MATTHEW'S SHEPHERD MOTIF

AND

ITS SOCIO-RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

How, when, where and why did the Jewish Jesus movement develop into a largely non-Jewish religion separate from Judaism? An increasing number of scholars have come to recognize that the complexity of the so-called "Parting(s) of the Ways" question is comprised largely of smaller questions revolving around individual communities and their texts. The Gospel of Matthew represents one text that has been at or near the centre of this debate for quite some time. Despite being recognized as the most Jewish Gospel, many commentators argue that it was penned by someone who sought to distance himself from Jews and Judaism. Scholars have used diverse approaches for determining the relationship between Matthew and the variegated Judaism of the first century, but few recognize the important piece that the Evangelist's Christology brings to the puzzle of his socio-religious orientation. Of Matthew's various Christological strands, his Shepherd Christology offers significant potential for exploring this issue. The present investigation contends that there are distinctive tendencies in usage in the shepherd metaphor's appropriation by non-Christ-believing Jewish, non-Christ-believing Roman, and Christ-believing authors approximately contemporary with Matthew, tendencies which reflect distinct patterns of thought. By comparing Matthew's deployment of the shepherd metaphor with its appropriation by these groups of authors, clues to the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation may be discerned. In examining Matthew's frequently overlooked shepherd motif, this study determines its contribution to the overall theological framework of the Gospel, specifically, its Christology and soteriology.

Moreover, it employs the motif (i.e., the patterns of thought exhibited by it) to ascertain Matthew's socio-religious orientation, and thus, its implications for the "Partings" debate.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
BAGD	Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich, and Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BDF	Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*
BTB	*Biblical Theological Bulletin*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DJG	*Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*
EBC	Expositor's Bible Commentary
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Interp	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSJSS	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
MBC	Mellen Biblical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary of the New Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTSS	Novum Testamentum Supplement Series
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature

SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
ST	*Studia Theologica*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
TS	*Theological Studies*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTS	*Vetus Testamentum* Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

English translations of passages from the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the NT and the Gospel of Matthew, unless otherwise stated, are supplied by the author of the present study. Translations of passages from the Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha are taken from *OTP*, ed. J. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983-85) and the New Revised Standard Version of the bible, respectively. Translations of Philo and Josephus are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, while passages from the *Shepherd of Hermas* are taken from G. Snyder, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary, vol. 6, ed. R. Grant (Camden: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1968).

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

"'When did Christianity and Judaism part company and go their separate ways?' is one of those deceptively simple questions which should be approached with great care."[1] The so-called "Parting(s) of the Ways" is today one of the most intensely researched problems in biblical studies: how, when, where and why did the Jewish Jesus movement develop into a religion separate from Judaism? Although this issue is extremely complicated, an increasing number of scholars have come to recognize that its complexity is comprised largely of smaller questions revolving around individual communities and their texts.[2] One such group is the Matthean Christ-believers[3] and their text, the Gospel of Matthew.[4]

Matthew's Gospel has been at or near the centre of the debate for quite some time. On the one hand, some commentators argue that because the Gospel is the most Jewish text in the New Testament, it offers evidence of a Christ-believing community still closely related to Judaism. Others, on the other hand, assert that it was composed by a non-Jew who sought to distance himself from Jews and Judaism. No consensus,

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[1] P. Alexander, "'The Parting of the Ways' from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism" in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways AD 70 to 135*, ed. J. Dunn (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1992), 1.

[2] Other types evidence would include archaeology.

[3] For a discussion of whether the Mattheans should be thought of as a "community" or as "communities," see section 1.4.2 below.

[4] For the sake of convenience, "Matthew" shall refer to the author of the Gospel; apostolic authorship is neither assumed nor implied. Furthermore, "Matthew," "Evangelist" and "author" will be used interchangeably for stylistic variation.

however, has been reached.[5] Furthermore, a lack of precision in the oversimplified

terminology that scholars regularly employ in the discussion adds to the confusion and

limits the relevance of the conclusions drawn.

Commentators have used diverse approaches for determining the relationship

between Matthew and the variegated Judaism of the first century,[6] that is to say,

Matthew's "socio-religious location" or "socio-religious orientation"—one of the more

prominent categories comprising "social setting" or "social location."[7] Few scholars,

however, have recognized the important piece that the Evangelist's Christology brings to

the puzzle. Of Matthew's various Christological strands, his Shepherd Christology offers

significant potential for exploring his socio-religious orientation.[8] The present

investigation contends that there are distinctive tendencies in usage in the shepherd

metaphor's appropriation by non-Christ-believing Jewish, non-Christ-believing Roman,

and Christ-believing authors, which reflect certain patterns of thought;[9] by comparing

Matthew's deployment of this metaphor (which reflects certain tendencies of its own)

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[5] For further discussion of these views and their respective scholarly representation, see section 1.2.1 below.

[6] "Judaism" in this study refers to the Adonayistic religion (i.e., worship of YHWH) originating with the Jewish people, primarily characterized by the Temple cult, religious festivals, circumcision, Sabbath observance, and adherence to the Torah and its diverse regulations, including purity, dietary and tithing laws. For a detailed discussion of the practices and belief of (Second Temple) Judaism, see E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice & Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992).

[7] Other prominent categories include date of composition, place of composition, and the destination or community addressed; cf. the discussions of E. Wainwright, *Shall We Look for Another? A Feminist Rereading of the Matthean Jesus*, The Bible & Liberation Series, gen. eds. N. Gottwald and R. Horsley (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 35-49, and A. Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism, eds. W. Green and C. Goldscheider (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 84-123.

[8] For a detailed explanation of how, see section 1.4.4 below.

[9] For an explanation of "patterns of thought," see section 1.4.4 below.

with its appropriation by these groups of authors, clues to the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation may be discerned, and its social-historical implications traced.

Thus, this study, on the one hand, examines Matthew's often overlooked shepherd motif to determine how it contributes to the overall theological framework of the Gospel, specifically, its Christology and soteriology.[10] On the other hand, it uses the motif to ascertain Matthew's socio-religious location; but rather than adopt the problematic language of other inquiries to describe the author's socio-religious orientation,[11] this study will describe it in terms of occupying a certain place on a spectrum. Therefore, the study will contribute to the understanding of Matthew's theology, and of his relationship with first-century Judaism. Although the present thesis does not deal with the larger discussion of the separation between Jews and Christ-believers, Matthew's socio-religious location has direct bearing for the "Partings" debate, as well as other social-historical implications, which shall be outlined in the second part of the study.

In sum, the purpose of the present study is to understand an important aspect of Matthew's theology as expressed in his deployment of "shepherd" as a Christological term, and what his appropriation of this particular metaphor implies about who Matthew and his followers were. The following outline of previous scholarship will indicate the various fields of research needed to address the questions of the theological contributions

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[10] "Shepherd metaphor" and "shepherd motif" have slightly different meanings in the present study. Shepherd "metaphor" refers to the occurrence of the metaphor in a text. Shepherd "motif," however, implies a developed use of, and hence, a particular interest on the part of the author in the metaphor, i.e., it acts as a theme or sub-theme within the document. For an overview of texts Matthew uses to develop his shepherd motif, see section 1.4.4 below.

[11] See discussion in section 1.2.1 below.

of Matthew's shepherd motif, and its implications for the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation.

1.2 Survey of Scholarship

1.2.1 The Social Location of Matthew

When discussing the "Parting(s) of the Ways," earlier scholars tended to map a rather simplistic, once-for-all parting between Jews and Christ-believers.[12] Recent proponents paint a more complicated picture of the process.[13] This type of simplistic configuration of social realities, not surprisingly, also characterizes most discussions of Matthew's socio-religious location.

In the history of Matthean scholarship there have been and still are two basic positions among commentators concerning the relationship between Matthew and first-

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[12] P. Fredriksen notes that scholars typically claim that the "Parting" took place in c. 28-30 CE, c. 50 CE, c. 70 CE, c. 135 CE, or 200 CE. The first date relates to Jesus' mission to Israel: the second pertains to Paul (the "founder of Christianity") and his missionary journeys; in 70 CE the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed and the centrality of the Temple cult eliminated; after 135 and the Bar Khokhba Revolt, the leadership of the "mother church" passed from the hands of Jewish to Gentile Christ-believers; and by 200 CE, according to Fredriksen, "Jewish persecutions of Gentile Christians and increasingly effective ecclesiastical organization combined both to articulate and to finalize the 'inevitable' break" ("What 'Parting of the Ways'?: Jews, Gentiles, and the Ancient Mediterranean City" in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. A. Becker and A. Y. Reed, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, eds. M. Hengel and P. Schäfer, vol. 95 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 35); cf. M. Goodman, "Modeling the 'Parting of the Ways'" in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. A. Becker and A. Y. Reed, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, eds. M. Hengel and P. Schäfer, vol. 95 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 122.

[13] Alexander, for example, claims that there was an "ever-widening rift" that "takes on the air of finality with the triumph of Rabbinism within the Palestinian Jewish community and the virtual disappearance of Jewish Christianity," c. fourth–fifth century CE ("Parting"). Similarly, J. Dunn asserts, "'The parting of the ways,' properly speaking, was very 'bitty,' long drawn out and influenced by a range of social, geographical, and political as well as theological factors. . . . we must beware of thinking of a clear or single 'trajectory' for either Christianity or Judaism" ("Concluding Summary" in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways AD 70 to 135*, ed. J. Dunn [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck, 1992], 367). Consequently, Dunn later writes, "In response to the question, When did the ways part?, the answer has to be: Over a lengthy period, at different times and places, and as judged by different people differently, depending on what was regarded as a non-negotiable boundary marker and by whom. So, early for some

century Judaism.[14] Perhaps the more frequently advocated view throughout the history of

research would be the "*extra muros*" view. Scholars of this persuasion contend that

although Matthew and his community shared a common heritage with Judaism, a definite

breach had occurred between the Mattheans and non-Christ-believing Jews with the result

that the Mattheans no longer participated in the Jewish "synagogue" environment.[15]

Thus, for example, K. Stendahl writes, "Matthew's community now existed in sharp

contrast to the Jewish community in town. For in this church things Jewish meant Jewish

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. . . but for many [others] there was a long lingering embrace which was broken finally only after the Constantinian settlement" (*The Partings of the Ways: Between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity*, 2nd ed. [London: SCM Press, 2006], xxiii-xxiv.

[14] A summary of the different views can be found in G. Stanton, "The Origin and Purpose of Matthew's Gospel: Matthean Scholarship from 1945 to 1980" in *ANRW* II.25.3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), 1910-21; D. Hagner, "The *Sitz im Leben* of the Gospel of Matthew" in *Treasures New and Old: Recent Contributions to Matthean Studies*, eds. D. Bauer and M. A. Powell, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series, ed. G. O'Day (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 32-40, and E.-J. Vledder, *Conflict in the Miracle Stories: A Socio-Exegetical Study of Matthew 8 and 9*, JSNTSS, vol. 15 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 141-64. Stanton, for his part, believes there are four positions and this number has subsequently been taken up by other scholars (e.g., Hagner, "*Sitz im Leben*" and Vledder, *Conflict*): the "traditional" view, whereby Matthew is a pre-70 CE, Hebrew or Aramaic written, Palestinian Jewish document; the "*intra muros*" view, whereby Matthew represents a 70-85 CE Jewish Christ-believing community closely related to Judaism; the "*extra muros*" position, whereby Matthew is understood as a post-85 CE Jewish Christ-believing community that experienced a definite break with Judaism, but continued in debate with it; and the fourth view asserts that Matthew was a Gentile (possibly even his readers) and discussions with Judaism were a thing of the distant past. In the "traditional" view, however, neither Stanton nor those who follow him clarify whether a pre-70, Palestinian Jewish provenance means that Matthew continued to relate closely to Judaism, since this does not necessarily follow; moreover, with the accession of Marcan priority in the twentieth century (which pushes Matthew to a post-70 CE date), this view has been all but discarded. Further, the fourth view actually represents an "*extra muros*" position: thus there would, in fact, be only two basic views, not four.

[15] When scholars speak of a "synagogue" or "synagogue environment," they often do so uncritically: they read the later institutional development of the synagogue back into the first century. Anders Runesson has convincingly argued that there were actually two types of synagogues in the first century. The first type of synagogue was the public synagogue, which could be used for political, judicial or religious affairs. No religious group/party controlled these types of synagogues in an official capacity but individuals and groups sought (unofficially) to exert their influence there. The second type of synagogue was the voluntary association, which functioned as private or semi-private meeting places, with each subgroup within Roman society (e.g., the Essenes, Pharisees) operating their own; cf. the discussion in A. Runesson, "Re-Thinking Early Jewish/Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intra-group Conflict," *JBL* 127 (forthcoming, 2008). Matthew's "your/their synagogues" distinction should be understood against this background (e.g., were the Pharisees "*extra muros*" because they like other groups had their own association synagogue?). This distinction between public and private/semi-private synagogues is assumed by the present study.

and not Jewish Christian versus gentile Christian."[16] If, as Stendahl asserted, to be

"Jewish," i.e., to adhere to aspects of Judaism, is not to be "Christian," then other

scholars, like perhaps most famously, K. Clark, push this position even further by arguing

that the author of the Gospel was not even Jewish but Gentile.[17]

More recently, commentators like G. Stanton, D. Hagner, and P. Foster have

argued for what could perhaps be called a "soft *extra muros*" position.[18] Stanton insists,

> Matthew's communities are *extra muros*, but they are still responding in various
> ways to local synagogues and they still hope that even if Israel has been rejected
> by God, individual Jews will be converted. On this view the gospel can be seen,
> at least in part, as an apology—a defence of Christianity over against non-
> Christian Judaism.[19]

In this view, then, although the Mattheans abide as a distinct group outside of the public

synagogue environment (similar to [most] Gentile Christ-believers), they are still engaged

to some degree with Jews within it.

While the "*extra muros*" view has represented the scholarly consensus throughout

the history of Matthean scholarship, the "*intra muros*" position has come on quite

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[16] K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), xiii-xiv.

