Sustainable Horizons...

Sustainable Horizons...

Word in the World

Concordia University Graduate Journal of Theological Studies

Volume 2 • Number 1 • 2009

Montréal, QC, Canada

Word in the World

Concordia University Graduate Journal of Theological Studies

Volume 2 • Number 1 • 2009

Word in the World is a peer-reviewed journal published by graduate students in the Department of Theological Studies at Concordia University, in Montréal, Québec, Canada. All statements and views expressed herein are those of the contributors alone; neither the Journal Committee nor the Publisher may be held responsible. Illustrations and copyright permission are the responsibility of the individual contributors.

NOTE FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The purpose of this Journal is to engage theology in the issues and realities of contemporary religious life in a secular, pluralistic society undergoing fundamental institutional change. In doing this, we solicit papers not only from graduate students in theology but also from faculty members who wish to participate in our endeavours. Relevant work from other disciplines will be considered. Although our primary call is for papers, we also solicit personal reflections, stories, artwork, poetry, and any other material operative within the different modes of the theological project. Former graduates of the Theological Studies program are especially encouraged to submit material for consideration. Submissions should be made to: Word in the World, Annex D, Concordia University, 1455 de Maisonneuve West, Montréal, Québec, Canada, H3Q 1M8. We require two hard copies as well as a copy of the paper on disk. Please do not send originals. If you have an idea for a paper and wish to talk to one of our editorial staff, please email us at: witw@alcor.concordia.ca. We reserve the right to determine the suitability of each paper for the Journal. Editorial modifications may be made for language, space considerations, or for thematic unity, although we are always careful to maintain the integrity of the author's work.

ISSN: 1705-8597

Printed and bound in Canada.

This journal was printed on 100% recycled post-consumer paper, EcoLogo and Process Chlorine Free certified, and manufactured using Biogas Energy.

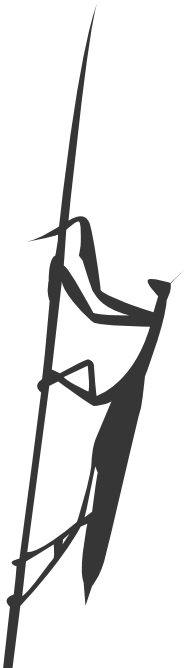
Word in the World

Concordia University Graduate Journal of Theological Studies

Volume 2 • Number 1 • 2009

ARTICLES

POETRY



Editorial

Jean G. Daou

"Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable - to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activity."

- G.H. Brundtland (Chair), Our CommonFuture, World Commission on Environment and Development, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987.

In its contemporary sense, sustainability has come to mean the capacity to indefinitely maintain a certain practice or condition. We generally use the term in an ecological context when we, for example, examine the continued ability of our ecosystem to maintain itself and its biodiversity into the future despite human interference. We hear the words 'sustainable development' being bantered around as a means of achieving the noble goal of meeting, "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Sustainability calls us to consider the consequences of our actions not just on the present but also on a future humanity. In this issue of *Word in the World*, we endeavour to challenge popular contemporary thinking, to confront the accepted range of our knowledge and experience and to expand our horizons so that they too may be sustainable.

Our first three articles are specific to the topic at hand. In her thoughtful and thought provoking reflection on human uniqueness and speciesism, **Sharon Austin** pushes the ethics of environmental sustainability past its traditional focus on species as a whole to look at the ethics of individual well being and the suffering of non-human animals, especially at the hand of human agency. In my own paper, I discuss the ethical issues that the practice of eugenics, and the potential role of genetics in continuing this practice in our time, presents. I critique traditional anthropocentrism, and consider the altered nature of human action; an evaluation of modern technology, and the precautionary principle of a heuristic of fear. **Suzanne Amro** offers an intriguing examination of the tensions that arise when the human person encounters technology of his/her own creation. She stresses the importance of re-examining the doctrine of the *imago Dei* in rela-

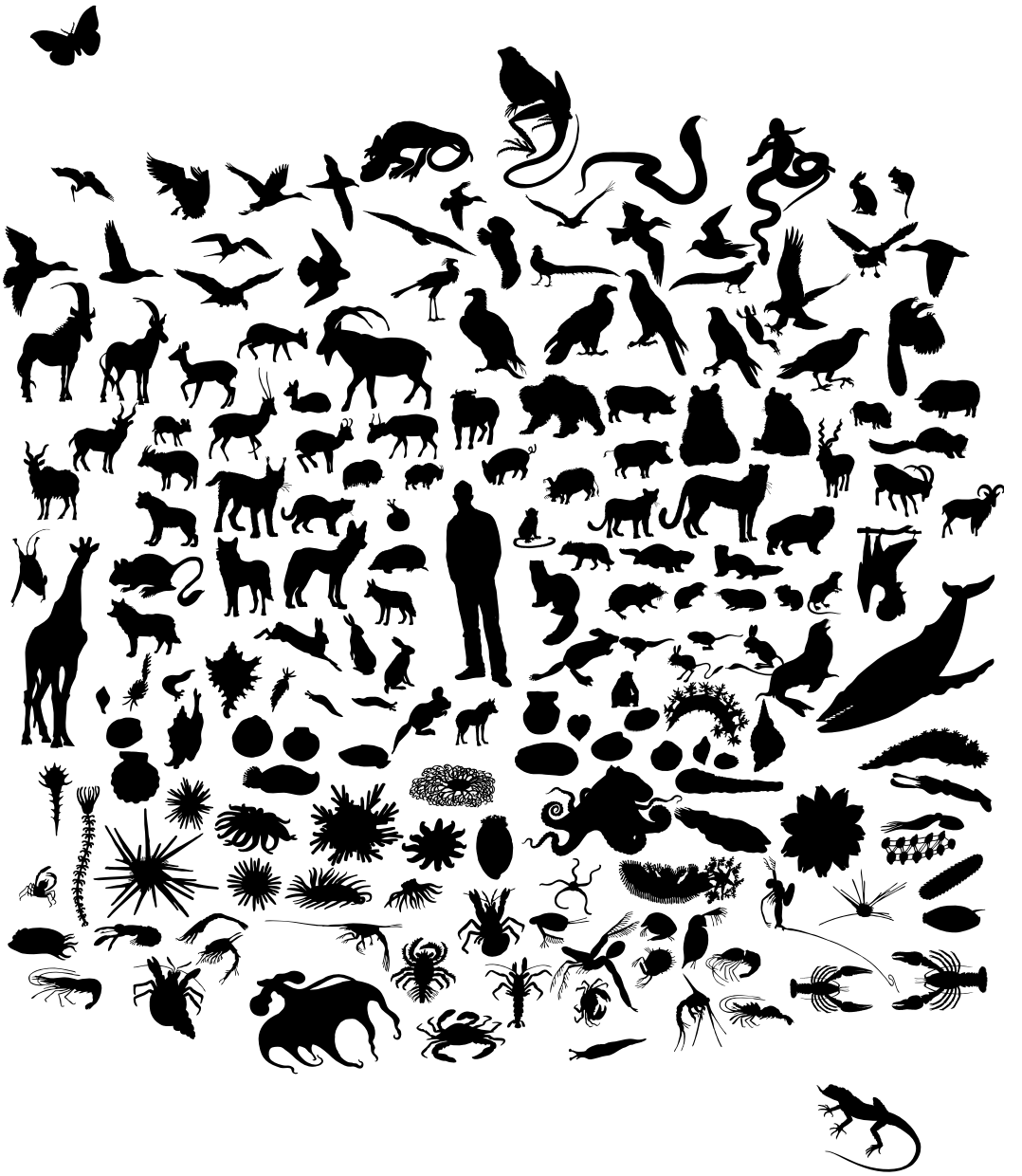
tion to the role our development of technology plays in our scientific and cultural evolution.

Our next trio of authors examine sustainability as it pertains to relationships. **Sabrina Tucci** offers us an interesting perspective on the relational aspect of the human person while arguing that, though it may not sum up what it means to be human, the relational aspect of human beings is uniquely human. **Paul Gareau** and **Mike Burns** examine the role of religious diversity in the rural Canadian context, and the sustainability of religion within small communities in face of diversity in Canada.

The final three articles speak to the ongoing, sustained study of scripture. **Lorenzo DiTomasso**, Assistant Professor of Theology at Concordia University, offers us a fascinating and informative study about working with ancient manuscripts. **Janet Lamarche** shares her research on 1QpHab – the commentary on the book of Habakkuk – the purpose of which is to identify the Wicked Priest as presented solely in the Habakkuk Pesher. **Caligero A. Micelli** discusses Codex W's alternate ending to the Gospel of Mark, and relates how it transcends cultural and historical boundaries.

On behalf of the *Word in the World* Journal Committee, I would like to extend a word of appreciation to all those groups and individuals who have made this journal possible. A special thank you to the following for their generous financial support: **Concordia Council on Student Life** (CCSL), **Concordia University Alumni Association** (CUAA), **Concordia University Graduate Students' Association** (GSA), **Department of Theological Studies**, **Theological Studies' Graduate** and **Undergraduate Students' Associations** (TSUSA & TSGSA), and the **School of Graduate Studies.**

Trail Blazing *Melanie Peralis, 2006*



Special Servants or Specious Stewards?
Human Uniqueness and the Charge of Speciesism in Christian Theology

Sharon E. Austin

At the heart of a charge of speciesism is a desire to expose an automatic, unexamined assumption that human beings matter more than any other species, simply because they are human beings. It challenges the notion that the interests of *homo sapiens* (no matter how minor) must always come first when they conflict with the interests of other species. At the root of such assumptions are deeply held convictions about the ultimate uniqueness and superiority of human beings, over and above all other creatures. This thinking has often been traced to the Judeo-Christian tradition, which appears to promote human authority and prerogative at the expense of nonhuman animals.

Christian theology, for its part, has been relatively quiet on the matter of animals, despite the growth in recent years of ecotheology and faith-based eco-justice movements. If animals are considered at all, they are often subsumed into the category of the "environment", or referred to simply as part of the earth's natural resources, which human beings have been divinely commissioned to dispose over.[1] It is only relatively recently that theology has begun to reflect on the human-animal[2] relationship and make steps towards doing theology as if animals mattered. The purpose of this paper will be to introduce and analyze the notion of speciesism and some of its attendant issues, and to consider how it might impact or challenge a theological understanding of human uniqueness. I will briefly explore aspects of moral agency and the philosophical framework, and examine notions of human power and privilege stemming from scripture. I will then consider and reflect on some of the theological responses to the speciesist charge that is often directed at the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Speciesism & Moral Prejudice

Though the term itself is awkward and may sound a little like something cooked up by PETA's[3] marketing department, "speciesism" was actually coined some thirty-odd

[1] Clare Palmer, "Animals in Christian Ethics: Developing a Relational Approach" *Ecotheology* 7.2 (2003): 163.

[2] The limitations and inherent bias of the common terminology is immediately apparent. While fully recognizing that humans are also animals (and that indeed, the thrust of the paper is to explore dualistic thinking that would draw such a sharp line between the human and the animal) I have chosen to use this terminology for simplicity and brevity.

[3] People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

years ago by British psychologist, Richard D. Ryder, while he was reflecting on moral prejudice in the bathtub.[4] The term was subsequently picked up and circulated by various philosophers, most notably Peter Singer, who introduced the moniker and the idea behind it to the world at large when he published his seminal and controversial *Animal Liberation* in 1975. At the time he described speciesism as "a prejudice or attitude of bias in favor of the interests of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species"[5] and the term is now employed with some frequency, particularly within the animal protection movement and occasionally by environmentalists (though the latter seem to prefer the related-in-principle term, "anthropocentric").

While the speciesist label is usually used and understood pejoratively, there is no shortage of self-avowed speciesists who don't deny a bias towards humans and a lack of moral concern for nonhumans, but rather embrace it and defend it in logical argument or by pointed appeals to scripture. Philosopher Carl Cohen, for example, emphasizes moral agency as a uniquely human trait and finds in the amorality of nonhuman animals sufficient grounds for excluding them from his sphere of moral concern.[6]

The issue of moral agency is central to any discussion of ethics or morality in general, and thus relevant to the present examination of speciesism. For without the understanding that human beings *are* moral agents, who can and do reflect on their choices, there can be no critiquing of human actions. It is precisely because we are not simply slaves to instinct, tradition or our own desires that we even engage in ethical reflection and debate in the first place. The perennial question at the heart of ethics – "how ought I to live?" – comes out of an awareness that we do not live and operate in isolation, that our actions can and do impact the world around us, and it is this consideration of the "other" that necessitates moral reflection on our own choices and actions. But who is the "other" that we should be mindful of? Those who we would acknowledge as worthy of moral consideration are understood to be within our sphere of moral concern, while the rest remain outside of it; and the criteria by which we admit some (but not others) into that sphere, is subject to debate, analysis and change.

Because speciesism would exclude individuals on the basis of species type or membership, it is generally understood as a form of discrimination, and is meant to resonate with other types of moral discrimination such as racism or sexism,[7] which would similarly exclude individuals from the sphere of moral concern based on a particular characteristic such as ethnicity or gender. Such discrimination generally emphasizes differences, while recognizing commonality or continuity only amongst those who are already encompassed by the circle of moral privilege.

---

[4] Richard Ryder, *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2000), 223.

[5] Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2002), 6.

[6] Tom Regan, *Animal Rights, Human Wrongs: An Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), 108-109.

[7] Singer, *Animal Liberation*, 6.

Monkeys, Men and Morality

Prior to the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859, the prevailing explanation for the great diversity of life observed in nature was the Theory of Special Creation, which maintained that species were created, by God, independently and relatively recently, and that they did not change over time.[8] Darwin sought to demonstrate that transmutation (the altering of one species into another) had in fact occurred, and postulated the theory of natural selection as the driving force behind this. Evolutionary biology has since finessed and expanded the notion of continuity and shared origins between *homo sapiens* and other species, and we have come to recognize human beings as a type of mid-sized, vertebrate mammal classified amongst the great apes. And yet, a continued sense of the innate uniqueness of humankind seems to have remained firmly in place; indeed, the radical implications of evolutionary theory appear to have had little impact on the moral realm.

Many in the animal rights movement, including Singer, have attributed this persistence of stubborn moral attitudes towards animals, to illogical appeals to revelation and to deeply embedded theological notions of human uniqueness in the Christian tradition. Unlike many Eastern religions, which articulate and concretize principles of non-violence and compassion towards all beings, the Judeo-Christian emphasis on humanity's pride of place (even at the expense of nonhumans) has often been singled out as a root cause of speciesist attitudes in Western thought and praxis. It is enough to prompt Richard Dawkins, in *The Blind Watchmaker*, to remark: "Such is the breathtaking speciesism of our Christian-inspired attitudes, the abortion of a single zygote… can arouse more moral solicitude and righteous indignation than the vivisection of any number of intelligent adult chimpanzees!" [9]

Christianity and Speciesism

At first glance, Christian thought and practice regarding the treatment and moral status of nonhuman animals seems to have been relatively consistent from the twelfth century onwards, whence we can discern a hardening of the scholastic tradition towards animals.[10] In many ways, Thomistic thought still underscores much of the contemporary Christian thinking about animals, but alternate views and attitudes punctuate the Church's history, both before and after Aquinas. Many of the early saints, for example, were known for their kindness, care and regard for animals (most famously St. Francis, though Singer critiques the friar's inconsistencies: preaching to the birds in the afternoon, and eating their close cousins for dinner).[11] While a full history of the development of Christian thought regarding nonhuman animals will not be attempted here, it is nevertheless important to identify

[8] Scott Freeman and Jon C. Herron. *Evolutionary Analysis*. 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., 2004), 35.

[9] Richard Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker*. As quoted in Richard Ryder, *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2000), 245.

[10] Andrew Linzey, "Is Christianity Irredeemably Speciesist?" In *Animals on the Agenda*, edited by Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (London, UK: SCM Press Ltd., 1998), xii.

[11] Singer, *Animal Liberation*, 198.

the key concepts that have led to the popular understanding of human uniqueness that is traceable to the Judeo-Christian tradition, and which are drawn out and challenged by the charge of speciesism.

In the Beginning: Imago Dei and Dominion

One need not look much further than the opening chapter of Genesis, to locate the likely scriptural roots of Christianity's alleged speciesist attitudes:

> Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."[12]

If the entire framework for the popular Christian understanding of the human-animal relationship can be distilled to a single scriptural verse, this is it. The Priestly account of creation in the first book of the Hebrew Bible has served as the one definitive starting point for all subsequent reflection on human beings in comparison with, and in relation to animals, and it contains the two key concepts central to that understanding: *imago Dei* and Dominion.

The doctrine of the *imago Dei* holds that human beings are unique and favored by God because they were expressly made in God's own image. Just what exactly this might imply, or how it should be understood, is less clear. Like many other traditions, the doctrine of the *imago Dei* has a rich history with a variety of interpretations, from substantive to functional, to relational and even to eschatological, with many theories put forth as to how human beings might effectively image God.[13] While the notion of *imago Dei* originates in the Hebrew Bible, it is also important to note how the concept shifts in the New Testament, where it is instead embodied very specifically in the person of Jesus, who – as both perfected humanity and the image of the invisible God – could be thought of as effectively trumping the *imago Dei* card that human beings had been clutching so proudly since that opening chapter of Genesis.[14] It is precisely this Christ-centered paradigm for imaging God that some theologians take as the starting point for understanding human power and dominion, as will be examined shortly.

The notion of human hegemony that stems from this particular creation account is one that many return to again and again, to justify and support the use of nonhumans for human purposes. The Hebrew word *kabash*, which is used in this passage, is usually translated into English as "subdue" and it is only recently that alternate exegeses of the term have even been proposed.[15] Here again, as with *imago Dei*, the question arises as to how the notion of dominion should be understood and effectuated. Is it simply an unchecked, scripturally sanctioned domination of the earth and the

[12] Genesis 1:26, New Revised Standard Edition.

[13] J. Wentzel Van Huyssteen, *Alone in the World? Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006), 133-145.

[14] Van Huyssteen, *Alone in the World?*, 124.

[15] David K. Goodin conducts a contextual and structural analysis of *kabash* in "Understanding Humankind's Role in Creation: Alternate Exegeses on the Hebrew Word 'Kabash,' and the Command to Subdue the Earth," *Studies in Science and Theology* 10 (2005). He argues that this Hebrew word can be understood as a divine directive to human beings, not to conquer the earth, but rather to enter into a spiritual relationship with it.

nonhuman? Or can it be understood as an absolute authority directly related to human fitness for the role, but which nevertheless "carries no insult to our fellow creatures,"[16] as author Matthew Scully points out? Should human dominion be exercised with a mindset of care and mercy, or one of utility and profitable exploitation?

It is important to stress again, however, that the interpretation of both these concepts varies widely. As such, I think it is the interpretations that should more appropriately absorb the charges of speciesism than the concepts or notions themselves. The challenge for systematic theology, if it would respond to speciesism at all, lies in creatively revisioning these key concepts without losing their core substance or forsaking them completely.

Theological Reponses to Speciesism

The development and articulation of moral theories has largely been the purview of philosophy, and in fact one finds that theological reflection on the moral worth of nonhuman animals is often framed largely as a response to a particular philosophical strategy for thinking about the matter. Some philosophers, like Peter Singer, approach the issue from a Preference Utilitarian perspective, while others (such as Tom Regan) stake their arguments in rights theory, which relies on the recognition of moral rights of individuals, and encompasses the notion of equality, justice and entitlement.[17] Despite the different approaches, both philosophers maintain that speciesism is a moral prejudice that is not rationally defensible. Keeping this general philosophical groundwork in mind, I would like to turn now and consider some of the voices and responses from contemporary theology with regards to speciesism and a specifically theological understanding of human uniqueness.

Humans as "Stewards of Creation" and "Caretakers of Diversity"

Charles Pinches, whom I will introduce here as representative of this particular model of understanding, feels that many theologians have been too quick to adopt negative views of speciesism, and he proposes instead a more positive interpretation that preserves the notions of uniqueness and difference encompassed by species designations. He acknowledges that nonhuman animals deserve better treatment than has hitherto been afforded them, but takes issue with rights language and concepts of justice and value. He prefers a more specifically theological language, which speaks of the "integrity of creation" and "goodness" rather than "value."[18] He cites the Genesis 1:20-24 passage, in which God creates the great variety of living beings, each according

[16] Matthew Scully, *Dominion: The Power of Man, the Suffering of Animals, and the Call to Mercy* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2002), 12.

[17] It is perhaps worth noting that Regan's rights-based approach, while only one of several, seems to be the one that has garnered the most attention. While many animal protection advocates do not actually anchor their activism in rights-based moral theory, they are nevertheless usually portrayed as "animal rights activists" in the media and popular press, and little attempt is made to distinguish between the different philosophical (or even theological) frameworks that underpin the activism.

[18] Charles Pinches, "Each According to Its Kind: A Defense of Theological Speciesism." In *Good News for Animals? Christian Approaches to Animal Well-Being*, edited by Charles Pinches and Jay B. McDaniel (New York: Orbis Books, 1993), 192.

to its kind, as evidence that God delights in such uniqueness and variety amongst his creatures. This is key, for Pinches, who sees the integrity of creation lying in that diversity, and he thus posits a form of theological speciesism that recognizes, along with God, the inherent goodness of each part of creation. He criticizes the animal rights approach, which he feels is blind to species distinctions, grouping all animals under one banner and "mixing the woes of all of them together."[19]

For Pinches, human uniqueness and the exercise of dominion can be understood in our uniquely human role as "caretakers of diversity"; as such, our sin regarding nonhuman animals is in having destroyed, not sentient life, but biodiversity. He cites Adam's naming of the animals in Genesis 2:19 as an example of this uniquely human capacity to recognize and identify the great variety of kinds that God has made, and as one of the ways we effectively image God.[20] This important naming function is corrupted, Pinches believes, once we start misnaming the animals in terms of our own needs and desires, and failing to see them as they actually are.[21]

Pinches warns against evolutionary biology's tendency to diminish interests to a single interest of species preservation, which I think is a valid point, and one of my own critiques of the modern conservation movement. It is the kind of thinking that often lies behind the "stewards of creation" model, which runs the risk of reducing human responsibility towards nonhuman animals to one of species conservation above all else. It is something of a "store manager" syndrome, wherein we feel that the extent of our duties lies in our keeping the shelves sufficiently and continuously stocked, as it were, and that we are only delinquent in our role as such if we drive a species to extinction and reduce the full product lineup. Talk then easily turns to "responsible management" and issues of "sustainability", without actually questioning the necessity or ethics of a practice in the first place, regardless of how sustainably we can manage to maintain it going forward. It is very much a mind-set that would congratulate itself for conserving a species while cashing out its members; an approach which tends to eclipse individual experience and suffering by subsuming them under the general (and abstract) interest of the species.

Ultimately, this notion of human beings as stewards of creation and caretakers of diversity only seems to meet the charge of speciesism half way, or ambiguously; it includes animals in its sphere of moral concern insofar as their larger categories are concerned, backed by a divine edict to maintain their great diversity, but excluding their individual experiences of pain or suffering at human hands, when there is a profit, pleasure or advantage to be gained from their use or abuse. How else, then, might Christian theology maintain an understanding of human uniqueness and dominion over nonhuman animals, while more fully admitting them to the sphere of moral concern? The work of Andrew Linzey, arguably the most prolific and outspoken advocate of doing the-

[19] Ibid., 194.

[20] Ibid., 200.

[21] Perhaps one contemporary example of such misnaming might be the United States Department of Agriculture's classification of rabbits raised for meat consumption as "poultry", which then allows for their exclusion from the Humane Methods of Slaughter Act (HMSA), which has never included chickens, turkeys or other birds. http://www.hfa.org/about/rabbits.pdf

ology as if animals mattered, will here serve to illustrate a different model of understanding a humanity made in God's image.

Humans as the "Servant Species"

Linzey's central argument is that human dominion over nonhuman animals must be modeled on the Christ-given paradigm of lordship manifest in service, essentially an *imitatio Dei*. He presents his argument by first defining what he calls the "Generosity Paradigm", set over and against Peter Singer's utilitarian approach. Whereas Singer speaks of an equal consideration of interests of all individuals involved in a situation of conflict, Linzey argues instead for a moral priority of the weak and defenseless (such as children and animals), so that they are given not equal, but greater consideration. For Linzey, these are special relationships that have special obligations. He argues that the sheer vulnerability and helplessness of animals, in the face of our absolute power over them, should compel a response of moral generosity that goes beyond a simple equal weighing of interests, which could potentially see the interests of the weak being traded against those of the strong.[22]

Linzey is also wary of the 'uniqueness spotting' tendency in the social sciences (which he feels may lead to a kind of idolatrous self-aggrandizement) and seeks instead a theological understanding of human uniqueness that avoids this potential trap. He finds this ultimately in the notion of humans as the "servant species", where human uniqueness lies in the capacity for service and self-sacrifice for the other.[23] As such, humans are seen as uniquely commissioned and positioned, as the species that is capable of co-operating with God in the redemption of a suffering world. This self-sacrifice and self-costly love takes as its model a supreme God who humbles himself to identify with, and suffer for, the weak and lowly creature that is man. And just as Christ's love and generous service cost him dearly, so, too, does Linzey freely admit the radical and costly implications of abandoning an exclusive preoccupation with our own species.

This controversial notion of service to nonhuman animals and the natural world (rather than just stewardship of them) is echoed by Huw Spanner, who proposes a similar servant-kingship for humanity, based on biblical models of kingship in the Hebrew Bible. Spanner notes that great kings such as David were often chosen from among the common people (and were thus like and in solidarity with them) and were in theory meant to be as servants to their subjects. He also describes the paradigmatic model of a shepherd's ungrudging and ready care for his sheep as an example of what God expects from those who have dominion.[24]

Linzey is aware of some of the objections that may be raised to his arguments, including the use of a language of generosity (rather than of equality, justice or rights), which may be construed as paternalistic or recall earlier notions of "noblesse oblige". I, too, wonder if phrasing human responsibility towards nonhumans as a form of generosity might not frame it as

[22] Andrew Linzey, *Animal Theology* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 28-61.

[23] Linzey, *Animal Theology*, 56.

[24] Huw Spanner, "Tyrants, Stewards – or Just Kings?" In *Animals on the Agenda*, edited by Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (London, UK: SCM Press Ltd., 1998), 223.

optional, only to be employed when convenient, and with little or no real accountability. Nevertheless, I think that Linzey's model of service rather than mastery holds greater potential for both theoretical and practical fruitfulness than the "stewards of creation" model, and can help theology guard against hubristic thinking. But the question does arise as to what human service to nonhumans might look like, in practical terms; what kinds of sacrifices might be entailed? What current practices might we expect to have to relinquish in the process? Would such service entail waiting hand and foot on our companion animals, always putting animal needs before human ones? Or might it mean, in many cases, simply the extension of mercy where we might otherwise withhold it, for our own gain?

Power and Mercy

Philosopher Clare Palmer is particularly troubled by Linzey's description of human-animal power relationships, which she feels are too "top-down", depicted as if animals were passive victims of human domination, unable to act themselves. She sees this model of power as offering only two options: the use of power as a weapon of oppression, or the complete denial of it. Palmer prefers to consider other models of power that are more nuanced and contextual, which recognize and are sensitive to the different natures of different animals. She offers up her own sketch of a "Christian relational ethic of care for animals", largely influenced by feminist writers, which identifies moral emotions, is attentive to the context of a particular relationship, emphasizes a concern for the well-being of the other, and does not require any self-emptying or servitude.[25] But while this contextual, relational approach appears to hold great potential for recognizing connectedness and the many different ways that humans and animal lives actually intersect on a daily basis, Palmer considers only direct-contact relationships (such as the human-pet interaction) and sidesteps the more troublesome area of "indirect" relationships that humans have with animals (e.g. with those we eat or whose skins we wear). This is problematic, because it is those very same indirect, largely invisible relationships that cause the greatest suffering to the animals involved, and therefore the ones most in need of a practical ethic of care.

Palmer's uneasiness with the power dynamic may exemplify a common concern with Linzey's suffering servant model of dominion, in that removed from its theological framework, it might appear unconvincing and downright unappealing, especially to those who have already experienced forced or expected subservience to others. But taken in its context, Linzey's model of human service seems not so much an absence or negation of power, but rather one which is immensely powerful in its self-giving, in its outpouring of care and compassion that positively participates in the creative and redemptive process. Palmer's main oversight is the failure to recognize that the kinds of situations that the majority of nonhuman animals are subject to are precisely top-down power relationships in which they are defenseless against a much stronger human power. Struggle as they might in their cages, leg traps or lab restraints, there is clearly no contest or much chance of resis-

[25] Palmer, "Animals in Christian Ethics," 169-178.

tance. And it is really only in this type of power dynamic that mercy truly has a chance to surface. For in the moment of a raised club or poised knife blade (especially in the absence of onlookers), nothing – not laws, nor the threat of species extinction, nor any notion of animal rights – is likely to stay the hand, other than sheer mercy on the part of the would-be oppressor. As with Pinches, Palmer's focus on species or relational specificity still falls short of addressing the more exploitive human-animal relationships, and overlooks potential human-animal solidarity in more common traits such as the capacity for physical pain and suffering.

Conclusion

For the most part, our attitudes towards animals are inherited. They are shaped in particular cultural contexts and influenced by subjective experiences, and they often go unchallenged for much of our lives. So, too, do we absorb notions of human uniqueness and entitlement without necessarily examining or questioning their origin or validity. The charge of speciesism attempts to draw these assumptions out into the open and call attention to the moral neglect of nonhuman animals in human industry and action.

The radical shift in thinking that would be required to move away from prevailing attitudes towards animals is not to be underestimated. We have a remarkable capacity for rationalizing actions and behaviour, and we tend to find pretexts for all our preferences. In addition, there is no question that we do benefit – not least economically – from current practices of widespread animal use. The question remains, however, as to whether or not they are ill-gotten gains. Indeed, the affliction of cruelty on nonhuman animals for human benefit, especially where alternatives exist, must be challenged, even – and perhaps especially – by Christian theology. And I would suggest that such a massive reorientation of perspective of the human-animal relationship calls for nothing less than what Bernard Lonergan would identify as moral conversion: a shift in horizon in which the main criteria by which we judge our possible courses of action, goes from one of self-satisfaction to one of value and the good of the other;[26] and where a member of a species other than our own is actually recognized as a significant "other".

While there are certainly grounds for a pessimistic outlook, encouragement can be found in the moral progress that we have already witnessed in the last few centuries, that have seen the boundaries of the sphere of moral concern expand to encompass more and more of the formerly excluded. And I believe that Christian theology, which is well acquainted with notions of mercy, sacrifice and reconciliation of relationship, stands to contribute positively to a revisioning of human uniqueness that includes, rather than avoids, a moral consideration of other species.

Sharon Austin *is an M.A. candidate in the Department of Theological Studies at Concordia University. She holds a B.Sc. in Biology from McGill University, and prefers to strike at the root (while occasionally hacking at the branches).*

[26] Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 235-240.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Freeman, Scott, and Jon C. Herron. *Evolutionary Analysis*. 3rd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc., 2004.

Linzey, Andrew. "Is Christianity Irredeemably Speciesist?" In *Animals on the Agenda*, edited by Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto. London, UK: SCM Press Ltd., 1998. xi-xx.

-----. *Animal Theology*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Lonergan, Bernard. *Method in Theology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
Palmer, Clare. "Animals in Christian Ethics: Developing a Relational Approach" Ecotheology 7.2 (2003): 163-185.

Pinches, Charles. "Each According to Its Kind: A Defense of Theological Speciesism." In *Good News for Animals? Christian Approaches to Animal Well-Being*, edited by Charles Pinches and Jay B. McDaniel. New York: Orbis Books, 1993. 187-205.

Regan, Tom. *Animal Rights, Human Wrongs: An Introduction to Moral Philosophy*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.

Ryder, Richard D. *Animal Revolution: Changing Attitudes Towards Speciesism*. Oxford, UK: Berg, 2000.

Scully, Mathew. *Dominion: The Power of Man, the Suffering of Animals and the Call to Mercy*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2002.

Singer, Peter. *Animal Liberation*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2002.

Spanner, Huw. "Tyrants, Stewards – or Just Kings?" In *Animals on the Agenda*, edited by Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto. London, UK: SCM Press Ltd., 1998. 216-224.

Van Huyssteen, J. Wentzel. *Alone in the World? Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006.

The Lamb *Anonymous*

DNA Hero *Vaughn Thomassin*

Responsibility: Eugenics, Genetics and an Ethics of the Future

Jean G. Daou

And there will be considerable scope for this "right use" in marriage and procreation. … We must, if we are to be consistent, and if we are to have a real pedigree herd, mate the best of our men with the best of our women as often as possible, and the inferior men with the inferior women as seldom as possible, and bring up only the offspring of the best. And no one but the Rulers must know what is happening, if we are to avoid dissension in our Guardian herd. … And we shall devise an ingenious system of drawing lots so that our inferior Guardians can, at each mating festival, blame the lot and not the Rulers. … And among the other honours and rewards our young men can win for distinguished service in war and in other activities, will be more frequent opportunities to sleep with women; this will give us a pretext for ensuring that most of our children are born of that kind of parent.[1]

Societies have long attempted to use their knowledge of heredity, however flawed, to affect future generations. The excerpt above from *The Republic* clearly indicates Plato's intention of using dubious means in order to achieve his end: the creation of a 'real pedigree herd' of Guardsmen. This is merely one indication of humanity's historical propensity to make improvements to the species (eugenics), one which continues to express itself through genetic engineering. With advances in genetics, we may soon be able to select the sex, hair, eye or skin colour, sexual orientation, level of intelligence, musical or writing ability, sports, dance, or artistic aptitude of our children. The same technology will also allow us to eliminate undesirable characteristics, most notably disease and infirmity. If available, this technology may prove to be irresistible to parents, and understandably so: it is only natural for parents to want what's best for their children.

