

*THE CIRCUMCISION OF THE EAR: THE
MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF A METAPHOR IN
ITS CONTEXT IN SECOND TEMPLE AND
EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS*

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THE CIRCUMCISION OF THE EAR: THE MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF A
METAPHOR IN ITS CONTEXT IN SECOND TEMPLE AND EARLY
CHRISTIAN TEXTS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
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DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

BY
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ABSTRACT

THE CIRCUMCISION OF THE EAR: THE MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF A METAPHOR IN ITS CONTEXT IN SECOND TEMPLE AND EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS

By Brent Ashton Thomason

Among Second Temple and Early Christian texts, 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* reference an ear-circumcision metaphor, recalling to mind the sobering statement of Jer 6:10: “To whom shall I speak and give warning, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot listen. Behold, the word of the LORD has become a reproach to them; they have no delight in it.” In each of these three works, the author has juxtaposed an ear-circumcision and heart metaphor—uncircumcised ears and heart of stone (1QHodayot^a), uncircumcised in hearts and ears (Luke-Acts), and circumcised hearing and hearts (*Epistle of Barnabas*). From critical treatments in monographs to cross-references in footnotes, scholars’ treatments have tended to fall short: (1) they generalize the ear-circumcision metaphor’s meaning appealing to its meaning in Jer 6:10; (2) they offer inadequate analyses of the metaphor in favor of the more frequent, juxtaposed heart metaphor. My thesis seeks to shed additional light on the ear-circumcision metaphor by offering detailed analyses to show its multifaceted meaning, which is contingent in each case upon its context. Further, the thesis reveals the significant ear motif woven throughout each ancient source and the function of the metaphor in shaping the structure of the literary piece.

In order to accomplish this, the thesis examines the ear-circumcision metaphor from a study of the LXX and Targumim interpretations of the Hebrew text (Ch. 2) and reviews other related metaphors from the Second Temple and Early Christian era (Ch. 3). Next, the study turns to analyze separately the metaphor’s meaning and its role in the literary structure of 1QHodayot^a (Ch. 4), Luke-Acts (Ch. 5), and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (Ch. 6). Chapter 7 compares the analyses of these metaphors. Finally, I make some concluding comments and propose future research (Ch. 8).

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This thesis is the product of my own work and does not include work that has been presented in any form for a degree at Durham University or any other university. All quotations from, and references to, the work of persons other than myself have been properly acknowledged throughout.

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Für meine Frau

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow the guidelines proposed in P. H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999) and J. F. Oates et al., eds., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, whose current online edition was accessed at <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html> (accessed 8 November 2014). A sublinear “.” designates damaged letters where authors expressed textual uncertainty. Additionally, the following abbreviations are used.

AF	The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary
AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
<i>AT</i>	<i>Acta theologica</i>
BAFCS	The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting
BC	Bible Commentary
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BibAr	The Bible in Aramaic
<i>BibWor</i>	<i>The Biblical World</i>
CalC	Calvin’s Commentaries
CBS	Core Biblical Studies
CNIt	Commentaar op het Nieuwe Testament
CorPat	Corona Patrum
DBI	Dictionary of Biblical Imagery
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DSSR	The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader
EncyApoc	Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism
EpC	Epworth Commentaries
GJVZJC	Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi
GVI	Geschichte des Volkes Israel
<i>HJEAS</i>	<i>Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies</i>
Homage	Homage Series
JCTCRS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JPSTC	Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary
KAV	Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum helveticum</i>
MR	Midrash Rabbah
NA ²⁸	Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece, 28th ed.
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NLCNT	New London Commentary on the New Testament
NTC	Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum

NTTh	New Testament Theology
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OutChT	Outstanding Christian Thinkers
PAO	Patrum Apostolicorum Opera
SAIS	Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture
SHBC	Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary
SPhiloA	Studia Philonica Annual
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
SVIG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
TANZ	Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter
TexEst	Textos y estudios
ThA	Theologische Arbeiten
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
YBP	Yale Bicentennial Publications

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Nina Livesey's *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol*

In 2010, Nina E. Livesey published her 2007 doctoral dissertation *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol* demonstrating the multivalent meaning of the symbol of the rite of circumcision among second temple literature: “The Jewish practice of circumcision, as treated in texts from the second century BCE to the first century CE, the time period to which interpreters turn for its definition of this rite, has no single monovalent meaning.”¹ Livesey contends that the meaning of the symbol (i.e. the rite of circumcision) is malleable and so distinguishes herself from those who would attempt to generalize its meaning: “While several [of] the general reference works acknowledge the differences in understandings of circumcision, rarely is that same degree of variety reflected in the analytical discussions (i.e., lectures, commentaries, and specialized studies) on circumcision in the ancient world.”²

Livesey substantiates her claim by exploring first the meaning of the rite as found in 1, 2, and 4 Maccabees and *Jubilees* before turning to the works of Josephus, Philo, and Paul. By scrutinizing the literary context of each of these sources, Livesey argues for a range of meanings. For example, in 1 Maccabees the mark of circumcision symbolizes one’s allegiance to the Hasmonean rule. This is not the case in Josephus where, in the story of King Izates of Adiabene (*Ant.* 20.2-4), the rite of circumcision signifies a commitment to Judaism. Again, whereas Paul can employ circumcision metonymically referring positively to fellow believers of Jesus Christ (Phil 3:3), he can likewise use it negatively in reference to Jews following Jewish laws (Gal 2:12). These and other analyses led Livesey to conclude that the ancient authors “creatively and freely attributed various meanings to circumcision to suit their specific purposes.”³

¹ N. E. Livesey, *Circumcision as a Malleable Symbol*, WUNT 2/295 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1-2.

³ *Ibid.*, 155.

Though a fine treatment of several primary texts, Livesey's work is lacking on one front: it does not address other relevant texts within the time parameters Livesey set out for her study. Though she attempts to discuss the texts from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., she overlooks sources like Luke-Acts, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and relevant Qumran literature. Though admittedly the dating of Luke-Acts and the *Gospel of Thomas* is highly contentious, Livesey offers no explanation for their exclusion in her treatment. Considering that Acts records the conflicts over circumcision in the early Church, an analysis of its circumcision texts would surely have borne fruit in her discussion, whether aligned among her primary text discussions or, at the least, in the midst of her chapter on "A Brief History of the Interpretation of Circumcision."⁴

1.2 Aim and Scope of the Study

Arguably, Livesey's task was not to analyze the *metaphor* of circumcision from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., though she does treat such references when they arise in the primary texts under her review. This thesis attempts to build upon Livesey's in two ways. First, the chapters which follow seek to demonstrate that the ear-circumcision metaphor is malleable. As Livesey's work has done for the symbol of the rite of circumcision generally in a narrower timeframe, this thesis attempts to do for the ear-circumcision metaphor specifically within a broader time range. Still, this thesis aligns with Livesey's monograph by attempting to push back from scholars' general negligence to acknowledge the diversity of circumcision's meaning granted it by its literary contexts. Second, this thesis explores many texts from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., even texts excluded from Livesey's work, insofar as they address circumcision of the ear. When a primary text records a reference to ear-circumcision, the current study explores what that same text says about the rite of circumcision, thereby filling some of the gaps in Livesey's study.

The detailed exploration of the ear-circumcision metaphor in its context in Second Temple and Early Christian texts is the aim of this study.⁵ As Livesey astutely observed, too

⁴ Ibid., 123-154.

⁵ See *ibid.*, 7. In addressing how to deduce the meaning of circumcision, Livesey laments that in ancient works "one rarely finds an expression such as 'circumcision signifies,' using the Greek verb to signify (*σημαίνειν*) or 'circumcision is,' using the Greek verb to be (*εἶναι*), or 'circumcision means' (*λέγειν*). By contrast, ancient authors often speak of the function of circumcision.... Thus, even in these [metaphorical] cases, 'circumcision's' meaning must be derived from its context." This thesis follows Livesey and takes its cue from the literary contexts of the primary sources to deduce the meaning of metaphorical circumcision.

often is the diversity of circumcision's meaning neglected among analytical studies. This can be seen clearly among the treatments of metaphorical circumcision, specifically ear- and heart-circumcision. Among the primary texts spanning the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E., references to ear-circumcision are witnessed in three sources: these include 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Curiously, in each of these sources the ear-circumcision metaphor is juxtaposed with a heart metaphor, whether a heart-circumcision metaphor (Luke-Acts, the *Epistle of Barnabas*) or a heart of stone metaphor (1QHodayot^a). Whereas the heart-circumcision metaphor is more frequently observed in the OT (i.e. Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4; 9:26; Ezek 44:7, 9), the ear-circumcision metaphor is mentioned only once: "To whom shall I speak and give warning, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot listen. Behold, the word of the LORD has become a reproach to them; they have no delight in it" (Jer 6:10).

As the thesis will demonstrate, scholars' treatments of these ear-circumcision metaphors in 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* tend to be lacking in some way: (1) treatment of the ear-circumcision metaphor is neglected, being most times overlooked for analysis of the more common heart-circumcision metaphor; (2) the minimal treatment, most times a mere cross-reference, imports uncritically the meaning of ear-circumcision from Jer 6:10 onto the ear-circumcision references found at 1QHodayot^a 21.6, Acts 7:51, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* 9.1, 3; 10.12. Such negligent or hasty treatments of the ear-circumcision metaphor misrepresent the flexibility of the metaphor's meaning. By neglecting to treat the metaphor, or by infusing the metaphor with the meaning derived from Jer 6:10, scholars tend to overlook the multivalent meaning of this malleable metaphor.

The ear-circumcision metaphor not only carries various meanings contingent in each case upon its context, the study will demonstrate that it is pregnant with potential to shape the literary structure of the work in which it is situated. Hence we not only ask, What does the metaphor mean?, but also, How does the metaphor function in the literary work? By examining the immediate and wider literary structure of our primary sources, it will become apparent that the ear-circumcision metaphor can take a prominent place in the overall formation of the literature, as is particularly the case in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and to a lesser degree in Luke-Acts and 1QHodayot^a. The study of this metaphor shows that these three sources preserve for us three strands of varying interpretations of the metaphor with

some of those strands lending themselves to the metaphor's greater structural significance in the literary work in which it is found.

That the metaphor is imbued with flexibility of meaning can already be observed from the diversity of ear- and heart-circumcision meanings displayed among the LXX and Targumim versions of these OT metaphors. Thus, before an examination of 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* commences, we first turn to analyze each ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor, as well as heart of stone references, in the OT, because these metaphors will be the focus of the study among the three primary sources. A comparison of the MT, LXX, and Targumim reveals the various ways the metaphors might be understood. As a result of the variety of meanings of the heart-circumcision metaphor displayed among the ancient versions, we can anticipate a similar phenomenon with later references to the ear-circumcision metaphor.

As a result, the thesis first reviews the ways these metaphors are understood in the MT, LXX, and Targumim (Ch. 2). The study then examines metaphors of circumcision bearing upon the interpretation of the ear-circumcision metaphor from Second Temple and Early Christian texts (Ch. 3). The research then turns to analyze the ear-circumcision and heart metaphors in 1QHodayot^a (Ch. 4), Luke-Acts (Ch. 5), and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (Ch. 6). Afterwards, we synthesize and compare the chapters' results (Ch. 7) before making some conclusions (Ch. 8).

1.3 Metaphor Theory

1.3.1 Comparative Model

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle described metaphor as “the application of a word that belongs to another thing” (21.7).⁶ This view of metaphor is what is known as the comparative theory of metaphor “holding that a metaphor is a comparison between two terms that is made in order to explore the nature of one.”⁷ Along these lines, we might say that ‘love is a rose’ and then proceed to compare the properties of a rose to that of love. The properties of the rose, having an attractive scent and protected by thorns, might lend us to speak of love as seductive yet dangerous. The comparison permits the replacement or substitution of

⁶ The quotation is taken from S. Halliwell, *Aristotle*, vol. 23, LCL 199 (Cambridge: HUP, 1995). The influence of Aristotle's work on all subsequent metaphor treatments has been felt throughout the millennia, so J. M. Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 3.

⁷ R. Holme, *Mind, Metaphor and Language Teaching* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 1.

attributes of the rose with those of love. Such an understanding of metaphor made its employment particularly appealing among ancient rhetoricians and politicians where persuasive speech prevailed.⁸

1.3.2 Interactive Model

In the 1930s, I. A. Richards further developed the study of metaphor in relation to this thesis. Thinking of metaphors as more than replacement or substitution devices in poetic speech, Richards suggested that metaphors contain a generative potential: “In the simplest formulation, when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction.”⁹ Hence, a metaphor emerges as a result of the tension created by the interaction of these two thoughts. These two thoughts were labeled *tenor* and *vehicle*: the vehicle is the term which describes the tenor, what the metaphor is actually about.¹⁰

Expounding upon the generative potential of a metaphor within the interactive theory model, M. Black explained that the figure “obtains new meaning, which is not quite its meaning in literal uses, nor quite the meaning which any literal substitute would have.”¹¹ Black used the metaphor ‘man is a wolf’ to explain. In this example, the principle subject *man* (i.e. tenor) is seen through the lens of the subsidiary subject *wolf* (i.e. vehicle). Black assumes that the reader of the metaphor has a “system of associated commonplaces” or a general stock of knowledge about the subsidiary subject. So any knowledge about the primary subject which can be talked about in terms of the subsidiary subject will become prominent in the metaphor. Furthermore, the abnormal traits of a man which are spoken of in terms of the “wolf-language” will be emphasized in the metaphor, such as man “preys upon other animals, is fierce, hungry, engaged in constant struggle, a scavenger” etc.¹² The result of this interaction not only makes the man more wolf-like, but the wolf more man-like than he would otherwise be due to the interaction of the two subjects.

⁸ N. K. Gupta, *Worship that Makes Sense to Paul*, BZNV 175 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 29.

⁹ I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (New York: OUP, 1965), 93.

¹⁰ Holme, *Mind*, 3.

¹¹ M. Black, *Models and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1962), 39.

¹² *Ibid.*, 41. Speaking of a man in terms of wolf-language relies upon subordinate metaphors to explain the primary metaphor ‘man is a wolf’.

1.3.3 Conceptual Model

Indebted to the interaction model is the conceptual metaphor theory associated with G. Lakoff and M. Johnson. Contrary to those who view metaphor as a device only for poetic imagination, Lakoff and Johnson contended that metaphor is “pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action.”¹³ Even the way we conceptualize our thoughts is likely by employing a metaphor, they claim. Thus, in the conceptual theory, the metaphor “consists of two conceptual domains, in which one domain is understood in terms of another.”¹⁴ To illustrate this, we will use the metaphor ‘love is a journey’.¹⁵ A coherent system of knowledge about journeys is relied upon in order to understand the abstract concept of love. The metaphor is then understood if the characteristics of one concept correspond to the characteristics of the other concept. This is known as mapping when the conceptual elements of the *source* domain (i.e. journey) correspond to, or map onto, the conceptual elements of the *target* domain (i.e. love). In our case, the correspondences can be seen in the following: the *travelers* of the source domain ‘journey’ correspond to the *lovers* of the target domain ‘love’; the *destination* of the ‘journey’ maps onto the *goals* of the relationship of ‘love’; the *distance* covered in the ‘journey’ corresponds to the *progress* made in ‘love’; and so on. Due to the correspondences between the source and target domains, the metaphor finds expression in the language of the source domain.

Look *how far we have come*.
 We are *at a crossroads*.
 We will just have to *go our separate ways*.
 We cannot *turn back now*.
 We are *stuck*.
 It has been a *long, bumpy road*.
 We are just *spinning our wheels*.
 Our marriage is *on the rocks*.

The cognitive function of the ‘love is a journey’ metaphor is that of a structural metaphor because concepts in the source domain can be mapped onto concepts in the target domain. Consequently, its structure helps us understand the metaphor. However, some metaphors must first be quantified or conceptualized as a “thing or entity” before they can be given a structure like ‘love is a journey’. This is particularly the case with experiences: “We conceive of our experiences in terms of objects, substances, and

¹³ G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: UOC, 1980), 3.

¹⁴ Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 4, 8: “We construe a more abstract domain (or concept) through a more physical domain (or concept).”

¹⁵ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 44-45.

containers.”¹⁶ Such metaphors are called ontological metaphors because they are “ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances.”¹⁷ Lakoff and Johnson give the example of the experience of rising prices. Such an experience can be conceptualized metaphorically as an object by the word *inflation*. This would yield the structural metaphor ‘inflation is an entity’ with linguistic metaphorical expressions such as the following:

Inflation makes me sick.
 We need to *combat inflation*.
Inflation is backing us into a corner.
Inflation is taking its toll at the gas pump.¹⁸

These metaphorical phrases yield sub-metaphors, constellating component parts.¹⁹ As the examples illustrate, ontological metaphors are often conceptualized through personification because personification utilizes the source domain we are most familiar with—our own bodies.²⁰

Of these three theories of metaphor, the conceptual model is the best-suited theory to interpret the ear-circumcision metaphor. The authors of our ancient sources are conceptualizing two experiences: a person’s transference into covenant with God and the process of receiving divine revelation. Our authors personify these experiences through a source domain with which they are quite familiar—their own ear(s). Because the distance between these two semantic fields is great, the mere replacement of the attributes of the one for the other in the comparative model (i.e. substitution theory) proves insufficient.²¹ And though there is interaction between the two semantic fields, as in the interactive model, the transfer of meaning is one direction moving from the source domains (i.e. hearing, by metonymy the ‘ear’) to the target domain (i.e. the reception of revelation and transference into covenant).²² Consequently, the conceptual model is employed in the analyses of this thesis.

¹⁶ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 38.

¹⁷ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 25.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁹ B. Green, “Biblical Metaphor,” *AT* 34 (2014): 57.

²⁰ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 39; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 25.

²¹ Indeed the substitution theory has been largely rejected since the writing of P. Ricoeur. See the following resources: P. Ricoeur, *Die lebendige Metapher*, trans. R. Rochlitz, *Übergänge* 12 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991), and P. Ricoeur, “Erzählung, Metapher und Interpretationstheorie,” *ZTK* 84 (1987): 232-253.

²² See e.g., R. Zimmerman, “Metaphorology and Narratology in Q Exegesis,” in *Metaphor, Narrative, and Parables in Q*, ed. D. T. Roth, R. Zimmermann, and M. Labahn, *WUNT* 315 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 7, who claims, “There also is no reciprocal interaction between the two [thoughts].” See also R.

1.3.4 Definition of Metaphor

Though we have spoken about metaphor, we have not yet defined it. But definitions of metaphor are almost as numerous as the books written about metaphors. J. M. Soskice states that one scholar has identified 125 different definitions of metaphor. Soskice's own definition of metaphor aligns nicely with the conceptual theory of metaphor used in this study and so it is repeated here: "Metaphor is that figure of speech whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another."²³

So far we have examined metaphors according to the scheme A is B whereby the concrete subject B explains the abstract concept A (cf. also B is A).²⁴ But to say that only the A is B (or B is A) scheme is a metaphor neglects to consider the scope of metaphor.²⁵ This scheme has been presented for illustrative purposes. In fact, in saying that A is B is a metaphor, we are not saying that an actual metaphor exists on paper as A is B, but rather, such a metaphor exists only conceptually whereby that metaphor can be identified through the metaphorical, literary expressions which derive from the metaphor. That the scope of metaphor reaches beyond such an A is B (conversely B is A) scheme has already been observed via the linguistic metaphorical expressions such as 'we are *at a crossroads*' where 'crossroads' is a metaphor for the decision which must be made in the love relationship to determine the future direction and progress the relationship will take. Similarly, linguistic metaphorical expressions derived from a conceptual metaphor of the ear can be seen in the following discussion.

1.4 Metaphors of the Ear and Circumcision

An ontological metaphor helpful to this study is the experience of hearing by a human agent. The hearing experience however is expressed by metonymy as an ear.²⁶ This

Zimmermann, "Gleichnishermeneutik im Rückblick und Vorblick," in *Hermeneutik der Gleichnisse Jesu*, ed. R. Zimmermann and G. Kern, WUNT 231 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 35-36.

²³ Soskice, *Metaphor*, 15.

²⁴ Common terminology for A is abstract, target domain, nonphysical, intangible, vague; and B is concrete, source domain, physical, tangible, literal, as used throughout in Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, and Kövecses, *Metaphor*.

²⁵ Soskice, *Metaphor*, 21.

²⁶ In metonymy, the source and target domains are situated closely in the conceptual space, such as 'I have not read any Shakespeare lately'. In this example, two literal domains interact and the 'producer stands for the product'—the producer Shakespeare represents the product of the literary corpus he penned. The term *Shakespeare* does not map on to any abstract concept and so is not a metaphor, according to Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 38-39, 175, 181, 258. A case in point is the analysis of T. Fabiny, "The Ear as a Metaphor," *HJEAS* 11 (2005), whose work "concentrate[s] on the 'ear'-metaphor; namely, how the faculty of figurative hearing (or understanding) is offended" in Shakespearean literature.

conceptualization is common and can be observed through the following linguistic expressions used today:

I am all *ears*.
 He *perked up* his *ears*.
 I cannot believe *my ears*.

These metaphorical phrases testify that the source domain (i.e. hearing) maps onto the target domain (e.g., understanding) so that the metaphor can be comprehended. That is, because there are correspondences between the source and target domains, the metaphor is understood by the linguistic expressions.²⁷ So, for example, in ‘he *perked up* his *ears*’ the condition of the hearing (i.e. source domain) maps on to the quality of the understanding (i.e. target domain). Similarly, in ‘I cannot believe *my ears*’, the accurateness of the hearing maps onto the believability of the understanding.

The Old Testament testifies to metaphors of hearing, expressed by metonymy as the ear:

Does not the *ear test* words (Job 12:11)
 Like a deaf cobra that *stops up its ear* (Ps 58:4).
 The *ear* of the wise *seeks knowledge* (Prov 18:15).
Give ear to my word (Isa 32:9).
 From long ago your *ear has not been open* (Isa 48:8).

In these examples, we can see that the ear (i.e. hearing) is a metaphor for receptivity, understanding, and/or obeying. The receptivity in mind here is a listening in an intellectual or emotional sense as is the case of Isa 32:9 where the daughters of Jerusalem are commanded to take heed of the coming destruction on the jubilant city. The ear is also a metaphor for understanding (i.e. cognition) as explained that the ear “test[s] words” (Job 12:11) and “seeks knowledge” (Prov 18:15). Additionally, the ear is a metaphor for obeying (i.e. the will) as when the psalmist laments that his enemies do not obey God much like a cobra “stops up its ear” to the voice of its charmer (Ps 58:4-5).

Among a number of other metaphors, the *Thanksgiving Psalms* (1QHodayot^a), Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* also employ ear metaphors in this way. In our primary sources, the ear is a metaphor for the relationship between a human agent and God. The metaphor of this relationship²⁸ finds expression in the human agent’s receiving, understanding, and/or obeying God, similar to the examples we saw above. The scope of the ear metaphor is observed in that the source domain (i.e. ear/hearing) can be used to

²⁷ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 7.

²⁸ Of our texts under examination, expressions such as the ear of flesh and the ear of dust are placed alongside the ear-circumcision metaphor which also speaks of the reception and understanding experience.

explain target domains (i.e. reception, understanding, obeying) yielding various conceptual metaphors and, consequently, a variety of metaphorical meanings.²⁹

Thanksgiving Psalms, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* conceptualize the reception of revelation and knowledge in terms of an entity, the auditory organ. The conceptualization of the entity as the ear is delimited, however, by the circumcision metaphor forging a combined or double metaphor. As with the ear metaphor, the circumcision metaphor stems from several conceptual metaphors imbedded within the text and arise from the choices of diction employed by the author. For instance, such metaphors include ‘circumcising is cleansing’, intimating the ritual purity or covenantal standing of the host (e.g., LXX Deut 30:6), ‘circumcising is pruning’, speaking towards the removal of excessiveness which, if left unchecked, inhibits the growth of the host (e.g., MT Jer 6:10), and ‘circumcising is opening’, referring to the process by which the divine agent reveals mysteries to the human agent (e.g., 4Q434 f1.1.1-4). In each case, we can detect which metaphor undergirds the composition by reviewing the particular diction employed by the author. For instance, the ‘circumcising is cleansing’ metaphor is often in mind when the literature is laden with purification terms. When the surrounding context focuses on the removal of stubbornness, stupidity, or other excessiveness the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor is likely borne out. And the ‘circumcising is opening’ metaphor is traceable when the divine agent grants to the human agent the ability to understand something which was hitherto unknowable. Hence, the meaning of the ear-circumcision metaphor is contingent upon which target domains the *circumcision* (i.e. cleansing, pruning, opening) and *ear* (i.e. receptivity, understanding, obeying) metaphors explicate. As we can see, it is therefore necessary to examine the literary contexts of this double metaphor to determine which target domains are in mind.

Additionally, numerous aspects bearing upon the conceptualization of circumcision and the hearing process should cause us to expect the ear-circumcision metaphor to display variation.³⁰ For instance, in the metaphor ‘society is a family’ the meaning of the metaphor and understanding of society will be determined by how one views a family, whether from a strict father model or, say conversely, a nurturant family model.³¹ This type of variance arises due to the flexibility of understanding the source domain. For our purposes, the

²⁹ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 136, the scope of the metaphor refers to the wide range of target domains to which the source domain applies.

³⁰ For a list of these factors, see Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture* (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 117.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

objective will be to determine how the author of the text viewed the source domain to determine the meaning of the metaphor. This will be executed by an examination of the literary content. Since metaphors constitute and reveal human experiences, we can expect a display of variance in the metaphor given the varying provenances of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* and how experiences accumulated in those locales might have helped shape the meaning of the metaphor.³² Moreover, since each of these two metaphors (i.e. circumcision and ear) can be used in three possible ways, there is a wide range of possible meanings for the ear-circumcision metaphor. Consequently, the ear-circumcision metaphor emerges as a malleable metaphor based upon the context in each case.³³

³² Ibid., 88, 232. In addition to the experiences of the author, Kövecses lists “physical environment” as a distinct cause contributing to the variance in metaphor and its meaning. In our terms, this would be the provenance of the literature.

³³ Take for example the study of the cosmic garden in Green, “Biblical Metaphor,” 52-67. There an investigation of the metaphors ‘God is a gardener’ and ‘Israel is a tenant’ from the conceptual metaphor theory approach has revealed the complexities of what has previously been viewed as a simple garden metaphor. Green accomplishes this by analyzing the various target domains the garden metaphor (i.e. source domain) explicates in Genesis 2-3, Deuteronomy, and Song of Songs.

CHAPTER 2

RELEVANT OLD TESTAMENT METAPHORS OF THE EARS, HEART, AND LIPS

In an unique way, the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* combine various metaphors known from the OT. These metaphors include ear-circumcision, heart-circumcision, and the heart of stone. Tracing these metaphors' inherent flexibility at their genesis is the subject of this chapter. A review of these metaphors from the MT, LXX, and Targumim demonstrates the ways these metaphors might be manipulated. From an early stage, they exhibited variance evident from the LXX and Targumim's interpretation of those Hebrew metaphors revealing the inherent complexity of their combined nature in the newly-forged metaphors of 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

2.1 Circumcision as a Source Domain

Before moving on to the metaphorical meanings of circumcision, a brief discussion is taken up here dealing with the cultural symbol of circumcision in the OT as a source domain. In Gen 17:10-11, God gives to Abra(ha)m the rite of circumcision as a sign of the covenant between them:

זאת בריתי אשר תשמרו ביני וביניכם ובין זרעך אחריו המול לכם כל-זכר ונמלתם את בשר
ערלתכם והיה לאות ברית ביני וביניכם. This is My covenant, which you shall keep,
between Me and you and your descendants after you: every male among you shall
be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be the sign of the covenant
between Me and you.

The removal of the loose foreskin of the gland bore a mark of permanence. This permanent mark in the male member signaled the eternal covenant God made with Abra(ha)m.¹ Selected as a marker of the covenant, this mnemonic sign was a reminder to Israel to walk blamelessly before God (Gen 17:1) and to perpetuate the covenant by circumcising the future generations (Gen 17:12-13).² To remain uncircumcised was tantamount to breaking the covenant with God. In such cases, God promised divine

¹ K. A. Matthews, *Genesis 11:27-50:26*, NAC 1B (Nashville: Broadman, 2005), 204-205.

² G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 16-50*, vol. 2, WBC 2 (Dallas: Word Books, 1994), 23-24.

retribution (Gen 17:14), excommunicating the member from the sacred community.³ Thus, the physical act of circumcising functions as a positive cultural symbol for the transference of the person into covenant membership with God.⁴

In Genesis 34, the sons of Jacob will not consent to give their sister Dinah to Shechem in marriage unless he and the men of his city meet one condition: every male must be circumcised (Gen 34:15). Only then will the sons of Jacob give their daughters in marriage to the men of the city and take the daughters of the city as wives (Gen 34:16-17). The physical act of circumcising signals acceptance into the family clan (i.e. transference into the family covenant) and is directly associated with immediate marriage of Dinah to Shechem and the future marriages of their descendants.⁵ Thus the act of circumcising the male is expanded to incorporate its role as a marriage rite, itself a symbol for the transference into the covenant nation.⁶

The act of circumcising in Exod 4:24-26 does not reflect that of a marriage rite, but rather Moses's son is circumcised to ward off death:

ויהי בדרך במלון ויפגשו יהוה ויבקש המיתו ותקח צפורה צר ותכרת את־ערלת בנה ותגו.
 .לרגליו ותאמר כי חתן־דמים אתה לי וירף ממנו אז אמרה חתן דמים למולת.
 Now it came about at the lodging place on the way that the LORD met him and sought to put him to death. Then Zipporah took a flint and cut off her son's foreskin and threw it at Moses' feet, and she said, 'You are indeed a bridegroom of blood to me'. So He let him alone. At that time she said, 'You are a bridegroom of blood'—because of the circumcision.

Though this text is riddled with difficulties, the meaning of the 'bridegroom of blood' and the identification of the antecedents, to name a few, the point of the story is clear: circumcision was the crucial act which saved Moses from imminent death.⁷ Thus delivering Moses, circumcision functions as an "apotropaic, sacrificial rite."⁸ And yet, the language of the bridegroom harkens back to the marriage rite of Genesis 34 and its close ties to covenant membership.

³ G. von Rad, *Genesis*, trans. J. H. Marks, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), 196.

⁴ Cf. M. Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion* (Oxford: OUP, 2011), 30, who maintains that only circumcision on the eighth day was covenantally binding.

⁵ The act of circumcising here does not bear the meaning of the covenant with God as espoused in Genesis 17, per von Rad, *Genesis*, 328. Though cf. Wenham, *Genesis*, 313, who does claim the stipulation of circumcision here pertains to religious identity as found in the Genesis 17 covenant.

⁶ R. G. Hall, "Circumcision," *ABD* 1:1026.

⁷ J. I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 58.

⁸ Hall, *ABD* 1:1027. Cf. A. Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, TANZ 28 (Tübingen: Francke, 1998), 30, who lists five functions of circumcision in this text alone.

Other examples might have been shown articulating circumcision's usage in the OT,⁹ but these suffice to express the act of circumcising as the source domain: circumcision is the positive physical sign that one is in covenant with God. Yet, a variety of meanings emerge when circumcision is made into a metaphor.

2.2 Circumcision as a Metaphor

Based upon the fact that physical circumcision is the cultural symbol that one is in a positive relationship to God, circumcision can take on multiple, positive senses when this source domain is made into a metaphor. Just as physical circumcision is the cutting away of the male member's excessive skin (i.e. foreskin), so metaphorical circumcision can mean the 'pruning' away of superfluous growths or the cutting away of something of a person's character, such as a stubborn behavior (e.g., MT Jer 6:10). In another sense, metaphorical circumcision can mean the 'opening' of the person to God, thereby making the host receptive to God's revelations (e.g., 4Q434 f1.1.1-4), just like the physical act of circumcision opens the glans. Lastly, in a similar way that physical circumcision enhances the general cleanliness of the male member, so the metaphorical usage of circumcision speaks to the 'purity' of the host, that is in a ritually clean sense of the meaning (e.g., LXX Deut 30:6). These metaphorical senses of circumcision will be more fully fleshed out in what follows.

2.3 Circumcision of the Ears

Throughout the book of Jeremiah, the ear is metonymy for hearing and hearing is a metaphor for a relationship to God in one of the three ways mentioned above: 1) receptivity, 2) understanding, or 3) obeying.¹⁰ Time and again in the book of Jeremiah, Israel is rebuked since the people did not listen to the LORD. Their failure to "turn the ear" (e.g., Jer 7:24; 17:23; 44:5) resulted in their removal from the land (Jer 28:16) since they did not respond to what they had heard. The ears' (in)action is placed alongside their (in)capacity to obey as captured in the phrase "they did not hear or turn their ear" (Jer 7:24, 26; 11:8; 17:23; 25:4; 44:5) and "you have ears but do not hear" (Jer 5:21). The turning of the ear conjures up imagery like the ear is a rudder to the human, so that if the ear turns,

⁹ See further G. Mayer, "מול," *TDOT* 8:158-162, and R. Meyer, "περιτέμνω, περιτομή, ἀπερίτμητος," *TDNT* 6:72-77.

¹⁰ See §1.4 Metaphors of the Ear and Circumcision on page 8.

the Israelite changes his current trajectory as Jer 7:24 illustrates: “Yet they did not hear or turn their ear, but walked in their own counsels and in the stubbornness of their evil heart, and went backward and not forward.” Had they listened to the LORD in such a way as to yield the expected response (i.e. obedience), they would have taken correction (Jer 17:23) and changed their ways.

In the metaphor, the ear seems to play a subservient role when combined with the neck as Jer 17:23 explains, “Yet they did not hear or turn their ears, but stiffened their necks in order not to hear or take correction.” Here, the power of the neck overrides the (in)action of the ears. Yet the stiffening of the neck and continued trajectory of the Israelite’s course appears to be determined by the control center of the heart: “Yet they did not hear or turn their ears, but walked, each one, in the stubbornness of his evil heart” (Jer 11:8). The heart is not only the container in which stubbornness is stored, but it is depicted as sinful, resistant to the words of the LORD (Jer 7:24; 11:8; 44:5).

This short review of the ear in Jeremiah portrays the ear as if its usage were dictated by the conceptual metaphor ‘receptivity is an ear’.¹¹ When the ear is deficient or inactive in some area (i.e. it should have turned when it did not), its capacity for listening which would yield obedience is overridden by a force characterized as sinful and illustrated by a heart metaphor. This then brings into view the combination of ear and heart metaphors and their interrelationship so critical to our study.

The one reference to ear-circumcision in the OT is found in MT Jer 6:10:

על־מי אדברה ואעידה וישמעו הנה ערלה אזנם ולא יוכלו להקשיב הנה דברי־יהוה היה להם
 .לחרפה לא יחפצו־בו. To whom shall I speak and give warning, that they may hear?
 Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot listen. Behold, the word of
 the LORD has become a reproach to them; they have no delight in it.¹²

As we saw previously in the Jeremiah texts, here too the ear is a metaphor for a relationship to God. But the text reveals a new direction. It is not that the ears need to turn but that they are uncircumcised (i.e. foreskinned). The uncircumcision hinders the ears from

¹¹ This thesis understands the ‘hearing’ metaphor as an experience. See §1.4 Metaphors of the Ear and Circumcision on page 8.

¹² Hebrew texts of the OT are given without pointing and are taken from K. Elliger, H. P. Rüger, and W. Rudolph, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990). English quotations have occasionally been adapted from NASB ©1995 and ESV ©2007. Where לב/לבב and ἡ καρδία have been rendered *mind* in some translations, I have intentionally provided *heart* to add consistency throughout the thesis, even on those occasions where לב/לבב might best be understood as the seat of decisions and consequently translated *mind*. The same is true of the metaphor ערל אזן—where a translation has rendered it as an idiomatic expression—I have tried to keep it *uncircumcised ear*. The same applies to other metaphors in this thesis.

listening (קשב). The ears no longer have the ability (ולא יוכלו) to listen¹³ or to heed the warning (עוד) spoken by the LORD.¹⁴ The foreskin is an inhibitor to a positive relationship to God. The question the prophet poses at the beginning of the text implies that his addressees refuse to give him audience, as if stopping up their ears. This experience is then expressed in the terms of the ear-circumcision metaphor.

The introduction of circumcision here flows from the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor.¹⁵ Such imagery emerges in the previous lines where “the daughter of Zion” will be cut off (Jer 6:2).¹⁶ This is the source domain used to describe the inhibited hearing/reception process; that is, the ears are kept from ascertaining the truth of the coming judgment on Jerusalem (Jer 6:4-6) and consequently Israel does not respond to the warning.¹⁷ The cutting imagery blends with ideas of separation when the LORD will alienate Himself from Israel (Jer 6:8) at which time the vine of Israel will be gleaned (Jer 6:9). Inherent in these expressions is removal and distancing—something Israel should have done in relation to her sins (Jer 6:7).¹⁸ The incision that will come upon Israel can only be stayed if the people respond to the words of the prophet; but by the prophet’s own confession, he holds such a response unlikely (“To whom shall I speak and give warning, that they may hear?”). Indeed, it is specifically the word of the LORD (דבר יהוה) which has become reprehensible (חרפה) to the ears. Thus, hearing (שמע) the prophet’s speech (דבר) should not be interpreted as a malfunction of the organ, but rather the loss of delight (לא (ה)פנצו) in responding to what is heard. Scholars’ explanations of the ear-circumcision metaphor cluster around one of three possibilities: the metaphor describes the person’s inability to listen,¹⁹ understand,²⁰ or obey²¹ God’s words. Our examination above favors the

¹³ This is an example of a bicolon whereby a statement in positive terms (“their ear has foreskin”) is followed by another in negative terms (“they are unable to take heed”), J. R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, AB 21A (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 425.

¹⁴ They cannot hear because divine judgment has rendered their ears deaf, according to T. Laetsch, *Jeremiah*, BC (St. Louis: Concordia, 1952), 84.

¹⁵ By saying the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor is in mind, I am distancing myself from those who view the metaphor purely from its covenantal implications (Gen 17). See e.g., T. Longman III, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, NIBC 14 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2008), 65.

¹⁶ Note also that the trees of Jerusalem will be cut down (Jer 6:6). If the purpose of this cutting down is to remove the obstacles before the city under attack, then the pruning metaphor runs even deeper through the text. Cf. F. B. Huey, *Jeremiah, Lamentations*, NAC 16 (Nashville: Broadman, 1993), 96-97.

¹⁷ This is reiterated in Jer 7:27: “You shall speak all these words to them, but they will not hear you; and you shall call to them, but they will not answer you.”

¹⁸ P. C. Craigie, J. F. Drinkard, and P. H. Kelley, *Jeremiah 1-25*, WBC 26 (Nashville: Nelson, 1991), 100-101.

¹⁹ “They resolutely refuse to listen to God,” in C. L. Feinberg, *Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), 66; “The image of uncircumcised ears does not indicate total deafness but selective deafness—

first of these possibilities as grounded in the ‘receptivity is an ear’ metaphor, describing the peoples’ lack of listening in an emotional or intellectual sense.

Now we turn to examine the metaphor in LXX Jer 6:10:

πρὸς τίνα λαλήσω καὶ διαμαρτύρωμαι, καὶ ἀκούσεται; ἰδοὺ ἀπερίτμητα τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ δύναται ἀκοῦειν· ἰδοὺ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς ὀνειδισμόν, οὐ μὴ βουληθῶσιν αὐτό. To whom should I speak and give warning, and he will hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hear. Behold, the dictum of the Lord was to them an object of scorn; they will not want it at all.²²

The metaphor is ἀπερίτμητα τὰ ὦτα,²³ employing the adjective ἀπερίτμητος as the LXX does similarly with reference to the uncircumcised heart (Lev 26:41; Jer 9:25; Ezek 44:7, 9). Thus the LXX retains the metaphor in an equivalent Greek form. The ancient version Symmachus has, however, ἰδοὺ ἀκάθαρτον τὸ οὖς αὐτῶν (“Behold, their ears are unclean”).²⁴ In this version, two maneuvers occurred. First, the metaphor is made more literal. The opaqueness of circumcision is removed having interpreted it as unclean. Second, the underlying idea is no longer the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor as it was in the MT but the ‘cleansing’ motif, whereby the source domain has switched from circumcision to purification terminology. The images invoked by this new source domain

receptivity to illusions and an incapacity to hear the truth,” in W. McKane, *Jeremiah*, vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 145; “They shut...their ears to God’s word,” in R. E. Clements, *Jeremiah*, IBC (Atlanta: Knox, 1988), 40; “Incapacity to hear,” in Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 425; “Uncircumcised ears are those willfully closed to prophetic indictment, as if by foreskins,” in L. C. Allen, *Jeremiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 86.

²⁰ “The people were insensitive and lacked the insight or understanding to comprehend the divine word,” in J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 257; “The people’s ears have a foreskin..., so they are incapable of comprehending what is being said,” in R. P. Carroll, *The Book of Jeremiah*, OTL (London: SCM, 1986), 195; “The divine word caused only discomfort and displeasure; in that sense it could be heard, but the essence of its message did not penetrate to the minds of those who listened,” in Craigie, Drinkard, and Kelley, *Jeremiah 1-25*, 103; “Israel is not capable of paying attention,” in W. Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 71.

²¹ “Incapable of receiving the divine word,” in J. Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 48; “Like the *uncircumcised* heart (cp. 4:4) the *uncircumcised* ear cannot receive God’s word,” (emphasis original) in E. W. Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1973), 69; “‘Uncircumcised ears’ is said of people on whom words of warning are lost (i.e. who lack the capacity to take instruction...to recognize and submit the self to legitimate authority...to take pleasure in what is most profoundly true and real),” in T. Polk, *The Prophetic Persona*, JSOTSup 32 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 43; “The ear is the seat of obedience,” in W. L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 214; “That is, is incapable of listening to God’s prophetic word,” and further that the ear is the seat of “intentional hearing and obeying,” in W. E. Lemke, “Circumcision of the Heart,” in *A God So Near*, ed. B. A. Strawn and N. R. Bowen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 305; the figurative meaning is “the hard-heartedness or stubbornness which is caused by sin,” in Fabiny, “Ear,” 189-190.

²² English translations of LXX quotations are taken from A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

²³ LXX quotations of Jeremiah are taken from J. Ziegler, *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*, SVTG 15 (Göttingen: V&R, 1957).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 179.

are those of purity and covenant. The ears must be cleansed, perhaps viewing the removal of Jerusalem's inhabitants as a cleansing of her ritual impurity.

Another observation on the text is the uniformity of hearing verbs in the LXX. The LXX makes no distinction among the auditory verbs compared to the Hebrew variety which has שמע and קשב. For instance, none will hear (ἀκούσεται) the warning and the uncircumcised ears cannot hear (οὐ δύναται ἀκούειν). Here the association between the uncircumcised ears and the Israelites' capacity to hear is drawn plainly by the LXX.²⁵ The dictum of the LORD is such a reproach that it is no longer desired to be heard.

Moving still further is *Targum Jonathan's* interpretation of the metaphor:

על מן אמליל ואסהיד ויקבלון אלפן הא אטפשת אדנהון ולא יכלין למצת הא פתגמא דיון. הוה להון לחסודין מדלא צבן ביה. Concerning whom shall I speak and bear witness, that they should receive instruction? Behold, their ear has become dull so that they cannot attend; behold, the word of the Lord became for them a disgrace so that they took no pleasure in it.²⁶

The ear-circumcision metaphor is discarded in *Targum Jonathan* giving the ear the normal linguistic range of ear-language. This can be seen in the way that the concept of ear-circumcision is expressed, namely being understood as the verb טפש to translate “their ear has become dull (אטפשת אדנהון),”²⁷ that is, stupid. The metaphor of circumcision, whether pruning or cleansing, is removed altogether. Conversely, the ear metaphor is developed in a different direction. Rather than ‘receptivity is an ear’, *Targum Jonathan* seems to be governed by the ‘understanding is an ear’ metaphor since the ear is employed in a more cognitive role than the previous examples. In *Targum Jonathan*, it is not that the Israelites will not *listen* to the prophet (שמע [MT]; ἀκούω [LXX]) but that they will not “receive instruction” (ויקבלון אלפן). They cannot understand the instruction (i.e. learning) due to their increasing inaptitude for comprehension. As a result of the ears becoming stupid, they are unable to listen (ולא יכלין למצת).

This review of Jer 6:10 among the ancient versions has already revealed variance in the meaning of the ear-circumcision metaphor. In the MT, the source domain of circumcision mapped onto the target domain of pruning while the ear was grounded in the ‘receptivity is an ear’ metaphor. While this carried over in the LXX, Symmachus substituted

²⁵ See *ibid.* The point is made further by some Greek manuscripts who add ἀκούσαι or ἀκούειν after αὐτό.

²⁶ C. T. R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, ArBib 12 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1987), 66-67.

²⁷ *Targum Jonathan* texts are taken from A. Sperber, *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*, BibAr 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1962).

unclean for circumcision removing the circumcision metaphor. *Targum Jonathan* removes the circumcision source domain altogether and develops rather the negated ‘understanding is an ear’ metaphor. Hence we see that multiple, conceptual metaphors generate the different ways this flexible ear-circumcision metaphor might be understood.

2.4 Circumcision of the Heart

We turn now to examine the heart-circumcision metaphor and the variety of meanings it carries among the ancient versions. If the heart is “the nucleus of the moral Self and provides the moral control and guidance center of the person,”²⁸ then analyzing how the source domain of circumcision explicates its respective target domain(s) is the key to understanding the metaphor, since the heart is a dead metaphor.²⁹ Among the OT bodily circumcision metaphors, heart-circumcision is the most common and analyzed first before proceeding to other circumcision and heart metaphors.

2.4.1 Deuteronomy 10:16

The text of MT Deut 10:12-13, 16 reads thus:

ועתה ישראל מה יהוה אלהיך שאל מעמך כי אם-ליראה את-יהוה אלהיך ללכת בכל-דרכיו ולאהבה אתו ולעבד את-יהוה אלהיך בכל-לבבך ובכל-נפשך: לשמר את-מצוות יהוה ואת-חקתיו אשר אנכי מצוך היום לטוב לך: ... ומלתם את ערלת לבבכם וערפכם לא תקשו: עוד And now, Israel, what does the LORD your God require from you, but to fear the LORD your God, to walk in all His ways and love Him, and to serve the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the LORD’s commandments and His statutes which I am commanding you today for your good?... Circumcise then the foreskin of your heart, and stiffen your neck no more.

The heart-circumcision metaphor here is a call for the reversal of Israel’s refusal to fear (רא) the LORD, to walk (הלך) in His ways, and to love (אהב) Him.³⁰ Rather than serving (עבד) the LORD holistically, Israel had disobeyed the LORD’s commands and statutes. Thus,

²⁸ K. B. Wells, *Grace and Agency in Paul and Second Temple Judaism*, NovTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 41.

²⁹ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, xi: “Metaphors that may have been alive and vigorous at some point but have become so conventional and commonplace with constant use that by now they have lost their vigor and have ceased to be metaphors at all.” If the heart-metaphor is indeed a dead metaphor in part due to its prolific OT use, then by deduction the ear metaphor in the combined ear-circumcision metaphor is not, given its rare use, and must be analyzed independently.

³⁰ The heart-circumcision metaphor is in reference to conversion whereby God enters into an intimate relationship, sharing of his inmost self with another, according to R. Le Déaut, “Le thème de la circoncision du coeur (Dt. xxx 6; Jér. iv 4) dans les versions anciennes (LXX et Targum) et à Qumrân,” in *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 180. LXX quotations of Deuteronomy are taken from J. W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, SVTG 3/2 (Göttingen: V&R, 1977).

Israel is commanded to circumcise (לְמוֹ) the foreskin of their heart (עֲרֵלַת לְבַבְכֶם), none other than a call to cease her insubordination in order to fulfill the LORD’s expectations of whole-hearted service and devotion (Deut 10:12). The circumcision metaphor explicates the reversal of Israel’s delinquency to submit to the LORD.³¹

This hardening motif is further developed in LXX Deut 10:16: καὶ περιτεμεῖσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε ἔτι (“And you shall circumcise your hardheartedness and shall not harden your neck any longer”).³² The prohibition to harden the neck in the MT is similarly carried over in the LXX not to harden the neck (τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε ἔτι). But curiously, what was once a circumcision of the foreskin of the heart has become circumcision of hard heartedness (σκληροκαρδία). The LXX’s understanding of the metaphor testifies to the “varying terminological equivalence”³³ of the foreskin and hardness, having recognized the inherent parallelism between the circumcision of the heart and the stiffening of the neck.³⁴ For the LXX, the metaphor clearly invokes thoughts of obduracy—a callousness which must be severed to permit any functionality at all—which recalls the hardness of Pharaoh’s heart (ἐγὼ δὲ σκληρυνῶ τὴν καρδίαν Φαραω) in Exod 7:3. The ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor demands that the heart’s callousness be removed.

The hardness motif gains even more traction in *Targum Onqelos* Deut 10:16: ותעדון .וד .ית טפשות לבבון וקדלכון לא תקשון עוד. “Therefore, remove the obduracy from your heart and do not stiffen your necks any longer.”³⁵ *Targum Onqelos* depicts the foreskin as obduracy

³¹ The one of uncircumcised heart is closely connected to him who hardens the neck (וערפכם לא) (שקת) which P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976), 205, connects to stubbornness. According to Lemke, “Circumcision,” 303, the uncircumcised heart is a “willful lack of responsiveness to the divine will and covenantal obligation,” a synonym for the stiff neck. This uncircumcision is the “mental block” (J. H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPSTC (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1996), 107-108) incapacitating Israel from rendering full obedience, so Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 74. Or “An uncircumcised heart...means an organ that is incapable of absorbing feelings and impressions from the outside,” according to M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 438.

³² Jewish authors in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek, though whether these Jews hailed from Egypt or Palestine is debated. See J. Joosten, “The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and its Historical Context,” in *Septuagint Vocabulary*, ed. J. Joosten and B. Eberhard, SBLSCS 58 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 6.

³³ L. Doering, “Marriage and Creation in Mark 10 and CD 4-5,” in *Echoes from the Caves*, ed. F. García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 159 n.101.

³⁴ Indeed, the hardness (σκληρ-) terminology in the second half of the verse could have been the impetus for the LXX to translate the heart-circumcision metaphor in a similar vein. Cf. Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 113.

³⁵ B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy*, ArBib 9 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 43. A description of a Targum is an “Aramaic translation of books of the Hebrew Bible done by Jews during the rabbinic period.” *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Jonathan* were composed in the area of Judea between 200 B.C.E. and 200 C.E. Both are known to be extremely literal interpretations of the Hebrew Bible. *Targum Neofiti* was

(טפשות).³⁶ The conceptual source domain dissolves as *Targum Onqelos* removes the circumcision metaphor by using non-metaphorical speech. The command to circumcise is interpreted loosely as a command to remove (עדי) rather than the more straightforward translation ותגזרון.³⁷ On the contrary, *Targum Neofiti* retains the circumcision metaphor: ותגזרון ית ערלת טפשות לבביכון קשיות לבביכון וקדליכון קשייא לא תתקפון תוב לא תקשון עוד. “Circumcise, therefore, the foreskin of the stupidity of your hearts and harden your stiff necks no more.”³⁸ Expanding the metaphor to include stupidity (i.e. “foolishness”) and the foreskin (ערלת טפשות לבביכון),³⁹ *Targum Neofiti* clarifies its interpretation of the heart-circumcision metaphor of MT Deut 10:16. It is neither the heart itself which must be circumcised⁴⁰ nor the foreskin of the said heart, rather it is the stupidity of that heart’s foreskin. The word rendered “stupidity” is the same as “obduracy” in *Targum Onqelos*.

2.4.2 Leviticus 26:41

Complexity is further demonstrated by the various interpretations at Lev 26:41, particularly among the Targumim. MT Lev 26:40-42 reads as follows:

והתודו את־עונם ואת־עון אבתם במעלם אשר מעל־יבי ואף אשר־הלכו עמי בקרי: אף־אני אלך עמם בקרי והבאתי אתם בארץ איביהם אר־אז יכנע לבבם הערל ואז ירצו את־עונם: וזכרתי את־בריתי יעקוב ואף את־בריתי יצחק ואף את־בריתי אברהם אזכר והארץ אזכר: If they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their forefathers, in their unfaithfulness which they committed against Me, and also in their acting with hostility against Me—I also was acting with hostility against them, to bring them into the land of their enemies—or if their uncircumcised heart becomes humbled so that they then make amends for their iniquity, then I will remember My

composed in northern Palestine around the late second or early third century C.E. *Targum Neofiti* “combine[s] literal translations of the Hebrew text with a great deal of additional and sometimes highly creative material.” Although it builds upon the content of *Targum Onqelos*, scholars have yet to come to a conclusion regarding the dialect and origins of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*. “The *targum*’s meaning gives the actual content of Scripture according to its ritual presentation, even when it is manifest that the Aramaic and Hebrew version are not literally equivalent.” See P. V. M. Flesher and B. D. Chilton, *The Targums*, SAIS 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 6, 8-11.

³⁶ *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* uses the same lexemes as *Targum Onqelos* to describe the heart: “So put aside the obduracy from your heart and do not stiffen your neck any longer” (E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Deuteronomy*, ArBib 5B (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 35). The Israelites are commanded here to put aside (עדי) obduracy from their hearts (טפשות ליבכון). This is the nominal form of the same word applied to the heart in *Targum Onqelos* Lev 26:41, there taking uncircumcision to mean “foolish” whose equivalent here would mean foolishness.

³⁷ J. S. DeRouchie, “Circumcision in the Hebrew Bible and Targums,” *BBR* 14 (2004): 198, claims this is an example of *Targum Onqelos*’s tendency to translate in concrete images by removing abstractions.

³⁸ M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1, Deuteronomy*, ArBib 5A (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 65-66.

³⁹ *Targum Neofiti* texts of Deuteronomy are taken from A. D. Macho, *Neophyti 1*, vol. 5, TexEst 11 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978).

⁴⁰ See §2.4.2 Leviticus 26:41.

covenant with Jacob, and I will remember also my covenant with Isaac, and My covenant with Abraham as well, and I will remember the land.

The uncircumcised heart (לבבם הערל) is an arrogant heart full of iniquity (עון) committed against the LORD. It is an unfaithful (מעל) heart which acts hostilely (קרי) against another.⁴¹ It represents dull insensitivity⁴² whose thickness instigated by its foreskin hinders it from thinking or feeling.⁴³ The uncircumcised heart can only be remedied of its present condition through confession (ידה) and humility (כנע).⁴⁴ When this occurs, the LORD will remember His covenant with this rebellious people. Consequently, the uncircumcised heart metaphor maps onto the covenant breaker whose disposition is arrogance, an excessiveness which must be removed (i.e. ‘circumcising is pruning’).⁴⁵ This text is slightly nuanced in the LXX, though the metaphor is retained: τότε ἐντραπήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπερίτμητος, καὶ τότε εὐδοκήσουσιν τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν (“Then their uncircumcised heart will feel ashamed, and then they will be content with their iniquities”). The uncircumcised heart in the LXX is not humbled but expresses shame (τότε ἐντραπήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ἢ ἀπερίτμητος).⁴⁶ The LXX employs the metaphor here to represent Israel’s shamelessness over the sins (ἀμαρτία) it has committed against the LORD.

Targum Onqelos Lev 26:41, however, removes the circumcision metaphor by making the language literal:

אף אנא אהך עמהון בקשיו ואעיל יתהון לארע בעלידבביהון או בכין יתבר לבהון טפשא . ובכין ירעון ית חוביהון. I, too, will act stubbornly with them and bring them into a land of their enemies; only then will their foolish heart break down, and only then will they acknowledge their guilt.⁴⁷

Targum Onqelos interprets the metaphor as the “foolish heart” (לבהון טפשא).⁴⁸ The heart’s humbling is represented by its breaking down (תבר) or subjugation. This stupid heart has

⁴¹ E. S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, trans. D. W. Stott, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 430, explains the uncircumcised heart as “encapsulating oneself from Yahweh.”

⁴² J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, AB 3B (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2332.

⁴³ B. A. Levine, *Leviticus*, JPSTC (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 191.

⁴⁴ J. R. Porter, *Leviticus*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1976), 216, translates the metaphor as “stubborn spirit.”

⁴⁵ Cf. J. E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, WBC 4 (Nashville: Nelson, 1992), 469.

⁴⁶ LXX texts in Leviticus are taken from J. W. Wevers, *Leviticus*, SVTG 2/2 (Göttingen: V&R, 1986). This expression of shame “means genuine repentance, a turning about,” in J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, SBLSCS 44 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 461.

⁴⁷ B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Leviticus and the Targum Onqelos to Numbers*, ArBib 8 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 63-64.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 65 n.27.

been so dubbed because it foolishly refused to acknowledge its guilt before the LORD. Making a similar, yet nuanced, move as that of *Targum Onqelos* is *Targum Neofiti*:

אוף אנה אהלך עמהון בקשיו ואעל יתהון לארע בעלי-דבביהון או דלמה יתבר לבהון זידנה
 ובכדן ירעון ית דזידנה ובכן ימרקון ית חוביהון. And I too shall conduct myself
 stubbornly with them and I shall lead them into the land of their enemies, unless
 their malicious heart is broken and thus make amends for their sins.⁴⁹

The “malicious heart” (לבהון זידנה)⁵⁰ interpreted by *Targum Neofiti* could be expressed as the “haughty heart” according to some.⁵¹ Still, the malicious heart finds the same fate as the foolish heart of *Targum Onqelos*—both must be broken down (תבר). The heart must be rid of its insolence. Curiously, the prognosis for the heart in the Targumim is similar—it must make amends for its sins. And yet, that of which it must repent is expressed differently demonstrated by the various ways the heart is described.

2.4.3 Deuteronomy 30:6

The flexibility in interpreting the metaphor in a variety of ways can be seen among the ancient sources at Deut 30:6. MT Deut 30:6 reads thus:

ומל יהוה אלהיך את-לבבך ואת-לבב זרעך לאהבה את-יהוה אלהיך בכל-לבבך ובכל-נפשך
 :למען חייד: Moreover the LORD your God will circumcise your heart and the heart
 of your descendants, to love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all
 your soul, in order that you may live.

The promise of heart-circumcision is made for the purpose of loving the LORD holistically.⁵² The LORD will circumcise (מול) the heart (לבב), indicating that all barriers hindering full expression of love (אהב) for the LORD, including full obedience to His teachings (Deut 30:8), will be excised.⁵³ The metaphor explicates the target domain of “human transformation.”⁵⁴

⁴⁹ M. McNamara and M. Maher, *Targum Neofiti 1, Leviticus; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Leviticus*, ArBib 3 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 108-109.

⁵⁰ *Targum Neofiti* texts of Leviticus are taken from A. D. Macho, *Neophyti 1*, vol. 3, *TexEst 9* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971).

⁵¹ McNamara and Maher, *Leviticus*, 109 n.x; cf. Grossfeld, *Leviticus and Numbers*, 65 n.27. Note the phrase in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*: “Behold, their arrogant hearts (ליבהון זדנא) will then be broken, and thus they will acknowledge their sins,” (McNamara and Maher, *Leviticus*, 208).

⁵² While H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult*, WMANT 19 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1965), 73, 76, is correct in saying that it is heart-circumcision which enables Israel to love the LORD and live according to his commandments, Hermisson places the responsibility of this heart surgery on Israel. Wells, *Grace*, 28-39, shows that the divine-priority reading of Deuteronomy 30 places God as the initiator and source of Israel’s heart change.

⁵³ D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10-34:12*, WBC 6B (Nashville: Nelson, 2002), 739.

⁵⁴ Wells, *Grace*, 41.

The metaphor takes an altered form in LXX Deut 30:6:

καὶ περικαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν καρδίαν σου καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ σπέρματός σου ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, ἵνα ζῆς σὺ. And the Lord will purge your heart and the heart of your offspring, to love the Lord your God with the whole of your heart and with the whole of your soul in order that you may live.

Rather than giving a Greek equivalent of περιτέμνω for the Hebrew verb מול, the circumcising act is understood in the LXX as the purging (περικαθαρίζω) of the heart (καρδία). Thirty of the thirty-two מול instances in the MT are translated περιτέμνω by the LXX, Deut 30:6 being one of those two anomalies. By comparing περικαθαρίζω in LXX Isa 6:7 and Lev 19:23 with Deut 30:6, K. B. Wells marshals a case that such a deviation from translation tendencies is influenced by the cleansing motif: “[The text] is influenced by priestly conceptions, shows a concern for ritual purity, and thus interprets God’s saving work as an act of purification from sin.”⁵⁵ The heart’s cleansing permits it to love the LORD with full devotion. According to LXX Deut 30:6, the conceptual metaphor ‘circumcising is cleansing’ lends to the removal of the circumcision metaphor and its replacement by the metaphor of cleansing.⁵⁶ In this way, the LXX Deut 30:6 metaphor differs from that of LXX Deut 10:16.⁵⁷ But for the LXX, heart-purging is not totally unlike hard hearted-circumcision; they are two explanations which give fuller expression to the metaphor based upon different contexts.

In a curious move, *Targum Onqelos* Deut 30:6 replicates its understanding of heart-circumcision from Deut 10:16:⁵⁸

ויעדי ווי אלהך ית טפשות ליבך וית טפשות ליבא דבנך למרחם ית ווי אלהך בכל ליבך ובכל . Moreover, the Lord your God will remove the obduracy of your heart and the obduracy of the heart of your offspring; so that you may love the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 67-71. Cf. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SBLSCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 480, everything that hinders the person from following God whole-heartedly is removed.

⁵⁶ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 114.

⁵⁷ But cf. the translation of וערלתם as περικαθαριεῖτε at LXX Lev 19:23.

⁵⁸ The same can be said of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*: “So the Lord your God will remove the obduracy of your heart and the obduracy of the heart of your children, because he will abolish from the world the evil inclination, and he will create the good inclination that will persuade you to love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul in order that you will prolong your life forever” (Clarke, *Deuteronomy*, 83-84). God’s circumcising has been interpreted in *Pseudo-Jonathan* as His removal (עדי) of the obduracy of the heart (טפשות לבנון). Again, the element of the heart’s obduracy finds its way into the text though absent in the MT and LXX. As with Deut 10:16, so *Targumim Onqelos* and *Pseudo-Jonathan* are the same. However, *Pseudo-Jonathan* does something extraordinary here—it links the obduracy, which is already an interpretation of the heart (לבב), with an evil inclination (יצרא בישא). The heart does not need to be circumcised; rather, the obduracy of the heart, which is evil in its tendencies, must be removed.

Lord your God with your entire heart and with your entire soul in order that you may live.⁵⁹

The LORD's heart-circumcising act is interpreted as His removal (עדי) of the stubbornness of the heart (טפשות ליבך), invoking the pruning metaphor necessary to cut away the hardness of obduracy while simultaneously removing the metaphor of circumcision. This obduracy will be taken away from both Israel's heart and the heart of her descendants. The purpose of this extraction is similar to the MT—so that Israel will love the LORD completely. Whereas the MT only supplies heart (לבב), *Targum Onqelos* here interprets the LORD's heart-circumcising act as the removal of the heart's stubbornness. Here, at Deut 10:16 and Lev 26:41, *Targum Onqelos* has consistently understood that heart-circumcision pertains to the removal of obduracy from the heart. But this is not the case with *Targum Neofiti* which provides a rather straightforward Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew metaphor:

ויגזר יי אלהכון ית לבביכון וית לבבי זרעיכון למירחם ית אולפן אוריתה דיי אלהכון בכל. And the Lord your God will circumcise your hearts and the hearts of your descendants, that you may love the instruction of the law of the Lord your God with all your hearts and with all your souls, in order to give you life.⁶⁰

The LORD will circumcise the hearts (ויגזר...לבביכון) of Israel. Interestingly, no mention of the obduracy of the foreskin of the heart is made here, as it was in *Targum Neofiti* Deut 10:16, but simply the heart.⁶¹ As we have seen, the Hebrew metaphor in Deut 10:16 gives way to the literal interpretation in some of the Targumim, while in others the metaphor is retained.

2.4.4 Jeremiah 4:4

Revealing another interpretation of the metaphor not yet seen is the meaning found in LXX and *Targum Jonathan* Jer 4:4. MT Jer 4:3-4 says:

כי־כה אמר יהוה לאיש יהודה ולירושלם נירו לכם ניר ואל־תזרעו אל־קוצים: המלו ליהוה והסרו ערלות לבבכם איש יהודה וישבי פן־תצא כאש חמתי ובערה ואין מכבה מפני רע: מעלליכם: For thus says the LORD to the men of Judah and to Jerusalem, 'Break up your fallow ground, and do not sow among thorns. Circumcise yourselves to the LORD and remove the foreskins of your heart, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem, lest My wrath go forth like fire and burn with none to quench it, because of the evil of your deeds'.

⁵⁹ Grossfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 84-85.

⁶⁰ McNamara, *Deuteronomy*, 140.

⁶¹ See *ibid.*, 140 n.7. One interpretation that is made, though, is its phrase "to love the instruction of the law" which is only "to love the LORD your God" in the MT.

the Targumim, this is a unique interpretation of the metaphor—wickedness must have no abode among worshippers of the LORD so that they might return to him.

On the other hand, this foreskin is for LXX Jer 4:4 not the hard heartedness as it was interpreted in Deut 10:16, but rather simply the foreskin: *περιτμήθητε τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν καὶ περιέλεσθε τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν* (“Be circumcised to your God, and remove the foreskin of your heart”). The LXX gives rather straightforward Greek equivalents here through the commands to circumcise (*περιτέμνω*) and to remove (*περιαιρέω*) the foreskin of the heart (*τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας*). By doing so, the LXX shows variance in its interpretation of the heart-circumcision metaphor—it can remove the circumcision metaphor being influenced by a ‘cleansing’ metaphor (Deut 30:6) or retain the metaphor in a Greek-equivalent form of the Hebrew driven by a ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor (Jer 4:4).

2.4.5 Jeremiah 9:25

Though interesting in their own right, LXX and *Targum Jonathan* Jer 9:24-25 retain the metaphor. MT Jer 9:24-25 reads:

הנה ימים באים נאם-יהוה ופקדתי על-כל-מול בערלה: על-מצרים ועל-יהודה ועל-אדום ועל-בני עמון ועל-מואב ועל כל-קצוצי פאה הישבים במדבר כי כל-הגוים ערלים וכל-בית ישראל ערלי-לב: ‘Behold, the days are coming’, declares the LORD, ‘that I will punish all who are circumcised and yet uncircumcised—Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the sons of Ammon, and Moab, and all those inhabiting the desert who clip the hair of their temples; for all the nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart’.

According to MT Jer 9:25, all the house of Israel are uncircumcised of heart (ערלי לב). No longer having a special status with the LORD as a result of their negligence to circumcise their hearts (Jer 4:4), Israel’s standing before Him is suspect.⁶⁸ Israel is unprotected against divine punishment (פקד), whereby the LORD does not seem to differentiate between Israel and the neighboring nations.⁶⁹ According to the text, the context of the uncircumcised nations indicates that those uncircumcised of heart are likewise those outside the covenant with the LORD.⁷⁰ Such covenantal language speaks towards the ‘circumcising is cleansing’ metaphor. The metaphor is depicted in a straightforward Greek equivalent in LXX Jer

⁶⁸ Craigie, Drinkard, and Kelley, *Jeremiah 1-25*, 154.

⁶⁹ Lemke, “Circumcision,” 306. The external sign does not reflect an inward reality, so Feinberg, *Jeremiah*, 89.

⁷⁰ These the LORD will punish alike, see Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 320.

9:26: καὶ πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας αὐτῶν (“Because all the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their heart”). Interestingly, the LXX makes plain what was implicit in the MT—the uncircumcised nations (ערל) are those uncircumcised in the flesh (ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί) while Israel is uncircumcised in their heart (ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας). *Targum Jonathan* likewise bears little elaboration of the metaphor: ארי כל עממיא ערלין בבסרהון וכל בית ישראל ערלין בליבהון (“Behold, all the nations are uncircumcised in their flesh, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their heart”).⁷¹ This is the first instance among the Targumim whereby the metaphor is retained and not turned into a literal equivalent.

2.4.6 Ezekiel 44:7, 9

The metaphor in LXX Ezek 44:7, 9 is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew,⁷² but *Targum Jonathan*'s metaphor resembles that of *Targum Jonathan* Jer 4:4. MT Ezek 44:6-9 reads:

ואמרת אל-מרי אל-בית ישראל כה אמר אדני יהוה רב-לכם מכל-תועבותיכם בית ישראל: בהביאכם בני-נכר ערלי-לב וערלי בשר להיות במקדשי לחללו את-ביתי בהקריבכם את-לחמי חלב ודם ויפרו את-בריתי אל כל-תועבותיכם: ולא שמדתם משמרת קדשי ותשימון לשמרי משמרת במקדשי לכם: כה-אמר אדני יהוה כל-בין-נכר ערל לב וערל בשר ותשימון לשמרי משמרת במקדשי לכם: כה-אמר אדני יהוה כל-בין-נכר אשר בתוך בני ישראל: And you shall say to the rebellious ones, to the house of Israel, “Thus says the Lord God, “Enough of all your abominations, O house of Israel, when you brought in foreigners, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in My sanctuary to profane it, even My house, when you offered My food, the fat and the blood; for they made My covenant void—this in addition to all your abominations. And you have not kept charge of My holy things yourselves, but you have set foreigners to keep charge of My sanctuary.” Thus says the Lord God, “No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, of all the foreigners who are among the sons of Israel, shall enter My sanctuary.”’

The uncircumcised in heart is repeated in slight variation: ערלי לב and ערל לב. The text presumes that those who are uncircumcised in heart are likewise those whose flesh has not been circumcised (וערלי בשר and וערל בשר).⁷³ This connection links the person's ritual

⁷¹ Hayward, *Jeremiah*, 78.

⁷² LXX Ezek 44:6-9 reads in translation, “Let there be enough for you of all your lawless acts, O house of Israel, to bring in alien sons, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, to be in my holies, and they were profaning them when you were offering bread, fat and blood, and you were transgressing my covenant in all your lawless acts, and you arranged to keep guard in my holies. Therefore, this is what the LORD says: No alien son, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my holies among all the sons of aliens that are in the midst of the house of Israel.” On both occasions, the metaphor is ἀπεριτμήτους καρδία καὶ ἀπεριτμήτους σαρκί.

⁷³ The two expressions of uncircumcision stand in apposition. L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, WBC 29 (Nashville: Nelson, 1990), 260. Lemke, “Circumcision,” 311, calls this a “stereotypical cliché” seeing the two expressions of circumcision as essentially one.

uncleanness (i.e. ‘circumcising is cleansing’) to his non-covenantal standing before the LORD.⁷⁴ The one uncircumcised of heart is contrasted with the sons of Israel, who though disobedient are in covenant with the LORD.

This metaphor disappears, however, in *Targum Jonathan*:

סגי לכוּן מכל תועיבתכוּן בית ישראל באיתיותכוּן בני עממיא רשיעי לבא וערלי בסרא למהוי במקדשי. Too many for you are all your abominations, O House of Israel, by your bringing of foreigners, wicked of heart and uncircumcised of flesh, to be in My Sanctuary.... Thus says the Lord God: ‘No foreigners, wicked of heart and uncircumcised of flesh, shall enter My Sanctuary’.⁷⁵

The uncircumcised of heart has become the “wicked of heart” (רשיעי לבא), but the “uncircumcised of flesh” (וערלי בסרא) remains. This is a peculiar move for *Targum Jonathan* Ezek 44:7, 9 considering that a similar coupling of flesh- and heart-circumcisions was made at *Targum Jonathan* Jer 9:25 but there the heart-circumcision metaphor was retained rather than dissolving it as it does so here by providing a literal interpretation—wicked of heart. It might be that the influence of the “foreigners” (בני עממיא) invokes the description of wicked. Whatever the case, the text connects those wicked of heart with the covenantal standing of the one uncircumcised in the flesh—these stand outside the covenant.

2.4.7 Summary and Conclusion

The previous analyses have yielded the following results. First, while certain elements of the heart-circumcision metaphor remain intact across the ancient versions at Deut 10:16, others do not. The metaphor can be spoken of in terms of circumcising (MT/LXX/*Tg. Neof.*) or removing (*Targumim Onq./Ps.-J.*) the foreskin of the heart (MT), the hardness of the heart (LXX), the obduracy of the heart (*Targumim Onq./Neof.*), or the foreskin of the obduracy of the heart (*Tg. Ps.-J.*). Second, though the uncircumcised heart in the MT is retained by a similar Greek equivalent in the LXX, the *Targumim* dissolve the metaphor by applying literal interpretations at Lev 26:41. Third, LXX Deut 30:6 adds new variance when it dissolves the metaphor in a literal interpretation. The LXX interprets the heart-circumcising act as purging or cleansing the heart, exposing an element of purity embedded in the metaphor which was not noticeable in LXX Deut 10:16. Fourth, the LXX Jer 4:4 metaphor demonstrates another interpretive move. The LXX can retain the metaphor in a straightforward Greek equivalent allowing its meaning to be governed by the cultivating

⁷⁴ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 454.

⁷⁵ S. H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel*, ArBib 13 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 119.

motif, or it can vary the presentation of the metaphor (cf. LXX Deut 10:16) driven by a ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor; these interpretive moves showcase the metaphor’s elasticity. *Targum Jonathan*’s literal interpretations of the Hebrew metaphor at Jer 4:4; 9:25 display the variety imbued in the metaphor. Lastly, *Targum Jonathan* Ezek 44:7, 9 gives the metaphor the literal interpretation as wicked of heart, which is attributed to those who likewise are uncircumcised of flesh and not to the Israelites as was the case in Jer 9:25. Therefore, the heart-circumcision metaphor can be used to describe both covenant insiders and outsiders, demonstrating flexibility in *who* the metaphor explicates.

Shedding light on the flexibility of the metaphor’s meaning through the diversity of the ancient versions’ respective interpretation of the metaphor, these texts illustrate the complexity that is embedded in the heart-circumcision metaphor. Not only can the metaphor be interpreted differently, it can be attributed to both covenant insiders and outsiders. Thus, the analyses of the MT, LXX, and Targumim have revealed the elasticity of the metaphor regarding *who* it represents and *what* it means. Given such a wide variance of meaning among the heart-circumcision metaphors, we should anticipate a similar variety in the ear-circumcision metaphors of 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*—indeed a slight variance in *Targum Jonathan* Jer 6:10 has already pointed in this direction.⁷⁶

Having analyzed briefly all the ear- and heart-circumcision references of the OT, we are now able to illustrate the diversity of the metaphor across the ancient versions.

Reference	MT	LXX	Tg. Onq.	Tg. Neof.	Tg. Ps.-J.	Tg. Neb.
Lev 26:41	לבב, ערל	καρδία, ἀπερίτμητος	לב, טפש	לב, זיון	לב, זיון	—
Deut 10:16	מול, ערלה, לבב	περιτέμνω, σκληροκαρδία	עדי, טפשו, לב	גור, ערלה, טפשו, לבב	עדי, טפשו, לב	—
Deut 30:6	מול, לב	περικαθαρίζω, καρδία	עדי, טפשו, לב	גור, לבב	עדי, טפשו, לב	—
Jer 4:4	מול, סור, ערלה, לבב	περιτέμνω, περιαιρέω, ἀκροβυστία, καρδία	—	—	—	חוב, עדי, רשע, לב
Jer 6:10	ערל, און	ἀπερίτμητος, οὐς	—	—	—	טפש, און
Jer 9:25	ערל, לב	ἀπερίτμητος, καρδία	—	—	—	ערל, לב
Ezek 44:7	ערל, לב	ἀπερίτμητος, καρδία	—	—	—	רשע, לב
Ezek 44:9	ערל, לב	ἀπερίτμητος, καρδία	—	—	—	רשע, לב

Figure 1: Lemma Forms of Circumcision Terms in the MT, LXX, and Targumim

From the table, a few conclusions can be drawn about the LXX and Targumim. These ancient versions have understood ear- and heart-circumcision in such a way that illuminates their meanings. The LXX describes the foreskin of the heart in terms of its hardness (Deut 10:16) (i.e. stubbornness). It is the stubbornness of the heart which must be removed.

⁷⁶ See §2.2 Circumcision as a Metaphor.

Furthermore, the circumcision that occurs in the Hebrew metaphor is rendered as purifying or cleansing the heart in the Greek (LXX Deut 30:6).⁷⁷ The Targumim's most frequent association with the heart/ear's metaphorical foreskin is firstly טפשו/טפש (Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 6:10) and secondly רשע/רשיע (Jer 4:4; Ezek 44:7, 9). This stubbornness and wickedness must be removed (עדי) from the heart. The Targumim tend to remove the metaphor through literal interpretations.⁷⁸ Though the metaphor dissolves, their interpretations showcase the various ways the metaphor might be understood in different contexts.

2.5 The Heart of Stone

The heart of stone metaphor is juxtaposed with ear-circumcision in 1QHodayot^a. Just as we have seen in the examples of ear-⁷⁹ and heart-circumcision,⁸⁰ this metaphor also proves to be malleable across the ancient versions. It is no wonder then, as we will see later,⁸¹ that 1QHodayot^a likewise adapts the metaphor further, interpreting it in yet another way, and shedding light on the metaphor's elasticity from its own unique context.

2.5.1 Ezekiel 11:19

The heart of stone references in the OT are found at Ezek 11:19; 36:26. MT Ezek 11:19-20 follows:

ונתתי להם לב אחד ורוח חדשה אתן בקרבכם והסרתי לב האבן מבשרם ונתתי להם לב בשר: למען בחקתי ילכו ואת־משפטי ישמרו ועשו אתם והיו־לי לעם ואני אהיה להם: לאלהים: And I shall give them one heart, and shall put a new spirit within them. And I shall take the heart of stone out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in My statutes and keep My ordinances, and do them. Then they will be My people, and I shall be their God.