[17] K. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in Matthew," *JBL* 66 (1947): 165-72. Besides Clark, other scholars advocating this minority view of Gentile authorship include S. Sandmel, *A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956); G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus*, FRLANT, vol. 82 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 1972); L. Gaston, "The Messiah of Israel as Teacher of the Gentiles: The Setting of Matthew's Christology," *Interp* 21 (1975): 24-40; J. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976), 14-21.

[18] G. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1992); Hagner, "*Sitz im Leben*," and P. Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*, WUNT, vol. 177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). Stanton refers to this position as a "mediating position" between the "*extra muros*" and "*intra muros*" views.

[19] Stanton, *Gospel*, 124. Hagner, for his part, states, "the evangelist's community partook of two worlds, the Jewish and the Christian. Although they saw their Christianity as the true fulfillment of Judaism, they also were very conscious that they had broken with their unbelieving brothers and sisters. They were struggling to define and defend a Jewish Christianity to the Jews on the one hand and to realize their unity with Gentile Christians on the other" ("*Sitz im Leben*," 49-50).

strongly in the last 15 years.[20] The *"intra muros"* viewpoint contends that Matthew and

his community, despite the obvious conflicts they were experiencing with their Jewish

rivals, still firmly existed within the public synagogue environment. G. Bornkamm thus

characterizes the Matthean community:

> [According to Matt 24:9] the picture of the Jewish-Christian congregation arises,
> which holds fast to the law and has not yet broken away from union with Judaism
> but rather stands in sharp contrast to a doctrine and mission set free from the law
> (which Matthew could regard as lawless) is crystal clear. This Jewish-Christian
> congregation shares the fate of the Jewish nation, the desecration of the Temple
> and the horrors of flight.[21]

For Bornkamm, Matthew aligns more closely with nationalistic, Torah-observant, first-

century Judaism than with non-nationalistic, Torah-free "Christianity."[22] The *"intra*

muros" position became influential through the works of Bornkamm (who coined the

term *"intra muros"*), G. Kilpatrick[23] and W. D. Davies,[24] the latter claiming that

Matthew's Gospel was composed in response to the so-called Council of Javne following

the destruction of the temple in 70 CE.

The *"intra muros"* view does not display uniformity among its proponents.

Among its more recent advocates, A.-J. Levine, for example, argues that Matthew

believed that after the resurrection of Jesus, the mission not only extended to the Gentiles,

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[20] D. Hare has recently called this position "the growing consensus" ("How Jewish Is the Gospel of Matthew?," *CBQ* 62 [2000]: 264-77).

[21] G. Bornkamm, "End-Expectation and Church in Matthew" in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, trans. P. Scott (London: SCM, 1963), 22.

[22] Bornkamm, however, later migrated from this position to the other view; cf. Bornkamm, "The Authority to 'Bind' and 'Loose' in the Church in Matthew's Gospel" in *The Interpretation of Matthew*, ed. G. Stanton (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 85-97.

[23] G. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

[24] W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).

but Jews and Gentiles were to be evangelized indiscriminately.[25] For Saldarini, Gentiles

have a place in Matthew's vision of a "reformed Judaism," but only a peripheral one.[26]

D. Sim claims that the Mattheans actually had anti-Gentile tendencies[27] and consequently,

they were not involved in the mission to the Gentiles.[28]

One of the mistakes scholars often make in this debate is to equate socio-religious

location with "ethnic" identity.[29] The two, however, should not be confused. It is quite

possible, on the one hand, for a Jew to become acculturated and assimilated to Gentile

thought and practice. Two examples of this would be Dositheos son of Drimylos, a priest

in the royal cult of Alexander in the third century BCE, and Philo's nephew, Tiberius

Julius Alexander.[30] It is equally possible, on the other hand, for a Gentile to embrace

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[25] A.-J. Levine, *The Social and Ethnic Dimension of Matthean Social History* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988). Levine comments, "Although the temporal axis [of Matthew's soteriological program] indicates that until the resurrection the Jews retain their privileged position in salvation history, the social axis [of his program] reveals this ethnic division is ultimately subsumed under and, in the era of the church, made irrelevant" (*Social and Ethnic*, 4). This irrelevance of ethnic division leads Levine later to refer to Matthew as a "Christian Evangelist [writing] a Christian Gospel" ("Matthew's Advice to a Divided Readership" in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study*, ed. D. Aune [Grand Rapids: Eermans Publishing 2001], 33).

[26] Saldarini remarks, "Gentiles are to be brought into Israel through faith in Jesus and obedience to his teaching. Moreover, the core of Jewish practice and identity is not compromised. . . . Gentiles attain positive status by coming closer to Israel and Jesus and by affirming the law" (*Christian-Jewish*, 83).

[27] These tendencies would be revealed in Matthew's derogatory statements about Gentiles, e.g., Matt 5:46-47; 6:7-8, 31-32; 18:15-17.

[28] Sim states, "The Matthean community, far from having a close and open relationship with the Gentiles, seems to have largely avoided the Gentile world. . . . It conducted a mission solely to the Jewish people and numbered only a few Gentile converts among its members" (*The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community*, Studies in the New Testament and Its World, eds. J. Barclay, J. Marcus and J. Riches [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998], 256).

[29] This can be seen, for example, in Stanton's review of Matthean scholarship ("Origin," 1910-21, especially). In his overview of positions concerning the relationship between the Mattheans and contemporary Judaism, the assumption in these views is that socio-religious orientation suggests a specific ethnic identification. That is, if Matthew's socio-religious orientation is located closer to Judaism, whether "*intra muros*" or "*extra muros*", then he must be Jewish; if his socio-religious orientation is more toward "Gentile Christianity," then, while he may still be Jewish ethnically (but embrace a non-Jewish form of Christ-belief), he may also be a Gentile.

[30] Cf. the discussion in J. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan 323 BCE–117 CE* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 104-105.

thoroughly Jewish thought and practice.[31] This study does not focus directly on the

question of ethnic identity (which would be the corollary to socio-religious orientation)

but rather, on the issue of socio-religious location.

Discussions concerning Matthew's socio-religious location, moreover, suffer

significantly from the inadequate and historically inaccurate categorization of false

opposites. Scholars who believe that Matthew and his community decisively broke away

from Judaism and no longer participated in the public synagogue environment refer to the

Mattheans as "*extra muros*"; those who assert that they still existed within Judaism and

the public synagogue refer to them as being "*intra muros*." While "*extra muros*"/"*intra*

muros" have long been the standard language for the debate, it greatly oversimplifies

what would doubtless have been a highly complex situation.[32] Consequently, this

language stunts the advancement of the debate.

This type of either/or configuration fails to describe adequately or accurately the

historical picture of the social interactions between Jews and Christ-believers.[33] Even

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[31] An example of this phenomenon can be observed in Paul's letter to the Galatians, which describes the situation of Christ-believing Gentiles who have succumbed to Paul's opponents in Galatia and, consequently, observed the Mosaic Law in a stringent fashion. In terms of Gentiles acting like Jews S. Cohen notes, "The rabbis of the second century CE standardized the conversion process by demanding that all converts accept the commandments of Torah, that men be circumcised, that all converts immerse properly, and that these steps be taken publicly and thus be verifiable. When a gentile has complied with all the rabbinic requirements and performed the prescribed ceremony, the rabbis declare him (or her) to be 'like an Israelite in all respects.' The gentile has become a Jew" (*The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999], 342).

[32] Hence, A. Chester remarks that "the theological, historical, social, economic and political issues involved [in comparing the eschatology of Jews and Christ-believers] are much more complex . . . hence I am dubious about setting up so simple a contrast and critical of attempts to do so" ("The Parting of the Ways: Eschatology and Messianic Hope" in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways AD 70 to 135*, ed. J. Dunn [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1992], 303).

[33] While commentators tend to flatten and homogenize the different Christ-believing groups in the New Testament, a close look can reveal something of a religious spectrum among Christ-believers: Hellenists like Stephen for whom the Temple cult held little practical relevance (Acts 7; cf. Hebrews, whose author either mirrors Stephen's view or represents an even more extreme position), Jews like Paul who,

scholars who embrace the terms "*intra muros*" and "*extra muros*" recognize the complexity of social interactions between the groups. For example, while Foster freely adopts the "*intra muros*"/"*extra muros*" language, he notes, speaking of Sim's categories of antinomistic Gentile Christ-believers and rigorist Jewish non-Christ-believers, "there is a range of possibilities between these extremes, and it appears more plausible to argue that [the Matthean] group was in a period of flux."[34] Similarly, R. Brown disputes the frequent characterization of the Jesus movement as "Jewish Christian" and "Gentile Christian," insisting that "*one can discern from the NT at least four different types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity.*"[35] The language of "*intra muros*" and "*extra muros*," then, needs to be nuanced (as others have done) if indeed it is to be used at all.

D. Boyarin provides a more sophisticated way of conceptualizing socio-religious interactions between early non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers.[36] In his examination of accounts of martyrdom in the bavli and in contemporaneous writings of

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according to his letters advocated a Law-free mission to the Gentiles, but who still participated in the Temple cult according to Acts 21:18-26, and James, who led a compromise between the Law-free position of Paul and the Christ-believing Pharisees (Acts 15:5)—who would represent yet another point on the spectrum.

[34] Foster, *Community*, 257.

[35] R. Brown, "Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but Types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity," *CBQ* 45 (1983), 74 (his emphasis). Brown's four types of Christ-believing Jews with Gentile converts are: those who insisted that Gentiles fully observe the Law (including circumcision); those who insisted that Gentiles observe some purity laws (but not circumcision); those who insisted that Gentiles need not keep circumcision or the dietary laws; and those who maintained that the Temple cult and its attendant feast held no post-Easter relevance for anyone. Hagner ("*Sitz im Leben*") approvingly takes up Brown's categories. The complexity of the situation can also be seen in some of the more incidental comments of other scholars. J. Cousland concludes his study: "Thus, to answer the time-honoured question of whether Matthew's situation is *intra-* or *extra-muros*, one would have to reply that it is *extra-muros* but very much focussed on those who are still *intra-muros*" (*The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew*, NTS, vol. 102 [Brill: Leiden, 2002], 304). Likewise J. Meier considers Matthew to be "liberal conservative" amid conservative Jewish Christ-believers and Gentiles Christ-believers (R. Brown and J. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: NT Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [New York: Paulist Press, 1983]). The moniker "liberal conservative" betrays an inability to fit the Evangelist neatly into one socio-religious camp.

Christ-believers, Boyarin persuasively demonstrates that the relationships between Jews and Christ-believers could be intertwined at times. Consequently, scholars should not think of Judaism and Christ-belief as circles—be they separate, intersecting, concentric or otherwise.[37] Rather, interactions between the two groups are better configured as points on a continuum, with one end perhaps representing a Jewish nationalistic, stringently Torah-observant, form of Judaism that is hostile towards Christ-belief,[38] and the other end indicative of an equally polar form of non-nationalistic, Torah-free, anti-Judaistic Christ-belief.[39] There would, thus, have been many permutations and combinations between these two end points and the boundaries between these sub-groups would have been quite blurred, with the exchange of beliefs and customs moving in both directions.[40] Some of the issues that would determine an author or a group's place on this Judaism–Christ-belief spectrum would include the degree to which Torah is observed,[41] the level of participation

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[36] D. Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1-21 (especially).

[37] Contra, for example, Alexander, "Partings."

[38] E.g., Saul of Tarsus (cf. Acts 8:1-3; Gal:13-14; Phil 3:4-6).

[39] Boyarin writes, "On one end [of the continuum] were the Marcionites, the followers of the second-century Marcion, who believed that the Hebrew Bible had been written by an inferior God and had no standing for Christians and who completely denied the 'Jewishness' of Christianity. On the other were the many Jews for whom Jesus meant nothing. In the middle, however, were many gradations that provided social and cultural mobility from one end of this spectrum to the other" (*Dying*, 8). Another representation of Christ-belief that would inhabit the former end of the spectrum would be Ignatius of Antioch, who spoke disparagingly of Jews in his letters (c. 105-35 CE), and considered Judaism and Christ-belief as wholly antithetical (e.g., *Magn.* 10:3). Boyarin's configuration of interactions between Jews and Christ-believers illustratively expands some of the observations of S. Wilson, who notes that some groups of Christ-believers "found themselves straddling, and thus inevitably blurring, the dividing lines between the Jewish and Christian communities" (*Related Strangers: Jews and Christians 70-170 CE* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995], 143).

[40] Consequently, Saldarini writes, "Thus a sharp division between the postdestruction Jewish community and Matthew's Christian-Jewish group is unnecessary and unlikely. The Jewish and Christian communities in the eastern Roman Empire were varied in their practice and thought as they responded to a variety of local situations. This fluid situation provides the contexts for Matthew's Christian-Jewish group" (*Christian-Jewish*, 26).

[41] Although non-Christ-believing Jews, for example, would follow festival laws like Passover and Sabbath, and ceremonial laws like circumcision, as well as the dietary and purity regulations in varying

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in the Temple cult,[42] the public synagogue,[43] and the attitude towards Gentiles.[44] Boyarin's continuum ("wave theory") illustration provides a much more nuanced and historically plausible depiction of the social-historical realities of Matthew's time.

Thus, in describing Matthew's socio-religious orientation, rather than labelling the author as "*intra muros*" or "*extra muros*," a better approach would be to locate him on a socio-religious spectrum. But, because of the common custom among scholars of describing early non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers in terms of false opposites, a Judaism–Christ-belief spectrum like Boyarin's (with one pole devoted to Judaism and the other Christ-belief) might be perceived by some as perpetuating this practice. Hence, in view of the blurred boundaries between subgroups, and in view of the numerous issues that can be involved in locating a group on a socio-religious continuum, the spectrum used in this study will relate to Jewish nationalistic belief. One end of this spectrum would represent a zealous nationalistic concern for the moral wellbeing and political-national restoration of the nation of Israel; groups at the other end would have no

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measure (cf., for example, the halakhic disputes between the forbearers of the Qumran community and the Jerusalem establishment in 4QMMT) they would nevertheless tend to observe them much more stringently than (most) Christ-believers.