The following is a discussion of the practice of eugenics in our time, and the ethical issues it presents. I will begin by offering a short history of how the practice of eugenics developed and expressed itself over time, and the types of eugenics practiced in much of the western world, including Canada, well into the twentieth century. I will then look at the potential role of genetics in continuing this practice. Finally, I will be looking at Hans Jonas' *Imperative of Responsibility: In Search of an Ethics for the Technological Age* and some of the more salient aspects of his philosophy, including a critique of traditional anthropocentrism, the altered nature of human action, a critique of modern technology, and the precautionary principle of his heuristic of fear.

[1] Plato, "*The Republic*." 2nd ed, trans. Desmond Lee. (London: Penguin, 1974), 459d-460b.

A brief history… Genetics

For millennia, societies have sought to understand the apparent evidence of biological inheritance. They became aware of the recurring patterns of reproduction in their world, in which every form of life apparently had the ability to regenerate itself. They also noticed the resemblance of offspring, plant, animal or human, to their parents and other members of their family. In short, they discovered that like produces like – each according to its own kind. This notion has profoundly impacted the way human societies organized themselves.

Long before the discovery of genes, societies attempted to encourage traits or attributes deemed desirable. Beauty, strength, and intelligence became the products of good breeding. The ugly, weak or feeble-minded were of diminished value and often cast aside or eliminated. Notions of heredity also contributed to the formation of human societies; accordingly, the Athenians and Spartans of Plato's time, developed systems – social structures - that privileged some members, while disadvantaging others. Communities as diverse as the ancient Hebrews, Greeks and Indians believed that power and prestige flowed directly from one's ancestors. One's lot in life, be it miserable servitude or privileged rule, was dependant on the worthiness of one's forebears. An individual's inherited position within the group was often seen as divinely ordained. Societies developed belief systems in which cultural and religious symbols incorporated notions of the mysterious forces behind heredity, thereby validating these values and profoundly affecting the lives of their members.

Notions of heredity have constituted a powerful tool for social regulation. In the nineteenth century, modern science would shed new light on some very old ideas. In 1865, Gregor Mendel published a book that went largely unnoticed for decades, yet would later revolutionize modern science. In *Versuche über Pflanzen-Hybride* (Treatises on Plant Hybrids), Mendel reported his observations on the inheritance of various characteristics in cross-bred pea plants as expressed in subsequent generations. His famous principles of hereditary transmission, known as Mendel's Laws, would transform the way plants were cultivated, as well as the domestication and breeding of animals in the twentieth century. Biochemists and molecular biologists have since uncovered the molecular basis of Mendel's Laws as the expression of genes in cells and gene transmission in the germ-line: the inherited material that comes from the eggs or sperm and is passed on to offspring. Building on Mendel's work, it is now possible to systematically manipulate the genetic resources of living organisms. To the knowledge of heredity as developed throughout pre-modern human history, we can now add knowledge of genetics. What hitherto has been fodder for fantasy and science fiction writers is now within our grasp. Science has given us the tools needed to develop the ability to manipulate the genetic make-up of human beings and artificially create the society that Plato could only dream of.

Eugenics

Etymologically, the word 'eugenics' is derived from the Greek word *eu* (good or well) and the suffix -gēnes (born). The term was coined in 1883 by Sir Francis Galton, who defined it as "the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a

race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage."[2] Galton wrote and campaigned extensively, advocating for the enhancement of the human stock. His ideas would eventually lead to the creation of groups and academic societies advocating eugenics, and government programs using forced sterilization as a means of weeding out undesirable characteristics.

During the first half of the twentieth century, informed by a belief that hereditary transmission of mental defects was scientifically substantiated and posed a threat to society, several jurisdictions in North America adopted legislation allowing for the involuntary sterilization of persons diagnosed as mentally deficient. The founding director of Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH)[3], Dr. Clarence M. Hincks, was an influential supporter of the Alberta Sexual Sterilization Act of 1928. The CNCMH was commissioned by the Canadian Department of Health to study 'feeblemindedness'. In an article for *MacLean's* Magazine (February 15, 1946. pp. 19-42), Dr. Hincks asserted that there was an 'abundance of evidence' that allowing the mentally-unfit to propagate freely would lead to racial deterioration. He stated, "It is my conviction that highly selective eugenical sterilization should be part of our expanding health programs in the Dominion."

And, so it was. In Canada, between 1928 and 1972, citizens who were deemed to be "in danger of transmitting mental deficiency to their children, or incapable of intelligent parenthood" were sterilized by order of the Alberta Eugenics Board. Sixty-four persons received the same treatment in British Columbia. By 1960, more than 60,000 persons said to be either mentally retarded or mentally ill were sterilized for eugenic purposes in thirty U.S. states.[4] Britain, Germany and other European nations adopted similar policies. This is one chapter in a chronicle of human fallibility, of societies which would resort to extreme measures in support of extreme theories, with the conviction that they were justified. In the twenty-first century, the next chapter is being written as we realize the potential of new genetic technologies.

Pre-natal screening is routinely offered today, allowing parents to decide whether to terminate a pregnancy when a genetic abnormality is discovered. Pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD), a process whereby an egg is fertilized using in-vitro fertilization (IVF), then tested in order to weed out genetically defective human pre-embryos – fertilized ovum up to 14 days old before implantation in the uterus – is being made available to prospective parents who are concerned about passing a serious genetically-based disease or disorder to their child. Ostensibly, the goal of PGD is humanitarian: allowing certain at-risk couples to conceive children without the trauma of having to decide whether to abort, or to have a child with a chronic hereditary ailment. With wide-spread use, this procedure has the potential to eliminate a variety of diseases that afflict our species. At the moment, however, access is restricted to a small segment of the

[2] Francis Galton, "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims." *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. X, no. 1 (July, 1904)

[3] The CNCMH is now known as the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA).

[4] Deborah C. Park and John P. Radford. "From the Case Files: Reconstructing a History of Involuntary Sterilization." *Disability & Society* 13, no. 3 (June, 1998), 317-319.

population: couples who know they are carriers of an inherited disease whose genetic basis has been identified. A major biomedical advance, PGD is controversial in some circles; nevertheless, because of its still limited scope, it is one of the more benign procedures to emerge from the field of genetics.

Perhaps less benign is the current research that is being conducted in human behavioural genetics. We have already seen media reports about the 'gay' gene, the 'alcoholic' gene, and the 'overeating' gene. It is undeniable that DNA affects the construction and operation of the human brain. However, it is uncertain whether and how the manipulation of specific DNA sequences might control and determine human behaviour. The implications for human freedom here are ethically challenging.
Somatic cell therapy, the genetic manipulation of cells that do not affect the germ-line, is ethically less problematic, given that it is more closely aligned with the medical imperative to heal. In the worse case scenario, any difficulties that arise would result in the death of the patient without genetically affecting future generations. Somatic cell therapy has the potential to alleviate suffering in individuals afflicted with conditions that range from Alzheimer's, AIDS and diabetes, to cancer, Parkinson's and Huntington's disease. However, if gene therapy is ever aimed at the human germ line, the genetic information that is transmitted from one generation to the next, the risks to humanity become unacceptably high.

Perhaps more ethically challenging is the prospect of human genetic engineering. As the possibilities expand, it is inevitable that we will be considering permanently 'fixing' defective genes by re-engineering the germ-cell line. This would permanently eliminate the possibility of passing on genetic defects, with the added bonus of saving time and money in the long run. Although this may be an attractive notion, it is not unproblematic. Science has shown that deleterious genes may offer some hidden benefits. For example the Haemoglobin-S gene, which causes sickle-cell anaemia, has been shown to offer protection against malaria, and Tay-Sachs carriers may have profited from some protection against tuberculosis. By choosing to eliminate the genetic basis of disease and defects without fully understanding the possible ramifications of our actions, could lead to the worst of many case scenarios: signing the death warrant of humanity as we know it. Some of the questions we must now face are: How far do we go in providing for the needs of humans in the present, in light of the potential risk to future persons? What about the right of future generations to choose? Are we limiting the freedom of persons yet-to-be? While an argument can be made that somatic cell therapy may be a question of personal choice, germ line therapies cannot be characterized as such.

Genetic engineering, unlike any other science, threatens the very being of a not-yet-existent humanity. What we do matters, not just to 'us' now, but also to the 'us' of the future. As history demonstrates, humanity's drive to improve and strengthen its condition has led people to resort to extreme measures in order to achieve a perceived good. Fortunately, the consequences of our actions have been limited by certain natural restrictions, allowing for their effects to be remedied or reversed, and for the policies to be revised. With genetic engineering, we have in our reach powerful new

technologies with the potential of irrevocably altering the human condition. Humans, and their genetic make-up, are the product of a long and complex 800 million-year evolutionary process. Science may soon make it possible to shape the future course of human evolution in a matter of seconds. By contracting that process, we risk bringing it to an end. We need to seriously consider our responsibility here.

An Ethics of Responsibility

The technological advances of the twentieth century have fundamentally transformed the relationship between humankind and the natural world. Humanity is increasingly becoming the object of technology. Consideration of our ethical responsibility is demanded of us. Societies must endeavour to develop new ethical approaches which take into account the individual and societal needs of the present, while being attentive to the impact of our actions upon the future – a paradigm which allows for the complexities of differing world views as we deliberate our understanding of human nature and the human/nature relationship. What is needed is an ethics which privileges our responsibility to a yet-to-be future.

"*Now we shiver in the nakedness of a nihilism in which near-omnipotence is paired with near-emptiness, greatest capacity with knowing least for what ends to use it.*"[5] Previous classical ethics are contained by the proximity of ends in time and space. As such, the good or evil was in the immediate or foreseeable reach of the act, thus the effective scope of an act was narrow and nearsighted. We now realize more clearly that what we do may have repercussions far into the future. Nature is not inexhaustible, and in the absence of informed and responsible stewardship, even the most basic essentials of life are in danger. With modern technology, increased knowledge and power have so altered the nature of human action that the very premises shared by previous ethics are no longer sufficient. The human relationship with nature is forever changed by the command over nature that new technologies have put at our disposal. Thus a new ethic – one that considers the gap between the act and its unforeseeable reach is imperative. An examination of Hans Jonas' ethics may be especially useful in responding to the unprecedented challenges with respect to new technologies and their impact on all life and the planet that supports it.

In *Imperative of responsibility: In Search of an Ethics for the Technological Age*, Jonas focuses on the social and ethical challenges presented by technology. This work proposes a radical new ethical imperative: "In your present choices, include the future wholeness of Man among the objects of your will."[6] This imperative places human beings at the apex of the ethical good, thus "never must the existence or the essence of man as a whole be made a stake in the hazards of actions."[7] Implied here is the obligation to preserve the very conditions that make organic life possible. In other words, due to our new-found power, the whole biosphere of the planet ought to be added to our scope of responsibility. In con-

[5] Hans Jonas, *The Imperative of Responsibility: "In Search of an Ethics for the Technological Age."* (Chicago: The university of Chicago Press, 1984), 23.

[6] Jonas, 11.

[7] Jonas, 37.

trast to conventional thinking, this is by no means an anthropocentric confinement of ethics in the traditional sense, but rather a call to consider the vulnerability of nature in its entirety. Jonas does attach a particular importance to humanity given that humans are the only beings capable of responsible behaviour. However, it is important to note that he is critical of 'traditional' anthropocentrism, referring to it as the "ruthless anthropocentrism which characterizes traditional ethics, in particular the Hellenistic-Judaic-Christian ethics of the west."[8] This ethical perspective not only ignores the interests of beings other than human, but those humans who are separated from us by time – the yet-to-be generations. In his words, "The apocalyptic possibilities inherent in modern technology have taught us that anthropocentric exclusiveness could be a prejudice and that it at least calls for re-examination."[9]

Jonas boldly states that, "The fact is that the concept of responsibility nowhere plays a conspicuous role in the moral systems of the past or in the philosophical theories of ethics."[10] We might better understand this notion if we examine what he means by responsibility. "The first and most general condition of responsibility is causal power, that acting makes an impact on the world; the second, that such acting is under the agent's control; and the third, that he can foresee its consequences to some extent."[11] Given these conditions, Jonas goes on to distinguish between two significantly different types of responsibility. The first, formal responsibility is characterized as being accountable for one's deeds. It is neutral in the sense that we attribute to the agent responsibility or accountability for whatever she does. To say someone is responsible in this way is neither to praise or blame her actions, but only to assert that the agent can be praise- or blame-worthy. Substantive responsibility, Jonas' primary concern, speaks of an agent having responsibility for, and being committed to, the care or preservation of an object. Here we say that an agent has "responsibility for particular objects that commits an agent to particular deeds concerning them."[12] We might refer to substantive responsibility as object responsibility: we are responsible for the caring or preservation of some object. Responsibility in the substantive sense is a function of our newfound knowledge and power and it is this brand of responsibility for the future that Jonas speaks of "as the mark of an ethics needed today."[13]

Jonas stresses elements in technological acts or advances which, geared to fulfill immediate goals, ignore the risk of irreversibly altering the natural course of evolution. Added to this is the concern that the developments set in motion by these acts would develop a momentum of their own and in time create a cumulative effect in which "the natural is swallowed up in the sphere of the artificial."[14] The predictability of the outcome of technological acts, such as genetic engineering for ex-

[8] Jonas, 45.

[9] Jonas, 45-46.

[10] Jonas, 123.

[11] Jonas, 90.

[12] Jonas, 90.

[13] Jonas, 93.

[14] Jonas, 32.

ample, is beyond our reach. Stirred by a sense of imminent peril, Jonas suggests a heuristic of fear, which holds that when the outcome of an action is in doubt, one is obligated to exercise extreme caution. Our technological interventions in nature must be kept to a minimum, and risks should be assessed by taking on a worst-case scenario attitude. This would entail the development of a predictive science of the long-range effects of technological action – a comparative futurology which would discern trends based on today's actions and extrapolate possible long-range outcomes. This process would be a function of imagination and reason, enabling the visualization of the possible ramifications of present-day actions for the future. Jonas considers the "anticipatory conjuring up of this imagination" to be the first duty of an ethics of the future.[15]

Applying Jonas's thought, if we cannot positively predict the long-range outcome of genetically altering the human germ-line, then we must act responsibly and exercise extreme caution. The gap between our power to act and our ability to predict must be recognized. The notion of responsibility is fundamental. The imperative to protect the future even outweighs any imperative to alleviate suffering today. Yet-to-be generations are completely powerless in face of the potential power of genetic technologies to affect their lives. For this reason, we must hold ourselves accountable to the well-being of that future. Again, the existence or the essence of humanity as a whole must never be put at stake.

Another potential difficulty with genetic engineering has to do with the 'essence of man' and the question of justice. Can Plato's goal of creating 'a real pedigree herd' ever be allowed to find a means in genetic engineering? As the technology moves forward and becomes more available, I fear that it may become commercially available for non-therapeutic use. We can already purchase genetically modified, hypoallergenic cats, and fish that glow in dark. Why not designer babies? For those who could afford it, children can be made to order. Beauty, strength and intelligence can be genetically manipulated. Skin colour and hair type may be picked out of a catalogue. With advances in behavioural genetics, we can rest assured that our child will be heterosexual and sober. We can engineer doctors and soldiers, philosophers and maids. These techniques could give the power to express our genetic preferences, promoting racial hygiene. We may soon be able to remove all uncertainty in procreation. The persons with the more sought-after characteristics may find favour within society, creating different classes of person, including a genetic underclass of sorts. More importantly, by eliminating uncertainty at the beginning of life, I fear we will be less apt or able to deal with uncertainty in the form of disease and disorder during and at the end of life. We would also risk diminishing genetic diversity, effectively weeding out individual uniqueness. The possible social ramifications are many and the stakes unacceptable.

The potential for eugenics, with genetics as its instrument, cannot be overstated. The notion that the human species can be manipulated and improved by selectively weeding out undesirable traits has enjoyed varying levels of support for millennia. During the twentieth century, we saw the sterilization of the so-

[15] Jonas, 27.

called feeble-minded as a solution for many social ills in much of the Western world. The appalling character of Nazi Germany's eugenics program, which attempted to encourage certain desirable traits of the so-called superior Aryan race, while undesirables, including gypsies, homosexuals and Jews were experimented upon and systematically eliminated, should serve as an ominous reminder of the extreme inhumanity of which our species is capable. Just as disconcerting is the similarity of the stated goals of the Nazi and Western advocates of eugenics: to stem 'racial deterioration'.

Although the call to bear responsibility for the distant future may seem radical, it is not new. Jonas contends that all previous ethics no longer hold while admitting that many religious traditions have long believed that some form of stewardship of the planet is a divine calling. He allows that "religious belief has answers here which philosophy must still seek."[16] Jonas endeavours to ground his ethics on ontological and metaphysical foundations. He seeks to look "beyond the doctrine of action, that is, ethics, into the doctrine of being, that is metaphysics, in which all ethics must ultimately be grounded."[17] According to Jonas, there is an 'ought to be' inherent in Being itself.

Traditional ethics fall short in that they are restricted to human action delimited by well-defined and familiar parameters of time and space. Jonas' ideas compel us to seek out new imperatives and principles that can help us orient our choices and actions as we come to terms with new realities. Ethics is a dynamic process. Instead of doing away with traditional ethics, it would be more helpful to concede the limitations of traditional ethics in light of modern technology and to supplement them. A new ethic should be built upon the viable dimensions of previous thought while attending to radically new data, situations and imperatives. Jonas's notion of the primacy of the dignity of the human person requires that we refuse to sacrifice of future generations for the gain of the present. This does not mean we must reject wholesale all life-saving technologies that genetic engineering can deploy. It does, however, necessitate that ethical norms be extended to consider future generations, those who cannot in the present defend their future interests. This would require an acknowledgement that, like never before, humanity is the greatest threat to human flourishing.

Jonas offers an imperative, loosely modeled on Kant, which responds to the new type of human action: "Act so that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of genuine human life"; or, "In your present choices, include the future wholeness of Man among the objects of you will".[18] Hitherto, our knowledge and power was so limited that there was little need to be concerned for the future. We did not need to question whether there should be a future for living creatures. We could assume that the conditions for human life would continue to exist. We now know this is false. An ethics of long-range responsibility, coextensive with the range of our power calls for a new measure of humil-

[16] Jonas, 45.

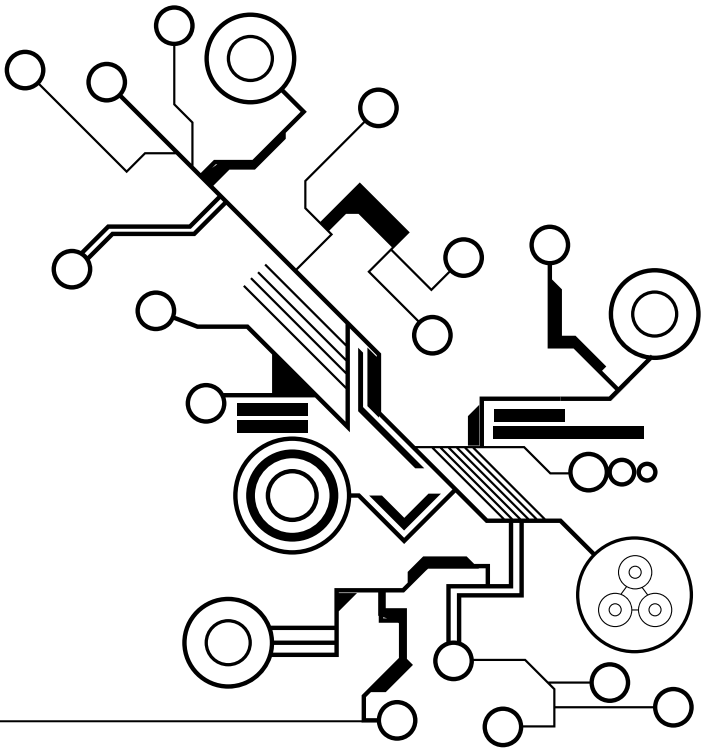
[17] Jonas, 8.

[18] Jonas, 11.

ity: one which recognises the magnitude of our power to act which far exceeds our power to foresee, to evaluate and to judge the consequences of our actions.

There is hope in the human capacity for conversion, redemption in our ability to expand our horizons. If humanity is to survive and flourish, we need to align ourselves with nature instead of trying to dominate it. In that spirit, and with the knowledge that the very conditions of human action have been transformed, we must also transform our ethics.

Jean G. Daou *is an M.A. candidate in the Department of Theological Studies, Concordia University. His research interests include personhood and ethics at the end of life.*



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Eisenhabe, Frank and Alexander Schleiffer. "Gregor Mendel: The Beginning of Biomathematics." IMP Bioinformatics Group. http://mendel.imp.ac.at/mendeljsp/biography/biography.jsp (accessed November 4, 2007).

Galton, Francis. "Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims." The *American Journal Of Sociology*, Volume X, no. 1 (July, 1904). http://galton.org/essays/1900-1911/galton-1904-am-journ-soc-eugenics-scope-aims.htm (accessed November 7, 2007).

Hackett, Shannon, Kevin Feldheim and Mark Alvey. "Genes and Genius: The Inheritance of Gregor Mendel." *DNA & Cell Biology* 25, no. 12 (December 2006): 655-658. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed November 7, 2007).

Jonas, Hans. *Ethics of Responsibility: In Search of an Ethics for the Technological Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Park, Deborah C., and John P. Radford. "From the Case Files: Reconstructing a history of involuntary sterilisation." *Disability & Society* 13, no. 3 (June 1998): 317-342. Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed November 9, 2007).

Plato. *The Republic.* 2nd ed. Translated by Desmond Lee. London: Penguin, 1974.

Suzuki, David and Joseph Levine. *The Secret of Life: Redesigning the Living World.* Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co., 1993.

Technology and Human Nature

Suzanne Amro

When I was in high school I read a short science fiction story about a village of people who were forbidden to create anything circular. Of course, soon enough, certain citizens realized how much easier all their tasks would be if only they could transport hay/food/people etc. on carriages that had wheels. In spite of the fact that they had been indoctrinated on the evils of such technology, and knew that the punishment for carrying out such undertakings would be great, they couldn't resist the temptation of discussing their ideas or trying the new invention. To this day, while I forget the title and author (and a great many details), the story haunts me. It was at once a warning about the force and velocity that technological innovations could have and a commentary on our inability to completely control the flow of ideas and consequences of technological advance. Like the wheel itself, when put in motion, there is a momentum attributed to the changes which technology brings about that is reminiscent of that famous "Looney Tunes" road runner: the one who zooms ahead with great speed only to pull himself back with a screeching halt when he is already in the middle of the street or on the edge of a cliff. The tension between moving forward and pulling back (in order to reflect on the consequences of our actions) is an ever present element in what it means to be human - especially with regards to the uniquely human capacity for technology. The human drive to create has always inspired narratives of hope that propel us forward and prophesies of doom that warn us of the potential pitfalls of our creations. Religious narratives are also deeply embedded in our culture and inform us, often without our being fully conscious of it. It is therefore important to reevaluate the very significant and prominent doctrine of the *imago Dei* in relation to the role our development of technology plays in our scientific and cultural evolution.

Throughout my paper I will be using a very broad definition of the term technology. For my purposes, I will focus on technology ranging from the very simple to the extremely complex. A basic anthropological definition refers to technology as such:

> The body of knowledge available to a society that is of use in fashioning implements, practicing manual arts and skills, and extracting or collecting materials.[1]

This definition adheres to a traditional understanding of "*homo faber*" (which refers to the human faculty of controlling the environment through tools). However, in this day and age, our definition of technology includes many more functions than those listed in the

[1] Michigan Association for Media in Education, Media Spectrum (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1990), 28.

above definition. In his book, *Pandemonium Tremendum*, James E. Huchingson contends that a computer also qualifies as a tool in what he names "the tool-driven revolutions"; a term which manages to convey both the evolutionary value of a "tool" and the "power" that technology has in the realm of societal transformation.[2] These two perceptions of technology are reflective of two very different focal points for interpretations of the *imago Dei*; that of Genesis and that of the New Testament. To put it rather simplistically: the focus of the first category is on our control over our environment, the second interpretation concentrates on our cultural reality.

What it means to be human, from a theological perspective, has often been defined in terms of the *imago Dei*. How do we interpret the biblical passage in Genesis that states that we are created in the "image and likeness" of God? How do we interpret the doctrine of the *imago Dei* in terms of Jesus' life and death in the New Testament? These questions impel us to seek answers about the nature of humanity and how our nature helps us to understand how we should act. In *The Human Factor*, Philip Hefner proposes an understanding of human beings within a "bio-cultural evolutionary model" and proposes that our scientific knowledge should be taken into account when we interpret our religious narratives.[3] This is the task I will be initiating with special attention to technology. The technological predilection of humans is a core reality in our bio-cultural makeup and it can tell us something about who we are and why we are here.

Holmes Rolston, in his book, *Genes, Genesis and God*,[4] discusses the theory that humans have what is termed a "dual-inheritance system" and it is closely related to Hefner's "bio-cultural" model. The proposal is that human beings are firmly placed within the ecosystem and are a product of nature; our central nervous systems store genetic information like all other living beings. However, within the natural process of evolution, human survival became inherently dependent on the adaptive mechanism to observe, interpret and change their environment. Therefore, human beings inherit characteristics both genetically (through DNA) and culturally (through the transmission of information to others). Both Hefner and Rolston draw on this reflection by geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky:

> Human genes have accomplished what no other genes succeeded in doing. They form the biological basis for a super organic culture, which proved to be the most powerful method of adaptation to the environment ever developed by any species.[5]

Hefner defines culture as the "form that human freedom has assumed in the evolutionary history of the species"[6] and states that science and technology are a natural outcome of this cultural evolution.

---

[2] James E. Huchingson, *Pandemonium Tremendum* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 2001), 16-17.

[3] Philip J. Hefner, *The Human Factor: Evolution, Culture, and Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

[4] Holmes Rolston, *Genes, Genesis, and God: Values and their Origins in Natural and Human History*. (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[5] Hefner, *The Human Factor*, 118, quoting from: Theodosius Dobzhansky, *The Biological Basis of Human Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).

[6] Hefner, *The Human Factor*, 146.

Experts agree that human beings have not evolved, biologically, in any considerable way for approximately 300,000 years. But we did not cease to evolve. All the evolution that we have undergone since has been cultural. We have adapted to our environment in increasingly complex ways over time. Religious narratives can also be seen as reflective of our cultural evolution. The most overt references to the *imago Dei* are in Genesis 1:26 – 1:28, where it is explicitly stated that man and woman are made in the image and likeness of God. Interpretations of the doctrine of the *imago Dei* often either disregard the fact that these lines are given in conjunction with the concept of dominion and focus on the Christ narrative or they stress the concept of dominion over and above other aspects of the *imago Dei*. The evolution of our relationship to the environment, especially with regards to technology, might give us a new perspective which connects these two emphases in a holistic way.

Holmes Rolston states that all organisms are "cybernetic[7] systems":

> …their know-how to solve problems evolved biologically. This is true in natural history; coyotes know how to hunt for ground squirrels. It is true in cultural history; humans evolved brains that could figure out how to make tools to hunt. Natural selection is typically thought to be the key determinant of those events; better knowledge gave better survival power.[8]

So, where humans are handicapped corporally, they make up for it intellectually. To a certain extent, this integrates a substantive interpretation of the *imago Dei* (the substance that makes human beings like God - usually related to the intellect) and a functional interpretation[9] (which focuses on behaviour and the dominion of human beings over other forms of life).

Marshal McLuhan's description of technology as "extension of the body,"[10] where tools enable us to do what our bodies cannot, demonstrates the particularity of human nature and how our intellect has provided us with survival strategies. Tool-making is traditionally viewed as one of the key features of human uniqueness. This has been debated; some primates have been observed making simple tools. However, in *The Prehistory of the Mind*, Steve Mithen comments that in the 30 years of study of primate tool-use "there have been no technological advances."[11] He goes on to say that while chimpanzees do occasionally create tools to adapt to their environment, they are using what he calls *general intelligence* rather than *technical intelligence, which* he claims humans possess (along with other forms of intelligence that I will refer to later). He comes to this conclusion because the manufacturing of a tool for chimpanzees requires the same acts that the instinctive acts of feeding require (removing twigs from bushes, stripping leaves, biting them into smaller pieces). Therefore he believes that the process

[7] Huchingson describes human beings as "kybernatai" from which the term cybernetics originates, meaning "steersman"; Huchingson, *Pandemonium Tremendum*, 179.

[8] Rolston, *Genes, Genesis and God*, 119.

[9] These categories, as well as the category "relational interpretation" are discussed in chapter 3 of Van Huyssteen, Wentzel. *Alone in the World?*: Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2006.).

[10] Jim Andrews, "McLuhan Reconsidered." http://www.vispo.com/writings/essays/mcluhana.htm.

[11] Steven J. Mithen, *The Prehistory of the Mind: The Cognitive Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. (London; New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.), 77.

of trial and error is more responsible for their ability to make tools than an innate, adaptive predisposition for technical intelligence.[12]

Philip Hefner provides us with a theory of human beings as "created co-creators".[13] The created dimension of human beings refers to their biological nature. (I will discuss the co-created dimension later). In terms of the *imago Dei* in Genesis, God created man with a certain nature. Hefner provides an understanding of human nature based on the teleonomic axiom:

> The structure of a thing, the processes by which it functions, the requirements for its functioning and its relations with and impact on its ecosystem form the most reasonable basis for hypothesizing what the purposes and meaning of the thing are.[14]

Sociobiologists study the structure of the human body with regards to the genetic determinants in culture. They highlight the fact that genetic determinants are there to promote the survival and multiplication of genes. Our genetic and cultural systems have coevolved in such a way as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to determine to what extent which guides which. However, this accent on the promotion of survival and the multiplication of genes has import in the Genesis account. In Genesis 1:28, God instructed humans to: "*…be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it.*" It is advantageous to examine these commands within context. In the ancient society of the Old Testament, struggle for survival would have been great. Especially when one considers the dry weather and rocky terrain of the Middle East, one can see how this shaped the vision of the environment as something that needed to be subdued.[15] Any one of us can attest to the fact that, at different times in our individual lives, the "bodily" component of our being will take over. Hunger, cold, and fatigue are but a few examples. "In the beginning", this "bodily" component was likely to take over more often because of the greater number of threats to our survival coupled with limited technological advances.[16] The creation of tools, as extensions of the body, was a bio-cultural adaptation that humans needed in order to survive. Human beings share the innate desire for reproduction and survival with other creatures. However, structurally, their ability to survive depends on their distinctive and highly developed capacity to "create".

Where Hefner contrasts the animal nature of the human being to the divine nature by using the terms *created* and *co-creator*, Huchingson uses the terms *imago mundi* (image of the world) and *imago Dei.*[17] Essentially, both models attempt to capture the tension that we live with as human beings. We are neither beastly

[12] Mithen, 74-77.

[13] Hefner, 27.

[14] Hefner, 40.

[15] Theodore Hebert discusses the context of Genesis 1 in terms of dominion in his article, "Rethinking Dominion". Hiebert, Theodore, *Direction Journal* 25, no. 2 (Fall, 1996: 16-25, http://www.directionjournal.org/article/?922) accessed 2007.

[16] As Stanley Grenz comments, the Hebrews were not likely the first to invent the concept of humans as divine image but if anything, this strengthens my argument that the narrative is based on a time when the environment was seen as an opponent that human beings were to overcome. Lints, Richard, Michael Scott Horton, and Mark R. Talbot, eds. *Personal Identity in Theological Perspective*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2006), 79.

[17] Huchingson, 179 -180.

nor divine. Huchingson uses the label *kybernetai* ("steersman") for human beings and he does this to convey how the *imago Dei* and the *imago mundi* are in continuity:

> As mortal offspring of the earth, persons are kybernetai. They absorb tremendous variety from the natural and social environments and utilize it as the fundamental stuff of self organization and the generation of complex experience. The brain, the organ primarily but not exclusively involved in this process, takes sensory input, assesses its significance, and responds appropriately, first through the body and then through tools.[18]

The strong emphasis on using the land for survival in Genesis, although many believe it has contributed to an attitude which has led to ecological distress and other evils, needs to be appraised in context. We used tools in order to survive. However, the use of tools meant that we had a control over the environment that designated us as "steersmen". The making of those first tools to "work the earth and keep the land" led to a technological evolution that not only changed the world but the way that we viewed it and, as a result, the way we would have to "steer" it.

Many interpreters of the *imago Dei* now shun a substantive or functional interpretation where the focus is on either the unique intellect (with regards to the reasoning function) or behaviours (in this case I have been focusing on the technological capacity) of the human being. Interpreting the *imago Dei* in terms of *homo faber* can be perceived as reductive and too limiting in this day and age. As a sole explanation of the *imago Dei* , it is. As Rolston contends:

> Biological survival and reproductions are valuable achievements warranting all due respect, and if the intellect is put to work supporting survival, well and good. But a problem arises if the intellect can do nothing more than support survival and reproduction.[19]

John Polkinghorne laments Hefner's emphasis on survival in his essay, Evolution and Information: The Context, "As far as survival is concerned, it would seem that a little arithmetic and Euclidian geometry would be sufficient to cope with the physical environment."[20] When he goes on to say that other human intellectual powers cannot just be "a happy accident, some fortuitous spin-off form mundane evolutionary necessities,"[21] he ignores the fact that it is the human's adaptive facilities that resulted in an accumulation of information that, in turn, led to further cultural advances. We cannot overlook the fact that some of the same cultural adaptations that negotiated survival evolved and complexified to facilitate the communication of multifaceted levels of reality within communities and to other communities.