⁷⁷ The LXX's interpretation of heart- and ear-circumcisions, like the Targumim, is disjoined from its interpretation of lip-circumcision (this could be due to the influence of Exod 4:10). The application of the heart- and ear-circumcisions implies a "moral or spiritual" impediment rather than a "physical or emotional" one as in the case of the lips. Lemke, "Circumcision," 305 n.13. But cf. DeRouchie, "Circumcision," 195. See further §2.6.1 Exodus 6:12, 30.

⁷⁸ Though, DeRouchie, "Circumcision," 203, cautions that "the tendency in *Targum Onqelos* and *Targum Nebi'im* to replace Hebrew metaphors with concrete images often stunted the communicative effect captured in the biblical wording."

⁷⁹ See §2.2 Circumcision as a Metaphor.

⁸⁰ See §2.4 Circumcision of the Heart.

⁸¹ See §4.3 Meaning of the Metaphors in 1QHodayota.

By removing (סור) the heart of stone (לב האבן) and granting a heart of flesh (לב בשר),⁸² the LORD enables Israel to have one heart (לב אחד) with a new spirit (ורוח חדשה) allowing them to obey His laws. The stone imagery speaks of the “strong hardness of human nature which closes men against God”⁸³ which must be replaced by a “tender, yielding, and responsive”⁸⁴ heart so that Israel will comply with the LORD’s commands. This is carried over rather straightforwardly in LXX Ezek 11:19 with perhaps one minor change: the “one” heart of the MT is seen here in the LXX as “another heart” (καρδίαν ἑτέραν):⁸⁵

καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν ἑτέραν καὶ πνεῦμα καινὸν δώσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκσπάσω τὴν καρδίαν τὴν λιθίνην ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν καὶ δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν σαρκίνην. And I will give them another heart, and I will impart a new spirit in them, and I will draw forth the heart of stone from their flesh, and I will give them a heart of flesh.

The LORD grants Israel another heart and a new spirit (πνεῦμα καινόν) by drawing out (ἐκσπάω) the stony heart (τὴν καρδίαν τὴν λιθίνην) and giving them a fleshy heart (καρδίαν σαρκίνην) to do His will.

But an interpretation of the heart of stone is made at *Targum Jonathan* Ezek 11:19-20:

ואתין להון לב דחול ורוח דחלא אתין במעכון ואתבר ליבא דרשעא דהוא תקיף כאבנא מבסרהון ואתין להון לב דחיל מן קדמי למעבד רעותי בדיל דבקימי יהכון וית דיני יטרון ויעבדון ויהון ויהון ויהון קדמי לעם ואנא אהוי להון לאלה And I will give them a faithful heart and will put a faithful spirit into your insides, and I will break the evil heart, which is as hard as stone, from their flesh, and I will give them a heart which is faithful to Me, to do My will, in order that they may walk in My statutes and keep My laws and observe them; and they shall be My people and I will be their God.⁸⁶

It is not “one heart” and a “new spirit” (MT) nor is it “another heart” (LXX) that God will grant the Israelites in *Targum Jonathan*. Rather, God will give them a “faithful heart” and “faithful spirit” (לב דחול ורוח דחלא). This “wonderful or reverent”⁸⁷ heart is set in opposition to the evil heart (ליבא דרשעא). Rather than God taking out (קרב) the stony heart (MT), here God will break (תבר) the evil heart. The evil heart is described as hard as stone (תקיף כאבנא). The heart of stone metaphor disappears through literal interpretation

⁸² The Hebrew text of Ezek 36:26 is preserved in Masada’s Ezekiel text Mas1d 2.18-20, even the phrases לב האבן and לב [בשר]. See S. Talmon, “Hebrew Fragments from Masada,” in *Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 Final Reports*, ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster, and E. Netzer, Masada 6 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 64.

⁸³ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 264.

⁸⁴ L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, WBC 28 (Nashville: Nelson, 1994), 165.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 129. The LXX might have understood the ד in אחד as a scribal error for ר in אחר. LXX texts of Ezekiel are taken from J. Ziegler, *Ezekiel*, SVTG 16/1 (Göttingen: V&R, 1977).

⁸⁶ Levey, *Ezekiel*, 41-42.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 40.

as the evil heart and is turned into a simile—as hard as stone. Similarly, the heart of flesh is the faithful heart (לב דחיל). The “evil heart” by implication therefore means the unfaithful heart in *Targum Jonathan*.

2.5.2 Ezekiel 36:26

On the whole, the same meaning of the heart of stone at Ezek 11:19 is maintained at LXX and *Targum Jonathan* Ezek 36:26. MT Ezek 36:26 states, ונתתי לכם לב חדש ורוח חדשה אתן בקרבכם והסרתי את־לב האבן מבשרכם ונתתי לכם לב בשר: (“Moreover, I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit within you; and I will remove the heart of stone from your flesh and give you a heart of flesh”). Here Ezek 11:19 is echoed with one difference—the “one heart” of Ezek 11:19 is now the “new heart” (לב חדש). As before, the LORD promises to “remove” (סור) the “stony heart” (לב האבן), with its inclination toward evil,⁸⁸ and give Israel a “yielding, malleable, impressionable”⁸⁹ “heart of flesh” (לב בשר). The LXX demonstrates no new interpretation of this metaphor—the “new heart” (καρδίαν καινήν) and “new spirit” (πνεῦμα καινόν) are given while the “stony heart” (ἡ καρδία ἡ λιθίνη) is replaced with a “fleshy heart” (καρδίαν σαρκίνην). In *Targum Jonathan* the LORD gives a faithful heart (לב דחול) and faithful spirit (ורוח דחלא) while breaking (תבר) the wicked heart (לבא דרשעא), which is likened to hard stone (תקיף כאבנא) by a simile:

ואתין לכון לב דחול ורוח דחלא חדתא אתין במעיכון ואתבר ית לבא דרשעא דהוא תקיף
 . And I will give you a faithful heart, and I will put a faithful spirit deep inside of you, and I will demolish the
 wicked heart, which is as hard as stone, from your flesh; and I will give you a heart
 that is faithful before Me, to do My will.⁹⁰

As before, the fleshy heart is interpreted in *Targum Jonathan* as the “faithful heart” (לב דחול) while the stone metaphor is turned into a simile.

2.6 Circumcision of the Lips

Admittedly, lip-circumcision is not combined with the ear-circumcision metaphors of 1QHodayot^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, though it is employed a few times in 1QHodayot^a. But its appearances in the OT, especially its interpretations by the LXX and Targumim demonstrate further elasticity in the bodily circumcision metaphors. An

⁸⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 249.

⁸⁹ M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, AB 22A (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 730.

⁹⁰ Levey, *Ezekiel*, 102.

examination of lip-circumcision provides more evidence of the various interpretive traditions of metaphorical bodily circumcision active during the compositions of the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

2.6.1 Exodus 6:12, 30

Lip-circumcision is found in the OT twice. MT Exod 6:12, 30 states:

וידבר משה לפני יהוה לאמר הן בני־ישראל לא־שמעו אלי ואיך ישמעני פרעה ואני ערל שפתים...:ויאמר משה לפני יהוה הן אני ערל שפתים ואיך ישמע אלי פרעה: But Moses spoke before the LORD, saying, ‘Behold, the sons of Israel have not listened to me; how then will Pharaoh listen to me, for I am uncircumcised of lips?’... But Moses said before the LORD, ‘Behold, I am uncircumcised of lips; how then will Pharaoh listen to me?’

Moses poses a question: how will Pharaoh listen (שמע) if the sons of Israel have not listened (לא שמעו)? The sons of Israel had not attended to Moses’s commands presumably because Moses is unskilled in speech, literally “uncircumcised of lips” (ערל שפתים).⁹¹ Because he is uncircumcised of lips, Moses is hindered from speaking persuasively and perhaps articulately.⁹² The uncircumcision renders Moses unfit to transmit the LORD’s words since his lips “do not allow Yahweh’s words to pass freely.”⁹³ Moses’s excuse here is similar to his words in MT Exod 4:10: “For I am slow of speech and slow of tongue” (כי כבד פה וכבד לשון אנכי).⁹⁴ This expression does not insinuate a different problem from that of uncircumcised lips.⁹⁵ By Moses’s reasoning, since he failed to persuade the Israelites due to these fattened lips,⁹⁶ he stands no chance of convincing Pharaoh.

⁹¹ 4QpaleoExod^m 1.8-9 preserves this exact expression and only deviates from Exod 6:30 in that הן אני is missing due to a lacuna. See E. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 39.

⁹² Moses’s “stumbling speech” speaks of his limitation as a speaker, specifically his lack of eloquence. Although, it might be that persuasion and eloquence are differentiated according to Moses’s argument. Durham, *Exodus*, 72, 78, 86.

⁹³ W. H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, AB 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 274.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁹⁵ See the assessment of J. H. Tigay, “‘Heavy of Mouth’ and ‘Heavy of Tongue’ on Moses’ Speech Difficulty,” *BAOR* 231 (1978): 57: “It seems clear that the different idioms used in Exodus 4 and 6 do not express different problems (*Tgs. Onqelos* and *Neofiti* use identical terms in 4:10 and 6:12, 30, and the other Aramaic renditions in these verses seem virtually interchangeable)” (emphasis original).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 63 n.6. The foreskin acts like a cover inhibiting the proper functionality of the organ.

LXX Exod 6:12 interprets uncircumcised of lips (עַרְלַת שִׁפְתַיִם) as ineloquence⁹⁷ (ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλογός εἰμι)⁹⁸ and removes the metaphor altogether. In translation, LXX Exod 6:12, 30 states:

ἐλάλησεν δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐναντίον κυρίου λέγων· Ἴδου οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ εἰσήκουσάν μου, καὶ πῶς εἰσακούσεται μου Φαραώ; ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλογός εἰμι.... καὶ εἶπεν Μωυσῆς ἐναντίον κυρίου· Ἴδου ἐγὼ ἰσχνόφωνός εἰμι, καὶ πῶς εἰσακούσεται μου Φαραώ. Then Moses spoke before the Lord, saying ‘Look, the sons of Israel did not listen to me, and how will Pharaoh listen to me? Now, I am without eloquence’.... And Moses said before the Lord, ‘Look, I am weak-voiced, and how will Pharaoh listen to me?’

Yet LXX Exod 6:30 interprets the same Hebrew metaphor as “weak-voiced” (ἐγὼ ἰσχνόφωνός εἰμι) which it similarly renders from the idiom “slow of speech” (כבד פה) in Exod 4:10.⁹⁹ That the same Hebrew metaphor is interpreted literally, but differently, in the LXX could be evidence that the LXX author here did not know its meaning. By not interpreting עַרְלַת שִׁפְתַיִם as ἀπερίτμητος τοῖς χείλεσιν,¹⁰⁰ the LXX author demonstrates a tendency to associate ἀπερίτμητος with the morally impure or those outside covenant with the LORD (e.g., Lev 26:41; Jer 6:10; 9:25; Ezek 44:7, 9). Since this is not characteristic of Moses’s excuse in Exod 6:12, 30, the need possibly arose to remove the Hebrew metaphor, interpreting it literally, in the same vein as the physical impediment of Exod 4:10. Therefore, the LXX interprets the uncircumcision as a quality which hinders the eloquent communication of strong argumentation. By doing so, the LXX illustrates yet again the flexibility of the metaphorical circumcision’s meaning in its various contexts.

Aligning more with the MT than the LXX is *Targum Onqelos*’s understanding of the metaphor:

ומליל משה קדם יוי למימר הא בני ישראל לא קבילו מני ואיכדין יקביל מני פרעה ואנא יקיר Whereupon, ממלל. ואמר משה קדם ירי האנא רקיר ממלל ואיכדין יקביל מני פרעה. Moses spoke before the Lord has follows, ‘Here the Israelites do not listen to me, then how will Pharaoh listen to me when I am heavy of speech?’... But Moses said before the Lord, ‘Here I am heavy of speech, and how will the Pharaoh listen to me?’¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ But the expression can also hint at the incapacity to formulate reasonable argumentation. W. Bauer et al., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: UOC, 2000), s.v. “ἄλογος,” §1.

⁹⁸ LXX texts in Exodus are taken from J. W. Wevers, *Exodus*, SVTG 2/1 (Göttingen: V&R, 1991).

⁹⁹ The translation of ἄλογος speaks more towards a psychological problem whereas ἰσχνόφωνος pertains more to a physiological problem, according to Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 111.

¹⁰⁰ See Figure 1: Lemma Forms of Circumcision Terms in the MT, LXX, and Targumim on page 30.

¹⁰¹ B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Exodus*, ArBib 7 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 16.

Targum Onqelos interprets the uncircumcised lips as “heavy of speech” (יקיר ממלל)¹⁰² in Exod 6:12, 30. This is consistently maintained from כבד פה at Exod 4:10. So unlike the LXX, *Targum Onqelos* Exod 6:12, 30 interprets the uncircumcised of lips as carrying the same semantic meaning as the slow of speech idiom in Exod 4:10. The uncircumcision represents a physical handicap of the lips, which is similarly maintained in *Targum Neofiti*, though again expressed differently:

ומלל משה קדם יי למימר הא בני ישראל לא שמעו למולוי והיכדין ישמע מני קבילו מני ואיך יקבל מני פרעה ואנה חגר קשי ממלל.... ואמר משה קדם יי הא אנה הגר קשי ממלל. And Moses spoke before the Lord, saying: ‘Behold, the children of Israel have not listened to <my> words and how will Pharaoh listen to me, I who am halting of speech?... And Moses said before the Lord; ‘I am halting of speech; and how will Pharaoh listen to me?’¹⁰³

Targum Neofiti sees the uncircumcision as “halting of speech” (חגר ממלל)¹⁰⁴ (i.e. lame of speech) both at Exod 6:12, 30 and from the slow of speech idiom at Exod 4:10 (MT: כבד פה; *Tg. Neof.*: חגר פם חגר ממלל; פה וכבד לשון). These idioms demonstrate the flexibility of expressing Moses’s excuse that he is not a man of words (MT: לא איש דברים אנכי; *Tg. Neof.*: גבר מרי ממלל). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* likewise interprets Moses’s uncircumcised lips as a speech impediment:

ומליל משה קדם יי למימר הא בני ישראל לא קבילו מיני והכדין יקביל מיני פרעה ואנה קשי ממלל.... But Moses spoke before the Lord, saying: ‘Behold, the children of Israel did not listen to me. How, then, will Pharaoh listen to me when I speak with difficulty?... Moses said before the Lord, ‘Behold, <I> speak with difficulty. How then will Pharaoh listen to me?’¹⁰⁵

“Speaking with difficulty” (קשי ממלל)¹⁰⁶ is translated in *Pseudo-Jonathan* consistently at Exod 4:10; 6:12, 30.

In summary, the lip-circumcision metaphor (ערל שפתים) is removed and expressed as ineloquence and weakness of voice in the LXX. Unlike LXX Exod 6:12, 30 which interprets the same Hebrew metaphor differently, the Targumim render it consistently within their own texts. In each of these cases, speaking with uncircumcised lips proves to be a cumbersome task. Yet there is variety among the Targumim as each interprets the

¹⁰² *Targum Onqelos* texts are taken from A. Sperber, *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos*, BibAr 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

¹⁰³ M. McNamara and M. Maher, *Targum Neofiti 1, Exodus; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Exodus*, ArBib 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 29-30.

¹⁰⁴ *Targum Neofiti* texts of Exodus are taken from A. D. Macho, *Neophyti 1*, vol. 2, TexEst 8 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1970).

¹⁰⁵ McNamara and Maher, *Exodus*, 176-177.

¹⁰⁶ *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* texts are taken from E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1984).

meaning of lip-circumcision variously: “heavy of speech” (*Targum Onqelos*), “halting of speech” (*Targum Neofiti*), and to “speak with difficulty” (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*). The Targumim demonstrate a tendency to distance the association of uncircumcision with Moses and at the same time¹⁰⁷ testify to the similarity between the Hebrew expressions uncircumcised of lips and slow of speech. Their interpretations of uncircumcision all hint at a physical impediment, not a moral judgment, and therefore do not speak toward covenant standing.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 304-305.

CHAPTER 3

RELEVANT SECOND TEMPLE AND EARLY CHRISTIAN METAPHORS OF THE HEART AND LIPS¹

References to bodily metaphorical circumcision occur in a range of texts written sometime between the compositions of the *Hodayot* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, such as the works of Philo and Paul, and also from others on the outskirts of these time parameters, if not overlapping, such as *Jubilees* and Justin. Demonstrating the variety of meaning among these metaphors in their individual contexts should cause us to expect similar phenomena among these same metaphors in the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. By analyzing briefly each of these bodily metaphorical circumcision texts, we can identify strands of interpretative tradition which our three sources preserve (if not commence). This will be conducted first by a review of heart-circumcision references, secondly a discussion of the heart of stone metaphors, and lastly a look at some lip-circumcision texts.²

3.1 Circumcision of the Heart

Heart-circumcision is the most populated bodily circumcision metaphor. Though extant literature preserves only three references to ear-circumcision, heart-circumcision was reproduced readily in Second Temple and Early Christian texts. Their use of the heart-circumcision metaphor in its various shapes and meanings testifies to the diversity of interpretive traditions of their time and the malleability of the metaphor.

¹ My thanks go to Nina E. Livesey for reviewing an earlier version of this chapter and contributing to a better understanding of Justin's view of metaphorical circumcision.

² Between the second century B.C.E. and second century C.E., no other extant references to ear-circumcision exist outside our three sources—the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

3.1.1 Qumran

The Qumran writings employ heart-circumcision references in various ways. Not only does the literature reflect some OT usage,³ the Qumran texts contribute new dynamics to its meaning: (1) heart-circumcision intimates the removal of vices from covenant insiders and (2) heart-circumcision is a repetitive act for the covenant member.

A reference in keeping with the OT literature that heart-circumcision speaks of a covenant outsider is 1QS 5.1-5:⁴

וזה הסרכ לאנשי היחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשובים על פי בני צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית על פי רוב אנשי היחד המחזקים בברית על פיהם יצא תכון הגור לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט לעשות אמת יחד וענוה צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד יהצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם אשר לוא ילב איש בשרירות לבו לתעות אחר לבבו ועינוהי ומחשבת יצרו אאם This (is) למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורפ קשה ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית עולם. the rule for the men of the Community who devote themselves to turn away from all evil and hold fast to all which he has commanded as his will: they shall separate themselves from the congregation of the men of deceit, in order to become a Community, with Torah and property, and answerable to the Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, according to the multitude of the men of the Community who hold fast to the covenant. According to their order shall go forth the determination of the lot about everything concerning Torah, property, and judgment, to do truth (in) unity, humility, righteousness, justice, merciful love, (indeed) circumspectly walking in all their ways. No man shall wander in the stubbornness of his heart, to err following his heart, his eyes, and the plan of his inclination. He shall rather circumcise in the Community the foreskin of the inclination (and) a stiff neck. They shall lay a foundation of truth for Israel for the Community of an eternal covenant.⁵

Circumcision of the “inclination” (יצר) and “stiff neck” (ועורף קשה) are spoken of here. There is disagreement among scholars as to whether or not יצר should be understood as “heart” (לב).⁶ The text bears close affinities to Deut 10:16 (“Circumcise then your heart, and stiffen your neck no more”) and it could be that the sectarian substituted “inclination” for “heart” specifically with this text in mind.⁷ The context garners support that יצר has something to do with the heart considering the warning neither to walk in the

³ See also the *Hodayot*'s meaning in §4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone.

⁴ According to J. H. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, DSS 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 2, this sectarian text dates to the middle of the second century B.C.E. and hails from the region of Qumran. Furthermore, “portions of the *Rule of the Community* were probably to be memorized during the two years probationary period” and other sections “were known by heart by all members of the Community.” Column and line designations of the DSS quotations follow the DJD editions.

⁵ Cf. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 79, 81. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, for text and translation.

⁶ D. R. Seely, “The ‘Circumcised Heart’ in 4Q434 *Barkī Nafshi*,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 532, claims the two are synonymous while Le Déaut, “Le thème,” 192, notes that לב and יצר are not simple substitutes.

⁷ A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, NTL (London: SCM, 1966), 167.

stubbornness of one's own heart nor to follow the heart since it would lead him astray.⁸ The inclination of the human heart is toward evil and thus the Community instructs its would-be sectarians to turn from all evil and separate themselves from men of injustice. In fact, the Community seeks in all decisions to emulate justice and uprightness as well as love and proper behavior.

Furthermore, the Community expects its members to circumcise their stiff-neck.⁹ This is the first occurrence we have seen of stiff-neck circumcision but the context seems to indicate its meaning is closely related to heart-circumcision. Sectarians are admonished to comply with the commandments and to submit to "his will." Stubbornness of heart is prohibited and decisions are determined by lot so as to encourage humility. These circumcisions of both the **יצר** and stiff-neck are driven by the 'circumcising is pruning' metaphor and represent the excision of all insubordination and wicked proclivities for entrance into the covenant.¹⁰ The circumcision metaphor speaks of the transference from a person outside the covenant to a covenant member in good standing.

Again speaking of heart-circumcision for the covenant outsider is 1QpHab 11.12-15:¹¹

פּשְׁרוֹ עַל הַכוּהֵן אֲשֶׁר גָּבַר קְלוּנוֹ מִכְבוּדוֹ כִּי אֵלּוּ מִלֹּא אֶת עוֹר לֵב וּלְךָ בְּדַרְכֵי הַרוּיָהּ
לְמַעַן סְפוֹת הַצְּמָאָה וְכוּס הַמַּת [א] לְתַבְלַעְנוּ לְוִסִי[פ] לְ[ע] לְ[ו] אֶת [ק] לְ[ו] וּמְכָאוֹב....
Its interpretation concerns the Priest insofar as his disgrace exceeded his glory because he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart and has walked on paths of

⁸ The conclusion of R. E. Murphy, "Yēšer in the Qumran Literature," *Bib* 39 (1958): 343, is to take **יצר** synonymously with heart to refer to its evil propensity. But cf. the explanation in K. B. Wells, "Grace, Obedience, and the Hermeneutics of Agency" (PhD diss., Durham University, 2010), 52-53, that the **יצר** represents the heart "as the direction of the will, specifically in its tendencies toward evil."

⁹ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 152.

¹⁰ It is possible that the 'circumcising is cleansing' metaphor is also at play here, given the command of separation from the "congregation of the men or injustice."

¹¹ According to K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 274, "Sehr wahrscheinlich bleibt die Annahme, dass der HK in der Hauptsache Verhältnisse und Ereignisse der ersten Jahrzehnte der Römerherrschaft, also der vorherodianischen Zeit widerspiegelt und in der Übergangszeit zu Herodes entstanden ist." W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, SBLMS 24 (Missoula: Scholars, 1979), 35-36, claims that this sectarian text was written by the Teacher of Righteousness in the vicinity of the Dead Sea Regions in order to (1) vindicate himself against his enemies, (2) vindicate his followers against their opponents, (3) strengthen the faith and endurance of his followers, (4) warn the wavering of the dangers of apostasy, (5) prepare the way of Yahweh, and (6) instruct the Community regarding the future. Though, cf. P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, CBS (Nashville: Abingdon, 2013), 113 who claims the author is only a commentator in the Community, and not necessarily the Teacher of Righteousness. For more modern resources on 1QpHab, see R. H. Eisenman, "The Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the First Christians*, ed. R. H. Eisenman (Shaftesbury: Element, 1996), 405-421, and J. H. Charlesworth, "The Book of the People from the People of the Book," in *Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth and L. M. McDonald, JCTCRS 7 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 46-61.

excessiveness in order to slake (his) thirst; but the cup of [Go]d's anger will consume him, increase[ing with him] his [dis]grace. For the pain....¹²

The text is a description of the future judgment of the priest instigated by his negligence to circumcise the “foreskin of his heart” (עורלת לבו). The uncircumcised heart maps onto the one whose disgrace (קלון) outweighs his glory because he desired excessiveness rather than moderation.¹³ The metaphor driving this language is ‘circumcising is obeying’ whereby obedience is demonstrated through the priest’s practice of moderation. This is observed in the case of the priest, that his disgrace increased to the point of exceeding his glory¹⁴ because he was not willing to practice self-control. He chose rather to walk in paths of satiation (רויה) to quell his lust (צמא).¹⁵ Consequently, God’s anger burns against the priest and will consume him¹⁶ in pain at the judgment. The description of the uncircumcised heart in 1QpHab is one of defiance toward God and rebellion against His commandments. The uncircumcised heart abides outside of covenant with God resulting in his destruction by the cup of divine wrath.

Though speaking favorably of those who have circumcised the heart, the text of 4Q177 9.15-16 highlights the wickedness of those who have not done so and consequently stand outside the covenant with God:¹⁷

[...] עם צדיק ורשע אויל ופת[י...] ני האנשים אשר עבדו אל[הם...]ירו ערלות לב[ב]שרם [...]in the last] days, those who rally against th[em...] a just people, but the wicked, the demented and the simple[ton...] the men, who serve God [...(who have) cir]cumcised the foreskin of their heart in the l[ast] generation [...] and all, who belong to them, he will pronounce unclean.¹⁸

In this text, two peoples are set in opposition—the “wicked people” (רשע) and the “just people” (עם צדיק). The wicked people are the “demented” (אויל) and “simpletons” (פתי) who are unclean along with all they possess. The just people serve God and circumcise

¹² Text is taken from Elliger, *Habakuk*. Translation is mine.

¹³ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 165.

¹⁴ Though the priest might have been glorious, “his glory was overshadowed by his ignominious behavior,” so Brownlee, *Habakkuk*, 191.

¹⁵ Notice that the uncircumcised heart, while remaining in that state, chooses here to walk in its own paths. Cf. the heart of *Odes of Solomon* (see §3.1.5 *Odes of Solomon*) and 4Q434 (see §3.1.1 Qumran) which, having received the heart-circumcision, walks in the Lord’s paths.

¹⁶ Elliger, *Habakuk*, 219, claims it is the priest’s excessiveness which will be consumed in the judgment.

¹⁷ This Thematic Commentary “gather[s] and interpret[s] passages from several scriptural works, in the belief that a common theme or group of themes can be traced.” It was written by a member(s) of the *yabad* in the area of Qumran sometime in the last two centuries B.C.E., according to Flint, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 35, 105, 111, esp. 113, 114.

¹⁸ Text is taken from A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})*, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994). Translation is mine.

their hearts (לב[הס]ירו ערלות לב)¹⁹ unto the last generation.²⁰ Talk of the last days recalls the judgment and the separation of those in covenant with God from those who are not. This fits comfortably in the context whereby the unclean (טמא) and righteous are contrasted. So the uncircumcised heart explicates the target domain of a wicked and demented person who is unclean before God and therefore stands outside His covenant (i.e. ‘circumcising is cleansing’).²¹

4Q184 f2.4-6 lists similar qualities of the uncircumcised heart: לב נדכה התחנן [...] .[...] לון[...]. ארום עינים לב ערל[...] אף ואף אף ה[...] .[...] and haughty looks, uncircumcised heart [...] act haughtily and even wrath’).²² Though the text is very fragmented, several observations in the lines can be made. Two hearts are pitted against one another—the contrite heart (לב נדכה) and the uncircumcised heart (לב ערל).²³ On the one hand, the one with uncircumcised heart acts arrogantly (רום לבב) and is even indignant (אף); his eyes are full of hubris (ורום עינים). On the other hand, the contrite heart is pure and entreats “him” humbly. When considering the text of 4Q184 f1, the uncircumcised heart is likely speaking of the harlot²⁴ who seeks to lead the righteous man (לאיש צדיק) astray and cause the perfect man (איש צום) to stumble. The uncircumcised heart represents the one out of covenant obedience with God (4Q184 f1.15), who “resides in the tents of the underworld”²⁵ (4Q184 f1.7) and whose ways lead to death (4Q184 f1.9).

The previous Qumran witnesses preserve the interpretive tradition found frequently in the OT that the uncircumcised heart is descriptive of a covenant outsider.

¹⁹ This is the more likely reading rather than לישרם, according to J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.1*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 70, since a gap between the fragments was not taken into account. See J. Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 245.

²⁰ For discussion of the allusion within an interpretation of Jer 4:4, see Steudel, *Midrasch*, 99, 99 n.6.

²¹ Though the text speaks here about the one whose heart is circumcised, more descriptions are used to illustrate the opposite, the one uncircumcised of heart; thus we speak here of the uncircumcised heart.

²² Text is taken from Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.1*. According to M. J. Lesley, “Exegetical Wiles,” in *The Scrolls and Biblical Traditions*, STDJ 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 141, this text “might have been created as a scriptural ‘proof,’ to show potential members of the group the truth of the Qumran eschatological worldview without recourse to any sources beyond generally accepted scriptural text.” Thus it is a text arising from the time of the *yabad* in the region of the Dead Sea.

²³ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 167.

²⁴ Scholarship on 4Q184 overwhelmingly agrees that the harlot is an allegory. Some proposals include “Rome” (J. M. Allegro, “The Wiles of the Wicked Woman,” *PEQ* 96 (1964): 53), an “ideologically hostile group” (A. M. Gazov-Ginzberg, “Double Meaning in the Qumran Work,” *RevQ* 6 (1967): 279), and a “generalized reflection on the character of evil” (R. D. Moore, “Personification of the Seduction of Evil,” *RevQ* 10 (1981): 506).

²⁵ Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.1*, 83.

Language of hubris and humility used in 4Q184 f2.4-6 is similarly found at Lev 26:41.²⁶ Descriptions of uncleanness in 4Q177 9.15-16 echo the purification of the uncircumcised heart at LXX Deut 30:6.²⁷ And the linkages between the uncircumcised heart and priestly disgrace in 1QpHab 11.12-15 are common themes found in Ezek 44:7, 9.²⁸ As we shall see, such themes are perpetuated in the uncircumcised in hearts and ears of Luke-Acts where the metaphor describes the covenant outsider in need of humbling and purification.²⁹

Beyond the Qumran texts which preserve this interpretive tradition of the OT metaphors, the circumcised heart of 4Q434 f1.1.1-4 reflects another usage of the circumcised heart:³⁰

ברכי נפשי את אדוני מעל כול נפלאותיו עד עולם וברוך שמו כי הציל נפש אביון ואת ענו לא בזא ולא שכח צרת דלים פקח עיניו אל דל ושועת יתומים שמע ויט אוזניו אל שזע קתם ברוב רחמיו חנן ענוים ויפקח עיניהם לראות את דרכיו ואזנ[י]הם לשמוע למודו וימול And blessed be his name, for he has delivered the soul of the poor, and the humble he has not despised, and he has not forgotten the distress of the helpless. He has opened his eyes to the helpless, and the cry of the orphans he has heard, and he has turned his ears to their cry. In the abundance of his mercy, he has been gracious to the needy, and he has opened their eyes to see his ways, and their ears to hear his teaching. And he has circumcised the foreskins of their heart, and he has delivered them on account of his lovingkindness, and he set their feet to the way.³¹

Here, the Lord (אדני) circumcises the foreskins of the heart (וימול עורלות לבם) of the needy (נפש אביון), who might be identified also with the helpless (דל) and the poor soul (נפש אביון), indicative of those who recognize their need for God. The imagery of 4Q434 is reminiscent of Deut 29:4 and may be, in the sectarian's view, the fulfillment of it: "Yet to this day the LORD has not given you a heart to know, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear."³² Similarly, 1QH^a 21.6-7 presents some interesting parallel features of the eyes, ears, and heart: "[Ho]w can I see unless you have opened my eyes, or hear [unless you have opened my ears]^{oooo} my [h]eart was appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of

²⁶ See §2.4.2 Leviticus 26:41.

²⁷ See §2.4.3 Deuteronomy 30:6.

²⁸ See §2.4.6 Ezekiel 44:7, 9.

²⁹ See §5.4 Meaning of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts.

³⁰ This heart aligns closely to the heart of stone in the *Hodayot* (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone) and the circumcised heart of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts). The script of this text is late Hasmonaean or early Herodian. The text is "characterized as hymns of thanksgiving—praising and thanking the Lord for his deliverance and continued grace," hymns which "echo sectarian theology and themes," according to M. Weinfeld and D. R. Seely, "Barkhi Nafshi," in *Qumran Cave 4.20*, ed. J. C. VanderKam and M. Brady, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 255, 260.

³¹ Ibid., 270-271.

³² Seely, "Circumcised Heart," 533.

stone perceives wo]nders.” The evidence that God has circumcised their heart in 4Q434 f1.1.1-4 is their knowledge of and ability to walk in the way of God.³³ The Lord’s circumcising of their heart in 4Q434, placed in the context of His opening (ויפקח) their eyes to see (לראות) His paths and ears to hear (לשמוע) His teaching, suggests that the heart-circumcision pertains to their understanding divine revelation (i.e. ‘circumcising is opening’): “The circumcision of the heart...allows the eyes to see and the ears to hear”³⁴ enabling them to “walk in the way of the Lord.”³⁵ The Lord must circumcise the heart of 4Q434 for it to understand His teachings and ways.

In a unique interpretive move, *Rule of the Community* describes the necessity of heart-circumcision for a covenant insider. 1QS 5.25-6.1 addresses the covenant insider who must circumcise his heart to rid himself of ill-will towards his brother:

אל ידבר אלוהיה באפ או בתלונה או בעורף [קשה או בקנאת] רוח רשע ואל ישנאהו .
 [בעורף]ל[ת] לבבו היא ביום () יוכחנו ולוא ישא עליו עון.
 He must not speak to his fellow with anger or with a snarl, or with a [stiff] neck [or in a jealous] spirit of wickedness. He must not hate him [in the fores]k[in] of his heart, for he shall admonish him on (the very same) day lest he bear iniquity because of him.³⁶

Though here heart-circumcision is not directly discussed, the text hints at the meaning of the uncircumcision of the heart (בעורף]ל[ת] לבבו). Running parallel to the uncircumcised heart is the prohibition to speak to a brother in anger (אף) or with a hard neck (בעורף) [קשה] and wicked spirit (רוח רשע). Rather than detesting (שנא) his brother, the member is commanded to reproach (יכה) him. So the uncircumcision of the heart maps onto the residual detestation, anger, obtuseness, and wickedness of the covenant insider. These vices are then removed by heart-circumcision. Here we see that the *Rule of the Community* texts have assigned heart-circumcision metaphors to the covenant insider.³⁷ These extant texts in the Qumran community verify an interpretative strand which applied the uncircumcised heart to both the covenant insider and outsider which is brought together in 4Q504.

³³ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 168.

³⁴ Weinfeld and Seely, “Barkhi Nafshi,” 275.

³⁵ Seely, “Circumcised Heart,” 533. “There is a close relationship between heart circumcision and exegesis,” so Wells, *Grace*, 97. As we shall see, the context and meaning of the uncircumcised heart in 4Q434 resemble the heart of stone in the *Hodayot* (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone) and even more closely the uncircumcised heart of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts).

³⁶ Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 24-27.

³⁷ It is on these grounds that we shall see how the *Hodayot* text can assign the heart of stone metaphor to a covenant insider (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone), differing from its OT use.

4Q504 f4.5-13 speaks of heart-circumcision³⁸ in terms of its repetitive nature testifying to a new concept within this bodily circumcision metaphor:³⁹

[כי...א] אתה אל הדעו[ת] ו[כול] (מה)שב[ת] (...[לפ]ניכ[ה] אלה ידענו (בא)שר (חננו)את[נו] [רוח]ק[ודש]רחמנו [וואל]ת[ז]כור[נו] לנו עוונות) רשונים (בכו)ל גמו[ל]ם הר[ע] ראשר [ק]שו [ב]עורפם (אתה)פדינו וסלח[נו] נא [ל]עווננו ולח[ת]טננו [ק]יכה תורה אשר צו[ית]ה[...ב]יד מוש[ד...ל]ל[...א]שר [בכ]ו[ל]ל[...ממלכת] כוהנים וגוי קדוש [א...א]שר [F]or you are the God of knowledge [and] every thought[t...]. These things we know because you have favoured [us] with a h[oly] spirit. [Have pity on us and do not ho]ld against us the iniquities of the forefathers in all their wic[ked] behavior, [nor that they were stiff]-necked. You, redeem us and forgive, [please,] our iniquity and [our] s[in]...your [prece]pts, the law which [you] comman[d]ed through the hand of Mose[s...]. [...a kingdom of] priests and a holy people [...wh]ich you chose. Circumcise the foreskin of [our heart...]⁴⁰ again. Strengthen our heart to do [...to] walk in your paths.⁴¹

Similar to the psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42,⁴² here the text begins by offering praise to the God of knowledge (אל הדאות) who has granted the sectarians a holy spirit ([רוח קודש]) to know these things (אלה). The author pleads for God's forgiveness on behalf of the community that God would not hold the sins of the forefathers against them, listing the forefathers' stiff-necked and wicked behavior among their iniquities. It appears God will forgive these sins since the author petitions God to circumcise their hearts *again* (עוד). Here the author introduces a new concept that we have not yet seen—the heart might be circumcised more than once.⁴³

³⁸ It is curious that while heart-circumcision is discussed here, 4Q504 f6.5 does not mention the uncircumcised heart of Lev 26:41 but paraphrases it from Lev 26:40-44: “And now, at this day, when our hearts have been humbled (Lev 26:41) *we have paid off our sins* and those of our fathers (26:40, 41) that accrued when we erred and walked in rebellion. We have not rejected your trials (26:43), nor did we loath your affliction of our bodies (26:43) such that we broke your covenant during our time of trial (26:44),” (emphasis original) see G. A. Anderson, “From Israel's Burden to Israel's Debt,” in *Reworking the Bible*, ed. E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 26.

³⁹ J. H. Charlesworth, *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, DSS 4A (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 107-108, notes that 4Q504 was “intended for liturgical usage within the setting of a weekly cycle of prayers.” Its Hasmonaean script places the dating of the text to at least 150 B.C.E., but Charlesworth suggests that the lack of themes and vocabulary indicative of the *yabad* is absent from these prayers, perhaps indicating that the Community inherited this text from elsewhere.

⁴⁰ Cf. 4Q509 f287.1: “Circumcise [the] f[oreskin] of our heart...,” (translation mine) in M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.3*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 214. The text is too fragmented to bear much weight in our discussion. M. Baillet's reconstruction ([ע]ורלת לבנו) creates a comfortable overlap with 4Q504 f4.11. If Baillet's reconstruction is correct here, it is the sectarians' petition for God to circumcise their heart which carries a similar meaning to that of 4Q504.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 154, for the Hebrew text. Translation was taken from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 1011. The Hebrew text of Baillet and García Martínez/Tigchelaar is the same.

⁴² See §4.2.2 Structuring 1QHodayota 20.7-22.42.

⁴³ Cf. the claim of Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 153: “Da das Gebet jede Woche wieder gebetet wird, ist die Herzensbeschneidung wohl als längerer bzw. zu wiederholender Vorgang vorgestellt.”

The circumcision of the heart ([לבנו] מולה עורלת) in line 11 is parallel to the strengthening of the heart in line 12 “to do” (עשה), namely, to walk in God’s paths. But prior to petitioning God to circumcise his heart again, the author in no uncertain terms confesses that God has already given him a holy spirit. The sectarian is already in covenant with God; he has had his heart circumcised. And yet he petitions for his heart to be circumcised again. The texts of the Qumran community have thus understood multiple heart-circumcising acts—the first heart-circumcision is to gain entrance into the Community and covenant with God and the subsequent heart-circumcising act is to rid the covenant insider of his residual vices which enables fuller obedience to God.⁴⁴

3.1.2 *Jubilees*

Writing at the time of, if not before,⁴⁵ the Qumran literature was written, *Jubilees* employed heart-circumcision to refer to the act by which the covenant outsider is made a child of God. *Jub.* 1.22-25 states in translation:

Then the Lord said to Moses: ‘I know their contrary nature, their way of thinking, and their stubbornness. They will not listen until they acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors. After this they will return to me in a fully upright manner and with all (their) hearts and all (their) souls. I will circumcise the foreskins of their hearts and the foreskins of their descendants’ hearts.⁴⁶ I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn

⁴⁴ Cf. Wells, *Grace*, 100. The interpretive tradition of heart-circumcision in 4Q504 proves to be similar to that in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. As we will observe in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts), circumcision of the heart grants understanding of these things (ταῦτα) (i.e. the Scriptures). Yet Barnabas is quick to distinguish the advanced insight he possesses in comparison to that of his readers (*Barn.* 17.2). Could it be that inherent in Barnabas’s own advanced understanding is an implied multiplicity of circumcisions so that with each subsequent heart-circumcising act more understanding is granted? Precedent for this line of logic is cemented already in the progression of circumcisions presented in the *Epistle of Barnabas*—first ear-circumcision and then heart-circumcision. This discussion will be taken up later (§6.3.3 Progressing from Circumcised Hearing to Circumcised Hearts).

⁴⁵ J. C. VanderKam, “The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange, TSAJ 65 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 20, 22: “It is likely that *Jubilees* antedates the founding of the Qumran settlement which occurred during the 140’s BCE. Hence one can date the book fairly narrowly to between 160 and 150 BCE,” and further suggests the setting: “In a time when Judeans were subject to foreign powers who were at least interested in blending them into the surrounding culture, the writer of *Jubilees* articulated a powerful argument for freedom from foreign domination and Judean possession of their own land.”

⁴⁶ The Ge’ez *labb* can be translated *mind* (so J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, CSCO 511 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 5), but is equivalent to the Hebrew לב/לבב and is probably best translated *heart*, as in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 12: “And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their *heart* and the foreskin of the *heart* of their seed” (emphasis added). Cf. the parallel text in *Apoc. Mos.* 13.5 where καρδία is deployed: “Und sie werden nicht mehr sündigen vor ihm, denn das böse Herz (ἡ καρδία ἡ πονηρά) wird von ihnen genommen werden, und es wird ihnen ein Herz (καρδία) gegeben werden, das unterrichtet ist über das Gute und darüber, Gott allein zu verehren.” Text and translation are from J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose*, TSAJ 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

away from me from that time forever. Their souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments. They will perform my commandments. I will become their father and they will become my children. All of them will be called children of the living God. Every angel and every spirit will know them. They will know that they are my children and that I am their father in a just and proper way and that I love them'.⁴⁷

The text of *Jubilees* describes repeatedly its meaning of heart-circumcision. The Israelites are described as contrary and stubborn. They do not listen to the LORD, do not obey His commandments, and turn away from Him. But when the LORD circumcises their hearts, they will receive a holy spirit,⁴⁸ effecting human transformation. They will be purified of their sin⁴⁹ and will perform the LORD's commandments. They will turn to the LORD with an upright heart. His circumcision of their hearts "breaks through their stubbornness and obtuseness"⁵⁰ allowing them to become children of the living God. From the point of their heart-circumcision onward, every angel and spirit will know that they are the LORD's children. Heart-circumcision, being driven by the 'circumcising is cleansing' metaphor, indubitably represents a salvific act in which the covenant outsider is brought in.⁵¹

3.1.3 Philo

In addition to the heart, Philo brings to the discussion of metaphorical circumcision a unique contribution—eye-circumcision. For Philo, OT heart-circumcision is considered mind-circumcision as *QG* 3.46 shows:⁵²

I see two circumcisions, one of the male, and the other of the flesh; that of the flesh is by way of the genitals, while that of the male, it seems to me, is by way of the reason. For that which is, one might say, naturally male in us is the mind, whose superfluous growths it is necessary to cut off and throw away in order that it may become pure and naked of every evil and passion, and be a priest of God. Now this is what He indicated by the second circumcision, stating (in) the Law that 'you shall circumcise your hardness of heart', which means your hard and rebellious and

⁴⁷ Translation has been modified from VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 5.

⁴⁸ This is the first reference which combines the spirit and heart-circumcision. Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 132. But cf. also Ezek 11:19; 36:26.

⁴⁹ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London: Black, 1902), 6-7, says of this purification, "These words imply that Israel shall never again be driven from their own land."

⁵⁰ J. L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 25.

⁵¹ Note the comment in Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 132: "Das Bild von der Beschneidung des Herzens wird durch die beigefügten Verheißungen in seine Bedeutung geklärt und verstärkt." These include a holy disposition toward God and purity of heart.

⁵² Philo of Alexandria was born around 15 B.C.E. and died 45 C.E. He wrote during the intersection of Judaic, Greek, and Christian civilizations. See A. Kamesar, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 1. *Questions and Answers in Genesis* is "a brief commentary in the form of questions and answers on the [first book] of the Pentateuch, and in its form resembles Hellenistic (pagan) commentaries on the Homeric Poems," according to R. Marcus, *Philo*, vol. Supplement 1, LCL 380 (Cambridge: HUP, 1953), ix.

refractory thoughts, and by cutting off and removing arrogance, you shall make the sovereign part free and unbound.⁵³

The two circumcisions referenced here are the literal circumcision of the flesh and a metaphorical circumcision of the male.⁵⁴ That which is male is the mind (νοῦς) whose superfluous growths must be cut off in order for the mind to return to its pure and naked state—the state it enjoyed prior to the conception of evil and passion⁵⁵—and be a priest to God. This circumcision of the νοῦς, according to Philo, was commanded by God when He said, “Circumcise your hardness of heart (σκληροκαρδίαν).” By citing this text, Philo builds a direct relationship interpreting heart-circumcision (καρδία) as mind-circumcision (νοῦς), which he repeats in *QG* 3.48: “Now the ancients were disposed to regard the bodily organ of generation as resembling thought (νοήμασι),⁵⁶ which is the most generative (force) of the heart (καρδίας). And it is like nothing else so much as the circumcision of the heart.”⁵⁷

Therefore, heart-circumcision for *QG* 3.46 is the removal of all rebellious thoughts and arrogance in order to free the mind (i.e. sovereign part)⁵⁸ unto a “law-obedient disposition.”⁵⁹ This removal gains expression through the metaphor ‘circumcision is cleansing’, evidenced by the cultic and purification motifs. And yet the meaning draws also upon the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor via the command’s similarity with LXX Deut 10:16. This fusion of conceptual metaphors is perhaps warranted given Philo’s reshaping of the heart-circumcision metaphor into a mind-circumcision metaphor. Such an interpretative move demonstrates further the flexibility of the heart-circumcision metaphor.

⁵³ All quotations of *Questions and Answers on Genesis* are taken from Marcus, *Philo I*. See also L. Cohn and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera Quae Supersunt* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1896-1930).

⁵⁴ Note Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 196, who disregards the male aspect and speaks only of the flesh- and mind-circumcisions. While it is true that Philo speaks of flesh-circumcision as a metaphor of mind-circumcision elsewhere (*Migration* 92; *Spec. Laws* 1.6), here he differentiates the two, building the case for two distinct circumcisions.

⁵⁵ This state is referred to as the return to “man’s original virility,” in M. R. Niehoff, “Circumcision as a Marker of Identity,” *JSQ* 10 (2003): 95-96, 98.

⁵⁶ Alternatively, τῶ νῶ could be read. See Marcus, *Philo I*, 245.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, 253, for *QG* 3.52: “But as for the deeper meaning, that which is excessively male in us is the mind (νοῦς). This He commands to be circumcised in the ogdoad for the reasons which I gave earlier.... For the mind which is not circumcised and purified and sanctified of the body and the passions which come through the body will be corrupted and cannot be saved.” The ‘ogdoad’ is “Philo’s allegorical variation of the scriptural ‘eighth day.’”

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 241. The sovereign part is τὸ ἡγεμονικόν meaning the mind.

⁵⁹ F. Siegert, “Philo and the New Testament,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. A. Kamesar (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 184.

Philo picks up this line of interpretation and intricately weds it to the stiff neck in *Spec. Laws* 1.304-306:⁶⁰

ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἀπερίτμητοι τὴν καρδίαν, ἣ φησὶν ὁ νόμος, καὶ διὰ σκληρότητα τρόπων ἀφηνιασταί, σκιρτῶντες αὐθαδῶς καὶ ἀπαυχενίζοντες· οὓς νουθετεῖ φάσκων· περιτέμνεσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν, τὸ δέ ἐστι, τὰς περιττευούσας φύσεις τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ, ἅς αἱ ἄμετροι τῶν παθῶν ἔσπειράν τε καὶ συνηύξησαν ὄρμαι καὶ ὁ κακὸς ψυχῆς γεωργὸς ἐφύτευσεν, ἀφροσύνη, μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀποκείρασθε. καὶ ὁ τράχηλος, φησὶν, ὑμῶν μὴ σκληρὸς ἔστω, τουτέστι, μὴ ἀκαμπῆς ὁ νοῦς καὶ αὐθαδέστατος, μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν σκαιότητος ἐπιτηδευέτω τὴν βλαβερωτάτην ἀμαθίαν. But some are uncircumcised in heart, says the law, and through their hardness of temper disobedient to the rein, plunging in unruly fashion and fighting against the yoke. These he admonishes with the words, 'Circumcise the hardness of your hearts!' make speed, that is, to prune away from the ruling mind the superfluous overgrowths sown and raised by the immoderate appetites of the passions and planted by folly, the evil husbandman of the soul. And let not your neck be hard, he continues: that is, let not your mind be unbending and exceedingly unruly, nor in its much forwardness pursue that willful ignorance which is so fraught with mischief.⁶¹

Two biblical metaphors are forged into one here. Both the uncircumcised heart (ἀπερίτμητοι τὴν καρδίαν) and the stiff neck (τράχηλος...μὴ σκληρός) are for Philo expressions of the mind-circumcision (νοῦς). Heart-circumcision is explained as pruning away the superfluous overgrowths of the mind (τὰς περιττευούσας φύσεις τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ), certainly drawing upon the metaphor 'circumcising is pruning'. These superfluous overgrowths are described as passion (πάθος) and folly (ἀφροσύνη).⁶² Elsewhere Philo speaks of the circumcision of desires, sensual pleasures, passions, and the like (*Migration* 92; *QE* 2.2; *Spec. Laws* 1.6, 9, 11; cf. *Agriculture* 39).⁶³ But in light of Philo's exegesis of such circumcisions in *QG* 3.46 and *Spec. Laws* 1.304-305, the excision of these vices seems to fall under the rubric of mind-circumcision. Furthermore, the stiff neck prohibition is likewise expressed as the proscription of an unbending and exceedingly unruly (αὐθαδέστατος μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν σκαιότητος) or even ignorant (ἀμαθία) mind. Characteristic of both the

⁶⁰ *Special Laws* is a presentation of various laws from the Pentateuch organized "by considering them to be 'special [or specific] laws' subsumed under the headings of the various Ten Commandments, which thus serve as the 'generic laws' of the divine legislation." Thus, *Special Laws* 1 is a presentation of those laws pertaining to the first and second of the Ten Commandments. See J. R. Royse, "The Works of Philo," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo* (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 48. See further note 52 on page 47.

⁶¹ All quotations of *On Special Laws* are taken from F. H. Colson, *Philo*, vol. 7, LCL 320 (Cambridge: HUP, 1937).

⁶² Consider the use of "Unverstand" for "folly," in Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 210.

⁶³ Of these, the most concise expression is *QE* 2.2: "[Scripture] makes [it] apparent, that the sojourner is one who circumcises not his uncircumcision but his desires and sensual pleasures and the other passions of his soul." All quotations of *Questions and Answers on Exodus* are taken from R. Marcus, *Philo*, vol. Supplement 2, LCL 401 (Cambridge: HUP, 1953). Here, the Greek text is preserved in a fragment and the translation is adapted from R. Marcus. See further *Unchangeable* 67; *Spec. Laws* 3.129.

uncircumcised heart and the stiff neck is their hardness so often repeated here.⁶⁴ Yet when all such indocility and intractability are set aside, when the heart's resistance to the rein and yoke are abandoned, then the mind is "ready to obey the laws of nature"⁶⁵ (*Spec. Laws* 1.306) and transferred into the covenant.⁶⁶

QG 3.46 and *Spec. Laws* 1.304-306 have shown support that the heart is the seat of cognition and emotion in Philo. Thus heart-circumcision is a circumcision of the thoughts and passions which hinder one from rendering obedience to God. Still, Philo's view of agency places the responsibility of heart-circumcision on human beings (cf. Deut 10:16 in *Spec. Laws* 1.305).⁶⁷

In a unique maneuver, Philo introduces a subcategory of metaphorical circumcision which is inherent in heart-circumcision. Eye-circumcision is found in *QG* 3.47:

That which sees in us is the mind, and it is necessary to cut off its superfluous growths. Now these superfluous growths are vain opinions and what is done in accordance with them. And when the mind is circumcised and contains only necessary and useful things, and when at the same time there is cut off whatever causes pride to increase, then with it are circumcised the eyes also, as though they could not (otherwise) see.

While discussion of the mind continues from *QG* 3.46, *QG* 3.47 introduces another bodily metaphorical circumcision—eye-circumcision.⁶⁸ Little is mentioned describing eye-

⁶⁴ "Their hardness of temper," (*Spec. Laws* 1.304); "Circumcise the hardness of your hearts!" (*Spec. Laws* 1.305); "And let not your neck be hard," (*Spec. Laws* 1.306).

⁶⁵ This is an expression for the laws of the Torah. See e.g., Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 210; H. Najman, "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature," in *Laws Stamped with the Seals of Nature*, ed. D. T. Runia, G. E. Sterling, and H. Najman, SPhiloA 15 (Providence: Brown University, 2003), 54-63.

⁶⁶ Cf. "Consequently, heart-circumcision holds eternal value; for it inclines the will towards virtue, which is necessary for eternal life," (emphasis original) in Wells, "Grace," 163.

⁶⁷ From Philo's mind-circumcision only a short step is needed to reach the *Epistle of Barnabas's* circumcised heart which is likewise circumcised for the purpose of understanding, as we shall see (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts)—without heart-circumcision one cannot "know (νοῦσαι) or understand (συνιέναι) these things" (*Barn.* 10.12). while the *Epistle of Barnabas* envisages divine agency (*Barn.* 10.12).

⁶⁸ As significant a contribution eye-circumcision is to the conceptualization of heart-circumcision, these are for Philo merely penultimate circumcisions. The ultimate metaphorical circumcision is a circumcision of metaphorical circumcision as expressed in *Dreams* 2.25: "Like the 'reaping the reaping' is the two-fold circumcision, which we meet with in such a case as that of the lawgiver devising as a new practice a circumcision of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 13), or 'the consecration of consecration' (Num. vi. 2), that is, the purification of the very purification of the soul, when we yield to God the prerogative of making bright and clean, and never entertain the thought that we ourselves are sufficient apart from the divine overseeing guidance to cleanse our life and remove from it the defilements with which it abounds," (text and translation are taken from F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, *Philo*, vol. 5, LCL 275 (London: William Heinemann, 1934)). Philo's handling of the *figura etymologica* is intriguing as an attempt to interpret the LXX's "circumcised with circumcision" (περιτομῆ περιτμηθήσεται), itself grappling with the MT's "shall surely be circumcised" (המול ימול) (LXX texts of Genesis are taken from J. W. Wevers, *Genesis*, SVTG 1 (Göttingen: V&R, 1974)). The circumcision of circumcision corresponds to the cutting off of the ability to cut away the excessive desires, pleasures, and passions of the mind: "The first circumcision is of the excessive appetites of the lower soul.... The second circumcision means that one cuts off the very ability and educated skill one had acquired in order to perform the first form of circumcision," so R. D. Hecht, "The Exegetical Contexts of Philo's

circumcision. The reference passes as a secondary thought attached to discussion of mind-circumcision.⁶⁹ Still, in a way the eye here is bound to the mind. For Philo, it is the mind which actually sees. Superfluous growths must be cut off from the mind. We can conclude, then, that eye-circumcision too pertains to the excision of superfluous growths—vain opinions which are both unnecessary and useless—and pride derived from the ‘circumcising is pruning’ metaphor. When this excision is performed on the mind, the eye is enabled to see since it too undergoes such circumcision in mind-circumcision.⁷⁰ It seems then that inherent in mind-circumcision is eye-circumcision. And mind-circumcision is for the author the meaning of the biblical metaphor, heart-circumcision.⁷¹ Furthermore, Philo’s eye-circumcision, which is inherent in heart/mind-circumcision, resembles 4Q434 whose heart-circumcision permits the proper functionality of other faculties “allow[ing] the eyes to see and the ears to hear.”⁷²

3.1.4 Romans

Among the NT documents, heart-circumcision is specifically mentioned once in Romans. In this instance, heart-circumcision refers to the act by which the covenant outsider becomes the insider. Rom 2:28-29 states:⁷³

οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is circumcision that which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that which is of the heart, by the Spirit, not by the letter; and his praise is not from men, but from God.

Interpretation of Circumcision,” in *Nourished with Peace*, ed. F. E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert, and B. L. Mack, *Homage 9* (Chico: Scholars, 1984), 73.

⁶⁹ Cf. the comments in Niehoff, “Circumcision,” 99: “In the context of metaphor Philo thus assumes a multiplicity of circumcisions” and “[For Philo] metaphorical circumcision can be applied to a variety of organs.” See also *QG* 3.51: “To circumcise the excessive and harmful impulses of sight, hearing, taste, smell and touch and of the organ of speech.”

⁷⁰ The purpose of eye-circumcision is to see God, according to Livesey, *Circumcision*, 62.

⁷¹ Consequently, we will see that the *Epistle of Barnabas* resembles Philo by conceiving of multiple circumcisions simultaneously. Though conceptually the *Epistle of Barnabas* portrays ear-circumcision as preceding heart-circumcision, in a very real sense they occur simultaneously much like Philo’s heart/mind-circumcision precedes eye-circumcision and yet both are spoken of as happening concurrently (§6.3.3 Progressing from Circumcised Hearing to Circumcised Hearts).

⁷² Seely, “Circumcised Heart,” 533.

⁷³ According to F. F. Bruce, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 13-14, Romans was written by Paul the Apostle in 57 C.E. from Corinth on the occasion of Paul’s wanting to prepare the Roman Christians for his soon arrival and temporary stay en route to Spain. Cf. D. J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 1-3.

The text is written elliptically, and a fair bit must be supplied, with the two statements of denial in verse 28 contrasted by the two statements of assertion in verse 29: a Jew is not one outwardly (ἐν τῷ φανερώ), but inwardly (ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ); circumcision (περιτομή) is not of the flesh (σάρξ), but of the heart (καρδία).⁷⁴ Heart-circumcision is performed by the Spirit of God⁷⁵ which is directly contrasted to the letter, or the “law as ‘script’, inscribed on paper (or stone).”⁷⁶ In the context of Rom 2:25-29, Paul repeatedly contrasts those obedient to the law with transgressors. The placement of the metaphor in such a context hints that its meaning pertains to obedience.⁷⁷ The one circumcised of heart is obedient to God⁷⁸ and receives his praise from God. His heart-circumcision maps onto his obedience to God, possibly yielding the ‘circumcising is obeying’ metaphor, which validates his covenant-insider status.⁷⁹

3.1.5 *Odes of Solomon*

In addition to Romans, another witness testifies to the act of heart-circumcision as conversion and the role of the Holy Spirit as agent. *Odes of Solomon*⁸⁰ aligns in many ways

⁷⁴ Moo, *Romans*, 173. Greek texts of the New Testament are taken from B. Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

⁷⁵ πνεῦμα is not here to be understood as a “spiritualizing one” but as an act performed by the “Holy Spirit,” so E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 75.

⁷⁶ J. M. G. Barclay, “Paul and Philo on Circumcision,” *NTS* 44 (1998): 553.

⁷⁷ Ibid.: “A circumcised heart is a transformed person, turned towards obedience (cf. Rom 6.17) and faith (Rom 10.8-10),” which is affirmed in R. Jewett, *Romans*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 236. Paul is likely taking his cue from Deut 30:6 and Ezek 26:26, according to T. W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart*, SBLDS 175 (Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 154.

⁷⁸ Cf. the comment in Barclay, “Paul and Philo,” 545: “But Paul here suggests that ‘keeping the just requirements of the law’ is actually a *sufficient* condition as well: with this alone a Gentile may count as if circumcised” (emphasis original). Obedience is evidence of a circumcised heart, what Paul refers to as an inward Jew.

⁷⁹ Cf. “Since obedience is a necessary condition for membership in God’s eschatological people, and since heart-circumcision is the sufficient condition for obedience, heart-circumcision is determinative in defining those who will be called ‘Jew’ at the eschaton,” in Wells, “Grace,” 177. As we will see, heart-circumcision in Romans carries a similar meaning to the juxtaposed metaphor in Luke-Acts—once the circumcision occurs, the recipient passes into a covenant-insider status (§5.4 Meaning of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts). Though the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor in Acts 7:51 does not state whether the (Holy) Spirit (Rom 2:29) or Christ (cf. Acts 7:52) would be the agent of the heart- and ear-circumcisions desired by Stephen, the indictment that they “are always resisting the Holy Spirit” (Acts 7:51) [The reference to the ears in Acts 7:51 indicates the manner in which they resisted the Holy Spirit, in that they refused to listen to the Holy Spirit’s testimony, according to E. W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech Used in the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1968), 543] tends to lean toward the impression of Rom 2:29 [J. Horst, “οὖς, ὠτίον, ὠτάριον, ἐνωτίζομαι,” *TDNT* 5:556: “When they stop their ears...to intimate that they will not listen to any blasphemous words, in reality they fight against the opening of their ears by the Spirit.”].

⁸⁰ J. H. Charlesworth, *Critical Reflections on the Odes of Solomon*, vol. 1, JSPSup 22 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1998), 18, maintains that the majority of scholars accept a date for *Odes of Solomon* “prior to 125 or at least 135 CE.” Just as the authorship of these hymns is anonymous, so their place of origin is unknown. See M. Latke,

with Rom 2:29 in that heart-circumcision is indicative of salvation whereby the covenant outsider becomes the covenant insider. *Odes Sol.* 11.1-4 states:

περιετμήθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἐφάνη τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς ἡ χάρις ἐν αὐτῇ ἐβλάστησεν [κ]αὶ ἐκαρποφόρησεν τῷ θεῷ ὁ ὕψιστος περιέτεμέν με τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγύμνωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς νεφροὺς μου καὶ ἐπλήρωσέν με τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡ περιτομὴ αὐτοῦ ἔδραμον ὁδὸν ἀληθείας ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὐτοῦ[υ] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἕως τέλους ἔλαβον τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ. My heart was circumcised and its flower appeared. Grace grew up in it and bore fruit for God. The Most High circumcised me by his holy spirit and laid bare toward himself my kidneys/reins and filled me with his love. His circumcision became my salvation. I ran the way of truth in his peace, from the beginning to the end I received his understanding.⁸¹

In this ode, the author explains that heart-circumcision (περιετμήθη ἡ καρδία)⁸² brought about his redemption (εἰς σωτηρίαν).⁸³ The Most High pruned away (περιέτεμεν)⁸⁴ presumably the hardness of heart⁸⁵ essentially laying bare and exposing the author's inner self (τοὺς νεφροὺς αὐτοῦ) to God. The circumcision paved the way for God to fill the Odist with His grace and love permitting fruit to bear. This process resulted in the speaker's salvation allowing him to run in the paths of God's truth. Curiously, the Odist links heart-circumcision to his reception of God's understanding (ἔλαβον τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ).⁸⁶ *Odes of Solomon* are further testimonies of bringing together both salvific and knowledge elements in the metaphor of heart-circumcision,⁸⁷ being driven presumably by the 'circumcising is laying bare' and/or 'circumcising is pruning' metaphors which speak of the divine agent's revelation to the Odist.

Odes of Solomon 11 conjoins elements of biblical circumcision of the heart and the heart-circumcision.⁸⁸ By mixing the metaphors of horticulture (i.e. blossoming flower) and

Odes of Solomon, trans. M. Ehrhardt, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 5, 11. Charlesworth, *Odes*, 14-15 believes the hymns are those of "an Essene before he 'converted to Christianity'" thus reflecting both Jewish and Christian ideologies.

⁸¹ Lattke, *Odes*, 149.

⁸² The Greek text of *Odes of Solomon* is taken from M. Lattke, *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis*, vol. 1, OBO 25 (Göttingen: V&R, 1979). Though the Greek text of Lattke is suspect, it is employed here to add consistency to the thesis. No point made depends entirely on the exact wording of the Greek text.

⁸³ Lattke, *Odes*, 52.

⁸⁴ The agent of this circumcision is identified as τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ.

⁸⁵ Lattke, *Odes*, 154.

⁸⁶ An example of the fruit borne as a result of the circumcision is this gnosis, so Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 470-471.

⁸⁷ Knowledge of the "way of truth" is associated with the love which fills the Odist after his heart is circumcised. See Charlesworth, *Odes*, 212.

⁸⁸ We will witness this similarly in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts).

circumcision (i.e. heart), the Odist speaks similarly to Barnabas who quotes from Jer 4:3-4, “Do not sow among the thorns; be circumcised to your Lord” (*Barn.* 9.5). Circumcising the heart permits growth which comes to fruition in understanding things about the Lord. But the Odist also has in mind a redemptive consequence of heart-circumcision, permitting the Odist to run in “the way of truth” (*Odes Sol.* 11.3) much like heart-circumcision “set their feet to the way” in 4Q434 f1.1.4.⁸⁹ Moreover, the role of the Spirit in *Odes of Solomon’s* heart-circumcising act dovetails with the witnesses of Romans and is probably indicative of the language of Ezek 11:19; 26:26, that God “shall give them one heart, and shall put a new spirit within them” by taking away their heart of stone.

3.1.6 Justin

In his *First Apology* and *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin addresses heart-circumcision in two ways. In the first way, Justin quotes heart-circumcision texts from Jeremiah. In the second, Justin deduces heart-circumcision from a discussion of true fasting. In *1 Apol.* 53.10-11, Justin writes:⁹⁰

ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστεροι οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πιστότεροι προεγινώσκοντο, ἀπαγγελοῦμεν τὰ εἰρημένα διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου. ἔφη δὲ οὕτως· Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητος τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν. But as to the fact that those from the nations were foreknown as more genuine and more faithful, we shall announce the things said through Isaiah the prophet. He spoke thus: ‘Israel is uncircumcised in heart, but the nations in their foreskin’.

The quotation hails from Jer 9:26 which is slightly different than what is reported by Justin: “All the nations are uncircumcised in the *flesh* and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their heart.”⁹¹ *First Apology* has foreskin (ἀκροβυστία) rather than flesh (σάρξ) and the quotation is meant as a proof text for the claim that the nations (οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν), though uncircumcised in their foreskin, are more genuine and faithful (ἀληθέστεροι...πιστότεροι) believers than the house of Israel: “Knowing those from the nations to be more numerous and more genuine Christians than those from the Jews and the Samaritans” (*1 Apol.* 53.3).

⁸⁹ This redemptive purpose will later be echoed in the circumcision of the heart and ears in Luke-Acts (§5.4 Meaning of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts). Thus the nexus of Luke-Acts and the *Epistle of Barnabas’s* metaphor is played out in *Odes of Solomon’s* metaphor.

⁹⁰ *First Apology* was written by Justin shortly after 153 C.E. in Rome as a petition to the Roman Emperor Antonius Pius giving an account of the Christian life and teachings. See D. Minns and P. M. Parvis, *Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, Apologies*, OECT (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 44, 60. Greek texts and English translations of *First Apology* are taken from this source.

⁹¹ Emphasis added. O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 72, describes Justin’s inverted quotation as a “neat antithetic parallelism.” Cf. *Barn.* 9.5.

The context supports the fact that heart-circumcision explicates conversion: “Jews and Samaritans...always expecting the Christ, did not recognize him when he came, except for a few, who, the holy prophetic Spirit foretold through Isaiah, were going to be saved (σωθήσεσθαι)” (1 *Apol.* 53.6).

Once more, Justin explains heart-circumcision from Jeremiah. Jer 4:3-4 is quoted in *Dial.* 28.2-3:⁹²

ἐὰν φθάσῃ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐλθεῖν, μάτην μετανοήσετε, μάτην κλαύσετε· οὐ γὰρ εἰσακούσεται ὑμῶν. νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα, Ἰερεμίας τῷ λαῷ κέκραγε, καὶ μὴ σπείρετε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθας. περιτέμνεσθε τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ περιτέμνεσθε τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν. μὴ οὖν εἰς ἀκάνθος σπείρετε καὶ ἀνήροτον χωρίον, ὅθεν ὑμῖν καρπὸς οὐκ ἔστι. γινῶτε τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ ἰδοὺ νειὸς καλὴ, καλὴ καὶ πίων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν. If Christ should come again before your conversion, you will weep and repent in vain, for then he will not heed you. ‘Break up anew your fallow ground, and sow not upon thorns’, exclaimed Jeremiah to the people. ‘Be circumcised to the Lord, and circumcise the foreskin of your heart’. Do not sow, therefore, amid thorns and upon unplowed soil, from which you can reap no fruit. Acknowledge Christ, and then fallow ground, rich and fertile, will certainly be in your hearts.⁹³

Breaking up fallow ground is interpreted by Justin as acknowledging Christ (γινῶτε τὸν Χριστόν).⁹⁴ When one acknowledges Christ, he will bear fruit in his heart, what Justin calls conversion (προσήλυσις). Accordingly, conversion is the meaning of heart-circumcision in Jer 4:4 which is only achieved through repenting (μετανοέω). But Justin goes on to quote Jer 9:25-26 and then writes in translation, “Even though a man be a Scythian, or a Persian, and yet knows God and his Son, and observes his lasting precepts of justice, he is circumcised with the only good and useful circumcision, and both he and his offspring are pleasing to God” (*Dial.* 28.4).⁹⁵ Heart-circumcision is called the good and useful (τὴν καλὴν καὶ ὠφέλιμον) circumcision. Such a circumcision pleasing to God comes about through knowing God and Christ (ἔχει δὲ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γινῶσιν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ) and observing the eternal commands of justice. Obedience to God is further affirmed by Justin

⁹² The *Dialogue* is a defense of Christianity against Judaism and was composed by Justin in Rome 155-161 C.E. Its (probably fictitious) report to be a discussion between Justin and a Jew named Trypho in Ephesus is the setting for Justin to outline the superiority of Christianity over Judaism, according to T. B. Falls, *St. Justin Martyr Dialogue with Trypho*, FC 3 (Washington: Catholic University of America, 2003), xv. English quotations of *Dialogue with Trypho* are taken from this source.

⁹³ Greek texts of *Dialogue with Trypho* are taken from M. Marcovich, *Iustini Martyris Dialogus cum Tryphone*, PTS 47 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997).

⁹⁴ Cf. *Barn.* 9.5-6.

⁹⁵ Cf. 1 *Apol.* 53.11.

a few verses later when he quotes from Ps 17:44-45: “A people who I knew not has served me; as soon as they heard me they have obeyed (ὑπήκουσε) me” (*Dial.* 28.6).⁹⁶

From Jer 4:3-4; 9:25-26, Justin assesses that heart-circumcision is the circumcision desired by God which is accomplished through knowledge of Christ, repentance, and keeping the lasting precepts of righteousness. In Justin’s words, the source domain of circumcision explains the target domain of conversion. The necessity of acknowledging Christ to pass from uncircumcised to circumcised hearts is also laid down in Acts 7:52: “Which one of the prophets did your fathers not persecute? And they killed those who had previously announced the coming of the Righteous One, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become.” Having rejected and killed the Christ, Stephen’s audience stands outside the covenant with God, remaining in their state of uncircumcision much like those in *Dial.* 28.2-3 who have not yet acknowledged Christ and have not yet circumcised their hearts. Thus, an interpretive ideology taken up in Acts 7:51 is played out in Justin.

Moving beyond mere explanation of heart-circumcision quotations, Justin deduces heart-circumcision from an Isaiah text on fasting. *Dial.* 15.1, 7 says:

καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ νηστείαν μάθετε νηστεύειν, ὡς Ἡσαΐας φησὶν.... περιτέμεσθε οὖν τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πάντων τούτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀξιοῦσι. In order to please God you must, therefore, learn to observe God’s true fast. Listen to what Isaiah has to say in this regard.... ‘Therefore, be circumcised rather in your heart’, as the above-quoted words of God demand.

Justin links a command to be circumcised in the heart (περιτέμεσθε...τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας) with God’s demands to observe the true fast (τὴν ἀληθινὴν...νηστείαν). In the intermediate text between verses 1 and 7, Justin quotes from Isa 58:1-11. According to the text, the true fast is not performed with sackcloth and ash, afflicting the soul for a day (*Dial.* 15.3). Rather, the fast desired by God is to do justice, remove wickedness, and release those subjects under oppression (*Dial.* 15.4). Furthermore, the true fast provides for the destitute—feeding the hungry and clothing the naked (*Dial.* 15.5). Only when *this* fast is performed will God be with the house of Jacob continually (*Dial.* 15.6). For Justin, inherent in the true fast is a circumcised heart. Working in tandem, evidence of a circumcised heart is observance of this true fast.⁹⁷ But what precisely the circumcised heart is, Justin has not

⁹⁶ Cf. *Barn.* 9.1.

⁹⁷ See §4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone. Elsewhere, Justin references heart-circumcision but does not exegete its meaning: *Dial.* 16.1 (Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16); 137.1 (Deut 10:16).

explained. Still, the connection of heart-circumcision to the true fast broadens the meaning of Justin’s metaphor.⁹⁸

For Justin, the heart undergoes circumcision at the point when the person knows (γινώσκω) Christ (*Dial.* 28.3, 4).⁹⁹ Similarly, circumcision of the heart imbues one with knowledge (γνώσις) that the Scriptures point to Christ in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Traces of this tradition were already evident among 4Q504 and *Odes of Solomon* and can be seen running throughout Justin.

3.1.7 Letter to Flora

In his *Letter to Flora*, Ptolemy¹⁰⁰ writes, καὶ περιτομὴν περιτετεμῆσθαι ἡμᾶς βούλεται, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ τῆς ἀκροβυστίας τῆς σωματικῆς, ἀλλὰ καρδίας τῆς πνευματικῆς (“He also desires that we have a circumcision, not of the bodily foreskin but of the spiritual heart”).¹⁰¹ Ptolemy explains that the circumcision desired by the Savior (*Pan.* 33.5.10) is that of the spiritual heart and not the bodily foreskin. Spiritual is not an explicit reference to the agency involved but is speaking to the type of circumcision (i.e. metaphorical). This is made clear when, a few lines prior (*Pan.* 33.5.8-9), circumcision was listed alongside other observances such as Sabbath and Passover which are “images and allegories” explaining, “Outwardly and in bodily observance they were abrogated but spiritually they were adopted.” Though the context is limited, it would seem that pitting metaphorical circumcision against the physical indicator of the covenant (i.e. circumcision of the male member) is indicative of conversion. What exactly it is that should be circumcised is not here elaborated but generally speaking it is “all evil,” perhaps indicating that the underlying metaphor is ‘circumcising is cleansing’. Fasting is interpreted as the “abstinence from all evil” (*Pan.* 33.5.13), sacrifices are defined as “spiritual hymns, praises, and thanksgiving” (*Pan.*

⁹⁸ This is similar to the way that the *Hodayot* expand the meaning of the heart of stone as we shall see (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone). Interestingly, Barnabas also discusses the true fast from Isa 58:3-10 (*Barn.* 3.1-6) but does not make any association with heart- and/or ear-circumcision.

⁹⁹ Justin’s conception of heart-circumcision bears similarities with what we will see in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts).

¹⁰⁰ According to B. Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures* (London: SCM, 1987), 278, 307, “Ptolemy flourished roughly between A.D. 136 and 180 (or 136 and 152).” Having lived and taught in Rome, Ptolemy’s clearest exposition of Gnostic ideas are preserved in his *Letter to Flora*, “a non-Gnostic Christian whom Ptolemy is concerned to educate into the higher realms of knowledge,” according to B. D. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 201.

¹⁰¹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 33.5.11. All translations of *Panarion (Adversus haereses)* are taken from F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, NHMS 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2009). Greek texts of *Panarion* are taken from K. Holl, *Epiphanius*, vol. 1, GCS 25 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915).

33.5.10), and Sabbath rest is explained as a cessation from “evil works” (*Pan.* 33.5.12). In light of these allegorical interpretations, heart-circumcision is likewise the putting aside of all wickedness and turning to God in covenant, demonstrated not by the physical rite but by the inward disposition.¹⁰²

3.1.8 Other Related Circumcision Texts

Col 2:11 describes a circumcision similar to heart-circumcision without direct reference to the metaphor:

ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. And in Him you were also circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, in the removal of the body of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ.¹⁰³

The circumcision without hands (περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ) testifies to the figurative employment of circumcision. The metaphor is spoken of as Christ’s circumcising (ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ). He is the proprietor of him who was stripped (ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει) of the “body of flesh” (cf. Col 3:9). In this way, the stripping away of the body of flesh, reminiscent of cutting off the foreskin from the male member, probably refers to the spiritual state of him who was dead in transgressions and “the uncircumcision of your flesh” (Col 2:13). Circumcision, then, is a “metaphor for the conquering of the power of sin that takes place when a person comes to Christ.”¹⁰⁴ Hence, circumcision represents conversion¹⁰⁵ (i.e. ‘circumcising is pruning’), the act of such circumcision being performed by Christ.¹⁰⁶ In what follows, the Colossians text aligns with Justin by situating Christ as the agent of human transformation.

Justin describes metaphorical circumcision in terms of the true circumcision performed by Christ. Translated, *Dial.* 41.4 says:

¹⁰² As we shall see, the *Letter to Flora* aligns with the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s perspective that physical circumcision is of little benefit and that the circumcision sought for by God is heart-circumcision (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts). And yet, the *Letter to Flora*’s metaphor does not have the meaning of the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s but of Luke-Acts’s metaphors (§5.4 Meaning of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts)—the heart and ears must stop rejecting God, turn from evil, and become a covenant insider.