[42] Prior to the temple's destruction, most Jews advocated expiatory sacrifice in the Jerusalem Temple (even groups that withdrew from the Jerusalem cult [e.g., the Qumran community], did so in hope that God would one day cleanse it from its defilement and thereby re-establish its sacrificial efficacy). Some Christ-believers like the author of Hebrews, however, taught that Christ's sacrifice on the cross nullified the sacrificial system and consequently, rejected the entire Temple cult; others still allowed for non-expiatory sacrifice (e.g., Acts 21:18-26).

[43] While non-Christ-believing Jews obviously would have been involved in the public synagogue, the participation of Christ-believers in this forum would have varied from withdrawal to complete involvement.

[44] E.g., were Gentiles proselytized? Were they considered ritually impure? Were they expected to adhere fully to the Mosaic Law?

desire whatsoever for Israel's restoration.[45] There are several reasons for this choice of spectrum. First and foremost, as will be observed in this study, Jewish nationalistic overtones are regularly associated with the shepherd metaphor; hence, because the metaphor often conveys nationalistic sentiments, this kind of spectrum would be most appropriate for an analysis devoted to the shepherd metaphor. Second, Jewish nationalism represents a central theme in the writings of ancient non-Christ-believing Jews;[46] this, then, would represent a major strand of thought among Second Temple Jews. Third, Jewish nationalism is broadly applicable; that is, while not as major a theme for Christ-believers, the future of Israel does nevertheless factor into their theology in different ways.[47]

If Matthew's socio-religious orientation can be described in terms of occupying a particular position on a socio-religious spectrum rather than simply as either "*intra muros*" or "*extra muros*," the debate over his social location can not only move forward in fresh terms, but the description of Matthew's socio-religious orientation will correspond more closely with the complex social-historical situation of the first century CE. While there are various ways of achieving this aim of locating Matthew on this socio-religious spectrum, this study will use the shepherd metaphor as a means of accessing and comparing the patterns of thought (reflected by its appropriation) between

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[45] Besides numerous non-Jews and Christ-believers, some highly acculturated non-Christ-believing Jews would probably also be found at this end (perhaps, for example, Dositheos the priest and Tiberius Julius Alexander; cf. discussion above).

[46] Not only do the exilic and post-exilic prophets speak frequently of Israel's restoration, but many Second Temple Jewish authors do as well, especially (but not exclusively) the apocalyptic writings, e.g., *1 Enoch*; *Jubilees*; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *Psalms of Solomon* 17; and some of the texts from Qumran.

[47] See, for example, Paul's deliberations about Israel in Romans 11.

Matthew and other early writers,[48] and then analyze the implications of the results from a
social-historical perspective.

1.2.2 The Shepherd Metaphor

Because Matthew shows himself to be steeped in the worldview, thought, and
language of the texts included in the Hebrew Bible (= HB), an examination of the
metaphor in the HB would prove beneficial for understanding its use in his Gospel.
Numerous commentators have studied the shepherd metaphor in the HB and related
literature.[49] Scholars typically do not try to map the metaphor's use diachronically. J.
Seibel, for his part, makes an attempt in his dissertation, claiming that the following
historical development can be observed in the HB: first YHWH is presented as the
shepherd, then Israel's kings (whom YHWH appoints as his under-shepherds), then
YHWH and the messiah because of the moral and political failure of Israel's kings.[50]
Seibel's historical development, however, assumes (and fails to argue for) a certain

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[48] For the explanation of how this is done, see section 1.4.4 below.

[49] E.g., P. de Robert, *Le Berger D'Israël: Essai sur le Thème Pastoral dans l'Ancien Testament*,
Cahiers Théologiques, ed. J.-J. von Allmen, vol. 57 (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1968); P. Porter,
Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983), 61-120
(especially); E. Hoffmann, "Das Hirtenbild im alten Testament," *Fundamentum* 4 (1987): 33-50; R.
Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde: Ein Beitrag zum alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnis*, Beiträge zur
Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament Achte Folge 155 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001); and J.
Gan, *The Metaphor of Shepherd in the Hebrew Bible: A Historical-Literary Reading* (Lanham: University
Press of America, 2007). Cf. J. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the OT and its Application in
the NT," *SJT* 8 (1955): 406-17; J. Vancil, "The Symbolism of the Shepherd in Biblical, Intertestamental,
and New Testament Material" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Dropsie University, 1975); J. Beutler, "Der
alttestamentlich-jüdische Hintergrund der Hirtenrede in Johannes 10" in *The Shepherd Discourse of John
10 and its Context*, eds. J. Beutler and R. Fortna, SNTSMS, vol. 67 (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1991), 18-32; B. Fikes, "A Theological Analysis of the Shepherd-King Motif in Ezekiel 34" (Ph.D.
dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1995); and J. Huntzinger, "End of Exile: A Short
Commentary on the Shepherd/Sheep Metaphor in Exilic and Post-Exilic Prophetic and Synoptic Gospel
Literature" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1999); these latter works also focus on the
metaphor in NT texts. One study that focuses on shepherding imagery in texts predating HB texts is D.
Müller, "Der gute Hirte: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische
Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86 (1961): 126-44.

chronology of HB texts that runs completely afoul of the scholarly consensus. Further, it is entirely uncertain if his so-called "messianic" texts were originally crafted as such; in fact, the current thinking among HB scholars is that these texts were read as messianic only much later after they were written. Section 2.3 of the present investigation will trace the changes in the use of the shepherd metaphor in the HB over time as another means of situating the metaphor's use by Second Temple Jews and Christ-believers.

For most of the twentieth century, few scholars devoted significant attention to the shepherd motif in Matthew largely because historical-critical studies concentrated on the more obvious titles for Jesus featured in all four canonical Gospels. Thus, for example, F. Hahn focuses on what he called "die fünf Hoheitstitels": Son of Man, Lord, Christ, Son of David and Son of God.[51] In addition to these "five titles of majesty," O. Cullmann broadens his study to include the titles of Prophet, High Priest, Mediator, Servant of God, Judge, Holy One of God, Saviour, King, Logos and God.[52] While J. Kingsbury briefly examines the Christological titles in Matthew's Gospel, insisting that "Son of God" is the central Christological title in Matthew,[53] B. Nolan believes that the key to Matthew's Christology is royal Davidic theology.[54] While these scholars understand the important

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[50] J. Seibel, "Shepherd and Sheep Symbolism in Hellenistic Judaism and the New Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1963), 151; Vancil, "Symbolism" echoes Seibel's sentiments.

[51] F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966).

[52] O. Cullmann, *Christologie du Nouveau Testament* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1958).

[53] J. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975).

[54] B. Nolan, *The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1-2 in the Setting of the Gospel* (Fribourg/Suisse: Éditions Universitaires, 1979). He states, "Only through immersion in the Gospel's royalist faith-vision can the various colours of the Christological spectrum, as caught by the titles [Lord, Son of God, Son of Man, etc.], coalesce into the glory that captivated the evangelist" (*Royal Son*, 13). For Nolan, the "royal son" is above all the "Son of David," as the outline of his analysis demonstrates.

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role that titles play in the presentation of Christology, their overemphasis on some titles causes them to miss the significance of the shepherd motif in Matthew's thought.[55]

Because Matthew, implicitly but plainly, links the "Son of David" and shepherd motifs (cf. the analyses of sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 below),[56] a brief review of "Son of David" studies can provide additional insight for understanding the place of the shepherd motif in the history of scholarship. In recent research, "Son of David" studies began to burgeon after the important study of J. Gibbs, who traces the Son of David motif through the First Gospel to determine the purpose it held for Matthew.[57] The first monograph devoted to this title was the influential dissertation of C. Burger.[58] Gibbs highlights the lowly nature of those healed by the Son of David, but Burger is the first to recognize that Matthew most frequently associates the "Son of David" title with Jesus' acts of healing. While Burger believes that this association was unexpected in early Jewish circles, L. Novakovic recently argued that, in view of the Evangelist's citations of Isaiah and Deutero-Isaiah in relation to Jesus' healings, because Jesus was the messiah, his acts of healing represent the fulfillment of scripture.[59] All of these studies rightly draw attention

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[55] For example, Jesus as the "Shepherd" never figures in the studies of Hahn and Cullmann. For all of Nolan's emphasis on the first two chapters of Matthew—where the shepherd motif is explicitly introduced—it does not figure into his study. While Kingsbury uses 44 pages to discuss the Christological title Son of God, he devotes the same number of pages to cover 12 other Christological motifs, only one of which he reserves for "Shepherd."

[56] Cf. also the discussions (later in this section) of the contributions of F. Martin concerning "thematic clusters" in Matthew, and Y. Chae's study on the Davidic Shepherd.

[57] J. Gibbs, "Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the Title 'Son of David,'" *NTS* 10 (1964): 446-64.

[58] C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidssohn: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, FRLANT, vol. 98 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970). D. Duling consciously sets out to "reinforce and develop" Burger's thought in "The Therapeutic Son of David: An Element in Matthew's Christological Apologetic," *NTS* 24 (1977): 392-410.

[59] L. Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick: A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew*, WUNT 2/170 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003).

to the significance of the Son of David title for Matthew, particularly as it relates to the question of Jesus' messianic acts of healing. However, they illegitimately downplay the extensive Jewish overtones of the title as well as the socio-religious implications that it may have held for the Evangelist.[60]

Although scholars duly note Matthew's references to Davidic messiahship, they nevertheless tend to minimize or even expunge the Jewish, political-national implications of the title.[61] In his perceptive article on Matthew's understanding of the Davidic messiah motif, D. Verseput persuasively demonstrates that Matthew never subverts traditional Jewish expectations associated with Davidic hope.[62] He traces the development of the Evangelist's Davidic messiah theme, beginning with the opening chapters of the narrative. According to Verseput, the Davidic genealogy, coupled with the "key position of [the] angelic revelation at the outset of the story" in Matt 1:21 ("and he will save his people from their sins"), demonstrates on the part of Matthew "surprisingly little reticence in associating Jesus' Davidic right with an earthly political agenda."[63]

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[60] J. Kingsbury, for example, basically eliminates any socio-religious dimension the title might hold for Matthew by: frequently relating the title to the "earthly" Jesus—the title thus becomes a theological indicator of Jesus' humanity and not so much an ethnic marker for his "Jewishness" (here, Kingsbury notes that he merely follows contemporary German scholars); continually subordinating "Son of David" to the Son of God title; and reducing its function within the narrative to simple apologetics: it underlines Israel's guilt for rejecting Jesus ("The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 [1976]: 591-602).

[61] The elimination of the political-national overtones of the title is accomplished in different ways by scholars. Kingsbury's way is described in n. 60 above. He writes, "If Matthew emphasizes that the earthly Jesus as the Son of David is the royal Messiah . . . he is also concerned to forestall the notion that Jesus, Son of David, is consequently to be regarded as a military or political figure" ("Son of David," 598). I. Broer ("Versuch zur Christologie des ersten Evangeliums" in *The Four Gospels:Festschrift Frans Neirynck*, eds. F. van Segbroeck et al., 3 vols. [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992], 2:125-82), who relies on Burger's monograph (*Jesus als Davidssohn*), asserts that Matthew's use of the title is simply explained by his Markan source and not early Jewish expectation.

[62] D. Verseput, "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity," *SBLSP* (1995): 102-116.

[63] Verseput, "Davidic Messiah," 108. Verseput argues that the interruption of the Davidic dynasty caused by the Babylonian exile (Matt 1:17) is taken up again by the John the Baptist narrative, with its

Similarly, the so-called Miracle Chapters (i.e., Matthew 8-9) depict a Davidic messiah concerned with alleviating the suffering of his people sorely afflicted because of their sins; and when Jerusalem becomes the setting of the narrative, the crowds that follow Jesus closely identify with the Davidic hope he offers,[64] although the city of Jerusalem does not. Consequently, Verseput comments:

> There is certainly no attempt upon Matthew's part to distance Jesus from the Davidic hope. Nor does he in any way emphasize a discrepancy between Jesus and the Jews regarding the Davidic agenda. The central point of the pericope [21:1-17] lies, rather, in the stubborn refusal of Jerusalem and its representatives to heed the voracious testimony of the pilgrims entering through the gates and of the children playing in the temple courts.[65]

Thus, whereas the interpretation of the Gospel of Matthew frequently falls prey to the a-political and non-nationalistic tendencies of NT scholars, Verseput correctly understands that Matthew's use of the Son of David title fits easily within and does not undermine traditional Jewish, Davidic expectation. In other words, the Evangelist does not shy away from the "earthly political agenda" associated with the Son of David title, but adopts the "Davidic agenda" embraced by so many other segments of Second Temple Judaism. But because Verseput's narrative-critical approach focuses narrowly on Matthew's use of "Son of David," he overlooks how the Evangelist's closely related shepherd motif contributes to the discussion. The present study takes this next step and

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quote from Isaiah 40 and the pronouncement of the messiah's imminent coming, which in turn, sets the stage, narratively speaking, for Matthew's initial description of Jesus' messianic acts in Matthew 4-9.

[64] Immediately before the Jerusalem scene, Jesus is recognized as the "Son of David" (20:29-34), and the two blind men whom he heals follow him to Jerusalem; with reference to Jesus the crowds cry out "Hosanna to the Son of David" (21:9); additionally, Jesus cleanses the temple and heals the lame who come to him there, prompting the children in the temple to respond with praises of "Hosanna to the Son of David" (21:15).

[65] Verseput, "Davidic Messiah," 114.

examines how the shepherd motif contributes to the understanding of the Gospel's political-national expectations of Jesus as Israel's messiah.

Probably the first scholar to give significant attention to Matthew's shepherd motif was F. Martin.[66] Martin recognizes that although the motif is not the central preoccupation of the author, "Mt, more than any of the other NT authors, has a consistent and well-developed message which he develops around the theme of shepherd."[67] Because an image can be evoked in various ways, Martin examines the image of the shepherd by focusing on the Evangelist's "overt allusions" to the metaphor in the biblical tradition, on the one hand, and his "interior allusions" to other motifs, on the other. With respect to these interior allusions, Martin notes that "an image may be the bearer of a theme and may become the vehicle by which two themes interpenetrate and mutually modify one another."[68] Consequently, Martin looks for clusters and "constellations of thematic image words," recognizing that Matthew forges a thematic constellation between the images of Shepherd, Son of David, healing, and King of the Jews. In Martin's view, then, the more pronounced Son of David theme would receive further development by the shepherd motif, and the shepherd motif would be expanded by the Son of David theme.