In his assessment of the various studies that were done with primates, Steve Mithen remarked that most animals who were observed making tools were making them as a result of human teaching. This is significant because it points to the fact that intentional teaching is another highly evolved feature in human beings. Rolston states:

---

[18] Huchingson, 17.

[19] Rolston, 121.

[20] John Polkinghorne, Evolution and Information: The Context, (Chicago: Christ Seminary-Seminex, 2001), 248.

[21] Polkinghorne, 248.

> What is missing in primates is precisely what makes a human cumulative transmissible culture possible. The central idea is that acquired knowledge and behaviour are learned and transmitted from person to person, by one generation teaching another, ideas passing from mind to mind, in large part through the medium of language, with such knowledge in a greatly rebuilt or cultured environment.[22]

Here we come to technology with regards to the relational message of the *imago Dei*.

Alongside the making of tools as a feature of human uniqueness is "symbolic behaviour". Archeologists and anthropologists document a sudden increase in symbolic behaviour in the upper Paleolithic populations.[23] Terrence Deacon defines symbolization as the "translation of social behaviour into symbolic form."[24] Here we can see how that first definition of technology as "the body of knowledge available to a society that is of use in fashioning implements, practicing manual arts and skills, and extracting or collecting materials" takes a step in the direction of information transmission. Deacon describes symbolic references as a tool for memory storage and communication to other members of society. The creation of symbolic references by Upper Paleolithic humans could not have come about without the technological expertise described above. Technology permitted basic survival but it also allowed human beings to store a variety of information outside of their bodies.

The transmission of ideas from one to another was usually done through the medium of language. Genesis 2:19 states:

> And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature that was the name thereof.

While this passage is not directly linked to the doctrine of the *imago Dei*, the naming of the animals by Adam suggests something about how humans were created differently from other creatures and what communicative powers were given to them. The feature of language as a feature of human uniqueness is the one most focused on by behavioural interpreters of the *imago Dei*. Seen in terms of control over the environment, language can suggest a different kind of dominion. In order to understand the environment, early humans had to classify the different forms of life they were dealing with. Some type of language was necessary in order to do this. Adam used symbols or speech in order to "name" the animals. From a biological perspective this could be a taxonomical task; but in addition to that, Huchingson proposes;

> The intention of this scene is clearly to promote the status of humankind as that creature who completes the essences of all other creatures by giving them names. In the ancient world, names were more than simple taxonomic labels. They were keys to the souls of individuals. To name individuals is to complete their nature, their creation, and hence to control them.[25]

Hence, the act of "naming" was strongly suggestive of creation. This type of creation is of

[22] Rolston, 111.

[23] Paul Mellars, "Major Issues in the Emergence of Modern Humans." *Current Anthropology* 30, (06, 1989): 349-385.

[24] Terrence William Deacon, *The Symbolic Species : The Coevolution of Language and the Brain*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

[25] Huchingson, 188.

a very different nature to the creation implied by the label *homo faber* or the label of the creation given to God. When Hefner applies the title "*co-creators*" to humans he is expressing the fact that we *create* the images and narratives that guide our actions within and towards nature. The implication is that our acts of creation are also acts of communication.

In *Communication in History*, Crowley and Heyer reflect on the media of early civilization:

> What was the first communication medium? This question may be impossible to answer scientifically. However, it is not impossible to imagine. Almost as soon as our prehistoric ancestors made tools of wood, bone, and stone to help them physically adapt to a changing environment, they probably made "tools for thought" as well. Perhaps the earliest device of this kind was a simple stick, notched to indicate the number of deer in a nearby herd, or some rocks or logs arranged to mark the significance of a given territory. What was important was the process. Humankind enlarged its sphere of communication by creating communications.
>
> …our early ancestors communicated through non-verbal gestures and an evolving system of spoken language. As their world became increasingly complex they needed more than just the shared memory of the group to recall important things. They needed what is sometimes called an extrasomatic memory, a memory outside of the body. [26]

Thus, the communicative realm of human beings evolved. Most probably, the communication that was prevalent in earlier times was a more survival-based communication. The naming of the animals in Genesis 2 could indicate a managerial function in human beings. Again the image of persons as *kybernetai* or "steersman" could be conjured. But the structure of a human being (as seen in the teleonomic axiom described above) is suggestive of purpose, and the capacity for technology is an open-ended one.

Hefner's proposition that the label "co-creators" refers to the way in which we use information to create a narrative of the world around us, when viewed in terms of cultural evolution, suggests that this narrative will become more and more comprehensive and complex. Our manner of organizing our universe *transforms* our universe, in a type of ever growing spiral. In fact, Magorah Maruyama, a well-respected systems theorist, uses the very word "universe" in defining three different types of world views based on information organization. He calls the first the *classificational universe*, the classic or traditional view of the world which is based on categories and subcategories. This is based on substance in a similar way that the substantial interpretation of the *imago Dei* is. The next is the *relational universe* which is event based, and maintains a less static view of the world and is rooted in dynamism and context (again a comparison could be made to the relational interpretation of the *imago Dei*). The last is the *relevential universe* and it:

> ...consists of the concerns of the individuals of the world (where)… the most important relevential information often comes from individuals having themselves experienced the same need as seekers and for whom this information was at one time crucially relevant.[27]

[26] D.J.Crowley and Paul Heyer, eds. *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society.* (New York, N.Y.: Longman, 1991), 7.

[27] Huchingson, 13.

Huchingson points out that the internet, and the aptly named "world wide web", is a prime example of the relevential universe. The modern (or post-modern) world is a web of connections and personal history. Huchingson makes a critical observation, however, when he points out that the relevential system of the internet works because it was based on the principles of the classificational universe.[28] Each of our creations is built on former creations. Each of our world-views is built on former world views. But as our technology and communication evolve, it is where and how we direct our attention that changes. It is interesting that the microscope and telescope are often cited as examples of revolutionary tools; they are appropriate symbols for the way in which our cultural narratives change. It is our focus and scope that are redirected.

The focal point for the *imago Dei* in the New Testament is Jesus Christ. Again, we must first examine the New Testament in context. A very general knowledge of history allows us to presume that, as a rule, the struggle for survival in the time of the New Testament was not comparable to the one which early human beings must have undergone. Technology had advanced and societies had become more complex. The classic literary conflict described as "man against nature" was not as predominant; people had gained a certain amount of "control" over their environment. My goal here is not to speak of context in specific terms but merely to indicate that the Christian narrative is much newer than the Hebrew one and that the construction of a new narrative was reflective of the growing concerns of the time.

In *The Social God and the Relational Self*, Stanley Grenz describes the difference between the Genesis account of the *imago Dei* and the New Testament account in terms of Paul's "*Adam-Christ typology*". Christ is often referred to as the "*second Adam*" and seen as the fulfillment of the Genesis account of the *imago Dei*. Grenz states that, "for Paul, being "in Adam" and being "in Christ" designate not only two orders of existence but also the way of living that characterizes each."[29] At another point he also says that "the open-ended character of Genesis 1:26-1:27 clears the way for a move from a creatio-centric to a christocentric anthropology."[30] The Genesis account directs our attention to nature, but it is in our nature to reflect on our experience – and to communicate this experience. "Adam" has been seen as a corporate term; Genesis does not speak of individual experience. It speaks to us of nature. In contrast, the import of the account of Jesus' life is found in its form; we see Jesus as an individual and we understand God through His experience. Alexander Marshak speaks of the image-making of early man as a "cultural revolution"[31] and not an artistic one, not, in my opinion, as an argument for what is and isn't art but because, more importantly, it was indicative of the desire to pass on experience. Some experiences were common and the use of symbolic references was for the purpose of general education. But there is a need for the communication of personal ex-

[28] Ibid.

[29] Richard Lints, Michael Scott Horton, and Mark R. Talbot, eds. *Personal Identity in Theological Perspective*. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2006), 85.

[30] Lints et. al., 80.

[31] Crowley, D. J. and Paul Heyer, eds., 2.

perience too. It helps us build both a *relational* and *relevential* universe.

Huchingson echoes this connection between nature and experience when he describes the evolutionary nature of human beings through the lens of communication theory. He says that:

> The structure and capability of the human organism is given a priori to individuals and referred to as "our nature". But for the human species it is *a posteriori*.[32]

From the cave art of the Upper Paleolithic man to the computers of today, our technology has been devoted to communication. As technology evolved, better transportation and more durable forms of media meant we were able to communicate to an increasingly extensive population. Both the content and the form of the narrative of Christ show that our "universe" was becoming more and more *relational*, and *relevential*; there were a greater number of possibilities for sharing experiences. Tillich spoke of our interconnectedness, the idea of "one world" in the 1940's. While this is a concept that has even more relevance today, we can see its budding form around the time of the Roman Empire. Our nature had resulted in a growing interaction that changed our way of life and our way of thinking.

The human brain is understood to be the most complex natural system in the entire universe. Steven Mithen argues that a defining feature of the human mind is "cognitive fluidity"; the distinctive ability that human beings have to integrate the multiple intelligences it contains. He contends that "the integration of technical intelligence with the already combined social and natural history intelligences was what constituted the final step to a cognitively fluid mind."[33] The complex nature of our brains combined with this technical ability allows us to store information and gives us a new understanding of technology as *extension of the body*. It results in a far-reaching community that builds upon other communities and former communities.

In his article, *The Internet, the Noosphere and the Encounter of Religions*, Franklin Sherman discusses Teillhard de Chardin's description of "*noosphere*" as "the thinking membrane that covers the geospheric reality of the world." He explains:

> …as this process continues, the human consciousness itself, as Teilhard points out, becomes ever more complex, and yet ever more unified – not in the sense of being without conflict, but in the sense of everything being related, in principle, to everything else.[34]

"Complexity" has a variety of definitions, but for my purposes, Carol Albright's definition will be adequate; "*the presence of a web of interlinked and active communications*."[35] A greater sensitivity to complexity greatly affects human consciousness which in turn redirects our values.

---

[32] Huchingson, 182.

[33] Mithen, 184.

[34] Franklin Shermin, T*he Internet, the Noosphere and the Encounter of Religions* (Chicago: Christ Seminary-Seminex, 2001) 260.

[35] For a more comprehensive understanding of complexity see Albright as cited; Carol Albright, *Complexity and the Imago Dei* (Chicago: Christ Seminary-Seminex, 2001), 205.

In *Complexity and the Imago Dei*, Carol Albright states that:

> …even the brain does not complete our consideration of complexity. We must think one step further, towards our interaction with one another in our schools and parishes and workplaces and, increasingly, with people around the globe… God is dynamic, and reflecting the image of God involves following a path. Jesus described himself as dynamic. He said, "I am the Way, the truth and the life."[36]

We are to see Christ as an example; not quite as the "image of God, for he *is* divine, but as a direct message to how we should behave as ones who have been "stamped with the divine image."[37] The message is that the *way* in which we act and interact is of fundamental value. The "*way* of living that belongs to the realm of Christ is communal."[38] Jesus Christ's personal experiences connect us to Him through the story; we imagine his experiences and we relate to him as a human being in history experiencing hardships and challenges and growth. He has relationships with others and teaches within the community by example – not merely by transmission of an ideology. Our imagination is called upon to develop a personal relationship with him; we look to him as a role model and desire to follow his example. The impetus here is that a relationship with God is only known through community. Community can be known through story, through image, through speech. A range of technology has expanded our community and our sensitivity to Jesus' message has become more and more necessary. While our nature or substance is vital to our understanding of the Doctrine of the *imago Dei*, it goes beyond that. Our community, (the connections we make), reflects God in a way that no particular person or substance can.

The message of the Christ narrative as it pertains to the *imago Dei* is twofold. It is relationial and relevential with regards to form (the form of personal narrative). But, because Jesus comes down to live among men, this account also changes our view of the nature of God. God interacts with creation; he "plays, so to speak, in the dynamic interexistence of things among themselves. Being involved in "*medias res*" – in the midst of things means that even God must adjust accordingly."[39] This new emphasis on a personal, fluid relationship with God complies with newer visions of reality.

In *The Human Factor*, Philip Hefner abstains from giving a complete definition of God. However, if closely examined, his explanation of God as "what really is"[40], accomplishes something that not many other definitions can do. It avoids the perception of God as merely transcendent or spiritual and at the same time it avoids purely scientific explanations. "*What really is*" contains all accounts of reality. The fact that Carol Albright capitalizes and italicizes "*Way*" in the above quote connotes an emphasis on process. We do not know what the *truth* or the *life* is. We are not divine. We are to search for "what *really* is" in "what is." We are to find the "ought" within the "is." We know that part of what constitutes "what

[36] Albright, Complexity, 209.

[37] Lints et. al.

[38] Van Huyssteen,135-136.

[39] Huchingson, 187.

[40] Hefner, 33.

is" is our communicative and technological nature. Our abilities have led us to a deeper, more complex understanding of reality that may give us clues as to "what really is." The narratives that we create attempt to fill in the space between "what is" and "what really is."

If God is represented in the relational form that the advent of Jesus seems to indicate, then *what really is* must have something to do with all manner of relationships; relationships between different forms of information, experiential relationships and interpersonal relationships. A person can be described as "an open system," Huchingson states:

> All experience, the registration of variety by an open system, is disturbance…Complex open systems, primarily organisms, interdict the flood of variety bombarding them through subtle decision processes by which the variety is blocked or absorbed. The mind, or the brain, constructs itself and manages complexity by foraging on the limitless possibilities open to it that are generated internally by its imagination and externally by its environment.[41]

The evolution of information technology has radically changed our understanding of *what really is* because our universe has become more and more relational and relevential in two ways; information technology has given us greater access to the experiences and knowledge of a diversity of individuals and groups, and we have technologies (namely the computer) that organize this information in ways that enable us to see non-linear, complex relationships that our brains are unable to perceive on their own. In this way we engage in a relationship with God. We participate in the creation of "*what really is*".

Thus, our understanding of technology as extension of the body becomes even more involved:

> Previous to McLuhan, we had not thought of technologies as extensions of ourselves. The car can be thought of as an extension of the body. Electronic communication systems extend our senses of sight and sound toward the creation of the global village just as our sense of sight is extended to the scales of the very small and large by the microscope and telescope. The book can be thought of as an extension of the mind and memory; we do not have to remember everything but, rather, may remember knowledge to us by way of the book. This allows us to develop extended runs of ingenuity that would be unthinkable were we required to remember the entire of sequence at once.[42]

Huchingson expand this observation to include modern technology:

> The metaphysics of strict causal determination has been modified by a metaphysics of complex interdependence…computers alters our understanding of reality itself. The power of the high speed computer lies in its ability to process information rapidly and in great quantity. The result is a virtual world…The prevailing belief about the material world, that it consists of inert and immutable matter is replaced by a new plasticity. Matter melts into massive information… Thus the computer is not only a tool, it is a chief exemplar of the picture of reality it reveals.[43]

If relationships are a focal point of the *imago Dei* in the New Testament, then all manner of

[41] Huchingson, 108.

[42] Andrews, "McLuhan Reconsidered."

[43] Huchingson, 20.

information must be related in the sense that Teillhard de Chardin spoke of. Moreover, the moral dimension of information complexifies What Rolston calls the "*genesis of information*" is deeply connected with the "*genesis of value*":

> Another way of interpreting this genesis of information arises from looking at its result (my emphasis); the generation, transmission, and deepening of values. Scientists and philosophers have been much exercised about the generation of values, about how an ought comes out of an is, but it seems pretty much fact of the matter that, over evolutionary history, values have been generated, startling though this may be. [44]

Information, devoid of value cannot constitute "*the way, the truth, the life*" because, as co-creators, we create narratives that guide us. It is impossible to have facts without context; human beings, with their "*cognitively fluid*" brains, make connections and decisions and are therefore moral beings. In Genesis 3, after Adam and Eve eat the apple, "the LORD God said, 'Behold, man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil" (Genesis 3:22). As soon as humans used their freedom to make a decision, they became moral beings.

The doctrine of original sin, according to Hefner, illustrates the tension between our genetic, primordial systems of information that connects us to the rest of nature and the cultural component that sets us apart from the rest of nature. We long to go back to a time where we can respond instinctively to biological impulses; that "Garden of Eden". For, the freedom of the cultural component of our nature entails that we make decisions and that these decisions will have consequences. The guilt that we experience as humans is a natural by-product of this freedom. Our corruptibility is related to misuse of power; for knowledge is power. But it is also linked to the fact that we are unable to foresee all the consequences of our actions. "*Don't eat that apple*" or "*Don't construct that wheel*" are warnings because, metaphorically or literally, they are actions that will lead to the complexity that freedom generates. Albright says that "…one of the really important hallmarks of complexification is that it gives rise to phenomena that are new – that could not be predicted by their predecessors."

On the other hand, the fact that we are human dictates that our brain functions in such a way as to make decisions. We, as humans, are to "steer" and "create". So, the great paradox is that it is built in our biological structure to "eat that apple" or "construct that wheel". To see technology as counter to nature is a form of Cartesian dualism. Technology is an extension of the body and, as a corollary, of the mind. It is a component of what qualifies us as created in the "*imago mundi*" and it is what qualifies us as created in the *imago Dei*. Technology itself is not a purely destructive force. This is like saying that our bodies are a purely destructive force. The body and technology, as an *extension* of the body, can threaten to overpower us. This is a basic reality; it was a reality for early humans and it is an even more complex reality now. But this does not exempt us from the moral aspect of our nature. If we are to say that we are created in the image of the divine then we cannot use our bodies or technology as sole justification of our behaviour. Our freedom is an indication of responsibility. We control and manage

[44] Rolston, 359.

how we use technology. While we are shaped by them, we are not created by our creations. Some theorists of entropy might suggest that we are riding that Looney Tune road-runner right off the cliff. But, for the moment at least, it is not the roadrunner steering; it is we who are steering, as a community.

Suzanne Amro *teaches English Language Arts, and Ethics and Religious Culture at the high school level. As well she is pursuing her Master's degree in Theological Studies with particular interest in interfaith/intercultural dialogue.*

Forgotten History *Melanie Peralis, 2004*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews, Jim."McLuhan Reconsidered." http://www.vispo.com/writings/essays/mcluhana.htm.

Crowley, D. J. and Paul Heyer, eds. *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, Society.* New York, N.Y.: Longman, 1991.

Deacon, Terrence William. *The Symbolic Species: The Coevolution of Language and the Brain*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.

Hefner, Philip J. *The Human Factor: Evolution, Culture, and Religion*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993.

Hiebert, Theodore. "Direction Journal." 25, no. 2 (Fall, 1996: 16-25, http://www.directionjournal.org/article/?922.

Huchingson, James E. *Pandemonium Tremendum*. Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 2001.

Klein, Ralph W. "Philip Hefner: Created Co-Creator." *Currents in Theology and Mission* 28, 3 (2001): 164-443.

Lints, Richard, Michael Scott Horton, and Mark R. Talbot, eds. *Personal Identity in Theological Perspective.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2006.

MacIntyre, Alasdair C. *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues.* Chicago, Ill.: Open Court, 1999.

Mellars, Paul. "Major Issues in the Emergence of Modern Humans." *Current Anthropology* 30, (06, 1989): 349-385.

Mithen, Steven J. *The Prehistory of the Mind: The Cognitive Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. London; New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996.

Rolston, Holmes. *Genes, Genesis, and God: Values and their Origins in Natural and Human History*. Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Tillich, Paul, and J. Mark Thomas, **eds.** *The Spiritual Situation in our Technical Society*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1988.

Van Huyssteen, Wentzel. *Alone in the World?: Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2006.

Relationality in Theological Anthropology

Sabrina Tucci

Biologically, we are ready to respond to and interact with others long before we can articulate or even understand the value of human relationality. Not only are we born into existing relationships, but we are completely dependant on others to satisfy our basic needs from our very beginning. Developmentally, we cannot flourish as human beings without interpersonal relationships which allow for emotional and psychological growth. This relational aspect of human nature is acknowledged in the Vatican II document in *Gaudium et Spes*: "by his innermost nature man is a social being, and unless he relates himself to others he can neither live nor develop his potential."[1] For this reason, a consideration of human relationality is essential for articulating a theological anthropology.

In *Alone in the World?*, Wentzel van Huysteen argues that "there is no single trait or characteristic that adequately captures the notion of human uniqueness but that "there is also no point in denying that we human beings do share an identifiable and peculiar set of capacities and propensities that clearly distinguishes us from other animals on this planet."[2] In this paper, I will argue that, although it does not by itself capture what it means to be human, the relational aspect of human beings is *uniquely* human. We don't respond instinctively to our basic or social needs and desires; we experience them as intentional responses and inform our concrete experiences with meaning and value.

We experience and relate to the world and others through the operations of embodied selves. As Bernard Lonergan attests, "an awful lot of our perceiving would not be possible without our bodies, not merely that we need our senses, but that we need the whole body."[3] Furthermore, there is a relational link between the body and the world of meaning.

Human relationality is only possible because of our ability to go beyond ourselves. Not only do we express ourselves and communicate with others through our embodied actions, but it is also our ability to transcend our physical selves, to understand, to value and to love, that distinguishes us from other animals.

[1] Pope Paul VI, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern Gaudium et Spes* (Vatican: Holy See, 1965). http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

[2] Van Huyssteen, W., *Alone in the World?*, (Cambridge, UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2006), 288.

[3] Lonergan, B., *Understanding and Being*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 289.

Human greatness lies with the ability to reach beyond oneself through the different levels of consciousness, culminating in the highest form of self-transcendence - the self-surrender to another in love.

Understood theologically, we are relational beings because we are created in the image of God who is inherently relational. The intention of this paper is to offer a theological understanding of what it means to be created in the image of God in light of the Christian call to fellowship with others and therefore with God.

I draw on several thinkers (Bernard Lonergan, Wentzel van Huyssteen, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Wolfhart Pannenberg and Emmanuel Levinas) who address the two linking concerns which guide my paper: embodiment and self-transcendence. I will argue that together, embodiment and self-transcendence constitute the possibility for relationality and ultimately for fellowship with God, since we are in relationship with God through our relationships with others.[4]

Embodiment

There is an indissoluble connection between the body and the self, and therefore the self in relation to other selves. Traditionally, Christian anthropology has tended to focus on the mind or spirit which transcended the physical dimension of human existence. At times this resulted in a depreciation of the body. As van Huyssteen argues convincingly in *Alone in the World?*, human existence is embodied existence. The characteristics that make us human (i.e. language, self-awareness, moral awareness and consciousness) are embodied traits. Further, he argues, whatever we say about transcendence or consciousness, it is an embodied transcendence or consciousness that exists in the world in bodily relations and activities.[5] Even when we transcend the limitations of our animality, we must keep in mind that our ability to transcend those limitations depends in part on some of those animal characteristics.[6]

Understood in this way, our embodied existence is not an obstacle to overcome, but what makes our uniquely human characteristics possible. Van Huyssteen argues that God used the natural process for religious belief to emerge as a natural phenomenon; humans created in the image of God emerged from nature itself.[7] For this reason, theology must take embodiment seriously in any consideration of what it means to be human. Furthermore, the theologian should not ignore scientific (and philosophical) anthropologies which can expand our understanding of human relationality.

Our embodied, characteristically human traits shape human relationships. Perhaps the most distinctive human quality which is directly related to relationality is our ability to communicate with others. In fact, communication with others constitutes the essence of the human being as a social being. Expressing oneself requires embodied communication to

[4] This idea is based on Mt 25:40 (NIV) – "I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me."

[5] Van Huyssteen, 300.

[6] Ibid., 284.

[7] Ibid., 322.

form and maintain relationships with others. Communication is achieved through a multitude of signals originating from all parts of the body, verbal and non-verbal, or simply by one's presence. Lonergan states that "there is a sensitive basis for communication by the mere fact of the presence of another…The communication that arises on that base takes place through signs, through the human body."[8] Intersubjectivity is realised and actualized in communication through body language, gestures, symbols, etc. It is through the physical body that we are able to communicate with one another and therefore establish relationships.

We express and nourish our capacity for relationships through bodily interaction and responsiveness to others. However, our relationships are not only formed by physical or sensible reality, but also by the realities shaped by our acts of meaning. Lonergan regards the human subject as a carrier and communicator of meaning.[9] What someone means is communicated intersubjectively, symbolically, linguistically, and incarnately. Intersubjective meaning presupposes the interpersonal situation and is only possible because of the human subject who expresses and communicates an elemental experience with others. Lonergan illustrates the phenomenon of intersubjectivity through the way a person communicates an inward unspoken meaning to another person through a smile.[10]

Maurice Merleau-Ponty understood embodiment in terms of the body's practical capacity to act. According to Merleau-Ponty, we communicate with others and with the world through our body. Merleau-Ponty does not consider the physical as merely a function of the mental. In fact, it is precisely through the body that we have access to the world and that we derive knowledge of it and of others. The human body is the most fundamental form of existing-in-the-world. For this reason, he sought to rearticulate the relationship between various dualisms (i.e. body and mind, subject and object, self and world) primarily through a non-dualistic exploration of our embodied experience.

Merleau-Ponty's 'phenomenology of the flesh' also considers the human body as a carrier of meaning. Verbal and non-verbal language are presented as modes of expression that acquire meaning in relation to one another and converge in the individual person. The body, therefore becomes a focal point of meaning. "All our talk about embodiment is a way of examining the concrete, interactive relationality of the self and its world within which each co-constitutes itself and the other."[11] Merleau-Ponty's contribution allows us to consider embodiment in terms of the body's practical capacity to act towards others and in the world.

Alterity

Attention to the significance of the body in relation to the self, to others, and to the world, reveals that self, world and other are intertwined in important ways. Both the world and the other are capable of altering us, just as we

[8] Lonergan 1990, 89.

[9] Lonergan, B., *Method in Theology*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 57.

[10] Lonergan 1971, 59.

[11] Van Huyssteen, 276.

are capable of altering others or the world. In other words, we affect our world, and our world affects us. This mutual interaction and influence (potentially contributing to significant change, both positive and negative), attests to the responsibility we bear, whether we realize it or not, for ourselves, for others and for the world.

An understanding of responsibility in terms of alterity is expressed by Emmanuel Levinas who considered responsiveness to the other as our most human ability. According to Levinas, "the Other" calls and welcomes the subject into the ethical relation of facing. In fact, the primordial relationship *is* ethical. Because the face-to-face encounter confronts us with the 'trace of the Infinite,' one's responsibility to the Other exists preconceptually, even if we are not aware of it.[12]

Lonergan also acknowledges the primordial aspect of our relationality. In the following passage, Lonergan recognizes the human solidarity present in the spontaneous help one gives another in need:

> Prior to the "we" that results from the mutual love of an "I" and a "thou," there is the earlier "we" that precedes the distinction of subjects and survives its oblivion. This prior "we" is vital and functional. Just as one spontaneously raises one's arm to ward off a blow against one's head, so with the same spontaneity one reaches out to save another from falling. Perception, feeling, and bodily movement are involved, but the help given another is not deliberate but spontaneous. One adverts to it not before it occurs but while it is occurring. It is as if "we" were members of one another prior to our distinctions of each from the others.[13]

The conclusion that can be drawn from a brief consideration of these thinkers is that we relate to each other through our bodies and, in part, because of our embodied human characteristics. As human beings, we are unique in the way that we communicate and perceive because of the relational link between the body and the world of meaning. Furthermore, embodied relationships present us with an ethical responsibility, whether we are aware of it or not. Becoming more aware of our interconnections increases our sensitivity to others and therefore our ability to respond to others. In the following section, I will consider responsiveness to the other in terms of self-transcendence.

Self-Transcendence

There is a broad consensus among contemporary anthropologists that self-transcendence characterizes an important aspect of human nature. In this section, I will explore self-transcendence in terms of openness to relationship with others and with God.

Socially, we become who we are through openness to relations and experiences with others. According to Pannenberg, the individual emerges from the relation to the other. "Individuals do not exist simply by themselves but are always constituted by their relation to the other, the Thou."[14] By the "Thou" Pannenberg means the person(s) to whom individuals are related in the course of their personal lives. The development of human capabilities depends on "whether the individual finds the community that permits the in-

[12] Levinas 1991, 112ff.

[13] Lonergan 1971, 57.

[14] Pannenberg, W., *Contemporary Anthropology in Theological Perspective* (USA: Westminster John Knox Press, 1985), 180.

dividual to awaken to his possibilities."[15] We each contribute to the development of others, whether this is transitory or deeply affecting. Therefore we should be attentive to the effect that we may have on others by our words or actions.

According to Pannenberg, all human behaviour is characterized by the tension between openness to the world and self-centeredness. Our destiny lies in openness to the world and to others through which we discover our true identity and the meaning of life. In opening oneself to relationships and in dedicating oneself to service of the human community, instead of 'preoccupation with oneself,' one discovers not only one's true identity but also the meaning of life. "When human beings who are concerned about themselves think that they come closest to their own identity through…preoccupation with themselves, then they are really alienated from their true destiny and their true selves."[16]

Lonergan also acknowledges that it is through our relation to the other that we come to know ourselves:

> Subjects are confronted with themselves more effectively by being confronted with others than by solitary introspection…It is not by introspection but by reflecting on our living in common with others that we come to know ourselves. What is revealed? It is an original creation" for "the intimate reality of man grounds and penetrates all that is human."[17]

According to Lonergan, we transcend the solitary self and relate to the world beyond ourselves through the different levels of consciousness (attending to experience, being intelligent in one's understanding, judging that one's understanding is correct, and deciding to act on the resulting knowledge). Realizing self-transcendence requires that we become aware of our defence mechanisms, biases, and misperceptions which prevent us from being authentically subjective. "The root of division, opposition, controversy, denunciation, bitterness, hatred, [and] violence" results from inauthenticity.[18] Further to the levels of self-transcendence, intellectual, moral and affective conversion give rise to differentiations of consciousness whereby a fuller meaning emerges from the broadening of one's experience and horizon which promotes progress.

It is by affective conversion that a person prioritizes values and through the love of neighbour, community, and God, is able to go beyond the finite self and contribute to human progress. The highest form of self-transcendence is the self-surrender to another in love, which, according to Lonergan, is the abiding imperative of what it is to be human.

Lonergan also believes that it is through the interpersonal that we discover our purpose:

> [B]eyond the moral operator that promotes us from judgments of facts to judgments of value with their retinue of decisions and actions, there

[15] Pannenberg, W., *What is Man* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 90.

[16] Pannenberg, 1985, 266.

[17] Lonergan, B., *Collection*, ed. Crowe, Frederick E. and Doran, Robert M. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) 220.

[18] Lonergan 1971, 291.

> is a further realm of interpersonal relations and total commitment in which human beings tend to find the immanent goal of their being and, with it, their fullest joy and deepest peace."[19]

According to Lonergan, when we are authentically oriented towards the good as an objective reality, we become more human. In other words, we become more authentically human in self-transcendence. The drive towards authenticity moves us beyond ourselves. "We are our true selves when we observe the transcendental precepts because these demands authenticate our subjectivity as human subjects."[20] Thus, by transcending oneself, one becomes more authentically human - one becomes oneself.

Affectivity

A person is affectively self-transcendent when the individual acts for others, and is concerned for the good of others. This is especially so when one falls in love. According to Lonergan, the highest form of self-transcendence is the self-surrender to another in love.

Affectivity is an important aspect of self-transcendence according to Pannenberg. The positive affects (sympathy, joy and hope) draw individuals out of their isolation, whereas the negative affects (fear, anxiety, arrogance sadness, envy, hate) isolate individuals within themselves:

> In 'elevated' moods and positive affects, in which human beings are most at one with themselves, they are not preoccupied with themselves but are 'ecstatically' open and surrendered to the reality of their life-world and the ground that sustains it. In 'depressed' moods, on the other hand, and in negative affects they prove to be thrown back upon themselves.[21]

Through the positive affects which are a part of human relationships, individuals open themselves to their world and are carried out of themselves in self-surrender.[22] This is not at the expense of individual differentiation, however. As we have already seen, for Pannenberg, it is through openness to others and to reality that one becomes their true self.

The Image of God

From the perspective of Christian faith, theological anthropology is not just about who we are, but who we are called to be. What is important is not just understanding our nature, but also our purpose - which involves deciding what we will do with our nature. "Human persons are not what we initially, privately and 'inwardly' are, but what we may (perhaps) together hope and struggle to become."[23]

Understanding who we can hope and struggle to become involves understanding what is meant by the description "created in the image of God." This involves a broadening of horizon from materialist or idealist views of human nature to a more holistic view. But

---

[19] Lonergan, B., "Philosophy and the Religious Phenomenon," *Method: Journal of Lonergan Studies* 12, 2 (Fall 1994): 134.

[20] Plants, N., "Decentering Inwardness." In *In Deference to the Other*, ed. by Doorley, Mark J., ed.. Kanaris, Jim (Albany: State University Press, 2004), 21.

[21] Pannenberg, 1985, 266.

[22] Pannenberg, 1985, 261.

[23] Lash, N., *Easter in Ordinary* (USA: University of Virginia Press, 1988), 86.

more importantly, it involves understanding something about God - as elusive as this may be.

According to the biblical account of creation, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them" (Gen 1:27). According to van Huyssteen, this implies that God is the originator of human relationality.[24] Not only are human relationships divinely intended, but being created in God's image and living in relationship are inseparable.

The Catholic Church maintains that "God did not create man as a solitary, for from the beginning 'male and female he created them'. Their companionship produces the primary form of interpersonal communion."[25] Although I do not wish to limit an understanding of human relationality to the heterosexual relationship, it is important to consider (as many contemporary theologians would contend) that the meaning of the "image of God" has shifted to describe human life in relationship with others and with God rather than as a set of faculties, possessions or endowments. Van Huyssteen, for example, argues that all humans share in the image of God as a disposition toward, or capacity for, relationship with others or with God, regardless of the degree to which they can or do exercise that capacity.[26]

For Lonergan, our capacity to know, our ability to value and our openness to transcendence are major dimensions of what it means to be human. "He made us in his image, for our authenticity consists in being like him, in self-transcending, in being origins of value, in true love."[27] God is transcendent, the origin of value and love. In being open to God, the ultimate other outside ourselves, we come to know ourselves and therefore our purpose as human beings. To be like God is to be self-transcendent, to be origins of value and to be loving. In doing so, we become authentic, we become our true selves as made in the image of God.

