation of a number of factors to explain Luke's omission of Mk 6.45–8.26. Certainly, there are difficulties with this approach. One of his factors, for example, is the desire to avoid doublets. Yet, as H. Hübner has noted, there is no shortage of doublets in Luke's work – see his *Das Gesetz in der synoptischen Tradition* (Witten: Luther Verlag, 1973), p. 183. For detailed statistics on Lucan doublets, see R. Morgenthaler, *Die lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis*, two volumes (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1949), Vol. I. Nevertheless,