Martin makes the important narrative connection between the Son of David and the shepherd motifs. Additionally, his more literary approach to Matthew allows him to discern the literary skill and sophistication of the author, and the biblical literacy of the

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[66] F. Martin, "The Image of the Shepherd in the Gospel of Sant [*sic*] Matthew," *Science et Esprit* 27 (1975): 261-301.

[67] Martin, "Image," 271.

[68] Martin, "Image," 264.

audience: "even the full impact of this one symbol [i.e., shepherd] can only be felt by rereading the text with an awareness of its antecedents and inter-relationships."[69] Martin's literary-critical approach, however, does not enable him to explore adequately the theological intentions that lay behind the Evangelist's deployment of these motifs, nor of course, any socio-religious implications—both of which occupy Part Two of this study.

J. P. Heil also recognizes the prominence of the shepherd imagery in Matthew.[70] In particular, he believes that Ezekiel 34 serves as the basis of a narrative strategy for the Gospel writer: "Matthew's shepherd metaphor is guided and unified by Ezekiel 34, which supplies the reader with some of its terms and with all of its concepts and images."[71] Consequently, Heil focuses on the explicit references to "sheep" and "shepherd" in the narrative and their correlation to Ezekiel 34. In asserting the influence of Ezekiel 34 on Matthew, Heil (like Martin) assumes that the implied reader would be familiar with scriptural imagery and that this familiarity would inform the readers' understanding of the Gospel narrative.[72] Heil correctly underscores the subtle yet prominent place that Ezekiel 34 occupies in Matthew's thought;[73] and he also understands that Matthew likely wrote for an audience that would have been familiar with his scriptural imagery. However, in seeking to justify Ezekiel 34 as the terminological source for the Evangelist's shepherd motif, Heil fails to discuss how Matthew understands and integrates the theology of

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[69] Martin, "Image," 299.

[70] J. P. Heil, "Ezekiel 34 and the Narrative Strategy of the Shepherd and Sheep Metaphor in Matthew," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 698-708. Heil states, "The use of the metaphor of shepherd and sheep for the leaders and their people embraces the entire Gospel of Matthew" ("Ezekiel 34," 698).

[71] Heil, "Ezekiel 34," 708.

[72] Cf. Heil, "Ezekiel 34," 699, n. 3.

[73] Cf. also the observations of B. B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 413.

Ezekiel 34 into his Gospel. As well, his emphasis on Ezekiel 34 obscures the significant contribution of other key "shepherd" passages which Matthew employs: Mic 5:1 (= 5:2 in English translations),[74] 2 Sam 5:2, and Zech 13:7—three texts which are analyzed in detail in chapter five below. Furthermore, there is no place in Heil's narrative-critical approach to explore the social implications of Matthew's use of Ezekiel and the shepherd metaphor.

More recently, C. A. Ham investigates the thematic and theological function of Zechariah in Matthew through a literary and exegetical analysis of themes derived from and related to Zechariah, as they relate to Jesus and his mission.[75] According to Ham, not only does Matthew's use of Deutero-Zechariah demonstrate coherence between their respective theologies, it also shows an influence of the theology of Deutero-Zechariah on Matthew's theology: "the presentation of the Davidic king and the rejection of the divinely appointed shepherd in Zechariah has influenced the theology of Matthew and its presentation of Jesus as coming king and rejected shepherd."[76] Ham thus views the Evangelist's use of Deutero-Zechariah as mediating the Gospel writer's motifs of kingship and shepherd, whereby Matthew presents Jesus as the humble king. Ham rightly recognizes the link between the shepherd motif and kingship: the shepherd motif emphasizes the rejection (from the standpoint of the narrative) of Jesus' kingship. Furthermore, in identifying this connection, his study corroborates the nationalistic

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[74] There is a one verse discrepancy between the Massoretic Text (= MT) and the English versions: 4:14 (the final verse of chapter five in the MT) = 5:1 in the English versions. The MT enumeration for Micah will be followed in this study.

[75] C. A. Ham, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd: Matthew's Reading of Zechariah's Messianic Hope* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2005).

[76] Ham, *Coming King*, 125.

outlook of the Evangelist; however, Ham does not develop this point. Nor, despite the monograph's title, is Ham's focus the shepherd metaphor: he is much more concerned with Matthew's use of Zechariah. Consequently, his study of the "Rejected Shepherd" suffers from significant omissions (e.g., Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6, and Ezek 34:17 in Matt 25:32) that would have helped to inform further his study of the shepherd-king motif.

In his dissertation, *Der Hirte Israels*, G. Garbe explores the question of Israel's salvific status in Matthew's Gospel in light of the nation's rejection of Jesus.[77] Garbe ultimately seeks to answer the question of whether God, in Matthew's view, has abandoned the Jewish nation and replaced them with Gentile Christ-believers. To address this question he examines Matthew's understanding of the destruction of Jerusalem and whether the Evangelist continued the mission to Israel after it had rejected Jesus and Jerusalem was destroyed. Garbe employs redaction, narrative, and reader response criticism, concentrating largely on the introduction (Matthew 1-2), the conflict narratives (particularly Matthew 21-23), and the eschatological passages of Matthew 24-25.[78] He assumes as a starting point a salvation-historical perspective for his analysis,[79] and believes that "In jeder dieser drei Phasen hat Israel einen besonderen Ort."[80] Garbe contends that Matthew has a theology of Israel ("Israeltheologie"): although the nation had rejected Jesus as the messiah and Jerusalem was destroyed, the mission to Israel

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[77] G. Garbe, *Der Hirte Israels: Eine Untersuchung zur Israeltheologie des Matthäusevangeliums*, WMANT, vol. 106 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005).

[78] His primary focus here is the Final Judgment pericope of 25:31-46.

[79] Salvation history consists of three phases: the time of the earthly Jesus and his works in Israel ("Reich des Menschensohnes"), the time of Matthew (i.e., the time between the earthly Jesus and his Parousia), and Jesus' Parousia, which features the eschatological Final Judgment.

continues, and God will ultimately restore the nation as his people in the Final Judgment: "ganz Israel wird den wiederkommenden Jesus mit einer Segnung begrüßen, weil er als 'Hirte Israels' wiederkommen wird."[81]

Garbe correctly perceives the important function that Matthew's Gospel has in the "Partings" debate.[82] In terms of his analysis, he rightly recognizes the significance that the first two chapters of the Gospel hold for understanding how the rest of Matthew should be read. In his estimation, the introduction does not simply reveal the Jewish character of the Gospel, it represents an Israel-oriented reading expectation ("Israelorientierte Leseerwartung") that begs for some kind of resolution in the narrative. In other words, right from the Gospel's outset, Matthew's missional concern is the nation of Israel. Ultimately, however, the monograph—despite its main title (*Der Hirte Israels*)—is much less concerned with Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as Israel's Shepherd, and concentrates far more on examining Israel as God's flock ("Israeltheologie").[83] Consequently, the study does little overall to advance the discussion of Matthew's shepherd motif.[84]

In a work more focused on investigating the Evangelist's shepherd motif, Y. Chae explores the association of Jesus' healing miracles with Davidic Christology (i.e., the Son

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[80] Garbe, *Hirte*, 18.

[81] Garbe, *Hirte*. 211. Garbe argues that Matthew's theology of Israel—that "all Israel" will be saved—closely parallels Paul's thought in Roman 9-11 (see *Hirte*, 212-13).

[82] He writes, "Das MtEv hat in der Diskussion um den neutestamentlichen bzw. christlichen Antijudaismus immer eine herausragende Rolle gespielt: Es ist das wirkungsgeschichtlich einflussreichste der neutestamentlichen Evangelien und hat auf die Entwicklung eines kirchlichen Antijudaismus sehr stark eingewirkt" (*Hirte*, 2).

[83] Rather than *Der Hirte Israels*, the book's main title should have been "Die Herde des Gottes."

[84] Thus, for example, in its analysis of the Gospel, only the use of "shepherd" in 2:6 and 25:32 are examined with any depth—only insofar as they relate to determining Israel's salvific status—but not with an eye to discussing any Christological implications of these texts.

of David title).[85] In order to illuminate this association, he explores the Davidic Shepherd

tradition in biblical and post-biblical literature and then analyzes Matthew's use of this

tradition against this background. He demonstrates that this tradition exhibits common

features among those authors who employ it, and that Matthew interacts with this

tradition in detail. Chae concludes that in the Gospel, the Son of David heals through the

mediating image of the shepherd motif. Chae rightly recognizes that to understand fully

Matthew's use of the shepherd metaphor, it must not only be compared with HB texts, but

also be evaluated alongside of Second Temple Jewish texts.

Still, some of Chae's observations and conclusions, although thought-provoking,

must be challenged. When he discusses the role of the eschatological shepherd in texts

like Ezekiel 34 and *Psalms of Solomon* 17, he far too easily merges the activity of

teaching into shepherding, when in fact, as chapter two of the present investigation will

show, teaching was a later (from the standpoint of the prophetic texts of the HB) and

somewhat unexpected association of the shepherd metaphor. Not surprisingly, while

Chae can acknowledge the "nationalistic" outlook of the shepherd's mission, he

nevertheless tends to mute the political-national overtones in his analysis.[86] Similarly,

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[85] Y. Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd: Studies in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and in the Gospel of Matthew*, WUNT, vol. 216 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

[86] When analyzing the metaphor in *Psalms of Solomon* 17, for example, he considers the Davidic messiah as more of a teacher of the Law than as a political (and military) deliverer and coming king; he also claims that the function of the royal messiah in the Qumran texts (e.g., 1QSb) "amounts to [that of a] Leader/Teacher of the law." His "corroborative" use of *4 Ezra* 2:34 is startling because although he acknowledges that it represents later Christian redaction, he nevertheless includes it in his chapter dealing with Second Temple Jewish texts, thereby suggesting that its non-military use of the metaphor is completely consonant with the texts of non-Christ-believing Jews. Moreover, Chae does not examine the employment of the tradition in the (actual) Jewish portion of *4 Ezra* (viz., 5:18), where the metaphor is used quite differently than it is in the Christian passage that Chae analyzes (cf. the discussion in section 3.5 below). Nor does he examine the use of the tradition in Second Temple Jewish texts like Judith, Philo's *De Agricultura*, and Pseudo-Philo.

Chae asserts that Matthew associates the activity of teaching with his portrayal of Jesus as the Shepherd.[87] Not only is this association between shepherding and teaching lacking in the major deployments of the metaphor in the Gospel, viz., 2:6; 9:36; 10:6; 15:24; 18:12-14; 25:32 and 26:31, but other activities are actually correlated with shepherding: ruling (2:6), healing (9:36; 10:6; 15:24), searching for/gathering the lost (18:12-14), judging (25:32), and offering an atoning sacrifice (26:31).

Moreover, Chae's work suffers from ignoring the use of the tradition in the texts of Christ-believers.[88] For example, Chae claims, "The eventual break between Judaism and the early churches reflected in Matthew's Gospel, therefore, is rooted in Jesus' identity as the eschatological Shepherd and also as the Davidic Shepherd-Appointee."[89] Not only is this terminology substantially flawed,[90] but this ("*extra muros*") statement begs for a comparison between Matthew and the appropriation of the tradition by Christ-believers contemporaneous with the Evangelist. By contrast, in addition to analyzing the shepherd metaphor in Second Temple Jewish texts (including the ones Chae overlooks), the present inquiry examines the appropriation of the metaphor by Christ-believers and compares Matthew's shepherd motif with both sets of authors.

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[87] He writes that "as the Davidic Shepherd-Appointee [Jesus] is the Teacher *par excellence* for the eschatological flock, i.e., first, the lost house of Israel (10:1-6; 15:24), then the restored Israel, and finally the enjoined nations (28:16-20)" (*Davidic Shepherd*, 379).

[88] As mentioned, he includes *4 Ezra* 2, but mistakenly under the guise of a Second Temple Jewish text.

[89] Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 391.

[90] The language of "Judaism" and "early churches" with respect to Matthew is faulty because it assumes (without proof) a sharp disjunction between first-century Judaism and the Jesus movement.

Most recently, J. Willitts sets out in his dissertation to identify the "lost sheep of the House of Israel" (Matt 10:6; 15:24).[91] Willitts argues that this phrase should be understood against the backdrop of eschatological Messianic Shepherd-King expectation, and consequently, he investigates the use and trajectory of this motif in the HB and Second Temple Judaism. He concludes that because this "trajectory of eschatological expectation within Judaism maintains the original shape of a concrete eschatological expectation of political-national restoration," the lost sheep logion refers to "remnants of the former Northern Kingdom of Israel who continued to reside in the northern region of the Land of Israel."[92] According to Willitts, the Jewish inhabitants of this territory would represent the focus of Jesus' mission.

Willitts explicitly reinforces and develops Verseput's earlier insight about the "political-national" dimension of Second Temple Jewish expectation concerning the messianic Son of David, demonstrating that "Son of David" expectation included the idea of the shepherd-king. He perceptively shows how the shepherd-king motif bears stark national overtones in the HB, as well as in certain Second Temple texts. In particular, his detailed examination of the motif in *Psalms of Solomon* 17 reveals how pronounced the political-national component of Davidic shepherd expectation could be, and the significant bearing this text has for the study of the Davidic shepherd tradition in Matthew's Gospel. Furthermore, Willitts is the first scholar to use the shepherd motif to identify the flock that the Matthean Jesus sought to reach.

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[91] J. Willitts, "Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of 'the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel'" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, 2006).

[92] Willitts, "Shepherd-King," 33.