Pannenberg understands the image of God as the "disposition toward and the capacity for self-transcendence and fellowship."[28] Self-transcendence is a fundamental anthropological disposition of human nature. We are naturally open to that which is outside ourselves. He refers to this intrinsic disposition as 'exocentricity' - a dynamic which orients us beyond our experience, to others and to the world, in search of meaning and fulfillment. Relationships engage us in a manner that calls us beyond ourselves. Through openness to others and to reality, we find our purpose and ultimately progresses towards our destiny.

Any *Christian* statement of what it means to be created in the image of God must consider the life of Jesus as the fullest expression of what that means[29] and therefore of who God intends us to be. The divine intention is that

[24] Van Huyssteen, 137.

[25] Pope Paul VI, *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern Gaudium et Spes* (Vatican: Holy See, 1965). http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

[26] Van Huyssteen, 141.

[27] Lonergan 1971, 117.

[28] Van Huyssteen, 141.

[29] "He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation" (Col 1:15)

human life is to be lived with and for others as exemplified in the life of Christ.[30] Relationality as a Christian call to follow Christ requires living in solidarity with all people (and especially with the poor, with sinners, the oppressed and disadvantaged). Not only are we responsible for those who are weak, but one's selfish needs are to be given up for the needs of the Other.

The biblical message is that we will not find happiness by becoming closed in within ourselves. Our humanness lies in our need, openness, and willingness to give of ourselves to others. Self-fulfillment, therefore, requires relationships and moral demands beyond the self.

Understanding the "image of God" as an orientation or disposition to that which is outside ourselves leads to the understanding that genuine humanness is something that we develop in relation to others. Being created in the image of God, we are called to live a life that is deeply relational. This relationship takes on a dimension of mutual love and reciprocal service in light of the Gospel. The God revealed in Jesus Christ is a relational God who calls us to live in relationship with God through others. For as we do to others, so we do to God (Mt 25:40). The relationship with God, therefore, is realised in the love of neighbour. How we relate to one another is a personal, moral, ethical and, in the final analysis, religious issue.

Conclusion

This paper has brought several thinkers, Bernard Lonergan, Wentzel van Huyssteen Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Wolfhart Pannenberg and Emmanuel Levinas together in an attempt to better understand the human person which takes seriously embodiment and self-transcendence as the possibility for relating to others.

The integration of these thinkers reflects my position that as human beings, we are inherently relational and that we have a primordial responsibility to others because we are created in the image of a relational God to whom we relate through our relations to each other. Embodiment and self-transcendence have been presented as the means through which we relate to others and therefore fellowship with the ultimate Other.

As we have seen, our embodied existence makes our uniquely human characteristics possible, and therefore constitutes human relationships. It is through the physical body that we are able to communicate with others and therefore establish and maintain relationships. We have also seen that intersubjective meaning, which is carried and communicated by the human person, presupposes the interpersonal situation but also helps to shape it. Further, human relationships present us with an ethical responsibility which demands that we be responsive to the Other. The ability to respond to others increases as we become more aware of the fact that we are all connected and that we influence each other and the world, which in turn affects us.

In addition to embodiment, the role of self-transcendence in relationality was considered. By being open to relationships and in dedicating oneself to the service of others instead of remaining isolated or self-centered, one

[30] "Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ." (Eph 5:21)

discovers not only one's true identity but also the meaning of life. Our ability to relate to others is enhanced by becoming aware of our defence mechanisms, biases, and preconceptions which interfere with our perception and understanding of others. The role of positive affects in carrying one beyond oneself was also considered.

Self-transcendence not only opens us to the other and therefore to a greater sense of self, but ultimately to a deeper relationship with God. A consideration of the description "made in the image of God" presented an understanding of human nature in terms of a destiny towards which we move in openness to others, the world, and God. We share in God's image principally through our intersubjectivity, as relational, responsive beings who mature and grow from and in relationship with others.

Understood theologically, the Christian call to relationality invites us to go beyond ourselves out of love for the other and therefore for God. In so doing, we become our true selves as made in the image of God and become the means by which progress is affected in the world.

Sabrina Tucci *is an M.A. candidate in the Department of Theological Studies at Concordia University. Her research interests include Bernard Lonergan's epistemology and generalized empirical method with a special interest in questions that are relevant to personal development.*

Immanent meets Transcendent *Melanie Peralis, 2006*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Conn, Walter E. "Understanding the Self in Self-Transcendence." *Pastoral Psychology* 46, 1 (1997): 3 -17.

Diamond, Nicola. "Towards an Interpersonal Understanding of Bodily Experience." *Psychodynamic Counselling* 7, 1 (2001): 41-62.

Lash, Nicholas. *Easter in Ordinary.* USA: University of Virginia Press, 1988.

Levinas, Emmanuel. *Otherwise Than Being*. Duquesne University Press, 1998.

Lonergan, Bernard. *Method in Theology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

-----. *Understanding and Being*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

-----. *Collection*. Edited by Crowe, Frederick E. and Doran, Robert M.. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

-----. "Philosophy and the Religious Phenomenon" in *Method: Journal of Lonergan Studies* 12, 2 (Fall 1994): 125-146.

Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *What is Man*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970.

-----. *Contemporary Anthropology in Theological Perspective*. USA: Westminster John Knox Press, 1985.

Plants, Nicholas. "Decentering Inwardness." In *In Deference to the Other*, edited by Mark J. Doorley, and Jim Kanaris, 13-32. Albany: State University Press, 2004.

Pope Paul VI (December 7, 1965). *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern Gaudium et Spes* (Vatican: Holy See). http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html (accessed: October 4, 2008).

Van Huyssteen, Wentzel. *Alone in the World?: Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2006.

The Role of Religious Diversity in Creating Community Cohesion in Rural Canada

Paul Gareau and Mike Burns

Canada has a long history of cultural diversity due to immigration. We also share both positive and negative outcomes when it comes to managing the conflict that sometimes occurs. It is a history concerning people of different cultural backgrounds in constant contact with one another. Social cohesion in the face of cultural diversity is therefore one of the key issues facing Canada. Religion and religious diversity are central to this since religion is a significant component of culture and cultural differences. Furthermore, rural areas are especially important in this discussion since they often reflect settlements of religious homogeneity within a society of religious heterogeneity. Describing this diversity is the first step in understanding its dynamics and impacts. Therefore, this research seeks to understand the role of religious diversity with a focus on a rural Canadian context. Our goal is to see how religious diversity functions in terms of interdenominational relations primarily connected to theological and demographical differences. To do so, we will provide a macro view of religious diversity in rural Canada, outline the immigration statistics related to specific regions and rural communities, and initiate a discussion of the effects that theological discourse may have on generating social cohesion.

We will outline immigration numbers and religious diversity in rural Canada at a national, provincial and 'local' level. The local level will be represented specifically by communities from the New Rural Economy (NRE) Rural Observatory.[1] Next, we will discuss the theoretical framework concerning the theological and demographical elements of religious diversity and test our hypotheses of diversity and social cohesion. Finally, we will examine the results of this test and discuss the needs for further research in order to better understand the effects of religion on diversity and social cohesion.

Surveying the Landscape of Religious Diversity in Canada

Religion has always played an important role in promoting social cohesion respectively within religious groups and throughout the larger community. Social cohesion acts as a

[1] For details regarding the New Rural Economy project, cf. NRE, http://nre.concordia.ca

motivating factor for social action and a potential asset for immigration attraction and retention. Religious diversity reflects lines of difference between people that can either promote a constructive self-reflexivity or a debilitating fragmentation. Immigration, therefore, is a primary example that raises the question of how religious diversity can come to manage conflict in a community. Our first step will be to describe the basic features of that diversity using data from the 2001 Canadian census.[2] This section describes the diversity of religious denominations at national, provincial, and local levels.

The majority of non-Christian religions in Canada are overwhelmingly represented in urban areas. Over 98% of the major world religions such as Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sikhism have their members living in urban areas with fewer than 2% in rural areas. These non-Christian groups represent 1.8% of the total Canadian population. Over 90% of Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches in Canada, such as Greek Orthodox and Serbian Orthodox Churches, have their members in urban areas with fewer than 10% in rural areas. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church differs slightly, however, since 78.2% of its members are located in urban areas and 21.8% in rural areas. However, these Orthodox Churches represent only 0.6% of the total Canadian population. Non-mainline Christian denominations, neo-Christian movements, and new religious movements are represented in the Census data as different religious categories such as Christ Reformed Alliance, the Church of Latter Day Saints, Adventists, Methodists, Paganism, and Brethren in Christ. These groups have over 80% of their members in urban areas with fewer than 20% in rural areas. Overall, they represent below 0.4% of the total Canadian population. It is obvious that our cities house greater multi-faith diversity than the rural areas of Canada.

There are, however, three religious groupings that are equally balanced in their membership between urban and rural. Aboriginal Spirituality has 55% of its members in urban areas with 45% in rural areas. The Salvation Army Church has 56.6% of its members in urban areas with 43.5% in rural areas. And Mennonites have 56.1% of their members in urban areas with 43.9% in rural areas. The exception to this pattern is the Hutterite group with 9.7% of their members in urban areas and 90.3% in rural areas. Combined, these religious groups represent less than 1% of the total Canadian population. Though these are indeed exceptions to patterns of religious diversity in rural Canada, the majority of rural people are members of one of the three mainline Christian groups.

The top three mainline Christian groups are the Roman Catholic Church, the United Church of Canada, and the Anglican Church of Canada. It must be noted that the urban/rural split within each separate denomination does not differ significantly from the religious groups mentioned above. The Roman Catholic Church enjoys a majority demographic in Canada represented as 45.1% of the total population with 79.5% of its members in urban areas and 20.5% in rural areas. This is followed by the United Church of Canada whose national membership represents 9.3% of the total population with 72% in urban and 28% in rural areas. Finally, the Anglican Church of

[2] Cf. Statistics Canada Website, http://www.statcan.gc.ca

Table 1: Canadian Regional IQV Index – Ranked from most diverse to most homogeneous, 2001

5 Regions of Canada	1) BC	2) Ontario	3) Prairies	4) Atlantic	5) Quebec
IQV Scores:	0.83	0.79	0.75	0.54	0.17

Table 2: Provincial IQV Index – Ranked from most diverse to most homogeneous, 2001

10 Provinces of Canada ⟶	1) BC	2) ALTA	3) ONT	4) MAN	5) SASK
IQV Scores:	0.83	0.82	0.79	0.75	0.72
10 Provinces of Canada	6) NS	7) PEI	8) NB	9) NFLD	10) QC
IQV Scores:	0.70	0.64	0.54	0.47	0.17

Canada has a national membership of 6.4% with 75% in urban areas and 25% in rural areas. Overall, these three denominations dominate the religious distribution in rural areas as follows: 1) 46% of all rural respondents are Roman Catholic; 2) 12.9% of rural respondents are United Church and; 3) 8.0% of rural respondents are Anglican.

The Provincial landscape in terms of religious diversity shows considerable variation. For this project, we have produced an Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV)[3] using proportions of Canadians in each of the 33 religious groups (as defined by Statistics Canada). The score varies between 1 (representing high diversity) and 0 (representing low diversity). The following tables outline the religious diversity exclusively in rural Canada within each province excluding the Northern Territories.

British Columbia has the highest score of religious diversity and Quebec has the lowest. This illustrates a pattern in which religious diversity declines from West to East. Ontario is an exception because the top mainline denominations are all well represented—34.9% Roman Catholicism, 12.4% United, and 9.3% Anglican—along with a wide variety of other religious organizations representing between 2% and 0% of the total. Quebec has the lowest overall diversity score because it is 90.4% Roman Catholic with the remaining denominations below 1.2%. Table 3 shows that an examination of the NRE field sites largely re-

[3] Religious diversity is measured by an index of qualitative variation (IQV) based on the number of religious groups and the proportion of each group within a census sub-division (CSD). The formula for IQV is as follows: $(k/(k-1))*(1-\sum p^2)$, where k denotes the number of religion categories and p indicates the proportion of individuals within each religion category.

Table 3: Local Site IQV Index (from the NRE Rural Observatory) – Ranked from most diverse to most homogeneous, 2001

26 NRE Sites →	1) BC3	2) BC2	3) ON5	4) BC1	5) NS1	6) ON3
IQV Scores:	0.98	0.96	0.95	0.91	0.88	0.86
7) ON2	8) MB2	9) SK1	10) NB1	11) ON4	12) NF2	13) NF1
0.85	0.85	0.82	0.83	0.78	0.71	0.70
26 NRE Sites →	14) PEI 1	15) MB1	16) SK2	17) ON1	18) NS2	19) AB1
IQV Scores:	0.69	0.68	0.64	0.30	0.24	0.22
20) QC2	21) QC6	22) QC4	23) QC5	24) NB2	25) QC3	26) QC1
0.19	0.07	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.00

flect this general pattern.[4]

Two of the NRE communities are incongruent with the general pattern. NS1 and AB1 have different diversity scores than their provincial counterparts. NS1 is widely diverse with 25.3% United, 17.3% Anglican and 16.5% Baptist, while AB1 is relatively homogeneous with 88.5% Roman Catholic and 4.9% Jehovah Witness. These anomalies remind us that in spite of the overall patterns, there are significant variations to be found at the local level.

In contrast to these religious diversity indexes, the following tables have been tabulated. They indicate the percentage of immigrants to rural areas (with relation to the overall national urban/rural percentages of immigration) both at a national level and within the NRE field sites.

Overall regional trends of immigration parallel those in the percentages of immigrants in the NRE rural communities. Note that the community of MB1, which has the highest percentage of immigrants in contrast to the regional trends, also scored as average on the religious diversity index. This highlights the issue that diversity among local communities may vary from provincial trends. It also points to the necessity for a greater understanding of how this diversity might affect social cohesion at the local level.

Overall regional trends of immigration parallel those in the percentages of immigrants

[4]The NRE field sites are represented with pseudonyms identifying their respective provinces.

Table 4: Canadian Regional Percentages of Immigrant Population – Ranked from highest to lowest overall percentage, 2001

5 Rural Regions of Canada	1) BC	2) Ontario	3) Prairies	4) Quebec	5) Atlantic
% of Pop:	14.1	9.2	4.4	2.4	2.1

Table 5: Local Community Percentages of Immigrant Population (from the NRE Rural Observatory) – Ranked from highest to lowest overall percentage, 2001

26 NRE Sites →	1) MB1	2) ON4	3) ON5	4) ON3	5) BC3	6) BC2
% of Pop:	15.2	15.2	14.6	10.7	10.7	10.2
7) ON2	8) BC1	9) MB2	10) SK2	11) ON1	12) AB1	13) NB1
10.1	8.7	7.6	4.1	3.9	3.2	3.1
26 NRE Sites →	14) QC3	15) PEI 1	16) NF1	17) NF2	18) QC2	19) NS1
% of Pop:	2.6	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.3
20) QC4	21) QC5	22) QC6	23) NB2	24) SK1	25) NS2	26) QC1
0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

in the NRE rural communities. Note that the community of MB1, which has the highest percentage of immigrants in contrast to the regional trends, also scored as average on the religious diversity index. This highlights the issue that diversity among local communities may vary from provincial trends. It also points to the necessity for a greater understanding of how this diversity might affect social cohesion at the local level.

Theoretical Framework: Diversity, Cohesion and Social Engagement

Homogeneity and Heterogeneity

Rural Canada is dominated by the Christian faith. As portrayed in the IQV indexes of religious diversity above, levels of diversity are related to the percentages of people affiliated to distinct religious organizations within the same social setting. Communities with an overwhelming majority of people affiliated to one religious organization are considered as homogenous. Communities with a spread of affiliates into different religious organizations are considered heterogeneous.

Exclusivism and Inclusivism

Religious beliefs and doctrine reinforce a variety of responses to the 'Other'—people who do not share those beliefs. Many of these ideological differences are represented by the different theological notions of Christian soteriology (i.e. doctrine of Christian salvation) reflected as different levels of either exclusivism or inclusivism.[5] Exclusivism (or systemic exclusiveness) is the claim that righteous moral and religious qualities, such as truth and salvation, are accessed uniquely from one religious tradition while disregarding the soteriological insights of other religious perspectives. Because exclusivist religious communities are prone to support their own adherents over others, they promote high social cohesion but narrowly focused on their religious affiliates and community members. Inclusivism (or as Basinger notes, soft exclusivism) is the claim that, though righteous qualities are preferentially available to those within a particular tradition, other religious traditions have partial or selective access to righteous moral and religious qualities. Because inclusivist organizations are prone to support others as well as their own adherents, they are more likely to promote a broader network of social cohesion.

Religious Denominations

For the purpose of our study, we will focus specifically on the following religious organizations since they are well represented in rural Canada: the Roman Catholic Church, the United Church of Canada, the Anglican Church of Canada, Baptist denominations, Pentecostal denominations, Mennonite denominations, the Jehovah's Witness movement, and the Salvation Army. Though it is very difficult to gauge at a macro level of inquiry how individual people address their own views and appropriations of exclusivism or inclusivism within each denomination, in the following section we attempt to assess each denomination's relative level of exclusivist or inclusivist orientation.[6] It must therefore be noted that the following descriptions are not a restricted delineation of denominational orientation but an expositional guide in order to ascertain the soteriological differences between Christian groups.

The contemporary Roman Catholic Church, because of its vast global presence in diverse ethnocultural regions and its history of ultramontane conservatism, promotes concurrently inclusivist and exclusivist worldviews. The Anglican Church of Canada also adheres to both inclusivist and exclusivist worldviews, though they are not as exclusivist as their Catholic compatriots due to their Reformed Protestant heritage that infuses an outwardly orientated inclusivism into the Church. The United Church of Canada takes the position that inclusivity is a fundamental Christian value making it the most inclusivist denomination in Canada. Baptists, though outwardly altruistic, view matters of faith and religious practice as resting solely in the local congre-

[5]For an in-depth discussion on exclusivism and inclusivism, cf. David Basinger, *Religious Diversity: A Philosophical Assessment*, Ashgate Philosophy of Religion Series: Aldershot, Hants, England, 2002.

[6]This assessment is based on the descriptive articles in the *Merriam-Webster Encyclopedia of World Religions* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 1999). For an in-depth discussion of the different effects of religious exclusivism and inclusivism, see Corwin E. Smidt, *Religion as Social Capital: Producing the Common Good*, (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2003).

gation of baptized believers enriching their worldview in a discourse of exclusivism. Pentecostalism is also outwardly altruistic, but prioritizes its worldview and the well-being of its own members. This denomination historically seeks, as one of many modes of faith, the proselytization of non-members. This means it is highly cohesive but rather difficult to enter into ecumenical relations with non-Pentecostals, making it an exclusivist organization.

Mennonites and Hutterites are of the Anabaptist tradition that adheres to the communal living patterns of the early Christian Church. Groups such as the Hutterites and the Amish are considered to be highly exclusivistic, while the wider Mennonite community is mixed. Though the complex nature of this religion does not easily delineate exclusivist or inclusivist attributes universally, the guiding factor remains that rural Anabaptists will adhere more to an exclusivist worldview while urban Anabaptists orient themselves towards an inclusivist worldview. The Jehovah's Witness movement's central belief in proselytizing 'non-Witnesses' makes it difficult to bridge religious differences and mobilize larger community cohesion. As a result, the Jehovah's Witness movement is very cohesive in their exclusivism with little to no association with other religious denominations. And finally, the Salvation Army's basic theological tenets ascribe an inclusivism that insures their leadership in building and maintaining the community at large.

Hypotheses

The following three hypotheses are considered in our data analysis: 1) inclusivist religious organizations will engender high community-wide social cohesion in both homogeneous and heterogeneous communities; 2) exclusivist religious organizations will engender high community-wide social cohesion only in homogonous communities and; 3) exclusivist religious organizations will engender low community-wide social cohesion in heterogonous communities.

Therefore, in order to operationalize these hypotheses, we have placed the 8 different Christian denominations on an Exclusive/Inclusive Altruism ranking chart. These numbers describe the religious denomination's position between poles of exclusivism and inclusivism as follows: exclusivism = 1 and inclusivism = 8. Note that this is not a rating (which illustrates an assessment or measure) but a ranking (which denotes an ordering or classification) of denominational diversity.

These rankings were then applied to each NRE field site to see at what level of exclusivism or inclusivism they produce. The exclusive/inclusive altruism values were calculated by multiplying the percentage of people within each religious group in each community by their exclusive/inclusive ranking value from Table 7. Note that this chart is not statistically rigorous and is only illustrative to be used in tandem with the IQV index of religious diversity found in Table 3.

Findings, Discussions and Further Research

Communities like NF1, NF2, and NS1 are noteworthy because they scored as highly inclusive on the exclusive/inclusive altruism table but scored average on the IQV diversity index. According to our hypothesis, these

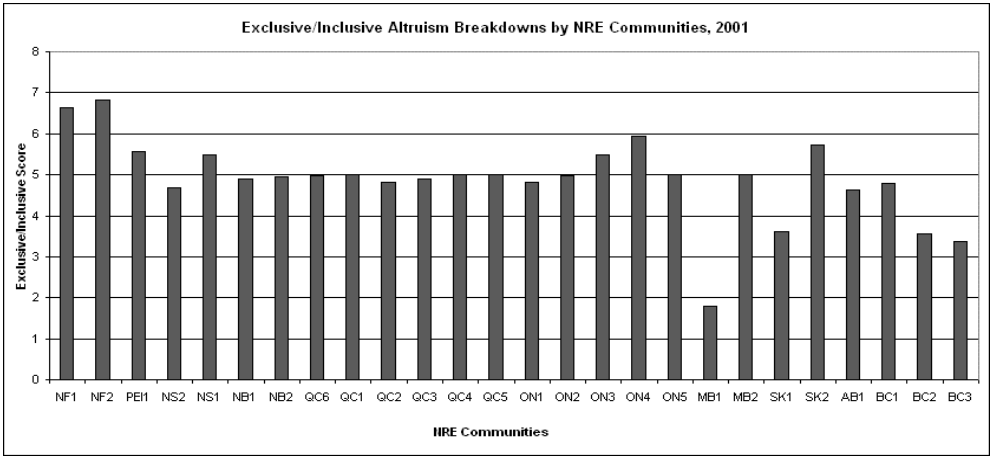
Table 6: Summary of Hypotheses—Community Social Cohesion by Religious Diversity and Level of Exclusion/Inclusion

	Homogeneous	**Heterogeneous**
Exclusivist	High Social Cohesion	*Low Social Cohesion*
Inclusivist	High Social Cohesion	High Social Cohesion

Table 7: Exclusive/Inclusive Altruism Ranking Chart

Religion:	**Ranking:**	**Religion:**	**Ranking:**
Jehovah's Witness	1	Roman Catholic Church	5
Mennonite	2	Anglican Church of Canada	6
Pentecostal Church	3	Salvation Army	7
Baptist Church	4	United Church of Canada	8

Table 8: Exclusive/Inclusive Altruism Distribution by NRE Field Sites, 2001



communities with inclusive religious organizations are likely to be highly cohesive and have a constructive effect on community development or social capacity. It must be noted that these communities have each scored below average with 2% of immigrant population. This begs the question exactly how religious diversity in these communities assists the social integration of their immigrant populations. According to the hypothesis of social cohesion and religious diversity, however, there should be a constructive impulse from the present religious communities in aiding that integration as a community beyond the borders of their respective denominations.

The community MB1 has an average religious diversity index score with the lowest altruism ranking for the following reasons: this community has a very low number of inclusivist religious denominations (i.e. the United Church is second highest at 5.4%) and has the highest Mennonite population overall with 56.1%. Because this denomination leans towards a religious exclusivism—particularly in rural settings—it scored as highly exclusivist while remaining average on the diversity index. According to the hypothesis, this denomination will engender high community-wide social cohesion for it is a homogenous town having a constructive effect on community development or social capacity. Moreover, MB1 has the highest percentage of immigrants overall. Again this is a possible indicator of social cohesion where, in a community that leans towards a religious exclusivism with a minimized diversity, is also one that is conducive to integrating new people of that same denomination into the community, thus generating high social cohesion.

The community of NB1 has an altruism score below 5 with an average diversity score of 0.83 and an average percentage of immigrants at 3.1%. What is interesting here is that the religious diversity in NB1 leans towards a majority of exclusivist denominations—Roman Catholic 36.5%, Pentecostal 22.6%, Anglican Church 17.4%, and Baptist 13%. According to our hypothesis, the number of exclusivist organizations will engender low community-wide social cohesion in this religiously diverse (heterogeneous) community having an incapacitating effect on community development. It must also be noted that there are a relatively high number of immigrants in this community. This raises the question of the role these denominations are taking in integrating their immigrant population in contrast to their exclusivist view of one another.

However, not all communities fall under the classifications related to these hypotheses. The community of BC3, for example, has the highest score on the religious diversity index, yet scoring the second lowest on the altruism chart for the following reason: BC3 is tremendously diverse with a number of religious denominations below 10%. This results in a community that is potentially exclusive because its religious institutions stand in an overall minority position below 10%. In addition, this community has a high percentage of immigrants. Overall this raises the question of the validity and impact of religious organizations in influencing overall community cohesion and social integration when they are represented in a minority standing. Secondly, the majority of communities in Quebec—i.e. QC1, QC4, QC5, and QC6—are very homogeneous, all displaying 0% of religious diversity and immigrant population. However,

each community garnered average ratings on the altruism chart. This is related to the majority of residents in these communities being Roman Catholic and that this religious denomination is ranked as average in terms of exclusivist/inclusivist worldview. This creates a problem: when considering the altruistic orientation of a community, we cannot come to truthfully understand if the people within these communities adhere to the exclusivist or inclusivist worldviews inherent to their denominations through a statistical and theological analysis alone. This refers to the important issue of trying to understand the exclusivism or inclusivism of the most dominant Christian denomination in Canada by using different research means.

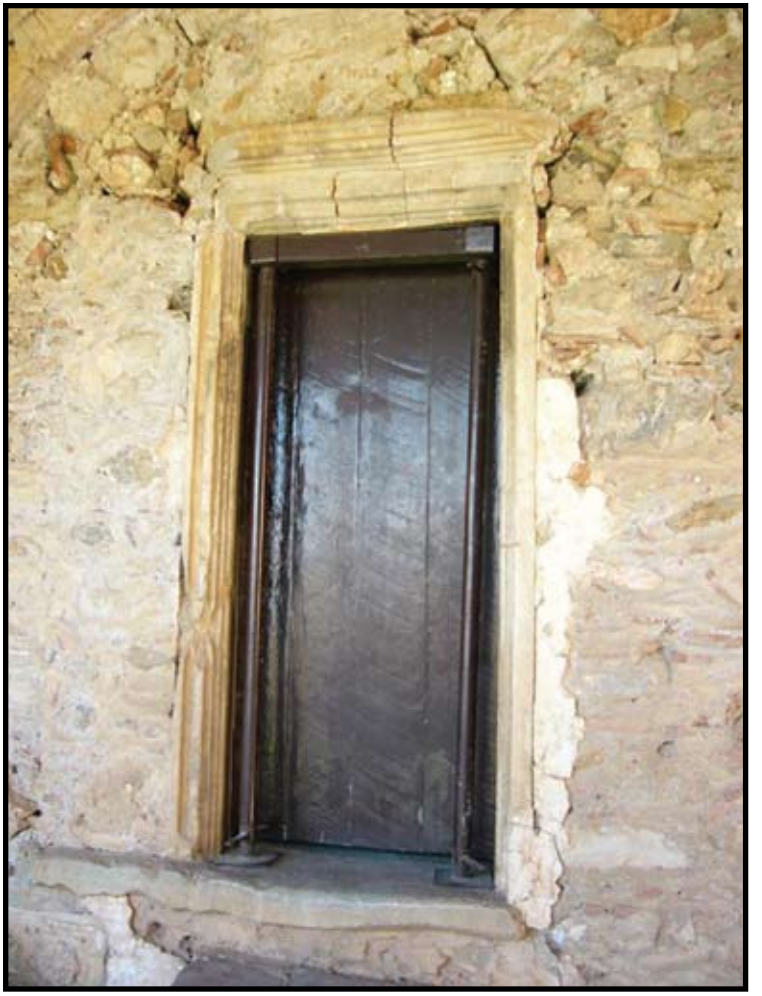
In order to gain more tangible results for understanding the role that religious organizations play in affecting social cohesion, there needs to be a qualitative research involving individual community members in order to ascertain perspectives related to their religious affiliation and its impact on their sense of identity and their view of the overall community. This additional research should clarify the ambiguities and blind spots apparent in the statistical and theological examination.

Conclusion

This article brings insight into how religious diversity operates in managing conflict in rural Canada through a macro level of inquiry using statistics and different theological definitions of one's attitude towards the 'Other'. Though theology and statistics have aided in grounding a clearer understanding of religious activity in rural Canada, ultimately this is a theoretical piece that offers a solid framework for a larger qualitative research investigating the subjective aspects of religious worldviews with regard to the self and the 'Other'. This presentation, therefore, is only the beginning.

Paul Gareau *is presently completing a Master's degree in the History and Philosophy of Religion at Concordia University. The questions raised by this article were initiated by his experiences growing up in rural Saskatchewan. These were experiences of objectifying, demonizing and/or ignoring the 'Other', while inversely characterized by experiences of curiosity, sharing and social engagement. Due to the relativistic nature of cultural difference, he is using this article as a platform for a doctoral dissertation where he will be investigating discourses of religious difference in rural Canada using "phenomenological anthropology.". The goal of this research is to better understand how people appropriate and negotiate religious discourses in affecting social cohesion.*


TREE OF
DIVERSITY



Doorway to Salvation (Mistras Monastery Peloponnesus) *Melanie Peralis, 2007*

Working with Manuscripts: A Field Guide for Students

Lorenzo DiTommaso

Manuscript Books

One of the best parts of my profession is the opportunity to work with ancient and mediaeval manuscripts. The nature of my research dictates that I work chiefly with *western manuscripts*, a designation that covers Greek and Latin manuscripts, as well as those written in the vernacular languages of mediaeval Europe: Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, Old French, and so on. I also consult *oriental manuscripts*, a broader category that embraces manuscripts written in the languages of the Middle and Far East, including Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. The labels 'western' and 'oriental' might sound a bit old-fashioned nowadays, but to my ear they seem appropriate to a discipline whose masters are still sometimes known as 'Keepers of Manuscripts'.

The word 'manuscript' derives from the Latin *manuscriptus* and simply means 'handwritten', as opposed to 'mechanically printed'. Handwriting, of course, is not limited to the medium of paper. Words may be carved in stone, incised in metal (cf. the Dead Sea "Copper Scroll"), or impressed onto moist clay tablets which would later be baked hard. Words may be scribbled on walls, cliffs, or statues, and in this form are called *graffiti* (sing. *graffito*). Pieces of broken clay pots, or *potsherds*, were a common writing medium in antiquity; the technical term for these is *ostraka* (sing. *ostrakon*). Wax *tabula*, too, were widely used (cf. Luke 1:63), certainly by students in schools and, I should think, by scribes, businessmen, merchants, or any other profession that required a ready, reusable surface to compute figures and tally accounts.

That being said, the distinction between *handwritten* and *mechanically printed* is usually made in cases where the writing medium is thin, flat, and reasonably flexible – qualities that are more associated with papyrus, skin (leather), bark, or paper.

From the standpoint of history, the printed word is actually a relatively new invention. In the West, mechanical printing only developed towards the middle of the early fifteenth century, and it took at least another century before the age of the manuscript closed for good (it lasted a lot longer elsewhere). Printed books from this early period, specifically before the sixteenth century, are called *incunabula* (sing. *incunabulum*, or 'incunable'), whose root is the Latin word for 'cradle', since this

was the period when printing was in its infancy. Many of these early books were printed in cities associated with the early Renaissance. One of the most famous printers was Aldus Manutius, whose dolphin-and-anchor device became one of the first internationally recognised trademarks, along with the golden orbs of the Medici. His Venetian publishing house popularised what would come to be known as the *italic* font, and his editions of the classics, known as Aldine editions, were favoured by scholars and students alike. I could go on about the history of printing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but that would take us in the wrong direction, so to speak.

In general, manuscripts exist in one of two forms, *scrolls* or *books*. Scrolls were the preferred technology for the cultures of classical antiquity and the ancient Middle East: Greek and Roman libraries of antiquity were filled with scrolls, the community of pious Jews who lived near the Dead Sea had a library of thousands of scrolls, and of course the 'books' of what would become the Hebrew Bible were in those days scrolls, as they still are today in synagogues.

Books were harder to manufacture than scrolls, but were handier to use and probably easier to transport. More importantly, they could accommodate far more script than a scroll, and were the ideal vehicle for binding together a collection of texts. 'Binding' and 'collection' are the key words, since any well-made book, ancient or modern, is really a collection of booklets, or *gatherings*, that have been bound together.[1] 'Quire' is another name for 'gathering', although it has different meanings as well.