¹⁰³ P. T. O’Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, WBC 44 (Waco: Word Books, 1982), xxx, xlix, liii-liv, maintains Pauline authorship of this letter, having been written from a Roman imprisonment in 60-61 C.E. on the occasion of hearing the false teaching which circulated within the church at Colossae. Cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 33.

¹⁰⁴ D. J. Moo, *The Letters to the Colossians and to Philemon*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 200.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 198; Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 431.

¹⁰⁶ See O’Brien, *Colossians*, 115.

ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν. Furthermore, the precept of circumcision, obliging you without fail to circumcise your offspring on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision by which we are circumcised from error and wickedness through our Lord Jesus Christ, who arose from the dead on the first day of the week.

As a type (τύπος), circumcision of the flesh on the eighth day pointed to the true circumcision (τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς). The true circumcision, according to Justin, is the removal of error and wickedness (τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας) from the heart by Christ the agent (διὰ τοῦ...Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν). Though not specifically stated here, Justin surely means heart-circumcision with his reference to true circumcision. If so, his exegesis here has added a further dimension of meaning to the metaphor. It is not only the removal of evil from the heart, it is the acknowledgement of Christ which is predicated by heart-circumcision.

The *Gospel of Thomas* references metaphorical circumcision, only by the spirit and not Christ.¹⁰⁷ *Gos. Thom.* 53 states:

ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑϞ Ν̄ΟΙ ΝΕϞΜΛΘΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ Π̄ΣΒ̄ΒΕ Ρ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ Η Ξ̄ΜΟΝ ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΕϞΡ̄ΩΦΕΛΕΙ ΝΕ ΠΟΥΕΙΩΤ ΝΑΧΠΟΥϞ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΤΟΥΜΑΛΥ ΕΥΣ̄Β̄ΒΗΥ ΑΛΛΑ Π̄ΣΒ̄ΒΕ Ξ̄ΜΕ Ζ̄Μ Π̄Ν̄Α ΛϞΘ̄Ν Ζ̄ΗΥ ΤΗΡϞ. His disciples said to him, 'Is circumcision beneficial or not?' He said to them, 'If it were beneficial, their father would beget them already circumcised from their mother. Rather, the true circumcision in spirit has become completely profitable'.¹⁰⁸

In a dialogue with Jesus, the disciples pose a question regarding the advantage of physical circumcision. Jesus's response rejects any benefit of physical circumcision. The reasoning which follows is that if there had been any benefit to circumcision, the child would have been born already physically circumcised.¹⁰⁹ Rather, Jesus replies, the benefit to be found in circumcision is the metaphorical circumcision performed by the spirit.¹¹⁰ This he calls the true circumcision¹¹¹ resulting in conversion.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures*, 20, asserts, "The document as a whole probably came to be written sometime after the New Testament Gospels...possibly in the early second century." These "sayings of Jesus ostensibly collected by Didymus Judas Thomas, [were] written in Syria in the early post-apostolic period" and are characterized by appeals to understanding, according to H. Koester, "Introduction," vol. 1 in *The Coptic Gnostic Library: Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2-7*, NHS 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 38.

¹⁰⁸ Translation is taken from H. Koester and T. O. Lambdin, "The Gospel of Thomas," in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson (Leiden: Brill, 1996). Text is taken from A. D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation*, LNTS 287 (London: T&T Clark, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. a similar dialogue and rationale in *Tanb.* B 7 (18a).

¹¹⁰ Cf. "The accretion resonates with the early Christian tradition that the convert had to be circumcised by the Holy Spirit rather than physically," in DeConick, *Gospel of Thomas*, 186.

¹¹¹ Cf. Phil 3:3.

3.2 The Heart of Stone

Among the milieu of metaphors in the first two centuries B.C.E. and C.E., we find only two references to the heart of stone apart from 1QH^a.¹¹³ These two references preserve the interpretive tradition found in *Targum Jonathan* Ezek 11:19; 36:26.¹¹⁴

3.2.1 Qumran

Apart from the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the other extant reference to the heart of stone in the Qumran literature is found in 4Q436 fl.1.9-10:¹¹⁵ ותשלחני ביש[ר לב האבן ג] ערתה ממני ותשם .לב טהור תחתיו. (“You have sent me forth in the straight[t...the heart of stone] you have [dri]ven with rebukes far from me, and have set a pure heart in its place”). Since we will analyze this text at length later,¹¹⁶ it need only be said here that the reconstructed heart of stone represents the evil inclinations (עצר רע) of its host which are contrasted with a pure heart. This positions 4Q436’s heart of stone in closer proximity to Ezekiel’s than to the *Hodayot*’s. In fact, *Targum Jonathan* makes a similar parallel interpreting the heart of stone as the evil heart (ליבא דרשעא) (Ezek 11:19; 36:26). So the heart of stone represents the covenant outsider; once his wicked proclivities are replaced by a pure heart, he is able to walk in the straight paths.

3.2.2 The *Epistle of Barnabas*

In addition to the uncircumcised heart, the heart of stone can be found at *Barn.* 6.14 resembling Ezek 11:19; 36:26, but differing verbally from extant Ezekiel texts:¹¹⁷

ἴδε οὖν, ἡμεῖς ἀναπεπλάσμεθα, καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, ἐξελω̄ τούτων, τουτέστιν ὧν προέβλεπεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας, καὶ ἐμβαλω̄ σαρκίνας. See, then, that we have been formed anew, just as he again says in another prophet, ‘See, says the Lord, I will remove from these people their hearts of stone’ (that is to say, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) ‘and cast into them hearts of flesh’.

¹¹² See U.-K. Plisch, *The Gospel of Thomas*, trans. G. S. Robinson (Freiburg: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008), 136.

¹¹³ But consider the later interpolations in Ign. *Magn.* 10.4 and Sir 17.16 which mention stony hearts.

¹¹⁴ Consequently, these witnesses of the heart of stone resemble more the conventional meaning of the uncircumcised heart than the *Hodayot*’s heart of stone, as we shall later see (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone).

¹¹⁵ Text and translation are taken from Weinfeld and Seely, “Barkhi Nafshi,” 255-334. For comments on the date, setting, occasion, and the sectarian nature of the text, see note 30 on page 43.

¹¹⁶ See §4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone.

¹¹⁷ R. A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache*, AF 3 (New York: Nelson, 1965), 99.

The people who receive this new heart are those whom the Spirit foresaw (προέβλεπεν)—a word carrying soteriological significance in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.¹¹⁸ The Lord will remove their stony heart (τὰς λιθίνας καρδίας) and place within them a fleshy heart (σάρκινος). That this process makes them anew aligns with the imagery of *Barn.* 6.11: “Since, then, he renewed us through the forgiveness of our sins, he made us into a different type of person, that we might have the soul of children, as if he were indeed forming us all over again.” The process of being made anew via the substitution of the stony heart with the fleshy heart describes conversion whereby the heart of flesh is representative of the Lord himself.¹¹⁹ “For the dwelling place of our heart, my brothers, is a temple holy to the Lord” (*Barn.* 6.15). Hence, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* the heart of stone represents the covenant outsider who is in need of forgiveness of sins in order to become the temple of the Lord.

In both 4Q436 and *Barn.* 6.14, the heart of stone imagery is indicative of some interpretative traditions of the uncircumcised heart. Being wicked and sinful, the heart of stone must be replaced. Whether that replacement is a pure heart, as in the case of 4Q436, or a fleshy heart, as in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, both symbolize the conversion of a host who is now no longer a covenant outsider.¹²⁰

3.3 Circumcision of the Lips

Lip-circumcision does not appear in Second Temple or Early Christian texts apart from Qumran. In the lip-circumcision references of Exod 6:12, 30, the ancient versions dissociated any hint of morality from the metaphor. Rather, the metaphor was removed and idiomatically interpreted as a speech impediment. Such is not the case, however, in Qumran testifying that lip-circumcision too is malleable and its meaning is contingent upon its unique context.

¹¹⁸ F. R. Prostmeier, *Der Barnabasbrief*, KAV 8 (Göttingen: V&R, 1999), 276.

¹¹⁹ P. Prigent and R. A. Kraft, *Épître de Barnabé*, SC 172 (Paris: Cerf, 1971), 126 n.1; J. N. B. Carleton Paget, *The Epistle of Barnabas*, WUNT 2/64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 132.

¹²⁰ As we shall see, the *Hodayot* reflect an interpretive tradition which diverges from that of *Targum Jonathan*, 4Q436, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone). While these three texts preserve the necessity of replacing the defective heart, the *Thanksgiving Scroll's* heart of stone remains, having divine oracles inscribed on it.

3.3.1 Qumran

The *Hodayot* speak of uncircumcised lips on two occasions. In 1QH^a 10.9-10, the psalmist speaks of his own lips (לתתן מענה לשון לער[ול] שפתי ותסמון נפשי בחזוק מותנים ואמוץ כוח.) “You have given the proper reply to my uncircum[cised] lips, and you have supported my soul with a potent strength and powerful might”) while in 1QH^a 10.20-21 the uncircumcised lips describe the deceitful ones: וימירום בערול שפה ולשון אחרת לעם לא בינות להלבט במשגתם. (“But they have changed them by means of uncircumcised lips and an alien tongue into a people without understanding, so that they might be ruined by their error”). Since a detailed treatment of these texts will be taken up later,¹²¹ only a few comments are necessary here. Despite their malady, God supplies the uncircumcised lips with knowledge proving to be the adequate answer sought after by the psalmist. The psalmist’s uncircumcised lips, though weak and impotent, do not reflect his moral character (cf. the “lying lips” which are rendered silent in 1QH^a 15.13-14)¹²² and are therefore explicitly in need of metaphorical circumcision. This is not the case of the deceitful ones whose uncircumcised lips are “alien,” spreading deceit and error. In this way, the uncircumcised lips of 1QH^a 10.20 operate hand-in-hand with immorality. Yet in both cases the uncircumcised lips are indicative of non-understanding—whereas the psalmist lacks an answer until granted by God, the deceitful ones change those *with* understanding into a people *without* understanding by their uncircumcised lips.

By distancing morality’s connection to bodily metaphorical uncircumcision, the *Hodayot* perpetuate what was already evident in the LXX and Targumim’s interpretations of the uncircumcised lips at Exod 6:12, 30.¹²³ It will then be no surprise that the *Thanksgiving Scroll*’s uncircumcised ears are likewise not in need of metaphorical reversal.¹²⁴

3.4 Conclusions from Second Temple and Early Christian Metaphors

Whereas the LXX and Targumim demonstrated variance in the interpretations of these metaphors, the Second Temple and Early Christian texts showed even more. Heart-circumcision can be perceived as occurring repetitively, directed toward the covenant

¹²¹ See §4.3.1 Meaning of Uncircumcised Ear.

¹²² Cf. M. Delcor, *Les hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot)* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1962), 93.

¹²³ See §2.6.1 Exodus 6:12, 30.

¹²⁴ See §4.3.1 Meaning of Uncircumcised Ear. This interpretive tradition which dissociates bodily metaphorical uncircumcision from covenant standing will be similarly maintained in the heart-circumcision metaphor of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts).

outsider or insider, and signal conversion or the reception of knowledge by divine revelation. Furthermore, the metaphor can be conceptualized as mind-circumcision incorporating eye-circumcision in the process. Similarly, lip-circumcision can speak towards a person's ineptitude for oratory or be attached to some judgment of the person's morality. The heart of stone metaphor can be retained or removed as the texts describe human transformation. The scope of such variance in meaning, dependent in each case upon the metaphor's unique context, prepares us to observe similar phenomena among these same metaphors in the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

CHAPTER 4

UNCIRCUMCISED EAR AND HEART OF STONE IN 1QHODAYOT^{A1}

1QHodayot^a (1QH^a), commonly known as the *Hodayot*, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, and the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, is a compilation of sectarian poetry expressed through psalms.² The psalms preserve much of the theology and ideology of a community (i.e. *yahad*), not least the belief that God grants special insight, knowledge, and understanding to the psalmist. In this chapter I propose that the psalmist describes the reception of divine mysteries via metaphors of the ear and heart, the ultimate expression of which is the psalmist's uncircumcised ear and heart of stone (1QH^a 21.6). In order to accomplish this, I will suggest a new structure of the psalm and argue that the division of the psalm in which the metaphors uncircumcised ear and heart of stone are located, is the most important pericope in the composition explaining the author's supernatural knowledge. I will propose a meaning for the metaphors uncircumcised ear and heart of stone, especially a nuanced meaning for heart of stone which differs from the biblical usage, as well as its relationship to the uncircumcised heart. Additionally, I will demonstrate that 1QH^a shows a high tendency to couple the terms ear (אָזן) and heart (לֵב/לִבָּב) whose greatest expression of the psalmist's non-understanding is found in the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. The meaning and function of the *Thanksgiving Scroll's* metaphors as an expression of the psalmist's non-understanding demonstrate a unique interpretive tradition of the OT metaphor and testify to its malleable meaning.

¹ Many thanks are due to the insightful comments and reflections on this chapter by Eileen M. Schuller who is currently writing a commentary on 1QHodayot^a in the *Hermeneia* series—a volume I am sure will become the leading voice in 1QHodayot^a studies.

² The various titles of books and articles on the *Thanksgiving Scroll* attest to the disagreement over whether these poetic pieces should be labeled hymns or psalms. Cf. e.g., the titles of S. Holm-Nielsen's *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* or B. P. Kittel's *The Hymns of Qumran*. But see the life's work of H. Stegemann who concluded that they were best identified as psalms, in H. Stegemann and E. M. Schuller, *1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{c,d}*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 1 n.1.

4.1 Background of 1QHodayot^a

The *Thanksgiving Scroll* was discovered by Bedouins in 1947 in a cave (Cave 1) on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea in the vicinity of an ancient complex of ruins known as Khirbet Qumran. Thereafter, the *Thanksgiving Scroll* was purchased by E. L. Sukenik, Hebrew University Professor of Jewish Archaeology, who published the first edition (*editio princeps*) in 1954.³ Because the beginning of the scroll was badly damaged so that it was impossible to determine its title, granted it had a title, Sukenik coined the term *Hodayot*⁴ because “the songs express thanks for the acts of kindness God has performed for their author. Since the great majority [of psalms] begin with the phrase ‘I thank thee, God’, אודך אודוני, I have called the entire group the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (מגילת ההודיות).”⁵ The original scroll contained twenty-eight columns—four columns on seven sheets of parchment.

Having said a brief word about the scroll itself, we now turn to review introductory matters of the *Hodayot*’s authorship, provenance, date, and genre. These first three are interrelated and help provide a historical and theological framework to discuss the metaphor. The discussion on genre proves profitable in our examination of the structure surrounding the metaphor, for instance, in the recognition of bicolons and metaphor comparisons.

Some insight into authorship can be gleaned from the hymns’ two categories: the Teacher Hymns and the Community Hymns.⁶ The Community Hymns enclose the Teacher Hymns (1QH^a 9.1-19.5), preceding them (1QH^a 1.1-8.41) and following after them (1QH^a 19.6-28.42).⁷ These categories were so designated because it was observed that the Teacher Hymns pertain more to thanksgiving offered to God upon the occasion of the sectarian’s revelation or deliverance from harm, while the Community Hymns bear a flavor of soteriological confession.⁸ Consequently, theories of multiple authors arose, though it is

³ E. L. Sukenik, *Otsar ha-Megilot ha-Genuzot* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954).

⁴ Hence, 1QH: the *Hodayot* (H) found in Cave 1 (1) of Qumran (Q). Since there were two *Hodayot* scrolls found in Cave 1, they have been given the titles 1QH^a and 1QH^b. Our study examines the text of 1QH^a because it contains the reference to uncircumcised ears and heart of stone.

⁵ Emphasis original as quoted in E. M. Schuller, “Recent Scholarship on the *Hodayot* 1993-2010,” *CBR* 10 (2011): 121.

⁶ These two categories were set in the early stages of 1QH^a analysis and have persisted since. Cf. e.g., H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, SUNT 4 (Göttingen: V&R, 1966), 21-33. Although these two categories are maintained among modern scholars, it has long been recognized that not all psalms can be assigned neatly to one of these categories. See Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 137.

⁷ Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 125.

⁸ É. Puech, “Hodayot,” vol. 1 in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 366.

not necessarily the case that these two categories reflect two (or more) authors. In light of these two categories, the question of authorship seems to revolve around one central question: can a historical reconstruction of persons and events be made from the contents of 1QH^a? Those in the scholarly camp who answer this question positively look to the Teacher Hymns and assign them, for instance, to the Teacher of Righteousness⁹—the leader of a community (*yabad*), perhaps Essenes, who broke away from the religious establishment in Jerusalem and retreated to the Judean Desert and Dead Sea region.¹⁰ Others, however, look to the Teacher Hymns and assign them to the persona of the current leader of the *yabad*, whoever that might have been, which may be reflective of the historical Teacher of Righteousness.¹¹ The Community Hymns have been assigned to an indeterminate member or members of the *yabad*.¹² Though these two categories have led some scholars to posit multiple authors, others work against the grain to defend single authorship of both categories, proposing the Teacher of Righteousness.¹³ Still other scholars do not think that a historical reconstruction is possible from the content of 1QH^a and perceive such effort exerted toward assigning authorship as wasted.¹⁴ Some adopt a moderate view holding that historical events in the author's or authors' life formed the backdrop of the psalms but that the psalms have been written so that the reader can identify himself with the psalmist.¹⁵

⁹ The scholarly trend surrounding the finding of 1QH^a tended to attribute the entire scroll to the Teacher of Righteousness. Later, some maintained that the Teacher of Righteousness only penned those psalms later designated as the Teacher Hymns. Cf. J. P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot,'" *NTS* 2 (1956): 277; G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, SUNT 2 (Göttingen: V&R, 1963), 176-177; M. O. Wise, "The Origins and History of the Teacher's Movement," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. T. H. Lim and J. J. Collins (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 103. Cf. further M. C. Douglas, "The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited," *DSD* 6 (1999): 246-249. Others admit that some of the psalms might have been composed by the Teacher of Righteousness. Cf. E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (München: Kösel, 1971), 109; E. M. Schuller and C. A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms)*, SBL EJS 36 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 1.

¹⁰ For a brief overview of this position, see M. O. Wise, M. G. Abegg, and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 16-20.

¹¹ C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 288.

¹² Although, the possibility of non-*yabadic* origins has not been ruled out, according to Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 143.

¹³ Cf. in recent times Puech, "Hodayot," 366; and E. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), xxix, who identifies the speaker (i.e. מִשְׁכִּיל) as the Teacher of Righteousness or his successors.

¹⁴ Cf. S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 316; P. R. Davies, "What History can We get from the Scrolls, and How?," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. C. Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 31-46, esp. 46: "It is therefore, if I am correct, fruitless to continue trying to identify him."

¹⁵ T. H. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), 120; J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener*, vol. 1 (München: Reinhardt, 1995), 47-48.

The provenance of these hymns is the Dead Sea region. But a slight distinction must be made here between the provenance of the manuscript scroll 1QH^a and the provenance of the *Hodayot*'s composition. In a recent study on an ink spot of fragment 52 (1QH^a 22.17-19), I. Rabin examined the ratio of chlorine to bromine in the ink of the fragment. Knowing that ink was normally stored as dry pellets which were mixed with water directly before writing, an experimentation of the trace elements of bromine preserved in the ink would shed light on what type of water was used to dissolve the ink pellets shortly before writing the manuscript. Whereas a high ratio, reflecting low levels of bromine, would be indicative of seawater, a low ratio, reflecting high levels of bromine, would be indicative of the Dead Sea—the world's largest reservoir of bromine. Rabin discovered that the particular ratios of chlorine to bromine in the ink indicated that water from the Dead Sea was used to dissolve the dry ink pellets to ready them for writing. The ink of fragment 52 thus supports that the manuscript of 1QH^a had been written in the vicinity of the Dead Sea.¹⁶

The provenance of the composition of the *Hodayot* is likely also the vicinity of the Dead Sea. Some scholars hold that the texts in the caves near the Dead Sea are directly linked to Khirbet Qumran and were composed there.¹⁷ Others maintain that Pliny the Elder's description of the Essenes in the Dead Sea region (*Nat.* 5.73) reflects mostly the *yahad* described in the *Community Rule*, and that therefore, the sectarian texts in the caves arose out of the milieu of an Essenic-*yahad* in the region of the Dead Sea, but not necessarily at Khirbet Qumran.¹⁸ Regardless of Khirbet Qumran's role, the *Thanksgiving Psalms* were composed and were in use by a *yahad* who probably had (at least) one of its settlements in the region of the Dead Sea.

Scholars surmise based upon paleographic studies that the 1QH^a manuscript was written 30-1 B.C.E.¹⁹ The surety of a *Vorlage* is evident in the similarities of content between

¹⁶ I. Rabin et al., "On the Origin of the Ink of the Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH^a)," *DSD* 16 (2009): 97-102. Further testing of the parchment revealed similar levels like that of the ink leading Rabin to conclude that also the parchment might have been produced in the same area.

¹⁷ E.g., D. Dimant, "The Library at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 172.

¹⁸ E.g., J. J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 10-11.

¹⁹ F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. E. Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 199 n.132; Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 1. This date is generally accepted according to Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 134, although others expand the parameters to include the first few years of the first century C.E. such as Puech, "Hodayot," 366; Rabin et al., "Origin," 102. Some make little attempt to narrow the time parameters and accept anything from second century B.C.E. to first century C.E. like M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, STDJ 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 7. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 273, 316, 324, 331, who thinks that even narrowing the date to within 100 years

1QH^a, another *Hodayot* text in Cave 1 (1QH^b), and other *Thanksgiving Psalms* of Cave 4 at Qumran. Among the *Thanksgiving Psalms* of Cave 4, 4QH^b (4Q428) is the oldest copy of the *Hodayot* and resembles 1QH^a in both structure and content. Assigning a date of 100-75 B.C.E.²⁰ to the manuscript of 4QH^b would inevitably place the composition of the work attested by 1QH^a as early as mid-second century B.C.E.²¹ So whereas the date of the manuscript of 1QH^a is probably 30-1 B.C.E., the date of the composition of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, as seen in the presence of a shared *Vorlage* between the 1QH^a scroll and the 4QH scrolls (4Q427-432), can be placed in the middle of the second century B.C.E. This date of composition is further supported if the view is taken that the Teacher of Righteousness composed the *Thanksgiving Psalms*. Granted the *Hodayot* originated out of a community who broke away from the religious establishment in Jerusalem, we might expect to see theological concepts expressed through metaphor infused with varied, if not new, meaning.

Lastly, the *Thanksgiving Hymns* are a collection of compositions expressing both praise and thanksgiving through poetry.²² The poems expressing praise typically begin, “Blessed are you, Lord,” while the poems declaring thanksgiving commence, “I thank you, Lord.” Both praise and thanksgiving express “the ideas and feelings of a member or members of the Qumran community.”²³ That is, the poems are “individual

might not be possible. See also G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2011), 250.

²⁰ See the date in Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 3, which is a revision of Schuller’s prior designation 100-50 B.C.E., in E. M. Schuller, “Hodayot,” in *Qumran Cave 4.20*, ed. J. C. VanderKam and M. Brady, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 130. Cf. also “shortly after 100 BCE,” in Puech, “Hodayot,” 366, and ca. 75 B.C.E. in Schuller, “Hodayot,” 238.

²¹ Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 138.

²² L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1994), 301; E. M. Schuller, “Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Liturgical Perspectives*, ed. E. G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 177; D. W. Parry and E. Tov, eds., *Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, DSSR 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 3.

²³ Puech, “Hodayot,” 365. It is not necessary for a member or members of the *yabad* to have composed the poems in order for them to recognize their value in reflecting the beliefs of the *yabad* and include them among the collection of psalms. In fact, there is a growing recognition that some psalms were not composed by members of the *yabad*. Cf. e.g., J. A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 24. For the liturgical purpose of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, see E. G. Chazon, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, ed. D. K. Falk et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135-149.

plaints...concentrating on serious matters of theology and belief,”²⁴ reflecting the theological outlook of a *yabad*.²⁵

4.2 Structural Matters in 1QHodayot^a

Since 2009, the *Hodayot* have been available to us in a single volume presenting the psalms in their original order with standardized column and line designations (*Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* [DJD] 40). The reconstruction of the *Thanksgiving Psalms* by H. Stegemann presented in DJD 40 permits us to examine the structure of the psalms more accurately. Much literature published prior to the release of DJD 40 relied upon the order of the psalms as presented in the *editio princeps* by Sukenik.²⁶ Sukenik’s presentation of the *Thanksgiving Psalms* was not an attempt to reconstruct the order of the original scroll, though. Rather, the *editio princeps* presented “first the twelve columns that were joined and relatively well preserved, and then ‘the crumpled’ mass of seventy fragments arranged basically according to size.”²⁷ But Stegemann’s presentation of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* is a “material reconstruction that is based on recurring patterns of damage at regular intervals”²⁸ in conjunction with the evidence provided by other *Hodayot* scrolls in Cave 4 at Qumran.²⁹ Thus, it is an attempt to present the psalms of 1QH^a in their original order based upon a material reconstruction of the manuscript. Still, research remains to be done outlining the individual psalms. The purpose of this section is to recount briefly the psalm divisions of the *Hodayot* according to Stegemann and then propose a new outline for the

²⁴ Schiffman, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 301. Similarly, “They are...individual prayers...expressing a rich variety of spiritual and doctrinal detail.” See Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 249. In the past, scholars have identified the *Thanksgiving Hymns* as “classic texts of sectarian theology and ideology at Qumran.” A. K. Harkins, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH^a Sixty Years after its Discovery,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited*, ed. D. K. Falk et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 102.

²⁵ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 348; B. P. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, SBLDS 50 (Chico: Scholars, 1981), 12.

²⁶ To be sure, scholars had labored to establish the original order of the psalms after the publication of the *editio princeps* but this was prior to the release of Stegemann and Schuller’s DJD 40 publication. Two most notable scholars who attempted reconstructions concurrently, albeit separately, with Stegemann include J. Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” in *Les textes de Qumran*, ed. J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961), and É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, Ebib 22 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993). Of the two, the reconstruction which aligned most with Stegemann’s was É. Puech’s. That both Stegemann and Puech arrived at basically the same results testifies to the accuracy of the reconstruction.

²⁷ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 2.

²⁸ Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 124.

²⁹ For Stegemann’s methods in reconstructing 1QH^a, see H. Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189-220, and H. Stegemann, “The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 272-284.

psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42, the psalm in which the ear-circumcision metaphor is found. When that proposal is made, it not only becomes clear that this psalm is the most qualified among the *Hodayot* to address the meaning of the metaphor, but the structure itself assists in determining the metaphor's meaning.

4.2.1 Considering the Structure of 1QHodayot^a

1QH^a can be subdivided into three major collections of psalms: there are the Community Hymns (1.1-8.41), then follow the Teacher Hymns (9.1-19.5), and lastly come a second group of the Community Hymns (19.6-28.42).³⁰ Both the Community Hymns and the Teacher Hymns can be further subdivided, albeit this is tricky due to the fragmented nature of the text. Psalm divisions are observed in a number of ways including *paragraphos* scribal marks, space divisions (e.g., extended *vacat* spacing at the end of a line), opening formulae (e.g., "I thank you, Lord"), and headings (e.g., "For the *Maskil*").³¹ Since the accepted text used in this study is DJD 40, the psalm structure presented here follows Stegemann's divisions.³² Stegemann breaks down the structure of the *Hodayot* into the following sections: 1QH^a [1-3]; 4.[?]-41; 5.1-11; 5.12-6.33; 6.34-7.11; 7.12-20; 7.21-8.41; 9.1-10.4; 10.5-21; 10.22-32; 10.33-11.5; 11.6-19; 11.20-37; 11.38-12.5; 12.6-13.6; 13.7-21; 13.22-15.8; 15.9-28; 15.29-36; 15.37-16.4; 16.5-17.36; 17.38-19.5; 19.6-20.6; 20.7-22.42; 23.1-25.33; 25.34-27.3[?]; 27.[4]-28.[42].³³

Though the divisions of psalms are determined with a reasonable amount of certainty, what remains uncertain is the purpose of the structure of 1QH^a. The particular ordering of psalms in their current structure is dependent, to some extent, on one's view of authorship. For instance, Puech views the *Thanksgiving Psalms* as having single authorship indicated, among other things, by the "unmistakable unity of style and vocabulary" and similar apocalyptic concepts³⁴ woven throughout the psalms.³⁵ Furthermore, Puech sees in

³⁰ There is some variation on the beginning and ending of the Teacher Hymns. Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 139-140; Harkins, "New Proposal," 104-105, 122. But see also H. Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot^a and Some of Their Sections," in *Liturgical Perspectives*, ed. E. G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 220, 223.

³¹ Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 9.

³² Similar to Stegemann are Puech's divisions, in É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 52-53.

³³ Brackets [] indicate lacunae or lost material. Reconstruction here is not possible or uncertain. Stegemann, "Number," 228-229.

³⁴ For a discussion on apocalyptic wisdom, see F. García Martínez, "Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity*, EncyApoc 1 (London: Continuum, 2000), 162-192.

the ordering of the poems a five-fold structure reminiscent of the biblical Psalms, each division being set off by the introductory *למשביל* (“For the *Maskil*”).³⁶ The combination of single authorship and a five-fold division operative in 1QH^a lends to a particular purpose in structure, but that full-fledge purpose is still awaited from Puech.³⁷ However, the tendency among scholars is to see collective authorship of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*,³⁸ to recognize that 1QH^a is a compilation of smaller poetic pieces,³⁹ and to acknowledge that some psalms might be non-*yahadic*.⁴⁰ Consequently, the jury is still out on what the purpose is of the *Thanksgiving Scroll*’s structure.⁴¹

4.2.2 Structuring 1QHodayot^a 20.7-22.42

E. G. Chazon recently advocated, “In the future, it is important...to continue to study the individual hymns, each in its own right.”⁴² Following the advice of Chazon, I now turn to propose a new way of structuring the psalm which contains the reference to the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. Since the publication of DJD 40, no-one has suggested the structure of the reconstructed psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42.⁴³ What follows is my own attempt to outline this psalm while taking into consideration some divisions already observed by scholars of the *editio princeps*.

³⁵ Puech, “Hodayot,” 366, 368.

³⁶ Puech, “Quelques aspects de la restauration,” 52-53; Puech, “Hodayot,” 366-367. For a discussion on the various roles and varying views of the *Maskil*’s identification, see J. Leonhardt-Balzer, “Evil, Dualism, and Community,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. G. G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 131-133.

³⁷ Puech has intimated that he will write more on this but has not yet done so, according to Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 134-135.

³⁸ Newsom, *Symbolic Space*, 196-197.

³⁹ Schuller, “Hodayot,” 74-75; Stegemann, “Number,” 220.

⁴⁰ Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 24.

⁴¹ E. G. Chazon confesses that research remains “to examine the place of each hymn in the Hodayot manuscripts and determine the nature of each collection.” Chazon admits that our knowledge of the structure of 1QH^a is limited given the recent publication of the reconstructed scroll, Chazon, “Liturgical Function,” 149. But consider the argument as to how the first part of the Community Hymns came to be incorporated into the collection of the Teacher Hymns and second group of the Community Hymns provided by Harkins, “New Proposal,” 101-134.

⁴² Chazon, “Liturgical Function,” 149.

⁴³ At the time I submitted my thesis on March 31, I was unaware of the following resource published earlier that month: T. B. Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns*, SBLEJL 42 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015). See her outline there of the psalm under consideration.

4.2.2.1 A *Proposal*

The structure of our psalm (1QH^a 20.7-22.42) is proposed here based on formal and thematic grounds.⁴⁴ On formal grounds, certain signals, whether audible or visible, interrupt the flow and divide the psalm either by projecting the psalm forward in another direction or by repeating themes previously mentioned. Most notable among the formal signals is **ואני** (“And I”). The liberal repetition of **ואני**, especially in the phrases **ואני יצר העפר** (“And as for me, a vessel of dust”) and **ואני יצר החמר** (“And as for me, a vessel of clay”), catches the ear and/or eye and signals a change in the structure. Other formal signals include **משכיל** (“Instructor”), which not only indicates a division within a psalm but often a new psalm. Additionally, there are *vacat* spaces which impose a hard stop in the flow of the structure forcing the hearer and/or reader to pause and reflect upon the content prior and/or the content to follow.⁴⁵ The formal signals indicate that there are twelve divisions to our psalm. On thematic grounds, the same twelve divisions can be demonstrated. Indeed, it is the divisions derived from thematic signals which contribute to the observable spiral structure of the psalm. The repetition and use of certain semantic fields such as **רז** (“mystery”), **עפר** (“dust”), **דעה** (“knowledge”), and **רוח** (“spirit”) within the formal divisions tie together similar themes, and consequently, link repeated divisions.⁴⁶ It is on the basis of these formal and thematic signals that our psalm is divided.

The twelve divisions of the psalm designated by formal signals are the following. The first division (1QH^a 20.7-14a) is marked off by the formula “for the Instructor” (**למשכיל**), a strong indicator for a new section, in this case demarcating both the beginning of the psalm and first division within the psalm.⁴⁷ The second division (1QH^a 20.14b-27a) beginning at “and I, the Instructor” (**ואני משכיל**) combines two elements which signal a divisional change. It employs the oft-repeated opening formula **ואני** used throughout the psalm, and it echoes the attested divisional marker **משכיל**.⁴⁸ The third division (1QH^a

⁴⁴ W. Egger, *How to Read the New Testament*, trans. P. Heinegg (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 74-78.

⁴⁵ Cf. 1QH^a 7.25, in Stegemann, “Number,” 196-197, where the *vacat* space is not an indication of a new psalm, but by inference, a divisional marker within a psalm.

⁴⁶ Egger, *How to Read*, 21, 101-107.

⁴⁷ Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 262-264. The ending of the division is affirmed in A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre des hymnes découvert près de la mer Morte (1QH)*, Sem 7 (Paris: Librairie d’Amérique, 1957), 82-83; J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1957), 174; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199.

⁴⁸ Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 84; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 176; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 103-104. Furthermore, God is no longer spoken of in the third person but addressed in the second person, which could be seen as a shift in divisions, cf. G. Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân*, ThA 16 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 25-26.

20.27b-34) is demarcated by the introductory phrase “as for me (ואני), from dust (מעפר) [you] took [me].” Again ואני introduces the new division and it is used in combination with another word found frequently in the psalm, עפר.⁴⁹

The fourth division (1QH^a 20.35-21.11a) commences with “As for me, I remain silent” (ואני נאלמתי). I propose this new division which has not yet been corroborated by scholars.⁵⁰ The division stands on two bases. First, the formula ואני, as with the former cases, seems to look forward to a new thematic discussion. Second, the same interrogative spirit (ומה; “And what”) begun at 1QH^a 20.35 continues into the first few lines of column 21.⁵¹ Though there is hardly any remnant of text from 1QH^a 20.40-21.1, these are relatively few lines and there is no good reason to conjecture a division, especially considering the running theme of the senses (e.g., seeing and hearing) evident throughout. Additionally, certain concepts and words are repeated: (1) the concept of revealing with the word גלה, for example, “Unless you reveal (גליתה) it to my heart,” (1QH^a 20.37) and, “Unless you have opened (גליתה) my eyes,” (1QH^a 21.5); and (2) the concept of opening with the word פתח, for example, “You open (פתחתה) my mouth,” (1QH^a 20.36) and, “The matter was opened (נפתח)” (1QH^a 21.6). The fifth division (1QH^a 21.11b-16) starts with the introductory formula, “And as for me, a vessel of clay” ([ואני יצר] חמר). The phrase, “And as for me, a vessel of,” begins a new division and in the psalm is completed either with dust, as in, “And as for me, a vessel of dust (העפר),” (1QH^a 21.34) or with clay, as shown here (cf. 1QH^a 21.38; 22.12).⁵² The sixth division (1QH^a 21.17-31a) is my new proposal.⁵³ The formula, “And as for me, a vessel of dust,” begins the division and introduces a change in topic signaled by ואני.

The seventh division (1QH^a 21.31b-33) is another new division which finds partial support in Puech.⁵⁴ The extended *vacat* space at the beginning of 1QH^a 21.31 suggests the

⁴⁹ Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 84; Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 266; Puech, *La croyance*, 399-400. The reference to עפר begins a discussion on the baseness and lowliness of man.

⁵⁰ Still, the division might find support from Puech, *La croyance*, 394-395, 400, who designates the ending of a division at 1QH^a 20.34 and a new division at 1QH^a 21.11b. However, nothing directly is said about the intermediary text 1QH^a 20.35-21.11a.

⁵¹ Morawe, *Aufbau*, 25.

⁵² Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102-103; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 253; Puech, *La croyance*, 395. A thematic change also occurs moving to the topic of covenant and eternal judgment/life. The phrase vessel of clay (יצר חמר) should not be seen alone as formulaic as it does not begin a new division (cf. 1QH^a 20.35).

⁵³ This division is confirmed further by note 54 on page 73. The theme of this division is the danger that the psalmist might fall into the snares and pits of wickedness.

⁵⁴ Puech, *La croyance*, 395-396. Puech designates the ending of a division at 1QH^a 21.30 and a new division at 1QH^a 21.34, while leaving the intermediary text 1QH^a 21.31b-33 untreated.

new division.⁵⁵ Despite that this division is rather short and that one might anticipate a longer section given the *vacat*,⁵⁶ the formula, “And as for me, a vessel,” begins a new theme here which is dissimilar from the theme begun at 1QH^a 21.34.⁵⁷ It therefore deserves its own distinct division. The eighth division (1QH^a 21.34-38a) requires that parts of the opening formulaic phrase be supplied: “[And as for me, a ve]ssel of dust.” But Stegemann, Puech, and E. Qimron in their reconstructions agree this is the correct reading.⁵⁸ The reconstructed וַאֲנִי signals the divisional change. The ninth division (1QH^a 21.38b-22.12a) is another proposal for a new division.⁵⁹ Due to the neighboring lacunae, the evidence for such a division is minimal. The only phrase which remains at 1QH^a 21.38b is, “Vessel of clay” (יֵצֵר הַחֲמֶר). However little the evidence, as I have suggested in the fifth division the formulaic phrase, “And as for me, a vessel of clay,” designates the beginning of a new division. Additionally, the article ה attached to חֲמֶר almost certainly implies וַאֲנִי, yielding וַאֲנִי יֵצֵר הַחֲמֶר [וַאֲנִי] as in 1QH^a 22.12, in contrast to יֵצֵר חֲמֶר which lacks both the article ה and וַאֲנִי and does not begin a new division (cf. 1QH^a 20.35).⁶⁰

The tenth division (1QH^a 22.12b-18) arises from the formula, “And I, a vessel of clay,” introducing a new theme concerning the resoluteness of God in contrast to the previous division about the sinfulness of man.⁶¹ The eleventh division (1QH^a 22.19-34a) is another new division I introduce begun by the introductory formula, “And I, a vessel.” The end of this division is supported by Puech, who begins a new psalm there due to the

⁵⁵ Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 9. Cf. Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 107.

⁵⁶ Keep in mind also that the length of the shortest psalm in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* is only eight lines of text (1QH^a 15.29-36) and similarly enclosed by *vacat* spaces.

⁵⁷ See note 58 on page 74. Also see the reconstruction of [מֶר מֵה יַעֲמֹד יֵצֵד עֵפֶר] וַאֲנִי צֵר הַחֲמֶר in Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93.

⁵⁸ See Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*⁴, 262, 267, though no justification is given; and Puech, *La croyance*, 396, who reads “Moi, le modelage de poussière.” Notice that in Puech’s reading nothing is supplied in brackets, probably attesting to the certainty of the reading, but no justification is given. Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 225, also agrees and justifies his reading by the same formulaic expression in 1QH^a 21.17. Similarly, Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93 supplies [וַאֲנִי יֵצֵר הַחֲמֶר]. Puech attests to 1QH^a 21.34-38a as a division. There is also a transition of theme beginning in 1QH^a 21.34 pertaining to the discussion of iniquity and deceit.

⁵⁹ This division argues for the continuation of the psalm in the 7 lines of lacunae at 1QH^a 21.39-22.4. Among other reasons listed in this thesis (e.g., continuity of the psalm from 1QH^a 20.7-22.42, cf. also the support of 4QH^a 6.10-11.5), it is further the connectivity of topics continuing in division 1QH^a 21.38b-22.12a which appear to stem from 1QH^a 21.34-38a that leads me to propose a division within a psalm rather than to speculate a new psalm. See further Figure 2: Structure of Subdivisions in the Psalm at 1QHodayota 20.7-22.42 on page 75, and Stegemann, “Number,” 196-197, who argues similarly against a new psalm division in the lacunae at 1QH^a 7.41-8.7, or Puech, *La croyance*, 396.

⁶⁰ Similarly, Puech, *La croyance*, 396, supplies וַאֲנִי reading “[et moi] le modelage d’argile.”

⁶¹ Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 44.

phrase, “Blessed are you” (ברוך אתה).⁶² However, Puech’s division at 1QH^a 22.34b for a new psalm is not to be preferred, since phrases addressing God in the second person singular followed by a relative clause (e.g., our ברוך אתה אל הדעות אשר) are indicative of closing formulae ending a psalm.⁶³ Therefore, I begin a new division at 1QH^a 22.34b which serves as the end of the current division. The twelfth division (1QH^a 22.34b-42) begins, “Blessed are you, God of knowledge” (ברוך אתה אל הדעות).⁶⁴ This new division takes into account Puech’s division at 1QH^a 22.34 and Stegemann’s new psalm at 1QH^a 23.1.⁶⁵

My proposal of the psalm’s subdivisions based upon formal grounds is supported by certain repeated motifs. The figure below attempts to illustrate that pattern of repetition. The psalm begins with division A^a and travels in a spiral (e.g., clockwise) pattern visiting a variety of themes along the way before returning to its starting point (i.e. A^b). The psalm then reverses its direction (e.g., counter-clockwise), retracing its steps to revisit the themes before returning to the beginning (i.e. A^c). The ear-circumcision metaphor is found in D^a.

- A^a 20.7-14a Man prays to the God of knowledge continually; God establishes all things
 B^a 20.14b-27a God’s implanted spirit in man brings insight into mysteries
 C^a 20.27b-34 Man, a creature of dust, is guilty before God; he understands nothing
 D^a 20.35-21:11a Man is dumb, mute, deaf, and blind without God’s intervention
 E^a 21.11b-16 God grants understanding of mysteries; final judgment brings peace
 F^a 21.17-31a God establishes man’s steps so that he falls not into evil; evil will end
 A^b 21.31b-33 Apart from the God of knowledge, nothing happens that happens
 F^b 21.34-38a God’s implanted spirit in man helps guard against evil; evil will end
 E^b 21.38b-22.12a Some cannot understand God’s mysteries; heaven is holy
 D^b 22.12b-18 God allots man his time and station on earth; God is powerful
 C^b 22.19-34a Man, a creature of dust, is guilty before God; God gives insight
 B^b (*Absent*)
 A^c 22.34b-42 Man blesses God of knowledge continually; all things happen from God

Figure 2: Structure of Subdivisions in the Psalm at 1QHodayot^a 20.7-22.42

⁶² Puech, *La croyance*, 394-395, sees a similar division beginning at 1QH^a 19.30.

⁶³ E. G. Chazon, “Looking Back,” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. N. Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: V&R, 2012), 164-169. Cf. also Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*^a, 274. D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 102 n.16, had already suggested that the phrase, “Blessed are You, God of knowledge,” marks the ending of a psalm, not the beginning of a new psalm, at 1QH^a 22.34.

⁶⁴ Cf. Stegemann, “Number,” 197, where ברוך אתה אל is not the beginning of a new psalm but the beginning of a division within a psalm.

⁶⁵ See note 33 on page 70 and note 62 on page 75. Cf. Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 108. It must be conceded here that our psalm might have ended anywhere in lines 39-42. Though the missing text there prohibits any certainty of the psalm’s final line, this thesis reasonably assigns the ending of our psalm to line 42 as Stegemann has suggested, Stegemann, “Number,” 204, 219. See there also Stegemann’s comments that ברוך אתה אל הדעות אשר reflects more a final section of the psalm rather than a new psalm.

The psalm does not exhibit a climax. Rather, A^a, A^b, and A^c function as anchor points, initiating, redirecting, and concluding the psalm with the same theme. In the psalm's movement from A^a to A^b, a variety of themes are treated which are echoed either in part or whole, in both shorter and longer contexts, in the latter half of the psalm (i.e. from A^b to A^c). These are not themes repeated in exactly the same way so as to earn a X and X' correspondence as in a chiasmus. Instead, themes are reverberations demonstrating either a similar or contrasting relationship and thus are given X^a and X^b sigla. In what follows, I comment on the content of these divisions in order to show how the divisions are connected.

A^a 20.7-14a and A^b 21.31b-33 and A^c 22.34b-42: The most noticeable observation is that the psalm begins and ends with the psalmist expressing his praise and thanksgiving to God (1QH^a 20.7-14a; 22.34b-42). Similar themes come to the fore in the first division of the psalm which are repeated in the last division, such as the continual praise of God (תמיד; 1QH^a 20.7; 22.36),⁶⁶ God establishing something (בון; 1QH^a 20.14; 22.34), and the concept that everything happens by God's command (1QH^a 20.12; 22.35). The inclusio is made more noticeable with the repeated phrase, "God of knowledge" (אל הדעות; 1QH^a 20.13; 22.34).⁶⁷ Peculiarly, a division which lies toward the midpoint of the psalm (1QH^a 21.31b-33) also repeats the concept that everything happens by God's command (1QH^a 21.33)⁶⁸ and even repeats the phrase, "God of knowledge," (1QH^a 21.32) which is found nowhere else in the psalm. These similar themes and phrases bookending the entire psalm and repeated near the center of the psalm add additional support that 1QH^a 20.7-22.42 comprises a psalm unit. Furthermore, it sets the tone of the psalm that the contents are focused on the praise of God who, by His knowledge, orchestrates seasons and orders the circumstances of man.⁶⁹ For the psalmist, there is no happenstance; everything happens by God's command.

⁶⁶ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 264 n.10. This ascribes to God power and greatness.

⁶⁹ Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 40. In explaining the phrase "God of knowledge," A. Bakker, "The God of Knowledge," *RevQ* 26 (2014): 366, claims that the significance that God knows everything is "that all deeds of mankind are fixed from the beginning.... But the texts go further than that. Not only the deeds of mankind, but the deeds of all creatures are fixed because God knows them. In addition, the notion that everything happens the way God has planned it leads to the thought that everything happens *because* God has planned it. That is, reality has its origin in the knowledge of God" (emphasis original). Similarly, "[The God of knowledge] refers to the sovereign God who has ultimate authority and His letting history unfold according to His providence until the final 'visitation,'" in D. J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 54.

B^a 20.14b-27a: *B^a* is an anomaly. It has no corresponding *B^b* in the diagram, and so the theme of *B^a* is not revisited at any designated point *B^b*. Still, its themes of insight and mystery, knowledge and understanding are woven throughout the psalm as observed in *C^a*, *F^a*, *E^b*, *C^b*, and most prominently in *D^a*, the location of the ear-circumcision metaphor. The theme of *B^a* is the knowledge of God's secret counsels and mysteries made possible through the spirit that God has placed in the psalmist (1QH^a 20.16). The implanted spirit opens up knowledge so that the psalmist can understand the mystery of God's wisdom (1QH^a 20.23) and heed His secret counsel (1QH^a 20.15).⁷⁰ Given the frequency of this theme and its displacement throughout the psalm, it appears this topic of insight, mystery, and secret knowledge drives the psalm. At the very least, it is an underlying concept throughout the psalm.

C^a 20.27b-34 and C^b 22.19-34a: These units are concerned with the baseness of humankind, that they are created from, and will return to, dust and that as dust they cannot stand in the judgment of God. Themes in *C^a* can be seen in strong reverberations at *C^b*. The psalmist is made from dust (1QH^a 20.27; 22.30) and will return to dust (1QH^a 20.29; 22.30). As dust, he is a source of pollution (1QH^a 20.28) and filled with transgression (1QH^a 22.33). Because of his guilt he is not able to stand against God's judgment (1QH^a 20.30-31; 22.29).⁷¹ At the same time, the theme of understanding and non-understanding is contrasted between the two divisions. While in *C^a* dust cannot understand the deeds of God (1QH^a 20.30) nor recount His glory (1QH^a 20.33), in *C^b* the psalmist explains that God has opened the ear (1QH^a 22.26) and the heart to understand (1QH^a 22.31).⁷² According to these texts, humanity is created from and will return to dust, he stands guilty before God's judgment, and he would not understand any of the deeds of God were it not for God granting him understanding.

D^a 20.35-21:11a and D^b 22.12b-18: These two divisions connect to demonstrate through a variety of ways the psalmist's utter dependence upon God and God's total control over him. In *D^a* the psalmist would not have been able to see were it not for God opening his eyes (1QH^a 21.5), understand were it not for God granting him insight (1QH^a 20.36; 21.5), walk the straight path were it not for God establishing his step (1QH^a 20.37), nor stand were it not for God giving him sure footing (1QH^a 20.38).⁷³ Further, the psalmist

⁷⁰ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 40.

⁷¹ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199, 265; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 40-41.

⁷² Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 44.

⁷³ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 199, 253.

confesses that God has done all these things according to His plan for His own (i.e. God's) glory (1QH^a 21.7-8).⁷⁴ D^b similarly echoes this theme admitting that God has allotted the psalmist his time (1QH^a 22.14) and established him in his station (1QH^a 22.15).⁷⁵ God's power is proclaimed (1QH^a 22.17) and no command from God can be thwarted (1QH^a 22.14). The themes of God's control over the psalmist begun in D^a are later echoed in D^b.

E^a 21.11b-16 and E^b 21.38b-22.12a: Though the lacunae present difficulties, still a connection can be observed between E^a and E^b. The psalmist whose ear of dust has been set straight (1QH^a 21.13) and heart of stone engraved upon by God (1QH^a 21.13) to reveal in E^a the mysteries of the future⁷⁶ is contrasted in E^b with those who are unable to understand (1QH^a 22.6), have no ability to know (1QH^a 22.6), and cannot recount the things of God (1QH^a 22.6).⁷⁷ Other than this contrast, there seems to be a connection between the unending light (1QH^a 21.15) and limitless peace (1QH^a 21.16) of E^a,⁷⁸ which drive away the darkness on the last day (1QH^a 21.15), and the holiness that is in heaven (1QH^a 22.5) in E^b. It appears that E^a and E^b set in contrast those who understand with those who do not and paint a picture of heaven as the presence of limitless light and absence of darkness.

F^a 21.17-31a and F^b 21.34-38a: In F^a the psalmist fears falling into the snares of wickedness (1QH^a 21.28), the net of the pit (1QH^a 21.21), and the trap of destruction (1QH^a 21.28). Yet he knows that God has established his steps (1QH^a 21.26). Consequently, the psalmist's resolve to avoid such calamity rests with God (1QH^a 21.25-26). He acknowledges that every deceitful inclination (1QH^a 21.29) and vessel of iniquity (1QH^a 21.30) will come to an end.⁷⁹ Similarly, F^b resumes the themes of final judgment on unclean deeds (1QH^a 21.36). Though he is oppressed by iniquity and deceit (1QH^a 21.35),⁸⁰ the psalmist takes comfort in the fact that God has implanted the spirit in him (1QH^a 21.34). F^a and F^b share the themes that God strengthens and delivers the psalmist when faced by wickedness and that the psalmist anticipates the day when iniquitous acts will be judged and ended.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 253; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 43.

⁷⁵ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 260; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 44.

⁷⁶ Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 44.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 253-254.

⁷⁹ Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 44.

⁸⁰ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 263.

In the structure of the psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42, we can observe three tendencies most relevant to the analysis of the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. First, the structure shows that the knowledge of God begins, ends, and redirects the psalm at key junctures (i.e. A^a, A^b, A^c). Knowledge, the overarching theme which ties the divisions together, proves to be the framework upon which the psalm's contents are built. Next, the structure suggests that the knowledge content of division B^a is woven throughout the psalm as observed in C^a, D^a, F^a, E^b, and C^b. Though B^a has no corresponding B^b division, it is noteworthy that traces of the themes in B^a are found in the entire psalm. These trace elements reaffirm the general theme of knowledge and augment it by discussion of “mystery” (רַ), “insight” (שכל), and “understanding” (בין).⁸¹ This brings me to the last and most important tendency of the psalm. The structure reveals that the general theme of knowledge in A^a, A^b, A^c and its augmentation in B^b is found most prominently in division D^a—the division containing reference to the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. Division D^a, with its reference to the metaphors, discusses the themes of knowledge, insight, and understanding more than any other section. Consequently, the structural analysis has shown a strong correlation between knowledge and the metaphors of ear-circumcision and heart of stone.

4.2.2.2 *Movement of the Psalm*

Our psalm is one directly associated with the Instructor (i.e. Maskil) (“[For the Instruc]tor;” לַמְשַׁכִּיל]; 1QH^a 20.7; cf. 1QH^a 5.12; 7.21; 25.34). It is a psalm of both praise/thanksgiving and supplication with the intention that prayers be made at designated times (1QH^a 20.7). The Instructor is the speaker and the presumed audience is God (cf. 1QH^a 20.14). Throughout the psalm, the Instructor “alternates between expressions of confidence in the knowledge he has received from God, revulsion at his lowliness as a creature of clay, and gratitude that God has graciously helped him.”⁸² The content of this cycle is indicative of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*⁸³—a type of psalm marveling at the baseness of humankind in contrast to the perfect character of God while emphasizing humanity's utter dependence on God's absolute being.

⁸¹ For a treatment on the ‘understanding one’ from 4QInstruction, see E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding One*, STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁸² D. K. Falk, “Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 145.

⁸³ Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 27.

The psalm begins in A^a with the psalmist's prayer to and praise of God in all times and seasons. The seasons and cycles of time were fixed by the command of God who has established all things. Indeed, it is possibly the reference at the end of the division to the God of knowledge (אל הדעות) which triggers the transition to division B^a where the Instructor boasts in his knowledge and understanding of the secret counsel of God. But the boasting in knowledge is suspended when the Instructor brings into sharp relief the baseness of humanity in the following division, C^a. The Instructor asserts his *Niedrigkeit* and launches into self-loathing over his own impurity. Neither he nor another can reply to the righteous rebuke of God. On this note, the Instructor takes up a new topic in D^a, the longest division, confessing his complete dependence upon God to speak, understand, walk, stand, see, and hear. Understanding, knowledge, and insight take center stage in this section. Through a series of rhetorical questions, the psalm intimates that God has granted all these to the Instructor for God's own glory. Consequently, the Instructor's lowliness is again brought to the fore beginning a new division at E^a. God is credited as having engraved something of eternal value on the Instructor's heart and the theme of final judgment continues. Probably in light of the final judgment, the Instructor takes up another topic in F^a confessing his susceptibility to sin and his falling prey to traps of wickedness. Yet again, it is because God establishes his steps that the Instructor is enabled to stand firm. F^a concludes the first half and leads to the midpoint of the psalm, A^b.

The *vacat* space at the midway point of the psalm, introducing the division A^b, induces a pause in the flow of the psalm. After this pause, the God of knowledge is again, as at the beginning of the psalm, affirmed as having established all things and that nothing happens apart from him. After this affirmation, the Instructor picks up right where he left off and revisits in F^b the theme that it is only by the spirit which God has placed in him that he is able to withstand iniquity and deceit which assault him. At this point, the Instructor begins a new division at E^b affirming that he is a vessel of clay. It is difficult to know exactly how the two divisions are connected given the numerous lacunae. However, toward the end of this division talk is made about the holiness of heaven and the Instructor's battle to guard himself in times of affliction. It is his dependence upon God's strong arm during these afflictions that beckons a new division beginning section D^b. God's power is proclaimed and His word's irrefutability is affirmed. God has established the Instructor in his place and allotted him his time. Though there are lacunae at the beginning of C^b, it must be these themes of God's steadfastness which prompt the

Instructor to pick up a new discussion on God's judgment of His adversaries and those guilty of sin. The Instructor includes himself in this latter category yet he gives considerable space to the understanding God has granted him by opening both his ears and heart. This recollection of the special understanding leads to the conclusion of A^c where once more the God of knowledge is affirmed as having established everything, invoking the Instructor's continual praise of God.

4.2.2.3 *Reconstructing the Textual Lacuna at 1QHodayot^a 21.6-7*

The line with reference to the ear-circumcision and heart of stone metaphors contains a lacuna.⁸⁴ Building upon the text from Stegemann and Schuller,⁸⁵ I make my own attempt to supply the lacuna to understand better the metaphor. To give context to 1QH^a 21.6, I supply here 1QH^a 21.4-7a:

[ו...א[י]כ[ה] אכ[י]ר] ב[ל]וא ראיתי זאת [ואבין באלה בלוא השכלתני ואיכ]ה אביט בלוא גליתה עיני ואשמעה [בלוא פתחתה אוזני]°°°° השם [ל]בבי כיא לערל אוזן נפתח דבר ולב . [האבן יתבונן בנ]פלאות. [...And] h[o]w can I dis[cern] un[l]ess I see this [or understand these things unless you give me insight; and ho]w can I see unless you have opened my eyes, or hear [unless you have opened my ears]°°°° my [h]eart was appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of stone perceives wo]nders.⁸⁶

Of particular interest to the analysis is the lacuna at °°°°[...בלוא]. In the *editio princeps*, Sukenik did not postulate a reconstruction for this missing text but left it blank and many other editions and translations have been content to follow in his steps.⁸⁷ But beginning with J. Licht, an attempt was made to supply text to the lacuna restoring it to בלוא גליתה [בלוא גליתה] (“unless you have opened my ears”) with others following in his wake.⁸⁸ Still others

⁸⁴ For a digital image of the manuscript fragment with lacunae, see Appendix A on page 226.

⁸⁵ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 261.

⁸⁶ English translations of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* have been occasionally adapted from Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*.

⁸⁷ Sukenik, *Otsar*, 52; Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 270; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 192; Lohse, *Texte*, 174; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 105.

⁸⁸ Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 216; Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 288-289; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 109; Parry and Tov, eds., *Liturgical Texts*, 58. Gaster, *Scriptures*, 196, was the first to postulate this reading but his work is in English only. Licht was the first to publish a reconstructed Hebrew text here. Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 298, supplies a similar translation though it is uncertain from which Hebrew word he translates. Cf. Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot^a*, 264, who cite Licht as an example of possible textual reconstruction.

restored the verb פתחתה instead of גליתה,⁸⁹ effectively yielding the same translation in English though from different Hebrew verbs.⁹⁰

Restoring either פתחתה or גליתה would fit comfortably in the allotted fourteen-letter space lacuna.⁹¹ There is textual support for restoring גליתה. The term ear (אוזן) is associated with the verb גלה eight times in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a 6.13; 9.23; 14.7; 15.41; 22.26, 31; 23.5; 25.12) but not once with the verb פתח. Restoring the גלה verb in conjunction with אוזן therefore would be consistent with the rest of 1QH^a. However, this evidence is misleading and weak. Reading גליתה instead of פתחתה would yield a repetition of verbs in close proximity—a redundancy not characteristic of the psalm. Within the same psalm division, 1QH^a already demonstrates diversity by expressing both verbs in subsequent lines of text, stating, “What can I say unless you open (פתחתה) my mouth?” (1QH^a 20.36) and then, “What can I s[peak] unless you reveal (גליתה) it to my heart?” (1QH^a 20.37). In consecutive lines, the psalm employs both פתח and גלה verbs for diversification. One would expect a similar diversity of verbs to be used at the textual lacuna since the psalm has already, and in close proximity, demonstrated a tendency to do so.

Closely tied to the discussion of whether גליתה or פתחתה is the more plausible text is the verb שמע (“to hear,” 1QH^a 21.5). As stated previously, גלה is used in conjunction with אוזן in all other known occurrences in 1QH^a. However, in none of those references is the verb שמע used.⁹² Thus, the textual lacuna presents a unique situation in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. Looking beyond the *Hodayot*, two other Dead Sea texts provide support for פתחתה as the more plausible reading. 4Q463 f1.4 says in translation, “[To everyone who seeks ?] hidden things, and he opened their ears and they heard (ואוזניהמה פתח וישמעו) de[ep things]”).⁹³ 4Q463 applies the verb פתח, not גלה, which is used in conjunction with אוזן resulting in their hearing (שמע). Based upon similar phraseology, 4Q463 supports restoring פתחתה at the lacuna in 1QH^a 21.6. Another text, 4Q268 f1.7, reads in translation, “And he

⁸⁹ H. Bardtke, “Die Loblieder von Qumrân IV,” *TLZ* 82 (1957): 348; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 192; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 92.

⁹⁰ A point in case is Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 252, 256, who translates “except Thou hast opened mine ears” but in a note references both פתחתה and גליתה as possible readings.

⁹¹ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 263.

⁹² It seems that 1QH^a consistently combines גלה with אוזן not in reference to hearing (שמע) but in reference to gaining understanding, insight, or knowledge. See 1QH^a 6.13; 9.23; 14.7; 15.41. Cf. further 4Q299 f8.6; 4Q418 f123.ii.4; f184.2.

⁹³ M. Smith, “Narratives,” in *Qumran Cave 4.14*, ed. J. C. VanderKam, DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 212.

uncovered their e[ye]s (ויגל ע[יניה]מה) to hidden things and opened their ear so that [they heard (ואוזנמה פתח ו[שמעו]) profundities].⁹⁴ As with 4Q463 f1.4, so 4Q268 f1.7 contains the same reference to פתח, אוזן, and שמע. Of greater importance, though, is the reference to עין (“eye”) and גלה in 4Q268 f1.7 which is similarly mentioned in 1QH^a 21.5. Hence, two similar constructs exist between the texts, permitting an even stronger basis for comparison: the eyes (עין) are opened (גלה), and the ears (אוזן) are opened (פתח, textual lacuna at 1QH^a 21.6) in order to hear (שמע). Therefore, 4Q268 f1.7 also supports reading פתחתה at 1QH^a 21.6.⁹⁵ Thus, both 4Q463 and 4Q268 support restoring פתחתה as the more plausible reading of the two at 1QH^a 21.6.⁹⁶

Restoring אוזן and בלוא in the reconstructed פתחתה אוזני בלוא must also be defended. Reference to the noun אוזן is expected given the verb שמע as in 1QH^a 15.6: “And my ears from hearing (ואוזני משמוע) of bloodshed.” But the expectation of אוזן is also consistent with other similarly connected noun-verb constructs which immediately precede the lacuna, such as the noun עין (“eye”) with the verb נבט (“to see;” 1QH^a 21.5), and the noun פה (“mouth”) with the verb דבר (“to speak;” 1QH^a 20.36). Restoring אוזן in the lacuna is consistent both with noun-verb constructs of the immediate context and the reference to 1QH^a 15.6. Restoring בלוא is schematically parallel to the preceding line of text which references the same, “[H]ow can I see unless (בלוא) you have opened my eyes,” (1QH^a 21.5) and the line before it, “[And] h[o]w can I dis[cern] un[l]ess (בלוא) I see” (1QH^a 21.4). Though alternatively כיא אם could be used (cf. 1QH^a 20.36 [2x], 37, 38) in lieu of בלוא, there does not seem to be sufficient space in the lacuna to accommodate such a restoration.⁹⁷ In summary, restoring בלוא פתחתה אוזני is a very plausible reconstruction of the missing text for the following reasons: (1) the evidence of 4Q463 f1.4 and 4Q268 f1.7 supports restoring פתחתה instead of גליתה; (2) one would expect to find the noun אוזן in the vicinity of the verb שמע given the existence of similar noun-verb constructs in the immediate context; and (3) the restoration of בלוא, though schematic, is parallel with the previous two lines of text and accommodates the allowed space.

Lastly, what do we make of the four traces of letters which could not be read by Stegemann and Schuller (i.e. °°°°[בלוא פתחתה אוזני])?⁹⁸ Recently, E. Qimron proposed to

⁹⁴ J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.13*, DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 119-120.

⁹⁵ Cf. 4Q266 f2.i.5.

⁹⁶ Cf. further 4Q463 f1.4; Isa 35:5; 48:8; 50:5.

⁹⁷ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 264.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

read [בלוא פתחתה אוזני] בתהו השם לבבי⁹⁹.⁹⁹ Qimron marks בתהו alerting the reader to the fact that the textual reading is uncertain¹⁰⁰ and in a footnote his only comment is that this conjecture is new.¹⁰¹ Reading בתהו according to Qimron has merit. On three occasions תהו is recorded in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* and the reference at 1QH^a 15.35 is of particular interest: “And so, what is a person of nothingness (איש תהו) and a possessor of vanity that he should contemplate your wondrous great works (להתבונן במעשי פלאך הגדולים)?” The close connection between a person of nothingness and the contemplation of God’s wondrous works is strikingly similar to the context of 1QH^a 21.6 where the psalmist’s heart is made desolate when God reveals a mystery to him. But reading בתהו at 1QH^a 21.6 would do little more than intensify the imagery already known from the text. Consequently, though Qimron’s reading is plausible, the conjecture is not adopted in this thesis.

4.3 Meaning of the Metaphors in 1QHodayot^a

The special knowledge, insight, and understanding granted the psalmist by God is a subject observed throughout the *Hodayot*. These revelations to the psalmist are spoken of in terms of metaphors regarding parts of the body which are then adjusted by God in some way to permit their proper functionality. In this way, the uncircumcised ear has mysteries revealed to it, the heart of stone is engraved upon and comprehends wonders, the ear of dust is straightened and opened, and the heart of dust and ear of flesh are opened. Based upon the previous results of the psalm’s divisions, we can expect to see a strong correlation between these metaphors and knowledge terminology. We shall see that God’s bequeathing the psalmist with hidden mysteries and insight arises from the ‘circumcising is opening’ metaphor whereby God imparts knowledge to the psalmist’s uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. Furthermore, it is also my goal to suggest what relationships exist among the metaphors and propose that the juxtaposition of the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone refers to the author’s non-understanding of God’s mysteries.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 92.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., xx: The editorial markings indicate the “unidentifiable remains of writing; the reading is uncertain visually or contextually,”

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 93 n.6.

¹⁰² Proposing a meaning for the metaphors is necessary since too little attention has been given it among 1QH^a scholars. For instance, Holm-Nielsen acknowledges that the heart of dust metaphor has no known equivalent yet neglects to propose or comment upon its meaning. See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 33 n.11, 37 n.42, 254 n.4, 256 n.32, esp 257 n.39. There is also the tendency among some to compare the metaphors with their biblical counterparts without giving due credit to the context of 1QH^a. That is, they rely too much upon *intertextual* rather than *intratextual* comparisons. See Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 185 n.86, 271 n.3, 269

4.3.1 Meaning of Uncircumcised Ear

There appears to be a particular meaning associated with **אָזוֹן** in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* and especially in the psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42. The *Hodayot* mention **אָזוֹן** eighteen times, three of which are in a verbal form¹⁰³ while fifteen are in a nominal form.¹⁰⁴ Of those nominal forms, eight occurrences (i.e. 53%)¹⁰⁵ are used in conjunction with the verb **גָּלָה**¹⁰⁶ and linked in some way to the revealing of mysteries, knowledge, understanding, or insight. Similarly, the psalm in which the ear-circumcision metaphor is situated (1QH^a 20.7-22.42) ties **אָזוֹן** to **גָּלָה** in 60% of its references.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the psalm boasts five references to **אָזוֹן** which is more than any other psalm in 1QH^a.¹⁰⁸ So not only does the *Thanksgiving Scroll* demonstrate a tendency to connect **אָזוֹן** and **גָּלָה** with the revealing of mysteries, but the psalm with the ear-circumcision metaphor also has a higher propensity to do so than any other psalm. This study will seek to demonstrate that the ear-circumcision metaphor signifies the psalmist's incomprehension of divine mysteries.¹⁰⁹

4.3.1.1 Cognate Phrases of the Ear

The phrase **עַרְל אָזוֹן** (“uncircumcised ear”),¹¹⁰ though referenced only once in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, can be compared to the *Hodayot* phrases **אָזוֹן עֶפֶר** (“ear of dust”) and

n.8, 271 n.24, 273 n.31, 273 n.33; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 105 n.5, esp 192 n.7, 193 n.2; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 93-94, 100-102, 286-287, 289-291, 297.

¹⁰³ 1QH^a 8.17; 12.18; 16.37.

¹⁰⁴ 1QH^a 6.13; 9.23; 14.7; 15.6, 41; 16.1; 21.6 (2x), 13; 22.26, 31; 23.5, 6; 25.12; 26.40.

¹⁰⁵ This figure would be as high as 60% if one includes the reference to the uncircumcised ear in 1QH^a 21.6 which has an indirect relationship to **גָּלָה** in addition to the reference, “You have set straight (תִּקְנַתָּה) in the ear of dust,” (1QH^a 21.13) which, as I will argue later, is similar to, “And you open (וּתְגַל) the ear of dust” (1QH^a 23.5).

¹⁰⁶ 1QH^a 6.13; 9.23; 14.7; 15.41; 22.26, 31; 23.5; 25.12.

¹⁰⁷ See note 105 on page 85.

¹⁰⁸ The next closest psalm is 1QH^a 23.1-25.33 with three references. Following further are 1QH^a 13.22-15.8 and 15.37-16.4 with two references each.

¹⁰⁹ Contra Hall, *ABD* 1:1028, who claims circumcised ears signify one who “can hear God speak the truth.” Cf. O. Betz, “Beschneidung II,” *TRE* 5:718.

¹¹⁰ The morphology of **עַרְל אָזוֹן** is curious considering that **אָזוֹן** is feminine in gender and the corresponding feminine gender ending **ה** is absent from **עַרְל** (cf. **עַרְלָה אָזְנָם** in Jer 6:10). However, this morphology, though curious, is consistent within the *Thanksgiving Hymns* at 1QH^a 10.9 **עַרְלָה [וּל] שְׁפָתַי**; “my uncircum[cised] lips”) and 10.20 **עַרְלָה שְׁפָה** (“uncircumcised lips”). See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 65-69, 74-75, 83-84. Although, cf. **לֵב עַרְל** (4Q184 f2.5) and **עַרְל לֵב** (Ezek 44:9), and further **בְּעוֹרְלָה לֵבָבוּ** (1QS 5.26), **עוֹרְלָה לֵב** (1QpHab 11.13), **עוֹרְלָה לֵבָם** (4Q434 f1.i.4), and **עוֹרְלָה לֵבָנוּ** (4Q504 f4.11; 4Q509 f287.1).

אוזן בשר (“ear of flesh”) for several reasons.¹¹¹ The ear of dust (1QH^a 21.13; 23.5) and the ear of flesh (1QH^a 25.12) are both said to have been opened (גלה) by God. Both are opened for the sake of gaining insight (1QH^a 21.13; 23.6-7; 25.12).¹¹² Indicative of the ear of dust and the ear of flesh is their need either to be opened (1QH^a 23.5; 25.12) or set straight (תקן; 1QH^a 21.13) indicating that their present state is in need of God’s correcting intervention. In this way, setting straight in the ear of dust and opening the ear of dust/flesh can be seen as congruent, demonstrating a relationship between the metaphors. Similarly, the ערל אוזן has the matter (דבר) opened (גלה) to it (1QH^a 21.6). The uncircumcised ear indicates that it also is in need of God’s correcting intervention. God’s revelation to the uncircumcised ear allows even the heart to perceive wonders (1QH^a 21.6-7), making the connection between גלה and אוזן for the sake of imparting insight as with the cases of the ear of dust and the ear of flesh. So within our psalm, it is observed that the ear of dust is similar to the uncircumcised ear, with further references at 1QH^a 23.5 and 25.12 concurring. Therefore, the *Thanksgiving Psalms* employ the phrases uncircumcised ear, ear of dust, and ear of flesh in similar ways with similar, though nuanced, meanings.

4.3.1.2 *Opening the Ear*

The אוזן of the *Hodayot* undergoes a change (both פתח and גלה) yielding two results. In our psalm the ear is opened (פתח) with the result of hearing: “[Ho]w can I...hear (אשמעה) [unless you have opened (פתחתה) my ears (אוזני)]” (1QH^a 21.5-6). Arguably, the straightforward meaning of audible hearing is meant here given the reference to שמע in the immediate context.¹¹³ This simple meaning is inferred by similar constructs within the psalm at 1QH^a 21.5 (“[Ho]w can I see (אביט) unless you have opened (גליתיה) my eyes (עיני)”) ¹¹⁴ and at 1QH^a 18.9 (“What can I say (אדבר) unless you open (פתחתה) my mouth (פי)?”). ¹¹⁵ The ear must be opened (פתח) to hear audibly because it is only after the matter

¹¹¹ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 266 n.8, and Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 297, make the connection between ear of dust and ear of flesh. Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 269 n.8, states the metaphor ear of flesh is “même formule” as ear of dust. I divert here from J. Carmignac. These are neither the same metaphors nor do they carry the same meaning but only similar meanings.

¹¹² Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 254 n.4.

¹¹³ Cf. “And he has opened their eyes to see his ways, and their ears to hear (ואזוני[יהם לשמוע]) his teaching,” (4Q434 1.3-4) in Weinfeld and Seely, “Barkhi Nafshi,” 270-271.

¹¹⁴ Cf. also “What can I say unless you open my mouth?” (1QH^a 20.35-36); “How should I walk the straight way unless you establ[ish my st]ep?” (1QH^a 20.37). This straightforward meaning is recognized by Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 43: “The author’s faculty of perceiving God’s world through his eyes and ears derives solely from God.”

¹¹⁵ See further 4Q463 f1.4 and 4Q268 f1.7.

your heart.”¹²¹ God’s opening of the psalmist’s ear enables understanding of wondrous mysteries and insight into the plan of God.¹²² These latter examples testify that something beyond mere audible hearing takes place; when the ear (אוזן) is opened (גלה) understanding is the result.¹²³ Consequently, the metaphor ‘understanding is an ear’ is at work here. This is the author’s way of expressing the transference of revelation from God to humanity—God has enabled the ear of the psalmist to comprehend some mystery. When the matter is opened in 1QH^a 21.6, the uncircumcised ear understands mysteries in a similar way that the heart perceives the wonders.

The ear is opened elsewhere in the *Hodayot* likely yielding the same result but these references have much missing text. 1QH^a 22.26-27 reads in translation, “And you yourself have opened my ear (גליתיה אוזני) כֵּן [...] it will not enter,” and 1QH^a 22.31-32 states in translation, “[For you,] O my [Go]d have opened my heart (לבבי) to your understanding, and you have opened [my] ea[r] ([ותגל אוזני]) [...] and to rely upon your goodness.”¹²⁴ The lacunae disrupt the text such that scholars have failed to propose any reconstructions.¹²⁵ Still it is likely the ear is uncovered (גלה) for the purpose of understanding, as in the previous case, and as 4Q418 f123.ii.4 (“His time, which He uncovered to the ear (גלה אל) (אוזן) of the understanding ones (מבינים) about the mystery (ברז) which is to come”)¹²⁶ and 4Q423 f5.1-2 (“And as He opened your ear (גלה אוזנכה) [to the mystery (ברז) that is to come]”)¹²⁷ testify. Although the lacunae caution us from asserting with certainty the reason the ear was opened, similar texts within and without the *Thanksgiving Psalms* point in the direction of divine understanding.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Cf. 1QH^a 14.7; 15.41.

¹²² Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 253, who describes the phrase, “You have opened my ears,” as “a technical term referring to the revelation.”

¹²³ Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 269 n.8, states the opening of the ear of flesh means, “You have given to this being of flesh, weak and wretched that I am, knowledge” (translation is mine).

¹²⁴ Cf. 1QH^a 23.5.

¹²⁵ See Sukenik, *Otsar*, 54; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 228; Parry and Tov, eds., *Liturgical Texts*, 62; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 270.

¹²⁶ Emphasis original in J. Strugnell and D. J. Harrington, “Instruction,” in *Qumran Cave 4.24*, ed. J. A. Fitzmyer, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 346-347.

¹²⁷ T. Elgvin, “Instruction,” in *Qumran Cave 4.24*, ed. J. A. Fitzmyer, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 518-519. Cf. further 4Q266 f2.ii.2; 4Q299 f8.6; 4Q418 f184.2.

¹²⁸ If the result of the ear’s opening in 1QH^a 22.26-27 and 22.31-32 is gaining understanding, it would correspond with occurrences in the *Hodayot* and Dead Sea literature. This seems also to be the meaning among the biblical literature. See H.-J. Zobel, “גלה,” *TDOT* 2:476-488.

4.3.1.3 *Uncircumcision of the Ear*

The following analysis investigates what is meant by the uncircumcision of the uncircumcised ear. This is accomplished by examining the ear of dust and ear of flesh and then by analyzing the *nomen rectum* dust, flesh, and uncircumcision in the metaphors. Earlier we saw that a relationship exists between the uncircumcised ear and the ear of dust,¹²⁹ so that the kind of meaning deduced from the ear of dust metaphor can be viewed similarly to that of the uncircumcised ear. In 1QH^a 21.13-14, God straightens the ear of dust: “[You] have set straight (תִּקְנֶתָה) in the ear of dust, and that which will be forever you have engraved (חִקֹּתָה) on the heart [of stone].” The straightening indicates that some portion within the ear of dust was either crooked, disordered, misaligned, or inharmonious,¹³⁰ and consequently, was in need of being arranged in good order. A meaning of faultiness is pinned to the ear of dust metaphor which is in need of God’s correction.¹³¹ God set straight the fault in the ear of dust yielding a permanent result, because He also engraved eternity upon the heart of stone. His straightening in the ear bears permanence.¹³²

These deductions can be confirmed by 1QH^a 23.5-7: “And you open (וּתְגַל) the ear of dust...and you entrusted it to the e[a]r of your servant forever (עוֹלָם).” Rather than straightening the flaw in the ear of dust, here God opens the ear of dust entrusting to it some mystery or insight.¹³³ Again, the ear of dust was in need of God’s opening it (1QH^a 23.5), much like the ear of dust was in need of God’s straightening (1QH^a 21.13). This testifies to the negative connotation associated with the metaphor.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the

¹²⁹ See also the ear of flesh (אָזוֹן בָּשָׂר). See §4.3.1.1 Cognate Phrases of the Ear.