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Although Willitts focuses on a particular use of the shepherd image (viz., non-YHWH shepherd-kingship), his review of Second Temple works ignores the important Dream Visions section of *1 Enoch*, which would affect the picture of the image's development that Willitts seeks to trace in his study. The question could also be raised, if one seeks "to trace the canonical trajectory of the motif from the origination point in the story of David to its reuse in the prophetic material. . . . [and its use] through the post-biblical literature . . . to discover further development and re-actualisation,"[93] whether it is possible to cordon off one specific use of the motif to the exclusion of other very interrelated uses, as Willitts does.[94] As well, Willitts (like Chae) takes an unnecessarily one-sided approach to the question. The Davidic shepherd-king tradition is appropriated—albeit to a lesser degree—by Christ-believers other than Matthew. Would not these uses also constitute part of the tradition's historical development, and as such, require comparison with Matthew? Further, in his analysis of Matthew he omits the shepherd-king motif's use in the Parable of Final Judgment (25:31-46), despite the fact that it fits his criteria for inclusion in his study of Matthew.[95] How would the inclusion of this more eschatological and universally-oriented text have affected his judgments? As mentioned earlier, the present study will cover the important ground of the Davidic

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[93] Willitts, "Shepherd-King," 44.

[94] Additionally, the "trajectory" Willitts seeks suffers from the assumption of an early "canon," on the one hand, and problematic dating, on the other: according to Willitts, the prophets "reuse" the material of the "historical writers" (i.e., Samuel–Kings).

[95] On the one hand, Willitts admits the shepherd-king motif's use in this parable presents itself as "the most likely candidate to be considered" alongside the passages he analyzes. On the other hand, according to his three criteria for inclusion of Matthew texts (i.e., specific shepherd/sheep terminology, despair over or critique of Israel's leadership, and a citation or allusion to a Davidic shepherd-king prophetic text), 25:32 does not meet the second criterion; hence he omits it from consideration. Yet 26:31 also fails to meet this criterion but he includes it nonetheless.

shepherd tradition's appropriation by the Second Temple Jewish and Christ-believing authors that the studies of Chae and Willitts neglect.

Moreover, none of these authors address the question of Matthew's socio-religious orientation. Because of their literary-critical or narrative-critical approaches, most of these studies concentrate on text-oriented questions. While Willitts is more focused on the significance of Jesus' messianic mission for Matthew's own mission, he does speak explicitly (albeit in part) to the question of the Evangelist's socio-religious location: "There are plenty of indications within the Gospel that the authorial audience is a mid to late first-century law-observing Jewish populace."[96] However, because the focus of Willitts's thesis lies elsewhere, he simply assumes this orientation as the starting point for his inquiry. By contrast, the present investigation seeks to address this question directly—by means of examining (using a variety of approaches) Matthew's Shepherd Christology.

1.2.3 Strategies for Determining Social Location

Besides the historically misleading "*intra muros*"/"*extra muros*" terminology that commentators employ in the debate over Matthew's socio-religious orientation, a second factor that impedes the discussion concerns methodology. Exegetical explorations into Matthew's socio-religious location tend to focus on the same body of evidence. Thus, scholars typically investigate the Evangelist's portrayal of different groups in the Gospel, viz., the scribes, Pharisees and Sadducees.[97] Within these sorts of studies Matthew's harsh "anti-Jewish" polemic is often highlighted. For example, D. Hare claims that the

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[96] Willitts, "Shepherd-King," 43.

hostile attitude towards Israel is the result of the bitter painfulness of the separation from

Judaism.[98] Clark, for his part, insists that this critical attitude stems from a Gentile bias.[99]

More recently, scholars like Stanton have sought to analyze this polemic using a

social-scientific approach.[100] Other studies have sought to analyze Matthew's view of the

Mosaic Law,[101] the place of Gentiles in the Gospel,[102] or the so-called "church"--

"synagogue" distinction.[103] Some scholars like Saldarini and Foster combine these

elements.[104] Certainly, each of these strategies has merit and provides an essential piece

to solving the puzzle of Matthew's socio-religious orientation, but, as Hagner notes, these

types of studies merely "[emphasize] one side of the data in the Gospel to the neglect, if

not the exclusion, of data on the other side."[105] Additionally, while re-cultivating

previously ploughed lines of argumentation in NT studies can sometimes prove to be

fruitful, it can also result in crystallizing untested assumptions, thereby impeding the

advancement of the debate. Sometimes a fresh approach is called for to further a debate.

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[97] E.g., Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 44-67.

[98] D. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, SNTSMS, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

[99] Clark, "Gentile Bias."

[100] Stanton (*Gospel*, 85-107) draws comparisons with the Qumran community (specifically, the Damascus Document); cf. B. Malina and J. Neyrey, *Calling Jesus Names: The Social Value of Labels in Matthew* (Sonoma: Polebridge, 1988), and their application of social conflict theory.

[101] E.g., Davies, *Setting*.

[102] These studies tend to concentrate particularly on those sayings that seem to speak of a "transference" of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles (especially Matt 8:10-12 and 21:43), e.g., D. Hare, "The Rejection of the Jews in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts" in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 38-39; also D. Sim, "The Gospel of Matthew and the Gentiles," *JSNT* 57 (1995), 19-48.

[103] E.g., Stanton, *Gospel*, 113-45.

[104] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish* and Foster, *Community*.

[105] Hagner, "*Sitz im Leben*," 36. The two sides to which Hagner refers are the "pro-Jewish" perspective that emphasizes the strongly Jewish elements of the Gospel, and the "pro-Gentile" perspective that emphasizes the Gospel's positive portrayal of Gentiles and "anti-Jewish" elements.

One such approach—the present study—offers a new puzzle piece by bringing Matthew's Christology to bear on the problem.

Few inquiries into Matthew's socio-religious orientation consider the Evangelist's Christology. The studies of Malina and Neyrey[106] and Stanton (who follows them)[107] do consider Matthew's Christology, but they primarily focus on the names that Jesus' opponents call him in the conflict narratives.[108] While the names that Jesus' (Matthew's) opponents call him are of some value for discerning Matthew's socio-religious location, the names that Matthew himself calls Jesus also have important bearing on the question. For reasons discussed more fully in section 1.4.4 below, among Matthew's various descriptions of Jesus, "Shepherd" offers significant potential for assessing the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation because its usage by Second Temple Jews and Christ-believers reveals specific tendencies or patterns of thought by which to map and compare Matthew's own deployment of the metaphor.

1.3 Materials[109]

While the most detailed exegesis of this study will focus on the Gospel of Matthew, in order to understand the socio-religious and cultural environment in which Matthew composed his Gospel—and hence better comprehend Matthew—several groups of primary texts must be analyzed. The Evangelist was clearly immersed in the

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[106] Malina and Neyrey, *Calling Jesus.*

[107] Stanton, *Gospel,* 169-91.

[108] They, thus, produce a kind of "negative Christology."

[109] For a list of the specific texts analyzed representing non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers, refer to the "Introduction" for each set of texts: sections 3.2.1 and 3.4.1 below, respectively.

worldview and language of the texts included in the HB.[110] Hence, an examination of the shepherd metaphor in the HB remains an essential prerequisite for comprehending the Evangelist's shepherd motif.

The second group of primary texts that must be included in this study are the writings of early non-Christ-believing Jews.[111] Because non-Christ-believing Jews considered, like Matthew, the HB texts to be sacred,[112] and because they too adopted the shepherd metaphor from HB texts (explicitly and implicitly), analyzing their appropriations can shed light on the Evangelist's deployment of the metaphor in his Gospel. Matthew will at times use the metaphor in ways consonant with non-Christ-believing Jewish authors; at other times, his appropriation of the metaphor will differ considerably. It will be possible to determine points of continuity and discontinuity

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[110] The editors of the Greek New Testament (UBS, fourth rev. ed.), for example, put the number of citations and allusions to the HB in Matthew at 116; cf. W. D. Davies and D. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark 1988-97), 1:29-31. While a formalized "canon" likely did not exist in Matthew's day, the Evangelist nevertheless considered these texts (which were eventually included within the canon) sacred, and religiously authoritative and binding (cf., for example, Matt 5:17-19; 22:29). The present study employs "HB" only to refer to those texts that were eventually canonized by Jews (i.e., the Jewish scriptures) and Christians, and does not imply that a canon formally existed for Matthew or for Second Temple Jews. The texts included in the HB consist of overlapping world views, originating in diverse time periods and social situations. When these texts began to be put together in a collection, they represent yet another time period and social setting. Matthew's contact with these texts would be limited to the latter situation. When the Evangelist adopts a HB text for his Gospel, the text takes on new or additional meanings according to the literary context into which Matthew places it. This new meaning in the Gospel can be compared with the meaning of the text that Matthew cites in its original, literary context.

[111] At times these writings will be referred to throughout the study as "Second Temple" Jewish texts, or their authors as "Second Temple Jews," merely for the sake of stylistic variation. Clearly, Jewish texts like *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* were written after the destruction of the Second Temple.

[112] Based on the frequency of their appropriation, the Jewish scriptures framed much of the thought of Second Temple Jewish authors. Perhaps the most salient example of their importance for early Jewish communities would be the Qumran community: of the approximately 800 manuscripts among the remains of this Jewish community, one-quarter of them represent texts of the Jewish scriptures (cf. J. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1994], 29-32). In addition to this number, many other writings at Qumran either were explicitly Scripture-based, like the numerous commentaries, para-biblical works (e.g., *Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, 1 Enoch*), targums, tefillin and

between Matthew and Second Temple Jews by examining the use of the shepherd metaphor by non-Christ-believing Jews, and discerning the patterns of thought intrinsic to its appropriation, which will aid in situating Matthew's use of the metaphor. The date of Second Temple Jewish texts examined in chapter three of the study ranges from the second century BCE to the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132-35 CE. The usefulness of this date-range is twofold: the earlier date boundary would approximate a chronological continuation with the HB texts investigated in chapter two, while the upper date limit allows for a chronological overlap with Matthew. In this way, a fuller picture will be provided of how the metaphor would have been used by non-Christ-believing Jews in and around Matthew's time.

For reasons similar to those discussed above, another set of primary texts that must be included in this kind of study of Matthew is the writings of the Evangelist's fellow Christ-believers. Most Christ-believers regarded the Jewish Scriptures as sacred,[113] and adopted the shepherd metaphor from these texts. It will be possible to determine points of continuity and discontinuity between Matthew and other Christ-believers by examining the use of the shepherd metaphor by early Christ-believers, and by discerning the patterns of thought reflected in their appropriation of it; this will further aid in locating Matthew's deployment of the metaphor.

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mezuzot, or they explicitly or implicitly cited biblical texts (e.g., the Rule Scroll, the Damascus Document) or borrowed biblical themes and imagery (e.g., the Hodayot and liturgical works).

[113] Not only did the Jewish scriptures offer Christ-believers a religious history and ethical values from which to draw, but the earliest followers of Christ combed them for proof texts and prophecies regarding the person and work of Jesus. For a discussion of these points, see B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic* (London: SCM, 1961).

Of non-Jewish, non-Christ-believing writings, Roman texts possess the most impact for any study of Matthew because of the strong social and political influence the Roman Empire would have had upon its Jewish and Christ-believing constituents. W. Carter has drawn attention through his writings to the relationship between Matthew's Gospel and the Roman Empire.[114] While Carter overstates his thesis at times, his general question must be taken into account: what role did the author's and audience's experience of Roman Imperial power play in understanding how the Gospel was framed?[115] Matthew would thus represent—at least in part—a response to this context of Roman political, economic, ideological, and social domination in which the Jesus movement seeks to carve out a place for itself.[116] Possible cultural influences on Matthew, then, need to be investigated: how Matthew's deployment of "shepherd" compares with its use in Roman texts may have a bearing on deciding his socio-religious location.

Among Roman sources, only those authors whose dates would have at least partially overlapped with those of Matthew will be examined. That is, people belonging to the earliest Matthean communities, including the author of the Gospel, would likely have been born in the early part of the first century CE and probably would have died either at the end of the first century or early into the second century; hence, the authors of Roman texts surveyed in chapter three of the study chronologically overlap with the first

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[114] Carter has written extensively on this topic; for a list of some of these works, see W. Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial Explorations* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 2001), 2-3; cf. also J. Riches and D. Sim (eds.), *The Gospel of Matthew in its Roman Imperial Context*, JSNTSS, vol. 276 (New York: T & T Clark International, 2005).

[115] The starting point for Carter's method is the historical context of Matthew: "the Gospel comes from and addresses a world dominated by the Roman Empire" (*Empire*, 1).

[116] Matthew, then, would serve as an implicit critique of and challenge to Roman Imperial theology.

century. Roman authors predating Matthew do use "shepherd,"[117] but these texts need not be examined for this investigation. While earlier Jewish traditions—like the Jewish scriptures—very obviously influenced Matthew's thought, it neither follows nor is all that probable that earlier Gentile writings or traditions would have had much sway with the Evangelist.[118] While earlier Roman writings could possibly have had some influence on Matthew if he was a converted non-Jew, or a Jew who was strongly attracted to Roman thought and culture (like, for example, Philo), it remains highly unlikely that these earlier Gentile authors would have had much authority with a Christ-believing Jew like Matthew, whose text exhibits (by all accounts) very obvious Jewish rather than Roman affinities. Moreover, if Roman texts contemporary with Matthew avoid—quite unlike the Evangelist—using "shepherd" metaphorically (as will be observed in section 3.3 below), this may indicate preferences that Roman authors had for other metaphors. In view of this clear discrepancy between Matthew and his non-Christ-believing Roman contemporaries, it would be odd if Matthew was influenced by earlier Roman traditions.

1.4 Methodological Issues

1.4.1 The Use of Texts for Determining Social Location

New Testament scholars have long recognized the complexities involved in moving from the world of or within a text to the historical events to which a text refers. S. Byrskog summarizes the objection of scholars who advocate the separation of story

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[117] E.g., the Italian poet Virgil (c. 70–19 BCE) richly deploys pastoral themes featuring literal shepherds in his poems.