A gathering is created by taking a large sheet of writing material and folding it one or more times. Take a sheet of foolscap and fold it in half along its shorter edge so that you create a brochure of two leaves, or *folia* (sing. *folio*), with the fold along its left-hand edge. Numbering the front (*recto*) and back (*verso*) of each leaf yields four pages, although in reality most mediaeval manuscript books are not paginated in the modern sense (see below). A second fold will produce four leaves, three folds will make eight leaves, and so on. More folds equal more leaves, but the leaves become correspondingly smaller – in bookmaking, as in thermodynamics, the law of conservation holds true: no matter how many times it is folded, a single sheet has a finite surface area. The number of folds, then, determines the size of the book. In former days, booksellers and bibliographers used to record a book's size as well as its title and author. A *folio* book was one whose size was equivalent to a broadsheet that been folded once, into two leaves. A *quarto* (or 4°), about the size of a modern large hardcover, had its sheets folded to make four leaves, an *octavo* (8°) into eight, a *sixteen-vo* (16°) into sixteen, and so on. In better libraries, oversized books are sometimes shelved separately under their correct name: *folio* volumes.

Next, a series of gatherings is sewn together along their inside edges. At one point, the top, bottom, and outside edges of the leaves are trimmed to remove their folds, thus separating them from one another. Modern books differ from ancient books in some details, but a close examination of the spine of any well-made hardcover book will confirm that

[1] Modern paperback and so-called 'perfect' bindings use a different process.

it consists of a series of gatherings that have been arranged in their correct sequence, sewn together, and glued within two covers. Most book covers today are cloth, to the point that the word has become synonymous with 'hardcover' (as opposed to 'paper' or 'paperback'). But for most early books, including the mediaeval examples, bindings were made from leather, or very occasionally wood.

Books were typically associated with the early Christians, and there is evidence to suggest that the technology was popularised by them. The Gnostic Christian texts from Nag Hammadi in Egypt are bound together in books, or, to use the Latin word, *codices* (sing. *codex*). The *Apocalypse of Adam*, for example, is known as NHC V, 5, or the fifth text contained within Nag Hammadi Codex V. Indeed, from a bookbinding perspective the New Testament is no more than a codex constituted from a sequential collection of discrete texts: four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, a double handful of letters, and an apocalypse.[2]

Over time, the technology of the codex gradually rendered the scroll obsolete, with the result that the vast majority of mediaeval Christian manuscripts are in fact *manuscript books*. I do, however, occasionally encounter the odd mediaeval manuscript scroll, which usually contains a brief text or texts, the sort that might be used for everyday consultation and could be tucked away upon one's person. Yale University MS 504, for example, is a small scroll containing three copies of the *Reuelatio Esdrae*, or *Revelations of Ezra*, a short text that forecasts the quality of the upcoming year on the basis of the day of the week upon which either Christmas or New Year's Day falls.

Fragments from manuscript scrolls of books are quite common. Most famous are the scroll fragments from the Dead Sea caves, which in their provenance are ancient, not mediaeval, and which in their numbers far exceed the total of partially or completely preserved scrolls. Most ancient papyri that have been recovered from among massive hordes in Egypt are also fragments. These number well into the hundreds of thousands, and contain all sorts of literary and documentary texts, some of the most significant of which are available to scholars in microfiche format. Sometimes scrolls can become 'petrified' (the term is inexact), like those recovered from Herculaneum, which were preserved after the city had been interred after the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, or, more rarely, in the case of certain Dead Sea scrolls (e.g., 11Q18).

Similarly common are manuscript *book fragments*. Not only can they be found in most modern manuscript libraries, stored in acid-free boxes or between glass plates, but they were a regular feature of the mediaeval world as well, since even in those times new books were constructed out of bits and pieces of older ones. Imagine a ninth-century copy of the apocryphal *De nativitate Mariae*, bound in a Northern Italian manuscript book of the same date. A century later, the book is transported to the Loire Valley and disassembled for an unknown purpose. Our imaginary text survives, however, along with several others,

[2]Although 'Bible' is derived from *biblia*, a Greek noun which with a definite article translates as 'the books', the word refers less to the technology and more to the idea of an assembly of authoritative writings, regardless of their medium. The word ultimately derives from the name of a Phoenician city, Byblos, which was famous for its papyrus, the ancient world's paper – but this, too, is a story best reserved for another time.

in a group of gatherings sewn together without a cover. Another two hundred years pass, and the group is broken up because someone desires one of the other texts it contains. Our text again miraculously endures, but this time only as loose leaves, and in fact its last two leaves go missing. By the fourteenth century our now-incomplete text is in England, where its new owner decides to bind it in a manuscript book together with other apocryphal Marian texts he has managed to collect. The modern scholar is thus left with a defective, ninth century North Italian copy of the *Nativitate*, preserved with other Marian writings of diverse provenance and date in a fourteenth century English codex. In this fashion it becomes part of the full apparatus of the extant manuscript evidence for the text, from which a critical edition may be prepared. If there is a message in all this, it is that *the effective lifespan of mediaeval manuscripts is often measured in centuries*.

Many texts have come down to us through equally convoluted circumstances. In some instances, a complete copy of a text, originally in its correct order, might be reassembled in a different order in a later manuscript book. I even know of cases where the first half of a text is preserved in one place in a codex, and the second half is located fifty or even a hundred leaves later on, separated by other writings, or where what should be the end of a text actually precedes its beginning!

Likewise, in a curious twist of fate, the first Dead Sea Scroll was actually discovered fifty years before all the rest. In the 1890s, Solomon Schechter received permission to investigate the genizah of the Ben-Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo. A genizah is a storeroom where manuscripts deemed too precious or sacred to discard casually are deposited after they have been worn-out by use. Among the horde of mediaeval Jewish manuscripts that he found in the genizah (while working in what must have been unbearably stifling conditions) were two mediaeval copies of a text which he recognised as being ancient in origin, and which he published under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge, 1910). Five decades later, when the contents of the Dead Sea caves came to light, other copies and versions of the same text were found, and this of course is the famous *Damascus Document*. The bulk of the manuscripts from the Cairo genizah are now held in the Cambridge University Library, and it is no exaggeration to say that even though their full contents are only now being revealed via catalogues, they have already revolutionised our understanding of mediaeval Judaism. For further reading on manuscripts and their sojourns, I recommend M.R. James's delightful little handbook, *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts* (London: SPCK, 1919).

Manuscript recycling in mediaeval times also extended to the individual leaves themselves, which sometimes had their original text erased and new texts written over top. Such leaves are called *palimpsests*. Sometimes the erased text, or *undertext*, of a palimpsest can be recovered. In the nineteenth century, Cardinal Mai, librarian first at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milano and later at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, recovered from palimpsests many precious biblical and classical writings that had been lost since antiquity. Similarly, Cardinal Mercati discovered a palimpsest in the same Ambrosian Library whose undertext preserved large portions of

the Hexapla of Psalms. Their methods, which were mechanical and largely destructive to the overtext, have since been replaced by modern radioscopic technologies.

However, despite the prevalence of scrolls, and despite, too, the great multitude of scroll fragments and scraps, what one normally encounters in the libraries and institutions in Western Europe and North America are Christian manuscript books from the Middle Ages. From this point on, when I use the word 'manuscript' or 'manuscripts', I mean *western mediaeval manuscript books*.

Although this field guide is not the vehicle for an extended discussion of handwriting, or *palaeography*, I should say a word on the subject. While styles of handwriting vary from century to century and across geographic regions, scholars make a broad distinction among the formal square script of late antiquity, which consists of capital or uppercase letters (*majuscule*), the *uncial* script of the early mediaeval period, which is also majuscule, though more rounded, and the lowercase (*miniscule*) scripts of later centuries. In this way, over time, MANVSCRIPTVS became MANUSCRIPTUS and then manuscriptus (and then, in the printed italics of Manutius's volumes, *manuscriptus*). Uncials are older and therefore rarer, but are relatively easy to read. Miniscule scripts are quite common, but vary widely, and some can be nearly impossible to decipher. Compounding the issue is the fact that spelling in manuscripts, or *orthography*, is notoriously inconsistent, since it was really only with the advent of printed dictionaries that the spelling of words came to be fixed. Even worse, mediaeval scribes were addicted to abbreviations, the full roster of which requires a small volume in itself. Modern editions of texts usually expand words that are abbreviated in manuscript, and indicate this through either italics or underlining, e.g., ma*nu*script*us* or manuscriptus, or otherwise expand the text silently (i.e., without notation).

The standard abbreviation for the word 'manuscript' is 'MS,' the plural being 'MSS.' The forms 'Ms' or 'ms,' without the full slate of capitals, are probably more common, and I must confess to a personal stubbornness in such matters. French sources, following their rules of capitalisation, normally use 'ms' and 'mss.' In German, the abbreviations are 'Hs' and 'Hss,' which stand for *Handschrift* and *Handschriften*.

Manuscript Repositories

Since the Enlightenment, the principal repositories of mediaeval manuscript books have come to be the great national and university libraries of Western Europe. Each scholar's list will be slightly different, but most rosters of the important manuscript libraries will contain the following names:

- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek preußischer Kulturbesitz
- Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
- Cambridge, the libraries of the major university colleges
- Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
- Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
- London, British Library
- Manchester, John Rylands University Library
- Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
- München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxford University
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

- Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- Venezia, Biblioteca (nazionale) Marciana
- Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

In addition to these libraries, many churches, monasteries, civic libraries, and universities in Europe have their own manuscript repositories, the total number of which must number into the thousands. Most of the oldest church and monastery libraries, however, have long since disappeared, their books dispersed and frequently broken up or otherwise lost. In Paris, for example, along with the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), there is the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (part of the BnF), the Bibliothèque Mazarine (part of the Institut de France), the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Archives nationales, and a galaxy of smaller libraries and institutions. Not only that, but manuscripts are also located at multiple sites in most of the cities, towns, and villages across the rest of France, and the same holds true for England, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, and across the rest of the countries of Europe.[3]

The best way to make sense of the holdings of the hundreds of manuscript libraries and repositories is through their *manuscript catalogues*. Not every manuscript collection has been catalogued, and not every catalogue does what it is supposed to do, but the ideal example will cover a set collection of manuscripts from a given library, and identify each manuscript and describe its contents. If we take our example of the Parisian libraries, there are catalogues of the BnF Latin manuscripts, as well as catalogues of its Greek manuscripts and French manuscripts. These catalogues also helpfully describe the formation of its collection, informing us that certain manuscripts were originally held at the Sorbonne, others at the abbey of St-Germain-des-Prés, and so on. In addition to the BnF catalogues, there are seven additional volumes devoted to the Arsenal manuscripts, four volumes to the Mazarine manuscripts, and two volumes to the Ste-Geneviève manuscripts. Finally, there is a series of catalogues, which currently runs to several dozen volumes, addressing the manuscripts of the *départements*, or regions, of France. In this series there might be two volumes devoted to the manuscripts at Chartres, a volume listing the manuscripts in the Rouen area, and likewise across the rest of France.

Regrettably, most of the other European countries do not employ this systematic approach, and in fact most catalogues were composed as independent units. One of the best cataloguers of all time was M.R. James, author of the aforementioned *Wandering and Homes of MSS*, who devoted four decades to cataloguing the manuscripts held by the major college libraries of Cambridge University, as well as the holdings of several other major English collections.[4]

But many other manuscript collections are inadequately catalogued, only partially catalogued, or have yet to be catalogued at all. For this reason, large survey studies such as the *Summary Catalogue* of western manuscripts in

[3] Researchers who are interested in documents from the modern period face their own set of problems. Many state papers are preserved in the same large, national libraries as the British Library, the Archives nationales, or the Library of Congress, but where mediaeval manuscript books are found in churches, monasteries and local libraries, researchers who wish to consult state and private papers will find much of their material held in national and ministry archives, and in private, local, and university libraries.

[4] He was also a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, later became the Provost of Eton, and to this day remains the best author of ghost stories in the English language. His catalogues, by the way, still hold up remarkably well.

the Bodleian Library or N.R. Ker's volumes of mediaeval manuscripts in British libraries are invaluable. Other similarly helpful resources exist, but the limitations of space permit me to list just two further examples: F.E. Cranz's *Microfilm Corpus*, which in thirty-eight reels preserve the microfilmed images of the indexes of hundreds of printed catalogues of Latin manuscripts, and J.-M. Olivier's *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscripts grecs*, the third edition (1995) of M. Richard's original work. It is worth noting, too, that manuscript catalogues are beginning to appear online, either in the form of searchable databases (e.g., the Beinecke or Pierpont Morgan collections) or as digitalized copies of the original print catalogues (e.g., James's descriptions of collections of St. John's College and Trinity College at Cambridge, or the catalogues of the Biblioteca naçional de España in Madrid, among others).

So whether you are visiting a library to consult a specific manuscript, or are more interested in browsing through a group of promising manuscripts, you should first determine whether a catalogue exists and, as the saying goes, do the legwork. It makes little sense to waste your research trip to a manuscript library working with catalogues that might have been studied beforehand. I hasten to add, however, that while visiting a library you should always check the on-site copies of the catalogues of its own holdings, since more often than not their librarians will have made handwritten corrections and additions in the catalogue's margins. There is, by the way, a substantial amount of literature on the subject of marginalia, mediaeval and modern, and several of the prognostic texts in which I am academically interested were frequently scribbled in manuscript margins. Alternate readings to biblical books were also marginalised, and some of these preserve variants from translations that are otherwise no longer extant.

Spending time with the manuscript catalogues will also introduce you to the library's system of classification. The holdings of the Vatican Library and the British Library, for example, consist of a series of collections (*fonds*), within which each manuscript is identified by its own individual *class mark* (or *shelf number*). Those new to manuscript research are often perplexed by an unfamiliar class mark. The notation "Pal. lat. 235 f.39va-c" might seem like gibberish to the uninitiated. But to the trained eye, it is a reference to a specific text, located at the Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Latin codex Palatinus 235, folio 39, columns a to c. Similarly, the code words "BM Cott. Tib. A.iii, art. 26" direct one to the British Library in London (*olim* the 'British Museum', hence 'BM'), and more specifically to the twenty-sixth text in the codex known as Cotton Tiberius A.iii.

Furthermore, if you read more about the history of the Cotton manuscripts, then you will learn that its nucleus is the superb collection amassed by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, which before they became part of British Library were stored in a series of cabinets, each of which was surmounted by the bust of one of the Caesars (or, in two cases, famous women of antiquity). So a manuscript with the class mark, 'Cotton Tiberius', was for a long time shelved in a cabinet over which the old brute, Tiberius Caesar, surveyed, no doubt with the "sneer of cold command" that Shelley describes. You might additionally discover that in 1731 a substantial portion of the Cotton

collection was consumed by a fire, with the result that some of the oldest western manuscript books in existence perished or were severely damaged. I cannot speak for every researcher, but to my mind, an understanding of the texts should be inseparable from an appreciation for the manuscripts in which they are written.

As for manuscripts in North America, and perhaps contrary to what one might assume, there are some very fine collections. Here I highlight the collections of Harvard, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, the Garrett Library at Princeton, the Huntington Library in California, the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), and the Pierpont Morgan Library. All have been expertly catalogued. The Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto also has some important manuscripts.

Several American institutions also house *microfilm copies* of manuscripts from major European collections. In the Vatican Film Library at Saint Louis University, one may consult microfilms of the majority of the Greek and Latin manuscripts from the Vatican collection, while the library of the Medieval Institute at Notre Dame holds microfilm copies of manuscripts from Milan's famous Biblioteca Ambrosiana. The Library of Congress in Washington contains quite a collection, obtained in a series of expeditions immediately following the Second World War designed to photographically preserve manuscript treasures of Europe. The Hilander Research Library holds a very good, if eclectic collection of microfilm copies, and is particularly known for its Slavonic holdings.[5] Lastly, the manuscripts from a few important collections (the Cotton is one) are available on microfilm.

Of course, before one visits a manuscript library he or she must have a good working knowledge of the ancient or mediaeval languages, and a fair understanding of manuscript abbreviations, palaeography, and orthography. That being said, there is no substitute for the experience of working with manuscripts: only by building birdhouses does one build better birdhouses.

Consulting Manuscripts: Two Examples

If the first step is to review the manuscript catalogues, then the second is to consult the manuscripts themselves. This is not as easy as it sounds. Access to manuscript collections is strictly regulated, and security is high. Moreover, manuscripts are not printed books such as one finds on the stacks of a university library. You cannot withdraw manuscripts or consult them at will, and more often than not they will be hand-delivered to your desk by a librarian.

The processes involved with consulting manuscripts can be complicated, and preparation is the key. Know the manuscript library that you plan to visit, and research its catalogues thoroughly. You should understand beforehand where you need to be, how you intend to travel there (international and local), what it will cost, what special circumstances you might

[5] For more information, the reader should consult my note on "Microform Manuscript Collections in the United States," *Bulletin de l'Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne* 17 (2007), 14-16

have to address, and which manuscripts you will want to consult.

* * * * *

Let me describe two examples of the process, wherein a researcher visits: 1) the BnF in Paris and; 2) the Beinecke Library in New Haven, in order to consult some mediaeval Latin manuscripts. My senior colleague, Professor Charles Kannengiesser, who over a generation ago spent many years in close study of manuscripts of the Church Fathers, informs me that the procedures of the BNF Richelieu as I describe them remain essentially unchanged.

1. The Latin manuscripts of the BnF are principally held in the western manuscripts reading room of the BnF Richelieu, which is located in the second *arrondissement* in central Paris. Some BnF manuscripts are held in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, a thirty-minute walk to the south-east, in the fourth *arrondissement*.

Our researcher's initial task is to obtain an access card. At the BnF Richelieu, after passing through a metal detector and security checkpoint at the front gate on rue Richelieu, the researcher visits the administrative office, where he provides the administrator with his passport and a brief, official letter of introduction from the department chair or an advisor. *I strongly urge all researchers (students and professors alike) to obtain such a letter before visiting any European manuscript library*. A photo-identification access card is created on site. Although the BnF has the facilities to take photographs, researchers should always carry a few extra passport-sized photos. In 2008, a year's access to the BnF costs 53.00 Euros.

The western manuscripts reading room is located on the second floor. It is everything one might expect from a Parisian library: a very long, elegant rectangular room with thirty-foot ceilings. It is lined with books, wood paneling, spiral staircases, large mirrored cabinets, and, along one wall, unbelievably tall French windows that open to a sunny cobblestone courtyard below. In the middle of the room is a central island, where several librarians work and assist the *lecteurs* (the researchers).

Upon entry, at one end of the reading room, our researcher presents his access card to the attendant and is handed three items in return: a key to lockers outside the room (on lockers, see below, 'Handling Manuscripts'), a green or blue plastic plate about the size of CD case, and an exit slip. The plate has a number, which corresponds to the number of a desk inside the room that will be the researcher's private workspace for the day.

In order to consult a manuscript, our researcher needs to complete a manuscript request form [see Plate I, p. 85]. At the BnF, researchers may consult up to five manuscripts per day. Part of the information required on these forms is the microfilm number of the manuscript, the information for which is stored in a separate card catalogue. If the manuscript is available on microfilm, and unless one can offer a good reason otherwise, researchers are obliged to consult the reproduction of the manuscript rather than the manuscript itself. I have had several occasions to request to consult the original manuscript even when a microfilm copy exists; this is accomplished through yet another official form, available from the central island.

Once the manuscript request form is completed, our researcher presents it and his numbered green plate to a librarian at the end of the room opposite the entrance. If his requests may be filled by microfilm, the librarian will assign the researcher a microfilm machine number, and the microfilms will be left (one at a time) at that machine. If the manuscript itself will be consulted, a librarian will bring it to the researcher's desk. Whatever the case, the researcher's green plate is exchanged for an orange plate, on which again is the number of his desk.

At this point our researcher returns to his desk to await delivery of the manuscript book, or moves to the assigned microfilm reader, ready to read the manuscript on a microfilm reel. One may temporarily leave the reading room and/or the library, but one's access card always remains at the front desk. When he is ready to leave for the day, the researcher must return the last manuscript (or microfilm) to the desk at the end of the room, and re-exchange his orange plate for the green one. Then, with all his papers in hand and his desk clear, the researcher presents the green plate and the exit slip that he received at the start of the day to the librarian on duty at the central island. The green plate indicates that the researcher has returned all his manuscripts, yet still the librarian will check his papers thoroughly before signing the exit slip. Only then can the researcher retrieve his access card from the front desk.

Reproductions of BnF manuscript folia are available for a fee. Forms must be completed and submitted to the reproductions department, which is located elsewhere within the BnF Richelieu. Services range from photocopies and photographs to microform reproductions (microfilm, microfiche, or slides) to digital reproductions, where page and text are converted to JPEG, PDF, or TIFF formats. One should expect a turnaround of several months before receiving the requested material.

2. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University is everything one might expect from a modern library: a sleekly elegant building that is set partly below ground level and contains a temperature-controlled atmosphere. As with most North American manuscript libraries, the process of consulting manuscripts is more streamlined than in European libraries.

Once at Yale, our researcher enters the Beinecke at the ground floor and deposits his coat and bags in an area monitored by security guards before proceeding downstairs to the central desk. First-time visitors initially register online at a nearby computer terminal (this may be done in advance), and then re-register, with two pieces of photo identification, with a librarian at the central desk. Our researcher next signs the day book and receives a key to a locker for his personal effects (on lockers, see below, 'Handling Manuscripts'). Once ready for work, he submits completed manuscript request forms [see Plate II, p. 86] at the central desk. The manuscripts are retrieved from storage and brought to the desk, usually within twenty to thirty minutes.

Only one manuscript at a time is permitted in the special, atmosphere-controlled reading room nearby; the researcher retrieves it from a librarian at the desk and carries it to one of twenty-odd rectangular tables in the reading

room. In rare cases the library staff will themselves convey large or especially rare items to one's desk. In fact, during our last research trip, in October 2007, two librarians carried a life-sized granite bust of a 1930's French politician directly to the table of my wife, Diane. The thing must have weighed forty or fifty pounds!

When finished with the manuscript, our researcher returns it to the central desk and obtains the next manuscript. There is no limit to the number of manuscripts that may be consulted daily. Researchers who retire for the day should expect that their bags will be thoroughly checked by the security guards before they are permitted to exit the building.

Microfilm readers are available but their use is not enforced in the way that it is at the BnF. Reproductions of manuscript folia are available for a fee. Forms may be completed and submitted to the central desk, where payment may be made by credit card, or orders may be sent via e-mail. A full range of services is available. If one is on-site, special slips are used to "flag" the specific pages in a manuscript for reproduction. In all cases, expect a turnaround of two to three weeks for your order to be filled.

When consulting manuscripts, research trips of a week or less normally demand intensive library time, with evenings spent collating the day's work and preparing for the next day's tasks. However, for stays that last several weeks or even months, I suggest approaching your task in terms of a marathon rather than a sprint, working no more than six hours a day. In the spring of 1999, as an ABD doctoral student during my first research trip to Paris, I spent several weeks in one of the libraries of the Catholic Institute, near the Luxembourg Garden. There I worked at a desk near some Italian scholars, who each day took hour-long breaks for lunch. I have never forgotten this lesson. Since most manuscript libraries are located in the world's most beautiful cities, a light lunch can be accompanied by a short stroll around Paris, Rome, Vienna, or London, from which one will return feeling completely refreshed and ready for the afternoon's work. Few persons are fortunate enough to be able to work in such a convivial environment.

When visiting a manuscript library, my advice is to dress as if you were attending an academic conference. Suits are common among professional European academics of both genders. North American scholars are generally less formal. For gentlemen, the combination of blazer and dress shirt is entirely appropriate, although a pullover rather than a blazer, or the combination of a sport shirt and slacks will not be out of place, either.

Handling Manuscripts

Briefcases and bags are normally not permitted in manuscript reading rooms, and lockers are often provided where such items may be stored. Sometimes researchers employ an opaque plastic briefcase to transport their materials from the locker to the reading room, as they are required to do in the British Library and Archives nationales (where they provide the cases). Cellular telephones should be turned off or, better yet, left in one's locker.

Pencils are the preferred writing tool; researchers are expected to know enough not to bring ink into a manuscript reading room. Manu-

script libraries do not usually permit the use of electronic document scanners, although I have noted an increase in the use of digital cameras.

When consulting manuscripts, you will require your notebook computer, a few pencils, research material, some blank writing paper, and a high-quality magnifying glass. I also carry a pair of gloves for manuscripts that can no longer tolerate the touch of human skin, although in such rare cases the library may provide these (e.g., as they do for the manuscripts at the Osler Library at McGill University).

Expect to use *futons* and *snakes* when reading manuscripts. A 'futon' (also called a 'pillow' or some similarly evocative term) is a heavily padded, rectangular cloth, about an inch thick and covered in velvet or some other plush material. It comes in various sizes, the most common being approximately a yard long and a foot wide. The researcher scrolls his futon from each end, so that its middle part ends up laying flat on his desk and its scrolled-up ends form two cushions perhaps three inches high. The manuscript book is positioned on the futon so that the spine of the book rests in the low part in the middle, and its open covers are supported by the higher, rolled-up parts at either end.

Some libraries prefer to use large foam wedges instead of futons. In this case, the researcher aligns two foam wedges along their narrow edges in order to form a v-shaped trough. The spine of the manuscript book is placed within the trough, and its open covers are supported by the flat planes of the foams.

'Snakes' are foot-long, inch-wide, soft velvet tubes in which are contained hundreds of tiny ball bearings. The idea is that one uses these flexible weights to hold down the pages of the MS book as it lies on the futon, since the pages have a tendency to creep towards the vertical (this is an effect of the binding). In other libraries, weighted strings or other devices perform the same function.

The net effect of futons/foams and snakes/strings are to support the manuscript book in an open position without breaking its binding, which might be eight or more centuries old. *Never force open a manuscript book flat against a desk, or use one's fingers or hand to keep a folio page open*. The researcher who ignores these rules risks having a librarian come to his desk to deliver a brisk and occasionally public scolding. I have seen this happen several times.

Most mediaeval manuscripts are foliated rather than paginated. The front (*recto*) of first leaf (*folio*) is numbered '1' but the back of the leaf (*verso*) does not contain a number. Instead, the next folio is numbered '2,' and so on. Thus, a text that starts on folio 1 and ends on the back of the following leaf is said to run from fol. 1r to 2v (sometimes 1a to 2b). Often the text extends across the full width of the leaf, as with a modern book, but other times it is written in two or more columns. Columns of text are normally indicated by lowercase letters, e.g., fol. 1ra-b (or 1r a-b).

In many instances, bindings are not original, and, as I mentioned earlier, many manuscript books consist of gatherings and sometimes even single leaves from various earlier manuscript books or booklets. While manuscript books are often devoted to a single author or, more commonly, a specific general subject, it

is not unusual to find examples where a variety of texts are contained within the covers of a single book.

While manuscript pages from the sixteenth century onwards are normally composed of paper, almost all of the mediaeval examples from the eighth to fifteenth centuries are fashioned from prepared animal skins. There is great diversity in their colour and texture. Some pages are browned, stained, coarse, ripped, or otherwise damaged. Yet the pages of some of the oldest manuscript books I have seen have an almost translucent whiteness. It never ceases to amaze me that eight-hundred year old manuscripts leaves have managed to survive in a better state than many of the books from the first half of the twentieth century. One reason for this is that the pages of these modern books were composed of highly reactive paper that within a few decades had already begun to become brittle and crumble. That being said, it is in an unfortunate fact that many manuscript books have been irrevocably damaged by persons who over the centuries have torn out or cut away their illuminations. Many old maps, too, which today hang like trophies on office or studio walls, used to be old maps in old books.

Manuscripts are organic phenomena, and have an aroma about them that, in rare cases, can be quite potent. To my nose, their aroma recalls bridle leather, wet autumn earth, or occasionally dried wild mushrooms. Those with allergies or asthma might suffer, however, and for this reason should be careful to ensure that appropriate medical remedies are handy. Dust is not so much a problem with mediaeval manuscripts as it is with modern collections of state or personal papers. I imagine that some mediaeval books might be moldy, but am unqualified to offer additional information. I have seen a few manuscripts that have been much damaged by mice.

Afterword

Many researchers request a manuscript, consult a specific text, and then return the manuscript as soon as possible, as if one were renting a DVD from the local *dépanneur*. While the limitations of travel, time, and expense inevitably warrant a measure of dispatch, you might want to spend an extra few minutes considering each book that crosses your desk. Examine its binding, especially if it seems original. In some of the old great mediaeval libraries, books were chained in place, and sometimes one sees manuscript books that have remnants of the catches and clasps on their covers. Are there minor texts written on the flysheets or endpages? Are the leaves of the book pricked, or are they ruled, either by ink or drypoint? Are the letters of its texts rubricated? Are there marginal or interlinear notes or illustrations? If you can, spare a few moments to review the other texts in the book. Many manuscript books were assembled for a purpose: a Book of Hours, a volume of the Lives of the Saints, a collection of scientific treatises, or a Commonplace book. Time and again I have encountered a hitherto uncatalogued copy of a biblical apocryphon simply while browsing through a manuscript book. You never know what you might discover.

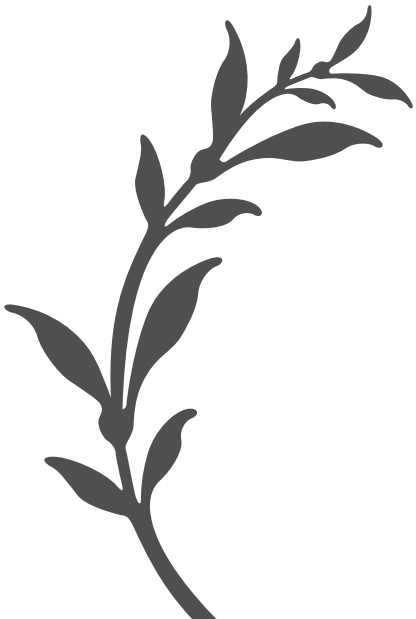
Above all, pay special attention to the illuminations, whose colour and detail can be magnificent, and all the more so if you happen to have a manuscript that was illustrated by a master. Yale MS 404, also known as the

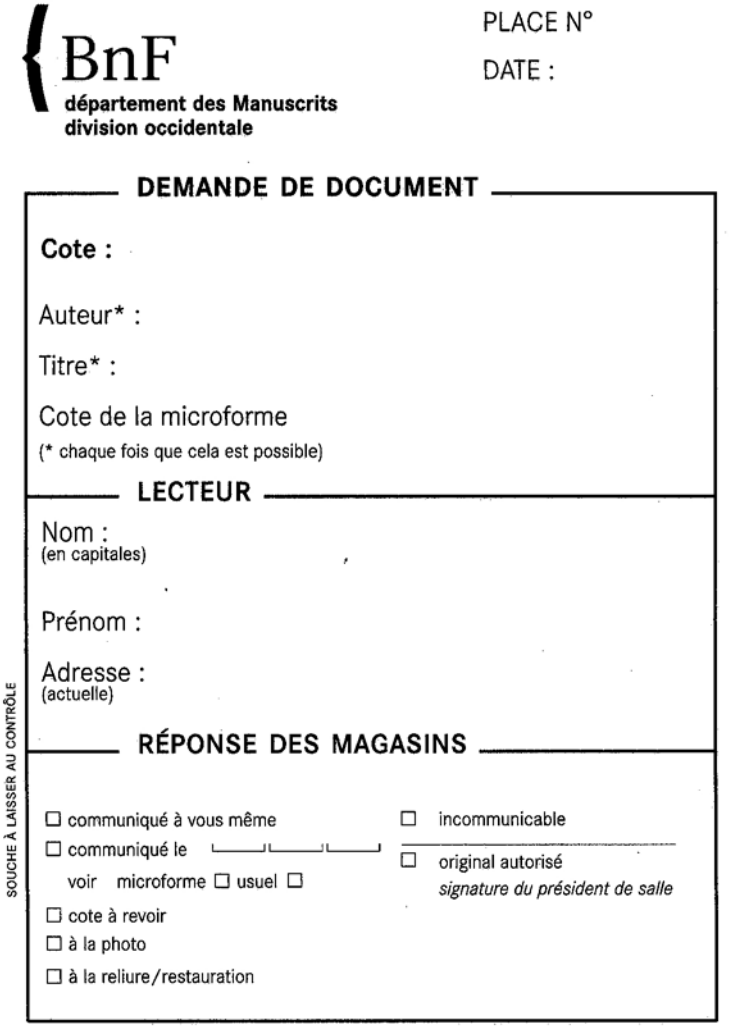
Rothschild Canticles, is, for example, among the most beautiful books in the Beinecke Library. Fol. 113r, which is reproduced in Plate III (p. 87), contains the beginning of a strange story about Adam and the origin of monsters, part of a large corpus of mediaeval teratological literature. From top to bottom, the three illustrations portray Adam warning his daughters that they will conceive monsters if they eat the fruit of certain herbs, a swan-headed humanoid (do children *ever* listen?), and a pair of *cynoscephalae*, which literally mean "dog-headed men". The other illustration, reproduced in Plate IV (p. 88), is drawn from a series of Sibylline prophecies that are preserved in Yale MS 411. These prophecies, however, are not part of the famous *Sibylline Oracles* of the "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha", but rather one of a diverse collection of *oracula* of late antique or mediaeval vintage. Here, on fol. 57v, we have a representation of the famous Tiburtine Sibyl, accompanied by a brief prophecy in the cartouche at the bottom of the page.

As magnificent as these images are, however, they pale in comparison to the experience of having these precious books propped open on your desk, where for a timeless moment, the articulation of the hand and the luminosity of the brush speak to you across the void of the centuries, voices from our past that connect us with the universal fellowship of human achievement.

I thank my faculty colleagues Charles Kannengiesser (Theology) and Sean Alexander Gurd (Classics) for reviewing a preliminary draft of this paper.