¹³⁰ This is the meaning of the piel form of תִּקַּן. L. Koehler and W. Baumgarten, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), s.v. “תִּקַּן.” This is the only occurrence of תִּקַּן in 1QH^a but cf. 4Q398 f14-17.ii.4. Some reconstructions favor תִּתְּנָה; see Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 103; Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 217; Lohse, *Texte*, 174; Parry and Tov, eds., *Liturgical Texts*, 58; Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 92. Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 271 n.3, 249 n.8, cites Gen 3:19 and the psalmist’s obsession with dust terminology. Hence, the ear of dust speaks of humankind’s lowliness. Similarly, Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 214 n.4, 232 n.10, 251; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 286.

¹³¹ Cf. Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 271 n.3, who, commenting on the ear of dust, says, “L’auteur s’exprime avec une extrême concision: ‘L’oreille de l’homme, lequel est créé à partir de la poussière.’”

¹³² Perhaps this invokes the usage of covenant in the *Hodayot*. Cf. 1QH^a 21.10, where a potential bicolon exists linking, “[And] you have brought into covenant with you,” to “And you have uncovered the heart of dust that it might guard itself,” against 1QH^a 21.14 (“[And]° you have refrained from bringing into covenant with you or to stand”) where no connection is made with the ear of dust or heart of stone. Cf. further 1QH^a 18.23; 23.10. See especially 1QH^a 16.1-2: “[I close (my) ear to your teachings until...and an erring spirit without knowledge you expelled from my innermost being and hardness of heart].”

¹³³ Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 286-287. Furthermore, Delcor claims that the phrase, “[Ho]w can I see unless you have opened my eyes,” (1QH^a 21.5) expresses the same idea as here: both are opened to communicate the divine mysteries to the psalmist.

¹³⁴ Dust imagery conjures up images of man’s origin and end, an inconsequential meanness before God: “What is one born of woman amid all your [gre]at fearful acts? He is a thing constructed of dust and kneaded with water,” (1QH^a 5.31-32); “As for me, from dust [you] took [me, and from clay] I was

element of eternity comes to the fore also in this reference: God entrusts it forever to His servant. Applying these deductions to the uncircumcised ear of 1QH^a 21.6 yields the result that the uncircumcision is also likely in need of God's fixing (i.e. opening) whose correction would then carry lasting consequences.

The ear of flesh demonstrates a relationship to the uncircumcised ear for it too must be opened: "And you opened (גליתה) the ear of flesh and [¹³⁵...you gave] to humanity [insight] ([ו]הבינותה...) into the plan of your heart (לבכה), and you caused fles[h] to understand (השכלתה) the appointed time" (1QH^a 25.12-13). In what appears to be a tricolon, the psalmist sets off the three clauses by the word בשר. The phrases demonstrate correspondence so that opening links to giving insight and causing to understand.¹³⁶ That which is revealed to the ear is the plan of God's heart, the supposed appointed time.¹³⁷ The recipients of this revealed knowledge are similarly the ear, humanity, and flesh.¹³⁸ That the ear had to be opened (גלה) in order for God to grant insight to humanity testifies to its defectiveness.¹³⁹ This defectiveness manifests itself in non-understanding. Essentially, God supplies insight and understanding to the psalmist by opening his ear. This also can be compared to the uncircumcised ear of 1QH^a 21.6. Both the uncircumcised ear and the ear

[sh]aped.... What, then, is he who returns to his dust?" (1QH^a 20.27, 34); "But, as for me, what am I? Truly from dust I was taken" (1QH^a 23.24).

¹³⁵ If the missing word here is כרויכה as suggested by Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 293, then an even stronger link can be made regarding the opening of the ear of flesh for the purpose of revealing God's mysteries.

¹³⁶ Another example is 4Q299 f8.5-7: "And how can a ma[n] understand who did not know and did not hear [the] discernment, the inclination of our heart. With great intelligence He opened our ear (גלה אוזנו), so that we would c[onsider] ([ונשכילה]) the inclination of understanding for all who pursue knowledge," in L. H. Schiffman, "Mysteries," in *Qumran Cave 4.15*, ed. J. A. Fitzmyer, DJD 20 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 50. For the reading ונשכילה see his note 6.

¹³⁷ Puech, *La croyance*, 407: God has revealed the divine plan and judgment to those faithful among humanity.

¹³⁸ Cf. the comments of Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 266 n.9.

¹³⁹ For a similar text which connects revelations from God and a defective ear of flesh, cf. *Mart. Pet.* 10, "Since then thou hast made known and revealed these things to me, O Word of life...I give thee thanks, O King, with that voice which is known in silence, which is not heard aloud, which does not come forth through the bodily organs, which does not enter the ears of the flesh (σαρκιαὶ ὤτια), that is not heard by corruptible substance, that is not in the world or uttered upon earth, nor is written in books, nor belongs to one but not to another." The ears of flesh are for the author that corruptible bodily organ which receives speech spoken aloud. These ears of flesh are not capable of hearing that voice which is known only in silence. Since the King is known only via the spirit, it stands to reason that the author gives thanks to the King in this silent, inner manner and not "with this word that comes forth by the skill of physical nature" (*Mart. Pet.* 10). Thanksgiving is offered to God on behalf of the author for having revealed and made known to him these things. The English text is taken from W. Schneemelcher, "The Acts of Peter," vol. 2 in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. M. Wilson (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 316. The Greek text derives from R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 2/1 (Braunschweig: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1887), 124. The *Acts of Peter*, of which the *Martyrdom of Peter* is a part, "originated before c. 190, perhaps in the decade 180-190," according to Schneemelcher, "Acts of Peter," 283.

of flesh are devoid of understanding and insight until the opening provided by God. The opening allows God to grant the psalmist insights into His (i.e. God's) own heart.

The relationship between the ear of dust, the ear of flesh, and the uncircumcised ear permits a comparison between dust, flesh, and uncircumcision. In his study of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* in the *Hodayot*, H. Lichtenberger compares **יצר עפר** (“vessel of dust”) and **יצר חמר** (“vessel of clay”).¹⁴⁰ These two expressions recall the act of creation when humanity was made from dust in 1QH^a 20.29-31:

ותשונת עפר ליצר חמר בקצ אפ[כה...י]שוב עפר אל אשר לקח משם ומה ישיה ישיב עפר
 .ואפר [על משפטכה ומ]ה יבין [במ]עשיו ומה יתיצב לפני מוכיח בו.
 And there is a return to dust for the vessel of clay at the time of [your] anger [...] dust returns to that from which it was taken. What can dust and ashes reply [concerning your judgment? And how] can it understand its [d]eeds? How can it stand before the one who reproves it?

Here **עפר** and **חמר** are closely linked yet exhibit nuanced meanings. The vessel of clay addresses the author's lowliness because he returns to that humble state from which he was made—dust. Additionally, his sinfulness is shown in that the clay is relegated back to dust when he encounters the anger and judgment of God.¹⁴¹ The vessel of dust, here simply **עפר** (but cf. 1QH^a 21.17, 25, 34),¹⁴² also demonstrates its insignificance when the psalmist stands before God who reproves him. In fact, dust-language throughout the *Thanksgiving Psalms* conjures up humanity's meanness before God.¹⁴³ Yet, the vessel of dust appears to be associated more with understanding and speaking when it faces judgment.¹⁴⁴ Granted, the psalmist is keen to point out that the vessel of dust cannot understand and cannot reply, it is precisely this nuance which differentiates it from the vessel of clay: whereas both metaphors speak of the lowliness of humanity, the vessel of clay intimates further the sinfulness of human beings, while the vessel of dust speaks towards their non-understanding.¹⁴⁵ The context indicates that the dust in the vessel of dust pertains to the

¹⁴⁰ H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde*, SUNT 15 (Göttingen: V&R, 1980), 77-81.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 80, in his treatment of the vessel of dust, states, “Häufiger ist das alleinige Vorkommen von **עפר** zur Bezeichnung der Niedrigkeit.” Furthermore, cf. 1QH^a 25.12-13 where **בשר** via synecdoche represents vessel of flesh.

¹⁴³ See note 134 on page 89.

¹⁴⁴ The psalm carries the highest concentration of references to **עפר** (14x) in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. This seems to be the consistent usage within the psalm (see 1QH^a 20.27, 28, 29 [2x], 30, 34; 21.10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 25, 34; 22.8, 30).

¹⁴⁵ See also 1QH^a 7.34; 18.6-7; 19.6-7; 22.7-8, 30, where **עפר** speaks similarly of humanity's inability to understand. But cf. 1QH^a 5.32; 8.18-19; 11.22.

inability of humanity to understand God's deeds or to speak when standing in judgment.¹⁴⁶ This meaning is similar to the meaning of dust in the ear of dust: the inability to understand the mysteries of God demonstrating its need to be opened or straightened by God.¹⁴⁷

The flesh of the ear of flesh carries a similar meaning to that of dust in the ear of dust. For instance, J. Carmignac paraphrases the ear of flesh in 1QH^a 25.12 as “l'être de chair, faible et miserable.”¹⁴⁸ According to Carmignac, the *chair* symbolizes the weakness and wretchedness of the ear in dire need of God's opening it to impart knowledge and insight. This can be seen within the psalm at 1QH^a 21.9: “With the heavenly host of knowledge (בצבא דעת) in order to recount (לספר) to flesh the mighty acts and the established statues to one born of [woman].”¹⁴⁹ The parallel structure equates flesh with one born of woman, thereby representing humanity. The flesh has the mighty acts of God made known¹⁵⁰ to it by the knowledge of the heavenly host.¹⁵¹ The heavenly host's recounting of God's acts takes place contextually soon after the word was revealed to the uncircumcised ear (1QH^a 21.6). So the knowledge of God's deeds which is imparted to the flesh is a direct result of the matter being opened to the uncircumcised ear. In fact, the context of 1QH^a 21.4-9 makes clear that humanity does not comprehend until God imparts insight. In the particular case of 1QH^a 21.9, the flesh cannot declare the works of God until the heavenly host imparts the knowledge thereof to the one born of woman. This is further demonstrated from 1QH^a 7.34 stating, “But what is flesh that it should have insight (ישכיל) into [these things]?” In these texts, the flesh (i.e. the psalmist)¹⁵² is ignorant of insight and

¹⁴⁶ Other references to dust which might stand in a synecdochical relationship to ear of dust include 1QH^a 18.6-7; 19.6; 21.12. See 4Q427 f10.2.

¹⁴⁷ This conclusion is further supported by the following texts which link dust to a lack of understanding: “What, then, is a mortal being—he is only dirt, pinched-off c[lay], whose return is to dust—that you have given him insight into wonders such as these and that the secret counsel of [your] tru[th] you have made known to him?” (1QH^a 18.5-7); “I thank you, O my God, that you have acted wonderfully with dust, and with a vessel of clay you have worked so very powerfully. What am I that you have [inst]ructed me in the secret counsel of your truth and that you have given me insight into your wondrous deeds” (1QH^a 19.6-7).

¹⁴⁸ Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 269 n.8.

¹⁴⁹ Other references to בשר which might stand in a synecdochical relationship to ear of flesh include 1QH^a 4.37; 5.15, 30; 12.30; 24.10; 26.35. See 4Q428 f18.1.

¹⁵⁰ Perhaps this is a better translation of 1QH^a 5.28. Cf. further 1QH^a 19.30-31; 23.15.

¹⁵¹ The duty of the heavenly beings was to pass on to human beings the understanding of God. For this they were endowed with the knowledge of God, cf. 1QH^a 11.23-24. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 68 n.13, 256 n.36. See similarly Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102 n.10; Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 272 n.27; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 290.

¹⁵² Contra Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 24 n.43, 85 n.70, here בשר is not associated with wickedness, rather ignorance, whereas elsewhere he states, “בשר is mostly taken to mean flesh as a parallel to חמר.”

knowledge until it is imparted (i.e. opened) to the ear.¹⁵³ According to these contexts, the flesh in the ear of flesh represents the lack of knowledge and insight until God's opening. This meaning corresponds closely with that of dust in the ear of dust.

Apart from the uncircumcised ear, the *Thanksgiving Scroll* makes reference to ערל twice in the metaphor ערל שפה ("uncircumcised lips"). In the first instance, the psalmist speaks of his own lips: "You have given the proper reply (מענה לשון) to my uncircum[cised] lips (לער[ול] שפתי), and you have supported my soul with a potent strength and powerful might" (1QH^a 10.9-10). The proper reply¹⁵⁴ (i.e. the answer given to the tongue)¹⁵⁵ is used often to indicate the solemnity and importance of the response inspired by God (cf. 1QH^a 4.29; 15.13-14; 19.35-37).¹⁵⁶ The answer given to the tongue is compared here to strength and powerful might. Simultaneously, these attributes are set in contrast to the uncircumcised lips. So in this case, the ערל of the uncircumcised lips must be indicative of weakness and impotency, lacking the knowledge of an answer.¹⁵⁷ Furthermore, the reply must be given to the tongue, insinuating that the lips previously did not possess the answer and must be granted it by God.¹⁵⁸

The other instance of uncircumcised lips is used not of the psalmist but of the deceitful ones in 1QH^a 10.18-21:

ומזמית בליעל [כול מ]חשבותם ויהפוכו לשוחה חיי גבר אשר הכינותה בפיו תלמד[נ] ובינה שמתה בלבבו לפתוח מקור דעת לכול מבינים וימורום בעריל שפה ולשון אחרת לעם לא . Devilish schemes are [all] their [th]oughts, and they cast into the pit the life of a man in whose mouth you established instruction, and in whose heart you placed understanding, in order to open the source of knowledge for all who are able to understand. But they have changed them by means of uncircumcised lips and an alien tongue into a people without understanding, so that they might be ruined by their error.

¹⁵³ Cf. similar texts which link flesh with a lack of understanding: "In the mysteries of your understanding [you] apportioned all these in order to make known your glory. [But how] is a spirit of flesh to understand all these things" (1QH^a 5.30-31); "You caused fles[h] to understand the appointed time" (1QH^a 25.13).

¹⁵⁴ "Appropriate reply," in Parry and Tov, eds., *Liturgical Texts*, 19. Cf. similarly H. Bardtke, "Die Loblieder von Qumrân II," *TLZ* 81 (1956): 589; Gaster, *Scriptures*, 135; Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 262.

¹⁵⁵ "You give a reply of the tongue to my uncircumcised lips," in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 161. Cf. similarly Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 31; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 31; Carmignac, "Les hymnes," 184; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 105; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 93; Lohse, *Texte*, 117; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 64.

¹⁵⁶ Carmignac, "Les hymnes," 165 n.9.

¹⁵⁷ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 33 n.11, compares the expression to Exod 6:12, 30, where it means "unskilled in speaking" and states that it is analogous with the uncircumcised ear of Jer 6:10. The same comparison between uncircumcised lips and uncircumcised ear is drawn out by Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 216.

¹⁵⁸ While the uncircumcised lips receive the answer from God, no answer is granted to the "lying lips" and they are rendered silent (1QH^a 15.13-14). Cf. Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 93.

Like God gave the reply to the tongue in 1QH^a 10.9, here God establishes instruction in the mouth. However, whereas the uncircumcised lips aided by God receive strength and power to offer a reply (1QH^a 10.10), here the uncircumcised lips of the deceitful ones are alien¹⁵⁹ and without understanding, spreading deceit and error. The ערל of these two texts is similar: both indicate a lack of truth, knowledge, and understanding.¹⁶⁰ The uncircumcised lips of 1QH^a 10.9 need the intervention of God to supply an answer to reply. Those lips are lacking the knowledge to answer. The uncircumcised lips of 1QH^a 10.20, absent from the intervention of God, spread non-understanding of the truth (i.e. deceit) among the people: they change those *with* understanding into a people *without* understanding by the agent of their uncircumcised lips, effectively leading to their ruin.¹⁶¹ So the uncircumcision here indicates non-understanding. These texts demonstrate further commonalities with the uncircumcised ear of 1QH^a 21.6. There, humanity cannot understand unless God grants insight (1QH^a 21.5), and here, God places understanding in the heart of the human being.¹⁶² There, the matter was opened (i.e. the word was revealed) to the uncircumcised ear (1QH^a 21.6), and here, God opens the source of knowledge to the one able to understand.¹⁶³ There the uncircumcised ear comprehends the revelation (1QH^a 21.6-7), whereas here the uncircumcised lips receive an answer (1QH^a 10.9). The uncircumcision of uncircumcised lips proves comparable to the uncircumcision of the uncircumcised ear: uncircumcision maps onto the weakness and impotency of the host (i.e. his lips and/or ear), exhibiting a lack of knowledge and understanding until they are granted by God.

4.3.1.4 *Uncircumcised Ear in the Context of 1QHodayot^a*

I examine here the meaning of uncircumcised ear in the previous analyses against the backdrop of the *Hodayot* content in three areas: (1) our psalm's division, (2) our psalm in relation to other psalms, and (3) the entirety of 1QH^a. The division of our psalm in which the ear-circumcision metaphor is situated (D^a 1QH^a 20.35-21.11a) contains five references

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 102, “alien tongue” (לשון אחרת) means “lying tongue,” the error which the deceitful ones speak.

¹⁶⁰ ערלה in the Dead Sea literature consistently carries with it the meaning of uncleanness and sinfulness. See 1QH^a 14.23; 4Q176 f8-11.3; f12-13.2; 4Q429 f4.i.9; 4Q458 f2.ii.4.

¹⁶¹ Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 187 n.116.

¹⁶² Cf. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 107 n.6.

¹⁶³ The verb פתח is often assigned the subject God who reveals knowledge. For a detailed treatment of “source of knowledge,” see Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 100-102.

to knowledge (2x), understanding (1x), and insight (2x).¹⁶⁴ Our division is second only to B^a (1QH^a 20.14b-27a) containing six references to knowledge (1x), insight (3x), and mystery (2x). This is to be expected given the previous analysis of the structure of the psalm where I pointed out that division B^a outlines particular themes which are woven throughout the psalm. But it is at division D^a that these overtones are most loudly heard in the psalm. Furthermore, division B^a does not link the themes of knowledge, understanding, insight, and mystery to the ear motif as D^a does. So it comes as no surprise that the ear-circumcision metaphor corresponds to these motifs since it is situated in a division inundated with such terms. As can be observed below, knowledge terminology is woven together seamlessly with the ear motif unmistakably linking the two together:¹⁶⁵

כדעתי דברתי...ואיכה אבין כיא אם השכלתני ומה אד[בר] בלוא גליתיה לבי...א[י]כ[ה] אכ[י]ר[ר] ב[ל]וא ראיתי זאת [ואבין באלה בלוא השכלתני...ואשמעה [בלוא פתחתה אוזני]... השם [ל]בבי כיא לערל אוזן נפתח דבר ולב [האבן יתבונן בנ]פלאות...בצבא דעת לספר לבשר גבורות. According to my knowledge I have spoken.... How can I understand unless you give me insight? What can I s[peak] unless you reveal it to my heart?... H[o]w can I dis[cern] un[less] I see this [or understand these things unless you give me insight]... or hear [unless you have opened my ear]... my [h]eart was appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of stone perceives wo]nders...with the heavenly host of knowledge in order to recount to flesh the mighty acts (1QH^a 20.35-21.9).

Consequently, this division emerges as the most qualified to explain the psalmist's supernatural knowledge.

Our psalm (1QH^a 20.7-22.42) contains eighteen terms relating to knowledge (7x), understanding (4x), insight (4x), and mystery (3x) which is second only to the psalm at 1QH^a 5.12-6.33: understanding (11x), insight (6x), and mystery (3x). Though our psalm contains two fewer references, it does include references to the term knowledge (דעת) which is lacking in the psalm at 1QH^a 5.12-6.33. Additionally, it claims five references to ear, dwarfing the single reference to ear in 1QH^a 5.12-6.33. No other psalm boasts to this degree a combination of content related to both ears and knowledge terminology (cf. 1QH^a 22.26, 31).¹⁶⁶ Such a high concentration of both word fields in comparison to other psalms in the *Hodayot* cannot be mere coincidence. The data seem to suggest interconnectivity

¹⁶⁴ The data retrieved from this section can be found in the “Word List” of Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 87-110, granted one correction: add “[21:5]” under שכל.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. further how the uncircumcised ear is interpreted/translated by Gaster, *Scriptures*, 196, and Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 192: “one with ears unattuned” and “him of a dull ear” respectively.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. the next closest psalm at 1QH^a 9.1-10.4 which contains twelve references to knowledge (4x), understanding (3x), insight (1x), and mystery (4x), and only one reference to ear.

between the ear-circumcision metaphor and themes of knowledge, understanding, insight, and mysteries.

Like God opened a word to the uncircumcised ear (1QH^a 21.6), so God opens mysteries, knowledge, and insight to the ear throughout the *Thanksgiving Psalms*. God opened the psalmist's ears to understand wondrous mysteries (1QH^a 9.23). Similarly, He opened the ears to instruction (1QH^a 14.7) to report of His wonders (1QH^a 15.41). As God entrusted an eternal mystery to the ear of dust (1QH^a 23.5), so He opened the ear of flesh to the insight of His plan (1QH^a 25.12). Throughout the *Hodayot*, the ear is opened to understand God's mystery; it not only receives the revelation of the mystery, but its meaning as well. Thus, the 'circumcising is opening' metaphor is operating in the concepts of the psalmist as he describes the process by which God reveals mysteries to him.

4.3.2 Meaning of Heart of Stone

Whereas the analysis of the ear metaphors was limited in scope to an examination of fourteen references in 1QH^a, our study of the heart metaphors can pull from a wider semantic field since the *Thanksgiving Scroll* records sixty-three references to the "heart" (לב/לבב), nine of which are found in our psalm (1QH^a 20.7-22.42). This analysis will suggest that the "heart of stone" (לב האבן) and "heart of dust" (לב עפר) carry so close a semantic meaning to that of uncircumcised ear, that even the metaphors heart of stone and uncircumcised ear exhibit a close relationship. I will suggest that the meaning of the heart of stone metaphor aligns closely with that of ear-circumcision: the inability to understand the mysteries of God. In addition to our psalm containing the exclusive reference to the uncircumcised ear in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, all four references to the heart of stone and heart of dust also are found here.¹⁶⁷ It is for this reason our psalm surfaces as the authoritative voice among the *Hodayot* on the meaning of the metaphors uncircumcised ear and heart of stone.

¹⁶⁷ It should be admitted that two of the three references to heart of stone are based upon reconstructions, though these reconstructions are not without warrant.

4.3.2.1 Cognate Phrases of the Heart

The two metaphors of the heart represented in the *Hodayot* are the heart of stone (3x) and the heart of dust (1x). These are found in our psalm at 1QH^a 21.6-7,

.השם [ל]בבי כיא לערל אוזן נפתח דבר ולב [האבן יתבונן בנ]פלאות.
was appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of
stone perceives wo]nders,

and 1QH^a 21.10-14:

הביאותה בברית עמכה ותגלה לב עפר להשמר [מן...ול...] מפחי משפט לעומת רחמיכה
ואני יצר [חמר ומגבל מים מבנה ע]פר ולב האבן למי נחשבתי עד זות כיא [ת...]קנתה
[האבן]. You have brought into covenant with you, and you have uncovered the heart of dust that it might guard itself [from...and
/...] from the snares of judgment corresponding to your compassion. And as for
me, a vessel [of clay and a thing mixed with water, a structure of d]ust and a heart
of stone, with whom shall I be reckoned until this? Truly, [...you] have set straight
in the ear of dust, and that which will be forever you have engraved on the heart [of
stone].

Noteworthy is the fact that our psalm contains a very clear reference to the heart of dust and to the heart of stone. The other two references to the heart of stone have been reconstructed at 1QH^a 21.7 and 21.14 respectively.

It is apparent from the reconstructions of missing text at 1QH^a 21.7 and 21.14 attested among editions of the *Thanksgiving Psalms* that scholars recognize interchangeability between the metaphors heart of dust and heart of stone. For instance, Stegemann and Schuller note that both reconstructions at 1QH^a 21.7 and 21.14 could possibly read לב [עפר] (“heart [of dust]”) or לב [האבן] (“heart [of stone]”).¹⁶⁸ The space in the lacuna does not favor one *nomen rectum* over the other. So, all things being equal, the metaphors heart of stone and heart of dust are cognate phrases with either metaphor being read in the reconstructions. This is observed clearly in H. Bardtke who reads “Staubherzen” in the first reconstruction and “Herz von Stein” in the second.¹⁶⁹ But the majority of editions and translations either reconstruct האבן at both lacunae¹⁷⁰ or leave the first lacuna blank while supplying האבן for the second.¹⁷¹ The logic behind such reconstructions in the second

¹⁶⁸ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 264, though they opt to read האבן at both.

¹⁶⁹ Bardtke, “Qumrân IV,” 348.

¹⁷⁰ Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, 216-217; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 288, 290; Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 261; Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 299; Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 65. Parting from this trend are Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102-103 who reads [אדם] ולב at 1QH^a 21.7 and [משחית] בלב at 1QH^a 21.14. Also, Qimron, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 92, reads [משם] לב at 1QH^a 21.7 and [האבן] בלב at 1QH^a 21.14.

¹⁷¹ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 252-253; Lohse, *Texte*, 174; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 109; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 192, 194; Parry and Tov, eds., *Liturgical Texts*, 58. Still others leave both lacunae blank: Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 192-193; Maier, *Qumran-Essener*, 105-106.

lacuna is an appeal to the clear reference to the heart of stone at 1QH^a 21.12.¹⁷² But could not a similar appeal be made to the reference to the heart of dust at 1QH^a 21.10 especially when both **האבן** and **עפר** would fit comfortably in the reconstructed space? While dust is just as likely a candidate as stone according to Stegemann and Schuller, there are a few reasons for supplying stone in lieu of dust at 1QH^a 21.14. The meaning of the qal perfect verb **חקק** here is to carve, inscribe, or draw,¹⁷³ which is logically more appropriate with the direct object stone than dust.¹⁷⁴ As we have already seen, the psalmist displays variety in word-choice in the psalm. For instance, in the clear reference to heart of stone, the psalmist writes, “[A structure of d]ust and a heart of stone,” varying the metaphors with dust and stone (1QH^a 21.12). The juxtaposition of dust and stone adds diversity in the combination of metaphors. At 1QH^a 21.13-14 one would also anticipate variance when reading, “[You] have set straight the ear of dust, and...you have engraved on the heart of...” Reference to the ear of dust and heart of dust in the same line goes against the grain of the psalmist’s tendency towards variance. Therefore, it is more consistent with the trend of the psalm to read heart of stone here, although heart of dust is as likely a candidate.

With that said, it is also more sensible to read heart of stone than heart of dust at 1QH^a 21.7. As I suggested, the ear-circumcision metaphor bears a close relationship to the ear of dust. It would be redundant to read, “For to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of dust],” since the psalmist would refer to two dust-like metaphors in his juxtaposition of ear and heart. Again, this would run contrary to the psalmist’s style of writing which favors variance in his expression, though the metaphors are semantically similar. Reconstructionists’ efforts to supply **לב [האבן]** in the lacuna at 1QH^a 21.14 based upon a clear reference to heart of stone at 1QH^a 21.12 and the psalmist’s expression in variance, when **לב [עפר]** is as likely a reconstruction, attests to the similarity of the phrases heart of stone and heart of dust.

4.3.2.2 *Opening the Heart*

The heart in 1QH^a is opened (**פתח** and **גלה**) primarily for the purpose of gaining understanding. In our psalm, both the heart of stone and the heart of dust are directly associated with this opening. 1QH^a 21.7-8 states in translation, “^{oooo} my [h]eart was

¹⁷² E.g., see Bardtke, “Qumrân IV,” 348; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 257 n.45; Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 290.

¹⁷³ HALOT s.v., “חקק,” §2.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. 1QH^a 9.26; 4Q266 f3.ii.11; 4Q369 f1.i.5.

appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of stone perceives wo]nders.” As a result of the word being revealed (פתח) to the uncircumcised ear, the heart (לב) perceived (בין) wonders and was simultaneously appalled¹⁷⁵ by that which it understood (cf. 4Q434 f1.1.1-4). So, though here the heart of stone itself is not opened, the result of the matter (דבר) being opened is that the heart of stone now understands that which it previously did not understand. This can be further explained by H. Bardtke and A. Dupont-Sommer’s restoration conjectures respectively at the lacuna heart [of stone]: “Und dem [Staub]herzen [hast du gegeben Einsicht (נתתה בינה)]”¹⁷⁶ and “et au cœur [de l’homme tu as appris la vérité (הודעתה אמת)].”¹⁷⁷ Though these restorations are not ideal,¹⁷⁸ they both testify that the lacuna should have as its subject heart followed by an expression which runs parallel to the preceding line (i.e. “For to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened”).¹⁷⁹ Hence, in the case of Bardtke, God gave insight or understanding to the heart. Similarly, for Dupont-Sommer God taught truth to the heart of man. Thus, the heart of stone is directly associated with פתח yielding insight and understanding. Furthermore, its meaning runs parallel to the meaning of the ear-circumcision metaphor.

Like the heart of stone, the heart of dust is opened at 1QH^a 21.10: “You have brought into covenant with you, and you have uncovered (ותגלה) the heart of dust (לב עפר) that it might guard (להשמר) itself [from...and l...] from the snares of judgment (משפט) corresponding to your compassion.” Here the heart of dust is opened in order to protect itself from something. Though that which the heart of dust is protecting itself from is absent in the lacuna, it must be something semantically equivalent to the snares of judgment,¹⁸⁰ such as “de tout mal.”¹⁸¹ In this light, the opening of the heart of dust must be associated with the giving of insight so that the heart of dust can recognize the object of which it must steer clear. This same point is made clear by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar’s translation: “And you have opened the heart of dust so that he will observe.”¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Read “perturbed,” according to García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 193.

¹⁷⁶ Bardtke, “Qumrân IV,” 348, 348 n.188.

¹⁷⁷ Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102, 102 n.7.

¹⁷⁸ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 264.

¹⁷⁹ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 256 n.33. Cf. “And a heart [of stone has understood the right precepts],” in Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 299. See also Gaster, *Scriptures*, 196.

¹⁸⁰ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 264. See also Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 257 n.40.

¹⁸¹ Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 102. See also Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 299. Cf. “vor der Grube,” in Bardtke, “Qumrân IV,” 348.

¹⁸² García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 195.

4.3.2.3 *Uncircumcision in Relation to the Heart of Stone/Dust*

The following is an investigation into what the relationship is between *uncircumcision* and the psalmist's heart of *stone/dust*. Firstly, there is the metaphor heart of stone in 1QH^a 21.7: “^{oooo} my [h]eart was appalled, for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of stone perceives wo]nders.” One observes in the text that the heart of stone runs parallel to the uncircumcised ear which has had a word revealed to it. The parallelism of the text suggests a relationship between the metaphors. Therefore, some implied relationship exists between the uncircumcision and stone qualities of the metaphors.¹⁸⁸ Just as the uncircumcised ear was without understanding prior to the word being revealed, so the heart of stone lacks perception until it too is opened (e.g., 1QH^a 20.36-37; 22.31; 24.28-29).¹⁸⁹ It appears both the uncircumcision and stone have something to do with the psalmist's deficiency of perception.

Moreover, there is the heart of stone in 1QH^a 21.13: “[You] have set straight in the ear of dust, and that which will be forever you have engraved on the heart [of stone].” Here, one observes that God engraves on the heart of stone the knowledge of future things. An element of eternal consequence surfaces here with the imagery of engraving on stone, especially when consideration is given to the content being engraved: things of the future.¹⁹⁰ The fact that God must impart this knowledge to the heart of stone likewise testifies to the negative implications of the metaphor. Building upon the previous analysis,

and Tigchelaar's translation, “You have revealed the wonder of your mysteries to the so[ns of...]” (García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 201), or equivalents, rather than by the reconstructed text itself. See e.g., the basis of the reconstruction and reading of לְבִי in Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 287. Here God opens the heart and shares the wonder of his mysteries with the psalmist. Carmignac, “Les hymnes,” 275 n.17.

Elsewhere in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the heart is opened to produce a different meaning. One instance is 1QH^a 13.34-35: “But you, O my God, you opened (פְּתַחְתָּהּ) a broad place in my heart (בְּלִבִּי); but they made it tight with distress, and they hedged me in with deep darkness.” Here God opens a broad place in the heart of the psalmist. “The metaphor is used to describe God's relief and salvation,” according to Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 140 n.1. Similarly, Delcor, *Les hymnes*, 168-169, translates it as “mais toi, mon Dieu, tu as réjoui mon cœur” and claims it is an expression which marks the opposite of anxiety and distress. This meaning of the opening of the heart is dissimilar to that derived from our psalm. Still, 1QH^a 13.34-35 (cf. 1QH^a 18.33) demonstrates flexibility of the heart's opening throughout the *Hodayot*.

¹⁸⁸ Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 256 n.33. Cf. also Vermes, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 299, and Gaster, *Scriptures*, 196, whose translations imply similarities of the two metaphors.

¹⁸⁹ See note 183 on page 100.

¹⁹⁰ It is not that the heart of stone needs replacing as in Ezek 11:19 and 36:26 but that it needs God's engraving.

here we broaden the range of the relationship between uncircumcision and stone: both metaphors speak of the psalmist's lack of knowledge.¹⁹¹

Secondly, there is the heart of dust in 1QH^a 21.10: "You have brought into covenant with you, and you have uncovered the heart of dust that it might guard itself [from...and /...] from the snares of judgment corresponding to your compassion." The heart of dust must be uncovered by God so that it might guard itself from something of which it does not desire to partake. One can deduce that the metaphor represents a lack of knowledge, which it receives from God when it is opened. Had the heart of dust not been opened, it would have been left ignorant of that from which it needs to guard itself. Thus, the metaphor has a negative meaning attached to it—the lack of knowledge. I have already suggested that the heart of dust and heart of stone are cognate metaphors.¹⁹² Given the relationship between the ear-circumcision and heart of stone metaphors, the metaphors heart of stone and heart of dust imply a similar relationship between heart of dust and the uncircumcised ear.¹⁹³ Accordingly, the psalmist's *uncircumcision* and *dust* confirm what we have already observed in references to the heart of stone—a lack of knowledge. The relationship between the heart of stone and uncircumcised ear further intimates that the heart of *stone* bears a unique relationship to the *uncircumcised* ear, in this case a lack of knowledge and understanding of God's mysteries.

Though these metaphors are spoken about negatively, they are not removed, reversed, or replaced but remain firmly established with the psalmist. In other words, the psalmist is not commanded to circumcise his ears/lips or to receive a heart of flesh, biblical mandates for God's covenant people. Thus, it must be borne in mind that the author speaks about himself in a unique way. The psalmist consciously describes himself, a covenant insider, with diction typically indicative of a covenant outsider.¹⁹⁴ Hence, he has a

¹⁹¹ The results of our structural study hint in this direction. The themes of the heart of stone in the current subdivision E^a are echoed in section E^b stating, "But as for them, they are not able to [understand these things or to recount] your [wonder]s or have the ability to know all" (1QH^a 22.6-7).

¹⁹² See §4.3.2.1 Cognate Phrases of the Heart.

¹⁹³ Contra Carmignac, "Les hymnes," 273 n.31, who says of the heart of dust metaphor, "Même expression [as the ear of dust]...mais avec le cœur au lieu de l'oreille." Note the relationship I have already suggested between uncircumcised ear and ear of dust in §4.3.1 Meaning of Uncircumcised Ear.

¹⁹⁴ Though the psalmist speaks in some texts of his sins (1QH^a 4.30-31; 17.13), it is unclear if these are current sins or those committed prior to his becoming a covenant insider (cf. (ואנחמה על פשע ראשון)). Whatever the case, the metaphor itself does not point in that direction. The conclusions reached from §3.1.1 Qumran, that the sectarian literature of Qumran envisions multiple heart-circumcisions, even for the covenant insider, support this conclusion. However, see Leonhardt-Balzer, "Evil," 145-146, for the view that "the speaker shows an awareness of sin only for the time before the admission to the community." This might lead one to conclude that the author speaks about himself as the 'intended self'.

heart of stone, uncircumcised ears, and uncircumcised lips. As we have seen in our review of the Second Temple and Early Christian texts,¹⁹⁵ these are metaphors normally describing those outside relationship with God. Yet the psalmist is quite sure he remains in covenant with God having the spirit of God residing within him (1QH^a 20.14-15). This phenomenon is best explained by the psalmist's so-called *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*. It is a special rhetoric employed by the author to highlight the graciousness of God towards him even though he is but a vessel of clay. His heart of stone, uncircumcised ears, and uncircumcised lips are all overcome by the mercy of God—they are not only opened, they are engraved upon by God thus overriding any of the psalmist's deficiencies and, consequently, manipulating the shape of the metaphor in a positive direction.

4.3.2.4 Heart of Stone/Dust in Qumran

Though the reference to heart of dust at 1QH^a 21.10 stands alone in any extant literature,¹⁹⁶ a reconstructed reference to heart of stone can be found at 4Q436 f1.i.10¹⁹⁷ providing us with a point of comparison to demonstrate the nuanced meaning of heart of stone in the *Hodayot*:

רגלי חזקתה [...] ה ובידכה החזקתה בימיני ותשלחני ביש[ר...לב האבן ג] ערתה ממני ותשם לב טהור תחתיו יצר רע גער[תה מן כליותי]. My foot you have strengthened, [...] and with your hand you have caught hold of my right hand, and you have sent me forth in the straight[t...the heart of stone] you have [dri]ven with rebukes far from me, and have set a pure heart in its place. The evil inclination [you] have driven with rebukes [from my inmost parts].¹⁹⁸

Here, the reconstructed heart of stone bears little resemblance in meaning to the heart of stone in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. The heart of stone is driven off (גער), away from the speaker, and it is replaced with a pure (טהור) heart. Thus, the meaning of the heart of stone is the opposite of the pure heart as is seen in the following text where the evil inclination (יצר רע) is also rebuked and removed far from the speaker. By way of parallelism, the speaker links the heart of stone with the evil inclination.¹⁹⁹ The heart of stone represents

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 3 Relevant Second Temple and Early Christian Metaphors.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the whimsical comment by Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 257 n.39: “This expression has no analogy that I can find either in the O.T. or in the Late Jewish literature, but only in a Danish hymn by N.F.S. Grundtvig (the Danish hymnbook, No. 335, verse 1)!”

¹⁹⁷ Cf. 4Q427 f10.2-3 which is a parallel text to 1QH^a 21.11-16.

¹⁹⁸ Weinfeld and Seely, “Barkhi Nafshi,” 297, 299.

¹⁹⁹ In a similar way, Dupont-Sommer, *Le livre*, 103, has done the same in 1QH^a 21.14 by reconstructing “le cœur [corrompu]” instead of “heart [of stone].” This is uncritically attributing a meaning to the heart of stone which the context of the *Hodayot* does not warrant. By reconstructing “heart of corruption,” Dupont-Sommer implicitly concludes that the heart of stone is sinful, since logically the

sinfulness and wickedness. This is the meaning assumed by M. Weinfeld and D. Seely²⁰⁰ who reconstructed heart of stone in the text based upon Ezek 11:19: “And I shall give them one heart, and shall put a new spirit within them. And I shall take (והסרתִי) the heart of stone (לב האבן) out of their flesh and give them (ונתתי) a heart of flesh (לב בשר).” In the Ezekiel text, the heart of stone is taken away and replaced with a heart of flesh much like the heart of stone is driven away and replaced with a pure heart in 4Q436. The context of 4Q436 f1.i.8-10 assumes a meaning of wickedness, evil, or sinfulness for the heart of stone metaphor. Given the similarities among the contexts of 4Q436 f1.i.8-10 and Ezek 11:19, the reconstruction of heart of stone seems justified.

However, it is curious that Weinfeld and Seely base their reconstruction also upon 1QH^a 21.12.²⁰¹ As I have proposed previously,²⁰² the heart of stone metaphor in the *Hodayot* represents a lack of knowledge and understanding of God’s mysteries. It has little to do with sinfulness, wickedness, and evil—meanings derived from the heart of stone in 4Q436.²⁰³ With that said, however, the use of the heart of stone in 4Q436 and 1QH^a provides us with a *tertium comparationis*: the hardness of the stone imagery. Whereas the heart of stone in 4Q436 connotes the hardness of the sectarian’s heart due to sin and deceitfulness which was subsequently replaced by a pure heart from God, the reconstructed heart of stone reference in 1QH^a implicates the hardened thick-headedness of the psalmist’s understanding which was consequently overcome by God revealing to him the knowledge of God’s mysteries. This point is most poignantly observed in 1QH^a 16.1-2: “[And an erring spirit without knowledge (בלוא דעת) you expelled (הכאתה) from my innermost being and hardness of heart (וכבוד לב)].” God removed the lack of knowledge from the psalmist’s hard heart. The hardness of heart invokes the imagery of the heart of stone linking the hardness of the stone with the lack of knowledge and

reconstruction of two different words (i.e. stone or *corruptu*) derived from the same context must have similar meanings.

²⁰⁰ The reconstruction is also based upon Ezek 36:26. Weinfeld and Seely, “Barkhi Nafshi,” 302.

²⁰¹ Ibid.: “For our reconstruction, cf. Ezek 11:19; 36:26 (and 1QH^a XVIII 26 [1QH^a 21.12]).”

²⁰² See §4.3.2.2 Opening the Heart.

²⁰³ With that said, there are many references in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* which link heart to wretchedness and sinfulness: “My deeds and the perversity of my heart, because I have wallowed in impurity” (1QH^a 4.31); “With all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I have purified (myself) from iniquity” (1QH^a 7.23); “[I thank you, O Lord, that you have made straight in] my [hea]rt all the deeds of iniquity, and you have purifi[ed me]” (1QH^a 10.5); “Belial is like a counselor in their heart” (1QH^a 14.24-25); “I thank yo[u, O Lor]d, that you have instructed me in your truth, and made known to me your wondrous mysteries, and (made known) both your kindness toward a [sinful] person and your abundant compassion for the one whose heart is perverted” (1QH^a 15.29-30).

understanding. Thus we see that while 4Q436 employs the heart of stone metaphor recalling the imagery and similar meaning of Ezekiel, the metaphor's use in 1QH^a demonstrates a range within the meaning of the heart of stone. In this case, 1QH^a maintains the hardness of the stone imagery yet applies it to the psalmist's faculty of understanding.

Consequently, we observe a transformation of the metaphor. The author has manipulated the metaphor testifying to its inherent flexibility. The heart of stone does not need to be replaced by a heart of flesh as in the Ezek 11:19; 36:26 texts. Rather, the heart of stone is engraved upon, moving the metaphor in a different, though surely positive, direction. Such a maneuver can be loosely observed in MT Jer 17:1. Jer 17:1 states in translation, "The sin of Judah is written down with an iron stylus; with a diamond point it is engraved upon the tablet of their heart (חרושה על לוח לבם), and on the horns of their altars." Though the heart of stone is not directly mentioned here, stone imagery is nonetheless present being seen in the writing utensil used most often on stone, in this case the tablet.²⁰⁴ To Judah's disadvantage, the heart's tablet preserves the record of sins committed against the LORD. Only after a new covenant is made will the LORD write His own law on their hearts (Jer 31:33) which are presumably their new hearts of flesh (Ezek 11:19; 36:26). So though there is precedent in Jer 17:1 for the *Hodayot's* engraving upon stone hearts, the engraving results in a record of sins for Jer 17:1 but in the oracles of God for the *Hodayot's* psalmist.²⁰⁵

One other text bearing on the discussion of the heart of stone is 4Q184 f2.4-6: "A contrite heart (לב נדכה) supplicated him [...] and haughty looks (ורום עינים), uncircumcised heart (לב ערל) [...] act haughtily (רום לבב) and even wrath (אף)."²⁰⁶ Though the text is very fragmented, it is clear the speaker has much to say about the heart. Here, two hearts are contrasted: the contrite heart and the uncircumcised/haughty heart. On the one hand, the contrite or humbled heart supplicates to him (i.e. God?), even gaining favor. On the other hand, the uncircumcised heart is listed alongside haughty eyes (רום עינים) and an arrogant heart (רום לבב), with anger (אף) also numbering among the descriptors. This uncircumcised heart embodies sin, wickedness, and evil placing it in close proximity to the meaning of the

²⁰⁴ Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 417.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Prov 3:3 ("Do not let kindness and truth leave you; bind them around your neck, write them on the tablet of your heart") and 7:3 ("Bind them on your fingers; write them on the tablet of your heart"). In both cases, the "son" is instructed to carve (כתב) the commandments on the tablet of the heart (על-לוח לבך).

²⁰⁶ D. W. Parry and E. Tov, eds., *Calendrical and Sapiential Texts*, DSSR 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 286-287.

heart of stone in 4Q436. Consequently, we see from these texts that the metaphors uncircumcised heart and heart of stone bear similar meanings exhibiting a paradigm, whereby the *uncircumcision* and *stone* features represent evil, wickedness, and sinfulness. Such a representation causes the uncircumcised heart and heart of stone metaphors to stand in opposition to the pure heart.²⁰⁷ A similar relationship exists between the heart of stone and uncircumcised ear in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* but with a nuanced meaning.²⁰⁸ Indeed, the psalmist speaks of the uncircumcised ear in a similar way as he speaks of the heart of stone. The following figure is an attempt to illustrate these relationships within the *Hodayot*.

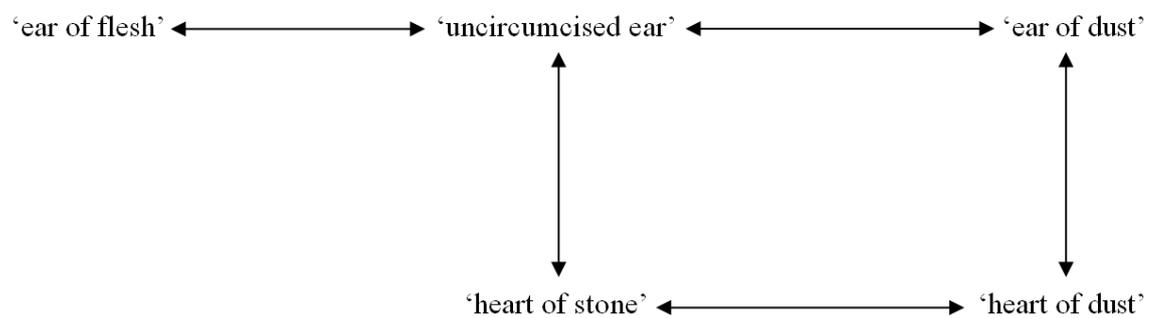


Figure 3: Relationships between Metaphors in 1QHodayot^a

Though the exact phrasing is the same within and without the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, the meaning of the heart of stone metaphor from within stands quite distinct from the meaning beyond the *Hodayot*. It stands to reason that the psalmist knew the phrase uncircumcised heart given that similar expressions uncircumcised ear (1QH^a 21.6) and uncircumcised lips (1QH^a 10.9, 20) are referenced. These phrases are also found in the biblical literature²⁰⁹ and other Dead Sea literature.²¹⁰ But it is not the heart-circumcision metaphor the psalmist chooses to use; rather it is the heart of stone. In his employment of this metaphor, the psalmist uses the heart of stone in a way hitherto unattested showing the variance of the meaning of the metaphor, contingent in each case upon its context.

²⁰⁷ Cf. further the foreskin of his heart (עורלת לבו) and equivalents in 1QS 5.26; 1QpHab 11.13; 4Q177 9.15-16; 4Q434 f1.i.4; 4Q504 f4.11; 4Q509 f287.1.

²⁰⁸ In this case, the heart of stone and uncircumcised ear are placed in a bicolon. See Kittel, *Hymns*, 26-27.

²⁰⁹ Exod 6:12, 30; Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4; 6:10; 9:26; Ezek 44:7, 9.

²¹⁰ 4Q436 f1.i.10 and see note 207 on page 106. Additionally, the biblical scrolls at Qumran testify to knowledge of these metaphors: 4Q22 1.9; from reconstructions 4Q1 f25.ii, 28-31.10-11; 4Q29 1.10-11; 4Q71 1.3.

4.3.2.5 *Heart of Stone in the Context of 1QHodayot^a*

My aim here is to evaluate the definition of the heart of stone against the backdrop of content in three areas: (1) our psalm's division, (2) our psalm in relation to other psalms, and (3) the entirety of the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. The content of our psalm's division (D^a 1QH^a 20.35-21.11a) is heavy-laden with knowledge terminology: knowledge (2x), understanding (1x), and insight (2x). This is then compounded with a densely packed, four references to the heart.²¹¹ If at two references the term ear (אָזן) was connected with these knowledge terms in our psalm's division, the term heart (לב/לבב) more so. Indeed, the psalmist draws decisively these connections by claiming that he cannot speak, lacking the thoughts to voice, unless God opens his heart (1QH^a 20.37). Further, the heart of stone is stupefied when it perceives the wonders revealed to the uncircumcised ear (1QH^a 21.6). Lastly, when God opens the heart of dust, He reveals knowledge to it so that it might guard itself against some evil (1QH^a 21.10). Consequently, knowledge terminology is wedded together with references to the heart unmistakably linking the two together. As was true of the uncircumcised ear, so this division emerges as the most important pericope within the psalm to explain the psalmist's God-given knowledge.

Our psalm (1QH^a 20.7-22.42) is also saturated with terms relating to knowledge (7x), understanding (4x), insight (4x), and mystery (3x). Additionally, it claims nine references to the heart, which is second only to ten references at psalms 1QH^a 12.6-13.6 and 13.22-15.8. Though it contains one fewer reference to the heart, it links the heart to these knowledge word fields in a way that is nonexistent in the other psalms.²¹² The high concentration of both word fields in comparison to other psalms in the *Hodayot* seems to suggest interconnectivity between the heart of stone and knowledge, understanding, insight, and mystery. The psalmist's own words buttress this connection: “[For you], O my [Go]d have opened my heart (לבבי) to your understanding” (1QH^a 22.31).

Beyond our psalm 1QH^a testifies that God places understanding in the heart (1QH^a 6.19). While some are without understanding in their heart (1QH^a 9.39), God grants it to others (1QH^a 10.20). God opens the heart to reveal His mysteries (1QH^a 24.28), even causing them to understand the plan of His own heart (1QH^a 25.13). Consistently

²¹¹ The data retrieved from this section can be found in the “Word List” of Schuller and Newsom, *Hodayot*, 87-110.

²¹² For instance, the psalm at 1QH^a 12.6-13.6 contains only five total references: knowledge (2x), understanding (1x), and mystery (1x). The psalm at 1QH^a 13.22-15.8 fares even worse with as little as three references: understanding (1x) and mystery (2x).

throughout the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, God is seen as revealing insight to the heart, opening it to His mysteries, granting knowledge where it is lacking, and bestowing understanding where there is no comprehension.

4.3.3 Coupling the Ear and Heart Metaphors in 1QHodayot^a

The psalms of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* show a tendency to couple the terms **אוזן** and **לב/לבב** together in reference to God's opening them to bestow understanding. Couplets of these terms appear in two categories: (1) references to the psalmist's ear and heart (1QH^a 15.41; 22.31), and (2) references to the metaphors uncircumcised ear/ear of dust and heart of stone (1QH^a 21.6, 13). In the first category, we see that both figures experience an opening from God resulting in some measure of new understanding. 1QH^a 15.41 states in translation, "[But yo]u, O my God, [have set my feet in the way of your heart. And you have opened my ear (**גליתיה אוזני**) to reports of your wonders, and my heart contemplates (**ולבי להבין**) your truth."²¹³ The psalmist has had his ear and heart opened²¹⁴ by God (i.e. the reports of God's wonders were revealed to him) in order that he would understand.²¹⁵ The psalmist reports doubly that he has gained new insight from God by having both the ear and heart opened; in this way an intensification of the revelation is made. Further, 1QH^a 22.31 translated claims, "[For you,] O my [Go]d have opened my heart (**פתחתה לבבי**) to your understanding (**לבינתכה**), and you have opened [my] ea[r...] (**ותגל אוזני**) and to rely upon your goodness." Whatever term is missing in the lacuna, it surely means

²¹³ Though this line of text might look rather suspicious considering that it has entirely been reconstructed, the reconstruction is well founded. The phrase **לבכה ולשמועות** ... is found in 1QH^b 1.13. The phrases **אלי** [כוננתה רגלי בדרך] and **באמתך** [אוזני ולבי להבין] are parallels of 4Q428 f10.5-6. Regarding the reconstruction of **גלה** note the comment by Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 213: "With the exception of col. XV 6 (VII 3), **אוזני** is always used with a preceding **גליתיה**."

²¹⁴ It could also be that the verb **גלה** only governs the ear in which case the text, "And my heart contemplates your truth," acts "as a final phrase that could have more of a resultative sense 'so that my heart may understand your truth.'" For this view, see Schuller, "Hodayot," 143. If this be the case, then the psalmist admits that the ear must be opened in order that the heart might understand God's truths. Such a reading aligns with 4Q423 f7.6-7: "Did He not open [your ear (**הלווא גלה אוזנכה**)] to the mystery that is to come] to make your heart [un]derstand (**להבין לבבכמה**)," in Elgvin, "Instruction," 524.

²¹⁵ Cf. 1QH^a 21.5-6: "[And ho]w can I see unless you have opened my eyes, or hear [unless you have opened my ears (**אוזני**)] **בלוא פתחתה אוזני**]" my [h]eart was appalled (**ל[ב]בי**). Though here the ears are opened for the sake of audibly hearing, what they have heard must be comprehended by the heart because it is consequently stupefied. So though the ears are not expressed as having understood any new revelation from God, they have heard the revelation and the heart comprehends it. The *Hodayot* also combines the eyes, ears, and heart at 1QH^a 15.6: "My eyes (**עיני**) have sealed shut from seeing evil and my ears (**ואוזני**) from hearing of bloodshed. My heart (**לבבי**) was appalled by an evil plan." Cf. 4Q504 f18.2-3: "You gave them a heart to know (**לב** [לדעת]) and eyes to see (**ועינים** [לראות]) and ears to hear (**ואוזנים** [לשמע])," (translation is mine) in Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.3*, 165.

something similar to the parallel **לבינתכה**,²¹⁶ indicating that the ear has been opened to perform some action semantically equivalent to **בין**.²¹⁷ This first category has shown us that the *Thanksgiving Psalms* exhibit a propensity to couple the terms ear and heart²¹⁸ with both being opened by God, thereby intensifying the effectiveness of their understanding.

In the second category, the uncircumcised ear/ear of dust and heart of stone metaphors are juxtaposed to express similar meanings. 1QH^a 21.6 reads in translation, “For to the uncircumcised ear the matter was opened, and the heart [of stone perceives wo]nders.” An example of parallelism,²¹⁹ the heart of stone’s perception expresses in similar terms what is meant by the uncircumcised ear’s opened matter (**נפתח דבר**). That is, the word revealed to the uncircumcised ear is similarly the wonders perceived by the heart of stone. The other text in this category is 1QH^a 21.13: “[You] have set straight (**ת[קנתה]**) in the ear of dust, and that which will be forever you have engraved (**חקותה**) on the heart [of stone].” In these two clauses, the psalmist states in similar ways a common concept. Just as God has chiseled on the heart of stone oracles of the future, so He has fixed them in the ear of dust. The lines set in juxtaposition parallel terms (i.e. ear of dust and heart of stone) and similar concepts (i.e. “You have set straight,” and “You have engraved”). In this context, these idioms have less to do with understanding as such and more to do with knowledge received. This second category provides examples of how the *Thanksgiving Psalms* set in apposition the ear-circumcision and heart of stone metaphors to emphasize the psalmist’s lack of understanding and knowledge. By coupling two phrases together with similar meanings, the psalmist intensifies the utter deficiency of his own comprehension of God more so than the first category. Moreover, since the heart of stone carries consistently similar meanings of non-understanding in distinction to the usage of **לב** unaccompanied by stone—itsself boasting a range of usages and meanings²²⁰—the metaphors, grounded in the conceptual ‘circumcising is opening’ metaphor, position themselves as the ultimate expressions of incomprehension that must be opened by God before imparting insight into divine mysteries.

²¹⁶ Kittel, *Hymns*, 27: “That is, in a bicolon or tricolon, the lines employ synonymous or contrasting terms, and identical grammatical constructions, to express essentially the same thought twice.”

²¹⁷ For Qimron’s proposal here, see note 186 on page 100.

²¹⁸ E.g., the *Hodayot* combine discussion of the ear with lips (1QH^a 26.40). But the psalms’ tendencies are to combine the ear with heart: ear with heart exclusively (1QH^a 16.1; 22.31); ear with heart plus eyes (1QH^a 15.6; 21.6); or ear with heart plus feet (1QH^a 15.41).

²¹⁹ For similar examples of parallelism in 1QH^a, see Kittel, *Hymns*, 60-62.

²²⁰ See note 203 on page 104.

4.4 Conclusions from 1QHodayot^a

Much of the *yabad*'s theology and ideology can be observed in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*. One particular belief of the *yabad* is the conviction that God bestows special insight to the one of uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. God grants knowledge where it is lacking and reveals understanding of hidden mysteries to the psalmist's uncircumcised ear and heart of stone. By having his ear and heart opened, the psalmist perceives that which was hitherto incomprehensible and/or gains knowledge of God's wonders, even His future plans. The *Hodayot* present metaphors of the ear (i.e. uncircumcised ear, ear of dust, ear of flesh) and heart (i.e. heart of stone, heart of dust) in close relationship to the other. The metaphors of the ear map onto the psalmist's non-understanding (i.e. uncircumcised ear), his lack of knowledge (i.e. ear of dust), and at times both (i.e. ear of flesh). Similarly, the metaphors of the heart explicate the psalmist's incomprehension (i.e. heart of stone) and his lack of knowledge (i.e. heart of dust). These metaphors undergo opening (1QH^a 21.6; 23.5; 25.12), straightening (1QH^a 21.13), uncovering (1QH^a 21.10), or engraving (1QH^a 21.13) resulting in the psalmist's new knowledge and insight of the mysteries of God.

This chapter proposed that the juxtaposed metaphors carry similar meanings which could be expressed as a non-understanding and lack of knowledge of the mysteries of God (1QH^a 21.6). This was accomplished first by analyzing other metaphors within the *Hodayot* and their *nomen rectum* such as dust, flesh, uncircumcision, and stone. The division within the psalm (D^a 1QH^a 20.35-21.11a) and the psalm itself (1QH^a 20.7-22.42) were shown particular preference in these analyses since their content demonstrates the most references to ear and heart terms within the *Thanksgiving Hymns* as well as a high frequency of interwoven knowledge terminology. Additionally, I sought to show that the heart of stone metaphor used in 4Q436 f1.i.10 sides with the meaning and imagery of the metaphor in Ezekiel and with the metaphor uncircumcised heart in 4Q184 f2.6, whereas 1QH^a employs the heart of stone metaphor in a nuanced way which was hitherto unknown. Thus, the *Hodayot* have demonstrated variance in the meaning of the heart of stone metaphor. For the author, the heart of stone is neither the heart of stone of Ezekiel or 4Q436 nor the uncircumcised heart of other Dead Sea literature. Rather, its meaning echoes the uncircumcised ear of the *Hodayot*.

Since the uncircumcised ear and heart of stone represent similar meanings of non-understanding, so the coupling of these phrases symbolizes in 1QH^a the psalmist's ultimate expression of his utter helplessness to understand God's wonders. By placing these

metaphors in tandem, the author creates an image unknown among extant literature. The juxtaposed metaphors are a doubly potent expression, admitting the psalmist's need for divine intervention to reveal the mysteries of God. This amplification of the psalmist's own incomprehension of God's plans seems to suggest that it is only first by the uncovering of his *uncircumcision* and *stone* can he then know of God's intentions for the future, namely the judgment to come (1QH^a 20.23). Through the revealing of these mysteries, the psalmist knows what to reply at the judgment (1QH^a 20.30). He is familiar with the description of the eternal dwelling at the judgment (1QH^a 21.15; 22.7) and no longer has need to fear the judgment (1QH^a 22.28-31). It is for this reason the psalmist blesses the God of knowledge who revealed these plans to him (1QH^a 22.34-36); indeed such gratitude invokes his continual praise and thanksgiving of God in all seasons (1QH^a 20.7-14).

Consequently, a new dimension of the metaphor's multifaceted meaning has been observed in the *Hodayot*. The uncircumcised ear is not in the process of becoming stupid as it was in *Targum Jonathan Jer* 6:10, but rather it is in the process of having mysteries revealed to it. It is not reflecting an inability or lack of desire *to do* God's will, but rather an inability *to understand* and *to know* God's future judgments. Similarly, the heart of stone is not indicative of an evil person who is unfaithful, but of a covenant insider who marvels at God's mysteries when they are revealed to him. The combination of these metaphors is not concerned with asserting the measure of moral standing before God but of forging a new image to express utter incomprehension. Thus, the combination of the metaphors changes *what* they mean and *who* they represent: the metaphors pertain to a lack of understanding and represent the covenant insider. The metaphors, however, reveal another meaning in Luke-Acts, perpetuating part of its meaning from 1QH^a while combining elements of its OT usage regarding covenant standing. This examination is taken up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

UNCIRCUMCISED IN HEARTS AND EARS IN LUKE-ACTS¹

Far from the *yabad*'s collection of hymns at Qumran, the ear-circumcision metaphor finds its way into the NT documents alongside recorded stories of Jesus and His apostles. Acts 7:51 brings the ear-circumcision metaphor together in closer proximity with a heart metaphor than that of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, whereby, through a bold move, the shape of the metaphor is changed: it is not the uncircumcised ears and heart of stone but the uncircumcised in hearts and ears. An analysis of this transformation further demonstrates the ear-circumcision metaphor's elasticity by defining afresh *who* the metaphor represents and *what* the metaphor means.

5.1 Background of Luke-Acts

A majority of scholars today accept a single author for the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.² The author of Acts addressed his work to Theophilus (Acts 1:1) and claimed to have written a previous volume to the same addressee whose contents record the life and work of Jesus (Acts 1:1-2). Of the Gospels, only the Gospel of Luke is addressed to a person named Theophilus (Luke 1:1).³ By the second century C.E. had been identified as Luke.⁴ Throughout the thesis, we will also call the author Luke.

¹ My thanks are due to John T. Carroll who kindly reviewed this chapter and provided insightful ruminations on both physical and metaphorical circumcision in Luke-Acts.

² C. S. Keener, *Acts*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2012), 402. For a response to a not-too-distant challenge to the unity of Luke-Acts (M. C. Parsons and R. I. Pervo, *Rethinking the Unity of Luke and Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993)), see J. B. Green, "Luke-Acts, or Luke and Acts?," in *Reading Acts Today*, ed. S. Walton et al., LNTS 427 (London: T&T Clark, 2011). It was the work of H. J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: Macmillan, 1927), 8-9, which placed the hyphen in Luke and Acts studies: "Even the recognition of the common authorship of Luke and Acts is not enough. They are not merely two independent writings from the same pen; they are a single continuous work."

³ But it is not only a shared dedicatee which has led some to conclude a union of the two books. Further support includes the narrative unity of the books' structure (cf. e.g., the concise summary in J. D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, EpC (Peterborough: Epworth, 1996), xiv.), shared themes and vocabulary (M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Les actes des deux apôtres*, vol. 3, Ebib 14 (Paris: Gebalda, 1990), 14-17), and the recapitulation of the Gospel's conclusion in Acts's introduction, continuing in the latter the storyline begun in the former (Keener, *Acts*, 1:551). This evidence of a two-volume corpus betrays single authorship (A. Ehrhardt, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Manchester: MUP, 1969), 1. Cf. similarly Keener, *Acts*, 1:551: the evidence

Two background issues of Luke-Acts are relevant to our discussion. These include provenance and genre. A brief review of the provenance paints a fuller picture of the extent to which the ear-circumcision metaphor was used and known across the Mediterranean world, though not ubiquitous. Our discussion on genre prepares us to view the structure of Luke-Acts through a particular lens exposing the functional role the metaphor plays in shaping the literary structure of the book.

The view of many scholars regarding the provenance of Luke-Acts can be adequately summarized thus: “As for the place of composition of Luke-Acts, no one knows.”⁵ Some evidence has been garnered from Irenaeus’s *Haer.* 3.1.1 and 3.14.1 placing its origin in Rome.⁶ But Eusebius’s *Hist. eccl.* 2.22.6 captures the hesitancy of accepting Irenaeus’s report when he indicates uncertainty about the assertion that Luke wrote in Rome. The so-called *Anti-Marcionite* Prologue to Luke suggests Achaia as the origin of composition, that Luke, “impelled by the Holy Spirit wrote this whole Gospel in the regions of Achaia.... And afterwards the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles” (lines 12-15, 33-34).⁷ Since the ancient testimony is inconsistent, we must be content to accept a provenance somewhere in the Diaspora, perhaps somewhere in the environs between Rome and Achaia.⁸

should “leave no room for doubt that we should view Luke’s Gospel and Acts as two volumes of a single work.”).

⁴ The *Muratorian Canon* lines 34-38 state in translation, “But the acts of all the apostles are written in one book. For the ‘most excellent Theophilus’ Luke summarizes the several things that in his own presence have come to pass” (Texts of the *Muratorian Canon* are taken from W. Schneemelcher, “General Introduction,” vol. 1 in *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. M. Wilson (London: Lutterworth, 1963)). The so-called *Anti-Marcionite* prologue to the Third Gospel asserts that Luke was a “Syrian of Antioch, a doctor by profession...and later followed Paul until his martyrdom.... And afterwards the same Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles” (lines 1-5, 33-34) (The text of the so-named *Anti-Marcionite* Prologue to the Gospel of Luke is taken from R. G. Heard, “The Old Gospel Prologues,” *JTS* 6 (1955)). Cf. further the *Muratorian Canon* lines 1-6: “The Third Gospel book, that according to Luke. This physician Luke after Christ’s ascension (resurrection?), since Paul had taken him with him as an expert in the way (of the teaching), composed it in his own name according to (his) thinking.” Irenaeus *Haer.* 3.1.1 claims, “Luke too, Paul’s follower, set down in a book the Gospel that was preached by Paul,” and *Haer.* 3.14.1 connects the w-texts of Acts with Luke: “Since Luke was present for all these events, he wrote them down carefully” (Texts of Irenaeus’s *Against the Heresies* Book 3 are taken from D. J. Unger, *St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Against the Heresies*, vol. 3, ACW 64 (New York: Newman, 2012)).

⁵ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 54-55; Cf. D. L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT 5 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 27, who incorrectly attributes a similar view to G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 1, HTKNT 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 121.

⁶ But this is perhaps pushing the text beyond what it is trying to say since Irenaeus does not record that Luke-Acts was written in Rome but rather that Luke was a traveling companion of Paul, that he sojourned with Paul to Rome, and that since “Luke was present for all these events, he wrote them down carefully.” Irenaeus’s text does not necessitate that Luke composed his corpus while in Rome.

⁷ To this, we could add the voice of Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* Preface, which agrees that Luke wrote in Achaia.

⁸ Cf. similarly the assessment of E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Nelson, 1966), 60.

The two genres most popularly proposed for Luke-Acts are historiography and biography.⁹ The difficulty in defining the genre of Luke-Acts, though, begins with the issue as to whether or not Luke-Acts is written in the same genre throughout both volumes.¹⁰ If we answer this question in the affirmative, is the Third Gospel really history? Similarly, can we classify Acts as *bios*? On the one hand, R. A. Burridge has argued from opening (e.g., title, preface), external (e.g., size, scale), and internal features (e.g., topics, style) of the Gospels that the Third Gospel is *bios*.¹¹ Afterwards, he examined Acts using the same method and concluded that Acts is similarly a “biographical monograph.”¹² Though Burridge’s argument for the Third Gospel proves convincing,¹³ a case for Acts as *bios* seems forced.¹⁴ On the other hand, the historical narrative features of Acts have been indubitably noted: “The reasons for regarding Luke-Acts as a History are obvious and, to most scholars, compelling.”¹⁵ But can the Third Gospel appropriately be called history? Lucan scholars point to the prologue of the Third Gospel, that Luke set out to write a narrative (*διήγησις*) of events in consecutive order (*καθεξῆς*).¹⁶ Luke also places the events of the Third Gospel in the context of world history, and he demonstrates the aptitude of a historian’s sense of causality. These features, along with his prologue, bear close

⁹ L. T. Johnson, “Luke-Acts, Book of,” *ABD* 4:406. Jewish Apology is also named among the top genres assigned to Luke-Acts.

¹⁰ Some exploit this problem to argue against the unity of Luke-Acts. See e.g., R. I. Pervo, “Must Luke and Acts Belong to the Same Genre?,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers*, ed. D. J. Lull, SBLSP 28 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 309-316.

¹¹ R. A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, SNTSMS 70 (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

¹² R. A. Burridge, “The Genre of Acts-Revisited,” in *Reading Acts Today*, ed. S. Walton et al., LNTS 427 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 28. Others who have similarly argued for biography of Luke-Acts include, e.g., L. C. A. Alexander, “Acts and Ancient Intellectual Biography,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, BAFCS 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 31-63; C. H. Talbert, “The Acts of the Apostles,” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. B. Witherington III (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 58-72.

¹³ See the assessment of Keener, *Acts*, 1:54.

¹⁴ For instance, whereas the Third Gospel is *bios* of one person, Acts is not, following the lives of the “early church leaders, especially Peter and Paul.” If this suggestion proves untenable, Burridge proposes that Acts is *bios* of the early church itself. Furthermore, Burridge admits that Acts’s title, range of subjects, “its allocation of space and broader focus and scale” differ from *bios*, but are not fitting of “ancient historiography proper” either. It appears too much of Burridge’s argument is based upon the length of single-scroll works, evidence which cannot bear the weight of his argument. See Burridge, “Genre,” 28, and the critique by Keener, *Acts*, 1:55. Just prior to Burridge’s publication, S. A. Adams, “The Genre of Acts and Collected Biography” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2011) sought to propose a similar generic label to Acts—collective biography.

¹⁵ Johnson, *ABD* 4:406. Even the popular German title assigned to the second volume of the Lucan corpus falls among these reasons—*Die Apostelgeschichte*.

¹⁶ Cf. L. C. A. Alexander, “The Preface to Acts and the Historians,” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. B. Witherington III (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 103, whose study on the prefaces of Acts and the Third Gospel led her to conclude, “There is no need, therefore, to argue for a different genre for the two works on the grounds of their prefaces.”

resemblances to ancient historiography.¹⁷ Although the Third Gospel by itself is (rightly) identified as *bios*, taking into account its union with Acts leads this thesis to view the two-volume work as history.¹⁸ In light of the genre overlap in Luke-Acts, the words of F. F. Bruce are worth remembering: Luke “set out with the intention to write history” (Luke 1:1-4) but “develops his theme biographically,”¹⁹ primarily through the persons of Jesus (Gospel of Luke), Peter (Acts 1-12), and Paul (Acts 13-28).

5.2 Structural Matters in Luke-Acts

In his address to Theophilus, Luke indicates that he has written out his treatise in “consecutive order” (καθεξῆς) starting from the beginning (Luke 1:3). The order of events in time and space thus prove to be important matters to the construction of Luke-Acts.²⁰ It is then no coincidence that the geographical movement of the narrative plays a meaningful role in the structure of the two volumes. Whereas the Third Gospel begins and ends its

¹⁷ See the arguments of J. Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20*, WBC 35A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 7-8, 11; L. T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, SP 3 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), 5-6; J. B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 5-6; F. Bovon, *Luke 1*, trans. C. M. Thomas, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 5-6. However, in her work L. C. A. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, SNTSMS 78 (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) has argued that the prologue of Luke bears close parallels to scientific treatises of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. However, if we conclude that Luke-Acts reflects two genres, then the logical step is to view the Third Gospel as *bios* and Acts as historiography. Some are content with this proposal, and indeed, others have highlighted the advantage of reading Luke-Acts with this dichotomy of genres in mind. Some see the value of assigning separate genres to Luke and Acts, regardless of whether or not they maintain Lucan unity, e.g., T. C. Penner, “Reconfiguring the Rhetorical Study of Acts,” *PRSt* 30 (2003): 436-437. Cf. further C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, WUNT 49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 33; D. W. Palmer, “Acts and the Ancient Historical Monograph,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, BAFCS 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 3; D. G. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 15. But it seems best to view the second volume as an extension of the first volume's genre. Cf. the assessments of D. E. Aune, *The New Testament in Its Literary Environment*, LEC 8 (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox, 1987), 80; J. B. Green, “Internal Repetition in Luke-Acts,” in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts*, ed. B. Witherington III (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 287; Burridge, “Genre,” 4; Keener, *Acts*, 1:61.

¹⁸ Cf. the comments by Aune, *Literary Environment*, 77: “By itself, Luke could (like Mark, Matthew, and John) be classified as a type of ancient biography. But Luke, though it might have circulated separately, was subordinated to a larger literary structure. Luke does not belong to a type of ancient biography for it belongs with Acts, and Acts cannot be forced into a biographical mold.” Some who accept Luke-Acts as history include, among others, A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to S. Luke*, 4th ed., ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), xi-xvii; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 2nd ed. (London: Tyndale, 1962), 15-16; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, trans. B. Noble and G. Shinn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 136-137; I. H. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, TNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 19-22; C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1:64, who concedes history or treatise; Green, *Luke*, 6; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 60; B. Witherington III, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 39.

¹⁹ F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 28, 30. Cf. similarly the comment in I. H. Marshall, “Acts and the ‘Former Treatise’,” in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. B. W. Winter and A. D. Clarke, BAFCS 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 180: “The whole work demonstrates affinities both to historical monographs and to biographies, but it appears to represent a new type of work, of which it is the only example.”

²⁰ J. T. Carroll, *Luke*, NTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 15.

narrative in Jerusalem, with an intermediate ministry in Galilee, the second treatise begins in Jerusalem and ends in Rome. As L. T. Johnson has expressed, “In the Gospel, the narrative moves *toward* Jerusalem.... In Acts, the geographical movement is *away from* Jerusalem.”²¹ The narrative advances away from Jerusalem and toward Rome according to the programmatic agenda²² announced in Acts 1:8: “And you shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the remotest part of the earth.”²³ In light of the importance Luke places on his narrative’s order and his programmatic agenda, an examination of the structure should expose the author’s emphases in his story and the pivotal points projecting the narrative along to its final destination.

5.2.1 Considering the Structure of Luke-Acts

The narrative of Luke-Acts draws special attention to certain geographical locales and movements. Jerusalem plays a pivotal role in Luke’s narrative.²⁴ Not only does the former treatise begin (Luke 1:9) and end (Luke 24:52-53) in Jerusalem, approximately twelve chapters in the middle of the two-volume treatise (Luke 19:11-Acts 8:3), bridging the final chapters of the first volume with the opening chapters of the second, are devoted to ministry in Jerusalem. A large portion of the Third Gospel narrative occupies travel en route to Jerusalem (Luke 9:51-19:10), and the geographical movement from Jerusalem to Rome in Acts includes intermittent visits to Jerusalem (Acts 15:4; 21:17). Both the geographical movement in Acts and the city of Jerusalem dovetail at the location of our metaphor, whereby the metaphor is found on the lips of Stephen in Jerusalem and facilitates movement in the narrative away from Jerusalem. Hence it is beneficial to our analysis to consider the structure of Luke-Acts to observe the role the metaphor plays in its literary structure.

²¹ Johnson, *Luke*, 14-15, emphasis original.

²² Marshall, *Acts*, 61: “Nevertheless, in a broad sense the programme outlined here [Acts 1:8] corresponds to the structure of Acts as a whole.”

²³ Though Rome is not mentioned specifically in the programmatic agenda of Acts 1:8, it is functioning as *pars pro toto*, at least from the perspective of the Acts narrative. Haenchen, *Acts*, 144: “In laying down the course of the Christian mission from Jerusalem to the ‘end of the earth,’ they also prescribe the contents of Acts: the progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome.” The remotest part of the earth is Rome, according to J. Dupont, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres*, LD 45 (Paris: Cerf, 1967), 261 n.32.

²⁴ Johnson, *Luke*, 15.

The structure of Luke-Acts outlined below allows the geographical locales and movements within Luke's narrative to guide the treatises' component parts.²⁵ The first volume opens with the prologue wherein Luke outlines the intent of his treatise (Luke 1:1-4).²⁶ After the prologue, Luke introduces the birth and infancy narratives of John and Jesus (Luke 1:5-2:52)²⁷ followed by John's ministry and Jesus's preparation (Luke 3:1-4:13)²⁸ in Jerusalem and its environs.²⁹ The next section is the narrative of "Jesus's Ministry in Galilee" (Luke 4:14-9:50).³⁰ Thereafter, Luke records the second major literary unity of Jesus's life—the section of "Jesus's Ministry en route to Jerusalem" (Luke 9:51-19:10).³¹

²⁵ In other outlines, it appears the thematic elements at work are accorded heavier weight than the geographical movements in determining the structure of the treatise. Cf. e.g., Ellis, *Luke*, 32-37.

²⁶ Plummer, *Luke*, xxxviii; N. Geldenhuys, *The Gospel of Luke*, NLCNT (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1961), 46; Ellis, *Luke*, 33; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, NIGTC (Exeter: Paternoster, 1978), 7; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, AB 28 (New York: Doubleday, 1981), 134; Johnson, *Luke*, v; J. Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, WBC 35C (Dallas: Word Books, 1993), vii; R. C. Tannehill, *Luke*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 7; Green, *Luke*, 25; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2; Carroll, *Luke*, 15. Cf. D. L. Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, BECNT 3A (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), 44, who lumps the prologue and the introductions of John and Jesus into Luke 1:1-2:52.