[118] If some measure of influence existed it would come about for Matthew, as a member of the Roman Empire, through regular social interactions with Roman non-Jews: i.e., through general cultural influence.

and history: "To read narrative texts both as 'mirrors' reflecting self-contained worlds and as 'windows' opening up to extrafictional and diachronic levels of history is often considered to be a violation of proper hermeneutical conduct."[119] Further, beyond the problems of correlating text with historical referent is the difficult enterprise of deriving social-historical realities from a text. B. Holmberg cautions scholars who consider the text as purely "transparent":[120]

> A text can just as well be standing in a negative correlation to the situation of the receivers, i.e., challenge or try to change it. In practice this means that one should at least ask oneself if the correlation between the analyzed text and its social situation is complete or partial, positive or negative.[121]

In other words, even if transparency is assumed, in what way is the text being transparent: wholly, partially, directly, indirectly, inversely? Scholars should not assume a uniform, straightforward transparent reading of the text.

Although some commentators reject all degrees of transparency,[122] social theorists have long recognized the interwoven nature of the individual—society relationship.[123] In

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[119] S. Byrskog, *Story as History—History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History*, repr. (Boston: Brill, 2002), 1. For a helpful review of scholarship addressing the question of the relationship between text and history, see Byrskog, *Story*, 1-17. Byrskog, for his part, attempts to connect story and history through oral history: "[In the oral medium] past and present, history and story, interact in a way which is at least as dynamic as within the written discourse itself" (*Story*, 17).

[120] A "transparent" text means that the situations described within the narrative are a direct reflection of the situations faced by the original audience addressed by that text. Thus, for example, contentious quarrels between the Pharisees and Jesus in Matthew's Gospel would be more a reflection of the ongoing, harsh disputes between Matthew's audience and the Pharisees than of controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees.

[121] B. Holmberg, *Sociology and the New Testament: An Appraisal* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 125.

[122] E.g., F. Watson, "Toward a Literal Reading of the Gospels" in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. R. Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 195-217.

[123] In his discussion of religion and world-construction, P. Berger notes that society, as a dialectic process, consists of three moments or steps: "externalization" (humans acting upon the world outside of them), "objectivation" (the formation of a world resulting from externalization), and "internalization" (the re-appropriation of what has been formed). In regards to the latter step, Berger comments, "The process of internalization must always be understood as but one moment of the larger dialectic process that also

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other words, a narrative text presents, on the one hand, a story of historical or historical-like events, which is shaped by the diverse social-historical factors influencing the author.[124] Thus, as Byrskog notes, "[Gospel] narratives inevitably contain stories about the past history as well as the present existence. Interpretation [by the author] was the bridge between them, bringing the two worlds of history and story together."[125] Similarly, the author's audience, on the other hand, is affected by their own social-historical factors (often but not always overlapping with the author's), as well as by the text itself, which can frequently diverge from their version of oral tradition of the events of which they read. Within the interconnectedness of text and social-historical context,[126] the narrative world of the text and the social location of the world behind the text intersect; and insofar as they intersect, the text world can offer insight into the social location represented by the text. This region of overlap, then, enables scholars to do more than explain what a text means. Exegetes can also deduce some of the social-historical realities surrounding the author and the intended audience. But to what extent do these realities reflect the circumstances of the author and to what degree those of the audience?

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includes the moments of externalization and objectivation. . . . Not only is internalization part of the latter's larger dialectic, but the socialization of the individual also occurs in a dialectic manner. The individual is not molded as a passive, inert thing. Rather, he is formed in the course of protracted conversation (a dialectic in the literal sense of the word) in which he is a *participant*" (*The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Anchor Books ed. [New York: Random House, 1990], 18, his emphasis). In other words, re-appropriating or discussing the outside world is dependent upon (i.e., is possible because of) the realities that comprise that world, on the one hand, and informed and shaped by those realities, on the other.

[124] Wainwright (*Shall We Look*, 36) speaks of this text-context interaction as the "inseparability of text, reader, and context."

[125] Byrskog, *Story*, 265.

[126] H. Frei categorized the interwoven character of text and social setting as "realistic narrative": "Realistic narrative is that kind in which subject and social setting belong together, and characters and external circumstances fitly render each other" (*The Eclipse of the Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974], 13).

1.4.2 Whose Social Location? Author versus Audience

Recently, R. Bauckham called into question the consensus view that each Gospel was written for a specific community, asserting that "the Gospels were written for general circulation around the churches and so envisaged a very general Christian audience. Their implied readership is not specific but indefinite: any and every Christian community in the late-first-century Roman Empire."[127] In his very suggestive essay ("For Whom Were Gospels Written?") Bauckham demonstrates in an overview of NT scholarship that the case for community was merely assumed from the beginning,[128] and that scholars in effect, take a Pauline approach to interpreting a Gospel's social setting. Bauckham, however, contrasts the genre and purpose of Gospels with (those of the Pauline) letters: letters explicitly identify the readers and the situation(s) addressed; hence, subsequent readers of Paul's letters remain entirely cognizant of the fact that Paul—in the first instance—wrote to someone else.[129] Also, letters were written as a stand-in for the author who was separated from the readers by distance and unable to communicate with them in person. A Gospel, on the other hand, is a βίος, a form of

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[127] Bauckham, "Introduction" in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. R. Bauckham (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1.

[128] In British scholarship, according to Bauckham, the first mention of an Evangelist writing for a specific community occurs in H. Swete's 1898 commentary on Mark: Mark wrote for the Roman church. Bauckham goes on to show that the results of applying a mirror-wise reading strategy do not confirm the veracity of the consensus position because of its circularity: they shows only what it already assumes ("For Whom Were the Gospels Written?" in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. R. Bauckham [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 13-22).

[129] Although, based on the subsequent collection of Paul's letters, historical specificity and general application are not mutually exclusive. Evidence for this complementary perspective comes from the letters themselves. For example, part of Paul's message to the Corinthians stems from their question to him about marriage (1 Cor 7:1a); while Paul answers the specific question they have raised, he nevertheless offers general guidelines about marriage in 7:1b-24 that would apply to Christ-believers more broadly. Hence, Paul elsewhere reminds the Corinthians that the things he shares with them he shares "everywhere in every church" (1 Cor 4:17; cf. 14:33).

ancient biography; hence, like other ancient biographies it was intended to circulate widely, not locally.[130] Further, a βίος was never meant to be a stand-in for its author—it was literature intended to inspire its readers and apply to them generally.

Despite inconsistencies in his argument, Bauckham's thesis remains convincing at some points. He demonstrates the need to reject a wholesale transparent reading of the Gospels in favour of a more measured transparency: i.e., not every element within the narrative need correspond to the social situation of the audience.[131] Bauckham also shows the importance of distinguishing between the social context of the author and that of the readers.[132] Hence, the Gospel's theological distinctives would be more representative of the author than of his audience.[133] That said, there remains a sense in

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[130] See R. Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), and Stanton, *Gospel*, 50-51.

[131] Within the Two-Source Hypothesis this would especially be true since Matthew incorporates much of Mark and Q—both directed to different audiences—as is.

[132] Bauckham notes, "Certainly it may be argued that the community in which a Gospel was written is likely to have influenced the writing of the Gospel even though it is not addressed by the Gospel" ("For Whom," 44); cf. the critical remarks of Holmberg, *Sociology*, 140-41.

[133] To this end Bauckham writes, "[This thesis] does not require us to underestimate the diversity of the Gospels. It simply denies what the consensus assumes: that this diversity requires a diversity of readers. . . . [Such diversity] implies only that its author (or authors) wished to propagate his [or their] own distinctive theological rendering of the Gospel story among whatever readers it might reach" ("For Whom," 47). In his response to Bauckham, Sim (representing the consensus view) insists that "the Evangelists shaped their Gospels in the light of their prospective readers, the communities in which they lived" ("Response," 25). Consequently, Sim insists that the opposing views of Torah represented in Mark and Matthew represent the views of their respective audiences: "Mark wrote for a Christian community that did not observe the Torah, while Matthew wrote for one that did" ("Response," 25). While this obviously would have been the case to some degree—the two would certainly not be mutually exclusive—exactly to what degree can never be answered, never mind assumed. That, generally speaking, the theology of a text represents that of the author more than his readers' can be observed even in other forms of theological writing. For example, with Paul, did the Corinthian community—an assembly started by Paul—mirror the theology reflected by him in his letter to them? It would seem at a number of points that they did not, which is precisely why Paul instructs them: e.g., Paul's discussions of head coverings (1 Cor 11:2-16) and glossolalia (1 Corinthians 12-14). This kind of distinction between the theology of author and reader is quite clear in Paul's letter to Philemon: Paul instructs Philemon to welcome back his slave Onesimus (a recent convert of Paul) not as some runaway slave but as a beloved brother in the Lord, probably because Philemon would not have thought along these lines apart from Paul's urging. In fact, it could be argued that the stronger or more extensive an author's exhortation, the more likely it is that a large segment of his audience did not possess his view on a particular topic.

which the author's views could represent those immediately around him, i.e., an inner circle of associates, to be distinguished from his (or perhaps "their") audience.[134] In this way, the views of Matthew would, technically, represent a "community": his inner circle of associates.

Bauckham forcefully argues that the original audience of a Gospel probably extended beyond the local community of which the Evangelist was a part.[135] As his critics rightly contend, however, a "universal" audience seems unlikely.[136] Hence, while the Gospels were intended to circulate widely and were not bound to one specific locale,[137] they were probably not written for a universal audience, as Bauckham

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[134] Social theorists, for example, recognize that not only are individual beliefs and values not formed in a vacuum, they are not maintained in isolation—others equally share and embrace them. Thus, Berger writes, "While it may be possible, perhaps for heuristic purposes, to analyze man's relationship to his world in purely individual terms, the empirical reality of human world-building is aways a social one. Men *together* shape tools, invent languages, adhere to values, devise institutions, and so on" (*Sacred Canopy*, 7, his emphasis).

[135] Sim argues that Bauckham's appeal to the genre of a Gospel (i.e., it is a subtype of Graeco-Roman biography) does not support his thesis, given that later (i.e.. post-first century) Gospels (e.g., *Thomas*) clearly presupposed a "restricted and localized" audience. ("Response," 18-21). Sim's rebuttal, however, fails to convince. On the one hand, the canonical Gospels differ considerably in their form from their later counterparts, as D. Aune comments, "One significant development [of later Gospels] was that of the separate directions taken by narrative and discourse. One or the other tends to dominate particular compositions, rarely both" (*The New Testament in its Literary Environment*, Library of Early Christianity, gen. ed. W. Meeks [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1989], 68). On the other hand, the later Gospels to which Sim refers may be Gnostic (although the point is debated), in which case, these texts would necessarily be restrictive in terms of their readership. For an in-depth discussion of Gospels as Graeco-Roman biographies, see Burridge, *Gospels*. For a briefer but still useful assessment, see Aune, *New Testament*, 63-74.

[136] See the critical reviews of M. Mitchell, "Patristic Counter-Evidence to the Claim that the Gospels were Written for All Christians," *NTS* 51 (2005): 36-79; T. Kazen, "Sectarian Gospels for Some Christians: Intention and Mirror Reading in the Light of Extra-Canonical Texts," *NTS* 51 (2005): 561-578; D. Sim, "The Gospels for All Christians? A Response to Richard Bauckham," *JSNT* 84 (2001): 3-27; and P. Esler, "Community and Gospel in Early Christianity: A Response to Richard Bauckham's *Gospels for All Christians*," *SJT* 51 (1998): 235-48.

[137] Sim is willing to concede this point, adding, "This concession would entail only a slight revision of the consensus position. We would need to broaden the definition of any given Gospel community and view it not as a single church, but as a cluster of churches linked by geographical proximity and a shared theological perspective" ("Response," 24).

supposes.[138] In view of the preceding discussion, then, the socio-religious orientation determined by this present inquiry will correspond more to that of Matthew (and his inner circle of associates) than that of his audience[139]—although these would not be mutually exclusive. How, then, can Matthew's socio-religious location be derived from his Christology?

1.4.3 The Use of Christology for Determining Socio-Religious Orientation

Christological studies tend to be theologically or historically focused and hence, do not typically consider questions of social location. Moreover, with the advent of literary criticism in the 1970s, social questions became completely overshadowed by literary ones or ignored altogether,[140] thus crystallizing the separation of Christology and social location. As mentioned in section 1.2.3 above, social location inquiries have largely ignored the significant piece that Christology brings to the puzzle of Matthew's socio-religious orientation. Malina and Neyrey first recognized the inadequacy of viewing Christology in purely philosophical, metaphysical or historical terms, because of its intrinsic social dimension: "[A biblical historian must] describe and explain the behaviour of group members, not disembodied ideas or concepts. Christology, if truly

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[138] While agreeing with a good deal of Bauckham's thesis, B. Witherington asserts that although the Gospels were written for a wide audience, the Gospel writers did have specific things and people in mind when they wrote: "The Gospels are not *about* these communities, but they are written *for* them" (*The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 30, his emphasis). S. Barton considers this modification of a Gospel community to a broad network of Gospel communities, a "strategic retreat" allowing scholars to continue unabated in their research ("Can We Identify the Gospel Audiences?" in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. R. Bauckham [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 182). This modification can only be considered a strategic retreat, however, if a reading strategy of measured (rather than full) transparency is not adopted, or if no distinction is made between the social locations of the author and community—two things that this present study recognizes.

[139] In other words, a distinction should be maintained between Matthew's theological intention in composing his Gospel, and the Gospel's reception by other audiences.

[140] E.g., Kingsbury, *Matthew*.

'historical,' will be Christology 'from the side.' It must take into account the human evaluative process."[141]

In taking a "from the side" approach,[142] Malina and Neyrey examine the conflict in Matthew 12 and 26-27 by focusing on the negative labels given to Jesus by his opponents and the positive titles given to him by his followers. Thus, the interest of these two authors lies more in the process in which Jesus receives these labels/titles than the result, i.e., the titles themselves:

> The *historical* significance of those titles will not stand apart from the *cultural* and *social* underpinnings those titles were meant to maintain. The titles were not ideas or concepts meant to define some abstract divine being but social labels endowed with meaning and feeling meant to mark off the interests of contending groups.[143]

Although their study rightly recognizes the "inseparability of text, reader, and context,"[144] Malina and Neyrey do not take the next step: to identify specific aspects of the social context of the Christ-believers represented by Matthew's Gospel.