Lorenzo DiTommaso *is Assistant Professor of Theology at Concordia University. A specialist in apocalyptic and apocryphal literature, his research takes him across Europe and North America in search of manuscripts.*





BnF
département des Manuscrits
division occidentale

PLACE N°
DATE :

DEMANDE DE DOCUMENT

Cote :

Auteur* :

Titre* :

Cote de la microforme
(* chaque fois que cela est possible)

LECTEUR

Nom :
(en capitales)

Prénom :

Adresse :
(actuelle)

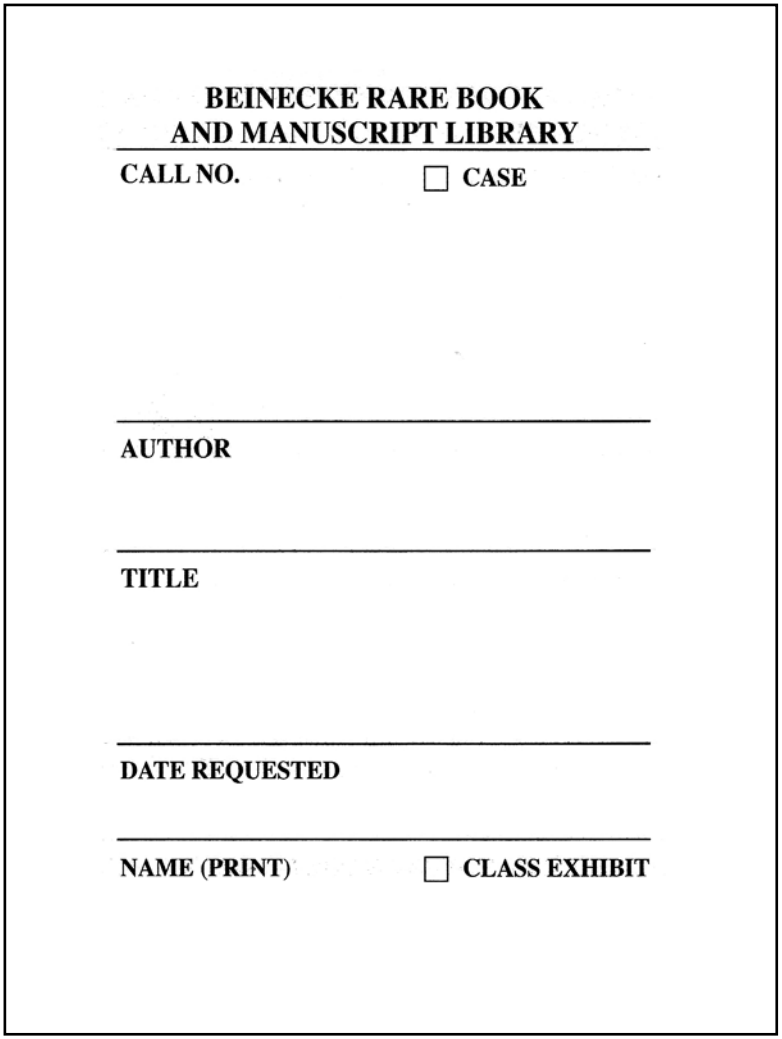
SOUCHE À LAISSER AU CONTRÔLE

RÉPONSE DES MAGASINS

☐ communiqué à vous même
☐ communiqué le
voir microforme ☐ usuel ☐
☐ cote à revoir
☐ à la photo
☐ à la reliure/restauration

☐ incommunicable
☐ original autorisé
signature du président de salle

Plate I: MS request form, western MSS reading room, BNF Richelieu, Paris



BEINECKE RARE BOOK
AND MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

CALL NO. ☐ CASE

AUTHOR

TITLE

DATE REQUESTED

NAME (PRINT) ☐ CLASS EXHIBIT

Plate II: MS request form, Beinecke Rare Book and MS Library, Yale University, New Haven

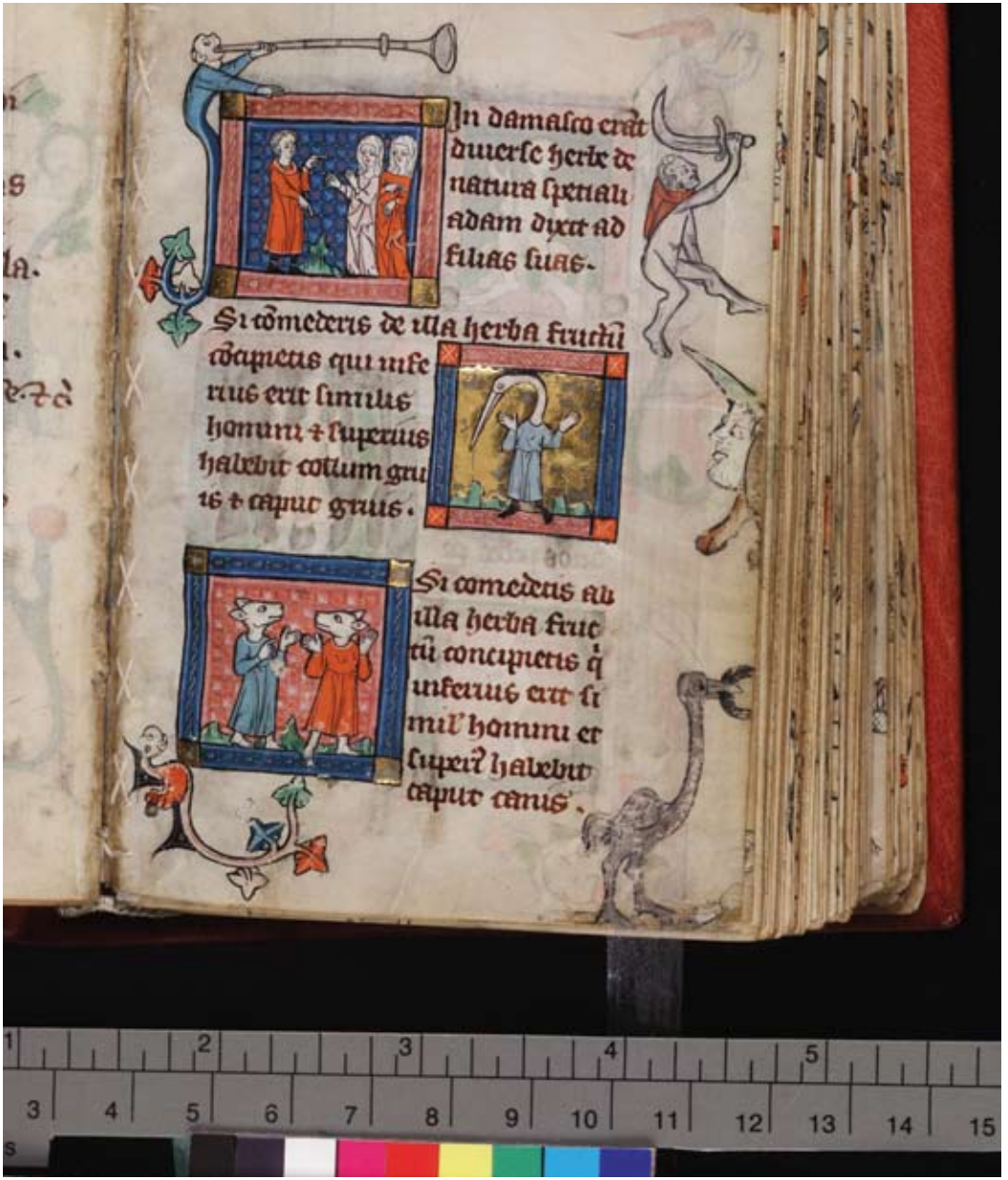


Plate III: Beinecke MS 404 (Rothschild Canticles), fol. 113r. *Courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*

Plate IV: Beinecke MS 411, fol. 57v. *Courtesy Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*

The Wicked Priest of 1QpHab

Janet Lamarche

Introduction

The information provided in the pesher Habakkuk is significant in offering data regarding the historical period and events relating to a sect of Judaism known as the Qumran Community. Nevertheless, this text is problematic as the pesherist refers to certain individuals using code names: the Teacher of Righteousness, the Man of the Lie, the Wicked Priest and the Kittim. Paramount to understanding the period and events of this community is deciphering to whom these code names refer. In order to better determine the identity of these characters, scholars have considered information found in other Dead Sea Scrolls, notably 1QpNah, CD, and 4QpPs37. For the purpose of this study, however, I will limit the information to that provided in the pesher Habakkuk in reference to one of the characters: the Wicked Priest.

The pesher Habakkuk is an interpretation of the book of Habakkuk. Column vii, 4-5 states that God had given the wisdom of interpretation to the one called the Teacher of Righteousness.[1] It is therefore assumed that the Teacher of Righteousness provided the interpretation found within the commentary. The interpreter perceived the current events of his day, as relating to his community as opposed to the wider Jewish community, as fulfillment of the prophecies foretold in the prophetic Book of Habakkuk. The pesher speaks of a conflict among the Teacher of Righteousness, possibly the founder of the Qumran community, the Man of the Lie and the Wicked Priest. Unfortunately, the pesher does not provide specific references as to whom these cryptonyms may apply. Nevertheless, an analysis of the characteristics ascribed to the Wicked Priest together with historical and current sources may provide some clues as to aid in uncovering his identity. For purposes of dating the text, I will be looking to archeology and paleography.

1. Dating

The archeological surveys from the Dead Sea and paleographical studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, although yielding valuable information for dating the origins of the community, do not, with any certainty, fix a precise date. We can, however, assume a general time frame. Still it is important to bear in mind that the composition of the text succeeded the occupation of the site. Moreover, the historical allusions in the text provide criti-

[1] Maurya P. Horgan, "1QpHab" in M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim and Other Related Documents*, Washington D.C: 2002, Vol. 6B, p.181. All textual references are by Horgan unless otherwise stated.

cal information in helping to identify characters which archeology cannot.[2] Nevertheless, archeology provides crucial information pertaining to the origins of the community and thus offers the earliest date for the composition and/or events of the text, while paleography provides the latest possible date.

1.1 Archeology

Archeologists have discovered and studied the findings of two strata at Qumran which reflect the original occupation of the site during the Intertestamental Period. These have been termed Period 1a and Period 1b. Although Period 1a has yielded little physical evidence, Period 1b has proven significant in the effort to establish a date. Initial surveys of the site concluded that it can be dated approximately at the beginning of the rule of John Hyrcanus I, 134 – 104 B.C.E. Therefore, we can date period 1a somewhat earlier, but, because of lack of physical evidence, we do not know how far back we can push the date.[3] Nevertheless, recent studies on the archeology at Qumran have led some scholars to conclude that the origins of the community may be as late as the first half of the first century B.C.E.[4] As many scholars favor R. de Vaux's conclusion of approximately 134 BCE, the dating of the origins of the community may be during the reign of John Hyrcanus I, or, at the earliest, sometime around the end of Simon's reign.[5]

1.2 Paleography

Paleographic evidence, has aided in determining the period in which the text was written. A study of the script of the Habakkuk Commentary has determined that this scroll was written in early Herodian script, circa the second

[2]G.R. Driver, "Historical Allusions in the Scrolls", in G.R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, p. 143, 176; proposes that since the Kittim are described in menacing terms, the setting would thus be during or just prior to the occupation of Jerusalem by Rome, as they were previously considered allies of the Jews. He also asserts that "some allusions [to the Kittim] may refer to the time of the Seleucid domination, and others to the Roman period. But the power of the Romans was known in Palestine long before the time of Pompey. The commentator may have expected them to come sooner than they did." Contra: James H. Charlesworth, "Historical Allusions in the Pesharim", in J.H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos and Consensus*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., 2002, p. 111, bearing in mind the pesher reflects the community and not the wider Jerusalem population; it is possible that due to this alliance between Jerusalem and Rome, the community perceived the Romans as enemies.

[3]Roland de Vaux, *Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 5, bases his conclusion on the evidence of pottery and coins. Nevertheless, in reference to Period 1a, he warns that "dates can be established only approximately by its relation to the better documented period which follows." In agreement with de Vaux cf. Frank M. Cross, "The Essenes, The People of the Scrolls", in F.M. Cross, T*he Ancient Library of Qumran, 3rd Ed*., Minneapolis: Fortress press, 1995, p. 59, and Edmund. Wilson, "The Teacher of Righteousness" in E. Wilson, *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 54-76.

[4]Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Some Archeological, Sociological, and Cross-Cultural Afterthoughts on the "Groningen" and the "Enochic/Essene" Hypothesis," in Gabrielle Boccaccini (ed), *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 2005, pp. 367, holds the position that Qumran dates between 100 – 50 B.C.E.; this view is due to recent surveys of the site, carried out by Jean-Baptiste Humbert (1994;1998) and Jodi Magness (2002); Geza Vermes. "The Chronological Framework" in Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English Revised Edition*, London: Penguin Books, 2004, p.58, footnote 1 in reference to Jodi Magness states "…her theory is compatible with the early Hasmonean beginnings of the sect based on literary considerations, albeit without supporting archeological evidence."

[5]F.M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest", in *The Ancient Library* p.105; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994, p. 235; W.H. Brownlee, "The Wicked Priest, The Man of Lies, and the Righteous Teacher: The Problem of Identity", JQR 73 (1, 1982), p. 1.

half of the first century B.C.E.[6] In addition, the appearance of two distinct handwritings in the scroll establishes that the Habakkuk Pesher is a copy. Furthermore, whether this is a copy of the original or of a copy is undetermined. Consequently, the science of paleography is helpful only in dating the latest period in which the text was written.

In sum, while archeological evidence is significant in providing a general time frame to the study of the origins of the Qumran community, it is limited to the survival and discovery of physical evidence. Although the commentary on Habakkuk does not, implicitly or explicitly, state that the Wicked Priest is related to the founding of the community, the dating of the origins of the Qumran community through archeology provide the earliest date within which the Wicked Priest is to be found.[7] Paleography, on the other hand, offers a period for the final draft of the pesher. Thus, the sciences of archeology and paleography supply a general time frame beginning approximately around the end of Simon's reign (142-134 B.C.E.) or beginning of John Hyrcanus I reign and ending with Antigonus (40-37 B.C.E.). Therefore, the Wicked Priest or Priests will be identified as one or more of the Hasmonean rulers.[8]

2. Methodology and Hermeneutics of the Pesherist

The Habakkuk pesher is an interpretation of the prophetic Book of Habakkuk. The pesherist interpreted the prophetic book in light of his current situation and its effect on his community at Qumran. In addition, the ideology of the community emphasized eschatology or the end times. His community was the favoured people of God and they adhered rigidly to the Torah. Thus, everyone else, specifically other Jews, were impure and corrupt. This ideology is particularly emphasized in 1QpHab in the criticisms of the Wicked Priest who ruled in Israel.[9]

In order to understand the pesher, it is essential to first recognize the methods the pesherist utilized in his interpretation of the biblical text. 1QpHab is categorized as a continuous pesher as it follows the biblical text verse by verse and offers an interpretation of each. In this manner, the pesherist is limited to the biblical verse or lemma. His interpretation has to make sense in light of the biblical verse. This creates an atomization or fragmentation of the text. Miller Burrows states clearly:

---

[6] Deborah Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," in David Noel Freedman (ed), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary Vol.5*, New York: Doubleday, 1992, p. 245; Moshe Bernstein "Pesher Habakkuk," in Lawrence H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls Vol. 2*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 647.

[7] John J. Collins "The Time of the Teacher: An Old Debate Renewed" in Peter Flint, Emmanuel Tov & James C. VanderKam, *Studies in the Hebrew Bible*, Qumran and the Septuagint, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 224-225. The conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness need not date back to the origins of the community, but may have occurred later. Collins asserts that it may have occurred thirty to forty years after the emergence of the Righteous Teacher.

[8] W.H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 1, posits that the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk pesher was one or more of the Hasmonean chief priests, as he had to have the ability to attack and loot foreign nations, whereas the pre-Hasmonean high priests were subservient militarily to the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria. Moreover, he was viewed as a faithful adherent of the Truth at the beginning of his rule, and this excluded the immediately preceding Hellenizing chief priests, who were popularly charged with compromising the Jewish faith; G.R. Driver, p. 136 "The Maccabaean allusions in the Scrolls, if they are rightly identified, preclude a pre-Maccabaean date, i.e. any date before circa 165 B.C.E."

[9] 1QpHab viii. 8-13; Yigael Yadin, *The Message of the Scrolls*, N.Y: Simon & Schuster, 1957, p. 95.

> The exposition is governed by the order of the text of Habakkuk; each sentence or phrase brings to the commentator's mind events and persons in the history of his nation and his own religious community, and he mentions them as they occur to him. No chronological sequence, therefore, can be inferred from the commentary.[10]

Consequently, the significance of understanding the methodology is crucial in analyzing the text.

3. Text

While the archeological and paleographical data aid in establishing a viable time frame, the allusions within the text pertaining to the personal characteristics and events of the Wicked Priest will further facilitate uncovering his identity. Initially, an examination of the grammatical constructs, various designations applied to the character in addition to an analysis of specific Hebrew terminology, will not only facilitate his discovery, but may reduce the number of nominees.

3.1 Man of the Lie / the False Prophet / Dripper of Lies

While the majority of scholars concur that the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie/Dripper of Lies are separate individuals, there is disagreement as to whether they are, in fact, the same person.[11] As this bears on the issue of the identity of the Wicked Priest, their arguments in support of or against will be expounded upon.

Four passages in the pesher mention an individual opposed to the Teacher of Righteousness. He is referred to as the Man of the Lie (Col. ii.1-3; iv.11;) or the Spouter of Lies (x.9-11; x.17-xi.1).[12] The terms 'Spouter of Lies' and the 'Man of the Lie' are believed to refer to the same individual.[13] The appellation 'Spouter of Lies', however, is variously translated as 'Dripper of Lies' and 'the False Prophet' or 'False Oracle'. Brownlee asserts that the latter interpretation is due to the use of the verb *mattîf hak-kāzāv* which lies behind 'dripper' that is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible for the 'distilling' of prophetic speech.[14] Brownlee further states that the 'Man of Lies' parodies the Old Testament title "man of God" for a prophet as the hiphil of *mattîf*

[10] Miller Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls with Translations by the Author*, N.Y.: the Viking Press, 1955, p. 160; Moshe J, Bernstein, p.649; James H. Charlesworth, pp.85-86. Contra: A.S. van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked priests: Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary", *JJS* 33 (1982), p. 353, asserts that the pesherist referred to the wicked priest in chronological order.

[11] Edmund Wilson, p. 6; Lawrence H. Schiffman, p. 232; A.S van der Woude, "Once Again: The Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Pesher from Cave 1 of Qumran", *RevQ* 17 (1996), p. 381; James H. Charlesworth, p. 94-95; Michael A. Knibb, "The Commentary on Habakkuk", in Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 235; Timothy H. Lim, "Wicked Priest" in Lawrence H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls Vol. 2*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200, p. 973; William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p.10; John J, Collins, p.225; Phillip R. Callaway, "The Pesherim and the History of the Qumran Community, in P.R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community*, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1998, p.153; Contra: Frank M. Cross "The Righteous Teacher", p. 116-117; Geza Vermes, p. 54; A. Dupont-Sommer, "The Habakkuk Commentary and the New Covenant" in A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952, p. 261.

[12] 'Spouter' is also translated as 'Dripper'. cf. William H. Brownlee, *JQR* p.9.

[13] Michael A. Knibb, p. 243; John J. Collins, p. 225; G.R. Driver, p. 144.

[14] William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p.10 cites Deut. 32:2 as Scripture reference.

is used for both true and false prophecy.[15] Of this connection F.M. Cross asserts:

> "The title is taken from Micah 2:11 and is regularly combined in sectarian exposition with Ezekiel 13: 8-12.[16] This provides a link between the Man of the Lie and the False Prophet/Spouter of Lies, thus most probably both terms are synonyms for the same man."

3.1.1 The Man of the Lie. Is He the Wicked Priest?

There is disagreement among scholars as to whether the Man of the Lie is a separate individual apart from the Wicked Priest. Arguments for and against this theory are based on passages containing information of the crimes with which they are accused, in addition to passages concerning their location.

For instance, a strong argument in favour of the Man of the Lie being a separate entity from the Wicked Priest is found in the crimes which they are each accused of committing. Column v. 10-11 states that the Man of the Lie, at some point, accused the Righteous Teacher 'in the midst of their counsel'. He is further accused in column x. 9-13 of causing, "many to err, building a city of emptiness with bloodshed and establishing a congregation with falsehood."[17] The Wicked Priest, on the other hand, is accused of arrogance and greed, "when he ruled in Israel" (col.xiii. 8-13). Many scholars posit that the Man of the Lie was originally a member of the Qumran community who had strayed and caused other members of the community with him, presumably with his lies.[18] The difficulty with this thesis is that the Wicked Priest is not accused of lying, but rather, as previously stated, arrogance and greed. Moreover, there remains uncertainty surrounding the exegetical technique employed by the pesherist. Cross argues that the mention of 'building a city of vanity and blood and establishing a congregation in falsehood' (column x. 9-13), "may reflect the public occasions upon which the Righteous Teacher opposed the building of a false high-priestly house, and it concomitant, a false congregation."[19] This implies a literal understanding of "build a city". This is not, however, necessarily indicated as the parallel 'establish a false congregation' denotes.[20] Nonetheless, the solution to this debate may be found by looking at the functions of the wicked priest, who appears to be outside the community, as suggested by the reference to 'his rule in Israel' and the Man of the Lie, who appears to be within the group.[21]

---

[15] William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979, p. 168. True Prophecy cf. Am. 7:16; Ezek. 21:2,7; false prophecy cf. Mic. 2:6,11.

[16] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 154.

[17] Column x. 17 also makes reference to the Spouter of Lies, unfortunately lines 15-17 are badly corrupted, making it difficult to determine what the accusation is.

[18] Geza Vermes, p. 30; The Manual of Discipline states "where a man had been a member of the Council for at least ten years and had then defected to 'walk in the stubbornness of his heart'. Not only was he to be expelled, but the same judgment was extended to any of his former colleagues who might take pity on him and share with him their food or money." (1Qs vii. 22-23).

[19] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 117; A. Dupont-Sommer, p. 39 states: "The title of 'prophet' could be given to the High Priest, provided that the High Priest in office was held to possess the gift of prophecy…" cf. argument on issue of legitimacy p. 10 of this paper.

[20] Michael A. Knibb, p. 243; Contra; William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p.14, states that the False Prophet is charged with two types of building and that "there is no reasonable way to try to equate these two parallel building operations as one, the spiritual."

[21] James H. Charlesworth, p. 94.

Additional support pertaining to the 'Man of the Lies' membership within the community is found in the commentary's reference to 'traitors' (col. ii. 3-4). The use of the term traitors in column ii. 3-4 connotes membership within a group. In reference to the Wicked Priest sharing the same identity as the Man of the Lie, it is suspect that members of the community would follow after a priest/ ruler of Israel in conjunction with their philosophy equating all outsiders as the enemy.

3.1.2 Historical Allusions

As previously indicated, the commentary alludes to other figures, notably, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Kittim. Although the identification of this character would assist in the identification of the Wicked Priest, the text is silent as to the identity of this character. The Teacher of Righteousness is the one to whom God gave the wisdom to interpret and is credited with founding the community at Qumran.[22] Although he insists on a rigid observance of the Law, he opposes the cult at Jerusalem. It is unclear whether the Righteous Teacher was a deposed high priest from the Jerusalem Temple or whether he acted in the capacity of priest exclusively at Qumran. The information provided in the Dead Sea Scrolls underscore the importance of the priest at Qumran, yet imparts little information pertaining to the identity of this individual.[23] His main opponent appears to be the Wicked Priest, who, it is believed, was the high priest of Jerusalem.[24] Nevertheless, although it is generally agreed that the designation 'Righteous Teacher' refers to one individual, as opposed to the title of 'Wicked Priest', identifying him remains highly improbable and so will not be discussed in the attempt to identify the Wicked Priest.

Additional historical allusions cite the Kittim. It is widely accepted among scholarship that the Kittim in the commentary refer to the Romans rather than the Greeks.[25] Column 6. 4-5 state that they, "sacrifice to their standards, and their weapons are the objects of their reverence." This description corresponds to the description provided by Josephus after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. "Now that the rebels had fled the city, and the temple itself and every thing around was burning, the Romans brought their standards into the sacred spot. And, setting them up facing the eastern gate, they sacrificed to them."[26] Additionally, column 9. 6-7 predicts the plundering of the Temple by the 'Kittim' which describes the occupation of Jerusalem by the Romans in 63 BCE.[27] As the passages alluding to the Kittim are never mentioned in connection with the Wicked Priest, they provide no information in reference to the identity of the Wicked Priest.

In conclusion, two suppositions may be established. First, the Man of the Lie and the False Prophet refer to the same individual.

[22] James H. Charlesworth, p. 83, argues against the theory that the Teacher of Righteousness is to be identified with the founder of the community.

[23] Robert A. Kugler, "Priests" in Lawrence H. Schiffman, E*ncyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls Vol 1*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 689; James H. Charlesworth, p. 88.

[24] Edmund Wilson, p. 64; Deborah Dimant, p. 245-246.

[25] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 98 note 2; Edmund Wilson, p. 63; Miller Burrows, p. 142; William H. Charlesworth, p. 111-113

[26] Jos. Wars. 6.6.1.

[27] John J. Collins, p. 221; James H. Charlesworth, p. 110-111.

Secondly, that the Man of the Lie and the Wicked Priest, while accused of different offences against the community also performed their function in different localities, i.e. one from inside the community, the other from the outside. This would support the theory that the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie are two separate individuals.

3.2 Literary Tools

The author of the pesher uses sobriquets to refer to certain individuals. Specifically, the title of the "Wicked Priest" is problematic in scholarship as some scholars understand this to mean that the priest has assumed the office illegitimately. This position rests largely on the question of lineage; i.e. he was not from the priestly line.[28] Since some scholars assume that the community originated from a pro-Zadokite group, therefore, according to this theory a legitimate priest could only descend from the Zadokites. Other scholars contend that the use of the designation "Wicked Priest" is a play on the Hebrew words for "high priest" and not a reflection on his legitimacy. As this is a key element to uncovering the identity of the wicked priest, the function of this appellation vis-à-vis his legitimacy of position and/ or wordplay will first be established.

Other literary aspects, central to discovering the Wicked Priest's identity, include a study on the use of the relative pronoun 'who', and the use of the perfect and imperfect tense. Some scholars posit that references to the Wicked Priest containing these literary elements support the theory that there is, in fact, more than one priest.[29] Additionally, there are the various dooms ascribed to the Wicked Priest. It is important to bear in mind that none of these elements, except possibly the various dooms credited to the wicked priests, can be understood as differentiating among individuals. Rather, there are numerous ways in which they may have been employed.

3.2.1 hak-kŏhēn hā-rāšā. Pun or Question of Legitimacy?

A common Hebraic literary feature is paronomasia or pun. In the Habakkuk pesher, there is a reference to the Wicked Priest, *hak-kŏhēn hā-rāšā*. Bearing in mind that the Hebrew language is consonantal, it is highly probable that this is a pun on the term high priest, *hak-kŏhēn hā-rō'š*, which uses the same letters. Although it is commonly accepted that this is, in fact, the circumstance, some authors debate the legitimacy of his claiming the office of high priesthood, and conclude that dissention arose initially over this issue.[30]

The argument of priestly illegitimacy is based on the community originating due to non-Zadokites claiming the position of high priest-

[28] Robert A. Kugler, 691.

[29] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, 1982, was the first to publish a theory concerning the plurality of Wicked Priests followed by Florentino Garcia Martinez "Qumran Origins and the early History: A Groningen Hypothesis", Folia Orientalia 25 (1988), p. 133-136 as cited by Timothy H. Lim "The Wicked Priest's of the Groningen Hypothesis," *JBL* 112 (3, 1993) p. 415.

[30] Håkan Bengtsson "Three Sobriquets, their Meaning and Function: The Wicked Priest, Synagogue of Satan, and the Woman Jezebel," in J. H. Charlesworth (ed), *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, N. Richland Hills: BIBAL Press, 2000, p. 246; Miller Burrows, pp. 150; John J. Collins, p. 217; A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p.354. Although van der Woude suggests that 'wicked priest' need not necessarily refer to a 'high priest', he does so in order to support his argument that one of the wicked priests was a de facto high priest; Nevertheless, his candidates for the role of wicked priest are all to be found holding the office of high priest.

hood.[31] There are several problems with this theory as relating to the Habakkuk pesher. Onias III, the last Zadokite high priest, who ended his tenure in 175 B.C.E., predates the origins of the community by roughly forty years. Although, there is no indication in the pesher which mentions the origins of the community, it does suggest that the community was already in existence. Column xi. 4-6 states: "Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who (5) pursued the righteous Teacher – to swallow him up with his poisonous (6) vexation – to his house of exile." That the Teacher was followed to his 'house of exile' implies that the site at Qumran already existed. Its existence is further supported by the following lines 6-8: "And at the end of the feast, (during) the repose of the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to swallow them up (8) and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful Sabbath." While the first part of the interpretation speaks of an attempted attack on the teacher to his place of exile, i.e. Qumran, the latter reveals an additional attempt by the Wicked Priest, however, this time it is against the community as noted by the plural 'them'.[32] This statement presupposes an established community. Additionally, the argument of illegitimacy applies to several priests following the death of Onias III, as corruption set in with the selling of the high priesthood to the highest bidder.[33]

An alternative argument against the issue of illegitimacy is based on column viii, 8-9 which states that the Wicked Priest was 'known by the true at the beginning of his standing'. If his position in office was in question, however, he would not have had a good reputation at all.[34] Moreover, the commentary on Habakkuk does not list illegitimacy as one of the crimes of the Wicked Priest, but rather he is accused of arrogance and greed, after he began to rule. The specification of his crimes occurring after his rule, place his crimes more in the political arena.

Thus, the play on words *hak-kŏhēn hā-rāšā* and *hak-kŏhēn hā-rō'š*, suggests that the Wicked Priest is one who held the position of high priesthood in Jerusalem. Accordingly,

[31] Robert A. Kugler, p. 691; cites Jacob Liver (The Sons of Zadok, the Priests in the Dead Sea Sect", *RevQ 6*, 1967, p. 3-30): "… although the priest of Qumran may have been Zadokites, their lineage was not the reason for the community's separation from the Hasmonean; there is no polemic against Hasmonean descent in the scrolls, and the use of the term Aaronide as a priestly title indicates the coexistence at Qumran of priests from various lines."

[32] A. Dupont-Sommer, "The Biblical Commentaries" in A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961, p 266, understands the referent of the phrase 'he appeared before them' as the Teacher of Righteousness, whom after his death appeared to the unfaithful Jews and not the sectaries. Furthermore, the catastrophe alluded to on the Day of Atonement, was the fall of Jerusalem to Pompey in 63 BCE. He further posits that scholars who suggest the referent to be the Wicked Priest also posit that since the community followed a different calendar, the Day of Atonement would have left no mark in history. On the contrary, Dupont-Sommer states that this event indeed left a mark – the date of the capture of Jerusalem and the ensuing loss of independence. This theory is not supported by other scholars.

[33] 2 Macc. 4:7-26; Jason usurps the office of high priesthood through bribery. Menalaus, who was chosen by Jason to bring the bribe money to the king, outbid Jason by 300 talents in an effort to secure the office of high priest for himself. The king accepted Menalaus' bribe and made him high priest in place of Jason.

[34] Phillip R. Callaway, p. 156.

the Wicked Priest will be found among those who held the office of High Priest in Jerusalem; however, his identity will be discovered through his actions and events which correspond to the data found in the pesher and not the legitimacy of his position.

3.2.2 Multiple Dooms

The commentary lists four different dooms for the Wicked Priest:[35] Column ix. 1-2, 11, states that he died through evil disease and vengeful acts perpetrated on his body; verse 11 continues with "disease for annihilation in bitterness of soul"; column xi. 13-15 alludes to death by excessive drinking and; column xii. 5 rains divine judgment on him. W.H. Brownlee succinctly states:

> The most telling blow to many theories of the identity of the Wicked Priest is to be found in the multiple dooms which befall him, not all of which can be made to fit a single man in known history, nor in any history, if more than one of these dooms is fatal. Attempts to make the details fit the career of a single individual result in mistranslations and forced interpretations.[36]

What remains problematic among scholarship is determining, not only who the referent is, but if the verses, in fact, relate separate deaths, or if the passages describe different afflictions endured by one individual, before his death? In this respect, theories range from one, two, three and six Wicked Priests.[37] Furthermore, there is wide speculation as to which individual specifically the pesher refers. Identification of the Wicked Priest in scholarship range from Judas in 160 B.C.E to Jesus in the early Common Era.[38]

3.2.3 Function of the Relative Pronoun 'Who'

Van der Woude proposes that the relative pronoun is used in the Habakkuk Pesher to distinguish the individual referred to in the immediate interpretation apart from other wicked priests in other passages. This supports his theory that each interpretation which refers to the wicked priest is, in fact, referring to separate individuals. Thus, he asserts that there are six Wicked Priests listed in the commentary in chronological order. Additionally, the absence of the relative pronoun in column xi. 12-xii. 10, van der Woude argues, is suggestive of the contemporaneity of the Wicked Priest to the Habakkuk pesherist.[39]

The use of the relative pronoun 'asher,' in Biblical Hebrew, was not employed for the purpose of designation, but rather to add

[35] Scholars generally agree that Col. X. 1-4 refers to an eschatological end and therefore is excluded from the list of various dooms. W.H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 7.

[36] W.H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 4.

[37] Karl Elliger, as cited by W.H. Brownlee, JQR, p. 2; Contra a plural identification, Håkan Bengtsson, p. 262, 264, considers it unlikely that the various allusions in the pesher should be understood as evidence for a plurality of priests. He further states that although the wicked priest may have been afflicted with a disease this may not necessarily intend his death. In addition, the use of the perfect refers to a time before his death while imperfect verb refers to his upcoming vindication; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 35-37 argues for Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II as the Wicked Priests; W.H. Brownlee, JQR, p. 18-34, argues for Aristobulus I, Alexander Janneus and John Hyrcanus; A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, posits Judas, Jonathan, Simon, John Hyrcanus I Alexander Janneus and John Hyrcanus.