²⁷ Plummer, *Luke*, xxxviii; Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 46; Marshall, *Luke*, 7; Johnson, *Luke*, v; Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, vii; Tannehill, *Luke*, 7; Green, *Luke*, 25; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2; Carroll, *Luke*, 16.

²⁸ Marshall, *Luke*, 7; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 134; Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, vii; Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 44; Tannehill, *Luke*, 8, although ending at Luke 4:44; Green, *Luke*, 25; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2; Carroll, *Luke*, 16. Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 46, subdivides this section into the preaching of John (Luke 3:1-20) and Jesus's baptism/temptation (Luke 3:21-4:13). But cf. Luke 3:1-9:50 with reference to Jesus's ministry in Plummer, *Luke*, xxxviii. Similarly, see Luke 3:1-8:56 with reference to prophets John and Jesus, in Johnson, *Luke*, v-vi.

²⁹ Admittedly, the birth narrative of Jesus begins in Galilee with the angel appearing to Mary (Luke 1:26). But even there mention is made of Mary's travel toward Jerusalem to the hills of Judea to visit Elizabeth (Luke 1:39) as well as the journey towards Jerusalem, specifically Bethlehem, for the birth of Jesus (Luke 2:4-5). Additionally, Jesus is taken up to the temple in Jerusalem (Luke 2:22), and the childhood narrative of Jesus focuses on Jerusalem, specifically the temple (Luke 2:41).

³⁰ Plummer, *Luke*, xxxviii-xxxix; Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 46; Marshall, *Luke*, 7; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 134; Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 44; Tannehill, *Luke*, 8, though beginning at Luke 5:1; Green, *Luke*, 26; Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2; Carroll, *Luke*, 16. Cf. further "Prophets John and Jesus" (Luke 3:1-8:56) and "Preparing a Leadership for the People" (Luke 9:1-50), in Johnson, *Luke*, v-vi, and further still Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, vii-viii, who recognizes sectional beginnings at Luke 4:14 and 9:51, but lists various intermediary divisions.

³¹ Marshall, *Luke*, 9. There is anything but consensus among scholars as to where the journey to Jerusalem ends and where Jesus's ministry in Jerusalem begins. Some appeal to the references at Luke 19:28, 37, and 41 that Jesus was "ascending to" and "approaching" Jerusalem as indication that He was not yet *in* Jerusalem and so demarcate the journey section at Luke 19:44, beginning with Jesus's ministry in Jerusalem at Luke 19:45. See e.g., Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 46; Ellis, *Luke*, 36; D. L. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53*, BECNT 3B (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 1557; Tannehill, *Luke*, 9. Others end the journey to Jerusalem at Luke 19:27 and commence with Jesus's ministry in Jerusalem at Luke 19:28. Those who hold this view appeal, among other reasons, to Bethany and Bethphage as suburbia of Jerusalem, or they might appeal to a continued Lucan theme running between Jesus's descent from the Mount of Olives and His cleansing of the temple. These include e.g., Plummer, *Luke*, 444-445; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV*, AB 28A (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 1242; Johnson, *Luke*, 301; F. Bovon, *Luke 3*, trans. J. Crouch, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 4; Carroll, *Luke*, 385. My view shows more sympathies with the latter scholars. If indeed geographic locales and movements are significant in Luke-Acts, then the mention of Jerusalem's nearness at Luke 19:11 is significant and couples nicely with the reference to Jerusalem which commenced Jesus's journey thereto (Luke 9:51). Furthermore, I propose the section "Jesus's Preparation in Jerusalem for Ministry" (Luke 1:5-4:13). The setting of those events is not limited to Jerusalem per se, but also includes its environs (e.g., Bethlehem). In this light, it is reasonable to commence the "Jesus's Ministry in Jerusalem"

The third major literary unit of Jesus's life, corresponding to the final section of the Third Gospel, is "Jesus's Ministry in Jerusalem" (Luke 19:11-24:53).³² In bringing the Third Gospel to a close, Luke leaves the reader where he began the narrative—at the temple in Jerusalem.

Beginning again in Jerusalem, Luke seamlessly continues in Acts the narrative begun in the Third Gospel. Like the Gospel, Acts begins with a prologue. But unlike the Third Gospel, the parameters of the prologue are not as clearly defined in Acts.³³ It would seem that the volume's opening address to Theophilus transitions fluidly into Jesus's charge given to the apostles and their subsequent empowering to fulfill that charge. This I have labeled the "Prologue and Apostolic Ministry Mission" (Acts 1:1-2:41). Enclosed in this first section is the programmatic statement in Acts 1:8.³⁴ Numerous outlines of Acts have been proposed based upon various criteria.³⁵ Some view Acts through the lens of its two main characters (Peter [Acts 1-12] and Paul [Acts 13-28]).³⁶ Others utilize rhetorical devices to dissect Acts's sections.³⁷ Still others grant more weight to geography as it intersects with the table of nations (Shem [Acts 2:1-8:25], Ham [Acts 8:26-40], and Japheth [Acts 9:1-28:31]).³⁸ My outline attempt is guided by the agenda stated in Acts 1:8 as it relates to geographical movement in the narrative and takes into account the function of the summary statements which facilitate this movement in the narrative.³⁹

section at Luke 19:11 though the geographic locale rests outside Jerusalem and its suburbia. See further the section "Jesus's Ministry in Galilee" in light of Jesus's visit to the country of the Gerasenes (Luke 8:26).

³² Cf. Luke 19:45-24:53, in Ellis, *Luke*, 36; Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 47; Luke 19:28-24:53, in Bovon, *Luke 1*, 2.

³³ Keener, *Acts*, 1:576: "Acts lacks clear breaks concluding the preface and at many other points; Luke likes to create smooth transitions."

³⁴ Dupont, *Études*, 261 n.32, 397.

³⁵ Cf. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 119: "The structure of Acts is not easy to determine, and there are almost as many suggestions for its outline as there are heads that think about it." Space does not permit me to list all the different proposals for Acts, but samples can be observed in the following sources, among which there is little similarity: Acts 1:1-5:42; 6:1-9:31; 9:32-12:24; 12:25-16:5; 16:6-19:20; 19:21-28:31 (Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*¹, 60-64); Acts 1:1-26; 2:1-8:4; 8:5-40; 9:1-14:28; 15:1-35; 15:36-22:21; 22:22-28:31 (Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 120-123); Acts 1:1-11; 1:12-6:7; 6:8-9:31; 9:32-12:25; 13:1-15:35; 15:36-21:16; 21:17-28:31 (Bock, *Acts*, 46-48); Acts 1:1-14; 1:15-6:7; 6:8-9:31; 9:32-12:25; 13:1-16:5; 16:6-18:22; 18:23-20:38; 21:1-28:31 (Peterson, *Acts*, 35-36).

³⁶ E.g., W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 167. Cf. J. B. Polhill, *Acts*, NAC 26 (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 72-76.

³⁷ E.g., B. W. Longenecker, "Lukan Aversion to Humps and Hollows," *NTS* 50 (2004): 201-204.

³⁸ J. M. Scott, "Luke's Geographical Horizon," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, ed. D. W. J. Gill and C. H. Gempf, BAFCS 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 531.

³⁹ Cf. similar outlines in Haenchen, *Acts*, 143 n.9; L. T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, SP 5 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992), 10; Polhill, *Acts*, 72; W. J. Larkin Jr., *Acts*, IVPNTC 5 (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1995), 42; R. N. Longenecker, *Acts*, ExpBC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 30.

The second section in Acts concerns the “Apostles’ Ministry in Jerusalem” (Acts 2:42-8:3). The apostles’ healing and teaching ministry is confronted by resistance; persecution directs the mission movement away from Jerusalem. The third section of Acts is the “Apostles’ Ministry in Judea and Samaria” (Acts 8:4-12:25) which traces the testimonies borne by Philip, Saul, and Peter in those areas. The final division is the “Apostles’ Ministry to the Remotest Part of the Earth” (Acts 13:1-28:31) which consists of evangelizing activity in Asia (Acts 13:1-16:5) and Europe (Acts 16:6-19:20) with a final emphasis on Rome (Acts 19:21-28:31).

5.2.2 Structuring Acts 7:2-53

We find the reference to the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor towards the end of Stephen’s speech which is recorded in Acts 7:2-53. Stephen’s speech follows the high priest’s question, “Are these things so?” in reference to the charges brought against him: “This man incessantly speaks against this holy place, and the Law” (Acts 6:13; cf. 6:11, 14). The structure of the speech in Acts 7 proves valuable to our study for two reasons: first, it helps us identify the location and function of the metaphor within the speech itself and second, it sheds light on the role of the speech, and specifically the role of the metaphor, in the grander Luke-Acts narrative. As in the case of Acts, so the speech has been outlined in numerous ways.⁴⁰ But because Luke informs his audience that Stephen was a Hellenist (Acts 6:1, 5) who was irresistible in speech (Acts 6:10), ideally they would have understood Stephen’s defense in terms of the rhetorical features common to the Greco-Roman speeches of the day.⁴¹ Consequently, the thesis follows the classical rhetorical outline⁴² set forth by J. Dupont and taken up by others: *exordium* (v.2a), *narratio* (vv.2b-34), *propositio* (v.35), *argumentio* (vv.36-50), and *peroratio* (vv.51-53).⁴³ In the *exordium*, Stephen calls his

⁴⁰ A sampling of outlines for Acts 7:2-53 include the following: Acts 7:2-37 (Israel’s history), vv.38-50 (Israel’s decline), vv.51-53 (Israel’s blame), in J. Bihler, *Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte*, MThSt 1/16 (Munich: Hueber, 1963), 35; Acts 7:2-7 (Abraham), v.8 (transition), vv.9-16 (Joseph), vv.17-43 (Moses), vv.44-50 (temple), vv.51-53 (conclusion), in J. J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech*, AnBib 67 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976), ix-xi; Acts 7:2-16 (patriarchs), vv.17-34 (Moses), vv.35-50 (thematic), vv.51-53 (invective), in E. Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4*, SBLDS 41 (Missoula: Scholars, 1978), 39; Acts 7:2-36 (on the land), vv.37-43 (on the law), vv.44-50 (on the temple), vv.51-53 (indictment), in Longenecker, *Acts*, 134-143; Acts 7:2-16 (patriarchs), vv.17-43 (Moses), vv.44-50 (tent and temple), vv.51-53 (denunciation), in Dunn, *Acts*, 92-97; Acts 7:2-8 (Abraham), vv.9-16 (Joseph), vv.17-38 (Moses), vv.39-53 (Jesus), in Peterson, *Acts*, 246.

⁴¹ C. S. Keener, *Acts*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2013), 1332-1333.

⁴² A fine reference work for technical information about rhetoric is H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, trans. M. T. Bliss, A. Jansen, and D. E. Orton (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁴³ J. Dupont, “La structure oratoire du discours d’Étienne (Actes 7),” *Bib 66* (1985): 153-167; Polhill, *Acts*, 188 n.38; Witherington III, *Acts*, 260-261; Bock, *Acts*, 277; Keener, *Acts*, 2:1332-1334.

audience⁴⁴ to hear,⁴⁵ addressing them in fictive kinship terminology so as to build “rapport and contact.”⁴⁶ “Hear me, brethren and fathers!” (Acts 7:2a).⁴⁷ Following the *exordium*, the *narratio* recounts the history of Israel from the call of Abraham to Moses’s commission to return to Egypt. Central to this narration are the persons Abraham, Joseph, and Moses through whom Stephen highlights with repetition Israel’s rejection of God’s chosen leaders.⁴⁸ This prepares the audience for the argumentation to follow. The *propositio* in v.35 is the transition to the argumentation of the speech. It makes clearer what has been implied in the narration: “What humans have rejected, God has selected.”⁴⁹ Next follows the *argumentio* in vv.36-50 where Stephen shows that the rejection of God’s leaders led Israel into idolatry and a temple theology which negated the transcendence of God.⁵⁰ Foreshadowing the *peroratio* is the argumentation of v.37: “God shall raise up for you a prophet like me from your brethren.” Lastly, the *peroratio* comes in vv.51-53, Stephen’s emotional appeal. This is the most polemical part of the speech, indicting the religious leaders for murdering the Righteous One, as their Israelite ancestors had done the prophets before them, and for disobeying the law. It is here Stephen uses OT invective language as a

⁴⁴ Cf. the comments in B. R. Gaventa, *The Acts of the Apostles*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2003), 120-121, who states that the audience is three-fold. The first two are in the narrative audience: the Diaspora Jews and the Jewish leaders. The third is the authorial audience, “those who are hearing or reading Luke’s account.”

⁴⁵ The call to hear may anticipate the narrative report at the conclusion that “when they heard this, they were cut to the quick, and they began gnashing their teeth at him” (Acts 7:54). See M. L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 61.

⁴⁶ Witherington III, *Acts*, 264.

⁴⁷ Keener, *Acts*, 2:1354: “Ancients employed such fictive kinship terminology in an honorary manner, sometimes in direct address.”

⁴⁸ Although Stephen mentions these rejections of Joseph (Acts 7:9) and Moses (Acts 7:29), the speech is for the most part neutral, if not positive. He establishes common ground by identifying himself with his audience. Only later in the invective of Acts 7:51-53 will he sharply dissociate himself from them.

⁴⁹ Witherington III, *Acts*, 260. This is drawn from the Israelite’s response to Moses, “Who made you a ruler and a judge?” (Acts 7:27). More specifically then, what the Israelites have rejected, God has selected.

⁵⁰ Scholars have debated much as to the function of Stephen’s comments on the temple and how they relate to the (false) charges alleged against him that he spoke ill of the temple (Acts 6:13-14). References in Stephen’s speech to God’s presence residing outside the temple complex (Acts 7:2, 9, 33) have been used to support Stephen’s critique of the skewed view of the temple held by his accusers that God’s presence was confined to the temple. It was a common belief among some Hellenistic Jews that the temple acted as a metaphor of the cosmos (see C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple* (London: Routledge, 1996), 8-10). It might be that Stephen’s teaching stems from such a belief and so attacks the misunderstanding of God’s transcendence and subsequent confinement to the temple. It is similarly likely that Stephen’s accusers misconstrued Stephen’s teaching regarding the temple’s destruction in the same way false witnesses (Mark 14:58) distorted Jesus’s teaching on the temple’s destruction (Luke 21:6; cf. 19:44-45), though nothing in Stephen’s speech indicates there will be a rebuilding (cf. e.g., M. Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 22). Whatever the case with Stephen’s speech, Luke-Acts portrays both a favorable view of the temple (Luke 2:27, 37, 46; Acts 2:46; 5:20; 21:26) and a critique of the temple vis-à-vis Jesus’s temple purging (Luke 19:45-46).

countercharge: “You men who are stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears are always resisting the Holy Spirit; you are doing just as your fathers did” (Acts 7:51).

At this point, we have seen that the metaphor is found in the *peroratio* of Stephen’s speech, at the beginning of the *peroratio*, and functions as an indictment of his hearers. The metaphor is a denouncement of Stephen’s audience lifted from OT terminology which connects the history of Israel’s rebellion recounted by Stephen with his auditors. The metaphor comes at the climax of the speech, clearly dissociating Stephen from his audience in a polemical manner. Furthermore, it functions like a counteraccusation of his accusers, after which follows the “evidence of his accusation” in vv.52-53.⁵¹ It therefore plays a pivotal role in the speech itself portraying the image of the Jewish leaders from Stephen’s point of view. It also plays an even greater role in the narrative of Luke-Acts, but before moving on, we will take up a short examination of the textual readings of the metaphor at Acts 7:51.

5.2.2.1 Textual Readings at Acts 7:51

Though only minor textual variants are witnessed at Acts 7:51,⁵² still a short discussion of the accepted reading in this thesis should be made. While the textual variants under review occur in v51, Acts 7:51-53 is provided for context:

σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι ἱ καρδίαις καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν, ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς. τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου, οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδοταὶ καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε, οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε. You men who are stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears are always resisting the Holy Spirit; you are doing just as your fathers did. Which one of the prophets did your fathers not persecute? They killed those who had previously announced the coming of the Righteous One, whose betrayers and murderers you have now become; you who received the law as ordained by angels, and yet did not keep it.

The dispute pertains to *καρδίαις* though witnesses to other readings do exist. These include *ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*⁵³ (in your [plural] hearts), *καρδίας*⁵⁴ (of heart), *τῇ καρδίᾳ*⁵⁵ (in the heart),

⁵¹ Soards, *Speeches*, 68.

⁵² The text variants do not receive mention in B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 310.

⁵³ The evidence for this reading according to NA²⁸ is **Σ** (Codex Sinaiticus), **Ψ** (uncial 044; reads *ταῖς καρδίαις*), and minuscules (945, 1175, 1739, 1891).

⁵⁴ This reading can be found in B (Codex Vaticanus) according to NA²⁸.

⁵⁵ This reading is supported by E (Codex Laudianus), **Ⲛ** (the Majority text), it (Old Latin witnesses), vg^{mss} (Vulgate manuscripts with independent readings), sy^p (Peshitta), Lcf (church father Lucifer), GrNy

and τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν⁵⁶ (in your [plural] heart). This thesis follows the accepted text of NA²⁸, καρδίαις, for several reasons. The external attestation of this reading bears weight being both early and valuable.⁵⁷ The plural dative τοῖς ὡσὶν is not inconsequential support for reading καρδίαις (although anarthrous) nor is the plural dative ταῖς καρδίαις at Acts 7:54: ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα διεπρίοντο ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν (“Now when they heard this, they were cut to the quick”). In this light, the singular dative readings καρδίᾳ and τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν and the singular genitive reading καρδίας lose their allure. The reading ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν appears to be the more persuasive contender for καρδίαις. But apart from Codex Sinaiticus, its witnesses in uncial and minuscules date no earlier than the ninth century C.E. in contrast to the multiple, early witnesses of καρδίαις. Additionally, we might view the longer reading ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν as making explicit what is already implicit in the shorter, perhaps awkward, καρδίαις, thereby rectifying the anarthrous text.⁵⁸

5.2.3 Function of Acts 7:2-53 in Luke-Acts

As has been demonstrated earlier, the metaphor uncircumcised in hearts and ears plays an important role in the structure of Acts 7:2-53, being situated at the climax of Stephen’s speech, the *peroratio*. Similarly, the speech itself functions as a turning point in Acts thrusting the narrative along in a new direction.⁵⁹ If length of speech bears any significance for its importance, then this is Luke’s most important speech.⁶⁰ Here my purpose is to analyze the role of the speech in Luke-Acts and draw out the implications of the metaphor in Luke’s narrative.

The reception of Stephen’s speech by his audience was anything but positive. Upon hearing Stephen’s denouncement of the Jewish leaders, “they were cut to the quick, and they began gnashing their teeth at him” (Acts 7:54). After Stephen shared with them his

(church father Gregory of Nyssa), and Cyr^{pt} (cited by church father Cyril of Alexandria more than once and in more than one form) in NA²⁸.

⁵⁶ In NA²⁸, this reading is found in a minuscule (323).

⁵⁷ According to NA²⁸, this is read by P⁷⁴ (papyrus 74), A (Codex Alexandrinus), C (Codex Ephraemi rescriptus), D (Codex Bezae), p (Latin codex), vg (Vulgate), and Cyr^{pt} (cited by church father Cyril of Alexandria more than once and in more than one form).

⁵⁸ See the comments in Barrett, *Acts*, 1:376. In this light, καρδίαις is the *lectio difficilior* because it is likely that ταῖς καρδίαις harmonizes with τοῖς ὡσὶν.

⁵⁹ The importance of Stephen’s speech in propelling the narrative forward from Jerusalem to Judea and Samaria is well-acknowledged among scholars. Cf. similar statements in Haenchen, *Acts*, 289; Larkin Jr., *Acts*, 120; Dunn, *Acts*, 91; Witherington III, *Acts*, 264; Bock, *Acts*, 276; Keener, *Acts*, 2:1331.

⁶⁰ See the comments in Bock, *Acts*, 309. One estimate claims that Stephen’s speech comprises five percent of Acts. See R. I. Pervo, *Acts*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 175 n.2.

vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God, “they cried out with a loud voice, and covered their ears, and they rushed upon him with one impulse” (Acts 7:57). Having driven him out of the city, they proceeded to stone Stephen to death (Acts 7:59-60).

Stephen’s speech and subsequent martyrdom answer the question as to how the apostles’ ministry moved away from Jerusalem to the second phase of the apostolic mission “in all Judea and Samaria” (Acts 1:8).⁶¹ For after recounting the death of Stephen, Luke comments, “And on that day a great persecution arose against the church in Jerusalem; and they were all scattered throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria” (Acts 8:1). On the heels of Stephen’s death and Luke’s summary statement then follow (1) accounts of Philip’s mission activity in Samaria and Gaza, (2) Peter and John’s enterprise in Samaria, and (3) Saul’s conversion and evangelism in Damascus.⁶² Stephen’s speech brings to an end then the Jerusalem narrative begun in Luke 19:11. From this point, mission activity will extend *away from* Jerusalem. The gospel activity in Judea and Samaria is the shortest narrative of the three-part mission of Acts 1:8 and will give way to the largest narrative section in the second treatise which charts the journey of the gospel to Rome (Acts 13:1-28:31).

The story of Stephen has several points of connection with the narrative of “Jesus’s Ministry in Jerusalem” (Luke 19:11-24:53). Having indicted the Jewish leaders, Stephen gazes into heaven and sees Jesus (Acts 7:55-56). Stephen says, “Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!” (Acts 7:59), words which are similar to the last utterances recorded on the lips of Jesus: “Father, into Your hands I commit My spirit” (Luke 23:46). In his final moments, Stephen cries out, “Lord, do not hold this sin against them!” (Acts 7:60), words which echo those of Jesus: “Father, forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing” (Luke 23:34).⁶³ Through these similar sayings, Luke establishes a linkage between the death of Jesus and the martyrdom of Stephen. Stephen is portrayed as a true follower of Jesus who

⁶¹ Witherington III, *Acts*, 260; Peterson, *Acts*, 244 n.1.

⁶² Although admittedly Saul’s conversion and evangelism in Damascus might seem an odd geographic locale for talk of mission activity in Judea and Samaria, Luke’s summary statement following the narrative on Saul says, “So the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria enjoyed peace, being built up; and, going on in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit, it continued to increase” (Acts 9:31). It appears from the narrative arrangement and summary statement that Luke’s intention was to incorporate Saul’s conversion as recorded in Acts 9 as part of the apostolic mission to Judea and Samaria.

⁶³ Other points of contact include the reference to the Son of Man (Luke 22:69; Acts 7:56), crying out with a loud voice (Luke 23:46; Acts 7:60), and Stephen’s falling asleep (Acts 7:60) compared to Jesus’s breathing His last (Luke 23:46).

carries out the ministry of Jesus. Stephen's mission and death are then seen as an extension of Jesus's, and so Stephen's critique of the Jewish leaders turns the mission movement away from Jerusalem as Jesus predicted.⁶⁴

What role then does the metaphor play in the larger narrative of Luke-Acts? According to J. A. Fitzmyer, Stephen's speech and death represent the initial break between Christians and Jews: "Stephen's stinging indictment of his Jewish adversaries initiates the break of Christianity from this matrix."⁶⁵ Though this might be overstating the case for such a definitive break,⁶⁶ the Stephen episode certainly demonstrates an abrasive relationship between Judaism and Jesus's followers which continues throughout the second treatise. And it is this stinging indictment, the metaphor, which plays so critical a role in the larger, Luke-Acts narrative. Arguably, it was Stephen's reference to the "Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56) which brought about Stephen's death.⁶⁷ But his invective against the Jewish leaders primed the pump for the execution which followed.⁶⁸ In this light, the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor is instrumental in Luke-Acts in bringing about a major narrative shift, initiating the movement of the gospel away from Jerusalem and on to Rome.

5.3 Analysis of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts

When offering an explanation of ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor in Acts 7:51, the tendency of some has been to revert back to the OT (both MT and LXX), flesh out its

⁶⁴ Another link between Stephen and Jesus is the false witnesses' accusation against Stephen: "For we have heard him say that this Nazarene, Jesus, will destroy this place and alter the customs which Moses handed down to us" (Acts 6:14). Luke's account of the passion narrative does not include the (false) anti-temple rhetoric of Jesus at His trial (cf. Mark 14:57-58) but this rhetoric is (supposedly) on the lips of Stephen here. Consequently, Jesus is on trial again, vicariously as it were, through the person of Stephen. Cf. Kilgallen, *Stephen Speech*, 32-33.

⁶⁵ Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 368. Cf. E. Richard, "The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7," *JBL* 98 (1979): 265: "The Stephen speech (and the Joseph episode within that context) is, among other things, a farewell speech to Judaism."

⁶⁶ Taking an opposite view as that of Fitzmyer is J. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 3: "This does not mean that the separation had been effected before the middle of the second century as once supposed; indeed, one result of the intensive work in the field has been to make it more rather than less difficult to assign a date to, or to speak unambiguously about, *the separation*" (emphasis original).

⁶⁷ Acts 7:57 seems to indicate that the stoning was precipitated by what the audience perceived as blasphemy. Witherington III, *Acts*, 276. Cf. Lev 24:11-16, 23. Although, cf. A. F. J. Klijn, "Stephen's Speech—Acts VII.2–53," *NTS* 4 (1957): 26-27: "There is no doubt that the cause of Stephen's death was the way in which he summarized the history of the Jews. He reproaches his hearers and their fathers for always rebelling against the Holy Spirit."

⁶⁸ Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:472-473.

meaning in the original context, and then transpose that interpretation onto the indictment of Acts 7:51 solidifying its meaning there. Our study, however, will attempt to allow the content of the Stephen episode (Acts 7:2-53) to define the metaphor in conjunction with a similar expression in Acts 28:26-27—dull hearts and scarce-hearing ears. Beyond this, Luke-Acts contains a host of references to heart (*καρδία*) and ear (*οὖς*),⁶⁹ as well as references to circumcision, which illuminates our results so far.

5.3.1 Circumcision in Luke-Acts

Though metaphorical circumcision occurs only once in Luke-Acts and is used pejoratively, Luke-Acts presents the rite of circumcision on numerous occasions in a non-problematic, or even positive light. Of the Gospels, Luke's is the only one which recounts Jesus's circumcision: "And when eight days were completed before His circumcision, His name was then called Jesus, the name given by the angel before He was conceived in the womb" (Luke 2:21). The circumcision act receives no comment from Luke⁷⁰ and is sidelined for the sake of the naming event.⁷¹ Still, the account casts in a positive light the parents' obedience to the law in circumcising the male child on the eighth day (Lev 12:3).⁷² Their obedience is further demonstrated in naming Jesus according to the command of the angel (Luke 1:31).⁷³ Together, the reference to circumcision and naming serve to display the piety of Jesus's parents.

Jesus's naming and circumcision on the eighth day link linguistically back to John's: "And it came about that on the eighth day they came to circumcise the child, and they were going to call him Zacharias, after his father. And his mother answered and said, 'No indeed; but he shall be called John'" (Luke 1:59-60). Zacharias and Elizabeth are depicted

⁶⁹ These data have been collected from the NA²⁸. In descending order, the NT books which contain the most references to *καρδία* are Luke (22x), Acts (20x), Matthew (16x), Romans (15x), and Mark/2 Corinthians/Hebrews (11x). Again in descending order, the NT books which contain the most references to *οὖς* are Revelation (8x), Matthew/Luke (7x), Acts (5x), and Mark (4x). As the data show, not only in their own right do Luke and Acts maintain prominent positions among the NT writings, taken together they emerge as the leading voice in the NT on the meaning of hearts and ears. There is thus sufficient reason to examine the meaning of the metaphor from within the Lucan corpus given the references to hearts and ears.

⁷⁰ Bovon, *Luke 1*, 86.

⁷¹ Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 419. Cf. the comments by M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 133: "Auch hier fungiert der Hinweis auf die Beschneidung lediglich als nebensächliche Zeitangabe. Die Hauptsache ist die Namengebung."

⁷² Johnson, *Luke*, 56. At stake here is not only the parent's obedience, but "it is important for Luke that Jesus' legal credentials under the Mosaic law be from infancy impeccable." See Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20*, 113.

⁷³ Green, *Luke*, 140.

as covenant-faithful Jews, circumcising the male child on the eighth day out of obedience to God's command (Gen 17:9-14) and naming him John at the behest of the angel (Luke 1:13). As in the case of Jesus's parents, these events depict the parents of John as obedient and pious Jews.⁷⁴ In both cases of John and Jesus, Luke does not represent circumcision in a purposefully positive light but neither does he characterize the act of circumcision in a problematic way.

Beyond these two references of eighth-day circumcision,⁷⁵ Luke records the circumcision of Timothy: "Paul wanted this man to go with him; and he took him and circumcised him because of the Jews who were in those parts, for they all knew that his father was a Greek" (Acts 16:3). Acts portrays Timothy as a Jew in need of circumcising. This is accomplished not only by the reference to his mother being a Jew (Acts 16:1),⁷⁶ but by the expectation among the Jews in Acts 16:3 that Timothy should be circumcised.⁷⁷ For these reasons, and because Paul wanted to take Timothy along on his journeys, Paul had Timothy circumcised. By including Paul's circumcision of Timothy, Luke is concerned to show that Paul's missionary activity among the Gentiles was "not in any way an abandonment of his commitment to Judaism."⁷⁸ As such, Luke's account casts the circumcision of Timothy in a positive light not only in preparation for Acts 21:21, but in light of the circumcision conflict of Acts 15.⁷⁹

The positive portrayal of Timothy's circumcision might seem paradoxical when considering it follows on the heels of the Jerusalem Council's debate on circumcision. While some were promoting the necessity of circumcision among the Gentiles to receive salvation (Acts 15:1), Paul was among the number who opposed this criterion (Acts 15:2). And yet in Acts 16, Paul is seen performing circumcision. Is Luke-Acts's depiction of Paul's view on circumcision contradictory? The difference rests on the *necessity* of circumcision unto salvation for the Gentile.⁸⁰ The Council ruled that salvation is by faith for both the Gentile and the Jew (Acts 15:11)⁸¹ and therefore circumcision is not necessary

⁷⁴ Johnson, *Luke*, 45; Carroll, *Luke*, 54-55.

⁷⁵ Cf. further Acts 7:8.

⁷⁶ C. K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 2, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 2:762.

⁷⁷ Witherington III, *Acts*, 475.

⁷⁸ Johnson, *Acts*, 289.

⁷⁹ Peterson, *Acts*, 451.

⁸⁰ Dunn, *Acts*, 216.

⁸¹ Marshall, *Acts*, 249-250.

for salvation. So though circumcision in general appears to be criticized here, it is specifically the requirement of circumcision for salvation, and such a burden as that placed on the Gentiles, which is in view—not the rite itself.⁸²

The circumcision conflict of Acts 15, however, does not dampen the overall positive picture of physical circumcision in Luke-Acts, for the closing narrative of Acts includes yet another affirming reference to circumcision: “And they have been told about you, that you are teaching all the Jews who are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, telling them not to circumcise their children nor to walk according to the customs” (Acts 21:21). The charge that Paul was teaching the Jews to forsake the law, specifically regarding circumcision, has already been prepared by Luke in Acts 16:3.⁸³ By presenting these charges as false rumors,⁸⁴ Luke is asserting that Paul was teaching circumcision for the Jews which is consistent with his circumcising Timothy.

From the beginning chapter to the closing scenes of Luke-Acts, physical circumcision is not cast in a problematic light. On several occasions, the rite of circumcision is described positively, though this must be held in the context of addressing the Jews.⁸⁵ This positive description of physical circumcision seems to be in keeping with Luke-Acts’s view on metaphorical circumcision—both are commended.

5.3.2 Hearts and Understanding in Luke-Acts

In Luke-Acts the *καρδία* serves various functions. While in no case airtight, references to *καρδία* can be seen repeatedly in four general categories.⁸⁶ Most popularly employed in Luke-Acts are mentions of the reasoning, pondering, and speaking which take place in the heart.⁸⁷ Thinking occurs in the heart (Luke 9:47), the heart reasons (Luke 5:22), and some speak in their hearts (Luke 12:45).⁸⁸ Following this repetition of the cognitive function of

⁸² J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, KEK 3/17 (Göttingen: V&R, 1998), 412.

⁸³ J. Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, NTD 5/17 (Göttingen: V&R, 1981), 314.

⁸⁴ Bock, *Acts*, 647.

⁸⁵ Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 122-123, demonstrates the complexity of Luke-Acts’s portrayal of circumcision, with particular emphasis on eighth-day circumcision for Jews.

⁸⁶ These classifications do not include the metaphor itself at Acts 7:51.

⁸⁷ But the heart is not a mere substitute for mind. Note the distinction in Luke 10:27: “And he answered and said, ‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your *heart*, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your *mind*; and your neighbor as yourself’” (emphasis added).

⁸⁸ See further Luke 1:51, 66; 2:19, 35, 51; 3:15; 21:14, 34; Acts 5:4; 7:23; 11:23; 16:14; 28:27-28.

the heart is its faith capacity.⁸⁹ The heart can believe OT prophecies (Luke 24:25) but also doubt the resurrected Jesus (Luke 24:38).⁹⁰ Next, the heart is attributed a level of morality, or lack thereof. The heart is described at times as sincere and good (Luke 8:15) or filled with lies (Acts 5:3). In this vein it is assessed by God (Luke 16:15) to determine if the heart is right in His eyes (Acts 8:21).⁹¹ Lastly, the heart exhibits emotion. It is said to be glad (Acts 2:26) and even broken from sorrow (Acts 21:13).⁹² While an analysis of each of these classifications might contribute in some small way to our understanding of the metaphor uncircumcised in hearts and ears, the first two functions of the heart (i.e. cognition and belief) align most closely with the use of *καρδία* in Acts 7:51 and 28:26-27. Considering that these first two categories also comprise some 67%⁹³ of *καρδία* references in Luke-Acts, their analyses will yield the most profitable results.

As we might expect, there are some occasions when the heart understands its own contemplations and other times not. For instance, Luke 3:15 states in translation, “Now while the people were in a state of expectation and all were wondering (*διαλογιζομένων*) in their hearts (*καρδίαις*) about John, as to whether he might be the Christ...” The text indicates that the people were pondering in their hearts.⁹⁴ So the reference to their heart is for Luke to show the place from which the question was raised; the heart is the place of contemplation.⁹⁵ The heart contemplated something it did not understand—the identity of John. That it did not understand is made clear by both the interrogative particle and the optative mood of the verb: *μήποτε αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ χριστός*.⁹⁶ In a similar case, the scribes and Pharisees wondered over Jesus’s identity: “But Jesus, aware of their reasonings, answered and said to them, ‘Why are you reasoning (*διαλογίζεσθε*) in your hearts (*καρδίαις*)?’” (Luke 5:22). They pondered in their hearts who Jesus might be, and whether or not He had

⁸⁹ A. Sand, “*καρδία, ας, ή,*” *EDNT* 2:250, defines *καρδία* as “the *inner person*, the seat of understanding, knowledge and will, and takes on as well the meaning *conscience*” (emphasis original).

⁹⁰ See further Luke 8:12; 10:27; 24:32; Acts 2:37; 4:32; 7:39, 54; 13:22; 15:9.

⁹¹ See further Luke 1:17; 6:45; 12:34; Acts 8:22.

⁹² See further Acts 2:46; 14:17.

⁹³ This percentage is based upon the total number of *καρδία* references in Luke-Acts (42x) and their respective categories as outlined above. Cf. note 88 on page 127, note 90 on page 128, note 91 on page 128, and note 92 on page 128, and the additional references listed there.

⁹⁴ The text does not mean that the people did not later speak about this matter publicly for John answers their question as to his identity; he is not the Christ. Plummer, *Luke*, 94.

⁹⁵ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 319. See further Bovon, *Luke 1*, 125: “For Luke, the ‘heart’ is the location of the will and of thought (more than of emotion). In it dwell both decisions and questions.”

⁹⁶ BDAG, s.v. “*μήποτε*,” §3ba.

blasphemed, since He had pronounced the sins of the paralyzed man forgiven: “And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, ‘Who is this man who speaks blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone?’” (Luke 5:21). Jesus responds to their confusion identifying Himself as the Son of Man (Luke 5:24). As in the previous case, here the inner musings located in the heart⁹⁷ have to be clarified; the lack of understanding in their hearts is rectified when the identity of Jesus is made known to them.⁹⁸

Though at times the heart’s musings do not generate clarity of thought, at other times it fully understands. Acts 5:4 reads in translation, “While it remained unsold, did it not remain your own? And after it was sold, was it not under your control? Why is it that you have conceived this deed in your heart (*καρδίᾳ*)? You have not lied to men, but to God.” Peter rebukes Ananias for lying about keeping back a portion of the money from the recent sale of a piece of property. The narrative explains that Ananias and his wife Sapphira retained some of the money from the transaction. Both were agreed and both knew (*συνειδυίης*) of the deed (Acts 5:2).⁹⁹ There was no misunderstanding or confusion in their hearts as to their deceitful act.¹⁰⁰ The text further reinforces their mutual understanding through Peter’s interrogation of Sapphira: “Why is it that you have agreed together to put the Spirit of the Lord to the test?” (Acts 5:9). Their hearts understood clearly the actions they took; they lied attempting to cover up this fact.

Luke-Acts also speaks of the transition from the heart’s non-understanding to understanding. There is the occasional situation whereby the heart must be opened to understand: “And a certain woman named Lydia, from the city of Thyatira, a seller of purple fabrics, a worshiper of God, was listening; and the Lord opened (*διήνοιξεν*) her heart (*καρδίαν*) to respond to the things spoken by Paul” (Acts 16:14). Lydia’s heart was opened by the Lord to understand Paul’s teachings. Noteworthy is this reference’s linkage to the texts above where the heart experienced non-understanding. In the case of Luke 3:15, the people wondered in their hearts about John’s identity, if he were the Christ. Again, in the

⁹⁷ The phrase indicates that they had not spoken aloud. See Plummer, *Luke*, 155; H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HTKNT 3/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1969), 283.

⁹⁸ Could this not be deduced from the scribes and Pharisees’ glorifying God? See Green, *Luke*, 243 n.56.

⁹⁹ Their unity in conspiracy led to their unity in judgment—death. See Longenecker, *Acts*, 111.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. further Luke 12:45: “But if that slave says in his heart (*καρδίᾳ*), ‘My master will be a long time in coming’, and begins to beat the slaves, both men and women, and to eat and drink and get drunk.” In the parable, the slave speaks in his heart, conceiving an idea of which there is absolute clarity. That the slave understands what he says in his heart is made clear by the fact that in the parable he begins to act upon that understanding, taking advantage of his situation since he perceives that his master will not return in time to discover his deeds. Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53*, 1181.

case of Luke 5:22 the scribes and Pharisees wondered about Jesus's identity, if he were God. Similarly here, the things spoken by Paul (οἱ λαλουμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου) must surely be in reference to Jesus's identity as the Christ leading to Lydia's subsequent belief, for after Paul taught her, Lydia was baptized (Acts 16:15).¹⁰¹ In the examples of Luke 3:15 and 5:22, non-understanding resulted when pondering the Christ-centered significance of the situation. Likewise here, the text indicates that the heart had to be opened by the Lord¹⁰² to understand this message.¹⁰³ Could it be that Acts 16:14 is the *Schlüsselselvers* to the riddle of how one heart understands the message as it pertains to Christ, and another not?¹⁰⁴

The previously examined texts have been examples of the heart's understanding, non-understanding, and the passing from confusion to comprehension. Examples from these latter two groups have pertained to understanding the Christ-content of the message whereby comprehension was granted only after the heart was enlightened by the divine agent. In the case of Acts 16:14, opening the heart to understand led to belief,¹⁰⁵ the second most-repeated use of the heart in Luke-Acts.

Whereas Acts 16:14 mentions the heart and implies belief, Luke 24:25 explicitly weds together the elements heart, understanding, and belief: "And He said to them, 'O foolish men and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken!'" En route to Emmaus, two apostles discussed the recent events in Jerusalem surrounding the death of Jesus. While pondering the crucifixion and the case of the empty tomb, the resurrected Jesus approached and engaged them in this discussion on their journey. The apostles' difficulty believing the report of the women, that Jesus had been raised, evoked Jesus's rebuke: "Foolish men and slow of heart to believe" (ἀνόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεῦειν). The apostles are labeled unintelligent, dull-witted (ἀνόητοι);¹⁰⁶ they lack understanding of the Scriptures and their relevance to Jesus's death.¹⁰⁷ The apostles'

¹⁰¹ Longenecker, *Acts*, 257.

¹⁰² Cf. below the divine passive and its connection to opening the ear.

¹⁰³ This is spoken of in terms of conversion. Marshall, *Acts*, 267; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 245; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 422. Witherington III, *Acts*, 493, says it like this: "It was the Lord who opened her heart *to listen* eagerly to the Gospel taught by Paul and so be converted" (emphasis added).

¹⁰⁴ Though the heart comprehends its deeds in the previous example of Acts 5:4, what it understands does not regard the enigmatic, Christ-message. So while it serves our purpose to show that a heart can understand fully, it fails to take into account how the heart understands a Christ-centered message, which Acts 16:14 adequately does.

¹⁰⁵ Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 245: "Dem Glauben folgt ganz selbstverständlich die Taufe."

¹⁰⁶ BDAG, "ἀνόητος," §a.

¹⁰⁷ Marshall, *Luke*, 896; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 782.

unintelligence is intricately tied to their slow-heartedness to believe “all that the prophets have spoken” (Luke 24:25).¹⁰⁸ While their slowness might express the apostles’ reluctance to believe and speak towards their moral failure,¹⁰⁹ it is likelier that their inability to understand the recent events and subsequent hesitancy to believe the Scriptures are attributable to divine concealment: “But their eyes were prevented from recognizing Him” (Luke 24:16).¹¹⁰ Not only did the two apostles fail to recognize Jesus as He walked alongside them, it was not until a later occasion when Jesus appeared before the rest of the apostles that they understood: “Then He opened (διήνοιξεν) their minds to understand the Scriptures” (Luke 24:45).¹¹¹ The ways the Scriptures foreshadowed the Christ were concealed from the apostles here as they are in Luke 9:44-45.¹¹² Similarly, here the spiritual meaning of the message must be revealed by the divine agent as they were in Luke 8:8-10.¹¹³ Luke 24:25 exemplifies explicitly in Luke-Acts how the divine agent opens the heart to understand enigmas leading the heart to believe. It not only characterizes the heart’s role in understanding, the most popular use of heart terms employed in Luke-Acts, it also demonstrates how that understanding leads the heart to believe, the second most-used reference to heart in Luke-Acts.

We have already seen precedent that the uncircumcised in hearts are those who do not understand their need for deliverance (Acts 7:25). Not only has our study of hearts in Luke-Acts affirmed this previous position, it has added the element of the divine agent’s interaction with the heart, opening it to understand the message as it relates to the Christ (Acts 16:14) which leads to belief (Luke 24:45). If the one uncircumcised in hearts neither understands his deliverance nor believes, what role does the uncircumcised in ears play?

¹⁰⁸ E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium*, HNT 5 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1929), 237.

¹⁰⁹ Johnson, *Luke*, 395; Green, *Luke*, 848.

¹¹⁰ So Bock, *Luke 9:51-24:53*, 1909-1910; contra Nolland, *Luke 18:35-24:53*, 1201, who sees this as Satanic blinding. Cf. the comments by K. Lammers, *Hören, Sehen und Glauben im Neuen Testament*, SBS 11 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1967), 40: “Der Ankündigung der Leidensweissagung stehen sie verständnislos, ja ungläubig gegenüber (Lk 18,34). ‘Denn die Erkenntnis des Gehörten ist nicht nur eine Sache, die allein vom Menschen abhängt und in seinem Willen liegt, sondern bei der auch Gott seine Hand im Spiel hat, denn er ist es, der den Menschen die Erkenntnis gibt oder nicht.’”

¹¹¹ For Bovon, *Luke 3*, 394-395, this is not only an explanation as to why their hearts were slow (Luke 24:25), it shows the interchangeability of mind (νοῦς) and heart (καρδιά). See also Carroll, *Luke*, 483. Here and Acts 16:14 seem to suggest the ‘circumcising is opening’ metaphor is in mind in Luke-Acts.

¹¹² See §5.3.3 Ears and Hearing in Luke-Acts.

¹¹³ See §5.3.3 Ears and Hearing in Luke-Acts.

5.3.3 Ears and Hearing in Luke-Acts

An analysis on the usage of ears in Luke-Acts reveals that there are three categories to which each use of the term οὖς might be allocated: (1) audible hearing, (2) Christ-content hearing, and (3) cutting of the ear. A few examples will suffice as demonstration. In the first category, the recipient's ear simply hears a message. The ear operates in its natural auditory function to receive a message as in the case when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting: "For behold, when the sound of your greeting reached my ears, the baby leaped in my womb for joy" (Luke 1:44).¹¹⁴ In the second category, the ear is meant to hear the Christ-centered relevance of the message as in the case of Jesus's repeated call for His audience to listen: "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (Luke 8:8).¹¹⁵ Curiously, in every instance of these first two categories the message the ears hear directly relates to Jesus (Luke 1:44; 4:21; 9:44; Acts 7:57), the kingdom (Luke 8:8; 14:35; Acts 11:22), or the coming judgment (Luke 12:3; Acts 28:27). Consequently, the ears are reserved for hearing the message of God in Luke-Acts. The final category is occupied by the removal of the right ear from the high priest's slave (Luke 22:50). Of particular interest to our study is a further examination of the second category, with a short analysis of the significance of the third, and the placement of the metaphor uncircumcised in hearts and ears (Acts 7:51) within these categories.

Considering that references to ears are reserved for the hearing of divine messages, we turn to examine those texts. The admonition of Luke 8:8 (ὁ ἔχων ὅτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω; "He who has ears to hear, let him hear")¹¹⁶ follows the parable of the sower who sows seeds on four types of soils. When the apostles inquire as to the meaning of the parable, Jesus quotes Isa 6:9 (Luke 8:10), and provides the explanation. It becomes clear in His explanation that divine-enabled hearing is emphasized.¹¹⁷ The soils represent four types of hearers of the word of God.¹¹⁸ All four hear the word, yet it is only the last soil which produces "a crop a hundred times as great" (Luke 8:8). Though the first three types of people hear the word, they do not believe it nor hold fast to it and are subsequently not

¹¹⁴ See further Luke 4:21; 12:3; Acts 7:57; 11:22.

¹¹⁵ See further Luke 9:44; 14:35; Acts 28:27.

¹¹⁶ This phrase is repeated in Luke 14:35.

¹¹⁷ Marshall, *Luke*, 320: "By it the hearers are summoned to hear at a deeper level than mere sense perception, to take hold of the meaning of the parable, to apply it to themselves, and thus ultimately to hear the word of God which can save them." See further Horst, *TDNT* 5:552; E. Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, NTD 3/18 (Göttingen: V&R, 1982), 94; R. H. Stein, *Luke*, NAC 24 (Nashville: Broadman, 1992), 245.

¹¹⁸ Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 302.

saved (Luke 8:12).¹¹⁹ By contrast, the last hearer hears the word in an honest and good heart, holds fast to it, and bears fruit with perseverance (Luke 8:15). This explanation of the parable was offered to the apostles who had been granted “to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,”¹²⁰ while others see but do not perceive and hear but do not understand (Luke 8:10).¹²¹ In order to make sense of Jesus’s command for His audience to hear (Luke 8:8), it must be concluded that those who have been granted to know the mysteries hear the parable, comprehend its relevance,¹²² believe, and are saved. For others, the parable and its significance remain enigmatic.¹²³

In a similar expression, Jesus commands the apostles to hear: “Let these words sink into your ears; for the Son of Man is going to be delivered into the hands of men” (Luke 9:44).¹²⁴ The phrase adds gravity to Jesus’s words implying that a level of effort will be needed to understand His pronouncement.¹²⁵ The words which Jesus wants them to place in their ears (θέσθε ὑμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὄτα ὑμῶν) are the following comments about His impending death. That this death prediction is of paramount importance is made clear by the emphatic command to listen (θέσθε ὑμεῖς). And yet, they failed to hear: “But they did not understand (ἠγνόουν) this statement, and it was concealed (παρακεκαλυμμένον) from them so that they might not perceive (μὴ αἰσθῶνται) it; and they were afraid to ask Him about this statement” (Luke 9:45).¹²⁶ It is clear that the apostles did not understand (ἀγνοέω) nor perceive, and that the meaning of the statement was concealed from them.

¹¹⁹ Tannehill, *Luke*, 141: “They see and hear superficially, without the message taking on lasting meaning in their lives.” Cf. also Plummer, *Luke*, 220: “They ‘have not’ a mind to welcome instruction, and therefore they are taught in a way which deprives them of instruction, although it is full of meaning to those who desire to understand and do understand.”

¹²⁰ Marshall, *Luke*, 321: “The disciples ask about the meaning of the parable. Jesus replies that the meaning is, or should be, open to them. They have been granted by God to know the mysteries of the kingdom.”

¹²¹ Contrary to the crowd, the apostles see and understand the parable’s implication, so Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 707.

¹²² The command of Luke 8:8 is probably Christ “calling for right understanding of the deeper meaning,” according to Ellis, *Luke*, 127. Horst, *TDNT* 5:555-556: “God it is who must here open the ear for true and believing hearing, and yet the imperative of the challenge to hear maintains its full seriousness, if the physical ear with its possibilities of hearing is to be set in the service of the most astonishing thing that a man can hear.”

¹²³ Cf. M. Dibelius, “Wer Ohren hat zu hören, der höre,” *TSK* 83 (1910): 464: “Jesu Lehre war so beschaffen...[die] nur zur Verstockung dienen musste.”

¹²⁴ The command to hear “suggests that Jesus intended his disciples to understand the following passion announcement.” See Stein, *Luke*, 290. Cf. Green, *Luke*, 390.

¹²⁵ Carroll, *Luke*, 223.

¹²⁶ With these four phrases, “Luke outlines their failure to hear.” Green, *Luke*, 390. Cf. Tannehill, *Luke*, 164.

What is not clear is why. If the “so that” (ἵνα) opens a purpose clause, then in conjunction with the theological passive (παρακεκαλυμμένον) it would seem that divine involvement is at play concealing the meaning from them.¹²⁷ This explanation proves satisfying and even complementary in light of Jesus’s saying in Luke 8:10 where understanding was granted. Hence, in Luke-Acts hearing which ascertains the enigmatic meaning of the message is portrayed as something which can be granted (Luke 8:10) or concealed (Luke 9:45).¹²⁸

In our investigation of hearing, we have seen that ears are directly connected with knowing the meaning of the parable and understanding/perceiving Jesus’s sayings. Knowledge and understanding of the message can either be granted or concealed by the divine agent. Jesus’s command to listen (Luke 8:10; 9:44; 14:35) is a call for those who have been granted to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God to ascertain the significance of His sayings and respond accordingly.

Situating these conclusions against the backdrop of our study of heart terminology sheds light on the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor. When references to ears are disjoined from references to hearts in Luke-Acts, the ears are associated with both hearing and understanding (Luke 8:8-10). When the ears are conjoined with hearts, understanding is associated with the heart and hearing is allotted to the ears (Acts 28:27). When the implications of these results bear upon Acts 7:51, the phrase uncircumcised in hearts and ears means the rejection of God by those whose hearts have neither understood nor ears heard the need for deliverance. Evidence for this lack of hearing and perception is rooted in divine concealment of the heart (Acts 28:27) and ears (Luke 9:45) but might be remedied by divine revelation to the same (Luke 8:10; 24:25; Acts 16:14). Therefore, the uncircumcised in hearts and ears falls within the Christ-centered hearing category and is driven by the ‘circumcising is opening’ metaphor.

5.3.3.1 *The Maimed Ear in Luke 22:50*

In Luke 22:50 we find the strange incident of the removal of the right ear from the high priest’s slave and its subsequent healing: “And a certain one of them struck the slave of the high priest and cut off his right ear. But Jesus answered and said, ‘Stop! No more of this’. And He touched his ear and healed him.” Luke’s is the only account in the NT which

¹²⁷ Plummer, *Luke*, 256; Marshall, *Luke*, 394; perhaps Schweizer, *Lukas*, 107; Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 814; Carroll, *Luke*, 224. Contra Stein, *Luke*, 291.

¹²⁸ Cf. the general comments of Dibelius, “Wer Ohren hat,” 465: “Den Schriften ist geoffenbart, ‘was kein Verstand der Verständigen sieht’.”

records the healing of the dismembered ear.¹²⁹ Yet by recounting the healing, something peculiar occurs: two different words for ear are used to describe the events. Whereas Matt 26:51 employs *ὠτίον* and Mark 14:47 and John 18:10 use *ὠτάριον*, in Luke's account the apostle maims the slave's right ear (*οὖς*) but Jesus touches the slave's ear (*ὠτίον*) and it is healed. Various reasons have been offered to explain this peculiarity.¹³⁰ It might be that Luke simply displays variety in his writing,¹³¹ or that he records the general term (*οὖς*) to describe what member of the body was mutilated and afterwards the precise term (*ὠτίον*) for that member which was healed.¹³²

It has been argued by some that an attack on the slave would have been regarded as an attack on the master, in this case the high priest.¹³³ While a mutilated ear would have rendered the person unfit for priestly service,¹³⁴ would such an act on the slave have, by extension, disgraced the high priest?¹³⁵ Still, it is curious in Luke-Acts that it was the high priest who cross-examined Stephen (Acts 7:1) and was struck by the invective language of Stephen (Acts 7:51) as well as, perhaps, the apostle's act of violence (Luke 22:50). In both instances the attack/criticism is directed toward the *οὖς*.¹³⁶

5.4 Meaning of the Metaphor in Luke-Acts

The research addressing ear- and heart-circumcision metaphors at Acts 7:51 reveals shortfalls: (1) the diversity of explanations of the metaphors among scholars suggests that

¹²⁹ This might be to show the continuation of Jesus's healing ministry and/or to exemplify Jesus's command to love in return those who hate. See Johnson, *Luke*, 353; Green, *Luke*, 784; Carroll, *Luke*, 447-448.

¹³⁰ See further Horst, *TDNT* 5:551 n.76; Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 727.

¹³¹ Marshall, *Luke*, 837.

¹³² P. Joüon, "Luc 22,50-51," *RSR* 24 (1934): 474.

¹³³ Marshall, *Luke*, 837.

¹³⁴ D. Daube, "Three Notes Having to do with Johanan ben Zaccai," *JTS* 11 (1960): 59-62; Marshall, *Luke*, 837.

¹³⁵ Daube, "Three Notes," 61, claims, "The action taken by Jesus' disciple was...a very well-chosen insult, the wound was of a type which, had it been inflicted on the servant's master, would have forced him from office. And there can have been nobody who did not understand. One could not lay hands on the master, and there is, of course, no question of his having become unfit. But at least he was not so far out of reach as to escape altogether: he would be seriously and suggestively disgraced by having his servant mutilated in this particular manner." D. Daube built upon the work of M. Rostovtzeff, "*οὖς δεξιὸν ἀποτέμνειν*," *ZNW* 33 (1934): 197-198, who argued that cutting off the ear of the high priest's slave was an intentional, symbolic act to bring disgrace upon the slave.

¹³⁶ According to Horst, *TDNT* 5:558 n.1, *οὖς* and *ἀκοή* represent "the organ of hearing" whereas *ὠτίον* and *ὠτάριον* are diminutive forms. Note M. Völkel, "*οὖς, ὠτός, τό*," *EDNT* 2:547, who maintains that "*οὖς* always means the natural ear in the NT, esp. insofar as it entails the capacity of hearing."

their meaning has been poorly grasped;¹³⁷ (2) the ear-circumcision metaphor is often overshadowed by a greater discussion on the heart-circumcision metaphor, thereby receiving inadequate attention at best or no mention whatsoever at worst.¹³⁸ Unfortunately, still other scholars do little more than provide an OT cross-reference, such as Deut 10:16 or Jer 6:10, figuring that such references suffice as explanation of ear-circumcision.¹³⁹ Consequently, the ear metaphor in Acts 7:51 seems only loosely ascertained. Variety among scholars' explanations of the metaphor on the one hand and silence among some on the other hand warrant a reinvestigation of this metaphor's meaning and function in Luke-Acts.

5.4.1 Meaning of the Metaphor in the Stephen Episode

Before a proper examination of the metaphor can be undertaken, it should be discussed whether the heart- and ear-circumcision reference represents one or two metaphors. If separate treatments of uncircumcised in hearts and uncircumcised in ears among scholars' works are any indication, then the majority favor taking the phrase as two metaphors.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Cf. the summaries of explanations of uncircumcised in hearts and ears in the following sources. Some scholars perceive both uncircumcisions to refer to the same thing: Israel's disobedience (R. P. C. Hanson, "Studies in Texts," *Theology* 50 (1947): 145; F. F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 152; Dunn, *Acts*, 98); Israel's impenitence (Bihler, *Stephanusgeschichte*, 78); synonymous with σκληροτράχηλος (E. Jacquier, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 2nd ed., Ebib (Paris: Gabalda, 1926), 233; Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4*, 171); spiritually pagan (Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 246); Israel's unresponsiveness (Bock, *Acts*, 304). Other scholars separate the two uncircumcisions and assign differentiated meanings to uncircumcised hearts and uncircumcised ears. E.g., hearts//disobedience; ear//deafness (B. W. Bacon, "Stephen's Speech," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, ed. Yale, YBP (New York: Scribner's, 1901), 223); hearts//a heavy spirit and impure feelings; ears//a closed and stained understanding (A. F. Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Émile Nourry, 1920), 346); hearts//disobedience; ears//deafness (Kilgallen, *Stephen Speech*, 101); hearts//pride and sin; ears//deafness (Marshall, *Acts*, 147); hearts//internal disposition does not keep the covenant; ears//disobedience (Johnson, *Acts*, 134); hearts//disobedience; ears//unready to hear and accept God's word (Barrett, *Acts*, 1:376); hearts//disposition is pagan; ears//spiritually do not hear (Larkin Jr., *Acts*, 119); hearts//spiritually dead; ears//unwillingness to listen to the truth (Witherington III, *Acts*, 274); hearts//impenetrable to God's speech; ears//deafness (J. Van Eck, *Handelingen*, CNit 3 (Kampen: Kok, 2003), 183); hearts//unchanged inner disposition; ears//inability to heed God's word (Peterson, *Acts*, 264); hearts//spiritually pagan; ears//spiritual deafness (Keener, *Acts*, 2:1423 n.1222, 1424).

¹³⁸ Mention or explanation of uncircumcised in ears is absent in the following: E. C. Shedd, "Stephen's Defense before the Sanhedrin," *BibWor* 13 (1899): 100; R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1904), 106; J. Calvin, *The Acts of the Apostles, 1-13*, trans. J. W. Fraser and W. J. G. McDonald, CalC (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), 213; Longenecker, *Acts*, 144; D. G. Burns, "Evoking Israel's History in Acts 7:2-53 and 13:16-41" (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 2006), 176-177. No mention of uncircumcised in hearts and ears is made in Soards, *Speeches*, 68.

¹³⁹ T. Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lucas*, Str-B 5 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1919), 258; Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*¹, 176-177; Haenchen, *Acts*, 286; Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4*, 138; Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 125; R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg 1-12)*, vol. 1, EKKNT 5 (Zurich: Benziger, 1986), 1:257; H. Conzelmann, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. J. Limburg, A. T. Kraabel, and D. H. Juel, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 56; R. C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 87; Polhill, *Acts*, 205; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 385; Gaventa, *Acts*, 130; Pervo, *Acts*, 192.

¹⁴⁰ At least they divide the metaphor and offer different explanations into the constituent parts. See note 137 on page 136.

There is merit for this since the OT likewise does not record the two phrases in tandem, but rather separately.¹⁴¹ However, the grammar of the construct would suggest that the phrase is meant to be understood as one. Stephen accuses his auditors of being stiff-necked¹⁴² and uncircumcised. The plural datives which follow (*καρδίαις και τοῖς ὠσίν*) are datives of respect; that is, the audience is uncircumcised with respect to their hearts and ears.¹⁴³ So there are two, not three, accusations leveled here, prompting us to take the indictment as one phrase.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Acts 7:51 is not a quotation from the OT but molds together OT invective language forging a new indictment “as harsh and unrelenting as can be imagined.”¹⁴⁵ For these reasons the phrase will be analyzed as one metaphor.

Stephen’s recital of Israel’s history (Acts 7:2-50) hints at the meaning of the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor and prepares for the indictment which follows.¹⁴⁶ The crowd’s reaction to his countercharge (Acts 7:54-60) confirms what was suspected in the speech and also sheds light on its meaning. In this way, the recounting of Israel’s history, the indictment, and the auditors’ reaction are linked to cast light on the meaning of those uncircumcised in hearts and ears.¹⁴⁷ The speech begins with Stephen calling his audience to hear (*ἀκούω*; Acts 7:2). Considering that his audience had “secretly induced men” (Acts 6:11) to lay accusations against Stephen by “false witnesses” (Acts 6:13), it is reasonable to anticipate that the hearers will do just the opposite of what Stephen has implored them to do.¹⁴⁸ In fact, Stephen’s listeners were “stirred up” and consequently dragged him before

¹⁴¹ For uncircumcised in hearts see Lev 26:41; Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4; 9:25; Ezek 44:7, 9. For uncircumcised in ears see Jer 6:10.

¹⁴² Cf. 1QS 5.1-5; *Jub.* 1.22-25; *Spec. Laws* 1.304-306.

¹⁴³ Bock, *Acts*, 304.

¹⁴⁴ Additionally, Stephen’s charge that his hearers are uncircumcised is one of the three hapax legomena of the NT used in Acts 7:51: *σκληροτράχηλος* (stiff necked), *ἀπερίτμητος* (uncircumcised), and *ἀντιπίπτω* (resisting). Such a high concentration of hapax legomena in a single verse would be grounds to view the phrase uncircumcised in hearts and ears in a special light; indeed it is the only text in the MT, LXX, or NT where both circumcision metaphors are brought together.

¹⁴⁵ Dunn, *Acts*, 98. Cf. Barrett, *Acts*, 1:376.

¹⁴⁶ See Hanson, “Studies,” 144-145: “Verses 51 and 53 make the whole meaning of Stephen’s speech clear. The speech does not break off abruptly, as so many critics assume; the verses are a *summary of the foregoing verses*, drawing the moral” (emphasis added). In this way, the history of Israel recounted by Stephen should itself shed light on the meaning of the metaphor. Cf. also Bacon, “Stephen’s Speech,” 223: “The application, vv.51-53, sum [*sic*] up the whole speech in the climactic denunciation.” Klijn, “Stephen’s Speech,” 28.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. the comments in Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4*, 241, and note the use of heart and ear: “The continuity between the speech proper, the invective, and the subsequent narrative is easily demonstrated, especially when the themes of rejection and persecution or the recurrence of the terms *δόξα*, *οὐρανός*, *καρδία*, *οὖς*, and *πνεῦμα* are given full consideration.”

¹⁴⁸ Soards, *Speeches*, 61: “This manner of opening the speech [*ἀκούσατε*] anticipates the narrative report at the conclusion [Acts 7:54].”

the Council (Acts 6:12), foreshadowing the outcome of Stephen's speech where they are further aroused and drive him out of the city (Acts 7:58).¹⁴⁹ Just such a description of the jury is no indication that they will actually listen to Stephen.

Contrasting with such an audience disinclined to listen is the reference to God who hears Israel's cry: "I have certainly seen the oppression of My people in Egypt, and have heard their groans, and I have come down to deliver them; come now, and I will send you to Egypt" (Acts 7:34). God's speech in Acts 7:34 can be found in Exod 3:7-10. It is the promise God made to Abraham which prompts God's deliverance of Israel in the Exodus text. Curiously, it is what God has seen and heard (i.e. Israel's oppression) which arouses Him to act according to Acts 7:34.¹⁵⁰ The positive light cast with reference to God's hearing His people commends the audience likewise to listen to God and His messengers. Later Stephen will charge his audience for rejecting and murdering both the prophets and the Righteous One (Acts 7:52), a sobering indication that they had indeed not listened. The reference to God's hearing makes another critical connection; it links hearing with deliverance.¹⁵¹ Just as the reference to God's hearing summons the audience similarly to hear, so perhaps the connection between God's hearing and His delivering is effective for His listeners who can also experience deliverance if they would only listen.

But Stephen's indictment that they were uncircumcised in hearts and *ears* implies they had not listened. In reaction to Stephen's speech, "they cried out with a loud voice, and covered their ears, and they rushed upon him with one impulse" (Acts 7:57). Refusing Stephen further opportunity to speak, the audience covers their ears with their hands, reinforcing physically what Stephen accused them of metaphorically: they have foreskinned ears.¹⁵² It is clear the crowd listened to Stephen's speech, if by listening we mean the auditory sense perception process, otherwise they would not have stoned him for what he

¹⁴⁹ One way these events foreshadow Stephen's death is by recalling the outcome of Jesus's passion where He was similarly confronted (Luke 22:47-53), arrested (Luke 22:54), and taken to the Council (Luke 22:66). See Johnson, *Acts*, 109.

¹⁵⁰ Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 239.

¹⁵¹ While many scholars emphasize God's seeing the oppressed Israelites, Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:253, stresses the fact that God heard and therefore delivered them: "Die Sendung des Mose dient der Beendigung der Mißhandlung des Gottesvolkes, dessen Stöhnen Gott gehört hat: Er stieg herab, um es 'herauszureißen'."

¹⁵² Keener, *Acts*, 2:1443: "For Luke, however, it illustrates the principle in 7:51 and 28:26-27: they were deliberately deaf to God's summons." Johnson, *Acts*, 140, who is followed by Bock, *Acts*, 313, makes the literary connection between uncircumcised in hearts and ears in Acts 7:51 and covered their ears in Acts 7:57 as does Pervo, *Acts*, 198.

said (Acts 7:58).¹⁵³ But they did not listen in the way Stephen desired, a listening which ascertains the necessity to respond leading to their own deliverance (i.e. ‘receptivity is an ear’).¹⁵⁴ This can be seen in the way the speech handles the theme of circumcision.

Stephen references circumcision only twice: once at Acts 7:8¹⁵⁵ with regard to Abraham and once in the stinging indictment of Acts 7:51. Beginning in Acts 7:2, Stephen recounts Abraham’s calling and catalogues the journey of Abraham until his arrival in Canaan where the covenant of circumcision was given: “And He gave him the covenant of circumcision; and so Abraham became the father of Isaac, and circumcised him on the eighth day; and Isaac became the father of Jacob, and Jacob of the twelve patriarchs” (Acts 7:8). The covenant of circumcision (*διαθήκην περιτομῆς*) is an unusual expression which recalls the scene of Genesis 17 where God covenanted with Abraham and initiated the rite of circumcision.¹⁵⁶ Circumcision was to be the sign of the covenant God made with Abraham. It is not per chance that Stephen references Abraham’s obedience to God in perpetuating the covenant by circumcising Isaac.¹⁵⁷ It is also not coincidental that as soon as Stephen mentions Abraham’s obedience to the covenant, he moves swiftly to the jealousy of the patriarchs and their rejection of Joseph (Acts 7:9).¹⁵⁸ Just as the speech highlights the audience’s rejection of the prophets and refusal to listen to their messages, so

¹⁵³ D. L. Smith, “Interrupted Speech in Luke-Acts,” *JBL* 134 (2015): 187, notes that Stephen’s audience interrupts him “‘while hearing’ (*ἀκούοντες*).”

¹⁵⁴ Pervo, *Acts*, 198: “Those ears were, however, uncircumcised (v.51). What they will not hear is the truth (as the narrator views it).” Horst, *TDNT* 5:556: “When they stop their ears...to intimate that they will not listen to any blasphemous words, in reality they fight against the opening of their ears by the Spirit.” What sets Stephen’s speech in such contrast to speeches by Peter in the previous sections of Acts is that there is no clear call for repentance (Acts 2:37-39; 3:19). Still, some see Stephen’s indictment (Acts 7:51) and/or his prayer for their forgiveness (Acts 7:60) as a call for their repentance and deliverance. Cf. Marshall, *Acts*, 150; Polhill, *Acts*, 206; Bock, *Acts*, 306-307.

¹⁵⁵ Though, cf. the reverse of the implied reference to uncircumcised of lips in note 163 on page 140.

¹⁵⁶ Marshall, *Acts*, 136; Johnson, *Acts*, 116; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:346.

¹⁵⁷ Marshall, *Acts*, 137; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 372; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 234.

¹⁵⁸ Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 450, notes the contrast between Abraham’s obedience to circumcise and the spiritual uncircumcision of Stephen’s audience. Similarly, Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:250, observes the contrast between Abraham’s obedience and the disobedience of Joseph’s brothers. Cf. further Bihler, *Stephanusgeschichte*, 46; Kilgallen, *Stephen Speech*, 45; Blaschke, *Beschneidung*, 448; Gaventa, *Acts*, 122, 124. Pervo, *Acts*, 181 n.73, lists several literary links between the Abraham and Joseph episodes. These links support a more seamless transition between Abraham’s obedience and the patriarchs’ rejection of Joseph, what Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:250, specifically calls the rejection of the promise and covenant (see also Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 234). Contra Haenchen, *Acts*, 288, who claims that the mention of Joseph’s brothers selling him into slavery is not itself polemical. One hindrance to recognizing the connection between Abraham’s obedience and the patriarchs’ jealousy is viewing a break between the Abraham and Joseph sections. A case in point is Marshall, *Acts*, 137: “Thus Stephen reaches the story of *Joseph*, which forms the second main section of his speech (verse 9-16). It is recorded factually, and it is not clear what the theological point of the details is” (emphasis original).

here too Stephen weaves together themes of covenant, circumcision, and rejection which will be illuminated in the invective of v.51.¹⁵⁹ And yet, themes of rejection are also woven together with the heart motif throughout the speech.¹⁶⁰

The connection between hearts and deliverance is highlighted in the speech in a similar way that the ears/hearing was in Acts 7:34. This connection can be seen in Acts 7:23: “But when he was approaching the age of forty, it entered his heart to visit his brethren, the sons of Israel.” Moses had the idea in his heart to visit (ἐπισκέπτομαι) the Israelites with the intent of giving them aid.¹⁶¹ When Moses saw the Egyptian abusing the Israelite, he struck down the Egyptian supposing that the Israelites would understand “that God was granting them deliverance through him” (Acts 7:25). The help Moses provided for the Israelite was deliverance (σωτηρίαν) from his oppressor. Here, the desire in Moses’s heart to help the Israelites is played out through his delivering them in a similar way that God’s hearing the groaning of the oppressed Israelites prompted Him to deliver them from Egyptian bondage (Acts 7:34).¹⁶² Although the text illuminates the valor of Moses,¹⁶³ it ends on an ominous note for the Israelites: “They did not understand” and subsequently charged Moses, “Who made you a ruler and a judge over us?” (Acts 7:25, 27). Though Moses’s heart acted for their deliverance, they rejected it.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ According to Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:455, inherent in the phrase “Isaac became the father of Jacob, and Jacob of the twelve patriarchs” are the verbs *became* and *circumcised* so that Isaac both became the father of and circumcised Jacob and likewise Jacob became the father of and circumcised the twelve patriarchs and concludes, “Damit ist die Josefsgeschichte der Patriarchenzeit angebahnt (vv9-16).” In this vein, the text explicitly links circumcision and obedience to Abraham while implicitly linking the same to Isaac and Jacob. See also Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 117-118. These linkages pave the way for what follows when the patriarchs’ rejection of Joseph is set in contrast to the obedience of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

¹⁶⁰ The condition of the heart seen throughout the speech is an important motif to trace, according to Keener, *Acts*, 2:1423.

¹⁶¹ Barrett, *Acts*, 1:357; Pervo, *Acts*, 185.

¹⁶² Marshall, *Acts*, 140: “The choice of words may be meant to imply that the thought was implanted in Moses’s heart by God, and that the thought was one of positive concern for the Israelites.” This is expressed more emphatically in Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 237. If this is the case, then the theme tying together the deliverance brought about by Moses’s heart and God’s hearing is further developed.

¹⁶³ The text also emphasizes Moses’s eloquence: “And Moses was educated in all the learning of the Egyptians, and he was a man of power in words and deeds” (Acts 7:22). This seems to overturn Moses’s own words at Exod 6:12: “But Moses spoke before the LORD, saying, ‘Behold, the sons of Israel have not listened to me; how then will Pharaoh listen to me, for I am uncircumcised of lips?’” (cf. Exod 6:30). Moses described his own speech as “unskilled” (ἄλογός, LXX); that is, “uncircumcised of lips” (ערל שפתים, MT). Considering that this is the only preserved tradition which argues for Moses’s eloquence (Burns, “Acts 7:2-53,” 159-160), it is especially curious that it seeks to erase any association of uncircumcision with Moses, distancing still further Moses the deliverer from the ancient Israelites who rejected him and Stephen’s auditors who do the same as their ancestors (Acts 7:51).

¹⁶⁴ Pervo, *Acts*, 185, makes an interesting comment here: “Because their hearts and minds were not open, the Israelites failed to understand.” He then notes Luke 24:16, 45, two texts with specific reference to Jesus opening eyes and minds to understand. Essentially, Pervo associates their rejection of deliverance with

Within the speech no reference to the heart more clearly anticipates the indictment of v.51 than Acts 7:39-40: “And our fathers were unwilling to be obedient to him, but repudiated him and in their hearts turned back to Egypt, saying to Aaron, ‘Make for us gods who will go before us.’” The reference to the heart is encapsulated by blatant rejection of God. The turning (στρέφω) of their hearts indicates not only a rejection of Moses, but a turning toward Egypt and her gods.¹⁶⁵ Thus, Stephen recounts the ancient Israelite ancestors’ rejection of God and allegiance to foreign deities. The heart here is not merely disobedient, but outright estranged from the covenant with God demonstrated by both a repudiation of God’s messenger (i.e. Moses) and a devotion to other divinities.¹⁶⁶ This breach is further reinforced by Stephen’s comments that “God turned away and delivered them up to serve the host of heaven” (Acts 7:42). Whereas before the Israelites rejected Moses’s deliverance (Acts 7:25), here they reject God Himself; similarly, God rejects them.

In their reaction to the stinging indictment, the crowd responds to Stephen just as the ancient Israelites responded to Moses and God: “Now when they heard this, they were cut (διεπρίοντο) to their hearts (ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν), and they began gnashing their teeth at him” (Acts 7:54). Having heard Stephen’s countercharge, the auditors turn hostile. The text says that they were cut in their hearts, inwardly infuriated by Stephen’s accusations.¹⁶⁷ To say that they reject Stephen and his claims at this point would be an understatement. Their reaction is merely a foretaste of the “vigilante execution” which follows.¹⁶⁸ And yet once again the text connects a heart reference with rejection. Interestingly, this verse also ties together loosely the three elements of the metaphor: they heard and their hearts were cut incorporating the words in lemma forms ἀκούω, καρδία, and διαπρίω.¹⁶⁹ Strikingly, this

their heart’s inability to understand. This bears upon Acts 7:51 in that Stephen’s auditors have likewise rejected deliverance due to their inability to understand.

¹⁶⁵ Haenchen, *Acts*, 283; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 54; R. A. Koivisto, “Stephen’s Speech,” *GTJ* 8 (1987): 108; Polhill, *Acts*, 200; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 380; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 241; Pervo, *Acts*, 188.

¹⁶⁶ Kilgallen, *Stephen Speech*, 84: “That the people do this ‘in their hearts’ shows the spiritual apostasy involved...the interior rejection of God has taken place, and this is the moment of apostasy.” See also Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:254-255.

¹⁶⁷ BDAG, s.v. “διαπρίω;” Marshall, *Acts*, 148.

¹⁶⁸ T. Seland, *Establishment Violence in Philo and Luke*, BIS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 256.

¹⁶⁹ διαπρίω only occurs one other time in the NT (Acts 5:33) and it is not in association with καρδία: οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες διεπρίοντο καὶ ἐβούλοντο ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς (“But when they heard this, they were cut to the quick and were intending to slay them”). In both Acts 5:33 and 7:54, “it is clear that the same metaphorical sense, denoting extreme anger, is intended” (Barrett, *Acts*, 1:382). Thus, καρδία in Acts 7:54 is superfluous given the verb (cf. Richard, *Acts 6:1-8:4*, 158, the verb is followed by a cognate substantive). It could be argued, then, that its inclusion in Acts 7:54 is an intentional link with Acts 7:51. Whatever the case, the reactions in both scenarios was the same—rejection.

three-fold structure resembles the uncircumcised in hearts and ears indictment. The reaction associated with these three elements is one of rejection—Stephen has rejected his audience with these words; these words describe their response signaling their rejection of Stephen.¹⁷⁰

If these combined words signal rejection, how has the speech's use of the constituent parts of the metaphor shed light on the meaning of the metaphor?¹⁷¹ Stephen called his audience to hear (Acts 7:2) which they do (Acts 7:54) but their hearing does not elicit the response Stephen desired.¹⁷² When Stephen's auditors hear, they not only gnash their teeth at him (Acts 7:54), they cover their ears (Acts 7:57), rather than responding to the deliverance which God had provided (Acts 7:34). Thus, their ears/hearing reject God and His messenger. When Moses's heart was provoked, he responds in deliverance (Acts 7:23). But the hearts of the ancient Israelites respond not only in rejection of Moses's deliverance but rejection of God (Acts 7:39), much like the hearts of Stephen's audience respond in rejection of Stephen (Acts 7:54).¹⁷³ Though the speech is commendatory of Abraham's obedience to the covenant of circumcision, it is placed in stark contrast with the patriarchs' rejection of Joseph. Furthermore, the charge of uncircumcision is leveled at Stephen's audience insinuating a similar rejection/disobedience or worse, that they stand outside the covenant with God.¹⁷⁴ In all, the Stephen episode provides support that the indictment "uncircumcised in hearts and ears" should be understood as one metaphor mapping onto those who have rejected God's deliverance. His auditors' ears map onto their intentional covering of their ears and refusal to listen. Their hearts correspond to their forefathers' hearts who disavowed God. Their uncircumcision links to their disobedience embodied in the disobedience of the patriarchs. Those recipients of such an indictment are altogether pagan;¹⁷⁵ having rejected God, they stand outside the covenant.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ Pervo, *Acts*, 196, makes a similar connection: "The repetitions permit two literary touches: the 'hearts and ears' of v.51 are echoed in v.54 ('hearts') and 57 ('ears'). The response confirms the reproach."