Stanton takes this step.[145] He acknowledges that "most of Matthew's major Christological emphases are a development or a modification of themes which were already prominent in the sources on which the evangelist drew, and hence not directly related to the 'parting of the ways.'"[146] Nevertheless, he also maintains, "Some of Matthew's Christological themes are clearly related *indirectly* to the parting."[147] Stanton

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[141] Malina and Neyrey, *Calling Jesus*, xii.

[142] Malina and Neyrey contrast their "from the side" approach with the more common "from above" and "from below" approaches. According to the authors, the former approach refers to the confessional debates of the fourth- and fifth-centuries CE that centred on formulating a doctrine of Christ's divinity and humanity; in Christology "from below" contemporary scholars focus on Jesus' humanity.

[143] Malina and Neyrey, *Calling Jesus*, 135-36 (emphasis theirs).

[144] So Wainwright, *Shall We*, 36.

[145] Stanton, *Gospel*, 169-91.

[146] Stanton, *Gospel*, 189.

[147] Stanton, *Gospel*, 189 (his emphasis).

focuses on the accusations against Jesus of being a magician (an implicit charge) and a deceiver (explicit charge), as well as on the disputes involving the "Son of David" title. Like Malina and Neyrey, Stanton asserts that these passages reveal counterclaims of Matthew against these charges (originally levelled by Jesus' opponents),[148] and argues that these counterclaims reveal Matthew's socio-religious orientation. Although the approach of using the labels of Jesus' (Matthew's) opponents offers insight into Matthew's socio-religious location, additional (and in some ways, more direct) insight can be gleaned from the names used for Jesus by Matthew himself because his names for Jesus are bound to his own social-historical context. One such name is "Shepherd."

1.4.4 The Use of the Shepherd Metaphor for Assessing Socio-Religious Orientation

As section 1.4.3 shows, scholars have recently come to recognize the usefulness of Christology in the debate over Matthew's social location. The antecedent question to the discussion of how the shepherd metaphor in particular can contribute to determining social location would be: can metaphors (generally), being linguistic or literary constructions, be used to glean social history? Drawing upon the insights of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, and P. Ricoeur,[149] G. Anderson considers metaphors vehicles for the deeper understanding one's place in the world.[150] He agrees with Ricoeur that metaphors possess intrinsic meaning in their own right (hence, Ricoeur's adage: "the symbol gives rise to the thought"), but he parts company with him in recognizing that the ultimate

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[148] Matthew would have used these counterclaims to equip his audience to respond to the same accusations made some 50 years later by their own opponents.

[149] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), and P. Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. E. Buchanan (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

significance of the metaphor comes from the context in which the user employs it.

Anderson writes,

> Rather, it is within the foundation myths of a given culture that these primary symbols [metaphors] are deployed in a more robust and profound manner. In such narratives a culture takes up the larger issue of the fundamental grammar of these symbolic lexemes and articulates in story form how one can understand one's place in the world because of them.[151]

Similarly, in his discussion of the semantic importance of metaphors, Porter notes that "a correct understanding of a metaphor can be reconstructed only from its social or extralinguistic context . . . [including] the historical background."[152] The meaning of a metaphor, then, is tied to the social-historical context in which it is used. Thus, a metaphor has intrinsic meaning but it is closely tied to the social-historical context of the one who appropriates it, whereby the metaphor's meaning is developed further. Huntzinger underscores these two observations:

> [Later authors] did not merely 'borrow' the metaphor—careful not to ply or mold it in any way—but they made it theirs by taking it and asking what the metaphor was saying to them. The reality depicted by the metaphor had significance for them which is why they used it. By taking ownership of the metaphor they were able to shape it for themselves and make it useful just as it had been useful to the previous community from whom they had inherited it.[153]

According to Huntzinger (et al.), metaphor users recognize the intrinsic meaning that a metaphor possesses—which is why they use it—and they seek to develop that meaning for those with whom they communicate. The appropriations of metaphors, then, can

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[150] G. Anderson, "From Israel's Burden to Israel's Debt: Towards a Theology of Sin in Biblical and Early Second Temple Sources" in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, eds. E. Chazon, D. Dimant and R. Clements, STDJ, vol. 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1-30.

[151] Anderson, "Israel's Debt," 2-3.

[152] Porter, *Monsters*, 5; cf. the discussion of Huntzinger, "End of Exile," 23-54.

[153] Huntzinger, "End of Exile," 54.

reflect the patterns of thought of its borrower, according to the way in which a writer "shapes" or uses it.

Patterns of thought represent part of what E. P. Sanders calls, "patterns of religion." He defines a pattern of religion as "the description of how a religion is perceived by its adherents to *function*."[154] The key, he notes, is not what adherents do (i.e., their religious practices), but how they understand what these practices accomplish for them in their religion. Consequently, a pattern of religion "*does* have to do with *thought*, with the *understanding* that lies behind religious behaviour, not just with the externals of religious behaviour."[155] In other words, a pattern of religion is comprised of patterns of ritual (behaviour) and patterns of thought (theology), the latter of which, according to Sanders, consists of separate motifs.[156] Of these two constituent areas comprising a pattern of religion, this study focuses on patterns of thought—concerning the shepherd motif (metaphor).

Of Matthew's various Christological strands, "Shepherd" offers significant potential for exploring his socio-religious orientation because of its use by non-Christ-believing Jewish, (non-Christ-believing) Roman and Christ-believing authors. Because the metaphor is a core leadership symbol for early Jews and Christ-believers, it would represent a central thought pattern for these authors. As chapters two and three of this study will show, "shepherd" is employed as a metaphor for pre-monarchical rulers of Israel, the Jewish monarchy, members of the ruling class, as well as authoritative non-

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[154] E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 17 (his emphasis).
[155] Sanders, *Paul*, 18 (his emphasis).
[156] Sanders, *Paul*, 18.

Christ-believing Jewish teachers, on the one hand, and for assembly leaders in Christ-believing circles, on the other. The shepherd metaphor, then, relates to the hierarchical realities of a community, and the way in which it is appropriated can provide a window into how a community might structure itself socially.[157]

Not only is the metaphor an important symbol for leadership, but it represents one of a handful of terms that is used in a distinctive way by these different groups of ancient authors. As will be demonstrated in chapter three below, there are characteristic tendencies in its usage by these authors, reflecting characteristic patterns of thought. One distinctive use of the metaphor, for example, that sets its appropriation by non-Christ-believing Jews apart from the other two groups of authors is the frequent presence of nationalistic overtones: Second Temple Jews most often employ the metaphor to convey aspirations for the moral and/or geo-political restoration of Israel.[158] Similarly, a frequent characteristic of Jewish eschatology over and against the eschatology of Christ-believers is the concern for the restoration of the Jewish nation.[159] As will be discussed in section 1.4.5 below, the detection of recurring patterns represents an integral part of social-

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[157] For a discussion of hierarchical social structures and religious experiences reflected in the roles of "Steward," "Prophet" and "Keeper of the Word," see R. Williams, *Stewards, Prophets, Keepers of the Word: Leadership in the Early Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006). "Prophet" and "shepherd" have Christological and leadership overtones in Matthew, but there is a clear difference between how the Evangelist employs these terms. Matthew considers Jesus "the prophet" (Matt 21:9-11; cf. 13:57), who is like Moses in his birth and his authoritative teaching of Torah (cf. Matt 2:13-20; 5:1-2, 21-48). It also seems clear that itinerant missionaries, called "prophets" (10:41; 23:34), were part of the Matthean communities. Hence, Matthew uses "prophet" for Jesus and for Jesus' followers. By contrast, he seems to reserve the title of "shepherd" for Jesus. This point is discussed further near the end of section 5.2.2 below.

[158] As chapter two of this study will show, this nationalistic perspective characterizes the metaphor's use in the HB.

[159] Cf. the analysis of Chester, "Eschatology and Messianic Hope," 239-313. According to Dunn, it was this "Jewish national particularism" that "came into ever sharper confrontation [with 'Christian christological particularism'] until a decisive parting of the ways was unavoidable" ("Preface" in *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways AD 70 to 135*, ed. J. Dunn [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Paul Siebeck, 1992], viii).

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historical criticism. These types of distinctive patterns of thought reflected in the use of the metaphor by the different groups of authors analyzed in this study provide essential points of comparison with Matthew. With which group does the Evangelist's shepherd motif reflect continuity? The answer to this question provides an essential piece to the puzzle of Matthew's socio-religious orientation.

At this point it should be emphasized that although this study is concerned with comparing a particular metaphor in different bodies of literature, it avoids what Sanders considers the key mistake often made by NT scholars engaged in comparative research with early Jewish writings.[160] Of special relevance for this inquiry is his criticism of studies that compare "individual motifs." He regards these types of comparisons as "inadequate for the true comparison of religions":

> In the first place, it is usually the motifs of *one* of the religions which are compared with elements in the second religion in order to identify their origin. The two religions are not treated in the same way. . . . It follows that there is no true comparison of the two religions. In the second place, motif research often overlooks the context and significance of a given motif in one (or sometimes both) of the religions. It is conceivable for precisely the same motif to appear in two different religions but to have a different significance. . . . In motif research, one must consider *function* and *context* before coming to an overall conclusion as to similarity or dissimilarity.[161]

The present investigation differentiates itself from those that Sanders criticizes in that it adopts a more even-handed and holistic approach to examining a motif. "Shepherd" represents a significant metaphor for both Jews and Christ-believers (not just one group). Additionally, the study is not concerned with the question of origins but with differences in thought patterns reflected in the patterns of usage of the metaphor. In other words,

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[160] Sanders, *Paul*, 1-29.

unlike many other studies, the focus of this investigation is not on an "individual motif" but on the *use* of a motif. Thus, it is crucial that the appropriation of the metaphor by each group of authors be understood in its own right and on its own terms. Consequently, a good deal of attention in this study is devoted to considering the function and the context of every appropriation of the shepherd metaphor. By discerning the respective functions and contexts of the metaphor's use by Second Temple Jews, Romans, Matthew and other Christ-believers, patterns or tendencies in thought can be properly mapped and accurately assessed for areas of continuity and discontinuity between Matthew and these other groups.

In view of the subsequent discussion, some preliminary matters concerning the shepherd metaphor's usage must be addressed. First, can Matthew's shepherd motif be considered significant? Unlike other Christological titles which (at times) reflect Matthean invention or redaction, the same cannot be said about "shepherd": in Matt 2:6 the metaphor is simply embedded in a scripture citation; 9:36 merely takes over a Markan allusion to scripture; in 25:32 Matthew compares the Son of Man's acts to a shepherd and not the Son of Man himself; and 26:31 represents another Markan citation of scripture. Does this type of employment of the metaphor represent a significant interest in the metaphor on the part of the Evangelist?

From a redaction-critical perspective, which concentrates on changes to the sources, these occurrences of the metaphor could perhaps be deemed as insignificant. A composition-critical approach, however, recognizes that when scripture citations and

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[161] Sanders, *Paul*, 13 (his emphasis).

Markan sayings are transferred to a new narrative context, these citations are given new meanings, since meaning is dependent upon literary context. But something more could perhaps be said about Matthew's "incidental" use of the shepherd metaphor.

In each of these texts, Matthew had other options from which to choose to make his particular point in the narrative—options which would have excluded the metaphor. The thrust of Matthew's citation in 2:6 is the justification of the messiah's place of origin. Micah 5:1 satisfies this point by itself. Additionally, had the Evangelist wanted to emphasize the ruling aspect of Jesus by blending Mic 5:1 with another scripture text— without invoking the shepherd metaphor—"shepherd"-less texts were available to him. For example, a mixed citation of Mic 5:1 and Ps 130:8 would accomplish this nicely: "And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, by no means are you least among the rulers of Judah, for out of you will come a ruler [Mic 5:1], *and he will redeem Israel from all their sins* [Ps 130:8]." In view of Matt 1:21b ("and he will save his people from their sins"), the shepherd-less text of Ps 130:8 would make even better sense than 2 Sam 5:2.[162] That Matthew opts for the latter text—which employs "shepherd"—suggests an interest on his part to explicitly link the metaphor with Jesus through prophetic/scriptural citation.[163]

Although two of Matthew's appropriations of the metaphor come straight out of his Markan source, it would be unwise to assume that there would, therefore, be no significance to these uses, as Davies and Allison comment:

> Our author's compositional habits were not like those of a sea-bottom scavenger which picks up everything without discrimination. Matthew, as his treatment of

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[162] Other possibilities would include, for example, Isa 32:1a; 49:7b and Jer 23:5b.

[163] While 2 Sam 5:2 links Jesus to David's lineage, the Evangelist has already made the case for this in his genealogy. Something else prompted his use of 2 Sam 5:2: "shepherd."

> Mark demonstrates, felt quite free to drop what did not impress him as valuable. So it is very hazardous to dismiss any verse in Matthew as without meaning because traditional.[164]

Thus, in the case of Matt 26:31, had Mark's citation of the shepherd text (Zech 13:7) not suited Matthew, the Evangelist could very well have crafted a betrayal scene without it, as Luke and John did (cf. Luke 22:31-38 and John 13:21-38). Moreover, in Matt 9:36, the logion of Mark 6:34 appears in a very different literary context in Matthew than it does in Mark, thereby revealing Matthew's strong interest in Mark's allusion here to the HB.[165]

In the pericope of Final Judgment in 25:31-46, again the question could be asked, did Matthew have metaphorical options from which to choose other than the shepherd-sheep metaphor? The answer is yes. Matthew appropriates the metaphor to describe the manner by which Jesus will judge all the nations that gather before him at the Eschaton. Of the various metaphors from which to choose,[166] the Evangelist could have chosen the harvest metaphor, first introduced by the words of John the Baptist: "Whose winnowing fork is in his hand and he will clean out his threshing floor and gather his wheat into his barn, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire" (Matt 3:12). This harvest judgment picture is filled out further in the parable of the tares (13:24-30, 36-43), which speaks of the "angels gathering" the people of the "world" before the "Son of Man" and separating the people into wheat (the righteous) and tares (the wicked), with the former group ("the righteous") shining in the "Father's kingdom." Matthew uses all of these ideas in his scene of Final Judgment. The Evangelist, then, was anything but boxed into

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[164] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:192.