[38] The majority of scholars reject theories identifying individuals alluded to in the pesher to any personages dating after 30 B.C.E.

[39] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 351.

information. Rather, the pronoun חהוא -"the one who" would have been utilized. Thus, the use of the relative pronoun may simply be indicative of additional information concerning a previously mentioned individual rather than defining a newly introduced character.[40]

3.2.4 Use of the Perfect and Imperfect

The use of the perfect and imperfect tense in the passages relating the death(s) of the Wicked Priest may be a significant indication that the pesher does, in fact, refer to a plurality of Wicked Priests.[41] According to this theory, the passages that contain the perfect tense refer to previous priests who had already died while the imperfect relates to the current wicked priest.[42] Conversely, it is possible that the use of the perfect and imperfect tense suggests that the wicked priest had suffered some physical affliction but that death had not yet occurred.[43]

In sum, the use of various literary devices such as word plays, grammar and descriptive allusions, although providing valuable data relating to the identity of the Wicked Priest, may also be interpreted variously by scholars thus obfuscating the discovery of the Wicked Priest. Hence, a clarification of these issues is justified in order to establish particular literary conventions. While these factors may indicate that there was more than one wicked priest, the solution to the dilemma of whom and how many wicked priests will be found in establishing parallels between the events cited in the pesher and the events in the lives of the candidates.

3.3 Terminology

The first mention of the Wicked Priest is in column viii. 8-13. Lines 8-11 provide us with two important clues as to his identity. The passage reads, "(8) Its interpretation concerns the wicked priest who (9) was called by the true name (*niqra ʿal šem ha'emet*) at the beginning of his standing, but when he ruled (*mšl*)

[40] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 350, while he recognizes that the relative clause may be used to provide additional information, he states that it cannot be presumed that this usage applies to the Habakkuk pesher. He finds further support that the interpreter is introducing new individuals through the appellation 'the priest' (viii 16; xi 12) and 'the wicked priest'. He maintains that here too, it should not be assumed that 'priest' signifies one specific priest, nor that it necessarily refers to the aforementioned 'Wicked Priest'; Contra, Timothy H. Lim, *JBL*, p. 416, claims that "The position of the relative pronoun and clause after some intervening comments in this sentence can be explained by the characteristically complex and intertwined thought of the pesherist (e.g. 10. 9-13)"; Bruce K. Waltke & M. O'Conner, "An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax", Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990, p. 306: "The 'near' or 'immediate' demonstratives refer to someone or something that is relatively near the speaker or relatively present to the imagination. The 'far' or 'remote' demonstratives refer to someone or something relatively different." Thus, in order to indicate an intended referent rather than add information, the pesherist would have used the pronoun חהוא- "the one who" rather than השר. In addition, to signify contemporaneity of the sixth wicked priest to the Teacher of Righteousness, rather than using an absolute, the pesherist would have used the expression זהו" Moreover, the use of השר "may introduce dependant or attributive relative clauses…specifying the role of the relative pronoun in the subordinate clause." p. 333.

[41] A.S van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 351.

[42] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 351-352; contra, Timothy H. Lim JBL, p.417, argues that van der Woude's explanation of the use of the future in column ix. 5 ['they continue to amass'] as "describing a habitual action is by no means necessary." Lim notes that the imperfect is also used in passages describing "divine judgment in one form or another is associated with only four of the six wicked priests". Furthermore, the future tense which used in conjunction with the fourth wicked priest [ix. 16-x.2] is inadequately explained away by van der Woude "as being influenced by the concept of the last judgment." p. 417.

[43] Håkan Bengtsson, p. 276.

(10) in Israel, his heart became large and he abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of (11) wealth."[44] The pesharist identifies two distinct stages in the Wicked Priest's career. He was first recognized as high priest, during which time he was considered to possess a good reputation, and was later given the position of ethnarch. It was sometime during the second phase that he became 'wicked'.

3.3.1 Niqra 'al šem ha'emet

The first characteristic the pesherist gives is that the Wicked Priest was called by the true name or name of truth. The expression " 'al šem ha'emet" can be understood in various ways.[45] The usage of this term " 'al šem", in the Hebrew Bible, denotes a person "considered as belonging to" a tribe or family.[46] For the Qumran community, however, this term was not used in the physical sense as belonging to the community but rather to their religious beliefs.[47] In this sense, he would have been held in high esteem and regarded as reputable.[48] Additional arguments posit that the usage of the term 'truth' is significant in establishing a relationship between the Wicked Priest and the Qumranites. The reference to 'truth' solidifies the inference that there was, indeed, a connection between his reputation and their religious beliefs. Conversely, some scholars maintain that this allusion to truth suggests that the Wicked Priest was initially a member of the Qumran community.[49] The basis of this position rests on the definition of 'truth'. According to Brownlee, the community perceived themselves to be, 'a house of truth in Israel' and its members to be 'men of truth' and 'sons of truth'. Their function was to be 'witnesses of truth' and truth was to be the object of their service.[50] Since the community viewed this man as 'being called by the name of truth,' he was initially recognized as belonging to their group, but later defecting. Furthermore, this argument of membership claims that since this episode antedates the rift between the Wicked Priest and the community, the community is to be identified as the Hasidim and

[44]Maurya P. Horgan, "1QpHAb" p. 175.

[45]W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, p. 134-137, lists nine different interpretations of the term; Miller Burrows, p. 150, posits that "he was named according his end" i.e. he was given a name indicating his fate, is closer to the intended meaning of the expression. However, he does not state how or why he came to this conclusion; I.R. Tantlevskij, *The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Commentary on Habakkuk*, Kraków: The Enigma Press, 1995, p. 5, states: "It seems that this very appointment to the high priestly office of the hero of the antihellenizing Maccabean movement for national liberation and religious purity Jonathan (this name means: "the Lord has given" [or "put", "placed," etc.)] could be considered by the Sectarians a calling "in the name of Truth", that is, in the cause of the (re-)establishment of a correct temple service, and hence, the restoration of the violated universal harmony."

[46]Gen. 48:6; Ezra 2:61; Neh. 7:63; 1 Chron. 23:14.

[47]M. A. Knibb, The Commentary on Habakkuk," in Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 238-239; A.S. Woude, JJS p. 354; A. Dupont-Sommer, p. 37; J.J. Collins, p. 219.

[48]A. Dupont–Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952, p. 37, see footnote 1, asserts: "…he was called by the name of Truth at the beginning of his advent: we may take it that he was then really acting as a "Priest of Yahweh", in such a way as to please the Pious."

[49]Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, p. 135-136; A.S. van der Woude, JJS, p. 353-354.

[50]Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher*, Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979, p.135.

not the Essenes.[51] Thus, the Wicked Priest would have initially belonged to or have been associated with the Pious whose main concern was with the Zadokite priesthood. According to the commentary, and as previously established, the legitimacy of the position of the high priest is not in question. This is illustrated by the interpreter's use of the sobriquet 'Wicked Priest' which is the antithetic opponent of 'high priest'. The moniker 'wicked' emphasizes that it is his actions as high priest and not his claim to the office which was disputed.

An alternative understanding of *niqra' 'al šem ha'emet*, is 'called by a trustworthy name.'[52] This may simply mean that when he took the office of high priest he had a good reputation. To reiterate, at the beginning of his time in office as high priest he was regarded as trustworthy or reputable by the community, but it was afterward, when he began to rule, that he lost his credibility with the community. Evidently, the community initially viewed him as having a good reputation as a high priest but hostility arose when he began to rule. Thus, having a "true name" refers to his reputation with the community as opposed to his membership within the community.[53]

3.3.2 mašal

As mentioned above, it was during the period of the high priest's rule that he began to be perceived as 'wicked'. There is, however, some debate over the ambiguous meaning of the mašal, 'to rule' in column viii. 9.[54] This bears on the identity of the Wicked Priest as it will help to define his role as ruler. For instance, if he is to be defined as 'King', then we may include Aristobulus I in our list of possible candidates. Should the term *mašal* not be used to refer to a king, but rather an ethnarch or governor, this would then exclude Arisobulus I. According to certain scholars, the term *mašal* does imply kingship.[55] Conversely, it is also accepted that the term, in fact, implies a governor or ethnarch as per Milik who succinctly states: "*mašal* can never be translated 'be king' – in this the usage at Qumran is consistent: the Seleucid Kings are always *malkê Yawan* and the Roman governors are always *mošelê hakkittim*. In our text then, *mašal* cannot refer to a

[51] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS* p. 352, posits that *niqra' ʿal šem ha'emet* means "reckoned among the adherents of the truth", and therefore the priest is one who was acceptable to the Pious of Qumran as far as the earlier date part of his life is concerned, which by necessity antedates the rift between the Hasmonean dynasty and the Qumran community. He continues that, since this is the case, "We are forced back to the time of the Hasidim from whom the Essenes trace their origins." This argument presupposes two issues: (1) the conflict between the Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest occurred and caused the formation of the community and (2) the Essenes are in fact the sect that occupied Qumran. Pertaining to the former, the Commentary offers no suggestion relating to the origins of the Community, while the latter is still open to much debate. Josephus speaks of a sect called 'Essenes" but they lived in the towns, married and had jobs. The evidence at Qumran suggests that it was a male-only society whose members shared everything they had with the other. In addition, their time was spent studying the Torah and the prophets. It has not been established, however, whether they were part of the Essene movement.

[52] F.M.Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 110.

[53] Michael A. Knibb, p. 239.

[54] Although the majority of scholars limit the distinction between king and governor, Håkan Bengtsson, p. 253, cites Elliger who proposes that *mašal* "was a technical term for the possession of priesthood in postexilic times." This view is not suggested by other scholars. William H. Brownlee, pp. 133-134,143, suggests that the term *mašal* is used as pun on the biblical term used in Hab. 2:6, *mašal* rendered 'taunt'.

[55] John J. Collins, p. 219, suggests that although it may be significant that the priest is never said to rule, the term may, nevertheless, be used to describe a kingly rule as in 4QpIsa 3:25; A. Dupont-Sommer, p. 263; proposes Hyrcanus II as his career is clearly divided into two stages: High Priest during the reign of mother, Queen Alexandra and after her death, he assumed the throne along with the title of King.

Jewish king."[56] Thus, the office that the Wicked Priest held was of a ruling ethnarch as opposed to one who assumed the title of 'King'.

The BDB, on the other hand, defines this term as "rule, have dominion, reign" in the sense of kingship.[57] Correlation to the usage of this term in reference to kingship may be found in the book of Daniel [11:4] which uses the term *mašal* when referring to King Alexander. Scholarship has dated the book of Daniel to sometime during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes IV, 175-164 BCE. Although this predates the community by several years, it is highly plausible the term *mašal* retained the same meaning throughout the Greek dominion. Additionally, many current scholars posit characters who bore the title 'king' as possible candidates for the Wicked Priest.[58]

Although there is some ambiguity surrounding the intended meaning of this term and its usage at Qumran, the evidence points to the literal understanding of 'to rule'. Therefore, the Wicked Priest may be one who assumed the title 'king'.

4. Exclusion of Characters

After the usurpation of the office of high priest by Jason, the hereditary control of the office by the Zadokites ended. Corruption further set in as the office of high priest was now under the domain of foreign kings; they had the authority to set in office whomever they chose. For this reason, all high priests from Alcimus to Antigonus are possible candidates for the role of the Wicked Priest. The archeology of Qumran Khirbert becomes significant in this respect because it gives a date at which to begin our quest. Also significant is the textual information of 1QpHab, which does not appear to relate information regarding the origins of the community, but rather implies that it was already in existence.[59] Therefore, archeology from Qumran is relevant to this study.

4.1 Judas

Some scholars argue against the necessity of the Wicked Priest being a *de jure* high priest. A.S. van der Woude asserts that Judas acted as *de facto* high priest, when he cleansed the temple in 164 B.C.E.[60] His argument, based on two premises: (1) that the wicked priest may not necessarily refer to a high priest and (2) traditionally Judas was considered a high priest, is fraught with difficulties.[61] Both theories stem from a citation in Josephus which

[56] J.T. Milik, p. 65; Phillip R. Callaway p. 157, cites Stegemann in that the Wicked Priest is never referred to as 'king' in the commentary , therefore "the pesherist is probably referring to a time when the high priest was the highest political ruler of the Jewish people". G.R. Driver, p. 149 also references that the commentary does not distinguish the Wicked Priest as king.

[57] Brown, F., S. Driver, C. Briggs, The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004, p. 605.

[58] Lawrence H. Schiffman, p. 236 posits John Hyrcanus I; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 12, favors Alexander Janneus; John J. Collins, p. 228 proposes Alexander Janneus and Hyrcanus II.

[59] Column xi. 5-6, the pesherist describes an incident in which the Wicked Priest pursued the Righteous Teacher to his 'house of exile'.

[60] 1 Macc. 4: 36-51; 2 Macc. 10:1-8; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 4, asserts that while Judas may have cleansed the Temple in 164 BCE, it remained under the direction of Menelaus until 162 BCE, who was considered a "traitor both to the laws and to his country (2 Macc. 5:15), and who was guilty of the destruction of the Temple (2 Macc. 4-8; Jos, *Ant*. 12, 9.7). Although, G.R. Driver proposes Menelaus as the Wicked Priest, as he would have been considered an illegitimate high priest. Miller Burrows, p.165, he can by no means be considered as ever bearing a good name, nor is there any indication that he suffered from 'horrors of evil diseases" – Miller Burrows, p.165.

[61] A.S. van der Woude, 1982, p. 354.

states that Judas succeeded Alcimus as high priest:

> But now as the high priest Alcimus was resolving to pull down the wall of the sanctuary, which had been there of old time, and had been built by the prophets, he was smitten suddenly by God and fell down…he at length died, when he had been high priest four years. And when he was dead, the people bestowed the high priesthood on Judas…[62]

This statement, however, does not correspond to 1 Maccabees 9 and, in fact, Josephus later contradicts himself in Ant. 20.10.3, "Now when Jacimus (Alcimus) had retained the priesthood three years, he died, and there was no one that succeeded him, but the city continued seven years without a high priest."[63] Van der Woude reasons that the act of cleansing the Temple would have resulted in the community considering Judas with high regard and thus deeming him as *de facto* high priest.[64]

Moreover, the dating of Judas predates the community. As has been determined the community originated approximately 134 B.C.E or shortly before this date. Judas died in 160 B.C.E. It is highly unlikely that the pesher would recount a conflict between the possible founder, at any rate a leader of the community, and an historical figure. Therefore, Judas is excluded, not only on the basis of dating, but because it cannot be reasonably argued that he was high priest, *de facto* or otherwise.

4.2 Alcimus

Few scholars suggest Alcimus as the Wicked Priest.[65] His reception by the Hasidim at the beginning of his term as high priest is suggestive of a 'good reputation' (viii. 8-9). The Hasidims were first among the Israelites to seek peace from them, for they said:

> A priest from the line of Aaron has come with the army, and he will not harm us. Alcimus spoke peaceable words to them and swore this oath to them. We will not seek to injure you or your friends. So they trusted him; but he seized sixty of them and killed them in one day…"[66]

Column ix. 1-2 is cited as corresponding to the death of Alcimus:

> "The text of ix. 1-2 matches extremely well the information we have about the death of Alcimus…Josephus states explicitly that a sudden stroke from God seized the high priest, a characteristic trait similar to the wording of col. ix. 1-2. Furthermore, the use of marad, which occurs in col. viii. 11, in connection with the members of the Hellenistic party, seems to underline the

[62] Jos. *Ant*. 12.10.6.

[63] Contra van der Woude, Timothy H. Lim, *JBL* 112 (3, 1993,) p. 419, stresses the contradiction in Josephus (*Ant*. 12.10.6; 1, 20. 10 3) and 1 Macc. 9:18, 54-56, as support for his argument against identifying Judas as the Wicked Priest.

[64] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, 1982, p. 354. "According to early rabbinic traditions, even Mattathias and all his sons functioned as such (high priests)." Contra: Lim highlights that these sources and their traditions post date the Qumran community, and most likely use Josephus as their source. Moreover, it is a question asked from silence as there is no evidence from this period attesting to the traditions in questions. Furthermore, van der Woude claims that the wicked priests are listed chronologically in the Habakkuk pesher, however, according to Josephus (whom van der Woude relies on as a source concerning Judas), Judas became high priest after Alcimus' death. This would decimate van der Woude's chronological order as the arrangement would thus proceed Alcimus-Judas rather than Alcimus-Judas. The latter being the order van der Woude posits.

[65] A.S. van der Woude , *JJS*, makes the only connection.

[66] 1 Macc. 7: 14- 16; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 103-104 notes that this event in relation to CD 1.5-12 may signal the beginnings of the Qumran community. Nevertheless, Cross posits Simon as the Wicked Priest.

philhellenism of the high priest."[67]

Notwithstanding the lack of harmonization with the archeological evidence, there is also a lack of correspondence with the textual data. Alcimus was given the position of high priest by Antiochus V; however, he was never given the higher status of ruler. He committed his atrocities while in the office of high priest. The text, however, is explicit in stating that it was during the rule (mašal) of the Wicked Priest that he began to perpetrate his crimes. Moreover, Alcimus did not suffer at the hands of the enemy, but rather died in office.[68] Thus, Alcimus is disqualified as a candidate for the role of the Wicked Priest.[69]

4.3 Jonathan

Many scholars propose Jonathan as the Wicked Priest, despite the lack of harmonization in dating.[70] Seven years after the death of Alcimus, Jonathan was appointed high priest in 152 BCE and later governor in 150 BCE by Alexander Balas.[71] Thus, Jonathan meets the requirement for holding two offices. Column ix. 11-12, states that the Wicked Priest met his death at the hands of his enemies, "with disease for annihilation in bitterness of soul, because he had acted wickedly (12) against chosen ones." Scholars consider this passage to refer to treatment and death of Jonathan at the hands of Trypho.[72] However, the charge in this passage is that, "he had acted wickedly against his chosen ones." The only groups, of which we are aware, against whom Jonathan acted violently were the hellenizers and the apostates, and we can reasonably assume that the members of the community supported this opposition.[73] While these passages may correspond to Jonathan they may equally be applied to other individuals, especially Simon.[74] Moreover, bearing in mind the earliest date for the establishment of the community around 134 B.C.E., Jonathan may be eliminated as a possible candidate.[75]

In sum, while the science of archeology is invaluable in the quest for the identity of the Wicked Priest, it narrows down the players among whom this character is to be found as the text provides data which facilitate reducing the candidates for the role of the Wicked Priest. Accordingly, Judas, Alcimus, and Jonathan have been eliminated.

---

[67] A.S van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 355; Miller Burrows, p. 169, asserts that while "the similarity is impressive…there is at least a faint suggestion that his suffering was inflicted by his enemies."

[68] Geza Vermes, p. 61; Jos. *Ant* 12.10.5; 1 Macc. 9: 54-55; Alcimus suffered a stroke and died three days later.

[69] He was received by the scribes positively at the beginning of his term as high priest and then proceeded to slaughter sixty of them. In this regard he may fulfill the description of 'called by a true name at the beginning of his standing. 1 Macc. 7:9-16.

[70] See especially Igor Tantlevskij for an exhaustive exposition of the parallels between Jonathan and the Wicked Priest; also Geza Vermes, p. 62; J.T. Milik, p. 66, Michael A. Knibb, p. 238-239.

[71] 1 Macc. 10:18-20; 63-66.

[72] 1 Macc. 12:46-48; 13:23; John J. Collins, p. 222; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 111. Timothy H. Lim, *Encyclopedia*, p. 974, challenges this theory: "Does the death of the Wicked Priest by a bitter affliction fit well with the sudden execution of Jonathan at the hands of Trypho?"

[73] Igor Tantlevskij, p. 5.

[74] J.T Milik, p. 66; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 111; A.S van der Woude, *JJS*. P. 356; Geza Vermes, p. 61-62.

[75] G.R. Driver, p. 137-140, argues persuasively against Jonathan as the Wicked Priest, as it cannot be demonstrated that the allusions apply to Jonathan. He further accuses scholars of "inventing a slander to prove a theory".

5. Who was the Wicked Priest?

As previously stated, identifications of the Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk pesher currently range from Judas in 160 BCE to Antigonus in 37 BCE. However, the archeological data aid in limiting the timeframe within which this character is to be found. The science of paleography has further determined that the latest period for the composition of the text is approximately 30 BCE. Accordingly, we have eliminated Judas, Alcimus and Jonathan. As a result, Simon, John Hyrcanus I, Aristobulus I, Alexander Janneus, John Hyrcanus II, Aristobulus II and Antigonus remain. The candidates will be examined only as they correspond to the specified passages.

5.1 The Text

5.1.1 1 QpHAb viii. 8-13

The first mention of the Wicked Priest is found in column viii. 8-13. As has previously been established, line 9 alludes to the Wicked Priest's reputation in the community, while lines 9a – 13 describe his transgressions during the period of his rule. When Jonathan was being held captive by Trypho, Simon assumed command in his place. He encouraged the people to remain steadfast and assured them that he would continue the fight his father has initiated and the people then declared Simon as their leader and their high priest.[76] In 140 BCE, the Jews of Jerusalem elected Simon as their high priest in addition to military leader and governor.[77] Simon then established peace with the Ptolomies and had the taxes removed. It was, however, qualified "until a trustworthy prophet should arise", which suggests that there were some who opposed his religious position. Moreover, an official decree was sent out, which stated in part

> None of the people or priests shall be permitted to nullify any of these decisions or to oppose whatever he says, or to convene an assembly in the country without his permission, or to be clothed in purple or put on a gold buckle. Whoever acts contrary to these decisions or rejects any of them shall be liable for punishment.[78]

These conditions strongly intimate that there was resistance to his political power as well. Although Jonathan was appointed *de facto* high priest and ruler, the decree of the assembly and laity officially recognized and converted "the *de facto* rights and privileges enjoyed by Jonathan into rights *de jure* for Simon's house."[79] Consequently, Simon, John Hyrcanus I, Aristobulus I, Alexander Janneus, John Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II and Antigonus qualify for the role of the Wicked Priest as they all held a dual office.

In relation to the crimes he is accused of during the period of his rule, Simon corresponds well to the accusation. In addition, Hyrcanus I may have been regarded as bearing a good reputation with the community is attested to by his rigid observance of the Sabbath.[80] He not only halted his efforts to free his mother and brothers from Ptolemy, in order to observe a sabbatical year, but sought a truce dur-

[76] 1 Macc. 13: 1-8; 1 Macc 13: 42.

[77] 1 Macc. 14: 41-42.

[78] 1 Macc. 14: 44-45.

[79] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 109.

[80] Jos. *Ant*. 13.8.1; William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 18-19.

ing a siege in order to observe the festival of Tabernacles. In addition to his reputation for piety, he is also distinguished for his cupidity as he opened the tomb of David to appropriate funds, specifically three thousand talents of silver, and levied taxes on the Jewish people for purposes of maintaining his foreign army.[81]

On the other hand, Aristobulus II, in his attempt to usurp the reign of his brother Hyrcanus II, negotiated with Pompey to hold off the siege of Jerusalem for an amount of money, in addition to the city of Jerusalem. Upon agreeing to the terms, Pompey sent an emissary to retrieve the money and the city; however, Aristobulus II underwent a change of heart and shut the gates of Jerusalem against him. This action led to the overthrow of Jerusalem by Pompey.[82]

Regarding column viii. 8-13, the data we retain concerning Simon, Hyrcanus I, and Aristobulus II coincide with the data related in the text.

5.1.2 1QpHab viii. 16-ix. 2

Column viii. 16 –ix. 2 refers to the priest who rebelled; however viii.16-17 is severely corrupted, and therefore is uncertain.[83] The punishments include evil diseases and acts of vengeance perpetrated on his carcass of flesh.[84] Collins posits that the term used for diseases נגועו may be used as a verb "to plague him" or as a noun "his injury."[85]

This passage is consistent with what we know of Alexander Janneus who suffered for three years from an alcohol related disease before dying and Aristobulus I who endured a painful intestinal disease for the duration of his one year reign.[86] On the other hand, if the intended meaning of נגועו is to be understood as 'injury' rather than 'disease' then Hyrcanus I would be the Wicked Priest in this passage as he was mutilated, by having his ears cut off by the Parthians.[87]

[81]Jos. *Ant*. 13.8.4; Paolo Sacci, p. 253. Further arguments cite his withdrawal of support from the Pharisees. This theory, however, is based on the identification of the Pharisees with the Hasidim, who are considered to be the forerunners of the Essenes. As it has not been established that the community were, in fact, the Essenes, this argument will not be considered. Cf. Miller Burrows, p. 172, William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 24.

[82]Jos. *Ant*. 14.3. 4-14.4.1.

[83]G.R. Driver, p. 140 asserts that, due to the corruption on viii. 16-17, it cannot be proven that the ix. 1-2, refers to the wicked priest; J.T Milik, p. 68 states that because of the lacuna, it is difficult to establish who the 'him' refers to in line 17 "…but they will plunder him"; A. Dupont –Sommer, p. 264, understands the referent of 'him' to be the Teacher of Righteousness. Current scholarship assumes the text alludes to the Wicked Priest; cf. John J. Collins, p. 223; Michael A. Knibb, p. 239; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 113.

[84]Igor Tantlevskij, p. 7 asserts the evil diseases refer to the torture Jonathan may have experienced while in captivity. Additionally, the acts of vengeance perpetrated on his carcass of flesh pertain to the improper burial Jonathan received from Tryphon; A. Dupont-Sommer , *DSS*, p. 34-35, suggests Aristobulus II for this Wicked Priest. His argument, however is unfounded. He states: "…at what moment in his reign did Aristobulus II commit the sacrilegious crime for which he was punished in so exemplary a fashion? This question can hardly be answered with certainty. To tell the truth, this uncertainty is not very serious in view of the fact that the reign of Aristobulus II lasted only three years and six months."

[85]John. J. Collins, p. 221; contra William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 4 states that the passage should be understood literally and interprets נגעו literally as disease. Thus, he maintains that this passage cannot be applied to John Hyrcanus II or Aristobulus II.

[86]Jos. *Ant*. 13.11.3.

[87]Jos. *Ant*. 13.15.5 ; 14.13.10.

5.1.3 1QpHab ix. 3-7

This passage refers to the 'last priests' of Jerusalem and their fate. The majority of scholars agree that they are to be equated with Alexander Janneus, John Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, the latter two, who initiated the interference of the Romans which escalated to the capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE.[88] Although the first part of the interpretation corresponds with all three high priests, it adds that their wealth will be taken by the army of the Kittim in the latter days (lines 6-7). This aspect presupposes the occupation of Jerusalem by Herod, and thus speaks more strongly to Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.[89] Additionally, the tense of this passage is in the future- and thus has a prophetic overtone. Burrows allows that as the passage refers to the 'last' priests, the preceding allusions may not refer to either Hyrcanus II or Aristobulus II.[90]

5.1.4 1QpHab ix. 9-12

The reference in this passage alludes to suffering in bitterness of soul in the hands of enemies. As per Brownlee, this passage does not necessitate a death, and provides little information.[91] Nevertheless, it corresponds well with Hyrcanus II, who was disfigured by the Parthians in 40 BCE and subsequently strangled in 30 BCE, or Aristobulus II, who was taken prisoner by Pompey in 63 BCE and sent back to Palestine, "so that he must have been forced 'in bitterness of soul' to take part in Pompey's triumph."[92] A. Dupont-Sommer firmly asserts that this passage does, in fact, refer to Aristobulus II:

> …in precise terms 'God delivered him into the hands of his enemies', - of his enemies the Romans. As to the 'humiliations', as to the 'bitterness of soul', as to the 'blows' which beat him to 'death', it must be remembered that he would have to take part, in chains, in the triumph of Pompey in Rome 61; that he failed miserably in 56 when he tried to regain power; finally, that he died in his prison in 49 poisoned by Pompey's supporters. Can one imagine a more exact justification of the words of our commentator?[93]

F.M. Cross posits that this passage refers to the death of Simon at the hands of Ptolemy, however, most scholars disagree with this position as Simon was drunk, died immediately, and could hardly be said to have 'suffered'.[94]

5.1.5 1QpHab ix. 16 - x. 3-5

Although lines 16 and 17 of column ix are badly corrupted, we can assume that the priest mentioned is, in fact, the Wicked Priest

[88] Jos. *Ant*. 14.3-14.4; Geza Vermes, p. 62, suggests that the allusion to the last priest refers, in fact, to all priest succeeding Simon, from John Hyrcanus I to Aristobulus II inclusive; John J. Collins, p.221; A. Dupont-Sommer, p. 40, prefer Hrycanus II and Aristobulus II while Igor Tantlevskij, p. 13, favors Alexander Janneus.

[89] A. Dupont-Sommer, p. 40.

[90] Josephus, *Ant*. 14.2.3-14.4.5; Michael A. Knibb, p. 240; John J. Collins, p. 221; Miller Burrows, p. 182.

[91] William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 8; Håkan Bengtsson, p. 256.

[92] Edmund Wilson, p. 66; John J. Collins, p. 222; G.R. Driver, p. 152.

[93] A. Dupont-Sommer, *DSS*, p. 35; Nevertheless, the literal translation of this passage, as per Horgan, is "…because of wrong done to the Righteous Teacher and the men of his council – God gave into the hand of his enemies to humble him (11) with disease for annihilation in bitterness of soul, because he had acted wickedly…" (emphasis mine).

[94] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 113; James H. Charlesworth, p. 93; contra Simon, John J. Collins, p. 223; J.T Milik, p. 68.

as the lemma proclaims 'woe to the one who makes evil profit'. This accords well with the crimes the Wicked Priest is accused of. Nevertheless, there is an ambiguity in the punishment pronounced on the Wicked Priest in x. 3-5, which appears to be a continuation of the interpretation in x. 1. Some scholars understand the reference to building to refer to building activities performed by the Wicked Priest during his reign.[95] Simon is considered by some to be 'a master builder of the Hasmoneans', due to allusions that he built up fortresses, city-walls and monuments.[96] Thus, some scholars suggest Simon is the Wicked Priest referred to in column ix. 16.[97]

Brownlee posits that reference in the lemma to a 'nest on high' indicates that this priest had built for himself a lofty residence and therefore Hyrcanus II is warranted consideration. Although his manner of death was natural, this does not negate his consideration as the Wicked Priest, as the death implied in this passage appears to be eschatological.

Furthermore, there is the argument of literal understanding. For instance, column x. 3-5:

> Its interpretation: This is the house of judgment when God will give (4) his judgment in the midst of many peoples, and from there he will bring him up for judgment, (5) and in their midst he will condemn him as guilty and with a fire of brimstone he will punish him.

Scholars disagree as to whether the passage implies two judgments: one at the end of his life and another, an eschatological judgment, or whether the entire passage should be understood as two stages of eschatological judgment. The hypothesis of judgment in two stages rests on the understanding of 'in the midst of many peoples' as an interpretation of 'the borders of many peoples'.[98] This appears to suggest that the Wicked Priest will meet or had met his death outside of Judah. The eschatological stage is undisputed among scholars, "…and from there he will bring him up for judgment, (5) and in their midst he will condemn him as guilty and with a fire of brimstone he will punish him."

On the other hand, the theory which states that both judgments are eschatological interprets both references 'in the midst of many people' as belonging to Sheol and after the resurrection.[99] The eschatological understanding accounts for the use of the term "house of judgment" from which God gives his initial judgment.[100] Support for this claim is found in the Book of Jubilees which describes the house of judgment as a place of detention in Sheol.[101] After this first punishment, the Wicked Priest is then resurrected to undergo a second punishment with fire and brimstone. Although two eschatological judgments appear to be implied by the passage, there are no specific characteristics that can be applied to any particular individual. Rather, many priests who died of natural causes or un-

[95] Michael A. Knibb, p. 240.

[96] A.S. van der Woude, JJS, p. 356; A.S. van der Woude, RevQ, p. 379; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 6.

[97] A.S. van der Woude, JJS, p. 356.

[98] Micheal A. Knibb, p. 241.

[99] William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p.7, A.S. van der Woude, JJS, p. 357.

[100] William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, p. 158, 'House of Judgment' is also translated as 'House of damnation'.

[101] William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 7.

eventful deaths could fit this description.[102]

5.1.6 1QpHab xi. 4-8

Although there are no references in any source which suggests, implicitly or explicitly, that any of the high priests of Jerusalem pursued the Righteous Teacher (or a priest) to his place of exile, this passage is significant in supporting the existence of the community at the time of the pesher's composition in addition to illuminating religious aspects of the community.

There are two aspects to this passage. The first part states that the Wicked Priest 'pursued the Righteous Teacher to his house of exile'. Although most scholars agree that there is no external evidence to support any high priests of Jerusalem making this journey, some scholars nevertheless posit that the Wicked Priest in this case could refer to Simon, John Hyrcanus I, and Alexander Janneus.[103] Support for Simon and John Hyrcanus I appears to be based solely on archeological evidence.[104] Moreover, it is unclear from the text whether the Wicked Priest succeeded in his attempt to end the life of the Righteous Teacher as denoted by the expression 'to swallow him up', literally 'to kill him'.[105]

Some scholars connect a tradition concerning Alexander Janneus and the event on the Day of Atonement. Josephus recounts an anecdote in which Alexander Janneus was pelted by citrons by the people as he stood at the alter to offer a sacrifice at the Feast of Tabernacles.[106] As a result of this provocation, Alexander Janneus appeared to the community on their Day of Atonement.[107]

Another important element in this passage, which provides insight into the history of the community, is the reference to the Day of Atonement. As the Wicked Priest was the High Priest of Jerusalem, it would have been impossible for him to take any action on the Day of Atonement as he would have had to

[102] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 356-357;Igor Tantlevskij, p. 7; Michael A. Knibb, p. 241.