¹⁷¹ Cf. Burns, "Acts 7:2-53," 153: "The OT is used to emphasize that responses of rejection have been seen in the past."

¹⁷² Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*², 153: "To the earlier part of Stephen's speech, his judges had perhaps listened with considerable interest, wondering where his outline of patriarchal times would lead them. But as he continued, the drift of his argument became clearer, and they heard him with increasing anger and horror."

¹⁷³ Keener, *Acts*, 2:1404.

¹⁷⁴ Witherington III, *Acts*, 266-267, only partially grasps this. He sees the connection between covenant and circumcision in Acts 7:8, 51, but claims it is the part of the metaphor uncircumcised in heart which is "tantamount to saying that they are spiritually outside God's people" rather than the entire metaphor, uncircumcised in hearts and ears.

¹⁷⁵ See note 137 on page 136 for those who perceive the metaphor, or parts thereof, as a reference to spiritual paganism.

5.4.2 Meaning of the Metaphor beyond the Stephen Episode

In the previous section, we examined the meaning of the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor from the context of the Stephen episode. Here our goal is to expand the context beyond the Stephen episode to consider if other combinations of ear, heart, and circumcision terminology within Luke-Acts contribute to this meaning. And nowhere is the text of Stephen's indictment more similar than the closing verses of Acts.¹⁷⁷

The final scene of Acts records Paul's preaching activity among the Jews in Rome (Acts 28:17). There, in his own rented quarters, Paul sought "to persuade them concerning Jesus, from both the Law of Moses and from the Prophets" (Acts 28:23). While some were persuaded (*ἐπειθοντο*), others were less enthused (*ἠπίστουν*). The text records that those who disagreed (*ἀσύμφωνοι*) with Paul departed after he had quoted from Isa 6:9-10. Here we can identify many similarities between Paul's rebuff of the Jews and Stephen's indictment of his own audience. Some of these commonalities are more obvious than others. In his preface to the Isa 6:9-10 quotation, Paul states in translation, "The Holy Spirit rightly spoke through Isaiah the prophet to your fathers" (Acts 28:25). Here, there is the clear designation of "your fathers," distancing the speaker from his audience which is similarly traceable in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:51). A reference to the Holy Spirit (Acts 7:51;¹⁷⁸ 28:25) is shared among the two texts as is the designation prophet (Acts 7:52; 28:23) and law (Acts 7:53; 28:23). Paul attempts to persuade his audience of Jesus¹⁷⁹ (Acts 28:23) and it is Jesus Stephen sees standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55).¹⁸⁰ Within the quotation itself, there is also the common reference to ear and heart (Acts 7:51; 28:27). Less obvious, though certainly significant, is the nature of the quotation in Acts 28 and the

¹⁷⁶ See note 174 on page 142. For discussion on Luke's concept of salvation history, see Marshall, *Acts*, 23-24; Conzelmann, *Acts*, xlv-xlviii; W. Schmithals, "Identitätskrise bei Lukas und Anderswo?," in *Apostelgeschichte und die hellenistische Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. C. Breytenbach and J. Schröter, AGJU 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 223-251; Pervo, *Acts*, 22-25; Keener, *Acts*, 437-441.

¹⁷⁷ It appears from scholars' works that the similarities between Stephen's speech and Paul's speech in Rome have been poorly documented. See e.g., the few commonalities noted, in G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 2, HTKNT 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1982), 414; Johnson, *Acts*, 471; Dunn, *Acts*, 355; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 628; Bock, *Acts*, 750, 755; Pervo, *Acts*, 684.

¹⁷⁸ Stephen's charge that his audience is always resisting the Holy Spirit (*ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε*) serves several purposes. Standing before the council, Stephen links the deeds of his audience with those of their ancestors (cf. Isa 63:10). But in the Luke-Acts narrative, the *ἀεὶ* plus present-tense verb "predicts opposition Stephen himself will experience...[and] future such opposition in the narrative of Acts against Paul." See C. K. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, WUNT 2/175 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 168. Furthermore, it recalls Peter's speech that those who obey receive the Holy Spirit (Acts 5:32) while those who test the Holy Spirit are cut off from the people of God (Acts 5:1-11).

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *Dial.* 28.2-3.

¹⁸⁰ Reference to Jesus within the indictment can be found in the "Righteous One" (Acts 7:52).

indictment of Acts 7—both arise from OT invective language and are used as such against their respective audiences in Acts 7 and 28. In both instances, the audiences of the stories in Acts are indicted for replicating the deeds of the ancient Israelites (Acts 7:51; 28:25, 28). Further, Paul is found trying to persuade his audience concerning Jesus from both the Law of Moses and the Prophets (Acts 28:23) which is arguably Stephen’s agenda when he demonstrates the types of Jesus (e.g., Joseph, Moses)¹⁸¹ from the Law of Moses and references Isaiah (66:1-2) from the Prophets (Acts 7:49-50).

Based upon these similarities, we can compare Stephen’s indictment to Paul’s quotation to see what light the latter sheds on the former. Acts 28:26-27 follows:

πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπὸν· ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦτου καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς. Go to this people and say, ‘You will keep on hearing, but you will not understand; and you will keep on seeing, but will not perceive; for the heart of this people has become dull, and with their ears they scarcely hear, and they have closed their eyes; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart and return, and I should heal them’.

Two of the three elements of the metaphor are immediately recognizable. The text contains two clear references to ears as well as hearts. More subtle is the backdrop of circumcision in the text. Paul addresses the “leading men of the Jews” (Acts 28:17) who were undoubtedly law-abiding, circumcised Jews.¹⁸² When they reject Paul’s message, Paul responds, “Let it be known to you therefore, that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles; they will also listen” (Acts 28:28). Profoundly, the message of salvation turns from the physically circumcised to the uncircumcised.¹⁸³ Additionally, the quotation claims that God would heal His people, if they would turn to Him. What is in need of healing is their faulty eyes, ears, and hearts.¹⁸⁴ But it is precisely their need for healing, and God’s opposition to it,¹⁸⁵ that indicates their separation from God, their inward uncircumcision.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ Among others, Marshall, *Acts*, 142; Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2:462; Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1:250; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 53; Johnson, *Acts*, 126; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:358; Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 373; Pervo, *Acts*, 181.

¹⁸² Cf. the various explanations of these men, in R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte (Apg 13-28)*, vol. 2, EKKNT 5 (Zurich: Benziger, 1986), 307; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 623-624, 623 n.571.

¹⁸³ Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2:310.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.; Polhill, *Acts*, 543.

¹⁸⁵ Schneider, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2:419.

¹⁸⁶ Pervo, *Acts*, 685, 685 n.56: “The two final phrases of the citation associate conversion (ἐπιστρέφω) with healing, establishing ‘healing’ as a metaphor for salvation,” and in a note adds, “Individual healings, as of blindness, are synecdoches of salvation.”

So those who are circumcised outwardly (i.e. the leading men of the Jews) are the inwardly uncircumcised. Though admittedly abstruse, traces of (un)circumcision can be found in this text alongside plain references to hearts and ears. This enables us to compare the two texts on the basis of all three elements of the metaphor.

The quotation in Acts 28:26-27 varies only in minor places from LXX Isa 6:9-10.¹⁸⁷ In the first place Acts 28:26 has *πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτο καὶ εἰπὸν* (“Go to this people and say”) which reverses the word order of LXX Isa 6:9: *πορεύθητι καὶ εἰπὸν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ* (“Go, and say to this people”).¹⁸⁸ Additionally, Acts 28:27 omits the *αὐτῶν* contained in LXX Isa 6:10: *καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν* (“And with their ears they have heard heavily”). LXX Isa 6:9-10 and Acts 28:26-27 differ from MT Isa 6:9-10 primarily in one way: the hiphil imperatives of the Hebrew verbs have been rendered as Greek aorist indicatives. Thus, “Render (*נשח*) the hearts of this people insensitive,” has become, “The heart of this people has become dull (*ἐπαχύνθη*);” “[Render] (*כבד*) their ears dull,” has become, “With their ears they scarcely hear (*βαρέως ἤκουσαν*);” and “[Render] (*שח*) their eyes dim,” has become, “They have closed (*ἐκαμμύσαν*) their eyes.” The change into Greek finite verbs shows “that the entire guilt falls upon the people whose stubbornness the prophet now already confirms as a fact.”¹⁸⁹ The quotation in Acts 28 is no longer a prediction but rather a statement describing the present reality.¹⁹⁰

The quotation forms a chiasmic structure utilizing three organs of perception: the heart, ears, and eyes.¹⁹¹

A For the heart of this people has become dull
B And with their ears they scarcely hear
C And they have closed their eyes
C' Lest they should see with their eyes
B' And hear with their ears
A' And understand with their heart

Figure 4: Chiasmic Structure of the Isaiah Quotation in Acts 28:27

¹⁸⁷ Conzelmann, *Acts*, 227: “The quotation (Isa 6:9-10) follows the LXX almost exactly.” There is debate as to whether or not this is a verbatim quotation. See the comments in Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 310; Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 628 n.604; Pervo, *Acts*, 684.

¹⁸⁸ LXX quotations of Isaiah are taken from J. Ziegler, *Isaias*, SVTG 14 (Göttingen: V&R, 1939).

¹⁸⁹ Haenchen, *Acts*, 724.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Bock, *Acts*, 755: “It presents the passage as describing something that has occurred instead of as a strict prediction, because this is how the matter has in fact turned out.”

¹⁹¹ Larkin Jr., *Acts*, 390.

Relevant to our study is the use of heart and ears. The statements concerning the ears in the chiasmus are rather straightforward—both are associated with hearing alone. But whereas the ears of B' hear, the difficulty of the ears' hearing in B is intensified—they scarcely hear (*βαρέως ἤκουσαν*). The surrounding context encapsulates the quotation with references to hearing and sheds light on their scarce hearing.¹⁹² The leading men of the Jews come to Paul desiring to hear his views (Acts 28:22). The quotation of LXX Isa 6:9 challenges the Jews to keep on hearing (Acts 28:26). Next follow the two references to hearing in the chiasmus. And lastly Paul announces that the message of salvation will go out to the Gentiles who will hear (Acts 28:28). Turning to the Gentiles signifies that the leading Jews had not heard Paul.¹⁹³ That is, they had not listened to the extent of eliciting the response Paul desired.¹⁹⁴ Many of the Jews did not believe Paul's views nor did they agree with one another (Acts 28:24-25). Though they desired to hear, their hearing did not lead to understanding the need for repentance and belief. Consequently, Paul turns to preach the message of salvation to those who would hear. This sequence of hearing verbs signifies that their scarce hearing means they were deaf to the call of salvation.¹⁹⁵

The heart on the other hand pertains to understanding. Because their hearts are made dull (*ἐπαχύνθη*) (A) they are not able to understand (*συνῶσιν*) (A').¹⁹⁶ While this also appears straightforward from the chiasmus, complexity is introduced when considering Acts 28:26: "You will keep on hearing (*ἀκοῆ ἰκούσεται*), but you will not understand (*οὐ μὴ συνῆτε*)." Working together, these verses complete the picture. Hearing which does not lead to understanding implies both a dull heart and an ear which does not ascertain the call for immediate repentance.¹⁹⁷ The one whose ears ascertain this call, working in tandem with his heart which understands (i.e. not dull), turns and receives the healing promised in the quotation.

This is further confirmed in the other place where Isa 6:9 is quoted in Luke-Acts, Luke 8:10: "And He said, 'To you it has been granted (*δέδοτα*) to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God, but to the rest it is in parables, in order that seeing they may not see, and

¹⁹² Note the comments in Polhill, *Acts*, 543; Gaventa, *Acts*, 368.

¹⁹³ Pervo, *Acts*, 685: "Failure to accept the message is refusal to hear the words of grace."

¹⁹⁴ Their hearing should have led to belief. Cf. Lammers, *Hören*, 48.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Bock, *Acts*, 755: "The ears are pictured as tired and too weighed down to function." Marshall, *Acts*, 424-425.

¹⁹⁶ Pesch, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2:310.

¹⁹⁷ Polhill, *Acts*, 543.

hearing (*ἀκούοντες*) they may not understand (*μὴ συνιῶσιν*).” This statement follows on the heels of Jesus’s parable of a sower sowing seed on four types of soils. Upon an inquisition from His apostles as to the meaning of the parable, Jesus explains that others’ incapacity to understand is brought about because they do not hear the hidden content of the parable—the mysteries of the kingdom of God.¹⁹⁸ They do not understand, because such hearing and understanding must be granted¹⁹⁹ them, and consequently they reject the message.

This explanation maps onto the quotation’s use in Acts 28 further explaining that dull hearts and scarce-hearing ears reject the message²⁰⁰ much like the uncircumcised in hearts and ears of Acts 7:51. After the Jews remained un-persuaded and disagreed among themselves, Paul used the invective language of dull hearts and scarce-hearing ears as a rejection of those who rejected his message.²⁰¹ Similarly, Stephen levels the charge of uncircumcised in hearts and ears on those who rejected the deliverance provided by God, itself an indictment serving as the rejection of his audience. As with Stephen, so in Paul’s case those who rejected his message disbelieve and stand outside the covenant with God.²⁰² In both instances, the Jewish rejection prompts a turning to the Gentiles in the narrative. Since the dull heart and scarce-hearing ear are accusations of non-understanding and unresponsive hearing respectively, it might be said that the uncircumcised in hearts and ears reject the deliverance provided by God (cf. *Pan.* 33.5.11) because it has not been granted to them to understand and hear.²⁰³ Indeed, as we saw in Stephen’s speech the ancient Israelites rejected Moses’s salvation because they did not understand that God commissioned Moses to be their deliverer (Acts 7:25). Likewise here, the Jews who did not believe Paul’s message of salvation (Acts 28:24, 28) received the indictment of dull hearts and scarce-hearing ears because they did not understand.²⁰⁴ Thus, the reflections on Acts

¹⁹⁸ Bock, *Luke 1:1-9:50*, 729: “In saying that the parables’ purpose is to conceal, there is an assumption, suggested by the allusion to Isaiah, that the concealing takes place for those who are resistant to hearing.”

¹⁹⁹ This is the theological passive, according to Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 707.

²⁰⁰ Haenchen, *Acts*, 724 n.1: “Isa. 6.9f. was understood in the Hellenistic community purely as God’s judgement of rejection.” See also Rackham, *Acts*, 505.

²⁰¹ Witherington III, *Acts*, 803: “It is a polemical but appropriate response to the *rejection* of the Gospel by some” (emphasis original).

²⁰² Roloff, *Apostelgeschichte*, 374.

²⁰³ Cf. the comments of Barrett, *Acts* 1245: “The prophet is sent to his people with the message that there is no possibility of their understanding what they hear or seeing what they look at. The built-in failure of the message is the content of it. The unbelief of Israel is not an unhappy accident but part of God’s intention.”

²⁰⁴ Contra C. A. Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, JSOTSup 64 (Sheffield: Sheffield, 1989), 120-123.

28:26-27 not only have demonstrated many common features shared between its dull heart and scarce-hearing ear and the uncircumcised in hearts and ears of Acts 7:51, but they also suggest that the metaphor is leveled at those who cannot understand or refuse to hear the message of deliverance.²⁰⁵

5.5 Conclusions from Luke-Acts

Luke's historiographical work has the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphor situated in the *peroratio* of Stephen's speech (Acts 7:51), bringing climax to the oration and, at the same time, moving the Lucan narrative forward towards the "Apostles' Ministry in Judea and Samaria" conforming to the programmatic agenda outlined in Acts 1:8. According to the Stephen episode, the metaphor maps onto the person who rejects God's deliverance—those upon whom the metaphor is leveled stand outside the covenant with God. Due to the many similarities between Stephen's uncircumcised in hearts and ears and Paul's dull hearts and scarce-hearing ears, our study suggested that the latter metaphor illuminates the former—the heart functions in the capacity of understanding while the ears in hearing. Additional references within Luke-Acts support this proposition and add further nuance—the heart and ears must be opened (i.e. 'circumcising is opening') by the divine agent in order to fulfill their functions. If they are not opened and if it is not granted to them to understand and hear, then the meaning of the message remains enigmatic, thus leaving the indicted short of salvation and outside the covenant with God—they have neither understood nor heard their need for deliverance.

The metaphor proves to be quite flexible. In Luke-Acts, there is overlap of function among the terms hearts and ears. While the hearts can be spoken of to understand, so can the ears. Indeed, when the terms for ears are used independent of hearts, they understand. But when hearts and ears are conjoined as in the case of Acts 28:27, the hearts understand while the ears hear. The metaphor then in Acts 7:51 bears similarities and differences from the metaphor in 1QH^a 21.6-7. Whereas the metaphor in 1QH^a 21.6-7 is used to refer to the psalmist, a covenant insider, the metaphor in Acts 7:51 is leveled against covenant outsiders. Though the uncircumcised ear exists in a close relationship with the heart of stone in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the uncircumcised in hearts

²⁰⁵ If this is the case, then Stephen calls his audience to hear, something they are incapable of doing, much like the Acts 28 quotation calls the Jews to continue hearing but not understand. Cf. Peterson, *Acts*, 715.

takes on a different capacity than the uncircumcised in ears in Luke-Acts: the hearts understand while the ears hear. Still, both metaphors retain that element of understanding the enigmatic meaning and both metaphors are wrapped up in covenant language, whether inside or outside. Again, we see the meaning of the heart and ear metaphors dependent upon the unique contexts in which they are situated. The contexts of the metaphor dictate both *who* it represents and *what* it means. Further contextualization of the metaphor can be observed in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the focus of our next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

CIRCUMCISED HEARING AND HEARTS IN THE *EPISTLE OF BARNABAS*¹

The *Epistle of Barnabas* is a second century C.E. epistle by an anonymous Tradent of γνῶσις. The author, whom we shall call Barnabas for the sake of convenience, shows his readers that the key to unlocking this γνῶσις is the circumcision of the hearing and heart—distinct circumcisions held in tandem. My purpose here is to unearth the meaning of circumcised hearing and hearts as Barnabas has used them in his own context. In order to accomplish this, I will establish that the author indeed treats these circumcisions distinctly. Two textual variants will be examined to establish the most likely reading as it pertains to hearing- and heart-circumcision. Then, I will examine the structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and propose a new role which circumcision of hearing and hearts plays in the movement of thought within the epistle’s structure. Lastly, I will propose new meanings of these circumcisions based upon unique textual readings and the content of their independent pericopae. Consequently, we will see the ear-circumcision metaphor’s malleability yet again in the *Epistle of Barnabas* in both *what* it means and *who* it represents.

6.1 Background of the *Epistle of Barnabas*

The *editio princeps* of the *Epistle of Barnabas* was published in Latin by J. Ussher in 1642.² At that time, no complete text of *Barnabas* 1-21 existed. The direct witnesses to the *Epistle of Barnabas* were preserved in a family of Greek texts (Codex Vaticanus Graecus 859, the archetype) and a Latin translation (Codex Petropolitanus Q. v. I. 39). But these sources were only partial: the Greek texts comprised *Barn.* 5.7-21.9 and the Latin codex contained *Barn.* 1.1-17.2. It was not until 1863 when A. F. C. Tischendorf published Codex Sinaiticus that we possessed a complete critical edition of the *Epistle of Barnabas* in Greek.³

¹ I would like to express my gratitude for the comments of Robert A. Kraft who kindly reviewed this chapter and guided me in a better understanding of the *Epistle of Barnabas* and its LXX-like quotations.

² J. Ussher, *Barnabæ Epistola Catholica* (Oxford: 1642).

³ A. F. C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Sinaiticum sive Novum Testamentum cum Epistula Barnabæ et Fragmentis Pastoris* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863).

Before discussing the role of the metaphor in the structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, I turn to discuss the provenance, date, and genre of the work. A review of provenance sheds light on the distances to which the metaphor reached in the Mediterranean world while a survey of the date provides the latest date among early Christian texts when a reference to ear-circumcision was combined with a heart metaphor. Genre is examined to show how the metaphor once again shapes the structure of the text.

The provenance⁴ of the *Epistle of Barnabas* is most arguably Alexandria, though numerous other places⁵ have been suggested, including (1) Palestine,⁶ (2) Syria,⁷ (3) Asia Minor,⁸ and (4) the West (i.e. Rome and North Africa).⁹ Of these possible locations, arguments for an Alexandrian provenance prove most convincing. The first witnesses of the *Epistle of Barnabas* came from Clement of Alexandria¹⁰ and the pattern of biblical

⁴ Though some scholars attempt to demarcate between provenance and destination, Prostmeier's most recent attempt admits such a demarcation is futile. Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 119. At this point, R. Hvalvik, *The Struggle for Scripture and Covenant*, WUNT 2/82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 41, might be right: "Rather than speaking about indications of origin, we should speak about affinities with the following regions: Syria-Palestine, Egypt (Alexandria) and Asia Minor." Thus, the various affinities between the *Epistle of Barnabas* and Syria-Palestine, Alexandria, and Asia Minor represent more the locales respective of such theological traditions and/or schools rather than its provenance.

⁵ Cf. the lists by Kraft, *Didache*, 45-53, and Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 119-130. The latter lists all suggested provenances with many of their respective adherents: (1) Egypt (a) Alexandria, (2) Syria (a) Syria-Palestine, (b) Antioch, (3) Asia Minor (a) western provinces, (4) Greece, and (5) Rome. However, having provided a more comprehensive list of proposed provenance *possibilities*, Prostmeier goes on to analyze only the likely *probabilities* of Alexandria, Syria-Palestine, and Asia Minor.

⁶ Support for a Palestinian provenance includes the *Epistle of Barnabas's* focus on knowledge, Scripture, and eschatology (cf. Qumran) as well as sympathies with Hellenists (cf. Stephen in Acts 7). For support of a Syria-Palestine provenance, see Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 22-24; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 39-40.

⁷ Evidence in favor of a Syrian provenance includes commonalities with its description of the two ways or its mystical exegesis in *Odes of Solomon*. The *Epistle of Barnabas* also shares common traits with the letters of Ignatius. The dating of Ignatius's letters has come under debate recently. Due to a disquieting ability for some to place the theological ideas within Ignatius's epistles in early second century C.E., some have abandoned the traditional dating set forth by J. B. Lightfoot (110 C.E.) for a mid- to late-second century C.E. date. For more on this discussion, see P. Foster, "The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch," in *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. P. Foster (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 84-89.

⁸ Asia Minor is proposed based upon the similarities between the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the writings of Irenaeus and/or Ignatius, for example. Though the Bishop of Lyon, Irenaeus is considered under the Asia Minor provenance analysis because he was a native of Asia Minor and wrote letters to churches in Asia Minor. See D. Minns, *Irenaeus* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 1-3. K. Wengst, *Tradition und Theologie des Barnabasbriefes*, AKG 42 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 114-118, considers not the origin but destination of Ignatius's writings, namely Philadelphia (cf. Ign. *Phld.* 8.2).

⁹ The *Epistle of Barnabas* bears similarities with the west represented by the writings of Rome and North Africa. First Clement compares to the *Epistle of Barnabas* in its frequent quotations and allusions to Scriptures as well as its emphasis on gnosis. Furthermore, the *Shepherd of Hermas* shares the themes of ethical conduct and eternal reward with those of the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Tertullian makes use of scapegoat and cross symbolism similar to the *Epistle of Barnabas*. See the discussion by Kraft, *Didache*, 55.

¹⁰ Clement of Alexandria cites the *Epistle of Barnabas*: *Strom.* 2.6:31 (*Barn.* 1.5; 2.2-3); 2.7:35 (*Barn.* 4.11); 2.15:67 (*Barn.* 10.1-3); 2.18:84 (*Barn.* 21.5-6); 2.20:116 (*Barn.* 16.7-8); 5.8:51-52 (*Barn.* 10.11-12; 10.4); 5.10:63 (*Barn.* 6.8-9). Origen also recognizes the *Epistle of Barnabas* as a Catholic Epistle in *Cels.* 1.63.

exegesis found in the *Epistle of Barnabas* best fits an Alexandrian allegorical model.¹¹ The Alexandrian theologian Didymus the Blind attests knowledge of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Alexander, the Cypriot monk, claims that Joseph Barnabas was in Alexandria, and the Sinaitic Codex bears the *Epistle of Barnabas* among its books.¹² The pejorative quip about Egyptian circumcision in an effort to undermine physical circumcision could be evidence of Egyptian provenance.¹³ Similarly, the plant described in *Barn.* 7.8 could be identified from the Egyptian deserts either as the Ghurkud or the Arak shrub, about which Barnabas claims to have first-hand knowledge.¹⁴ Coupled with the earliest witnesses of the *Epistle of Barnabas* hailing from the Alexandrian environs and a hermeneutic present in the *Epistle of Barnabas* consistent with the milieu of Alexandrian allegorical writings, first-hand experience of Egyptian shrubbery argues strongly for an Alexandrian provenance.

¹¹ R. A. Kraft, “The Epistle of Barnabas” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1961), 12-13. Cf. the styles of exegetes, Philo and Origen. For a list of similarities shared by both the *Epistle of Barnabas* and Philo, see Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 37. J. Loman, “The Letter of Barnabas in Early Second-Century Egypt,” in *The Wisdom of Egypt*, ed. A. Hilhorst and G. H. van Kooten, AGJU 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 248-251, 260-263, also mounts a case that Barnabas’s role of gnosis in interpretation breathes the same air as that of the Christian environment in Alexandria in second century C.E.

¹² The evidence of Alexander the monk is relevant in that he associates the preaching of Joseph Barnabas with the *Epistle of Barnabas*, see Didymus *Comm. Zach.* 259:21-24; A. G. Henschenio et al., eds., *Junii*, vol. 2, AASS 21 (Antwerp: Apud. Viduam & Heredes Henrici Thieullier, 1698), 442-443. Though this evidence purports a certain depth of familiarity with the *Epistle of Barnabas* among the Egyptian community, it is certainly not without its shortcomings. Just because a document is first attested to in a certain region does not mean the letter originated in that geographic area. Clement of Alexandria himself traveled extensively before arriving in Alexandria and could have discovered the letter en route. See Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 32. The same could be said of Origen. Furthermore, allegorical hermeneutics was not prevalent only in Alexandria but can be traced in the writings of Irenaeus and Tertullian. See K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellebren), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet*, SUC 2 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 116: “[Allegorie] findet sich ebenso bei Melito, Justin, Irenäus, Tertullien, um nur einige Namen von Nichtägypten zu nennen.”

¹³ Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 40. *Barn.* 9.6b reads in translation, “But every Syrian and Arab and all the priests of the idols are circumcised as well.” History has shown that this statement is untrue. It appears then that since the Egyptian priests were circumcised, Barnabas has simply applied the knowledge of this custom in his own region to that of priests elsewhere. This leads P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), 612, to conclude, “Ein solcher Irrtum scheint nur möglich zu sein, wenn der Verfasser nur ägyptische Priester kennt” which certainly points towards an Egyptian provenance. See further note 108 on page 172.

¹⁴ While J. R. Harris, “On the Locality of Pseudo-Barnabas,” *JBL* 9 (1890): 68, 70, does not go so far as to claim Alexandrian origins for the *Epistle of Barnabas*, he admits this botanical reference demonstrates “a mark of locality much stronger than the fact that no early quotations from Barnabas can be found in Western Fathers” and concludes an Egyptian provenance. Moreover, the language seems to indicate that Barnabas was still in the region of the plant at the time of writing the *Epistle of Barnabas*: οὗ καὶ τοὺς βλαστοὺς εἰσθαμεν τρώγειν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ εὐρίσκοντες. First, Barnabas identifies himself with the audience as if participation in this event is shared (e.g., *we* still find the shrub). Second, the perfect tense of εἶθω is more than likely a resultative perfect, emphasizing that the action still continues (e.g., *we still* find the shrub). Third, the temporal participial form of εὐρίσκω gives a contemporaneous meaning of finding with that of the main verb (e.g., *we still find* the shrub). These reasons lead me to conclude that Barnabas was still interacting with these shrubs at the time of writing.

Inasmuch as *Barn.* 16.4 is surely a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem's temple, one can conclude that the earliest possible date, or *terminus a quo*, for the *Epistle of Barnabas* is 70 C.E.¹⁵ The *terminus ad quem*, however, is established by the earliest quotations of the *Epistle of Barnabas* from Clement of Alexandria.¹⁶ Thus the latest possible date for the *Epistle of Barnabas* is the end of the second century C.E.¹⁷ But the *terminus ad quem* might be backdated by the fact that the *Epistle of Barnabas* does not mention the Bar Kokhba revolt.¹⁸ Given the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s anti-Jewish spirit, the document surely would have referenced, if not exploited, the second Jewish revolt.¹⁹ So the latest possible date could be refined to ca. 132 C.E. This leaves a *Zeitraum* of about 60 years for dating the *Epistle of Barnabas*.²⁰

Refining the date further requires the examination of *Barn.* 16.3-4.²¹ *Barn.* 16.3-4 appears to be a quotation from LXX Isa 49:17 followed by an interpretation in light of then-current events. *Barn.* 16.3-4 reads in translation:

¹⁵ Notice that J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1976), 313, understands *Barn.* 16.4 as a reference to the destruction of the Herodian temple and therefore concludes that the *Epistle of Barnabas* is "noteworthy as the first Christian document explicitly to mention the fall of Jerusalem in the past tense."

¹⁶ J. N. B. Carleton Paget, "The Epistle of Barnabas," *ExpTim* 117 (2006): 442.

¹⁷ H. F. Hägg, *Clement of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Apophaticism*, OECS (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 15.

¹⁸ Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 23, also interprets the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s silence on the Jewish revolt as an indication of the latest possible date.

¹⁹ Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 9. Cf. Justin *Dial.* 16.

²⁰ There has been no shortage of proposals as to when exactly within this time parameter the *Epistle of Barnabas* was written. Furthermore, to say that there is any consensus of scholarship on the matter is a farce, contra J. N. B. Carleton Paget, "The Epistle of Barnabas," in *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. P. Foster (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 75. Even within the last fifty years of scholarship on the *Epistle of Barnabas*, major treatises and translations have favored up to five different dates: (1) undecided, Kraft, *Didache*, 42-43; (2) the reign of Nerva, Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 28; (3) the early reign of Hadrian (118-120 C.E.), L. W. Barnard, "The 'Epistle of Barnabas' and Its Contemporary Setting," in *Religion, Vorkonstantinisches Christentum*, ed. W. Haase, ANRW 2/27.1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 175, but cf. 117-132 C.E. in L. W. Barnard, "The Problem of the Epistle of Barnabas," *CQR* 159 (1958): 214; (4) the later reign of Hadrian (130-132 C.E.), Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 115; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 23; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 118-119; (5) 125-150 C.E., Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 26-27.

²¹ Barnard expands this to *Barn.* 16.1-4 (L. W. Barnard, "The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas," *JEA* 44 (1958): 101) and Kraft to *Barn.* 16.3-5 (Kraft, *Didache*, 42). *Barn.* 4.3-5 is a second text which might shed light on the date. Whereas Barnard (Barnard, "Date," 103) and Kraft (Kraft, *Didache*, 43) condense the reference to only *Barn.* 4.4-5, Hvalvik expands it to include *Barn.* 4.3-6a (Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 17). *Barn.* 4.3-5 bears resemblances to the prophecies of Dan 7:24 (*Barn.* 4.4) and 7:7-8 (*Barn.* 4.5). Though some dismiss all notions of drawing dating data from the apocalyptic references in *Barn.* 4 (Kraft, *Didache*, 43), others scour its evidence in search of an exact date (Barnard, "Contemporary Setting," 172-180). This thesis gives higher priority to the evidence gleaned from *Barn.* 16.3-4 since Barnabas's explication of the Isaiah quotation provides fewer but more exact evidences for the question of date than the varied solutions offered from the ever-elusive task of matching *Barn.* 4.3-5 apocalyptic symbolism with historical figures. *Barn.* 4.3-5 reads in translation, "The final stumbling block is at hand, about which it has been written, just as Enoch says. For this reason the Master shortened the seasons and the days, that his beloved may hurry and arrive at his inheritance. For also the prophet says, 'Ten kingdoms will rule the earth and a small king will rise up

πέρας γέ τοι πάλιν λέγει· ἰδοῦ, οἱ καθελόντες τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοδομήσουσιν. γίνεται. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· νῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. Moreover he says again, ‘See, those who have destroyed this temple will themselves build it’. This is happening (γίνεται). For because of their war, it was destroyed by their enemies. And now the servants of the enemies will themselves rebuild it.²²

The temple²³ under construction²⁴ is likely the Jupiter Temple²⁵ commissioned under Hadrian’s reign.²⁶ If this be the case, the *Epistle of Barnabas* was written during the temple’s

afterwards; he will humble three of the kings at one time (ὕφ’ ἑν)’. So too Daniel speaks about the same thing: ‘I saw the fourth beast, wicked and strong, and worse than all the beasts of the sea, and I saw how ten horns rose up from him, and from them (ἐξ αὐτῶν) a small horn as an offshoot (παραφυάδιον); and I saw how he humbled three of the great horns at one time (ὕφ’ ἑν)’.’ This text is riddled with many complexities including the following: (1) knowing where to begin counting the ten kingdoms/kings and knowing which kings/Caesars to include in the counting, (2) identifying the “three kings,” and (3) assigning the “offshoot” (i.e. small horn) to one of the ten kings, one king who follows after the ten, or to one of the ten kings who follows after the ten. Assigning the small horn, itself a task not lacking in complication, only comes after an already precarious process of identifying the ten kings and locating the three humbled kings. As such, I affirm the comments of C. F. Andry, “Introduction to the Epistle of Barnabas” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1949), 269: “The range of applications [of *Barn.* 4.3-5 to Roman emperors] shows clearly that this reference is valueless in determining the date for the writing of the *Epistle*.”

²² Texts and translations of the *Epistle of Barnabas* are taken from B. D. Ehrman, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 2, LCL 25 (Cambridge: HUP, 2003).

²³ Claiming this is a spiritual temple made up of Gentile hearts (cf. Eph 2:19-22; 1 Pet 2:5-9) is a hard case to make, though held by some: K. J. Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas aufs Neue untersucht, übersetzt und erklärt* (Tübingen: Laupp’sche Buchhandlung, 1840), 115; M. D’Herbigny, “La date de l’Épître de Barnabé,” *RSR* 1 (1910): 432-434; P. Prigent, *Les testimonia dans le christianisme primitif*, Ebib (Paris: Gabalda, 1961), 78; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 191; J. J. Gunther, “The Epistle of Barnabas and the Final Rebuilding of the Temple,” *JSJ* 7 (1976): 150-151. Nowhere in the *Epistle of Barnabas* do we find the ideology that corporate believers comprise the spiritual temple—indeed the believer’s heart is the temple (*Barn.* 16.7, 10). See further Barnard, “Date,” 102.

²⁴ Whereas manuscripts G (Codex Vaticanus Graecus) and L (Codex Petropolitanus) (*et fiet*) read γίνεται, manuscripts **Σ** (Codex Sinaiticus) and H (Codex Hierosolymitanus) omit it. P. Richardson and M. B. Shukster, “Barnabas, Nerva, and the Yavnean Rabbis,” *JTS* 34 (1983): 35 n.10, offer a reasonable explanation as to why **Σ** and H have the omission: “γίνεται is more readily understood as having been dropped from [**Σ**] and H because the scribes recognized that, since the rebuilding is no longer underway, it is inappropriate.” Similarly, Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 503, reasons that since γίνεται underscores the near fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy—which is reinforced by the temporal νῦν—the originality of γίνεται in the text is trustworthy. This thesis has likewise found γίνεται trustworthy and its contribution to identifying the temple is under consideration. The second textual variance is the occurrence witnessed in manuscript **Σ** of a second καί between αὐτοί and οἱ. If the second καί were accepted, the text would render in translation, “They [Jews] and the servants of the enemies [Romans].” If this were so, one would have to look for an instance in which both Jews and Romans were involved in building or rebuilding a temple in Jerusalem. But evidence for a cooperative building project of this nature in the years 70-132 C.E. is scant. Against the insertion of a second καί are the manuscripts G, L, and H. Consequently, this thesis follows the many recent editions and translations of the *Epistle of Barnabas* which have favored its omission.

²⁵ Others, such as H. Veil, “Barnabasbrief,” in *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, ed. E. Hennecke (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 223, propose a third, Jewish temple by appealing to *Gen. Rab.* 64.10: “In the days of R. Joshua b. Hananiah the [Roman] State ordered the Temple to be rebuilt,” (The quotation is taken from H. Freedman, *Genesis*, vol. 2, MR (London: Soncino, 1951), 579). But P. Schäfer, *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand*, TSAJ 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 29-32, has demonstrated the historicity of such a quotation is highly questionable.

²⁶ Some (cf. e.g., A. L. Williams, “The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas,” *JTS* 34 (1933): 342) have rejected this conclusion on grounds that no Jew would have seriously considered a pagan temple built upon the ruins of Judaism’s most holy shrine a fulfillment of prophecy. But this misunderstands Barnabas’s view of the temple. Nowhere does Barnabas equate the Jupiter temple, or the Jewish temple for that matter, with the

construction but prior to the Bar Kokhba revolt. Yet this leaves a quandary for dating the Jupiter temple. Whereas Dio Cassius dates the temple construction prior to the Bar Kokhba revolt (*Hist.* 69.12:1-2), Eusebius places it after the revolt (*Hist. eccl.* 4.6:4). This thesis accepts Dio's report over that of Eusebius on the following grounds. First, Dio specifically mentions the temple of Jupiter whereas Eusebius only references Aelia Capitolina, the new name Hadrian gave to the Jerusalem ruins. Second, the grammatical evidence of the *Epistle of Barnabas* supports that temple construction was taking place (cf. γίνεται, νῦν), while simultaneously gives no indication that the Bar Kokhba revolt had broken out. Lastly, there is good reason to believe that Hadrian commissioned construction of the temple while he was in the near-eastern area and that only after he departed from that area did the Jews revolt.²⁷ Therefore, internal evidence at *Barn.* 16.3-4 narrows the *Zeitraum* of dating the *Epistle of Barnabas* to 130-132 C.E.²⁸

The *Epistle of Barnabas* has been referred to as an *epistle* given its designation by codices and early church fathers (Βαρνάβα Ἐπιστολή, or the like). But is epistle an accurate genre for this piece of literature? Scholarship is by no means decided. The *Epistle of Barnabas* has been labeled a “tract,”²⁹ “homily,”³⁰ and “epistle” among many others.³¹ But

temple of God. In fact, Barnabas has already cast doubt on such an association in *Barn.* 16.1 (“As if the Temple were actually the house of God”) and later clarifies that the temple of God is the human heart (*Barn.* 16.6, 10). For Barnabas, the rebuilding of the Jupiter temple fulfills the Isa 49:17 prophecy, because Barnabas differentiates between the empirical temple and the spiritual temple—the only temple of God in his view.

²⁷ For this last point, see E. Schürer, *Einleitung und politische Geschichte*, GJVZJC 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 680-682. Dio's record of the Jewish uprising has demonstrated in other ways that it is historically reliable. A case in point is Dio's record of non-Jewish participants in the Bar Kokhba revolt. See M. Mor, “The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants,” *JJS* 36 (1985): 200, 209. Y. Tsafir, “Numismatics and the Foundation of Aelia Capitolina,” in *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, ed. P. Schäfer, TSAJ 100 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 32, attempts to harmonize Dio and Eusebius's accounts: “Hadrian declared his will to rebuild the famous and sacred city of the past around 130 C.E.... At that stage, the Jews...decided to rebel. Only after the suppression of the revolt, in 135 C.E., was the city actually built.” While Y. Tsafir might have solved the riddle for the Aelia Capitolina, his argument lacks convincing evidence regarding the Jupiter temple.

²⁸ Wengst, *Tradition*, 113; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 23; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 118.

²⁹ German *Traktat*. See H. Ewald, *Geschichte der Ausgänge des Volkes Israel und des nachapostolischen Zeitalters*, GVI 7 (Göttingen: Dieterichs, 1868), 161; H. Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief*, Die apostolischen Väter 3, HNT Ergänzungsband (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1920), 411; Wengst, *Tradition*, 104; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 86-87. Cf. similarly treatise, German *Abhandlung*. See Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 602. Those in favor of this view reference the lack of common epistolary features (e.g., author, addressees, and travelogue) and the presence of *Testimonia*. The so-called epistolary features, they claim, are designed to pass off this tract under the pretense of a letter. Cf. also M. W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 70: “Although *Barnabas* displays the form of a letter, the epistolary framework (1.1-8; 21.1-9) is largely a literary device. The largest part of the document (2.1-17.2) is a polemical essay that seeks to persuade and convince—something of a ‘tract for the times.’”

³⁰ See J. A. Kleist, *The Didache, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the Fragments of Papias, the Epistle to Diognetus*, ACW 6 (New York: Newman, 1948), 31; L. W. Barnard, “The Epistle of Barnabas: A Paschal Homily?,” *VC* 15 (1961): 9-10; L. Wills, “The Form of the Sermon in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity,” *HTR* 77 (1984): 279; Aune, *Literary Environment*, 159, 197. While J. A. Kleist and D. E. Aune provide no justification, L. W. Barnard labels the *Epistle of Barnabas* a “Paschal

the similarities of the *Epistle of Barnabas* with other epistles of its day situate this piece comfortably in the epistolary genre. E. J. Goodspeed contends that the “salutation at the beginning of Barnabas...is genuinely and demonstrably epistolary and fits perfectly with Egypt and the second century.”³² Goodspeed shows that the salutation of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (Χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ; “Greetings, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord who loved us, in peace”) compares nicely to second century C.E. P.Oxy. 1063 (Χαίροις, τέκνον Ἀμοί; “Greeting, my son Amois”) which likewise mentions no author’s name.³³ Similarly, the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s salutation aligns structurally with third century C.E. P.Fay. 129 (Χαῖρε, κύριε τιμιώτατε; “Greetings, honored sir”) in that they both use the imperative of χαίρω and vocative addressees.³⁴ Additionally, the *salutatio* uses the peace greeting (ἐν εἰρήνῃ; “In peace”), though slightly modified, so often found in the Pauline corpus: χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη (“Grace to you and peace”). Beyond the salutation, there are also the repeated forms of address throughout the *Epistle of Barnabas* showing clearly that “Barn. is thoroughly permeated by epistolary discourse:” ἀδελφοί μου (“My brothers,” *Barn.* 4.14; 5.5; 6.15); τέκνα ἀγάπης (“Children of love,” *Barn.* 9.7); second person plural imperatives (*Barn.* 4.10; 7.3, 9); I-you address seen in ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς ὡς εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν (“I am asking you as one who is

homily” claiming it was “designed to be read at the Paschal Feast which culminated in the Easter baptism and eucharist.” Barnard bases this upon an examination of various motifs in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, including suffering, resurrection, redemption, baptism, and others which, when set against the backdrop of the exodus, reveal the same elements that we come to know in late second century C.E. paschal feasts. Taking another approach, L. Wills identifies a homiletical pattern shared between the *Epistle of Barnabas* and Acts 13:14-41. In his examination of Acts, Wills identifies a cycle of exempla (i.e. exemplary, e.g., scriptural quotations), conclusion (i.e. based on exempla with significance for addressee), and exhortation (i.e. an imperative), yielding a three-part pattern characteristic of early Christian and Hellenistic-Jewish writings considered to be homiletical. However, Will’s tripartite homiletical structure is suspect in four of the six pericopae identified in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. See Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 68-69.

³¹ For a full listing of descriptives, see Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 67.

³² E. J. Goodspeed, “The Salutation of Barnabas,” *JBL* 34 (1915): 165. Cf. also Barnard, “Paschal Homily?,” 9. “[The *Epistle of Barnabas* is] a letter addressed to a definite Christian community somewhere or other in Egypt.”

³³ Still the author would have been identifiable to his readers based upon his (spiritual, in the case of Barnabas) familial relationship to them.

³⁴ Goodspeed, “Salutation,” 164. The most common and basic salutary address in Greek letters among the Ptolemaic and Roman periods was the formula ‘A— to B— χαίρειν’ with the verb χαίρω in the infinitive, not the imperative. However, as F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.-3rd c. A.D.)* (Chicago: Ares, 1976), 23, 35-36, 67-68, demonstrates, χαῖρε is observed among “familiar letters” (i.e. communications between relatives, friends, or others who show a familiarity between author and addressee) some fifteen times in the second and third centuries C.E. Though this might be considered a relatively small attestation in ancient Greek letters, Exler still concludes that “while certain formulas are customary in private correspondence, none are obligatory, and a writer was at liberty to choose a less formal mode of address” (i.e. χαῖρε) than the normative ‘A— to B— χαίρειν’.

from among you,” *Barn.* 4.6); and others.³⁵ A continual thread of epistolary discourse running throughout the *Epistle of Barnabas*, in addition to the common features shared between its *salutatio* and other *salutationes* of the first and second centuries C.E., are ample evidence to situate the *Epistle of Barnabas* in the epistolary genre.

6.2 Structural Matters in the *Epistle of Barnabas*

The structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas* has received anything from praise to criticism among scholars. It has been described as the rushed message of an author who “does not stop to organize his ideas into their most effective form.”³⁶ Though some accuse Barnabas of incoherence, “the confusion is really due to our own inability to follow the train of his reasoning.”³⁷ Here I mount support that the *Epistle of Barnabas* has a coherent structure with *Barnabas* 9-10 and its treatment of uncircumcised hearing and hearts functioning as the *Knickpunkt* in the epistle.³⁸

6.2.1 Considering the Structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*

The *Epistle of Barnabas* is an epistle with recognizable introduction (*Barn.* 1.1-8) and conclusion (*Barn.* 21.1-9) with the body of the text dividing itself in two parts at *Barn.* 17.2-18.1a: ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχὴν (“And so these things will suffice. But let us turn to another area of knowledge and teaching”).³⁹ This division separates Part I of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (*Barn.* 2.1-16.10) from Part II (*Barn.* 18.1b-

³⁵ L. Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters and the Beginnings of Christian Epistolography*, WUNT 298 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 213.

³⁶ Andry, “Barnabas,” 122.

³⁷ W. Cunningham, *A Dissertation on the Epistle of S. Barnabas* (New York: Macmillan, 1877), xxiv.

³⁸ The German *Knickpunkt* captures the meaning “where a curve changes abruptly its sense, the tangents being different” (V. Ferretti, *Wörterbuch der Datentechnik* (Berlin: Springer, 1996), 279). In other words, the *Knickpunkt* describes a turning point and climax and has a similar meaning to the English *inflection point* on a graph, changing both the direction and curvature of the line. This word can be used in various contexts but is mostly found in mathematical or technical settings. For example, in drying phases of wet goods, *Knickpunkt* is the transition point differentiating the various rates of the drying episodes (D. S. Christen, *Praxiswissen der chemischen Verfahrenstechnik* (Berlin: Springer, 2005), 520-521). Additionally, *Knickpunkt* can be found in contexts regarding geological technology whereby the word in question describes “a sharp inflection in an interrupted river or stream profile” (H. Bucksch, *Wörterbuch GeoTechnik* (Berlin: Springer, 1998), 283). Similarly, in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Knickpunkt* climaxes the material preceding while changing direction for the material which follows. This is my designation defining the role of *Barnabas* 9-10 in the literary structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, bringing a climax to the material of *Barnabas* 1-10 and functioning as the turning point in *Barnabas* 1-17.

³⁹ This division should not be mistaken for a break as if “Part II: Exhortation” were penned by a separate author than that of “Part I: Exegesis.” Cf. J. A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache* (London: SPCK, 1920), 18.

20.2).⁴⁰ The two parts have been variously titled but I simplify these parts coining them “Part I: Exegesis” and “Part II: Exhortation.”⁴¹ “Part II: Exhortation” is commonly known as the Two-Ways—a compilation of ethical admonitions for the reader to choose the way of light (*Barnabas* 19) over that of the way of darkness (*Barnabas* 20).⁴² “Part II: Exhortation” is the practical application of the exegetical work provided in the first part. But for the purpose of the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s understanding of metaphorical circumcision, “Part II: Exhortation” bears little significance and need not be outlined further here.

An outline of “Part I: Exegesis” makes clear that the *Epistle of Barnabas* is not a haphazard composition bound together by unrelated piecemeal quotations. On the contrary, it can be broken down into three large units of text. In the first unit, the *Epistle of Barnabas* explains that those uncircumcised of hearing and hearts misunderstand the Scriptures (*Barn.* 2.1-8.7). In the second unit, *Barnabas* 9-10 functions as the *Knickpunkt* in the structure of “Part I: Exegesis.” This means, *Barnabas* 9-10 culminates the discussion of scriptural misunderstanding among those uncircumcised of hearing and hearts and turns the discussion in a new direction toward the correct interpretation of those texts by those circumcised of hearing and hearts. In the third unit, the *Epistle of Barnabas* shows that Jewish texts contain “all the essentials of Christianity” (*Barn.* 11.1-16.10).⁴³ The one who has circumcised hearing and hearts understands that the Scriptures point to Jesus.

These three units of text in “Part I: Exegesis” can be further outlined. The first unit can be subdivided into sections on “Sacrifices and Fasting” (*Barn.* 2.1-3.6),⁴⁴ “Warnings for

⁴⁰ The most detailed structure outline to date can be found in Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 108-110.

⁴¹ For “*Haggadah* and *Halakbah*,” see Barnard, “Contemporary Setting,” 164-165; for “*γνώσις* and *ἐτέρα γνώσις*,” see Andry, “Barnabas,” 122-123; for “Knowledge from the Scripture” and “Knowledge from the Two-Ways Teaching,” (translation is mine) see Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 84-85.

⁴² For a treatment of the Two-Ways and for the priority of the *Epistle of Barnabas* from which the *Didache* followed, see R. H. Connolly, “The *Didache* in Relation to the *Epistle of Barnabas*,” *JTS* 33 (1932). For the priority of the *Didache* from which the *Epistle of Barnabas* followed, see C. Taylor, “The *Didache* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*,” *Expositor* 3 (1886).

⁴³ I am indebted to S. Tugwell, *The Apostolic Fathers*, OutChT (London: Chapman, 1989), 37, whose passing comment on this matter germinated into my fully fledged idea of the *Knickpunkt* in this thesis. Since the time of Tugwell’s writing, the identification of Christian writing, thought, interpretation, etc. with formalized Christianity in the second century C.E. has come under debate. Hence, one should follow the caution of J. Lieu and not err by associating uncritically Christian and Jewish interpretation with formalized Christianity and Judaism as it were. Lieu, *Christian Identity*, 306-307.

⁴⁴ That *Barn.* 3.1 connects to the previously discussed material can be seen in λέγει οὖν πάλιν περὶ τούτων (“And so he speaks again concerning these things”). Correctly then, Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 79; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 601; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 108. Similarly, Kraft, *Didache*, 78, and Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 84. Different divisions can be observed among Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 299; Andry, “Barnabas,” 122; and F. Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, CorPat 1 (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1975), 19.

the Last Days” (*Barn.* 4.1-14),⁴⁵ and “Christ’s Sufferings” (*Barn.* 5.1-8.7).⁴⁶ The second unit, the *Knickpunkt*, is the section on “Circumcision and Food Laws” (*Barn.* 9.1-10.12).⁴⁷ The third unit can be subdivided into sections on “Baptism and the Cross” (*Barn.* 11.1-12.11), “Covenant and Its Recipients” (*Barn.* 13.1-14.9), “Sabbath” (*Barn.* 15.1-9), and “Temple” (*Barn.* 16.1-10).

Important to my analysis of the *Knickpunkt* is the correct division of the section “Circumcision and Food Laws.” The parameters of this section revolve around two issues: (1) whether the section begins at *Barn.* 8.7 or 9.1 and (2) whether the section ends at *Barn.* 9.9 or 10.12. Regarding the first issue, as far as I know Wengst’s is the only edition which begins this section at *Barn.* 8.7. He does this from an observed connection of right hearing and understanding between that of *Barn.* 8.7 and 10.12.⁴⁸ Wengst admits elsewhere that his outline is guided more by the editorial insertions from Barnabas than by content alone, and since Wengst observes a redactional comment here, he sets the parameter at *Barn.* 8.7.⁴⁹ But Wengst’s division is wanting in two ways. First, Wengst’s section stands upon a weak literary connection of hearing at *Barn.* 8.7 (ἀκούω) and 10.12 (ἀκοή). This is surprising considering that Wengst fails to see the stronger literary connection of ears/hearing and hearts at *Barn.* 9.1 (ὠτίον and καρδία) and 10.12 (ἀκοή and καρδία).⁵⁰ The connection between these texts by two common literary features is stronger evidence for establishing the boundaries of the section. Wengst’s literary connection of hearing alone is simply too weak to bear the weight of his structural parameters. Second, Wengst overlooks the connection of circumcision (περιτέμνω) between *Barn.* 9.1 and 10.12 which is not shared between *Barn.* 8.7 and 10.12. The connection of circumcision, ears/hearing, and hearts at *Barn.* 9.1 and 10.12 is a more convincing reason to begin the section on “Circumcision and Food Laws” at *Barn.* 9.1 rather than at *Barn.* 8.7.

⁴⁵ Kraft, *Didache*, 78; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 93; “Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 19; Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 601; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 108; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 84.

⁴⁶ The following sources are in agreement of section divisions from *Barn.* 5.1-16.10, which are adopted in this thesis: Kraft, *Didache*, 78-79; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 105-195; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 108-110; and Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 84. Additional divisions can be found among Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 299-300; Andry, “Barnabas,” 122-123; Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 19; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 205-206, though see comment on 205 n.101; and Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 601.

⁴⁷ Contra *Barnabas* 9, 10 (Andry, “Barnabas,” 122-123), *Barn.* 9.1-12.11 (Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 601), or *Barn.* 8.7-10.12 (Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 108-109).

⁴⁸ Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 161.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁵⁰ Wengst’s follows manuscripts **Σ** and H at *Barn.* 9.1a. Though I will argue later that **Σ** and H are not the preferred readings here, nevertheless I maintain that the section is better divided at *Barn.* 9.1-10.12.

The second issue is whether the section ends at *Barn.* 9.9 or 10.12. As I have already proposed, there is good reason to conclude this section at *Barn.* 10.12 based upon the shared literary features between *Barn.* 9.1 and 10.12. It should also be noted that there are no such shared features between *Barn.* 9.1 and 9.9. That *Barn.* 9.1-10.12 is meant to be understood as a section itself can be further demonstrated. Prostmeier has observed a *formulae citandi* in the *Epistle of Barnabas* used to introduce a new theme: *περί* plus genitive.⁵¹ This formula can be observed at *Barn.* 4.1, 5.1, 15.1, 16.1, and elsewhere where major thematic changes occur, confirming the outline proposed above. Since this introductory formula occurs at *Barn.* 9.1 (*περὶ τῶν ὠτίων*; “About the ears”) and 11.1 (*περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ*; “About the water and the cross”), its absence at *Barn.* 10.1 makes it clear that the *Epistle of Barnabas* introduces at *Barn.* 9.1 a theme which is explicated until *Barn.* 11.1 where a new theme is introduced.⁵² Thus, Barnabas’s treatment of “Circumcision and Food Laws” should be understood as comprising one section, beginning at *Barn.* 9.1 and ending at *Barn.* 10.12.

The structure of “Part I: Exegesis” with its quotations and exegeses of Scriptures (*γραφῆ*) is significant for understanding metaphorical circumcision in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.⁵³ The value of these texts is irrefutable, but it is clear that their relevance is dependent upon a reinterpretation of the texts.⁵⁴ “Part I: Exegesis” functions to explain the gnostic (*ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν τελείαν ἔχητε τὴν γνῶσιν*; “That you may have perfect knowledge to accompany your faith,” *Barn.* 1.5), or in Barnabas’s words, Spirit-filled, interpretation of these Scriptures.⁵⁵ On several occasions, Barnabas states that Abraham, Moses, and David wrote the Scriptures “in the Spirit.”⁵⁶ Barnabas then proceeds to explain

⁵¹ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 83. Cf. Kraft, “Barnabas,” 51-52.

⁵² Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 346.

⁵³ Kraft, “Barnabas,” 43. Cf. the comment in Andry, “Barnabas,” 13: “[‘Part I: Exegesis’ of the *Epistle of Barnabas*] is of greatest importance for an understanding of Old Testament usage in the early church, dealing with a question of momentous importance at the end of the apostolic age, whether Christians or Jews inherit the covenant of God according to his intentions.” Some of these quotations show a familiarity with themes of the NT. For a discussion on the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s quotations and allusions which bear resemblances to texts later incorporated into the NT, see J. N. B. Carleton Paget, “The *Epistle of Barnabas* and the Writings that later formed the New Testament,” in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. A. F. Gregory and C. M. Tuckett (Oxford: OUP, 2007), 229-249.

⁵⁴ Robinson, *Barnabas*, 3.

⁵⁵ Kraft, “Barnabas,” 19-20. Cf. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures*, 220: “A good deal of this book, therefore, tries to show how Christ and the Christian religion were foreshadowed in the Old Testament Scriptures.”

⁵⁶ Barnabas references how Moses and the other prophets “spoke in the Spirit” (*Μωϋσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν*; cf. *Barn.* 9.7; 10.2, 9) when giving the commands. Whereas others have erred as to their meaning, Barnabas has understood the commands “in an upright way” (*δικαίως*; *Barn.* 10.12).

the meaning of the Scripture not from the perspective of its face value (i.e. the way of error), but its deeper meaning yielding the interpretation “in an upright way” (δικαίως; *Barn.* 10.12). Thus the command to circumcise is not meant to be understood as a circumcision of the flesh but as a circumcision of the heart. Similarly, the various commands regarding dietary prohibitions are meant to be interpreted as ethical admonitions. This deeper meaning is what we call the Spirit-filled meaning, for it is the interpretation in the “upright way” according to the intention of the “Spirit” who moved among the authors to pen the Scriptures. Moreover, the γνῶσις of the *Epistle of Barnabas* is not to be confused with the gnosis of later Gnosticism.⁵⁷ γνῶσις, as Barnabas uses it, is the “true Christian sense of scripture.”⁵⁸ Barnabas demonstrates in “Part I: Exegesis” the superiority of the Spirit-filled understanding of the Scriptures possessed by those circumcised of hearing and hearts over against those uncircumcised of hearing and hearts.

6.2.2 Textual Readings at *Barnabas* 9.1: A Neglected Reading Revived⁵⁹

Two critical points of textual variance occur in *Barn.* 9.1 which are important to both the discussion of structuring *Barnabas* 9-10 and the meaning of uncircumcised hearing and hearts. They therefore deserve a re-examination. The two places of variance occur at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d. The text and translation are that of B. D. Ehrman.⁶⁰

^{1a} λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὠτίων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν.⁶¹ For he speaks again about the ears, indicating how he has circumcised our hearts.

⁵⁷ This confusion was made by W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, BHT 10 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1963), 52, who questioned the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s orthodoxy and classified it as heretical. Moreover, that the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s gnostic teachings should not be equated to later Gnosticism is the fact that the *Epistle of Barnabas* gains no mention in B. A. Pearson's treatment of ancient texts and their influence on Gnosticism. See B. A. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007). Cf. also Barnard, “Contemporary Setting,” 168: “This idea of knowledge is not that of Gnosticism, where it refers to the comprehension of the soul's origin and nature by a mystical enlightenment.”

⁵⁸ Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 48-49. Twenty-six gnostic-parenetic terms scattered throughout “Part I: Exegesis” testify to the importance of γνῶσις in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. See Kraft, *Didache*, 22-27. Barnabas never explicitly identifies *us* and *them* as *Christians* and *Jews* respectively. Among scholars though, this is the consensus. This can further be seen in manuscript L which often translates *them* as *Judaei*. See further an extensive treatment of pronominal identification in the *Epistle of Barnabas* of Christians and Jews, in Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 137-148.

⁵⁹ I presented this section in a paper at the *Durham—Manchester—Sheffield Biblical Studies Postgraduate Conference* on March 21, 2013 hosted by Durham University, Durham, UK. I am indebted to the constituency there who provided critical feedback on this research. I have taken their comments into consideration for the current form.

⁶⁰ Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*, 42-45.

⁶¹ Codices Sinaiticus (S) and Hierosolymitanus (H) read ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν. Codex Vaticanus Graecus (G) reads ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν. Codex Petropolitanus (L) reads *aures praecordiae nostrae* ≈ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας. The papyrus fragment PSI 757 (P) according to Kraft reads ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς.

- ^{1b} λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ· εἰς ἀκοὴν ὧτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου. The Lord says in the prophet, ‘They obeyed me because of what they heard with their ears’.
- ^{1c} καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκοῆ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν, ἃ ἐποίησα γνώσονται. Again he says, ‘Those who are far off will clearly hear; they will know what I have done’.
- ^{1d} καί· περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ‘καρδίας’⁶² ὑμῶν. And, ‘Circumcise your hearts’, says the Lord.
- ^{2a} καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου. Again he says, ‘Hear O Israel, for thus says the Lord your God’.
- ^{2b} καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει· τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; And again the Spirit of the Lord prophesies, ‘Who is the one who wants to live forever?’
- ^{2c} ἀκοῆ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδός μου. ‘Let him clearly hear the voice of my servant’.
- ^{3a} καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. Again he says, ‘Hear O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord has said these things as a witness’.
- ^{3b} καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου. And again he says, ‘Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of this people’.
- ^{3c} καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. And again he says, ‘Hear, O children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness’.
- ^{3d} οὐκοῦν περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς. Thus he circumcised our hearing, that once we heard the word we might believe.
- ^{4a} ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ περιτομή, ἐφ’ ἣ πεποιθασιν, κατήργηται. But even the circumcision in which they trusted has been nullified.
- ^{4b} περιτομὴν γὰρ εἴρηκεν οὐ σαρκὸς γενηθῆναι. For he has said that circumcision is not a matter of the flesh.
- ^{4c} ἀλλὰ παρέβησαν, ὅτι ἄγγελος πονηρὸς ἐσόφισεν αὐτούς. But they violated his law, because an evil angel instructed them.
- ^{5a} λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός ὑμῶν (ὧδε εὕρισκω ἐντολήν)· μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις, περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν. He says to them, ‘Thus says the Lord your God’ [here is where I find a commandment] ‘Do not sow among the thorns; be circumcised to your Lord’.
- ^{5b} καὶ τί λέγει; περιτμήθητε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε. And what does he say? ‘Circumcise your hardened hearts and do not harden your necks’.
- ^{5c} λάβε πάλιν· ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστία, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδίᾳ. Or consider again, ‘See, says the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in their foreskins, but this people is uncircumcised in their hearts’.

Before undertaking a textual analysis of the different readings, I first discuss the relevant manuscripts in general followed by a brief discussion of a few manuscripts in particular regarding their reliability.

6.2.2.1 Manuscripts of Barnabas 9.1a and 9.1d

The manuscript which has been given primacy of position in the *Epistle of Barnabas* scholarship is Codex Sinaiticus (S). Discovered in 1859 by A. F. C. Tischendorf, S dates to

⁶² Manuscripts S, H, and G read καρδίας. P and L (*aures*) read ἀκοάς.

the fourth century C.E.⁶³ It was the first manuscript discovered to contain the *Epistle of Barnabas* in its entirety. Despite the fact that scholars have given **Σ** the place of primacy in textual variant discussions, **Σ** contains careless errors⁶⁴—one of which occurs in a textual variant under review. Manuscript **Σ** shares a common ancestry and aligns often with Codex Hierosolymitanus (H).⁶⁵ H was discovered by P. Bryennios in 1873. Though H is dated 1056 C.E., it preserves a *Vorlage* (Π) that dates easily to the fourth century C.E. H also contains the *Epistle of Barnabas* in its entirety. H is considered to be as reliable, perhaps more so, than **Σ**.⁶⁶ H aligns with **Σ** against manuscripts Codex Petropolitanus (L), Codex Vaticanus Graecus (G), and PSI 757 (Ϙ). The Latin translation (L) of the *Epistle of Barnabas* is preserved in a manuscript dating to the ninth century C.E. However, its *Vorlage* (Λ) reaches to as early as the third century C.E., which with the exception of Ϙ, proves to be older than the other textual witnesses and respective *Vorlagen*. The text type of L appears to be reliable, from which L translates quite literally without taking into account the meaning of the language. L only contains *Barn.* 1.1-17.2.⁶⁷ G is closely related to the text type of L, though prior to the discoveries of **Σ** and H, translations tended to side with G at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d against the reading of L.⁶⁸ G is a family of nine Greek manuscripts which date from the eleventh century C.E. onward.⁶⁹ G only contains *Barn.* 5.7-21.9 but preserves a text type (Γ) of the *Epistle of Barnabas* which dates to the third or fourth century C.E.⁷⁰ Ϙ is a papyrus fragment (757) containing only *Barn.* 9.1-6 and dates to the third century C.E. Ϙ

⁶³ The *Epistle of Barnabas* is located in manuscript **Σ** after Revelation of the NT and before the *Shepherd of Hermas*. H. Lake and K. Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), x.

⁶⁴ “[Manuscript **Σ**] with numerous singular readings (and careless errors) was highly overrated by Tischendorf.” K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*, trans. E. F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 107.

⁶⁵ Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 5-6; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 14-15. Finding these codices set a new precedence in scholarship on the *Epistle of Barnabas* since prior to manuscript **Σ**, there existed no Greek copy of the *Epistle of Barnabas* in its entirety. Up until that point, scholarship depended upon two incomplete texts: manuscripts G (*Barn.* 5.7-21.9) and L (*Barn.* 1.1-17.2).

⁶⁶ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 18, 65-66.

⁶⁷ Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 105; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 32, 64.

⁶⁸ This can be observed in W. Hone and Hefele: “That God has circumcised them, together with our hearts,” in W. Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London: William Hone, 1820), 151; “Wie (der Herr) sie und unser Herz beschnitten habe,” in Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 79.

⁶⁹ The nine Greek manuscripts are as follows: *Vaticanus graecus* 859 (G_v), *Vaticanus Ottobonianus graecus* 348 (G_o), *Florentinus Laurentianus plut.* VII.21 (G_f), *Parisinus Bibl. Nationale graecus* 937 (G_p), *Casanatensis* 334 (G_c), *Theatinus* (G_t), *Neapolitanus Borbonicus* 17 (G_n), *Salmasianus* (G_s), and *Andros Hagias* 64 (G_a). J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London: Macmillan, 1891), 166-167. However, since Prostmeier holds that G_v is the archetype of G from which the nine manuscripts follow, he removes G_s and adds *Vaticanus graecus* 1655 (G_a) and *Vaticanus graecus* 1909 (G_t). Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 26-31.

⁷⁰ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 19, 65.

shares many similarities with manuscripts G and L. It offers only four unique readings, three of which are insignificant, hitherto unattested by **Σ**, H, G, and L. **Ϙ** aligns most often with G, or the G-L text type, against that of **Σ** and H.⁷¹ Overall, these textual witnesses are considered reliable among scholars, though some more so than others. The manuscripts themselves or their *Vorlagen* reach back to a similar date, third to fourth century C.E.

Codex Sinaiticus (**Σ**): At *Barn.* 9.1a, manuscript **Σ** originally had ἡμῶν τὴν CAPKANPΔIAN which was corrected by the same hand to read ἡμῶν τὴν KAPΔIAN (folio 336b^{vd}).⁷² Such a scribal blunder of writing CAPKAN calls into question the reliability of **Σ** at this juncture, especially when neither extant manuscripts read nor immediate context implies any content pertaining to σάρξ.⁷³ Indeed, the nearest mention of σάρξ in **Σ** is *Barn.* 9.4b (folio 337^{ra}). Unlike Prostmeier, I do not view this scribal error-correction as a “sure witness” for the proper reading ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν.⁷⁴ On the contrary, for this very reason **Σ** is not uncritically given the benefit of the doubt and is held with suspicion as preserving the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a.⁷⁵

Codex Petropolitanus (L): The reading proposed by manuscript L at *Barn.* 9.1a is *aures praecordiae nostrae* (≈ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας; “The hearing of our hearts”).⁷⁶ This reading is puzzling given that the text at *Barn.* 10.12c, which would shed light on *Barn.* 9.1a, is omitted: διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιώμεν ταῦτα (“For this reason he circumcised our hearing and our hearts, that we may understand these things”).⁷⁷ Adding to this puzzlement is its reading *hoc est, audite dominum vestrum* (≈ τοῦτο

⁷¹ Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana (PSI), the first editors of manuscript **Ϙ** (PSI 757), dated the fragment to the fourth century C.E. See G. Vitelli, ed., *Papiri greci e latini, N. 730-870* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2004), 40. But Kraft supposed that the text type of **Ϙ** was available as early as the third century C.E. See R. A. Kraft, “An Unnoticed Papyrus Fragment of Barnabas,” *VC* 21 (1967): 154-157. Prigent/Kraft confirmed that claim later via a personal correspondence with C. H. Roberts who stated that a third century C.E. date is not unlikely for manuscript **Ϙ** given the similarities between it and papyri of that time. See Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 53, 53 n.3.

⁷² See Appendix B on page 227 for a digital image of manuscript **Σ** at *Barn.* 9.1a. Tischendorf, *Epistula Barnabae*, lxxvii, 137*.

⁷³ Interestingly, a similar phonetic and optical phraseology like that of περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν σάρκα also occurs on folio 336b^v but in col. b: περὶ τὴν σάρκα (*Barn.* 7.9).

⁷⁴ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 350.

⁷⁵ In fact, Kraft goes so far as to say that of manuscripts **Σ**, H, and G, “the text of [**Σ**] is probably the most carelessly transcribed and least reliable.” Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 157. Notwithstanding manuscript **Σ**’s gaff at *Barn.* 9.1a, H similarly reads ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν.

⁷⁶ Translation is mine.

⁷⁷ The fact that manuscript L omits verses is to be expected since it is the shortest text in comparison to **Σ**, H, and G. See Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 32. However, it is rather odd that at *Barn.* 9.1a, L is clearly a longer variant than that of **Σ** and H.

λέγει· ἀκούσατε τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν; “Therefore he says, ‘Hear your Lord.’”) ⁷⁸ which follows from περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν (*Barn.* 9.5a). This appears to be more likely a scribal insertion as interpretation of περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν and not a direct transmission of L’s *Vorlage* Λ, since no other textual witness attests to this reading and L typically omits text rather than add to it. ⁷⁹ Yet this sheds light on L’s reading at *Barn.* 9.1a as it is likely to be an interpretation of Λ and not a direct transmission—it is its own attempt to make sense of the relationship between ὡπίον/ἀκοή and καρδία in a context devoid of references to καρδία yet inundated with references to ἀκοή, ἀκούω, ὑπακούω, and others. ⁸⁰ Thus, the variant reading proposed by L is also held in suspicion as preserving the most likely reading since it appears to diverge from its source, yielding an interpretive translation rather than a direct transmission.

PSI 757 (P): P can be read according to Vitelli (ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν; “Also our hearts”) ⁸¹ or according to Kraft (ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς; “Our hearing”). ⁸² P is a fragment 6.3 × 11 centimeters and beset with difficulties. It comprises approximately 21 lines on both verso and recto sides and has much corruption at the margins. Unfortunately, the variant under review is also located in a place of severe corruption, hence the nonconformity between Vitelli and Kraft. ⁸³ Consequently, both Vitelli (ἡμῶν καὶ τ[ὴν καρδίαν]) and Kraft (ἡμῶν τὰς ἀ[κοάς]) admit uncertainty in their respective conjectural readings due to the lacunae in the text. After ἡμῶν nothing can be read with certainty as the letters are either illegible or corrupt. However, as both Vitelli and Kraft detect the presence of a two character spaces to the right of ν in ἡμῶν, either καὶ or τὰς is possible. After examining P, both Vitelli and Kraft concluded that in any particular reading P agrees more often with G against S and H. ⁸⁴ Thus, Vitelli follows the reading of G at this point of corrupted text. However, reading ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν here according to G would make for a rather long line, especially considering that Vitelli grants an average 23.5 letters per line on the verso

⁷⁸ Translation is mine.

⁷⁹ No other manuscripts contain traces of this sentence. All things considered, L’s reading at *Barn.* 9.1a, 9.1d, 9.3d, and here indicate that it is an interpretive insertion. Cf. Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 81; Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 353; and Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 163, who agree that this is one explanation.

⁸⁰ See §6.2.2.5 Contextual Support for Papyrus Reading on page 172.

⁸¹ Translation is mine. Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 41.

⁸² Translation is mine. Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 158.

⁸³ See Appendix C on page 228 for a digital image of the corruption in manuscript P *Barn.* 9.1a.

⁸⁴ Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 156.

and reading *ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν* would lend 27 letters.⁸⁵ But Kraft's analysis of \mathfrak{P} goes further to show that when all manuscripts are compared at any given textual variant, and the manuscript evidence is split evenly, \mathfrak{P} agrees with L plus another witness.⁸⁶ Hence, Kraft conjectures that *τὰς ἀκοάς* preserves some element of the relationship between \mathfrak{P} and L which is hinted at in G's reading. Reading *ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς* according to Kraft yields 22 letters, which would fit comfortably on the line and align closer to the average line length of 23.5 letters proposed by Vitelli. Considering that \mathfrak{P} clearly preserves *τὰς ἀκοάς* at *Barn.* 9.1d (*περιτιμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοάς ὑμῶν*) and at 9.3d (*περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς*),⁸⁷ reading Kraft's *περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς* at *Barn.* 9.1a gains even more plausibility. For these reasons, it is to be preferred over the reading proposed by Vitelli. Since Kraft's article in 1967, only Wengst's edition has listed \mathfrak{P} in its textual apparatus at *Barn.* 9.1a. Moreover, Wengst's apparatus follows Kraft's reconstruction of *τὰς ἀκοάς* rather than Vitelli's *τὴν καρδίαν*.⁸⁸ In sum, \mathfrak{P} according to Kraft's reconstruction appears to be the more likely reading than Vitelli's.

6.2.2.2 *Necessity of Revisiting Barnabas 9.1a and 9.1d*

Since the discoveries of manuscripts \mathfrak{N} and H, scholars of the *Epistle of Barnabas* have favored their readings at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d,⁸⁹ but by doing so, they jettison the evidence to the contrary proposed by manuscripts G, L, and \mathfrak{P} .⁹⁰ In 1967, Kraft published an article

⁸⁵ Lines 3-5 and 17 are not part of the calculated data since Vitelli expresses extreme uncertainty at these lines and supplies ? in lieu of proposing a particular reading. Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 41-42.

⁸⁶ Kraft, "Papyrus Fragment," 155.

⁸⁷ See §6.2.2.3 Textual Readings at *Barnabas* 9.1a and 9.1d on page 167.

⁸⁸ Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 160. In fact, this is a change in Wengst as previously he read \mathfrak{P} according to Vitelli, Wengst, *Tradition*, 34 n.66.

⁸⁹ In fact, since the discovery of manuscript \mathfrak{N} , almost every major edition and translation has followed its reading at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d—a trend inaugurated by A. Hilgenfeld with others following in his wake: A. Hilgenfeld, *Barnabae Epistula*, NTC 2 (Leipzig: Weigel, 1866), 26-27; Cunningham, *Dissertation*, 42-43; O. Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Barnabae Epistula*, PAO 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1878), 40-41, who does not even mention the manuscript L reading at *Barn.* 9.1d; Lightfoot and Harmer, *Apostolic Fathers*, 252-253, 277; F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Laupp'sche Buchhandlung, 1901), 64-65; Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 350-351; K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1, LCL 24 (London: William Heinemann, 1925), 370-371; Kleist, *Barnabas*, 49; Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 98-99; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 160-163; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 349; Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers*, 42-43; Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 406-407. Cf. also Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 144 n.207; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 184.

⁹⁰ A. Roberts/J. Donaldson and Kraft follow manuscripts \mathfrak{N} and H at *Barn.* 9.1d, but a variant, G and L respectively, at *Barn.* 9.1a: "How He hath circumcised both them and our heart," in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, "The Epistle of Barnabas," in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, ed. A. C. Coxe, ANF 1 (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1885), 142; "How he circumcised the ears of our heart," in Kraft, *Didache*, 106-107. Prigent/Kraft follows a variant at both *Barn.* 9.1a "qu'il a circoncis nos oreilles et nos coeurs" and 9.1d "circoncisez vos Oreilles," in Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 140-143.

rekindling interest in the text critical discussion of the *Epistle of Barnabas* when \mathfrak{P} was determined to be an unnoticed fragment (*Barn.* 9.1-6) belonging to the epistle.⁹¹ In the article, Kraft challenged the majority reading where he found evidence in \mathfrak{P} of a conjectural *περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς* at *Barn.* 9.1a and with certainty the phrase *περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοάς ὑμῶν* at *Barn.* 9.1d.⁹² This was indeed a bold step to move away from following \aleph and H at both *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d, for prior to Kraft's article the only edition which diverted from the \aleph and H reading at *Barn.* 9.1a was that of Roberts/Donaldson. Roberts/Donaldson followed G at *Barn.* 9.1a, but favored \aleph and H at *Barn.* 9.1d. Sadly, scholarship on the *Epistle of Barnabas* has not received Kraft's findings with enthusiasm. Since then, only Prigent/Kraft has followed Kraft's reading but that only at *Barn.* 9.1d and not *Barn.* 9.1a. Kraft maintained his conjectural reading at *Barn.* 9.1a based on philological grounds. Here I want to champion Kraft's findings and solidify them by advancing the study in consideration of contextual and structural support. My purpose here will be to examine the possible variant readings at these two critical points in *Barn.* 9.1 to account for the progression of readings in their current form and to propose which of the readings is the most likely at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d. The examination, however, will allow the contextual and structural support to contribute to the textual variant discussion to see if any support from context and structure can be garnered to yield the most likely reading. Here, I will mount a proposition from (1) textual, (2) contextual, and (3) structural evidence that the variant offered by manuscript \mathfrak{P} is the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a and the variant offered by manuscripts \mathfrak{P} and L is the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1d. Furthermore, I will suggest that following the \aleph and H readings fails to see the significance the *Epistle of Barnabas* places on the circumcision of both hearing and hearts.

6.2.2.3 Textual Readings at Barnabas 9.1a and 9.1d

Here I examine the variations offered by textual witnesses at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d to establish the most likely reading. As a result, the following diagram of textual readings emerges.

⁹¹ Kraft, "Papyrus Fragment," 150-163. "Unnoticed" is appropriate nomenclature to describe the fragment since between the date the fragment was first published by Vitelli (1925) and Kraft's article in 1967, theses and translations of the *Epistle of Barnabas* did not acknowledge its existence in their works. See Andry, "Barnabas," 35-43; Kraft, "Barnabas," 25; Kraft, *Didache*, 17-19, 106.

⁹² Kraft, "Papyrus Fragment," 158-161.

MSS	<i>Barn. 9.1a</i>	<i>Barn. 9.1d</i>
Ⲛ	ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν	καρδίας
H	ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν	καρδίας
G	ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν	καρδίας
L	<i>ures praecordiae nostrae</i> (≈ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας)	<i>ures</i> (≈ ἀκοὰς)
Ⲫ	ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς	ἀκοὰς

Figure 5: Textual Readings offered at *Barnabas* 9.1a and 9.1d

The first textual analysis is the Ⲛ and H reading at *Barn. 9.1a*: πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν'. Against Ⲛ and H, variant readings have been proposed by G (ἡμῶν⁹³ καὶ τὴν καρδίαν), L (*ures praecordiae nostrae* ≈ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας), and Ⲫ (ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς).⁹⁴ During this examination, two things should be borne in mind. First, Ⲛ should not be given preference *carte blanche* over other textual evidence simply because it is the oldest complete Greek manuscript of the *Epistle of Barnabas*.⁹⁵ Textual and contextual arguments, as well as probabilities, should be given due consideration. Second, the readings proposed by manuscripts G, L, and Ⲫ, which reference either explicitly or implicitly τὰς ἀκοὰς, find textual support elsewhere at *Barn. 9.3d* (περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς) and 10.12c (περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας). Strikingly, all manuscripts agree at *Barn. 9.3d*⁹⁶ and 10.12c⁹⁷ with no alternative readings offered for τὰς ἀκοὰς. Thus, any reference among the textual witnesses to τὰς ἀκοὰς at *Barn. 9.1a* (i.e. L and Ⲫ) gains plausibility.⁹⁸

⁹³ Although, G_{pfm} have ὑμῶν.

⁹⁴ Kraft, "Papyrus Fragment," 158.

⁹⁵ Contra Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, xxxii.

⁹⁶ H reads ἔτεμεν instead of περιέτεμεν. But this reading is surely unlikely. Of the eight textual apparatuses consulted, only Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 162, and Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, 64, thought it relevant even to note the variant reading by H. Besides, τὰς ἀκοὰς is not called into question. Ⲫ is corrupted at the first line of the recto. As a result, περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν must be supplied. Still, both Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 42, and Kraft, "Papyrus Fragment," 159, read τὰς ἀκοὰς.

⁹⁷ Although omitted in L: διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ταῦτα.

⁹⁸ A few more factors are highlighted by Cunningham, *Dissertation*, x-xi, which are taken into consideration throughout our analysis. These internal and textual reasons follow: (1) more difficult readings are preferred to easier ones as the latter are possibly corrections of the former; (2) shorter readings are preferred to longer readings since longer ones possibly contain explanation absent in the shorter ones; and (3) readings which do not align with the LXX precisely are preferable to those which do since the latter have possibly been corrected to accord with the LXX.

The second textual analysis is the reading at *Barn.* 9.1d: ‘περιτμήθητε’, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ‘καρδίας’ ὑμῶν. Two readings must be discussed here. First, whereas L (*circumcidite*) agrees with H (περιτμήθητε), **Σ** proposes *περίτμηται* which was corrected to *περιτμήθηται*, while G proposes *περιτμηθήσεται* (G_{v.o.}) and *περιτμηθήσεσθε* (G_{fpntcadr.}). The correction of **Σ** (*περιτμήθηται*) is taken by Prigent/Kraft and Wengst as an alternative spelling of *περιτμήθητε*, and therefore sides with L and H.⁹⁹ Alternative readings proposed by G disagree among themselves in person and number and, most importantly among other things, disagree with **Σ**, H, and L in mood.¹⁰⁰ Still, no variant reading poses a major threat to the discussion at hand since the verb *περιτέμνω* is evident in them all. All things considered, it is probably best to follow **Σ**, H, and L who share a common mood, person, and number.¹⁰¹ Second, and most critically, whereas **Σ**, H, and G read *καρδίας*, **Φ** and L (*aures*) have *ἀκοάς*. The tendency among scholars has been to follow *καρδίας* based upon the assumption that *Barn.* 9.1d is a quotation from LXX Jer 4:4. A point in case can be seen in both K. J. Hefele and F. R. Prostmeier. Writing before the discovery of **Φ**, Hefele disregarded the evidence of L, though its reading fits contextually with *Barn.* 9.1-3, simply because *περιτμήθητε...τὰς ἀκοάς ὑμῶν* has no known scriptural parallel: “Die lat[einische] Version hat *aures* nicht *corda*, was allerdings in den Zusammenhang paßt, aber nicht mit den LXX übereinstimmt.”¹⁰² Writing recently and after the discovery of **Φ**, Prostmeier acknowledged that, while *aures* and *ἀκοάς* are permissible based upon the context, the right reading is *καρδίας* (**Σ**, H, and G).¹⁰³ These are examples of scholars’ awareness of the context which supports the variant witnesses, yet still they favor **Σ**. Though Hefele and Prostmeier acknowledged the contextual support of L and **Φ**, they did not allow that support to affect their textual analyses. But it is precisely the *lectio difficilior ἀκοάς*, of which there is no known scriptural equivalent, which appears to be the most likely reading here as the contextual argument later demonstrates.

⁹⁹ Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 142; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 162. The same could be said of *περίτμηται* to read *περίτμητε*.

¹⁰⁰ *περιτμηθήσεται* and *περιτμηθήσεσθε* are not imperatives at all but are parsed future passive indicative.

¹⁰¹ **Φ** is corrupt here but the following letters are visible: *περ[ιτμήθητε]*. Both Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 41, and Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 158, have supplied the content in brackets.

¹⁰² Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 79 n.4.

¹⁰³ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 350. In fact, Prostmeier says that reading *ἀκοάς* in manuscript **Φ** is guesswork. But both Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 41, and Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 158, establish its presence in the fragment with certainty.

6.2.2.4 Progression of Textual Readings

Given the variety of readings offered at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d, sense should be made of their progression and derivatives to account for the differences. The following diagram is my attempt to show the flow of textual readings from the most likely to the least likely reading.

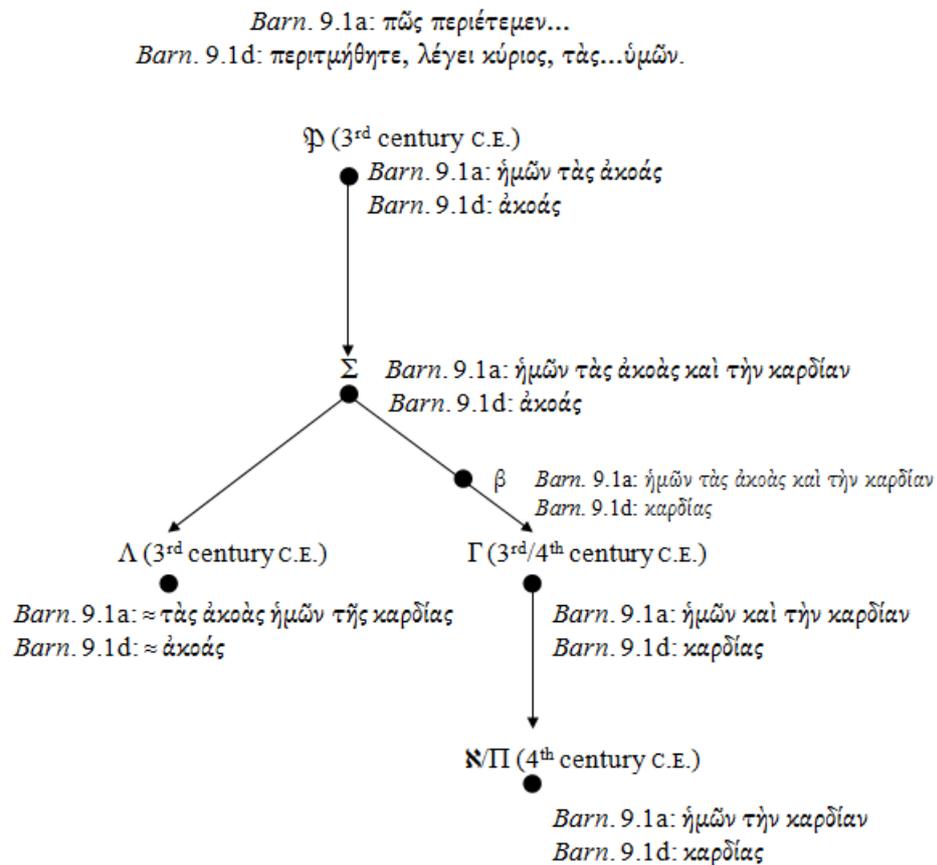


Figure 6: Progression of Textual Readings at *Barnabas* 9.1a and 9.1d

Several observations about the diagram are noteworthy. First, the diagram does not propose any new dating of the manuscripts or their *Vorlagen* but accepts their conventional dating proposed by scholars. The progression of variants therefore coheres chronologically to the date specifications of these documents. Second, the inadequacy of the diagram to illustrate the similarity of manuscripts P, Λ/L, and Γ/G against those of N and Π/H is admitted. To some small measure, the diagram maintains that line of similarity by showing the nearer relationship of P to Λ/L and Γ/G against that of N and Π/H. Still, if it can be argued that P is the most likely reading, from which N and Π/H are in some way descended, then the diagram is sufficient. Third, the hyparchetype Σ accounts for a

conjecture of a manuscript with another textual variation which must have existed in order to account for the present variants. Naturally, no extant evidence exists to prove this plausibility, but such a manuscript makes sense of the progression of texts and gains support from Prigent/Kraft who likewise speculated a similar manuscript in the scribal transmission tradition.¹⁰⁴ Manuscript β is not necessary but would explain more clearly the relationship of Γ/G to Σ .¹⁰⁵ The rationale behind the diagram, and the progression of readings, is as follows. \mathfrak{P} preserves the most likely reading, from which a scribe at Σ inserted *καὶ τὴν καρδίαν* to form an introductory statement to the discussion on *ἀκοή* and *καρδία* which followed. This then created a perfect inclusio of the section on “Circumcision and Food Laws” at *Barn.* 9.1a and 10.12c. Λ/L diverges from Σ slightly via its interpretive translation of *aures praecordiae nostrae* (\approx τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας) in *Barn.* 9.1a while preserving *ἀκοὰς* at *Barn.* 9.1d. This is conceivable considering Λ/L 's interpretation of *hoc est, audite dominum vestrum* (\approx τοῦτο λέγει· ἀκούσατε τὸν κύριον ὑμῶν) from *περιτμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν* at *Barn.* 9.5a. Γ/G diverges from Σ by making two changes simultaneously. On the one hand, *καρδίας* replaces *ἀκοὰς* since the context of scriptural quotations dictates a similar scriptural reference here. In this case, *καρδίας* is a necessary scribal correction since no extant LXX-like readings testify to *ἀκοὰς*. On the other hand, since all references to circumcised *ἀκοή* are thereby eliminated, τὰς ἀκοὰς at *Barn.* 9.1a is seen as superfluous by the scribe and deleted. From Γ/G follows \mathfrak{N} (and Π/H) who, in keeping with the biblical material contained in its corpus, removes the *καί* in order to maintain the congruency between the scriptural quotation and the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s themes on circumcised hearts. Taken together, \mathfrak{N} and Π/H seem to be the furthest from the most likely reading of \mathfrak{P} to which Λ/L and Γ/G stand the closest.

Alternatively, the progression of readings could be accounted for by their attempts to relate *ὥτιον* either to *ἀκοή* or *καρδία* via the particle *πῶς*: *λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὥτιων, πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν [καὶ]¹⁰⁶ [τὰς ἀκοὰς]¹⁰⁷ τὴν καρδίαν* (*Barn.* 9.1a). As the most

¹⁰⁴ *ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ τὰς καρδίας*, in Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 140-141. Whereas Prigent/Kraft contends this is the more probable reading, I argue that it is a conjecture flowing from \mathfrak{P} . That it more likely finds itself at Σ and not the most probable reading will be argued in my examination of its meaning. See §6.3.1 Meaning of Circumcised Hearing.

¹⁰⁵ If β is not necessary, then Γ/G diverges from Σ at two points simultaneously (first, removing τὰς ἀκοὰς at *Barn.* 9.1a, second correcting ἀκοὰς to καρδίας at *Barn.* 9.1d) rather than showing only one divergence (removing τὰς ἀκοὰς at *Barn.* 9.1a).

¹⁰⁶ Brackets indicate the reading of Γ .

¹⁰⁷ Brackets indicate the reading of \mathfrak{P} .

likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a, \mathfrak{P} 's reading is the easiest to explain. \mathfrak{P} saw a direct relationship between $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ which is expected given that (1) $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ was often depicted in ancient Egyptian reliefs as ears¹⁰⁸ and (2) $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ is a diminutive of $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, the latter of which is used interchangeably with $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$.¹⁰⁹ Since $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ were seen as synonymous, $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ functioned much like $\delta\tau\iota$.¹¹⁰ At Σ , the addition of $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ is not so much an extension of $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ but rather, as discussed before, an insertion to account for the summary statement which introduces the following themes and the *inclusio*. For this reason, $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ plays an inconsequential role in Σ . Λ/L does not recognize a demarcation in the two circumcisions, given the omission of *Barn.* 10.12c and the interpretative insertion at *Barn.* 9.5c. Consequently, Λ/L handles the conundrum caused by Σ by blending the two metaphors ($\approx \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\alpha\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma$). In L , $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ makes the blend of circumcision metaphors the subject expounded in *Barn.* 9.1-3 (i.e. the discussion of the hearing of the heart). On the other hand, Γ/G sees like \mathfrak{P} that $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ are the same. But unlike \mathfrak{P} , due to the scribal correction of the scriptural quotation at *Barn.* 9.1d from $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ to $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma$, Γ/G understands *Barn.* 9.1-3 as a treatment of circumcised hearing and hearts (an extension of $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$), accounting for the role of the $\kappa\alpha\iota$. Thus, $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ for Γ/G functions as it does with \mathfrak{P} . \mathfrak{N} and Π/H , however, by returning to the LXX-like quotation of Jer 4:4, see $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha$ as a replacement for $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$. Any circumcision of $\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ or $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ is absorbed in the circumcision of $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha$, and thereby eliminated in *Barn.* 9.1a, with $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ functioning as a particle of manner.

6.2.2.5 Contextual Support for Papyrus Reading

I now turn to the context to see if any support can be garnered to shore up my conclusions of the most likely textual readings offered by \mathfrak{P} at *Barn.* 9.1a and L and \mathfrak{P} at *Barn.* 9.1d. Firstly, it appears that the biggest difficulty in accepting $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\alpha\varsigma$ proposed by L and \mathfrak{P} at *Barn.* 9.1d is the fact that *Barn.* 9.1-5 is a mosaic of scriptural quotations and the phrase $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\tau\epsilon,\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma,\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ is found nowhere in ancient literature. These quotations include five parallels to Isaiah, two to Deuteronomy, two to the Psalms, and

¹⁰⁸ G. Kittel, “ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ -, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi$ -, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$,” *TDNT* 1:221. This custom originated, and was proliferated, in Egypt. This adds further support to my conclusion that the *Epistle of Barnabas* hails from an Egyptian provenance.

¹⁰⁹ Horst, *TDNT* 5:558, 558 n.1.

¹¹⁰ BDAG, s.v. “ $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$,” §1b α .

two to Jeremiah.¹¹¹ However, the phrase “‘Circumcise your hearing’, says the Lord” (περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν) is found nowhere in any extant scriptural source. Yet, it is precisely for this reason that ἀκοὰς appears to be a rather fitting, though admittedly harder, reading at *Barn* 9.1d and perhaps also at *Barn.* 9.1a. The presence of περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν in a stream of quotations supposedly hailing from the OT, whose reference does not exist in the OT, would naturally seem misplaced and therefore, the need possibly arose to correct the reading by supplying καρδίας. In other words, it is more likely that καρδίας was supplied later in order to correct the apparent misquotation rather than proposing ἀκοὰς later by some misguided scribal effort. This reasoning aligns squarely with the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s tendency to adapt quotations, predominantly by inserting ἀκοή and ἀκούω into scriptural citations which are unattested by any extant manuscripts or OT versions.¹¹² Furthermore, the argument from Hefele that we should not accept L’s reading *aures* (ἀκοὰς) based upon its lack of scriptural equivalency is weak considering *Barn.* 9.3d περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς. This is significant for the following reasons: (1) all known manuscripts agree this is the correct reading—there is no room for debate—and (2) Barnabas claims this act of circumcision has already taken place though the statement itself has no known counterpart in the OT or extant literature.¹¹³ Since περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς has no known referential text, and since no manuscripts attempt to correct this statement but assume its correctness, the reading περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν at *Barn.* 9.1d likewise needs no scriptural counterpart to justify its originality.¹¹⁴ It would seem then, that *if* the most likely reading were περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, we would also find a variant reading proposed in *Barn.* 9.3d within those same manuscripts, such as περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας, rather than περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς. The fact that the textual witnesses are silent at this point is striking and adds contextual support to the L and \mathfrak{P} readings of περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν at *Barn.* 9.1d and further supports \mathfrak{P} at *Barn.* 9.1a: πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς.

¹¹¹ To see a comparison of *Barn.* 9.1-3 alongside the LXX, cf. Kraft, “Barnabas,” 180-181.

¹¹² See my treatment of Barnabas’s quotations in §6.3.1 Meaning of Circumcised Hearing.

¹¹³ Similarly, *Barn.* 10.12: περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν.

¹¹⁴ At the very least, scholars should not uncritically disregard the witnesses of L and \mathfrak{P} simply because we cannot identify its (non)biblical reference.

Secondly, *Barn.* 9.1-5 is divided into two sections: *Barn.* 9.1-3 and 9.4-5.¹¹⁵ Without taking into account the textual readings at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d discussed previously, the first section at *Barn.* 9.1-3 is a string of quotations in which auditory terms are used liberally: ὠτίον (“ear,” 2x), ἀκοή (“hearing,” 4x), ἐνωτίζομαι (“to give ear,” 1x), ἀκούω (“to hear,” 7x),¹¹⁶ and ὑπακούω (“to obey,” 1x).¹¹⁷ An example of this is seen in *Barn.* 9.1b: εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου.¹¹⁸ Additionally, περιτέμνω (“to circumcise,” 3x) is most certainly used in conjunction with ἀκοή at *Barn.* 9.3d and its other two occurrences within this section coincide with the readings under analysis (i.e. *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.1d).¹¹⁹ What is more, not *once* is καρδιά mentioned in this first section in any manuscript. Thus, the context of *Barn.* 9.1-3 is saturated with words about hearing while destitute of words pertaining to the heart or other words in conjunction with heart-circumcision or the rite of circumcision.

On the other hand, the second section at *Barn.* 9.4-5 references καρδιά (“heart,” 2x),¹²⁰ as well as σάρξ (“flesh,” 1x) and ἀκροβυστία (“foreskin,” 1x),¹²¹ all of which are also

¹¹⁵ Whereas Kraft, *Didache*, 106-108, and Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 406-409, would label this *Barn.* 9.4b, Funk, Windisch, Prigent, Scorza Barcellona, Wengst, and Prostmeier have it as *Barn.* 9.4 with Kraft and Holmes’s verse 4a incorporated into verse 3. Regardless of the versification, whether verse 4 or 4b, it is important to recognize that scholars detect some form of minor sectional demarcation beginning at ἀλλά. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, 64-67, does not make any sectional demarcations in chapter 9. Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 350, Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 140-145, Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 349, and Holmes divide at ἀλλά to make two divisions: *Barn.* 9.1-3 and 9.4-5. Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 98-101, and Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 160-163, divide at ἀλλά but have the divisions *Barn.* 9.1-3 and 9.4-6. It is best not to follow Scorza Barcellona and Wengst at this point since *Barn.* 9.6 begins a discussion on Abraham’s circumcision which is then carried out until the end of chapter 9, whereas *Barn.* 9.4-5 is a discussion on heart-circumcision.

¹¹⁶ ἀκούσατε was later amended in **Σ** to reflect ἀκουσάτω at *Barn.* 9.2c. **Σ**, H, G, L, and **Φ** agree here. BDAG, s.v. “ἀκούω.” At *Barn.* 9.3c, two readings are witnessed: ἀκούσαντες (H, G, and L) and ἀκούσωμεν (**Σ**). **Φ** is corrupt here but both Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 42, and Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 159, supply ἀκο[ύσαντες]. Still, ἀκούω is attested to in all witnesses.

¹¹⁷ **Φ** has an alternative but corrupted reading at *Barn.* 9.1b: ἐπή[...]. Whereas Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 41, does not propose a reading at the corrupted text, Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 160, posits ἐπή[χουσάν] from ἐπακούω meaning “to listen.” Neither the corrupted reading nor the conjecture threatens the point here, though ἐπήχουσάν makes sense of the context, because the corrupted text cannot be construed in any way to reflect καρδιά. BDAG, s.v. “ὑπακούω,” §1; BDAG, s.v. “ἐπακούω.”

¹¹⁸ BDAG, s.v. “ὠτίον;” BDAG, s.v. “ἀκοή;” BDAG, s.v. “ἐνωτίζομαι.”

¹¹⁹ BDAG, s.v. “περιτέμνω.” H has ἔτεμεν from τέμνω meaning “to cut” at *Barn.* 9.3d instead of περιτέμεν (cf. **Σ** and G; **Φ** is corrupt here) from περιτέμνω. It is easy to see how the preposition περι would have been overlooked in transmission. Still, the idea of metaphorically cutting the hearing is preserved even in ἔτεμεν. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1996), s.v. “τέμνω.”

¹²⁰ BDAG, s.v. “καρδιά.” At *Barn.* 9.5c textual readings are minor: καρδιάς (**Σ**) and καρδιά (G and H). But at *Barn.* 9.5b, the readings are more complex: τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν (**Σ** and H), τὸ σκληρόν τῆς καρδιάς (G and **Φ**), and nequitiam de praecordiis (≈ τὴν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδιάς) (L). L bears resemblances with G and **Φ**. Whereas **Σ** and H agree with LXX Deut 10:16 and LXX Jer 4:4, G, L, and **Φ** appear to be paraphrases of σκληροκαρδία. See Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 351. Nonetheless, it should be noted that all readings include some form of καρδιά.

placed in conjunction with various references to circumcision: *περιτέμνω* (2x), *περιτομή* (“circumcision,” 2x),¹²² and *ἀπερίτμητος* (“uncircumcised,” 2x).¹²³ Curiously, we find nowhere in this second section the auditory words *ώτιον*, *ἀκοή*, *ἀκούω*,¹²⁴ *ἐνωτίζομαι*, and *ὕπακούω*, nor their association with *περιτέμνω*, which inundated the first section. Similarly, we do not find in the first section the references to *σάρξ*, *ἀκροβυστία*, *περιτομή*, and *ἀπερίτμητος*, nor their association with *περιτέμνω*, which are dominant in the second section. This contextual support seems to suggest that the first section (*Barn.* 9.1-3) is occupied with the hearing motif while the second section (*Barn.* 9.4-5) is concerned with the heart motif. Contextually, this support makes sense of the reading of **Ϙ** at *Barn.* 9.1a and of manuscripts L and **Ϙ** at *Barn.* 9.1d. It makes sense of the manuscripts since reading *καρδία* in the midst of the section on the hearing motif is as misplaced as finding a reference to *ἀκοή* in the section on the heart motif, contra the readings of **Ⲛ** and H. Thus, if allowed to contribute to the textual variant discussion, this contextual support favors **Ϙ** at *Barn.* 9.1a and L and **Ϙ** at *Barn.* 9.1d as the most likely textual readings.

6.2.2.6 Structural Support for Papyrus Reading

Next, I want to review the structural support to see if it aligns with the contextual support in shedding light on the textual readings. If the conclusions to my contextual analysis could be granted, then it is best not to understand hearing-circumcision as equivalent to heart-circumcision—an assumption many scholars have been prone to make.¹²⁵ Equating hearing-circumcision with heart-circumcision stems from scholars’ acceptance of

¹²¹ Some readings occur at *Barn.* 9.5c but do not bear substantially upon meaning: *ἀκροβυστίαν* (**Ⲛ** and **Ϙ**), *ἀκροβυστία* (H), and *ἀκρόβυστα* (G), read as *corporis* in L. BDAG, s.v. “ἀκροβυστία.”

¹²² Omitted in manuscript L at *Barn.* 9.4a. BDAG, s.v. “περιτομή.”

¹²³ Omitted in manuscript **Ⲛ** at *Barn.* 9.5c. BDAG, s.v. “σάρξ;” BDAG, s.v. “ἀπερίτμητος.”

¹²⁴ Although manuscript L adds *hoc est, audite* (≈ *ἀκούσατε*) *dominum vestrum* at the conclusion of *Barn.* 9.5a, no other forms of hearing are found in the second section. This appears to be a scribal insertion as interpretation of *περιτμήθητε τῷ κυριῷ ὑμῶν* and not a transmission of Λ. As such, the evidence should not bear upon the present discussion.

¹²⁵ A case in point is Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 350: “Daß die Herzensbeschneidung, selbst eine Metapher, bildlich gesprochen eine Beschneidung der Ohren war, wird in Barn 9-10 erst entwickelt.” Challenging this line of thinking is Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 79 n.1, who, though writing prior to the discovery of manuscripts **Ⲛ** and H, followed G (*πῶς περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν*) but nonetheless did not equate circumcision of hearing with circumcision of hearts: “Diese [Ps 17:45] gebraucht Barnabas wie eine befehlende, als ob es heiße: ‘Höret etc.’ Als das *antecedens* des Hörens denkt er sich zugleich das Beschnittenseyn an den Ohren.” Correctly, Hefele interprets the scriptural quotations of *ἀκοή* and others to refer to circumcision of the ears/hearing, not circumcision of the heart, thereby differentiating the two circumcisions.

manuscripts **Σ** and H at *Barn.* 9.1a. That circumcision of ears/hearing is equated to circumcision of heart can be clearly seen in the readings of **Σ** and H: “For he speaks again about the *ears* (περὶ τῶν ὠτίων), indicating *how* he has circumcised our *hearts* (ἡμῶν τὴν καρδίαν).” Following this reading, circumcision of the ears/hearing *is* the circumcision of the heart, and vice versa. However, hearing-circumcision need not be equated with heart-circumcision since there is an undisputed example of circumcision of hearing (*Barn.* 9.3d) placed in the midst of the hearing motif (i.e. first section, *Barn.* 9.1-3). Further, there are undisputed references of circumcision of hearts (*Barn.* 9.5b-c) placed in the midst of the heart motif (i.e. second section, *Barn.* 9.4-5). Thus, one can understand hearing-circumcision in contradistinction to heart-circumcision—the two need not be made equivalent.

Structurally, and again without consideration of the textual variations, Barnabas introduces in *Barn.* 9.1a the theme of circumcised hearing which he then extrapolates until *Barn.* 9.3d at which time he begins the theme of circumcised hearts (*Barn.* 9.4a) which he expounds until *Barn.* 9.5c. These two, distinct themes are later recalled in a summary statement at *Barn.* 10.12c in the *exact* order in which they were treated: first hearing and then hearts—διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας (“For this reason he circumcised our hearing and our hearts”).¹²⁶ It is noteworthy that *Barn.* 10.12c does not equate hearing-circumcision with heart-circumcision. To the contrary, *Barn.* 10.12c preserves the distinction between the two circumcisions, while simultaneously acting as a summary statement to *Barnabas* 9-10. Again, *if* the two circumcisions were to be understood as equivalent, like manuscripts **Σ** and H propose at *Barn.* 9.1a, why then have those same manuscripts not consistently supplied an alternative reading here at *Barn.* 10.12c? This leads me to conclude that the structural support favors those readings which suggest a demarcation between circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts at *Barn.* 9.1a.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ It is also prudent to question the equivalency of the two at this point. If Barnabas equates hearing-circumcision with heart-circumcision, why the distinction of the two circumcisions at *Barn.* 10.12c—a statement in which no variant is proposed among manuscripts?

¹²⁷ Here, it is important to remember that a demarcation in meaning between circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts is already observable in *Barn.* 9.3d and 10.12c irrespective of the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a. Therefore, whether or not the contextual and structural support are sufficient to weigh in on the textual variant discussion at *Barn.* 9.1a, and whether or not the textual variant reading proposed by **Φ** is indeed the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a, the indisputable evidence at *Barn.* 9.3d and 10.12c is sufficient to make my point that the *Epistle of Barnabas* testifies to a demarcation in meaning of ear- and heart-circumcisions, contra the conclusions of many scholars.

6.2.3 Structuring *Barnabas* 9-10

Now that I have mounted a case for the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a, I will here outline the structure of *Barnabas* 9-10. I will draw upon the results from the contextual and structural studies above in doing so.

6.2.3.1 *Outline of Barnabas 9*

Chapter 9 divides into three sections: “Circumcised Hearing” (*Barn.* 9.1-3), “Circumcised Hearts” (*Barn.* 9.4-5), and “The Meaning of Abraham’s Circumcision” (*Barn.* 9.6-9).¹²⁸ As I have maintained, *Barn.* 9.1-3 forms a section on circumcised hearing. This first section of chapter 9 is nicely set off by an introductory and concluding reference to hearing-circumcision in vv.1a, 3d (περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς). Within this section, all sorts of people and inanimate objects are called to hear: those who are far off (v.1c), Israel (v.2a), the one who wants to live forever (v.2b), heaven (v.3a), earth (v.3a), rulers (v.3b), and children (v.3c). The first section then transitions into the second section by the shared theme of circumcision. In the second section (*Barn.* 9.4-5), heart-circumcision is situated alongside the rite of circumcision in which Barnabas highlights their differences. Barnabas explains via scriptural citations that God commanded heart-circumcision (vv.4b, 5bc). But due to the influence of an evil angel, *they* strayed from this command and circumcised the flesh/foreskin (v.4c). The second section is connected to the third section by the covenant implied in the physical rite of circumcision. In this third section (*Barn.* 9.6-9) Barnabas elucidates the meaning of Abraham’s circumcision as a sign of the covenant. Making use of a gematria, Barnabas shows that Abraham’s circumcision pointed to the death of Jesus on the cross (v.8). Though no one has learned a “more reliable lesson” from Barnabas (v.9), this same knowledge was given to Abraham (v.8). In fact, all three sections are bound together by an ability to understand this γινῶσις, being granted to those who have been circumcised of hearing and hearts. Those who have been circumcised of hearing will hear and know what the Lord has done (v.1c); they will hear the word and believe it (v.3d). Those who are circumcised of heart will also know as Abraham (v.8) and Barnabas knew (v.9). This is seen most clearly in *Barn.* 10.12:

¹²⁸ The following have the same divisions of verses though with different descriptives: Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 350-351; Kraft, *Didache*, 106-109; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 141-149; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 348. But cf. (*Barn.* 9.1-3, 4-6, 7-9), in Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 98-101; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 160-165; and (*Barn.* 9.1-3, 4-5, 6, 7-9), in Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 406-409.

ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἐκείνοις ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι; ἡμεῖς δὲ δικαίως νοήσαντες τὰς ἐντολὰς λαλοῦμεν, ὡς ἠθέλησεν ὁ κύριος. διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμεν τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνιῶμεν ταῦτα. But how could they know or understand these things? We, however, speak as those who know the commandments in an upright way, as the Lord wished. For this reason he circumcised our hearing and our hearts, that we may understand these things.

The ability, correctly to hear and understand the words of the Lord, is wrought by the hearing- and heart-circumcision metaphors as chapter 9 explains. This ability to hear and understand is then applied in chapter 10 on several food law texts. Hence, the implications of circumcised hearing and hearts in chapter 9 are then applied to chapter 10.¹²⁹

6.2.3.2 *Outline of Barnabas 10*

Chapter 10 can be divided into the following sections: “Spiritual Meaning of Food Laws” (*Barn.* 10.1-2), “Application on Food Prohibitions” (*Barn.* 10.3-8), “Moses and David’s Special Knowledge” (*Barn.* 10.9-10), “Application on Food Allowances” (*Barn.* 10.11), and “Conclusion to *Barnabas* 9-10” (*Barn.* 10.12).¹³⁰ The first section (*Barn.* 10.1-2) is an introduction to the Spirit-filled¹³¹ meaning of the food laws. Barnabas states this first implicitly by quoting a prohibition to eat the pig, eagle, and hawk and by connecting that commandment with Moses’s reception of “three firm teachings in his understanding (*συνέσει*)” (v.1) which are later elucidated. Barnabas then states plainly in translation, “So, then, the commandment of God is not a matter of avoiding food; but Moses spoke in the *Spirit*” (v.2, emphasis added). Through this, Barnabas not only introduces the new topic of food laws but makes the connection between *Barnabas* 9 and 10 via the special knowledge and understanding wrought by hearing- and heart-circumcisions (*Barn.* 9.1, 3, 7; 10.1-2, 9-10, 12).¹³²

The second section (*Barn.* 10.3-8) is two couplets of three examples of food law prohibitions. Here, Moses’s special knowledge is drawn out from these food prohibitions as ethical admonitions. Hence, the enigmatic meaning emerges from bans on certain foods.

¹²⁹ Kraft, *Didache*, 107.

¹³⁰ For similar divisions, see Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 357-364; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 349. For further divisions bearing fewer similarities, see Kraft, *Didache*, 109-113; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 149-157; Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 103-105; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 164-169; Holmes, *Apostolic Fathers*, 410-415.

¹³¹ “Besser und sachentsprechender nennt man sie eine pneumatische Exegese, weil sie alles und jedes am Pneuma mißt und nach der Stärker des Pneumatischen beurteilt.” P. Meinhold, “Geschichte und Exegese im Barnabasbrief,” *ZKG* 59 (1940): 260.

¹³² This connection is made even more clear by the *τρία δόγματα* shared by Abraham (*Barn.* 9.7), Moses (*Barn.* 10.1, 9), and David (*Barn.* 10.10). Cf. Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 146.

This is made clear in the following section (*Barn.* 10.9-10) where Moses's special knowledge is not only restated but undergirded by reference to David's special knowledge. Indeed, to understand the food laws literally is to understand them "according to the desires of...flesh," but Moses "spoke in the Spirit" (v.9). Thus, those who have been circumcised of hearing and heart can draw out the Spirit-filled meaning of the text according to Moses and David's intentions when they spoke the commandments. *Barn.* 10.11 examines a food allowance law and applies the same hermeneutic. Again, the hidden meaning is drawn out but this time from a positive food law. Just as the food prohibition laws were interpreted to mean ethical warnings, the food allowance law is interpreted to mean ethical commendation. *Barn.* 10.12 concludes the chapter, functioning as a summary statement to *Barnabas* 9-10. Here, more than in any other text, Barnabas states plainly that one understands the meaning of the Scriptures because he has circumcised hearing and heart. Within that same text, Barnabas claims that *they* have misunderstood these things. Namely *they* have interpreted them literally rather than correctly (i.e. by the Spirit), because *they* are metaphorically uncircumcised. Moreover, interpreting the food laws as Barnabas has done not only is the "upright way" but is "as the Lord wished" (v.12). *Barn.* 10.12 then completes chapter 10 in its discussion on food laws but also summarizes and finalizes the discussion on circumcision of hearing and hearts.

6.2.4 Function of *Barnabas* 9-10 in the *Epistle of Barnabas*: A Proposal

As mentioned earlier, *Barnabas* 9-10 functions as the *Knickpunkt* in "Part I: Exegesis" of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, climaxing and bringing closure to the material preceding while changing direction for the exegeses which follow.¹³³ The position and function of *Barnabas* 9-10 in "Part I: Exegesis" highlight the importance Barnabas places on the role that circumcised hearing and hearts play in the correct interpretation of Scripture. Through an examination of the function of *Barnabas* 9-10 in the structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, I will propose that circumcision of hearing and hearts holds the key to unlocking Barnabas's interpretive technique.

¹³³ Again, "Part II: Exhortation" is not discussed here as stated above since it bears little relevance on the meaning of our metaphors.

6.2.4.1 *Relationship between Gnosis and Metaphorical Circumcision*

In order to show the function of *Barnabas* 9-10, I must first look at one of Barnabas's primary concerns in writing and how it is connected to *Barnabas* 9-10. A primary concern for Barnabas's writing is so his readers might have perfect *γνώσις* to understand the Scriptures: "That you may have perfect knowledge to accompany your faith" (*Barn.* 1.5).¹³⁴ This perfect knowledge is found in the correct interpretation of these texts: "And as we see that each and every thing has happened just as he indicated (*καθὼς ἐλάλησεν*)" (*Barn.* 1.7). There are two noteworthy points here. First, Barnabas sets apart *we* who correctly understand and observe the fulfillment of the Scriptures in contrast to *they* who do not.¹³⁵ Here Barnabas distinguishes two camps whose interpretation either reveals the correct meaning of the quotations (i.e. *we*) or leads them astray (i.e. *they*). Second, Barnabas claims *we* observe the fulfillment of those texts as God intended (*Barn.* 10.12), implying there are multiple ways of interpreting the Scriptures. Simply put, "what is at stake is *the right interpretation of Scripture*"¹³⁶ and Barnabas claims to possess that correct interpretation which he then passes along to his readers.

6.2.4.2 *Review of Barnabas 2-8*

Barnabas 2-8 fulfills Barnabas's purpose by applying *γνώσις* to Scripture in order to demonstrate how *they* have misunderstood its meaning whereas *we* understand. Barnabas accomplishes this by three observable methods. First, after quoting Scripture and explaining their misinterpretation by *them*, Barnabas expounds the correct meaning of those same texts possessed by *us*. For example, in the discussion on sacrifices, Barnabas rejects *their* misunderstanding that God desired burnt offerings (*Barn.* 2.4) and embraces the sacrifice "not made by humans" accomplished in the crucifixion of Jesus (*Barn.* 2.6). Barnabas then affirms that this latter interpretation is what God intended (*Barn.* 2.9). Second, Barnabas interprets Israel's history not as mere narrative events describing *them* but as realities pointing to *us*. For instance, Moses's breaking the stone tablets on Mount Sinai is interpreted as the breaking of covenant between the Lord and Israel (*Barn.* 4.8) so that, the covenant is no longer *theirs* but *ours* (*Barn.* 4.7). Third, Barnabas interprets Jewish rites in

¹³⁴ *γνώσις* is the right understanding of the Scripture, namely *ἐν πνεύματι*. Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 155.

¹³⁵ Cf. the *we—they* polemic: *Barn.* 2.9; 3.6; 4.2; 8.7.

¹³⁶ Emphasis original, in Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 169.

light of Jesus giving the rite a fuller meaning which goes beyond *their* interpretation. For example, the entire episode of the sacrifice of a heifer as a burnt offering is interpreted in light of the sacrifice of Jesus, the proclamation of the gospel, and purification of hearts (*Barn.* 8.2-3). This interpretation given by the Spirit is “clear to us” but “obscure to them” (*Barn.* 8.7). These three examples are indicative of *Barnabas* 2-8 where Barnabas alleges time and again that *they* have misinterpreted the Scriptures and that *we* possess the correct interpretation.¹³⁷

6.2.4.2.1 Relationship between the *Knickpunkt* and *Barnabas* 2-8

There are several features of *Barnabas* 9-10 which indicate that it is the *Knickpunkt* in the structure of “Part I: Exegesis” in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, bringing closure to and climaxing the discussion of *Barnabas* 2-8. Firstly, *Barn.* 1.6 introduces the three teachings (τρία δόγματα) of the Lord which are further, and only, expounded in *Barnabas* 9-10 via the three teachings of Abraham (*Barn.* 9.7), Moses (*Barn.* 10.1, 9), and David (*Barn.* 10.10). Secondly, Barnabas indicates in *Barn.* 2.9 that *they* were deceived and thereby misunderstood the meaning of the Scriptures.¹³⁸ But it is not until *Barnabas* 9 that Barnabas explains how *they* were deceived. Thirdly, *Barn.* 8.7 states that the reason *they* did not understand the correct interpretation of the Scriptures is that *they* did not hear the voice of the Lord. Barnabas alleges often in *Barnabas* 2-8 that *they* have erred in their interpretation of the Scriptures but *we* possess the correct interpretation because *we* heard the voice of the Lord. The summary statement at *Barn.* 8.7 of *their* misinterpretation but of *our* correct interpretation of the Scriptures is then followed by *Barn.* 9.1-5 where a new discussion on circumcised hearing and hearts explains how *we* heard and understood. Thus, *Barnabas* 9-10 functions as a culmination to *Barnabas* 2-8 offering explanation as to how it is that *they* have misinterpreted while *we* have understood its contents.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 132: “They have totally misunderstood what is meant or disobeyed what it ordained. The Christians, on the other hand, are able to understand the ordinances of God.”

¹³⁸ Barnabas issues many warnings to the *we* against becoming like *them* who were deceived and allowed error to pervert their interpretation (cf. *Barn.* 2.10; 3.6; 4.6-7, 9-10, 13-14; 8.7; cf. 10.9).

6.2.4.3 Review of Barnabas 11-16

Barnabas picks up straightway in *Barn.* 11.1 moving on to new subjects that attempt to show “that the Old Testament contains all the essentials of Christianity.”¹³⁹ The Scriptures, according to Barnabas, are full of teaching about Jesus.¹⁴⁰ Barnabas accomplishes this by discussing the following Christian signposts: the symbolism of baptism (*Barn.* 11.1-11), the cross and crucifixion (*Barn.* 12.1-11), the covenant and its true inheritors (*Barn.* 13.1-14.9), the Sabbath rest (*Barn.* 15.1-9), and the real temple of God (*Barn.* 16.1-10). In its treatment of these topics, not once does Barnabas mention *their* misinterpretation. Rather, Barnabas’s focus is on the correct interpretation alone—*our* interpretation.

6.2.4.3.1 Relationship between the *Knickpunkt* and *Barnabas* 11-16

There are several features of *Barnabas* 9-10 which indicate that it is the *Knickpunkt* in the structure of “Part I: Exegesis” in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, changing direction for the discussions which follow in *Barnabas* 11-16. First, once the correct interpretation is explained to his audience based upon the circumcision of hearing and heart (*Barn.* 8.7; 9.1, 3; 10.12), Barnabas applies these skills to Abraham’s circumcision, the best demonstration and most “reliable lesson” he teaches in the epistle (*Barn.* 9.9).¹⁴¹ The fact that Barnabas’s greatest lesson in his letter falls in *Barnabas* 9-10 adds further weight to its significance in the structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Secondly, *Barn.* 10.12 puts to rest Barnabas’s argument of correct interpretation wrought by the circumcision of hearing and hearts. Indeed, nowhere in *Barnabas* 11-16 is *their* obscure or erring interpretation referenced. Barnabas’s final word of correct interpretation based upon the hearing- and heart-circumcisions comes at *Barn.* 10.12, again supporting the importance of the role of *Barnabas* 9-10 as the *Knickpunkt*—changing direction for what follows.

Third, *Barnabas* 11-16 is portrayed as scriptural interpretations in light of circumcised hearing and hearts. Having explained in *Barnabas* 9-10 the effects of

¹³⁹ Tugwell, *Apostolic Fathers*, 37. Cf. Ehrman, *Lost Scriptures*, 219: “For [Barnabas], the Jewish Scriptures can be understood only in light of Christ; indeed, for him, the Old Testament is a Christian, not a Jewish, book.”

¹⁴⁰ Yet, it is the *γνώσις* brought about by ear- and heart-circumcisions which makes this clear. Cf. Wengst, *Tradition*, 96; Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 132.

¹⁴¹ He also applies this to Moses’s food laws and David’s psalm.

circumcised hearing and hearts (i.e. correct, Spirit-filled interpretation of the Scriptures),¹⁴² Barnabas interprets the scriptural quotations in *Barnabas* 11-16 from a vantage point of one circumcised of hearing and hearts.¹⁴³ There is for Barnabas no other correct way to interpret these texts than through the lens of someone who has been circumcised of hearing and heart.¹⁴⁴ Unlike *Barnabas* 2-8 which shows both *their* and *our* interpretations, *Barnabas* 11-16 is merely the presentation of the correct interpretation, the interpretation by those whose hearing and hearts have been circumcised. In this way, the *Knickpunkt* changes the direction of discussion for *Barnabas* 11-16. Thus, the function of *Barnabas* 9-10 as the *Knickpunkt* testifies to the great importance Barnabas places on circumcised hearing and hearts. Furthermore, the metaphors emerge as key features to Barnabas's interpretive technique and hold a pivotal place in the epistle's structure.

6.3 Meaning of the Metaphors in the *Epistle of Barnabas*

Many scholars of the *Epistle of Barnabas* conclude that hearing- and heart-circumcision are the same metaphors. This is due in part because they follow manuscripts **Σ** and H at *Barn.* 9.1a (“For he speaks again about the *ears*, indicating how he has circumcised our *hearts*”). Some of the more predominant scholars of this persuasion are Windisch, Hvalvik, and Prostmeier who, by not differentiating circumcised hearing from circumcised hearts, discuss the meaning of circumcised hearts to the exclusion of circumcised hearing.¹⁴⁵ However, as my structural and textual readings studies have proposed, the more probable readings are, “For he speaks again about the *ears*, indicating how he has circumcised our *hearing*,” (*Barn.* 9.1a, emphasis added) and “‘Circumcise your *hearing*’, says the Lord” (*Barn.*

¹⁴² The Spirit-filled interpretation of the Scripture is what Barnabas terms *γνώσις*. Cf. Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 291.

¹⁴³ For the *Epistle of Barnabas*, there is no other way to understand the Scripture correctly than *our* interpretation. Cf. Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 132.

¹⁴⁴ This point is made most clearly by Barnabas via the various expressions he uses to give the definitive interpretation of the text. E.g., “This means that,” (*Barn.* 11.9, 11; 15.4-5); “He means this,” (*Barn.* 11.8 [2x]; cf. 11.11); “What it means,” (*Barn.* 15.4, 8); and “This refers to,” (*Barn.* 15.3). Cf. also *Barn.* 11.1; 12.1, 3, 5, 7; 13.3, 6-7; 14.4; 15.3; 16.7-8.

¹⁴⁵ Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 351, in reference to *Barn.* 9.1-3, titles the pericope “Von der Beschneidung des Herzens” and later comments on *Barn.* 9.1a, “Der Satz ist ungeschickt gebaut vgl. τ. ὠτίων...τ. καρδίαν.... Doch ist Beschneidung der Ohren und des Herzens in der Sache dasselbe.” Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 184, maintains, “While [*Barn.*] 9:1-3 deals with the ‘circumcision’ of the heart...” Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 350, states, “Daß die Herzensbeschneidung, selbst eine Metapher, bildlich gesprochen eine Beschneidung der Ohren war.” Against these is Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 158-159, who sees *Barnabas.* 9-10 focusing on circumcised hearing at the exclusion of circumcised hearts. Kraft claims, “Chapters 9-10 of the Epistle are concerned with the idea of ‘circumcised hearing’ (i.e. exegetical gnosis)” and argues thus from *Barn.* 9.1d, 9.3d, and 10.12.

9.1d, emphasis added). Following these readings means that circumcised hearing should be understood in contradistinction to circumcised hearts. This study will propose different meanings of circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts based upon the more probable readings. The meanings of circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts lay in Barnabas's unique readings and commentary upon the scriptural quotations.¹⁴⁶

6.3.1 Meaning of Circumcised Hearing

Barn. 9.1-3 is a pericope saturated with auditory terminology. The pericope is a string of eight quotations pertaining to hearing which are bracketed by the phrase *περιέτεμεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοάς* at *Barn.* 9.1a and 9.3d. The subject of *Barn.* 9.1-3 is instigated by a discussion of the ear.¹⁴⁷ That Barnabas sees a relationship between the meaning of the ear (*ὠτίον*) and hearing (*ἀκοή*), as well as an interchangeability of the words themselves, is evident on two grounds. First, Barnabas says, *λέγει γὰρ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ὠτίων* (“For he speaks *again*¹⁴⁸ about the ears,” *Barn.* 9.1a, emphasis added). References to *ὠτίον* in the *Epistle of Barnabas* are only found in *Barn.* 9.1—the current reference is the first of two. So how can Barnabas speak *again* about *ὠτίον* when this is its first reference in the *Epistle of Barnabas*? Barnabas can speak again about *ὠτίον* because he has just spoken about hearing (*ἀκούω*) the voice of the Lord (*Barn.* 8.7). *ἀκούω* terms occur sixteen times in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, eight of which are found in *Barnabas* 9-10 with seven of those occurrences in *Barn.* 9.1-3. In all but two cases, hearing (*ἀκούω*) is used only with reference to the reception of a message of the Lord. This connection is made again, immediately after the first reference, in the second reference to *ὠτίον*: *εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου* (“They obeyed me because of what they heard with their ears,” *Barn.* 9.1b). Thus, *ὠτίον* is only associated in the *Epistle of Barnabas* with hearing and primarily hearing the message of the Lord.

Second, Barnabas follows up his reference to *ὠτίον* in the immediate context with seven references to verbal forms of hearing (*ἀκούω*) and six references to nominal forms of

¹⁴⁶ Barnabas was not quoting from a Hebrew but Greek source(s). If Barnabas used *Testimonia*, the *Testimonia* would have most certainly been written in Greek. A case in point is *Barn.* 9.8 where Barnabas explains the meaning of Abraham's circumcision via a gematria of the number 318. This would not be possible from the Hebrew characters but only works with Greek letters. Kraft, “Barnabas,” 57-66, esp. 60-61.

¹⁴⁷ Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 184.

¹⁴⁸ *πάλιν* is witnessed in manuscripts **Σ**, **H**, and **G**. **L** reads *de* (\approx $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$) and **℘** is lacking. It is unlikely that **L** is the most likely reading here, but if it were my argument would still stand for the following reasons: (1) Barnabas surrounds the reference to *ὠτίον* with references to *ἀκούω* and *ἀκοή*; (2) Barnabas equates *ὠτίον* with *ἀκοή* in *Barn.* 9.1; and (3) Barnabas explains *ὠτίον* via eight quotations about *ἀκοή*, *ἀκούω*, and other auditory terms.

hearing (ἀκοή). It is not incidental that such a high concentration of references to hearing is made in connection with the ear, thus yielding the ‘receptivity is an ear’ metaphor.¹⁴⁹ Such a density of auditory terminology in close proximity to the only two references to ὠτίον in the *Epistle of Barnabas* communicates Barnabas’s understanding of a direct relationship between ὠτίον and ἀκοή.¹⁵⁰

6.3.1.1 *Eight Quotations in Barnabas 9.1-3*

I now turn to examine the eight quotations and comment briefly on how Barnabas has quoted them to support his motif of hearing. The first quotation is *Barn.* 9.1b: εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσάν μου (“They obeyed me because of what they heard with their ears”). This quotation compares to LXX Ps 17:45a (εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσέν μοι· υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐψεύσαντό μοι; “At the ear’s hearing, it obeyed me. Sons of strangers lied to me”).¹⁵¹ But Barnabas’s quotation differs in that it does not have υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐψεύσαντό μοι. Such an omission corresponds with the pericope since mention of foreigners speaking lies would have skewed his hearing motif.

The second quotation is *Barn.* 9.1c: ἀκοῆ ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν,¹⁵² ἃ ἐποίησα γνῶσονται (“Those who are far off will clearly hear; they will know what I have done”). This quotation is almost identical to LXX Isa 33:13a (ἀκούσονται οἱ πόρρωθεν ἃ ἐποίησα; “Those who are far away will hear the things I have done”) with one noticeable difference. The *Epistle of Barnabas* reads ἀκοή at the beginning of the quotation.¹⁵³ The combination of ἀκοή and ἀκούω is not uncommon¹⁵⁴ as testified by LXX Isa 6:9b, a similar context to *Barn.* 9.1-3: ἀκοῆ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε (“You will listen by listening, but you will not

¹⁴⁹ This is further support of why we should identify Prigent/Kraft’s ἡμῶν τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ τὰς καρδίας as Σ (although it would form a perfect inclusio with *Barn.* 10.12) and not the most probable reading in our textual variant study above, since an insertion of καρδία at *Barn.* 9.1a in the midst of a deluge of references to hearing would strain Barnabas’s train of thought and infringe upon the hearing motif. This reasoning applies for other textual variant readings which read καρδία at *Barn.* 9.1a.

¹⁵⁰ On this basis, I will compare my conclusions from the *Epistle of Barnabas* with the conclusions reached from Luke-Acts and 1QHodayot^a which reference specifically ears and not hearing as Barnabas does.

¹⁵¹ LXX quotations of Psalms are taken from A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, SVTG 10 (Göttingen: V&R, 1931).

¹⁵² Though manuscripts L (*et quae*) and P insert καὶ here, it is likely not meant to comprise part of the quotation but would function as an introductory formula. See further manuscripts S, H, and G which omit καί.

¹⁵³ Barnabas does this similarly at *Barn.* 9.2b probably to amplify ἀκούω. No traces of ἀκοή are found in any extant sources with this quotation. Cunningham, *Dissertation*, 43. At the very least, it certainly demonstrates Barnabas’s interest in drawing particular attention to ἀκούω. Prigent, *Les testimonia*, 51.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Deut 11:22; 28:2; Jer 17:24.

understand”). Still, it is noteworthy that (1) Barnabas has amplified the quotation about hearing (ἀκούω) with another reference to hearing (ἀκοή), and (2) Barnabas either proposes or preserves a unique reading in this quotation which is nowhere else attested.¹⁵⁵ With this amplification, Barnabas purposefully undergirds his running motif on hearing.

The third quotation is *Barn.* 9.1d: περιτμήθητε, λέγει κύριος, τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν (“Circumcise your hearing’, says the Lord”). Barnabas’s quotation περιτμήθητε...τὰς ἀκοὰς ὑμῶν cannot be traced to any extant source. Therefore, either Barnabas adapted his quotation from another text or preserves the only known quotation in this form.¹⁵⁶ Those scholars who follow **ℵ**, H, and G read τὰς καρδίας instead of **ℱ**’s τὰς ἀκοὰς and suggest two texts which could have formed the literary background to Barnabas’s quotation. The two texts are LXX Jer 4:4a (περιτμήθητε τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν καὶ περιέλεσθε τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν; “Be circumcised to your God, and remove the foreskin of your heart”) or LXX Deut 10:16a (περιτεμεῖσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν; “And you shall circumcise your hard heartedness”). While both are possible, I maintain that LXX Jer 4:4 is slightly preferable to LXX Deut 10:16 for the following two reasons.¹⁵⁷ Firstly, in the pericope on circumcised hearts Barnabas’s quotation (*Barn.* 9.5b) stands fairly close to the text of LXX Deut 10:16. It seems less likely that Barnabas would have quoted the same text but changed the wording in order to fit two disparate contexts. Secondly, LXX Jer 6:10b has the only known scriptural reference to uncircumcised ears (ἀπερίτμητα τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν; “Their ears are uncircumcised”). If Barnabas is adapting his quotation to mention circumcised hearing in keeping with the hearing motif, it would seem likelier that some form of the Jeremiah passage was in mind.¹⁵⁸ In any case, Barnabas’s quotation is the only extant text preserving the reference to τὰς ἀκοὰς which further bolsters his pericope on hearing.

The fourth quotation is *Barn.* 9.2a: ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου (“Hear O Israel, for thus says the Lord your God”). This quotation compares rather loosely to LXX Jer 7:2-3a (ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραήλ; “Hear a word of the Lord, all Judea. This is what the Lord, the God of Israel

¹⁵⁵ There are no other readings in the textual apparatus of the Göttingen edition which attest to a source whose quotation contains this additional ἀκοή. See also note 153 on page 185.

¹⁵⁶ It might be that this is a case of *Agrapha*, “fragmentary citations from Early Christian texts which are not substantiated in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments,” (translation is mine) in A. Resch, *Agrapha*, TUGAL 3/4.15 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906), 1.

¹⁵⁷ See also Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 163; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 350.

¹⁵⁸ Contra Wengst, *Tradition*, 35 n.69.

says”). The call for Israel to hear might have been influenced by texts such as LXX Deut 6:4b (ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν; “Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God”). In this scenario, Jeremiah’s ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία could have become Deuteronomy’s ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

The fifth quotation is *Barn.* 9.2bc: τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θέλων ζῆσαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα; ἀκοῆ ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδὸς μου (“Who is the one who wants to live forever? Let him clearly hear the voice of my servant”).¹⁵⁹ In the *Epistle of Barnabas* this is one quotation but it bears similarities to two texts: LXX Ps 33:13 (τίς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς; “What person is he who wants life, coveting to see good days?”) and LXX Isa 50:10a (τίς ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ φοβούμενος τὸν κύριον; ἀκουσάτω τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ; “Who among you is the one who fears the Lord? Let him hear the voice of his servant”). In his quotation, Barnabas again amplifies the text to align with his hearing motif by inserting ἀκοῆ. And once again, no extant text testifies to such a reading as preserved in Barnabas’s quotation. That Barnabas has amplified two of his quotations by inserting ἀκοῆ should be seen in complete congruence to his adaptation of the LXX-like Jer 4:4 text in his third quotation.

The sixth quotation is *Barn.* 9.3a: ἄκουε οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον (“Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord has said these things as a witness”). The quote is practically the same as LXX Isa 1:2 (ἄκουε οὐρανέ καὶ ἐνωτίζου γῆ ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν; “Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord has spoken”) but Barnabas’s quotation ends with ταῦτα εἰς μαρτύριον. Calling heaven and earth as a witness was often employed in the OT when disputes arose between the Lord and His people (cf. Deut 32:1-3; Ps 49:4). Barnabas’s quotation acts like a witness against *them* for not hearing the Lord (i.e. having uncircumcised hearing).¹⁶⁰

The seventh quotation is *Barn.* 9.3b: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου (“Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of this people”). The quote compares to LXX Isa 28:14 (διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου ἄνδρες τεθλιμμένοι καὶ ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ; “Therefore hear the word of the Lord, you afflicted men and

¹⁵⁹ This citation is designated as the fifth quotation due to its introductory formula: καὶ πάλιν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου προφητεύει. Though manuscripts **N** and **H** do not contain this phrase, it is probably best to read it as do **G**, **L**, and **P**. If not, this quotation forms part of the fourth citation, in which case Barnabas provides seven quotations.

¹⁶⁰ Kraft, “Barnabas,” 182-184.

rulers of this people that is in Jerusalem”), but Barnabas’s quotation yields a more generic feel since it does not include the reference to Jerusalem.

The eighth quotation is *Barn.* 9.3c: ἀκούσατε, τέκνα,¹⁶¹ φωνῆς βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (“Hear, O children, the voice of one crying in the wilderness”). The quotation compares to LXX Isa 40:3 (φωνῆ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; “A voice of one crying out in the wilderness: ‘Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight the paths of our God’”) with a few important differences emerging. Firstly, Barnabas has ἀκούσατε τέκνα which is the fourth time Barnabas preserves a unique reading with special reference to hearing hitherto unattested by extant sources. Secondly, Barnabas does not have Isaiah’s ἐτοιμάσατε...ἡμῶν with two observable effects: (1) Barnabas’s quotation places emphasis on hearing (ἀκούω) and not on the voice; (2) the identification of the voice is made ambiguous, perhaps so that Barnabas can portray the voice as the voice of the Lord (cf. *Barn.* 9.2c, 3a).

The review of Barnabas’s quotations has informed our understanding of the pericope on hearing. Barnabas attests to four unique scriptural quotations with regard to hearing (ἀκοή, 3x; ἀκούω, 1x). Barnabas amplifies texts whose content already contains references to hearing (*Barn.* 9.1b, 2c) and he adapts texts to command hearing explicitly (*Barn.* 9.1d, 3c) where no such command is accounted for. Barnabas’s preservation of such unique texts on hearing supports the definite distinction between Barnabas’s pericope on hearing and his pericope on hearts. It further supports a need to define the meaning of circumscribed hearing in contradistinction to circumscribed hearts.

6.3.1.2 *What is Heard in Barnabas 9.1-3*

I now turn to Barnabas’s quotations to analyze what the ears hear and how it illuminates the meaning of the hearing-circumcision metaphor. *Barn.* 9.1b does not state explicitly what is heard. Barnabas identifies the speaker as the Lord (κύριος)—thus they obeyed the Lord. This obedience to the Lord is presumably because of a command they heard from the Lord—for the act of obedience implies a command was given—which is reinforced by Barnabas’s introduction to the quotation λέγει κύριος. This is further supported by the reference to both hearing (ἀκοή) and ear (ὠτίον) in the text. Thus they hear the Lord, but more specifically a command from the Lord. *Barn.* 9.1c likewise does not state directly what

¹⁶¹ τῆς is inserted here by manuscript G but is questionable. Besides, it is corrupted in \mathfrak{P} and omitted in \mathfrak{N} and H. L has simply *vocem*.

is heard. Once again, the speaker is the Lord. What is heard is that which was done by the Lord. One might say those who were far off heard the deeds of the Lord. *Barn.* 9.2a beckons Israel to hear. The content of what Israel hears is the saying of the Lord.

Up until this point, the Lord has played a central part in what is heard, whether it is the Lord's commands, deeds, or sayings. But in *Barn.* 9.2bc, the voice (φωνή) of the Lord's servant is heard. Yet, it is possible that the servant's voice is indeed the φωνή κυρίου (*Barn.* 8.7), the reference which introduces the present pericope. The voice in *Barn.* 9.2c is responsible for some soteriological or eschatological message inherent in the inquiry of *Barn.* 9.2b, which, when compared against the backdrop of *Barn.* 9.3d, is a message of the Lord. Furthermore, in the only other instance whereby the servant of the Lord (τῷ παιδὶ κυρίου) is referenced (*Barn.* 6.1), Barnabas equates the servant to the Lord Himself. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that also here what is heard is the voice of the Lord.¹⁶² *Barn.* 9.3a calls not people but nature to hear. Heaven and earth are commanded to hear these things (ταῦτα). Though ταῦτα is not defined, it is interesting that it has something to do with the Lord's speaking (λαλέω). *Barn.* 9.3b implores rulers to hear the word of the Lord. What is heard is the Lord's word (λόγος). Lastly, *Barn.* 9.3c summons children to hear once more the voice of the Lord.¹⁶³ Consequently, this examination has shown that time and again what is heard is only the Lord: His commands, deeds, sayings, voice, things, and words. While the Lord's speech is certainly stressed in the pericope, humanity's hearing is equally emphasized to the extent that, so far as it applies to this pericope, the only thing human beings' ears hear is the Lord. Therefore, circumcised hearing certainly has something to do with hearing the Lord.¹⁶⁴

6.3.1.3 *The Hearers of Barnabas 9.1-3*

Barnabas sheds light on the meaning of uncircumcised hearing through the development of the hearers revealed in the progression of citations. This can be seen in both a move from

¹⁶² Cf. similarly *Barn.* 9.3c in Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 357.

¹⁶³ The voice (φωνή) is not specifically identified but as in the case of *Barn.* 9.2b, I maintain that the voice can be attributed to the Lord for two reasons. First, the quotation is similar to LXX Isa 40:3, but whereas Isaiah identifies the voice as not the Lord's, this part is absent in Barnabas's quote. Barnabas's quotation creates a sense of elusiveness to the identity of the voice. Second, Barnabas's quotations have drawn special attention to the hearing role of men in contrast to the speaking role of the Lord. So, to identify the voice as a human's voice is contrary to the content of Barnabas's quotations.

¹⁶⁴ "In der Aufforderung zu hören liegt...die Aufforderung, an den Ohren beschnitten zu seyn." Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 79 n.2.

the general to the particular audience of hearers and from the spatially distant to the nearness of hearers. The progression of hearers is as follows:¹⁶⁵

<i>Barn.</i> 9.1b	They (a people who did not know him [Ps 17:44b])
<i>Barn.</i> 9.1c	Those who are far off
<i>Barn.</i> 9.2a	Israel
<i>Barn.</i> 9.2b	The one who wants to live forever
<i>Barn.</i> 9.3b	Rulers of this people
<i>Barn.</i> 9.3c	Children

Figure 7: Progression of Hearers in *Barnabas* 9.1-3

A slow progression from the generic “they” to the particular “children” is observable as the chain of citations unfolds. The specificity of each successive hearer naturally includes a decreasing of persons qualified to meet the criteria as if Barnabas had in mind a funnel whose opening begins with the broader “they” and gradually narrows into a smaller, particular group (e.g., children). The overall effect of the movement is to show that as one moves through the quotations, a smaller subset emerges from the former group. For example, “Israel” is a more specific and particular group than “they,” just as “rulers of this people” are a smaller group within “Israel.”

It is certainly not coincidental that by following the same progression of hearers one observes a relational aspect illustrated by a spatial correspondence. Those at the beginning of the progression are distanced spatially—they are far off and did not know Him. Yet the hearers towards the bottom want to live forever and are children. Barnabas seems to make an implicit correspondence here between distance and relationship so that those who are far off have no relationship whereas those who are nearer have a personal relationship. The relationship that Barnabas is implying here can be none other than a relationship with the Lord.¹⁶⁶ Barnabas has already hinted in this direction by citing, “Who is the one who wants to live forever? Let him clearly hear the voice of my servant” (*Barn.* 9.2b). It comes as no surprise after having completed the chain of citations, Barnabas concludes, “Thus he circumcised our hearing, that once we heard the word we might believe” (*Barn.* 9.3d). With this remark, Barnabas makes a soteriological connection

¹⁶⁵ The following table has been adapted from Kraft, “Barnabas,” 184: “This development from the general to the particular hardly seems coincidental.”

¹⁶⁶ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 358.

between hearing, belief, and eternal life. Suffice it to say, it appears Barnabas has used the progression of hearers in the quotations toward this aim—to show that the purpose of circumcised hearing is belief, resulting in relationship between the speaker (i.e. Lord) and the hearer (i.e. child).¹⁶⁷

6.3.1.4 *Meaning of Circumcised Hearing in the Epistle of Barnabas*

Taking into consideration the aforementioned analyses, I now propose a meaning for circumcised hearing. In the first place, circumcised hearing cannot mean understanding as proposed by scholars such as Windisch, Hvalvik, and Prostmeier.¹⁶⁸ Firstly, it is misleading to conclude that circumcised hearing refers to the author’s understanding based upon *Barn.* 10.12c and 9.1c. On the one hand, the understanding brought about in *Barn.* 10.12 does not necessarily have to be the result of *both* circumcised hearing and hearts but could simply come from circumcised hearts. Hence, circumcised hearing could have little to do with understanding. On the other hand, the emphasis of *Barn.* 9.1c is not on knowing (γινώσκω) but on hearing (ἀκοῇ ἀκούσονται), as the amplification of hearing seems to indicate. In one sense the hearers understand, but it is not *the* understanding of the Scriptures as Barnabas means. Therefore, whatever understanding is imbedded in the hearing operates on a superficial level according to Barnabas. True understanding of the Spirit-filled content of the Scriptures comes through heart-circumcision, not ear-circumcision.

Secondly, the disproportionate references to hearing (ἀκούω, 7x; ἀκοή, 6x) in relation to understanding (γινώσκω, 1x) in Barnabas’s pericope on circumcised hearing should be convincing support that circumcised hearing has little to do with understanding as such.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, when Barnabas amplifies his quotations, he does so with reference to hearing *not* knowing or understanding. Thirdly, the command to hear within the quotations is not a command to understand but only to hear. Barnabas does not use the

¹⁶⁷ Apart from this reference, the term child (τέκνον) is used five times in “Part I: Exegesis” of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, four of which are similarly used in the vocative case as an address to Barnabas’s audience calling them to understand the meaning of the Scriptures. In this case, the speaker (i.e. Barnabas) has an endearing relationship to his addressees (i.e. children). It is telling, then, that Barnabas ends the chain of quotations with, and indeed includes, the reference τέκνον—emerging as the strongest relational term used in the citations—of a person he claims is already circumcised of hearing and in relationship with the Lord. Cf. *Barn.* 7.1; 9.7; 15.4 (2x).

¹⁶⁸ See note 145 on page 183. As was demonstrated in my analysis of the textual readings (see §6.2.2 Textual Readings at *Barnabas* 9.1: A Neglected Reading Revived), scholars are led to this persuasion based upon the reading of manuscript **Σ** at *Barn.* 9.1ad. I have argued that the more likely reading is **Φ** which, when followed, leads to a different meaning for circumcised hearing.

¹⁶⁹ Similarly, see ὥτιον (2x), ὑπακούω (1x), and ἐνωπίζομαι (1x).

imperative to hear (*ἀκούσατε*) to mean understand in the *Epistle of Barnabas*.¹⁷⁰ In the only other two texts where *ἀκούσατε* is used (*Barn.* 7.3; 13.2), Barnabas distinguishes between hearing and understanding. In *Barn.* 13.2, Barnabas clearly separates the call for his audience to hear (*ἀκούω*) the Scriptures from his command for them to perceive (*αἰσθάνομαι*; *Barn.* 13.3) and see (*βλέπω*; *Barn.* 13.6) their meaning so that their knowledge would be made perfect (*τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν*; *Barn.* 13.7). In *Barn.* 7.3 Barnabas certainly commands his audience to hear but whether *ἀκούσατε* implies anything more is uncertain. Still, the frequency of Barnabas's command to pay attention (*προσέχω*; *Barn.* 7.4, 6, 7, 9) woven throughout would yield a likelier meaning of understand, if not learn, the meaning of the Scriptures—as is seen in *Barn.* 7.9, *τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν; προσέχετε* (“And so, what does this mean? Pay attention”)—than would *ἀκούσατε*. Therefore, the command to hear imbued in the quotations of *Barn.* 9.1-3 can be seen as consistent with its usage elsewhere in the *Epistle of Barnabas* meaning to hear and not explicitly to understand.¹⁷¹

In the second place, if circumcised hearing does not mean understanding the enigmatic, Spirit-filled content of the message, what does it mean? The conceptual metaphors at work in the definition put forward here are the ‘receptivity is an ear’ and ‘circumcising is revealing’. Circumcised hearing is *the God-granted ability to ascertain the voice of the Lord leading to belief*. Here I break down my definition, explaining and defending the definition from my analyses. Firstly, *the God-granted ability* can be seen straightway from *Barn.* 9.3d (“Thus he circumcised our hearing”) and 10.12c (“For this reason he circumcised our hearing”). Though Barnabas does not explain the logistics of how or when the circumcision took place (i.e. when the ability was granted), he does state factually that it has already occurred, presumably for both himself and his readership, and that the Lord performed the act of circumcision, thereby granting them the ability.¹⁷² This ability is granted by the Lord, for only those circumcised of hearing possess it (cf. *Barn.* 8.7; 10.12).

Secondly, *to ascertain the voice of the Lord* is not an ability to understand but to recognize—hearing on a rudimentary level. It does not speak toward the comprehension of the content but the discernment of the voice of him who is calling. This point should be well established by now from *Barn.* 9.1-3 when considering (1) the density of terminology pertaining to hearing, (2) the amplification of quotations with words relevant to hearing,

¹⁷⁰ Contra Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 62.

¹⁷¹ “Nämlich die Beschneidung der Ohren, die in den vielfachen Aufforderungen zum hören angedeutet ist.” Hefe, *Sendschreiben*, 80 n.9.

¹⁷² Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 353.

and (3) the focus on humankind's hearing in contrast to the Lord's speaking. Indeed, the very contrast of hearing and speaking created by Barnabas in the pericope lends itself more to the meaning of hearing than to knowing and understanding, especially when the command to hear is set over against the role of the Lord's speaking. But circumcised hearing does not apply generically to hearing anything but specifically to hearing the Lord. It is the Lord's commands, deeds, sayings, voice, things, and words—succinctly put, the Lord's speech—which those circumcised of hearing actually hear. My definition of hearing, though, is qualified by the role of the Spirit. Barnabas makes this clear by highlighting how those uncircumcised of hearing heard God's commands according to the flesh (*Barn.* 9.4; 10.9). This literal hearing is set in contradistinction to Spirit-filled hearing since Abraham (*Barn.* 9.7), Jacob (*Barn.* 13.5), Moses (*Barn.* 10.2, 9; cf. also 12.2; 14.2), and David (*Barn.* 10.10) spoke in the Spirit (ἐν πνεύματι). Barnabas intimates that there is a double layer meaning of the Scriptures—the literal and Spirit-filled:¹⁷³ (1) the literal hearing leads to circumcision of the foreskin, obedience to food laws, etc.; but the (2) the Spirit-filled hearing leads to circumcision of the heart, the ethical admonitions and prohibitions stemming from the food laws, etc. It is not the literal hearing that Barnabas desires to expound but this deeper, Spirit-filled meaning. Those desiring to hear Spirit-filled speech require a corresponding hearing, as Barnabas explains in *Barn.* 16.10 (emphasis added):

ὁ γὰρ ποθῶν σωθῆναι βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντα καὶ λαλοῦντα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκπλησόμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μήτε τοῦ λέγοντος τὰ ῥήματα ἀκηκοέναι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μήτε αὐτός ποτε ἐπιτεθυμηκέναι ἀκούειν. τοῦτό ἐστιν πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ. For the *one who longs to be saved* looks not merely to a person but to the **one who dwells and speaks in him**. For *he* is amazed at him since *he* has never heard him speak these words from his mouth nor even ever desired to hear them. This is a spiritual temple built for the **Lord**.

In order to avoid confusion, I have identified the three persons in this text accordingly: (1) the *hearer*, (2) the speaker, and (3) the **Lord**. The context of *Barn.* 16.10 is Barnabas's explanation of the spiritual temple of the Lord. The temple is aptly called spiritual since the Spirit of the Lord dwells and speaks in the speaker. This speech must be the Spirit-filled speech (i.e. speech about the Lord) since the hearer has neither heard nor desired to hear such speech. In fact, the Spirit-filled speech amazes the hearer. The fact that these words even amaze the hearer signifies the hearer can discern between the literal meaning and the Spirit-filled meaning of the speech, indicating the hearer has circumcised hearing. This is

¹⁷³ “Die exegetische Methode des Barnabasbriefes beruht auf eine doppelten Voraussetzung.” Meinhold, “Exegese,” 260-261.

further supported by the fact that the hearer has never desired to hear such speech, surely not indicating literal speech.

Lastly, circumcised hearing is *leading to belief* as stated in *Barn.* 9.3d: “Thus he circumcised our hearing, that once we heard the word we might believe (ἵνα ἀκούσαντες λόγον πιστεύσωμεν ἡμεῖς).” One whose hearing has been circumcised also believes. The subjunctive of *πιστεύω* is predicated given ἵνα, yielding a purpose-result clause, which “indicates both the intention and its sure accomplishment.”¹⁷⁴ It is not, therefore, indicating that after circumcision of hearing one *might* or *might not* believe upon hearing, as if the believing were contingent. Circumcised hearing leads with certainty to belief—belief is the purpose-result of the metaphorical circumcision.¹⁷⁵ One whose hearing has been circumcised hears the speech of the Lord. And upon hearing that speech, he believes. Barnabas elucidates this point better in *Barn.* 11.11: “And ‘whoever eats from these will live forever’ means this: whoever, he says, hears and believes what has been said will live forever.” Barnabas does not envisage a scenario whereby one whose hearing has been circumcised does not also believe upon hearing. Furthermore, that circumcised hearing leads to belief can be defended from our study on the progression of hearers as illustrated in the quotations of *Barn.* 9.1-3.¹⁷⁶ This progression seems to signify a moving toward relationship, collapsing the spatial tension between the hearers and the speaker within the quotations. Presumably, the progression takes those who did not know Him toward the relational status of children. Indicative of this relationship status is belief. Hence, even the progression of hearers supports that circumcised hearing yields a relationship to the Lord.

6.3.2 Meaning of Circumcised Hearts

The subject of *Barn.* 9.4-5 is the circumcision of the heart.¹⁷⁷ The *Stichwort* which connects this pericope with the pericope on ear-circumcision is *circumcision*.¹⁷⁸ But in this section, the subject changes from ear-circumcision to heart-circumcision. Whereas Barnabas provided eight quotations in the hearing pericope, the pericope on heart-circumcision lists only three

¹⁷⁴ D. B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 473.

¹⁷⁵ The conceptual progression of how hearing relates to understanding and belief will be dealt with in the next section on circumcised hearts. See §6.3.3 Progressing from Circumcised Hearing to Circumcised Hearts.

¹⁷⁶ See §6.3.1.3 The Hearers of *Barnabas* 9.1-3.