[103] Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 116; A.S van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 357; Miller Burrows, p. 175, respectively.

[104] A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 357; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 116.

[105] During a private conversation with Robert David pertaining to the meaning of 'to swallow' in the Habakkuk pesher, he informed me that the literal definition of the verb לְבַלְּעוֹ to swallow' is to be preferred rather than the interpretation of the verb rendered 'to cause to stumble or confuse'. cf. Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 154; Håkan Bengtsson, p. 254; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 9, for the latter interpretation; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings*, p. 266, assumes that this passage to allude to a struggle which took place between Hyrcanus II in which the Righteous Teacher was executed; however he offers no basis for this assumption; contra: John J. Collins, p. 226, suggest that in light of the information we possess concerning the weak submissive character of Hyrcanus II "It is unlikely that he concerned himself with sectarian squabbles during his very brief reign as king."; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 118, posits that this passage reflects the 'exile' which took place in response to Simon's persecution of those who opposed his assuming office. Moreover, even in exile the Righteous Teacher was not safe from attacks from the Wicked Priest *ex hypothesi* Simon.

[106] Jos. *Ant*. 13.13.5.

[107] Miller Burrows, p. 175; William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 34, contra G.R. Driver states that there is no reference of an attack on the community in any source, by Alexander Janneus on that day, however, there is no mention of an attack by any of the high priests on that day (of Atonement). Moreover, the community followed a different calendar and so it is difficult to state precisely which day their Day of Atonement fell on, although there are many theories.

perform his priestly duties. Therefore, the reference is to the community's Day of Atonement, which supports the premise that Qumran did indeed follow a different calendar.[108]

5.1.7 1QpHab xi. 12-15

There is general agreement among scholars that this passage is referring to Alexander Janneus.[109] M. Burrows suggests that the glory referred to in line 12 connotes Alexander Janneus' success in obtaining territory equal to that of David and Solomon. Conversely, his shame refers to his actions during his reign which was marked by blood, cruelty and hatred.[110] In addition, column xi. 15 reports that "the priest whose shame prevailed over his glory[…]but walked in the ways of inebriety in order that the thirst might be consumed, but the cup of wrath of [Go]d will swallow him up…". In 134 BCE, Simon and two of his sons were deceived by Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law. Ptolemy induced them to drunkenness at a banquet and then murdered them.[111] Nonetheless, there is no allusion in the historical sources to Simon suffering from a drinking problem.[112] Conversely, Josephus states quite explicitly that Alexander Janneus, in fact, was a "hard drinker" and suffered for three years from quartan fever due to his excessive drinking.[113]

Furthermore, it is unclear whether the allusion to inebriety in line 14 should be understood literally or metaphorically as the first part of the sentence indicates in line 13, "he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart."[114] J.T Milik argues against a literal understanding of inebriety, he states:

> The whole phrase is derived from Deut. 29:18 (EVV: 29:18): 'to devastate the dry and the irrigated land together', and is repeated in the curse on apostates in 1QSII. 14, in a metaphorical sense. We consider it to be so used here too, just as 'he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart'. Accordingly, we do not find in this passage any allusion to the historical circumstances of the Wicked Priest's death but only to his unfaithfulness.[115]

Nevertheless, the majority of scholars understand this phrase to be taken literally and thus posit Alexander Janneus or Simon as the Wicked Priest referred to in this passage.

---

[108] Miller Burrows, P. 176; Michael A. Knibb, p. 244; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 116; Håkan Bengtsson, p. 259, fragments of Jubilees and 1 Enoch found at Qumran presuppose a solar calendar of 364 days.

[109] William H. Brownlee, *JQR*, p. 34; Timothy H. Lim, *Encyclopedia*, p. 974; G.R. Driver, p. 146; Michael A. Knibb, p. 244; John J. Collins, p. 227; A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 358; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 358.

[110] Jos. *Ant*. 13.13.5, reports that after the people pelted Alexander Janneus with citrons, he flew into a rage and killed about six thousand Jews. Shortly after, there was another uprising of the people against Alexander, which resulted in a six year battle during which fifty thousand Jews were slaughtered.

[111] 1 Macc. 16:11-16; G.R. Driver, p. 140; Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 113; Håkan Bengtsson, p. 261; John J. Collins, p. 223.

[112] Deborah Dimant, p.246 suggests that Simon corresponds to the allusion in ix. 1-2, but does not elaborate; J.T. Milik, p. 68, suggests that, at the time of his murder, "Simon was probably too drunk too what was happening to him."

[113] Josephus, *Ant*. 13.15.5; John J. Collins, p. 223; Michael A. Knibb, 239; Håkan Bengtsson, p. 261.

[114] Håkan Bengtsson, p. 261.

[115] J.T. Milik, p. 70.

5.1.8 1QpHab xii. 2-10

Although this passage speaks of the end of the Wicked Priest, it is set in the future and thus little information is provided as to his identity. Few scholars speak of the reference to lines 7- 8 which allude to an incident in which the Temple sanctuary was defiled.[116] Nevertheless, this supports the argument for Alexander Janneus as per the tradition cited by Josephus wherein Alexander was pelted by citrons and subsequently killed about six thousand Jews.[117]

Conclusion

The Habakkuk Commentary is significant in that it provides information relating to the history and events of the Qumran community. Deciphering this information is problematic, however, as the individuals are not referred to by their personal names, but rather by monikers. Although several individuals are indicated in this scroll, this study is concentrated on the identity of the Wicked Priest. The difficulty is further compounded by the widespread discussion surrounding the issues of dating, textual interpretation, and theories of singular or plural identifications of the Wicked Priest. Nevertheless, studies into the identity of these individuals are worthwhile as they not only supply further understanding into the events of the Intertestamental period, but identifying the characters will facilitate knowledge of the dating of the community as well.

Current studies from archeology and paleography aid in providing a time frame in which the community may have existed and produced the Habakkuk pesher. There is, however, disagreement among some scholars as to the dating of the origins of the community; therefore dates ranging from the second half of the second century BCE to the first half of the first century BCE have been suggested.[118] Nevertheless, the dating of the community is a critical area in determining the identities of the characters within the pesher as it offers a more precise date within which to find the identities. The approximate date offered by R. de Vaux as well as recent archaeologocial surveys have been considered and employed in this study, setting the date circa 134 BCE.

Equally important in this endeavor is understanding the methodology in addition to the eschatological ideology of the pesherist. Concerning the former, the pesherist is guided by the biblical citation or lemma. Consequently, the interpreter of the prophetic book is limited in his interpretation to what is mentioned in the lemma. Thus, the text does not follow a narrative form, but rather appears fragmented and atomized. Some scholars have recently posited that the pesherist introduces the Wicked Priests in chronological order. Although this theory has currently been incorporated into an important study, the Groningen Hypothesis, many scholars dispute the theory of

[116] Michael A. Knibb, p. 246, asserts that accusations of this kind, i.e. murder, defiling the Temple, robbery, were no doubt made against all the Hasmoneans high priests and so provide little information.

[117] G.R. Driver, p. 146; Igor Tantlevskij, p. 12, asserts that since this passage does not fit with what we know of the activities of the Hasmonean high priests except Alexander Janneus, therefore Janneus is the Wicked Priest mentioned in this passage.

[118] The majority of scholars accept the date of approximately 134 BCE or a little earlier, thus placing the origins to the final years of Simon's reign or early in Hyrcanus I's reign. cf. Frank M. Cross, "The Righteous Teacher", p. 108, 116; A.S. van der Woude, *JJS*, p. 357; Paolo Sacci, p. 232.

a chronological scheme of the pesherist.[119]

Paramount in the pesherist's interpretation of the lemma is the belief that he is living in the end times. He perceives himself and his community as the chosen ones of God, the remnant who endures to the end, because they are the chosen of God. This aspect may be reflected in their interpretations as hyperbole. Therefore, it is plausible that the characteristics and many dooms have been exaggerated in the text.

Further considerations are the use of expressions and the correct understanding of them. Establishing their connotation as it pertains to the characters is essential to discovering their identity. For instance, the meaning of the term *mašal*, if understood as denoting a reigning ethnarch as opposed to King, would eliminate all possible candidates after Simon. This inference, together with the archeological evidence, would result in the candidature of only Simon. The allusions in the text to this character, however, appear to indicate several individuals; although, there are some scholars who maintain that the allusions refer to only one individual. Moreover, the allusions appear to suit several individuals while other characters are not referenced at all, for example, Antigonus. As Charlesworth astutely states, "The historical data mirrored in the pesharim can be recovered and understood only within a balance of delicate possibilities and probabilities."[120] Nevertheless, as additional understanding of the scrolls and the community from whence they originated comes to light, the better equipped we will be to identify the characters alluded to therein.

Janet Lamarche *now holds an M.A. in Theological Studies from Concordia University. Her focus area is Biblical Studies. She also holds a B.A. in Theological Studies from Concordia.*

[119] See especially Timothy H. Lim; also Gabrielle Boccaccini, "Qumran: The Headquarters of the Essenes or a Marginal splinter Group" in Gabrielle Boccaccini (ed) Enoch and Qumran Origins, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., 2005, p. 303; Pierluigi Piovanelli, p. 366.

[120] Charlesworth, p. 116.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bengtsson, Hakan, "Three Sobriquets, their Meaning and Function: The Wicked Priest, Synagogue of Satan and the Woman Jezebel" in James H. Charlesworth (ed), *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, N. Richland Hills: BIBAL Press, 2000, pp. 241-265.

Bernstein, Moshe, "Pesher Habakkuk" in Lawrence H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* Vol. 2, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 647-650.

Boccaccini, Gabrielle, "Qumran: The Headquarters of the Essenes or a Marginal Splinter Group?" in Gabrielle Boccaccini (ed), *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., 2005, pp. 303-309.

Burrows, Miller, "Identification of Persons and Events" in Miller Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls with Translations by the Author*, N.Y: The Viking Press, 1955, pp. 160-223.

-----. "Historical Allusions in the Habakkuk Commentary: The Kittim" in Miller Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls with Translations by the Author*, N.Y: The Viking Press, 1955, pp. 123-142.

-----. "Dramatis Personae" in Miller Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls with Translations by the Author*, N.Y: The Viking Press, 1955, pp. 143-159.

Brownlee, William H., *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk*, (SBL Monograph Series), Ann Arbor, Scholars Biblical Press, 1979.

-----. "The Meaning for Old Testament Interpretation" in William H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Scrolls for the Bible*, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 102-105, 139.

Callaway, Philip R., "The Pesharim and the History of the Qumran Community" in Philip R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community*, Sheffeild: JSOT Press, 1988, pp. 136-171.

Charlesworth, James, H., "Historical Allusions in the Pesharim" in *The Qumran and Qumran History: Chaos and Consensus*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., 2002, pp. 80-118.

Collins, John J., "The Time of the Teacher: An Old Debate Renewed" in peter W. Flint, Emmanuel Tov & James C. VanderKam, *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and the Septuagint*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 212-229.

Cross, Frank M., "The Essenes, the People of the Scrolls" in Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd Ed., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995, pp. 54-120.

-----. "The Righteous Teacher and the Wicked Priest" in Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd Ed., Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995, pp. 100-119.

De Vaux, Roland, "Khirbert Qumran" in Roland de Vaux, *Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 1-48.

-----. "The Ruins and the Texts" in Roland de Vaux, *Archeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 91-138.

Dimant, Deborah, "Pesharim, Qumran" in David N. Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary, Vol. 5*, N.Y: Doubleday, 1992, pp. 244-246.

Driver, G.R., "Historical Allusions in the Scrolls" in G.R. Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and the Solution*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965, pp. 126-149.

Dupont-Sommer, André, "Commentary on Habakkuk" in André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961, pp. 258-268.

-----. "The Habakkuk Commentary and the 'New Covenant'" in André Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952, pp. 25-44.

Horgan, Maurya P., "1QpHab" in *Pesharim and Other Related Documents*, Washington D.C: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2002, pp. 161-185.

Knibb, Michael A., "The Commentary on Habakkuk" in Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 221-246.

Kugler, Robert A., "Priests" in Lawrence H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 688-693.

Lim, Timothy H., "Wicked Priest" in Lawrence H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Vol. 2,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 973-976.

Milik, J.T., "The Habakkuk Commentary" in J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, London: SCM Press, 1957, pp. 64-70.

Piovanelli, Pierluigi, "Some Archeological, Sociological and Cross-Cultural Afterthoughts on the 'Groningen' and the 'Enochic/Essene' Hypothesis" in Gabrielle Boccaccini (ed), *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publ. Co., 2005, pp. 366-372.

Sacci, Paolo, "Palestine under the Seleucids" in Paolo Sacci, *The History of the Second Temple Period*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000, pp. 250-283.

Schiffman, Lawrence H., "Closing the Canon" in Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994, pp. 232-236.

Tantlevskij, Igor R., *The Two Wicked Priests in the Qumran Community on Habakkuk*, Kraków: The Enigma Press, 1995.

Vermes, Geza, "Commentary on Habakkuk" in Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English Revised Ed.*, London: Penguin Books, 2004, pp. 509-516.

Waltke, Bruce K., & M.O'Conner, "Demonstratives" in Bruce K. Waltke & M. O'Conner, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990, pp. 306-314.

-----. "Relatives" in Bruce K. Waltke & M. O'Conner, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990, pp. 330-340.

Wilson, Edmund, "The Teacher of Righteousness" in *The Scrolls from the Dead Sea*, N.Y: Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 54-76.

Whiston, William A.M., *Josephus: The Complete Works*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998.

Articles

Brownlee, William H., "The Wicked Priest, The Man of Lies and the Righteous Teacher: The Problem of Identity", *JQR* (73/1, 1982), pp. 1-37.

Lim, Timothy H., "The Wicked Priests of the Groningen Hypothesis", *JBL* (112/3, 1993), pp. 415-425.

Martinez, Garcia & A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History", *RevQ* (14, 1989), pp. 522-541.

Theiring, B.E., "Once More the Wicked Priest", *JBL* (97/2, 1978), pp. 191-205.

Van der Woude, A.S., "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary", *JJS* (33, 1982), pp. 349-359.

-----. "Once Again: The Wicked Priests in the Habakkuk Pesher from Cave 1 of Qumran", *RevQ* (17, 1996), pp. 375-384.

Lexicon

Brown F., S. Driver & C. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.

List of Abbreviations

JQR.....The Jewish Quarterly Review

JJS.....Journal of Jewish Studies

JBL.....Journal of Biblical Literature

RevQ.....Revue de Qumran

Χιόνια στο καμπαναριό... *(Belltower)* *Melanie Peralis, 2005*

Codex W: A Theological Understanding of the Freer Logion

Calogero A. Miceli

The alternate ending to Mark's gospel that appears within Codex W was written to patch up Mark's inconclusive gospel, to reestablish the faith of its audience in Jesus and Heaven, to solve its audience's false understanding of good and evil, and to pacify Satan's character. Written by a scribe we may speculate as Egyptian, the author's purpose is apparent through the addition of a new ending to Mark's gospel in this short passage. Though left aside by many scholars, an analysis of this passage widens our understanding of the scribe's theology. Through his use of words, characters, and ideas, his viewpoint is shaped and it conveys a message to his audience which is not present in any of the four canonical gospels.

Codex W, which contains the four canonical gospels, is also known as the 'Codex Washingtonianus' or the 'Freer Gospels', because it resides in the Freer Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. The manuscript itself was purchased for sixteen hundred pounds by Charles L. Freer in the year 1907 in Gizeh near Cairo, from a dealer by the name of Ali Arabi.[1] A description of the physical aspects of the actual Codex is described by Lawton and Merrill, who state that, "the Greek text was written in dark brown ink on thick parchment, and the leaves were brittle, especially at the edges; many of the pages were firmly stuck together and held desert sand in the wrinkles."[2] Prior to the Codex's discovery, scholars had already known about this unique ending to Mark's gospel through the writings of Jerome.[3] Writing about an ending very similar to the ending of Codex W, Jerome stated that it was found in some copies of Greek manuscripts.[4] Although Jerome does not tell the reader where he found these manuscripts, the only copy we have remains in Codex W.[5] Unlike the modern New Testament, where Mark's gospel is ordered second after Matthew, the ordering of Codex W is different. Today, the canonical gospels are ordered as follows: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Codex W orders them in the so-called Western order which is: Matthew, John, Luke,

[1] Thomas Lawton and Linda Merrill, *Freer: A Legacy of Art* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 66-67.

[2] Lawton & Merrill, 66.

[3] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration,* 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 81.

[4] Montague Rhoads James, *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses: With Other Narratives and Fragments* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 34.

[5] Metzger, 202.

and Mark.[6] Metzger asserts that what is most noteworthy about Codex W is the variant ending attributed to Mark.[7] This additional ending, named after its discoverer Charles Freer, is referred to as the Freer Logion.[8] The agrapha of Codex W has been translated as follows:

> "And they excused themselves, saying, 'This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over unclean things of the spirits. Therefore reveal thy righteousness now' – thus they spoke to Christ. And Christ replied to them, 'The term of years for Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near. And for those who have sinned I was delivered over to death, that they may return truth and sin no more; that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven.'"[9]

The scribe chooses to incorporate this text within Mark's gospel rather than within Matthew, Luke, or John. The most obvious reason for such a choice might have been directly related to Mark's inconclusiveness and desire to leave his gospel unfinished and open-ended.[10] Thus, through this insertion the scribe is able to complete Mark's unfinished work and bring it all together. In addition, Mark's gospel unsympathetically illustrates apostles who are weak and who deny Jesus.[11] Ultimately, Jesus does not turn them away, but instructs them to be better.[12] This portrayal of Mark's apostles (as ones who lacked an understanding of Jesus' plan and purpose) was already in place, and because the author of W intends to portray the apostles in his ending the same way, the addition fits in well with the rest of Mark in terms of characters. The apostles in Mark are illustrated as coming to Jesus' call, which suggests that Jesus is a monarch or a teacher.[13] Thus, this representation of Mark's apostles and Jesus fit in perfectly for the scribe of W, who also portrays the relationship between Jesus and his disciples as that of a teacher and his students. Morton Smith explains a recurring tradition of Mark's gospel, where at the end of each narrative the disciples ask Jesus about the meaning of what he has said or did and Jesus' explanations are either moralizing expositions or serve the apologetic interests of the early church.[14] With this in mind, the scribe of W uses the same narrative scheme as Mark's author to express the interest of the Church towards its audience. This narrative pattern, already found within Mark's gospel, lends itself well to the ending the author wishes to assimilate. Thus, it would have been easy for this passage to have gone undetected if inserted within Mark's gospel. Finally, in the Western ordering of the gospels, Mark's gospel comes last and this may have been the reason or one of several for the additional ending to be attributed to Mark. Read at the very end of the four gospels, the Freer Logion

[6] Metzger, 80.

[7] Metzger, 81.

[8] James, 34.

[9] Metzger, 81.

[10] Stephen L. Harris, *Understanding the Bible* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007), 373.

[11] Harris, 373.

[12] Sherman E. Johnson, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mark* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1960), 75.

[13] Johnson, 82.

[14] Morton Smith, "Forms, Motives, and Omissions in Mark's Account of the Teaching of Jesus," in *Understanding the Sacred Text* (ed. John Reumann. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972), 157.

becomes the final words of Jesus Christ.

What remains difficult is contending whether W is the original author of this passage or if the scribe simply copied this text from another manuscript. Since it was present during Jerome's lifetime, "it can be logically argued that the logion once existed in a wider frame."[15] In trying to uncover the truth, Howell asserts that in the end, the reading of this passage reflects the traditions of the scribe in either case.[16] In other words, whether the scribe created it or simply copied it from another source, his intention, by preserving this particular ending to Mark and conveying it to his audience, remains the same.

Crucial elements of W's intentions are revealed when we understand the audience that the writer is addressing. Since the Codex was purchased in Egypt and dated fourth or fifth century,[17] we may assume that the author of Codex W is addressing Egyptians living during the late fourth to early fifth century CE.[18] Even if this text is not original to the Scribe of Codex W, the fact that the scribe copied this text still asserts his intentions and traditions as quoted earlier from Howell. Moore notices a connection between the characters and readers of the New Testament in which the reader is able to relate to the characters.[19] Similarly, Kelber notes that the characters symbolize realities, which link to the reader and serve as models for both understanding and conduct.[20] Given that the passage is inserted at the very end of the gospel after Jesus' death and resurrection, we may assume this was done purposely by the author to easily allow the readers to relate to the passage because, like the apostles, they are followers of Jesus living in a time after his death and resurrection. Since the readers or listeners see their own situations in those of the disciples, W uses this technique to send a message to the audience by having Jesus send a message to his disciples.

From the Freer Logion, it is clear that the apostles are not believers and that they are disgruntled with what has transpired thus far after Jesus' death. Taking into account this writing method, if the readers are meant to see themselves within the disciples, it would then make sense to inverse the process so that we better understand the audience during that time. Ergo, by looking at what the disciples are saying, we can attribute their rhetoric directly to what the audience may have been thinking and vocalizing. Within this ending, the apostles command Jesus to reveal himself as they ask about evil and its existence even after Jesus has come. Although speculative, it is not far-fetched to assume that the Egyptians nearing the turn of the fifth century are unclear about Jesus' message; like many other people throughout the history of time, they wonder about evil in the world and are ask-

[15] Steven L. Cox, "A History and Critique of Scholarship Concerning the Markan Endings" (Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991), 137.

[16] Justin R. Howell, "The Characteristics of Jesus in Codex W," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14 (2006): 48.

[17] Metzger, 80.

[18] Howell, 48.

[19] Stephen D. Moore, *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), 74-75.

[20] Werner H. Kelber, *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark* 14-16 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 172-173.

ing why it is still present following the Messiah's resurrection. The scribe answers his people and gives them instructions through Jesus' character, who gives instructions to his apostles by warning them of greater dangers to come. Jesus states that he "was delivered over to death, that they may return truth and sin no more; that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven."[21] Through Jesus' words, the scribe tells the audience that Jesus' suffering was for them and that they too will be in heaven. The speech explains to the audience the reason for Jesus' death, which the author of W would not have had to do if the audience he was writing to was already aware of such.

As the scribe addresses their inquiries regarding evil and its presence within the world they live in with a warning to defend themselves of worse evils to come, it may seem at first that the writer has completely sidetracked from capturing his audience's attention and from sending his message forth. But such is not the case and the writer's theology speaks volumes in this warning to the disciples about harsher trials awaiting them in the future. By warning his audience of worse things to come, the author recapitulates Jesus' glory in heaven and illustrates to everyone that although there are worse things to come, the ultimate end is in heaven and that these worldly things are of little concern. We see this concept realized more clearly when reading further down this passage as the author continues Jesus' speech with an explanation of his resurrection and the glory of heaven. Almost as a timeline, the author talks about evil and bad things to come, with Jesus explaining his death, the purpose of his resurrection, and finally, the concluding word of the entire ending is "heaven". The passage becomes a visual image of the trials all Christians must face, in which the belief is that the hardships faced on earth will be washed away when entering the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus, the warning of worse things to come doesn't sidestep their question at all. It draws the audience closer to this concept of heaven that Jesus is pushing forth. The writer is telling the audience to let go of this world, its sinners, and its evilness and to embrace, "the incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven."[22]

We may deduce that some Egyptians were not well instructed about Jesus' resurrection and the belief that Jesus' death was to wash away the sins of humanity. The audience, from the rhetoric of the apostles, seems to believe that Jesus' death should have improved this world and made it a better place - free of sin and evil. In offering his audience a different understanding of Jesus, W takes their focus away from the physical world and turns their attention to the spiritual world, the world after this one known as heaven. The apostles command Jesus to appear, in order to answer their questions, which illustrates that they seemingly lack faith. Jesus appears and quiets their disbelief by opening their eyes to the things they cannot see, but in which they should believe. This passage addresses the disbelief found in the audience and turns their attention towards heaven's glory. The theology of W is present as the scribe directs his audience into asserting their faith in Jesus and Heaven once more.

Aside from its theological purpose, perhaps one of the most intriguing elements of this

[21] Metzger, 81.

[22] Metzger, 81.

Deuterocanonical text is that it mentions Satan and the fulfillment of Satan's purpose. Though overlooked by most of the scholars who touch upon the subject of this Codex, this is perhaps the earliest attempt at pacifying Satan's character. In this passage, the apostles attribute the lack of laws and the unbelief of others directly to Satan, holding him responsible for the terrible evil that is plaguing their world; however, Jesus reassures them that, "The term of years for Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near."[23]

In understanding the author's theology to reassure the audience about the sacrifice of Christ to erase all sins and looking towards heaven in order to overcome the problems of this world, there is no direct need to include Satan. The message can be communicated without the use of Satan's character ever having to be mentioned. In understanding the concept of Satan for a Christian audience, Pagels explains Satan's character, "for Mark and for later Christianity – [as] God's antagonist, his enemy, even his rival."[24] Thus the dualism between good and evil comes alive in this passage, as we are presented with a cosmic battle between Satan and God. This dualism increases with the words the author uses when stating that all evil is "under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over unclean things of the spirits."[25] Here, Jesus not only mentions Satan in his response, but he completely absolves him of any wrongdoing. W could have had Jesus avoid Satan's character altogether, but he specifically has Jesus refer to him and writes that there are worse things than Satan on the horizon. In mentioning that Satan's task has been fulfilled, we witness a greater purpose at work. The author of W sees Satan in a different light than the Christians of that time; Satan is not opposed to Jesus, he is merely helping Jesus follow his path. Scenes such as 'The Temptation of Jesus' may have been orchestrated to help Christ in his understanding of himself and in that light Satan's purpose in helping Jesus is mentioned by W as being fulfilled. Another explanation for pacifying Satan's character may be attributed to the portrait of Judas put forth by Luke and John. As Jesus foretells Judas' betrayal of him, "Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot, who was one of the twelve."[26] In this portrayal of Judas, he becomes one with Satan and as a result, Satan is as close to Jesus as any of his apostles are. Therefore, the betrayal of Judas, which sets into motion the passion of Christ, may be directly attributed to Satan, who helps Jesus accomplish his Messianic purpose. This mentioning of Satan as having fulfilled his duty is an attempt to portray the character of Satan as good and as an aid for the fulfillment of Jesus' purposes on earth.

The Freer Logion had been of considerable interest; however, its dating to the fourth or fifth century CE has made it clear to most that this ending to Mark is not original. Consequently, it has been brushed aside and overlooked. Little is written on or studied about this ending and even less on Jesus' mentioning of Satan's role as fulfilled. Though one cannot claim this passage is authentic to Mark, it is

[23]Metzger, 81.

[24]Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995), 47.

[25]Metzger, 81.

[26]Luke 22:3, *New Revised Standard Version*.

still important in its theology and its purpose since it was written as a message to a specific audience. Clearly, it addresses disbelievers, who use the evil found on earth to disprove that Jesus was the Messiah. To this, the scribe has Jesus appear, quiet the non-believers, and reassert that there is evil in the world and that more evil will undoubtedly come; however, Jesus' purpose in dying on the cross and his resurrection was to wash away the sins of humanity and to allow the Kingdom of God to be opened for anyone who embraces the spiritual world. Through this passage, Satan is given a final cameo in which his character is properly concluded from the narrative of the gospel. W manages to pacify Satan and asserts that Satan has fulfilled his purpose. W obviously had a much different understanding of Satan's character, in which he serves Jesus, rather than the selfish and evil Satan who battles God for cosmic control of the universe. Satan is recognized as a stepping stone for Jesus, who allows him to fulfill his purpose and who cannot be the father of evil if things worse than Satan are coming in the future. Ultimately, W uses Mark's gospel to portray these ideas and uses the apostles to represent the audience and listeners. Though it is clear the Freer Logion was not written by Mark, it does incorporate a theological message to its audience and simultaneously pacifies Satan's character as a helper rather than a hinderer.

Calogero A. Miceli *is an Undergraduate enrolled at Concordia University pursuing an Honors in Theological Studies with a Minor in English Literature. His interests include narrative understandings of the Gospel According to Mark, and Satan as a character in the New Testament Gospels.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cox, Steven L. "A History and Critique of Scholarship Concerning the Markan Endings." Ph.D. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991.

Gould, Ezra. *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*. New York: T. & T. Clark, 1967.

Harris, Stephen L. *Understanding the Bible*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007.

Howell, Justin R. "The Characteristics of Jesus in Codex W." *Journal of Early Christian Studies 14* (2006): 47-75.

James, Montague Rhoads. *The Apocryphal New Testament: Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses: With Other Narratives and Fragments.* London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Johnson, Sherman E. *A Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Mark*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1960.

Kelber, Werner H. *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14-16*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.

Lawton, Thomas, and Linda Merrill. *Freer: A Legacy of Art*. Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1993.

Metzger, Bruce M. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Moore, Stephen D. *Literary Criticism and the Gospels: The Theoretical Challenge*. London: Yale University Press, 1989.

Pagels, Elaine. *The Origin of Satan*. New York: Random House, 1995.

Smith, Morton. "Forms, Motives, and Omissions in Mark's Account of the Teaching of Jesus." Pages 140-60 in *Understanding the Sacred Text*. Edited by John Reumann. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972.

Schweizer, Eduard. *The Good News According to Mark*. Translated by Donald H. Madvig. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1970.

Branching Out *Sharon Austin*

Born in Montréal, ***K. Gandhar Chakravarty*** *is a poet, singer, and scholar. His poems have been published throughout the world and several have been translated into Bengali. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Religion at Université de Montréal and has recently had a collection of his poems and photos,"Kolkata Dreams", published by 8th House Publishing.*

Under the Old Banyan Tree

K. Gandhar Chakravarty

When you sit
Under the old banyan tree,
Recite a verse for me.
I may be long gone by then,
My soul wandering along,
But this banyan will live on.

New roots spawn
>From every branch,
Spilling until they tickle the ground,
Burrowing down,
Slowly turning into trunks,
>From which the same tree will again sprout.

And as one side withers away,
The banyan defies decay,
Continuing to drop
New roots to the ground.

Generations gathered
Under this old banyan tree,
To ponder verses in the shade.
So I ask you:

When you sit
Under the old banyan tree,
Recite a verse for me.
I may be long gone by then,
My soul wandering along,
But this banyan will live on.
But this banyan will live on.

Pillars *Jean Daou*

SPONSORS

The following advertisers have, through their generous support, greatly added to the quality of this journal.

Please give them your support in return.

THE ENGLISH SPEAKING CATHOLIC COUNCIL

2005 St. Marc Street, Montreal, Quebec H3H SG8

Tel.: (514) 937-2301 Fax: (514) 907-5010

E-mail: escc@bellnet.ca

www.catholiccentre.ca/esscc

DINE on Campus

why buy
FLEX DOLLARS?

Eat Healthy: Your food not only tastes good but every meal offers nutritionally balanced choices.

Save Time: You are buying yourself valuable extra time for studying or socializing with your friends by letting Food Services do the shopping, cooking and clean up.

Security & Convenience: You are committing dollars for food purchases so you do not have to carry cash.

Flexibility: You choose the Dining Plan that suits your individual needs.

Chartwells
College and University Dining Services

Visit our website at
www.dineoncampus.ca/concordia

TOUJOURS FRAIS, TOUJOURS BON

Tel: (514) 334-1199

RESTAURANT
Daou
Fine Cuisine
Libanaise

مطعم
ضو
مأكولات لبنانية

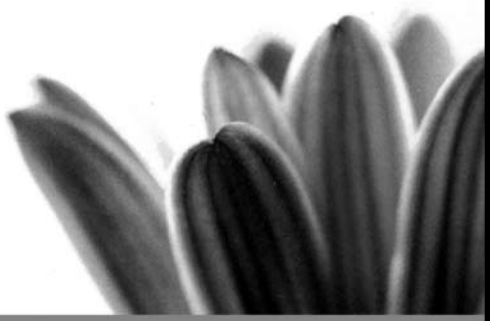
Commandes à emporter - Traiteur - Services de banquet

Fax: (514) 334-6720
info@restaurantdaou.com

Tel: (514) 276-8310

ALWAYS FRESH, ALWAYS GOOD

514 334 3725



www.fleursdesjardins.com

1700 Gouin O, montréal h3m 1b1

ATTN ALL GRAD STUDENTS, TEACHING ASSISTANTS AND FACULTY!!!

URGENT!!!
WE NEED YOUR HELP!!!

The **TSUSA** needs ***YOUR*** help in fostering a supportive environment for all **Undergraduate** students in the Department of Theological Studies. Many students are **unaware** how to access valuable resources available to them through the University, the Department, and their peers. **They can benefit from YOUR EXPERIENCE AND ENCOURAGMENT!**

***SOME THINGS YOU CAN DO*:**

-TALK to Undergrads and BE A MENTOR!
-SHARE your ideas, knowledge and experience!
-ENCOURAGE Undergrads to study together!
-Encourage students TO GET INVOLVED with the Theological Studies Student Associations!
-Encourage Undergrad Journal Submissions!
-Encourage Undergrads to COLLABORATE with their peers on projects and activities!
-DONATE used goods to the student lounge!

The Theological Studies Undergraduate Students' Association (TSUSA) aims at providing Undergraduate students the opportunity to get involved, and to network with other students and faculty in their field in a spirit of growth, mentorship, and community. Thank you for your support.

A Note on the Artwork

Unless otherwise noted and credited, the artwork used throughout this journal comes from free vector art websites such as **Vecteezy.com** and **FreeVectorGraphics.net**. We would like to extend our thanks and appreciation to this anonymous community of artists, who share their time, work and creativity so generously.