¹⁷⁷ The “true circumcision” as it is often called. Cf. Kraft, *Didache*, 107; Kraft, “Barnabas,” 185.

¹⁷⁸ Carleton Paget, *Barnabas*, 144.

quotations. The quotations are themselves commands to circumcise the heart or statements about the uncircumcised heart. Though in this pericope Barnabas quotes fewer citations, he compensates for this by providing commentary on those quotations. The subject of both the commentary and quotes is the circumcision of the heart.

6.3.2.1 Three Quotations in Barnabas 9.4-5

The first quotation is *Barn.* 9.5a: τὰδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (ὡςδε εὕρισκω ἐντολήν)· μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις, περιτιμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν (“Thus says the Lord your God [here is where I find a commandment]¹⁷⁹ ‘Do not sow among the thorns; be circumcised to your Lord”). This quotation is very similar to LXX Jer 4:3-4a:

ὅτι τὰδε λέγει κύριος τοῖς ἀνδράσιν Ἰούδα καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλήμ νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα καὶ μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις· περιτιμήθητε τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν. Because this is what the Lord says to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem: Renew for yourselves what has been made new and do not sow among thorns. Be circumcised to your God.

There are several differences between the texts but one bears special mention. Barnabas’s quotation does not contain νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα. This is curious considering that the imagery of cultivation invoked by this agronomical phrase aligns with other such images in later quotations such as τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς καρδίας and οὐ μὴ σκληρυνεῖτε. But as I will propose later, its absence assists in ascertaining Barnabas’s meaning regarding circumcised hearts.

The second quotation is *Barn.* 9.5b: περιτιμήθητε τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς καρδίας¹⁸⁰ ὑμῶν, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ σκληρυνεῖτε¹⁸¹ (“Circumcise the hardness of your hearts and do not harden your necks”).¹⁸² This bears close affinity to LXX Deut 10:16: καὶ

¹⁷⁹ This is Barnabas’s commentary, not quotation, and will be dealt with later.

¹⁸⁰ Manuscripts G and \mathfrak{P} read τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς καρδίας. \mathfrak{N} and H read τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν. L reads *nequitiam de praecordiis* (≈ τὴν πονηρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας). Cf. Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 144. However, cf. Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 162, who lumps G, L, and \mathfrak{P} in the same reading. G, \mathfrak{P} , and L(?) can be seen here as preserving the most likely reading since the *Epistle of Barnabas* often attests to unique readings of Scripture pertaining to circumcision, cf. *Barn.* 9.1d. The readings of \mathfrak{N} and H reflect an effort to move the *Epistle of Barnabas*’s paraphrase back in congruence with the reading of the LXX.

¹⁸¹ Manuscript \mathfrak{P} reads οὐ μὴ σκληρυνεῖτε. G reads οὐ μὴ σκληρύνητε. \mathfrak{N} and H read οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε. L omits καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε. \mathfrak{P} is corrupt here and could read either ο[ὐ σκλη]ρυνε[ῖ]τε aligning with \mathfrak{N} and H, per Vitelli, ed., *Papiri*, 42, or ο[ὐ μὴ σκλη]ρυνε[ῖ]τε, per Kraft, “Papyrus Fragment,” 159. It is probably best to read \mathfrak{P} according to Kraft, over that of Vitelli, given that \mathfrak{P} aligns more often with G than it does with \mathfrak{N} . Furthermore, οὐ μὴ σκληρυνεῖτε would accomplish in force (οὐ μὴ plus aorist subjunctive or future indicative) the same as οὐ μὴ σκληρύνητε, better than would οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε per \mathfrak{N} and H. Cf. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 468. In meaning then, \mathfrak{P} can be seen as aligning with G, whereas \mathfrak{N} and H cannot.

¹⁸² Translation is mine.

περιτεμείσθε τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ σκληρυνεῖτε ἔτι (“And you shall circumcise your hard heartedness and shall not harden your neck any longer”). A most notable observation is Barnabas’s τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς καρδίας compared to Deuteronomy’s τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν. The use of the phrase rather than its compound form is not uncommon (cf. Prov 28:14; Sir 3:26, 27). It might be that Barnabas uses the phrase in order to (1) distinguish more exactly between circumcised καρδία and ἀκοή, since circumcised σκληροκαρδία might blur that distinction, and/or (2) maintain the uncompounded form of καρδία as is done throughout the pericope.

The third quotation is *Barn.* 9.5c: ἰδοὺ, λέγει κύριος, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα ἀκροβυστία, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος ἀπερίτμητος καρδία (“See, says the Lord, all the nations are uncircumcised in their foreskins, but this people is uncircumcised in their hearts”). A slightly different text appears in LXX Jer 9:26: ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί καὶ πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ἀπερίτμητοι καρδίας αὐτῶν (“Because all the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their heart”). One difference between the texts is that Barnabas has ἀκροβυστία whereas Jeremiah reads σαρκί. It might be that Barnabas has ἀκροβυστία¹⁸³ instead of σαρκί in order to make explicit what was implicit in *Barn.* 9.4b—circumcision of the flesh (σάρξ) is circumcision of the foreskin (ἀκροβυστία).

A few conclusions from the quotations can be drawn. Firstly, a correlation between circumcised hearts and circumcised hearing can be seen in Barnabas’s quotations. The Lord has both commanded circumcision of the hearing and heart (*Barn.* 9.1d, 5ab) and circumcised the hearing and heart (*Barn.* 9.3d; 10.12c). Both circumcisions are for/to the Lord which Barnabas makes clear by reading τῷ κυρίῳ. In doing so, Barnabas links the two metaphors of circumcision while maintaining their distinctiveness, demonstrating a correlation yet treating them separately.

Secondly, Barnabas’s quotation does not read νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα like the Jeremiah text. On the one hand, we must ask ourselves, What farmer sows among thorns? Only a farmer who does not *understand* the process of sowing, germinating, and harrowing sows seed among thorny soil. The injunction not to sow among thorns poses a dilemma:¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Apart from the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the textual apparatus of Ziegler also lists Justin *1 Apol.* 53.11. Additionally, Aquila has ἀκροβυστία in lieu of ἀπερίτμητος. See Ziegler, *Ieremias*, 199.

¹⁸⁴ Some are surprisingly silent on the meaning of this quotation and how it relates to circumcision of the heart. Cf. Kraft, *Didache*, 106-108; Prigent and Kraft, *Barnabé*, 144-145; Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 146-147; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 162-163; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 362-363.

if one is not to sow among thorns, what is he to do? If Barnabas had included *νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα* then the agronomical dilemma would have yielded an agricultural answer—break up fresh ground for yourselves. Sowing seeds among freshly plowed soil demonstrates understanding of the horticultural process, just as sowing seeds among thorns demonstrates the opposite. But Barnabas is not concerned with agronomy; he is concerned with Spirit-filled understanding. Therefore, the spiritual injunction not to sow among the thorns given to the one who lacks understanding is answered with a spiritual solution—*περιτιμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν*. In this light, the injunction is a prohibition to misunderstand. The dilemma of the recipient of this prohibition is resolved by circumcision of the heart yielding the Spirit-filled understanding of the Scriptures. It is possible that for this reason the phrase *νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα* is absent in Barnabas’s quotation. This leaves only the command in the negative *μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις* (i.e. do not misunderstand) and in the positive *περιτιμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν* (i.e. understand).¹⁸⁵

Lastly, Barnabas’s quotation uses the paraphrase *τὸ σκληρὸν τῆς καρδίας* rather than its compounded form *τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν*. By using the paraphrase, Barnabas establishes greater fluidity within the pericope with reference to *καρδία* and greater linguistic continuity between the pericope and *Barn.* 10.12c.

6.3.2.2 *Barnabas’s Commentary on the Three Quotations*

Barnabas’s commentary on the three quotations and their content are telling of the meaning he gives to heart-circumcision. The relevant material to examine is the reference to sowing among thorns (*μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ’ ἀκάνθαις*), the hardening of necks (*τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ σκληρυνεῖτε*) (cf. 1QS 5.1-5; *Jub.* 1.22-25; *Spec. Laws* 1.304-306; Acts 7:51), and to Barnabas’s commentary on the evil angel. Before examining these, it is important to establish that Barnabas has in mind circumcision of heart when he quotes *περιτιμήθητε τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν*.¹⁸⁶ This can be established by referring to Barnabas’s comments in *Barn.* 9.4. Barnabas explains that *they* trusted in a circumcision of the flesh (*σάρξ*, cf. foreskin [*ἀχροβυστία*] *Barn.* 9.5c). This was in violation to God’s law since God had said that “circumcision is not a matter of the flesh.” By way of proof text, Barnabas declares in translation, “Here is where I find a commandment,” and then cites, “Be circumcised to

¹⁸⁵ Similarly, “He who has the right understanding has the true circumcision” where true circumcision is synonymous with heart-circumcision. Kraft, “Barnabas,” 187.

¹⁸⁶ Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 184.

your Lord” (*Barn.* 9.5a). So for Barnabas, the commandment to “be circumcised to your Lord” is the proof that circumcision is a matter of the heart.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, Barnabas’s other two quotations point in this direction: “Circumcise the hardness of your hearts,” and, “This people is uncircumcised in their hearts” (*Barn.* 9.5bc). In this vein, the command, “Do not sow among the thorns,” should also be understood metaphorically and in relation to circumcision of the heart.

To comprehend how this phrase relates to circumcised hearts, I will demonstrate its placement in the pericope of *Barn.* 9.4-5 and its relationship to the text preceding. In order to do that, I must first review Barnabas’s reference to the evil angel. Translated, Barnabas states in *Barn.* 9.4, “But even the circumcision in which they trusted has been nullified. For he has said that circumcision is not a matter of the flesh. But they violated his law, because an evil angel instructed them” (cf. *Pan.* 33.5.11).¹⁸⁸ According to Barnabas, an evil angel dissuaded *them* from circumcising the heart.¹⁸⁹ Consequently, they circumcised the flesh. This was a direct violation of God’s law since God declared that circumcision is a matter of the heart. The overall thrust of Barnabas’s comments is that *they* misunderstood the command which Barnabas paints in a highly negative light: An evil angel instructed *them* in such a way that *they* violated God’s law by circumcising the flesh. *Their* misunderstanding is the context in which Barnabas’s quotations are situated. It makes sense of the command, “Do not sow among the thorns,” only if the command can be seen as linking *their* misunderstanding, which led to circumcision of the flesh, with Barnabas’s command to circumcise the heart. It appears then that the command, “Do not sow among the thorns,” is a command not to misunderstand, for what farmer sows seed among thorns except the farmer who misunderstands horticulture.

This command not to misunderstand is then followed by a command to circumcise the heart—nothing short of a call to understand. One can observe now that Barnabas’s citation, “Do not sow among the thorns,” has both a figurative meaning and is directly related to circumcision of the heart (cf. *Odes Sol.* 11.1-4): It is a command not to misunderstand whose resolution is circumcision of the heart—a call to understand the

¹⁸⁷ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 363.

¹⁸⁸ For a thorough treatment of *Barn.* 9.4, see J. N. B. Carleton Paget, “Barnabas 9:4,” *VC* 45 (1991): 242-254.

¹⁸⁹ Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 125. In addition to the evil angel’s influence, *they* were dissuaded because *their* hearing was not circumcised: “It was precisely so that we might understand all this that the Lord ‘circumcised our hearing’; but there was no way in which ‘they’ could understand, having fallen at the first hurdle, thanks to the wicked angel who made them misunderstand circumcision, so that their hearing remained uncircumcised,” according to Tugwell, *Apostolic Fathers*, 37.

Spirit-filled message.¹⁹⁰ This leaves me lastly to explain Barnabas’s exhortation translated, “Do not harden your necks.” In *Barn.* 9.5ab I observe a loosely-bound chiasmic structure comprising Barnabas’s two quotations. The center of the chiasm contains the positive commands (e.g., circumcise the heart) while the outer chiasmic structure contains the negative commands (e.g., do not misunderstand). Consequently, the following ABB'A' structure emerges:

A Do not sow among the thorns
 B Be circumcised to your Lord
 B' Circumcise the hardness of your hearts
 A' Do not harden your necks

Figure 8: Chiasm of Heart-Circumcision Quotations at *Barnabas* 9.5ab

Though we might deduce that the command, “Do not harden your necks,” (cf. 1QS 5.1-5; *Jub.* 1.22-25; *Spec. Laws* 1.304-306; Acts 7:51) alone carries a sense of putting aside stubbornness, thick headedness, unwieldiness, and the like, the relationship it holds to the command, “Do not sow among the thorns,” shown in the chiasm strengthens the possibility that it means a setting aside of misunderstanding. Indeed, Barnabas has amplified the quotation, “And do not harden your necks,” with the use of οὐ μή. The οὐ μή creates the most emphatic negation, thereby eliminating any potentiality of hardening the neck again. This then makes sense in light of what precedes it, since Barnabas has commanded them to circumcise their hearts, thus gaining understanding, and having gained that understanding there remains no potentiality of losing it (i.e. hardening the neck) or slipping into misunderstanding.

6.3.2.3 *Meaning of Circumcised Hearts in the Epistle of Barnabas*

When the analysis of *Barn.* 9.4-5 is taken in conjunction with *Barn.* 10:12c (“For this reason he circumcised our hearing and our hearts, that we may understand these things”), then the

¹⁹⁰ If this solution seems unsatisfactory, one need only ask why Barnabas has bothered to include the quotation, “Do not sow among the thorns,” in his explanation of heart-circumcision. Barnabas could just have easily excluded it since the latter part of the quotation is the proof-text Barnabas needs to show that circumcising of the heart is meant. The fact that Barnabas has included it as part of his proof-text beckons an explanation and the one provided here seems both logical and reasonable enough.

data lead me to conclude that circumcised hearts pertains to understanding¹⁹¹ (cf. 4Q434 f1.1.1-4; *Dial.* 15.1, 7)—the *γνώσις* Barnabas has set out to communicate to his audience.¹⁹² Therefore, the meaning of circumcision of the heart is *the God-granted ability to understand the Spirit-filled message of the Lord*, which is driven by the ‘circumcising is opening/revealing’ metaphor. For an explanation of the phrase *the God-granted ability*, I refer to the similar results from the study on ear-circumcision.¹⁹³ The Lord circumcises the heart (*Barn.* 10.12c) and it is he who grants the ability.

By the phrase *to understand the Spirit-filled message of the Lord*, I suggest that Barnabas’s conviction is that heart-circumcision was intended by God. In fact, when circumcision is taken literally the result is circumcision of the flesh (i.e. foreskin), which Barnabas claims is no less a violation to God’s law!¹⁹⁴ Further, Barnabas’s exhortation not to sow among the thorns is meant to be taken metaphorically. It is an injunction not to misunderstand. The same could be said of his command not to harden the neck given the chiasmic structure of the quotations. Moreover, Barnabas’s own confession to understand according to the Spirit is stated plainly in *Barn.* 10.12ab: “But how could they *know* or *understand* these things? We, however, speak as those who *know* the commandments in an *upright way*, as the Lord wished” (emphasis added). This commentary follows after Barnabas’s explanation of various food laws in terms of ethical prohibitions and commendations, and comes right before Barnabas’s comments that the purpose of heart-circumcision is so “that we may understand these things.”¹⁹⁵ Here Barnabas asserts that *they* understood the food laws in a

¹⁹¹ Andry, “Barnabas,” 163; Kraft, “Barnabas,” 182, 187; Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 132.

¹⁹² Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 353.

¹⁹³ See §6.3.1 Meaning of Circumcised Hearing.

¹⁹⁴ Did Barnabas have in mind both a literal and metaphorical understanding of circumcision or did he only ever have in mind the metaphorical meaning? Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 353, Prigent, *Les testimonia*, 56, and Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 121-122, favor the latter. However, their view seems to be weak on several points. First, manuscript L’s translation of *ὧδε εὐρίσκω ἐντολήν* is *Hic invenio novam legem* (“Here I find a new commandment”). It does not seem obvious to L that Barnabas only ever had in mind a metaphorical meaning since Barnabas puts forth a *new* commandment in defense of the metaphorical meaning. This implies that a former, literal meaning was already evident. Second, Barnabas concedes the physical circumcision of Abraham (*Barn.* 9.7-8) but maintains that this physical circumcision was a type pointing to Christ. So again, Barnabas understood circumcision both literally and metaphorically and did not fault Abraham for circumcising physically. In light of Barnabas calling physical circumcision a violation of God’s law, how can one understand this supposed contradiction? I maintain that the key to understanding this dilemma is defining the “circumcision in which they trusted.” *They* trusted in physical circumcision, which was a violation of God’s law since God had declared that the circumcision in which *they* should trust is not a matter of the flesh. Indeed the Lord had commanded to “be circumcised to your Lord,” (*Barn.* 9.5a) and said, “Circumcise the hardness of your hearts” (*Barn.* 9.5b). In this light, Barnabas does not contradict himself when he affirms Abraham’s physical circumcision but also speaks of physical circumcision as a violation of God’s law. It is circumcision of the heart in which *they* should place their trust.

¹⁹⁵ Similarly, Meinhold, “Exegese,” 263.

literal sense. But Barnabas's explanation of the food laws in terms of ethical prohibitions and commendations is the upright way to know or understand them as they were spoken ἐν πνεύματι¹⁹⁶—it is the γνῶσις granted to all who are circumcised of heart.¹⁹⁷

Lastly, the object of such Spirit-filled understanding is *the Lord*. Here I have in mind the term Lord as Barnabas employs it—the term implies things originating from or pertaining to the Lord such as the Lord's commandments (*Barn.* 9.5a), Moses's commandments (*Barn.* 10.2b), the Scriptures (*Barn.* 10.2a), David's words (*Barn.* 10.10a), or the Lord Himself (*Barn.* 9.5a). Hence, it is not just generic understanding of any topic but only knowledge concerned with the Lord.

6.3.3 Progressing from Circumcised Hearing to Circumcised Hearts

Considering that Barnabas uses the hearing- and heart-circumcision metaphors in juxtaposition yet maintains the order—first hearing and then hearts—it would be helpful to visualize the conceptual progression from one to the other. Literal hearing and understanding occurred prior to ear- and heart-circumcisions. The commandments of God were literally heard (*Barn.* 5.2) and understood as such (*Barn.* 10.2). But Barnabas portrays a deeper hearing and understanding granted to those who have undergone hearing- and heart-circumcisions. It is precisely because *they* did not ascertain the Spirit-filled message that God's commandments remain obscure to *them* (*Barn.* 8.7). And it is precisely because *they* did not understand the Spirit-filled message that *they* trusted in the circumcision of the flesh (*Barn.* 9.4a).¹⁹⁸

6.3.3.1 *Circumcised Hearing precedes Circumcised Hearts*

We can deduce that conceptually circumcision of hearing precedes circumcision of hearts. Prior to circumcision of hearing, the things of the Lord remain obscure to the one hearing but become clear to the one whose hearing has been circumcised (*Barn.* 8.7). That which was obscure has become clear as if the circumcision of the hearing has cut away everything which obstructed the ear from ascertaining the voice of the Lord. It does not matter

¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Hefele, *Sendschreiben*, 89 n.21.

¹⁹⁷ Kraft, "Barnabas," 197; Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 372.

¹⁹⁸ Circumcision of the heart is intricately connected to the "ability to understand the true meaning of Scripture." Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 186-187.

whether one is far off (*Barn.* 9.1c), or nearby (*Barn.* 9.3c), a specific person (*Barn.* 9.3b) or persons in general (*Barn.* 9.1b), all circumcised of hearing will hear the Lord.

According to Barnabas, circumcised hearing implies a new hearing, even granting one the desire to hear for the first time (*Barn.* 16.10). But such hearing is not the end itself. Circumcision of hearing leads to belief (*Barn.* 9.3d). In fact, the purpose of circumcised hearing is that one might believe. Effectively, Barnabas's *ordo salutis* is that one first literally hears. He is then circumcised of hearing enabling him to ascertain the voice of the Lord calling for obedience. This then leads assuredly to belief.¹⁹⁹ The eight quotations of *Barn.* 9.1-3 have already hinted toward this conclusion. The citations indicate that after one hears he obeys (*Barn.* 9.1b). The one who desires eternal life (i.e. salvation) should hear the Lord (*Barn.* 9.2bc). Later, Barnabas reiterates this by intricately tying salvation with hearing (*Barn.* 16.10). So the one who has circumcised hearing believes/obeys/receives eternal life. According to Barnabas, obscurity is replaced by clarity after ear-circumcision. Inherent in this transition from obscure to clear hearing is some level of cognitive consciousness of what has been heard, for how can one believe what he has heard unless he understand (*Barn.* 9.1c)? Still, it is important to see that circumcision of hearing leads to belief. One may speak of it therefore as pre-conversion since it precedes belief. Barnabas elucidates neither when the circumcision of hearing occurs nor the time relation between circumcision and belief, whether instantaneous or shortly thereafter.

6.3.3.2 *Circumcised Hearts follows Circumcised Hearing*

Whereas the purpose of ear-circumcision is to lead to belief, the purpose of heart-circumcision is to lead to the Spirit-filled understanding of the Scriptures (*Barn.* 10.12c). A circumcised heart is not the understanding requisite of belief (cf. *Barn.* 9.1c) but the deeper understanding which follows belief. In this sense, one may talk of circumcised hearts as post-conversion in contradistinction to circumcised hearing which is pre-conversion. It is this Spirit-filled understanding that makes sense of Abraham's circumcision via a gematria of the number 318 (*Barn.* 9.8), or the ethical prohibitions and commendations of Moses's food laws (*Barn.* 10.1-9, 11), or the teaching of David (*Barn.* 10.10).²⁰⁰ Indeed, heart-circumcision enables one to understand beyond the literal to the deeper meaning of the law

¹⁹⁹ Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 351.

²⁰⁰ "The proofs that one has received the true circumcision [of the heart] lie in his understanding of the covenant and its *τρία δόγματα*." Kraft, "Barnabas," 197.

(*Barn.* 10.11). Circumcision of hearts assumes a prior circumcision of hearing. While Barnabas teaches the meaning of Abraham's circumcision, he assumes his readership is already circumcised of hearing (*Barn.* 9.3d). He reaffirms this fact by claiming that the Lord "has placed the implanted gift of his covenant in us" (*Barn.* 9.9). Thus, while Barnabas taught about heart-circumcision, he supposed his audience was already circumcised of hearing and converted. Consequently, the interrelatedness between circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts in *Barn.* 10.12c can now be seen. Ear-circumcision leading to belief enables heart-circumcision leading to comprehension of the Spirit-filled message. Therefore, circumcised hearing is a prerequisite to circumcised hearts as it is impossible to understand the things of the Lord without having first heard and believed. In this light, it becomes clearer how circumcised hearing helps one understand according to *Barn.* 10.12c. In order to understand, one must first be circumcised of hearing. Then, having comprehended enough of what he has heard in order to believe, he is then circumcised of heart enabling him to understand further things pertaining to the Lord.

According to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, there are various degrees of understanding among those who are circumcised of hearts, albeit all understand (cf. 1QS 5.25-6.1; 4Q504 f4.5-13; *QG* 3.46-47).²⁰¹ Though Barnabas's addressees are worthy and capable of understanding the gematria and food laws, these are only things of the past. Their understanding is limited to things which were written and have come to pass. But if Barnabas were to discuss things present or matters of the future, his audience would not be able to understand it (*Barn.* 17.2). Thus, though their hearts are circumcised, their level of understanding is not as advanced as that of Barnabas, the Tradent of $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. Still, his audience is better off than *they* who are uncircumcised of hearing and hearts and have understood nothing of the law's Spirit-filled meaning. Here one can draw yet another distinction between circumcised hearing and circumcised hearts: whereas there are various degrees of understanding among those circumcised of heart, there are no such levels of hearing among the circumcised of hearing.

²⁰¹ In his article, A. E. Johnson, "Interpretative Hierarchies in Barnabas I-XVII," *StPatr* 17.2 (1982): 702-706, identified three levels of understanding present in the *Epistle of Barnabas*: (1) the literal understanding embodied by *them* (cf. *Barn.* 9.4; 16.1), (2) the Spirit-filled understanding of Barnabas's addressees (i.e. *us*) (cf. *Barn.* 1.5; 13.7), and (3) an inner circle of the *us* of which Barnabas is a part (cf. *Barn.* 9.9; 17.2). In my terminology, these levels equate to (1) the uncircumcised of heart and (2-3) the circumcised of heart, with full concession that, and as Johnson has demonstrated, Barnabas has more Spirit-filled understanding of the Scriptures than his addressees. And so there are various levels of understanding among the circumcised of heart.

6.3.3.3 *Illustrating the Progression*

Having thought about the relationship between ear- and heart-circumcisions, considering their purposes and interconnectivity, we can now visualize a conceptual progression from ear-circumcision to heart-circumcision.

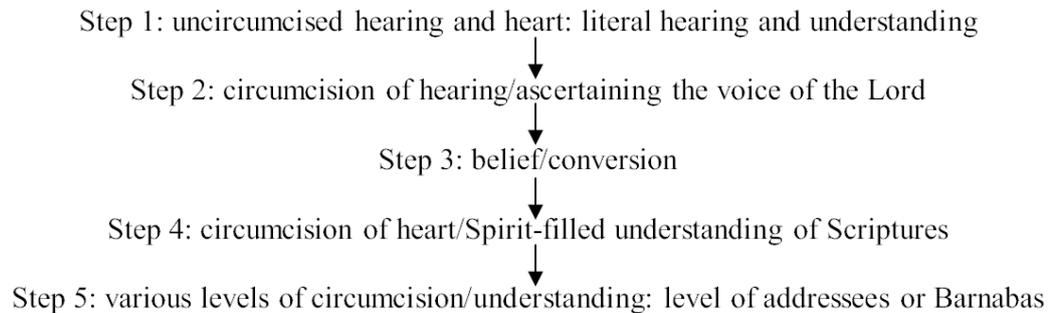


Figure 9: Conceptual Progression from Circumcised Hearing to Circumcised Hearts

The diagram is not meant to describe the progression in relation to chronological time, for the *Epistle of Barnabas* does not indicate when these steps occur.²⁰² In fact, Barnabas assumes both have already taken place in the lives of his audience (*Barn.* 10.12). However, conceptually one must picture the steps flowing from one to another in this order. Though Steps 2-4 might occur instantaneously, there is simply no way of knowing since the *Epistle of Barnabas* does not shed light on this matter. But one can at least surmise from the analyses that Step 4 cannot precede Step 3. In this way we can say that hearing-circumcision occurs pre-conversion while heart-circumcision occurs post-conversion, not in a chronological sense, but in a conceptual sense.²⁰³ We can do this because, according to the *Epistle of Barnabas*, heart-circumcision is not required pre-conversion but indicative of one who believes already (i.e. post-conversion).²⁰⁴ We can further conclude from the diagram that heart-circumcision flows from ear-circumcision.²⁰⁵ Lastly, the *Epistle of*

²⁰² Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 184.

²⁰³ Contra Scorza Barcellona, *Epistola di Barnaba*, 146, who claims that circumcision of hearts is presupposed in the pericope on hearing.

²⁰⁴ Contra Meinhold, “Exegese,” 273.

²⁰⁵ See, “Not every man has this gnosis, but only those whose ‘ears and hearts’ have been circumcised (9:1; 10:12), that is, those who have (obediently) ‘heard’ the Lord’s voice (8:7-9:4),” and “He who ‘hears’ the Lord’s voice understands what is being commanded.... The cultic, literalistic Jews did not ‘hear’ (8:7), thus they could not understand (10:12a),” in Kraft, *Didache*, 23.

Barnabas does not have in mind someone who is circumcised of hearing but not circumcised of hearts—the two belong together (*Barn.* 10.12).

6.4 Conclusions from the *Epistle of Barnabas*

The purpose of the *Epistle of Barnabas* is to expound the perfect $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$. Barnabas implies that the key to unlocking the $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ is hearing- and heart-circumcision. In my examination of the structure, I proposed that these metaphors hold a prominent place in the *Epistle of Barnabas* functioning as the *Knickpunkt*. Barnabas's treatment of circumcised hearing and hearts (*Barnabas* 9-10) climaxes and brings closure to *Barnabas* 2-8 with its discussion on *their* misunderstanding of the Scriptures in contrast to *our* correct understanding. *Barnabas* 9-10 offers explanation as to why *they* misunderstood—they were uncircumcised of hearing and heart. The *Knickpunkt* then changes course to show in *Barnabas* 11-16 that the major signposts of Christian beliefs can be found in the Scriptures. Barnabas reinterprets these Scriptures from the perspective of one whose hearing and hearts have been circumcised. Therefore, circumcision of hearing and hearts yields the $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ the *Epistle of Barnabas* attempts to communicate to its audience. Evidence of the *Knickpunkt* testifies to the centrality of the metaphors in the structure of the *Epistle of Barnabas*. A thorough analysis of the textual readings offered showed manuscript \mathfrak{P} to be the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1a with \mathfrak{P} and L preserving the most likely reading at *Barn.* 9.1d. Textual, contextual, and structural evidence from *Barnabas* 9-10 further supported these findings and solidified the case that ear-circumcision must be understood in contradistinction to heart-circumcision.

The review of the quotations and Barnabas's commentary in *Barnabas* 9-10 led me to redefine ear- and heart-circumcision. Conceptually speaking, ear-circumcision must precede heart-circumcision. Whereas ear-circumcision is pre-conversion, heart-circumcision is post-conversion. Ear-circumcision leads to belief whereas heart-circumcision leads to understanding. The *Epistle of Barnabas* demonstrates this kind of understanding via the use of a gematria to explain Abraham's circumcision as pointing to Jesus (*Barn.* 9.7-9). Furthermore, Barnabas claims that Moses's negative and positive food laws should be understood as ethical prohibitions and commendations (*Barnabas* 10). This understanding of the Scriptures wrought by circumcision of the ears and hearts is the $\gamma\nu\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ our Tradent desires to pass on to his audience.

As such, *whom* the *Epistle of Barnabas* ascribes the ear-circumcision metaphor to differs from Luke-Acts but aligns with the *Hodayot*—the metaphor represents the step of

belief towards becoming a covenant insider. However, *what* it means is even further nuanced than that of Luke-Acts—the demarcation between hearing and understanding is made even stronger. Still, the factor of (non)understanding is woven throughout, granting the metaphor its elasticity and allowing it to change and take on new features in some areas while returning to other features which remain constant. The comparison of these metaphors among the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* is the focus of our next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE METAPHORS COMPARED

As we have seen, the malleability of the OT ear- and heart-circumcision and heart of stone metaphors is hammered out on the figurative anvil of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Their particular interpretations and juxtaposition of these ear and heart metaphors provide a portal into the interpretive traditions of the first two centuries B.C.E. and C.E. Their elasticity can best be seen when our analyses of the metaphors are placed alongside one another. Comparisons with the interpretations of the OT metaphors among the ancient versions cast light on how the ear-circumcision and heart metaphors came to be used jointly and speak towards the malleability these figures contained.

Our task here is to compare the meaning and function of the metaphors as analyzed in the previous three chapters and chart their differences throughout. In order to do this, we will look firstly at what the juxtaposed metaphors mean in the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Reflections from the MT, LXX, and Targumim will also be taken into account. A brief word on the changing word-order of the ear-circumcision and heart metaphors throughout the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle* will be made. Additionally, we will analyze the agent of metaphorical circumcision among the sources. Lastly, we will review the ear-circumcision metaphor's varied influence on the structure of the work from the *Hodayot* to the *Epistle of Barnabas* and consider each source's portrayal of physical and metaphorical circumcision.

7.1 The Meaning of the Metaphor

The juxtaposed metaphor of 1QH^a 21.6 is the earliest extant witness to the forging together of the ear and heart metaphors in an unprecedented way. Though *Targum Jonathan* Jer 6:10 indicates that the ear is in the *process* of becoming stupid and the MT and LXX describe the ear in a *static state* of uncircumcision, all are in agreement that the uncircumcised ear should be reversed—the collective thrust of the texts implies that the uncircumcised ear ought to

be circumcised. But this is not explicitly the case in the *Thanksgiving Psalms*. Though admittedly the uncircumcised ear also insinuates a malfunction, the psalmist's uncircumcised ear has mysteries revealed to it—it is not circumcised so that it might understand nor is it implied that it must be. While the ear of dust (1QH^a 23.5) and the ear of flesh (1QH^a 25.12) are opened, it is peculiar that the uncircumcised ear itself is not directly opened but has mysteries opened to it. On these grounds we might understand that the malady of the psalmist's ear (i.e. 'understanding is an ear') remains despite God's overriding its malfunction in order to reveal mysteries to the psalmist (i.e. 'circumcising is revealing')¹ which is not the case in the ancient versions of Jer 6:10. While it must be admitted that the psalmist intentionally employs a special rhetoric, applying to himself language indicative of covenant outsiders, it must also be recognized that nowhere in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* is it mandated to circumcise the ear. This is surely striking when we consider that his heart of stone is engraved upon, changing the metaphor in a positive direction, though not in the same direction of Ezek 11:19; 36:26, while the ear of flesh and the ear of dust are opened. While these metaphorical ears are acted upon resulting in a change, the same cannot be said of the uncircumcised ear.

In a similar way, the author deploys the heart of stone metaphor in a unique way, distancing its meaning from that of Ezekiel 11:19; 26:26. The heart of stone metaphor in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* does not speak toward its morality. It is not evil or faithless as in *Targum Jonathan* nor is it in need of replacing so as to do the will of God as in the MT and LXX. Rather the heart of stone is the cognitive center of the psalmist; it perceives wonders. In fact, the psalmist's heart has the advantage of being described as stony so that God can engrave the oracles of the future upon it.² For the psalmist, there is no need for his heart of stone to be substituted for a heart of flesh (cf. Ezek 11:19; 36:26).³ It is therefore to the psalmist's credit that he has a heart of stone, indeed a unique interpretation.

There is little hint from the uncircumcised ears at Jer 6:10 or the heart of stone at Ezek 11:19; 36:26 that either pertained to the revealing of God's mysteries. But these metaphors do carry that meaning in the *Hodayot*. The *Thanksgiving Hymns* place in tandem

¹ This can be seen most clearly in a comparison with the malady of the heart: "I thank yo[u], O Lor[d], that you have instructed me in your truth, and made known to me your wondrous mysteries, and (made known) both your kindness toward a [sinful] person and your abundant compassion for the one whose heart is perverted" (1QH^a 15.29-30). Though the heart remains perverted and stony (1QH^a 21.7, 12), God overrides the malady to reveal mysteries to it.

² God's impressing His statutes upon the heart of stone falls within "The Revelation" category of *Hodayot* theological concepts, in Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 282.

³ Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 193 n.2.

two metaphors as the ultimate expression of the psalmist's lack of understanding, not his unwillingness to obey or listen to God.⁴ Consequently, the *Thanksgiving Psalms* appear to generate new meaning from two OT metaphors unaccounted for in the MT, LXX, and *Targum Jonathan*. This new meaning of the metaphors is forfeited when the context within the *Thanksgiving Scroll* is not taken into account.

The ear- and heart-circumcision metaphors also show adaptation in Luke-Acts, whereby the two metaphors become one. Whereas the uncircumcised ears and heart of stone share similar meanings in 1QH^a, we see in Luke-Acts that the heart and ear carry more distinct meanings. Together the metaphor maps onto the one who rejects God's deliverance. The cause of this rejection is imbedded in the figures which make up the phrase—uncircumcised in hearts and ears. While the uncircumcised in hearts refers to a lack of understanding (i.e. 'circumcising is revealing'), the uncircumcised ears signals that the Lord's call has not been ascertained (i.e. 'receptivity is an ear'). Essentially, the indicted have rejected deliverance because they neither understood nor heard their need for such deliverance. On the one hand, the metaphor of Luke-Acts retains some of the meaning of heart-circumcision at, for example, *Targum Jonathan* Jer 4:4—it must turn to worship God. On the other hand, the role of heart-circumcision within Luke-Acts distances itself from the meaning of its OT referents⁵ and aligns itself closer with the *Hodayot*'s heart of stone—it must *understand* its need for deliverance.

The indictment of Acts 7:51, much like similar OT invective language, challenges the addressees to attain a state of circumcised hearts and ears, which was not the case with the *Thanksgiving Scroll*. Unlike the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the invective language of Luke-Acts bears no confusion about its language: the constituency should not remain metaphorically uncircumcised.⁶ In that sense, the metaphor in Luke-Acts bears more resemblance to that in the MT, LXX, and Targumim than to the same metaphor in the *Hodayot*. Yet in another sense the theme of understanding and comprehension present in the *Thanksgiving Scroll*'s metaphorical phrase is retained in Luke-Acts which does not appear to be present in the OT counterparts. Therefore, the metaphors demonstrate their elasticity by retaining elements of meaning from the ancient versions yet simultaneously diverging from them.

⁴ The uncircumcised ear in Jer 6:10 is interpreted by some to mean an inability to listen to, pay attention to, or obey the truth (cf. Jer 5:21). See e.g., McKane, *Jeremiah*, 145; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah*, 71. But cf. Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 195, who chalks up the people's inability to comprehend to their foreskinned ears.

⁵ See e.g., the explanation of heart-circumcision, in L. Ryken, J. C. Wilhoit, and T. Longman III, "Circumcision," *DBI* 1:149.

⁶ Contra Hall, *ABD* 1:1030.

Another side of the ear-circumcision metaphor's multi-faceted meaning can be observed in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Circumcision of the hearing in the *Epistle of Barnabas* is the ability to ascertain the Lord's voice while heart-circumcision is that ability to understand the Spirit-filled content of the Scriptures. Barnabas portrays ear- and heart-circumcisions in tandem—the two occur together, and perhaps simultaneously. Together, the metaphorical phrase symbolizes the process undertaken in order to understand the deeper meaning of Scripture.⁷ Therefore, while ear-circumcision is a necessary procedure to bring about understanding the Scripture as God intended, it does not equate to comprehension of mysteries and revelation as it does in the *Hodayot*. Rather, its use aligns with Luke-Acts in this nature referring to the (in)ability to hear the voice of the Lord and ascertain the need for deliverance (i.e. 'receptivity is an ear'). Heart-circumcision for the *Epistle of Barnabas*, though, carries a similar meaning to heart-circumcision in Luke-Acts and to the juxtaposed metaphors in the *Hodayot*.

A dimension of the metaphor which can be seen in the *Epistle of Barnabas* is the role of belief in ear-circumcision. According to Barnabas, the hearing is circumcised in order to believe (i.e. 'circumcising is opening').⁸ As we have seen, heart-circumcision is commonly associated with belief and human transformation in the MT and LXX, but ear-circumcision is not.⁹ The adaptation of ear-circumcision in the *Epistle of Barnabas* has attributed a function to the ear which was reserved for the heart in the OT. This aspect of the ear is recognizable neither in the *Hodayot* nor Luke-Acts. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* ear-circumcision is infused with new meaning, demonstrating further its malleability dependent on its context.

Consequently, 1QH^a, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* show a varied display of meanings of the metaphors within the interpretive traditions of their time. Whereas the juxtaposed metaphors in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* are similar, they are more distinct in Luke-Acts, though admitting some overlap, and completely separate in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. By using the metaphors in an unprecedented way, the *Hodayot* showcase the metaphors' malleability. While the meaning of the uncircumcised ears in Luke-Acts and the *Epistle of Barnabas* finds precedent in the uncircumcised ears of Jer 6:10, their interpretation of the uncircumcised heart seems to align closer to the interpretation of the Targumim, not the

⁷ Ibid., 1:1031.

⁸ Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 358.

⁹ The people cannot listen (Jer 6:10) because they have not believed (Jer 4:4), so T. E. Fretheim, *Jeremiah*, SHBC 15 (Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2002), 88, 122.

MT or LXX. The various ways these ancient versions understand the metaphors contribute to both their alteration and amplification as displayed in the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The juxtaposed metaphors which expressed complete incomprehension in the *Hodayot*, meant the rejection of God's deliverance in Luke-Acts, and both meanings are arguably observed in the *Epistle of Barnabas*—a meaning which is quite removed from that of its OT counterparts.

7.1.1 The Shifting Order of the Metaphor

It has not gone unnoticed that the order of the juxtaposed metaphors differs across the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Whereas ear-circumcision is granted first place in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, it is mentioned after heart-circumcision in Luke-Acts. What explanations may be offered for this phenomenon and why does it matter?

The word order might be explained in the *Hodayot* given the predominance of the ear motif. Boasting more references to אָזְנוֹ than any other psalm, it could be that our psalm's preoccupation with the ear has determined the metaphors' word order.¹⁰ But granted the similarities of the metaphors' meanings in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the word order might have just as easily been reversed. There does not therefore seem to be much significance in the word order of the metaphors in the *Hodayot*.

An explanation for the word order in Luke-Acts is not immediately apparent. Indeed, the indictment of “stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts” (Acts 7:51) is at face value the reversal of the similar LXX Deut 10:16 (“Circumcise then your heart, and stiffen your neck no more”) which might seem like an indifference for word order. Furthermore, references to hearts do not stand out any more than those of ears in the Stephen episode. So why is heart-circumcision mentioned first? We surmise the order of heart- and ear-circumcision is grounded in the parallel references to hearts and ears in the LXX Isa 6:10¹¹

¹⁰ Similarly, the preoccupation with the ear motif in the *Epistle of Barnabas* is evident by the eight-quotation long discussion on hearing at whose end Barnabas concludes that the Lord has circumcised the hearing. It is only after the establishment of circumcised hearing that Barnabas discusses heart-circumcision supported by fewer quotations. The motif on hearing points to ear circumcision: “Zudem weist er darauf hin, dass mit dieser um das Stichwort Hören bzw. Gehorsam gruppierten Sammlung...dennoch das Thema Beschneidung anvisiert ist,” in Prostmeier, *Barnabasbrief*, 355-356.

¹¹ Another connection to the order of Acts 7:51 and 28:27 can be observed in *Targum Jonathan* Isa 6:10: “Make the heart of this people *dull* (שׁפִּיט) and their ears heavy and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and repent and *it be forgiven them*,” (for translation see B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, ArBib 11 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), emphasis original). The heart is made stupid (שׁפִּיט), the same root word often assigned by the Targumim to the uncircumcised heart and uncircumcised ear (e.g., Lev 26:41 [Tg. Onq.]; Deut 10:16 [Targumim Onq./Neof./Ps.-J.]; 30:6

quotation at Acts 28:27. Given the many similarities between these two texts as brought out in our chapter on Luke-Acts,¹² this seems like a plausible explanation. Heart-circumcision receives the first position intentionally coinciding with the parallel indictments at Acts 7 and 28.

For the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the word order is critical. Since ear-circumcision leads to belief and since heart-circumcision opens the deeper, Spirit-filled meaning of the Scripture, ear-circumcision must precede heart-circumcision. The *Epistle of Barnabas* maintains the order not only in the phrase circumcised hearing and hearts (*Barn.* 10.12) but also in its exposition of these two metaphors—first hearing and then hearts. The word order of the metaphor is intentional and apparent.¹³

It might be concluded, then, that as the ear-circumcision and heart metaphor came to be coupled together, circumcision of the ear took on a greater role than that of heart-circumcision—two of the three extant witnesses prioritize ear-circumcision. This can be observed not only in the predominance of the ear motif in the *Hodayot* psalm of our metaphor but also by the distinct role in which ear-circumcision leads to belief in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, a phenomenon running counter to its reference at Jer 6:10 and parallel to the conventional use of heart-circumcision in the MT and LXX.

7.2 The Representee of the Metaphor

In discussing who the ear-circumcision metaphor represents, we are inquiring as to whether the phrase is directed toward covenant insiders or outsiders. Our purpose here is not to define *covenant* but simply to judge from the perspective of the one using the ear- and heart-circumcision metaphors whether or not he perceives the recipient of the metaphors to be in relationship with God. As with the previous discussion of what the metaphors meant, so here we begin with the OT versions.

The heart of stone metaphor of Ezekiel stands in stark contrast to the heart of flesh which the LORD will give His people. Only after they receive the heart of flesh will they “be

[Targumim *Onq./Ps.-J.*]; Jer 6:10 [*Ig. Neb.*]). So the sequence of a stupid heart and ear in Isa 6:9 and a stupid ear in Jer 6:10 is borne out similarly in the sequence uncircumcised in hearts and ears at Acts 7:51.

¹² See §5.4.2 Meaning of the Metaphor beyond the Stephen Episode.

¹³ The word order, however, plays an insignificant, if not non-existent, role to those who follow manuscript **N** and view circumcision of the hearing and hearts as the same. Cf. e.g., Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, 351.

My people, and I shall be their God” (Ezek 11:20).¹⁴ This “faithful heart,” as *Targum Jonathan* interprets it, is indicative of those who do the LORD’s will and obey Him; these are in covenant with Him. In contrast, then, the heart of stone identifies the one outside the covenant with the LORD who has an “evil heart.” Yet this is not the case with the *Hodayot*’s heart of stone. There the author admits that his stony heart perceives God’s wonders. It is in no need of being replaced by a fleshy heart to do God’s will. The psalmist’s advantage is that he has a heart of stone upon which God inscribes the oracles of the future.¹⁵ The author’s metaphor disregards the MT, LXX, and Targumim’s use of Ezekiel’s heart of stone and applies it to himself, a covenant insider in fellowship with God: “And I, the Instructor, I know you, my God, by the spirit you have placed in me. Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret counsel” (1QH^a 20.14-15).¹⁶ In so doing, the *Thanksgiving Scroll* exhibits the elasticity and flexibility of the heart of stone metaphor—it is not a description reserved exclusively for a covenant outsider. Furthermore, the metaphor is not entirely deficient, being in need of replacement, but is developed in a positive direction, having the mysteries of the future engraved upon it.

Similarly the *Thanksgiving Hymns* connect the uncircumcised ear with the psalmist. This covenant insider boasts that God reveals mysteries and profundities to the uncircumcised ear. In quite the opposite sense than *Targum of the Prophet*, this uncircumcised ear is not becoming more stupid but more enlightened. It does not struggle to do the will of God as the MT and LXX describe (Jer 6:10), but rather it struggles to understand the mysteries of the future judgment until God opens such mysteries to it. The *Thanksgiving Scroll* is the earliest known witness of this interpretive tradition, to apply these metaphors to the psalmist, when conventionally they described covenant outsiders.

From Stephen’s perspective, the metaphor represents covenant outsiders in Luke-Acts. Stephen appeals for his audience to listen to his case and learn from the failures of their ancient Israelite ancestors. When they do not listen nor respond in a desirable way,

¹⁴ The *למען* of v.20 introduces a purpose clause, so that the heart of stone is replaced by the heart of flesh in order to enter into a new covenant with God, according to D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel*, vol. 1, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 352 n.41.

¹⁵ There is a sense in which a stone-like heart is a disadvantage: “The sin of Judah is written down with an iron stylus; with a diamond point it is engraved upon the tablet of their heart (חרושה על לוח לבם), and on the horns of their altars” (Jer 17:1). Though the heart of stone is not directly mentioned here, stone imagery is nonetheless present being seen in the writing utensil deployed most often on stone (Thompson, *Jeremiah*, 417). To Judah’s disadvantage, the heart’s tablet preserves the record of sins committed against God. Only after a new covenant is made will God write His own law on their hearts (Jer 31:33).

¹⁶ Cf. other covenant language at 1QH^a 8.25, 33; 10.23-24, 30; 12.6, 40; 15.13, 20-23; 18.32; 22.14-15.

Stephen charges them with resisting the Holy Spirit. It is clear that those uncircumcised in hearts and ears are not only outside the covenant with God but stand in stubborn opposition to Him. This aligns with the uncircumcised ears in Jer 6:10, as we saw in Chapter 2, and the heart-circumcision metaphors in the MT and LXX. For instance, only after the uncircumcised heart becomes humbled will the LORD remember His covenant (Lev 26:42) and when those uncircumcised of heart entered the sanctuary, it rendered the LORD's covenant void (Ezek 44:7). So the uncircumcised in hearts and ears retains this element of the MT and LXX metaphors so that the metaphor represents those covenant outsiders.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* does not speak of uncircumcised but of circumcised hearing and hearts: The Lord “circumcised our hearing and our hearts” (*Barn.* 10.12). While *they* circumcised the flesh and violated the law (*Barn.* 9.4), *we* have “receive[d] the covenant through the Lord Jesus” (*Barn.* 14.5). The covenant insider is the one who has had his hearing and hearts circumcised by the Lord.¹⁷ Therefore, in the *Epistle of Barnabas* the one uncircumcised in hearing and hearts is the covenant outsider—the polemical yet unidentified *they* in the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The metaphors in the *Epistle of Barnabas* square with that of Luke-Acts in bearing along its association with covenant outsiders as it did in the ancient versions.

By analyzing who the ear-circumcision metaphor represents, we notice two peculiarities in the *Hodayot's* use of the metaphor which stand out among the ancient witnesses: (1) the metaphor in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* represents the covenant insider and (2) the metaphor couplet (i.e. ear and heart metaphors) is used in the singular (cf. Deut 10:16; Ezek 44:9) rather than corporate sense. These qualities reflect a deviation from their conventional use—a new course of action dictated by its unique context and special rhetoric.

7.3 The Agent of Circumcision

From the OT we can identify at least two agents of bodily metaphorical circumcision—human and divine. That human beings are the agents of their own heart's circumcision is

¹⁷ Cf. Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 139-141, though he only comments on those whose hearts have been circumcised.

witnessed at Deut 10:16 and Jer 4:4.¹⁸ In both instances, the Israelites are commanded to circumcise their hearts.¹⁹ As we have already seen, circumcision of the heart at Deut 10:16 can be the excision of the heart's foreskin (MT), hardness (LXX), obduracy (Targumim *Onq./Ps.-J.*), and foreskin of stupidity (*Tg. Neof.*). Regardless of what specifically must be excised from the heart, humankind is the agent. But God is the agent of this circumcision in Deut 30:6.²⁰ The promise that God will circumcise the heart is not only given to the current generation, but also to their descendants. It is an unconditional promise which shifts the theological focus from humanity's participation in heart-circumcision to an act reserved only for God.²¹ Similarly, God is the agent of the removal of the heart of stone in Ezek 11:19; 36:26. It becomes clear from these texts that Israel is not able on its own to cast off its rebelliousness and submit obediently to God's declarations. Rather, "a creative intervention on the part of God is required"²² to enable Israel to do that which it could not²³—God will replace its heart of stone with a heart of flesh.

It is this divine agent's role in bodily metaphorical circumcision that is picked up by the psalmist in the *Thanksgiving Scroll*. Mysteries are revealed to the uncircumcised ear without it being metaphorically circumcised to understand such revelations. However, the similar metaphors ear of dust (1QH^a 23.5) and ear of flesh (1QH^a 25.13) are directly opened to understand the oracles. In these cases, it is the "God of knowledge" (1QH^a 22.31) and the One who will judge the host of heaven on the final day (1QH^a 25.13) who is the responsible agent for the metaphorical reversal. Similarly, the heart of stone is not replaced but remains, having revelations inscribed upon it. So though ear-circumcision and figurative heart transplants are not envisaged in the *Hodayot*, the agent of any such metaphorical reversal rests with God.

¹⁸ Although the passive-voice textual witnesses of MT and LXX Jer 4:4 might call into question humanity's role as agent, *Targum Jonathan* makes this clear: "Return (תשוב) to the worship of the Lord, and remove (רדף) the *nickedness* of your heart," (emphasis original) in Hayward, *Jeremiah*, 58.

¹⁹ Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, 437.

²⁰ Wells, *Grace*, 28-40, builds a case for the divine-agent reading of Deut 30:6 where the conditional saving act of God is conditional with respect to time and instrument, but not initiative or source of such salvation.

²¹ Lemke, "Circumcision," 304.

²² W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, trans. C. Quin, OTL (London: SCM, 1970), 500.

²³ This point is made in Sir 17.16: "Every man from his youth tended towards evil; they could not make themselves hearts of flesh in place of their hearts of stone (καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ἀντὶ λίθινων ποιῆσαι σαρκίνας)." The text is taken from J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, SVTG 12/2 (Göttingen: V&R, 1965) and the translation is taken from J. G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge: CUP, 1974).

The agent of Luke-Acts's metaphor is not clear-cut but it is likely, and specifically, the Holy Spirit: "You men who are stiff-necked and uncircumcised in hearts and ears are always resisting the Holy Spirit; you are doing just as your fathers did" (Acts 7:51). If uncircumcised in hearts and ears signals the rejection of spiritual deliverance as we have claimed, then their rejection of spiritual deliverance is manifested in their resistance to the Holy Spirit (cf. *Odes Sol.* 11.1-4; Rom 2:28-29; *Gos. Thom.* 53).²⁴ This is borne out in their rejection of Stephen who is described as being full of the Holy Spirit (Acts 6:3, 5, 10; 7:55).²⁵ When the Jews did not believe and remained un-persuaded concerning Jesus, Paul pronounced the judgment of LXX Isa 6:9-10 upon them by invoking reference to the Holy Spirit: "The Holy Spirit rightly spoke through Isaiah the prophet to your fathers" (Acts 28:25). So the closest parallel to the metaphor in Luke-Acts draws out the role of the Holy Spirit in judging Israel for rejecting spiritual deliverance. It seems, therefore, that the agent who pronounces dull-hearts and scarce-hearing ears upon Israel would also be the one to revoke that pronouncement. Similarly, when those metaphorically uncircumcised cease their resistance to the Holy Spirit, it stands to reason that their uncircumcision is reversed by the agent whom they have resisted.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* states plainly on several occasions that the Lord (κύριος) circumcised the hearing and hearts (*Barn.* 9.1, 3; 10.12). The *Epistle of Barnabas* associates the Lord with Jesus and the Son of God saying in translation, "And so he nullified these things that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ (τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), which is without the yoke of compulsion, should provide an offering not made by humans" (*Barn.* 2.6), and,

εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἔπαθεν, ἵνα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποίησιν ἡμᾶς, πιστεύσωμεν ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν εἰ μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς. And so, if the Son of God suffered, that by being beaten he might give us life (even though he is the Lord and is about to judge the living and the dead), we should believe that the Son of God could not suffer unless it was for our sakes (*Barn.* 7.2).

In fact, κύριος is Barnabas's most frequent designation for Jesus.²⁶ However, κύριος can also be used to refer to God the Father (*Barn.* 2-3; 6.12). Throughout the *Epistle of Barnabas*, Jesus and God the Father are shown as acting concurrently so that "Jesus' acts were God's

²⁴ Cf. here Keener, *Acts*, 2:1423.

²⁵ Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 246.

²⁶ Kraft, *Didache*, 36.

acts.²⁷ Consequently, we can view the agent of ear- and heart-circumcision as divine, specifically the Lord, though whether Barnabas had in mind Jesus or God the Father is uncertain.²⁸

Though the OT testifies to the possibility of human agency in bringing about the heart- and ear-circumcisions and metaphorical heart transplants desired by God, it is that strand of interpretation which sees divine agency as responsible for this metaphorical circumcision that the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* perpetuate. Still, these sources provide their own niche in preserving this interpretative tradition. For the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, God is the one who opens ears/hearts of dust and ears of flesh, and engraves upon the heart of stone. So God is the candidate of any metaphorical alterations. A more narrow sense of divine agency is recorded in Luke-Acts who places this role specifically on the Holy Spirit, while the *Epistle of Barnabas* claims it is *κύριος*, which might be further suggestive of Jesus. Thus, all three are in agreement regarding divine agency as solely responsible for bodily metaphorical circumcision though they differ in particulars—whether God, the Holy Spirit, or (perhaps) Jesus (cf. Col 2:11; *Dial.* 41.4).

7.4 The Function of the Metaphor in the Literary Structure

Our analyses of the ear-circumcision metaphor have also demonstrated its various levels of functionality within the literary structures of the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. When the ear-circumcision metaphor is joined together with a heart metaphor for the first time, the *Hodayot* do not consign the phrase any critical role in the structure of the psalm. Arguably, the themes of the subdivision in which the ear-circumcision metaphor is located (D^a) are repeated throughout the psalm, but it does not serve to facilitate major shifts in the psalm as does for example A^a, A^b, and A^c. Beyond this, it has also not yet been determined what the role of the psalm is within the collection of the Community Hymns.²⁹ It would seem, then, that in its genesis the conjoined ear and heart metaphors carried little weight in literary structural significance.³⁰

²⁷ Ibid., 37. Though cf. the interpretation of Wengst, *Barnabasbrief*, 132: “Nach 9,1. 3 und 10,12 ‚hören‘ die Christen und verstehen richtig, weil Gott ihre Herzen und Ohren beschnitten hat.”

²⁸ Since this is the case, it is rather odd that instead of referencing LXX Deut 30:6 in his *Epistle of Barnabas*, a text testifying to divine agency in metaphorical circumcision, Barnabas cites LXX Deut 10:16, LXX Jer 4:4, and “‘Circumcise your hearing’, says the Lord” (*Barn.* 9.1)—all references which place the responsibility of agency on man.

²⁹ See note 41 on page 71.

³⁰ This is not to say that the metaphor’s role in the structure is non-existent (see §4.2.2 Structuring 1QHodayota 20.7-22.42) but that its significance is minimal.

Compared to the *Hodayot*, the ear-circumcision's function demonstrates greater significance when used in the structure of Luke-Acts. In the Stephen episode, the metaphor serves as the *peroratio* of the speech, distancing the speaker from his audience for the first time. Stephen's indictment of his audience via the reference to those uncircumcised in hearts and ears precipitates his death which explains the movement of the apostles' ministry *away from* Jerusalem.³¹ In the grander narrative of the two-volume corpus, then, the ear-circumcision metaphor carries modest weight in moving the narrative into the second phase of the three-part mission as outlined in Acts 1:8, thereby demonstrating greater literary structural significance from that of the *Hodayot*.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the ear-circumcision metaphor in the structure of the work is critical. Circumcised hearing and hearts creates in the *Epistle of Barnabas* the *Knickpunkt*—climaxing and bringing closure to *Barnabas* 2-8 while changing direction for the exegeses which follow in *Barnabas* 11-16. The placement and exposition of the phrase in the *Epistle of Barnabas* explains the conundrum in *Barnabas* 2-8 why *they* have continually misunderstood the Spirit-filled meaning of the Scriptures but *we* have not. Furthermore, the placement of the metaphors in the middle of the *Epistle of Barnabas*'s structure resolves the delayed explanation of the perfect $\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ which Barnabas has desired to pass along to his recipients since the opening lines of the letter. Having made good on his promise, Barnabas proceeds to explain the pillars of Christian faith from the Scriptures through the lens of those circumcised in hearing and hearts.³²

The analyses of the literary structures permit us to trace a variant and yet greater functional role of the combined ear- and heart metaphors in the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. While a comprehensive evaluation of the function of these ear-metaphors in the structure of their OT works exceeds the economical expectations of this study, it is interesting to note that the command to circumcise the heart in Deut 10:16 is rhythmically situated in a unit of verses (Deut 10:12-22) which serves as a summary of Deuteronomy 6-10.³³ Operating in a similar, summarizing role Barnabas takes up the topic

³¹ Although Jervell, *Apostelgeschichte*, 53-54, does not end the "Apostles' Ministry in Jerusalem" here, he admits, "Stephanus wird gesteinigt, und die erste erfolgreiche Mission in Jerusalem, die zu Massenbekehrungen von Juden geführt hatte, endet mit der Verfolgung der Gemeinde zu Jerusalem durch Saulus."

³² Cunningham, *Dissertation*, xvi-xvii, also observes that a second argument in the *Epistle of Barnabas* regarding the Christian means of grace follows *Barnabas* 9-10.

³³ Within this unit, heart-circumcision is the second of four commands which are balanced by four respective reasons forming a rhythmic alternation between the two, so J. R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 388.

of ear- and heart-circumcision to conclude a large portion of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (*Barnabas* 2-8). Furthermore, the heart-circumcision metaphor of Jer 4:4 acts as the ending of an inclusio begun at Jer 2:2.³⁴ Likewise, Barnabas deploys the ear-circumcision metaphor to form an inclusio at *Barn.* 9.1 and 10.12. Due to the varying genres of the respective works, it is not possible to surmise whether or not the combination of ear-circumcision and heart metaphors grew in literary structural importance over time. It can only be said that the phrase took on varying structural importance respective to the work in which it was situated.

7.5 The Portrayal of Physical and Metaphorical Circumcision

In addition to bodily metaphorical circumcision, the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* all touch on matters of physical circumcision. Both physical and metaphorical circumcisions are portrayed at times positively (+) and other times negatively (–) among these sources. Consequently, each source testifies to a different way of depicting circumcision as summarized below.

	1QHodayot ^a	Luke-Acts	<i>Barnabas</i>
Physical	+	+	–
Metaphorical		+	+

Figure 10: Portrayals of Physical and Metaphorical Circumcision

The one reference to physical circumcision still extant in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* is found at 1QH^a 14.23: “And the uncircumcised (וערל) and unclean (טמא) and violent (פריץ) will not cross over it.” The psalmist describes those physically uncircumcised in wholly negative terms. The one physically uncircumcised is unclean and violent, sharing the same fate as the children of iniquity who will burn in the eternal flame (1QH^a 14.21).³⁵ Belial is his counselor and he does not walk in God’s ways (1QH^a 14.24). The psalmist dissociates himself from such a person (1QH^a 14.22)³⁶ and so the circumcision reference must be

³⁴ Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 328.

³⁵ Stegemann and Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 190-191.

³⁶ Those from whom the psalmist dissociates himself were once followers of him, but, having permitted a stranger (זר) into the community (1QH^a 14.22), they were led astray. The paths in which they now walk are compared to those of the “uncircumcised and unclean and violent.” See Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 104.

regarding the physical rite, considering that the psalmist himself is uncircumcised in his ears. Thus, we can conclude that the psalmist views physical circumcision positively,³⁷ since those physically uncircumcised are consigned to judgment.³⁸ This is not necessarily the case with bodily metaphorical circumcision. As we have already demonstrated, the psalmist's ears remain uncircumcised.³⁹ The same can be said of his lips: "You have given the proper reply to my uncircum[cised] lips (לְעַרְלָאִי [שִׁפְתָי])" (1QH^a 10.9). Despite the lips' uncircumcision, they receive the answer from God to reply and the ears have mysteries revealed to them despite their deficiencies. Even in spite of these deficiencies, they continue to function successfully in their employment due to God's intervention.⁴⁰ Thus the *Hodayot* portray physical circumcision positively and metaphorical circumcision neutrally, if not positively.

Luke-Acts, on the other hand, depicts both physical and metaphorical circumcision consistently—positively.⁴¹ Recalling our previous study, Luke's is the only Gospel which records the circumcision and naming of both John (Luke 1:59) and Jesus (Luke 2:21). In both cases, the obedience of the parents to fulfill the law of Moses and covenant of circumcision are stressed. Furthermore, Abraham's obedience to the covenant of circumcision is set in contrast to the jealousy of the patriarchs (Acts 7:8). Not only is Paul found circumcising Timothy (Acts 16:3), the rumors circulating in Acts 21:21 are shown by Luke to be false; Paul *is* teaching physical circumcision. Even by abrogating the requirement of circumcision for Gentiles, the Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 does not dampen this positive picture of the rite of circumcision. This portrayal is in keeping with Luke-Acts's depiction of bodily metaphorical circumcision. In the speech of Acts 7, Stephen seeks to persuade his auditors to cease their resistance to God's deliverance. As

³⁷ The Qumran texts are quite silent on physical circumcision texts. Cf. the recent confession of D. R. Schwartz, "Ends Meet," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. J.-S. Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 300-301: "In all the hundreds of manuscripts that have been found and published, there is virtually no allusion to circumcision of the flesh. Apart from several metaphorical references to the 'circumcision' of one's evil urges (1QS V 5), or heart (1QS V 26; 1QpHab XI 13; 4Q434 1 1 4; 4Q504 4 11), there is next to nothing to mention."

³⁸ Other Qumran texts give a similar view of circumcision. See note 160 on page 94.

³⁹ Although, cf. the translation by M. Kister, "Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. J.-S. Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 202: "[...] my [be]art is laid waste. For to someone who had been of uncircumcised ear, speech has been disclosed" (emphasis original).

⁴⁰ The same cannot be said of the uncircumcised lips of the deceitful ones (1QH^a 10.20).

⁴¹ "The fact that Stephen ends his speech with an accusation that his audience is stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ear... is not meant to spiritualize circumcision at the expense of the physical rite," Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 118.

long as they continue in their rejection, they retain their uncircumcised hearts and ears. Thus for Luke-Acts, metaphorical circumcision of the hearts and ears is desirable.⁴²

The *Epistle of Barnabas* takes a different approach than that of the *Hodayot* and Luke-Acts by portraying physical circumcision as wholly wicked. Whereas circumcision was commendable in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and contingent in Luke-Acts, it is a violation of the law in the *Epistle of Barnabas*: “For he has said that circumcision is not a matter of the flesh. But they violated his law, because an evil angel instructed them” (*Barn.* 9.4). From Barnabas’s perspective, because the command to circumcise was never meant to be taken literally, the physical act of circumcision violates God’s law.⁴³ The role of the evil angel in facilitating this misunderstanding has in Barnabas’s view demonized the rite⁴⁴—a practice certainly not to be commended. The opposite can be said of metaphorical circumcision, though, for hearing- and heart-circumcision are performed by the Lord (*Barn.* 9.1, 3; 10.12). Consequently, those who are circumcised metaphorically are covenant members (*Barn.* 9.9), understanding the Spirit-filled meaning of the law of Moses “as the Lord wished” (*Barn.* 10.12).

By portraying physical and metaphorical circumcision as they have, we can identify the interpretive traditions of which the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are a part. Whereas Luke-Acts’s positive portrait of both circumcisions can be seen similarly from Philo,⁴⁵ Barnabas’s negative picture of physical circumcision and positive casting of bodily metaphorical circumcision can be identified in Justin.⁴⁶ However, the *Thanksgiving Scroll* does something unique by applying metaphorical circumcision, indicative of the need of the covenant outsider, to the covenant insider.⁴⁷

7.7 Conclusions from the Comparison

The multivalent meaning of the metaphor of circumcision, whether ear-, heart-, or lip-circumcision, should come as no surprise given the findings of Livesey in her examination

⁴² It must be admitted, though, that while Luke-Acts’s portrayal of metaphorical circumcision is necessary, physical circumcision is not, being contingent upon whether or not one is ethnically Jewish.

⁴³ Still, Barnabas does not deny that Abraham physically circumcised his 318 servants. Rather, he interprets the number allegorically as a prophecy pointing to Jesus and His cross. Cf. Hvalvik, *Struggle*, 186.

⁴⁴ Carleton Paget, “Barnabas 9:4,” 251.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g., *Spec. Laws* 1.6-7 with *Spec. Laws* 1.8-10 and *Migration* 92.

⁴⁶ Cf. e.g., *Dial.* 92.1-3 with *Dial.* 41.4.

⁴⁷ Viewing literal circumcision positively while metaphorical circumcision neutrally is shared by no known ancient source of which I am aware.

of the rite of circumcision and its flexible meaning as a symbol among Second Temple and Early Christian texts. Whether circumcision signals allegiance to the Hasmonean rule (1 Maccabees)⁴⁸ or functions as a mark gaining the respect of fellow Jews (Philo's *Migration*),⁴⁹ the symbol contains within it an inherent elasticity covering a range of textual employments. The same can be seen with the ear-circumcision metaphor when the diverse cultural and theological contexts of the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are allowed to explicate this multifaceted metaphor.

⁴⁸ Livesey, *Circumcision*, 10-16.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-74.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

A fully-fledged investigation of the ear-circumcision metaphor in its own right has not been previously undertaken. To the contrary, most of the attention paid to it by scholars has only been in reference to the more popular heart-circumcision metaphor. Consequently, it has received little analyses by scholars. Thus it was incumbent upon us to give the metaphor the proper attention it is due and it was the endeavor of this thesis to satisfy that need.

The three extant sources from antiquity which testify to an ear-circumcision metaphor beyond Jer 6:10 are the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. The analyses of these sources suggest that the ear-circumcision metaphor displays great variance of meaning. The authors of the *Hodayot*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* stretched the meaning of the ear-circumcision metaphor to reveal its elasticity. Their employment of the Hebrew metaphor testifies that it carries no monovalent meaning. Our three primary sources preserve for us evidence of different interpretive traditions which molded the meaning of ear-circumcision. Though this should have been evident from the LXX and Targumim versions of the OT metaphor, nevertheless some scholars erred by imputing onto the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, Luke-Acts, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* the meaning derived from the context of Jer 6:10 rather than allowing the individual literary contexts to speak for themselves. After analyzing the three sources' respective contents, we conclude that the metaphor's meaning varies in each case according to its individual context in much the same way that Livesey surmised the meaning of the rite is "always contingent and based on its context."¹ Specifically then, the uncircumcised ear metaphor represents the covenant insider in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* which is not the case in Luke-Acts or the *Epistle of Barnabas* where the metaphor is leveled at covenant outsiders. Indeed, the author of our psalm in 1QH^a speaks of himself as having an *uncircumcised* ear whereas the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* refers to his own circumcised ear. While the metaphor in the *Thanksgiving*

¹ Ibid., 155.

Hymns express the psalmist's non-understanding and lack of knowledge of the mysteries of God, that metaphor signals the inability to discern the need for God's spiritual deliverance in Luke-Acts. Finally, we saw that the metaphor in the *Epistle of Barnabas* indicates the God-granted ability to ascertain the voice of the Lord leading to belief. As we might observe, though these explanations bear similarities, their contexts undergird their distinct differences.

Adding to the metaphor's elasticity is the literary setting out of which the metaphor emerged. The three sources spanning four centuries also traverse three continents. They are a testament to the widespread, though infrequent, use of the metaphor whether in the Roman precincts, Egyptian locales, or Palestinian environs.² Furthermore, the metaphor employed was intended for both Jewish and Christian audiences. The genre of the literature also showed no prejudice since the metaphor is situated among poetic, historic, and epistolary discourses.

The three sources which preserve the ear-circumcision metaphor date between the second century B.C.E. and second century C.E., and curiously each ear-circumcision reference also happens to coincide with a heart metaphor, whether the (un)circumcised heart or the heart of stone. While these metaphors retain their own meanings at times, the juxtaposed metaphors represent something beyond the sum of their individual parts. That was demonstrated best in our evaluation of Luke-Acts whereby the metaphor couplet signaled the rejection of God's spiritual deliverance. Still, the individual metaphors hinted at the host's lack of understanding caused by the neglect to accept spiritual deliverance.³

Illuminating to the significance of the ear-circumcision metaphor was the study of the metaphor's function in the literary structure of each work. Since the release of DJD 40, no structure of the reconstructed psalm at 1QH^a 20.7-22.42 has been put forward. Therefore, the thesis proposed new divisions and subdivisions within the psalm. But the analysis of the metaphor within the psalm revealed neither significant structural weight, nor the place of the psalm within the collection of psalms. This was not the case with the examination of the *Epistle of Barnabas* in which I proposed that the metaphors and their exegeses in the *Epistle of Barnabas* fulfill the role of the *Knickpunkt*. The *Hodayot* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* therefore are evidence that the ear-circumcision metaphor can bear

² Kövecses, *Culture*, 68-70, admits and later demonstrates the ways in which culture-specific elements of universal metaphors are brought out displaying the metaphor's variance.

³ *Ibid.*, 262: "Particular ways of putting metaphors together may yield new metaphors."

varying degrees of structural weight depending on the genre in which it is situated. Consequently, our research of this malleable metaphor leads us to echo the words of Livesey as it applies to the metaphor: “Its value lies in its currency as a term that resonates with a multiplicity of audiences in a multiplicity of senses.”⁴

Our hope is that this thesis serves as a reminder to scholars to examine the bodily circumcision metaphors in their own right. An effort to avoid sweeping statements and generalizations about this multivalent ear-circumcision metaphor should be maintained as should a desire to plumb the depths of the metaphor’s meaning from its own context rather than superimposing upon the metaphor a meaning extrapolated from elsewhere. This is the hope not only for the metaphors examined in this thesis, but for other biblical metaphors as well.

The thesis also operates as a starting point to consider how the ear-circumcision metaphor overlaps with the scarce-hearing ear metaphor of Isa 6:9-10. Indeed, it is curious that references among the church fathers to Jer 6:10 are wanting compared to the frequent use of Isa 6:9-10.⁵ It is also relevant at this point to ask in the case of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, What motivated the copyists in the transmission process to filter out references to ear-circumcision in favor of heart-circumcision? This investigation could then consider why ear-circumcision metaphors seem to get absorbed among heart-circumcision metaphors rather than maintain their independence. Other research might also chart the link between the hermeneutic of Luke-Acts and the *Epistle of Barnabas* which views the uncircumcised heart in reference to its non-understanding and that of Origen who levels such a metaphor at those holding heretical views and who utter blasphemies.⁶ As we can see, this study has been one further step in understanding the ear-circumcision metaphor within a broader discussion of biblical bodily metaphors.

⁴ Livesey, *Circumcision*, 157.

⁵ A search for Jer 6:10 references between 150 C.E. and 400 C.E. on www.biblindex.mom.fr yielded seven results whereas a search on Isa 6:9-10 for that same timeframe resulted in 247 hits.

⁶ Origen, *Hom. Gen.* 16.3:6.

APPENDIX A

IMAGE OF *THANKSGIVING SCROLL* 1QHODAYOT^A 21.6



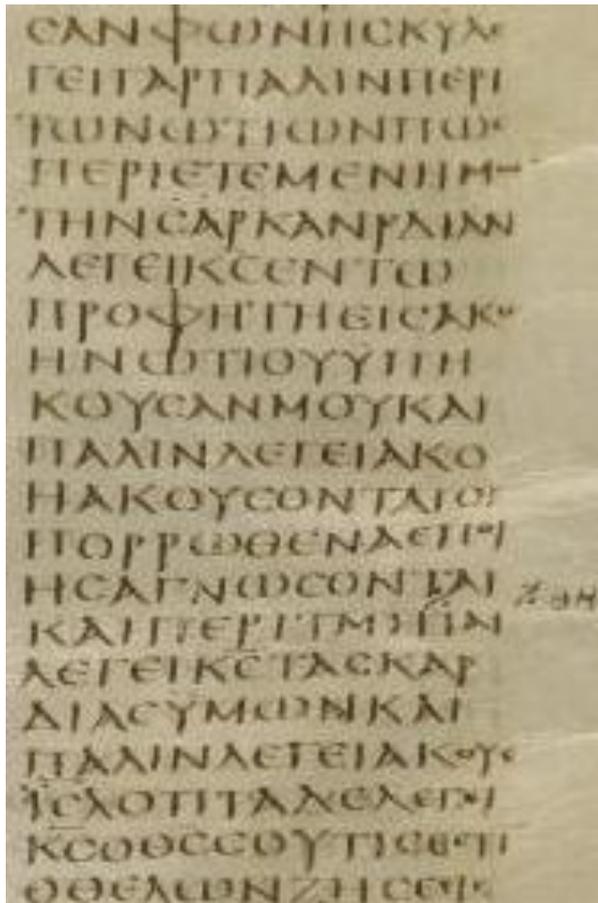
← Manuscript corruption at
1QH^a 21.6

Figure 11: *Thanksgiving Scroll* 1QHodoyot^a 21.2-19

Digital image of column XXI from 1QHodoyot^a scroll, exhibited in the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum Jerusalem, collection Hebrew University Jerusalem, Irene Lewitt, Assistant Shrine of the Book. Used with permission.

APPENDIX B

IMAGE OF CODEX SINAITICUS *BARNABAS* 9.1



← *Barn.* 9.1a: **ΚΑΡΚΑΝΡΔΙΑΝ**
corrected to **ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝ**

Figure 12: Codex Sinaiticus *Barnabas* 9.1-2b

The digital image is taken from <http://codexsinaiticus.org> by the British Library, Claire Breay, Lead Curator, Medieval and Earlier Manuscripts. Used with permission.

APPENDIX C

IMAGE OF PAPYRUS FRAGMENT 757 *BARNABAS* 9.1

Manuscript corruption at *Barn.* 9.1a →

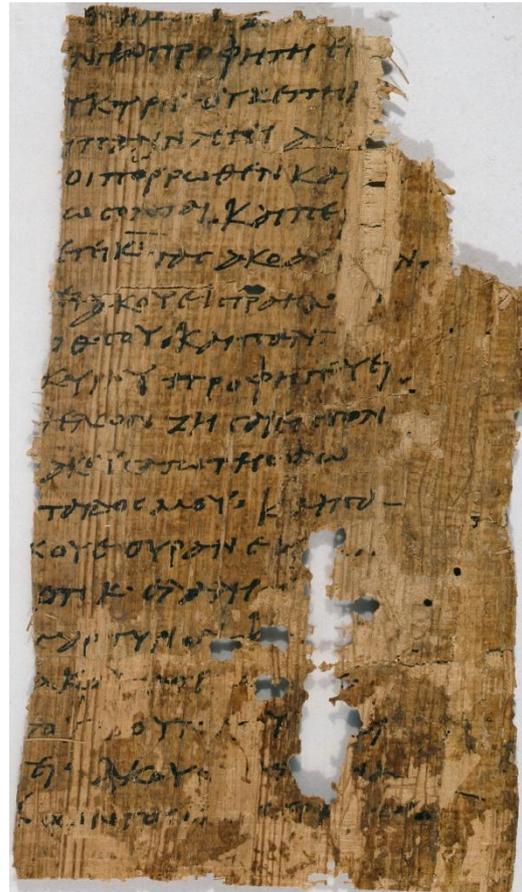


Figure 13: Papyrus Fragment 797 *Barnabas* 9.1-3c

Digital image of PSI 757 verso from GAP s.r.l. Digital Imaging and Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Leonardo Meoni, Office of Photography, Manuscripts-Papyri-Rare Prints Reproductions. Used with permission.

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