[165] Cf. the discussion of these texts in sections 3.4.2 (Mark) and 5.2.2 (Matthew) below.

[166] E.g., the warrior-judge imagery of Isa 11:1-5 and Ezekiel 21, and the dragnet in Matt 13:47-50.

using the shepherd metaphor in 25:31-46. That he chose it, however, would suggest—particularly in view of its other occurrences in his Gospel—that its deployment in his scene of Final Judgment was consonant with his concern to depict Jesus as Israel's Shepherd.[167]

Thus, the Evangelist' choice of 2 Sam 5:2 over and against other suitable scripture texts, his handling of Mark 6:34, his adopting of Mark 14:27, and his choice of the shepherd-sheep metaphor over, for example, the equally appropriate harvest metaphor in his scene of Final Judgment, demonstrate the significance that the shepherd metaphor held for Matthew. The importance of the metaphor receives further corroboration from Matthew's unique citation of the shepherd narrative of Zechariah 11 in 27:9-10 (cf. discussion in section 5.2.5 below), the references to Jesus being sent to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" in 10:6 and 15:24, as well as the interconnectedness between the shepherd and the Son of David motifs (cf. the discussions in sections 1.2.2 above and 5.2.2 below).

The second preliminary matter concerns the specific methodological focus of the analysis. The investigation of the shepherd metaphor will concentrate on explicit uses of "shepherd" and "shepherding" (רעה in Hebrew,[168] ποιμήν or ποιμαίνω in Greek). This focus, however, does not mean that shepherding imagery without the use of "shepherd" has been overlooked in this study. Although the imagery associated with the shepherd

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[167] Cf. Chae (*Davidic Shepherd*, 220-21), who argues for the importance of this metaphor on completely different grounds.

[168] The Qal participle form of the verb רעה also serves as the substantive "shepherd."

metaphor in the HB can be quite broad,[169] when the shepherd metaphor is invoked

without using רעה, it does not appreciably add to the use of the רעה-metaphor but merely

follows the pattern of usage outlined in chapter two below.[170] Likewise, shepherd

imagery without the use of "shepherd" in Second Temple Jewish texts adds little to the

discussion of the metaphor:[171] Also, although צאן ("sheep") can conjure up the image of

a shepherd, the focus of צאן metaphors tends to be on the sheep not the shepherd.[172]

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[169] Shepherding imagery can be evoked by or is implicit in the mention of "sheep" (e.g., 2 Sam 24:17; Ps 95:7; Mic 2:12), a shepherd's duties of leading/feeding/guiding/gathering the flock (e.g., Ps 68:7; Isa 49:10) as well as by his accoutrements (e.g., Isa 10:5, 24; Ezek 37:19). For a survey of shepherding imagery in the HB beyond the use of "shepherd," see Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt*, 39-204, Fikes, "Shepherd-King" and Huntzinger, "End of Exile." Wild beast imagery can also presuppose the protection of a shepherd (e.g., 1 Sam 17:34-35; Mic 5:7). For an investigation of shepherding imagery that includes this type of broader pastoral imagery, see Porter, *Monsters*, 61-120.

[170] In parallel fashion to רעה, biblical writers use "rod" (שבט) metaphorically to signify rulers: Jewish monarchs or members of the ruling class (Gen 49:10; Num 21:17; Ps 2:9; 125:3; Isa 11:4; Ezek 19:11, 14), Gentile kings or leaders (2 Sam 7:14; Isa 10:5-8; 14:5, 29; 19:13; Amos 1:5; Zech 10:11) or YHWH (Job 9:34; 21:9; Ps 23:4; 45:7; Isa 30:31; Lam 3:1; Ezek 20:37; Mic 7:14). Similarly, "staff" (משען/משענה) is employed metaphorically for Jewish monarchs or members of the ruling class (Isa 3:1-4), Gentile rulers (Num 21:18; 2 Kgs 18:21/Isa 36:6; Ezek 29:6), and for YHWH (Ps 23:4; i.e., as the psalmist's Shepherd, YHWH's staff offers him comfort). At times judgment is associated with these terms, but this, too, follows the pattern of רעה. Porter notes that herd leader language, i.e., "he-goat" (עתוד), "ram" (איל) and "bull" (פר, ראם), can evoke the shepherd metaphor. Thus, these animals symbolize (Gentile) monarchs (Isa 14:9; Dan 8:4-8) and military leaders (Isa 34:2-7, Ps 22:12, 20; Zech 10:3-5). Verbs with pastoral connotations are often employed for YHWH: e.g., נחה ("lead," "guide" [Exod 13:17-21; 15:13; Deut 32:12; Neh 9:12, 19; Job 12:23; Pss 5:9; 23:3; 27:11; 43:3]), נהל ("lead," "guide" [Exod 15:13; 2 Chr 32:22; Pss 23:2; 31:4; Isa 40:11; 49:10]), אסף ("gather" [Isa 49:5; Mic 2:12; 4:6]), יצא ("go out" [Isa 37:32; 40:26; 49:9; Ezek 20:38; 34:13; Mic 2:13; 7:15]) and בוא ("lead out" [Num 27:17; Ps 78:54; Jer 30:3; 31:8-9; Ezek 34:13; Zech 10:10]).

[171] Some examples may prove helpful. Ram/bull imagery is used as a stand-in for "shepherd" in *T. Jos.* 19:6 and *1 Enoch* 89:45-50. In the former text, the bull represents the (possibly messianic) protector of the flock; in the latter text, the rams represent King David and King Solomon. In *1 Enoch* 89:28-45, "sheep" signify Israel's pre-monarchical rulers: Moses, Joshua and the Judges. Philo uses the shepherd's rod to symbolize the imparting of discipline or self-control to the mind (e.g., *Leg.* 2:88-93; 1:77-78) or sharing in God's shepherding activity (e.g., *Mut.* 135). When he employs "sheep," his focus takes an entirely different order: the efficacy of the sacrificial system (e.g., *Spec.* 1:257-58; 202-203); cf. Seibel, "Shepherd & Sheep," 110-50.

[172] This is usually the case in the HB: "sheep" (צאן) is used metaphorically by itself (i.e., without רעה) 22 times of its 248 occurrences; it can refer to the special relationship between the nation Israel and YHWH (Pss 74:1; 79:13; 95:7; 100:3), the recipients (typically Israel) of YHWH's intervention (Pss 77:21; 78:52; Mic 2:12; Zech 9:16), victims of another nation's military advance (Ps 44:23; Mic 5:7), subjects of a king/ruler (2 Sam 24:17; Jer 13:20), objects of reproach (Ps 44:12; Jer 12:3), and Israel's straying from YHWH (Isa 53:6). T. Slater (*Christ and Community: A Socio-Historical Study of the Christology of*

Similarly, of the two words in the HB used for "shepherd," viz., רעה and בקר, the latter term is almost never used metaphorically, while the former term is frequently employed in this way.[173] רעה, then, would correspond most closely to ποιμαίνω (and ποιμήν) the standard verb (and noun) used in Greek sources like Matthew for "shepherd."[174] By concentrating on רעה, the comparisons that are drawn between Hebrew texts and Greek texts will correspond more precisely. Thus, in texts which either have a Hebrew *Vorlage*[175] or in texts written by authors who knew Hebrew,[176] רעה would represent the Hebrew term standing behind the use of ποιμήν or ποιμαίνω in texts appropriating HB "shepherd" passages.

In addition to these observations, the primary focus of this study deals with one strand of Matthew's Christology, Shepherd, and Matthew most frequently employs "shepherd" (ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω) to deploy his Shepherd Christology (cf. chapter five

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Revelation, JSNTSS, vol. 178 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 165-66) divides these usages of "sheep" (and also "ram") into two categories: generic references and sacrificial references. These two categories, he notes, are maintained in Second Temple literature. In each of these categories, the emphasis is on the state of the sheep, not the nature or activity of the shepherd. Hence, when an author uses "sheep" metaphorically, he is more interested in saying something about the sheep/people. When he uses "shepherd" metaphorically, however, his interest lies in the shepherd/leader. Thus, for example, an examination of the צאן metaphor would have been more appropriate for Garbe, *Der Hirte* (cf. the discussion of this monograph in section 1.2.2 above).

[173] Of the 183 instances of בקר in the HB, the noun form never appears metaphorically, while the verb is used metaphorically twice in Ezekiel: 34:11, 12. By contrast, of the 167 occurrences of רעה, almost half (82) are metaphorical.

[174] The LXX employs ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω for רעה 92 times and for "friend"/"companion" [Prov 22:11; 29:3]), βόσκω for רעה 17 times, and νέμω seven times. Of the latter two terms, νέμω never appears in the New Testament. While βόσκω appears nine times in the NT, it is never used for Jesus and only twice (John 21:15, 17) does it refer to leaders in Christ-believing communities.

[175] Of the Second Temple Jewish texts to be examined section 3.2 below, most scholars maintain that Judith, *Psalms of Solomon*, *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, Pseudo-Philo, *2 Baruch* and perhaps parts of *1 Enoch* were originally written in Hebrew.

[176] Among the NT texts examined in this study, it seems probable that the authors of Matthew, John, Jude, and Revelation knew Hebrew.

below).[177] Therefore, concentrating in chapters two, three and five below on passages which employ "shepherd" (רעה or ποιμαίνω/ποιμήν) will suffice for achieving the purposes of the study.

1.4.5 Methodological Approach

The first aim of this study is to investigate how Matthew presents Jesus as Israel's Shepherd and to examine how this motif contributes to the overall theological framework of the Gospel. The second aim is to assess the motif's implications for Matthew's socio-religious orientation and to outline some of the social-historical realities related to his socio-religious location. The best and most appropriate means to achieve these objectives will involve a literary analysis of the pertinent texts. Any discussion of social history must begin with closely reading and understanding the primary texts, for in the case of Matthew especially, this is the only artefact relating to him and his community that exists for academic study. Thus, any debate over the social location of Matthew must begin

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[177] Admittedly, Shepherd Christology can be conveyed apart from the explicit use of "shepherd," i.e., by using "sheep." But while R. Bracewell claims that focusing on "shepherd" to the exclusion of "sheep" would produce a biased study ("Shepherd Imagery in the Synoptic Gospels [Ph.D. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1983], 4), this is not actually the case. As discussed above, in the instances in the HB and Second Temple Jewish literature in which "sheep" is used metaphorically without "shepherd," they do not change in any appreciable way the portrait of the shepherd that is otherwise produced; as well, the focus of "sheep" metaphors is the sheep not the shepherd. As for the NT, "sheep" is never employed metaphorically without "shepherd" in Mark, John, Hebrews, and 1 Peter (cf. Mark 6:34; 14:27; John 10; 21:15-17; Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 2:25; 5:2-3; cf. also Acts 20:28-29); in Luke's metaphorical uses of "sheep" in 12:32 and 15:4-6, the concern in the former is the sheep, while the latter relates to Jesus' inclusive mission (cf. the discussion of these texts in section 3.4.5 below); he also uses "sheep" for Jesus in Acts 8:32 (in a citation of Isa 53:7-8) to describe the messiah's scripture-predicted, sacrificial death. All of these points are explicitly made by the "shepherd" metaphor (cf. Figure 15 in section 3.4.6 below). Paul, for his part, employs "sheep" metaphorically in Rom 8:36 (in a citation of Ps 44:22) to describe the sometimes perilous circumstances of Christ-believers. As will be observed in chapter five below, the metaphorical uses of "sheep" in Matthew's Gospel do not alter in any way his Shepherd Christology (cf. the discussion of "sheep" passages without "shepherd" in Matthew in section 5.1 below). Thus, metaphorical uses of "sheep" do not affect the results of this study.

with understanding the Evangelist's message on its own terms, which offers a window into his theology and socio-religious location.

There are four distinct but integrated components of the literary analysis employed in the present study, which commend themselves for Gospel study and which, when applied in concert, can produce a clearer picture than if used in isolation: composition criticism, redaction criticism, narrative criticism and social-historical criticism. The primary *modus operandi* for this study will involve a composition-critical approach. Composition criticism is a form of literary criticism that extends beyond traditional forms of redaction criticism but not in the direction of narrative criticism. Unlike redaction criticism, on the one hand, composition criticism concentrates on the final form of the text as a whole, seeking to analyze the author's thought and theology as it is revealed in the finished product.[178] On the other hand, unlike classical narrative criticism in which the cohesiveness of the story world created in the text precludes isolating any one particular theme to the exclusion of others, a composition-critical approach allows for the type of literary dissection needed to analyze the shepherd motif.[179]

While composition criticism is intra-directional (i.e., it approaches and analyzes the document as a unified whole to discern the particular message that its author seeks to

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[178] Cf. the discussions of composition criticism by B. Charette, *The Theme of Recompense in Matthew's Gospel*, JSNTSS, vol. 79 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 16-19, and Willitts, "Shepherd-King," 40-41.

[179] Willitts describes the difference between composition criticism and narrative criticism this way: "Whereas narrative criticism is preoccupied with the Evangelist's 'story,' composition criticism is interested in the author's theology. . . . Thus, in its preoccupation with the author's theological—or better Christological—perspective, compositional criticism remains firmly within the sphere of redaction criticism" ("Shepherd-King," 41).

convey), redaction criticism is trans-directional and focuses on the differences in the Synoptic tradition, recognizing that these differences—between Matthew and Mark especially—can offer insights into Matthew's thought and emphases. Since the Gospel is in essence a story,[180] a narrative-critical approach will be employed to analyze the narrative flow of Matthew's Gospel to capture the meaning conveyed by his story. The literary skill evident in Matthew's work strongly supports the notion that the Gospel was designed to be re-read by its audience, particularly if the audience is to catch the more subtle and intricate ways that the author conveys his message.[181]

Unlike the previous methods, social-historical criticism is concerned with historical reconstruction. Social-historical method uses the written text as a window into the social and religious history surrounding the text. It focuses in particular on the social relations between groups as well as the relation of groups to different social and cultural structures, values, symbols, rituals, and the like.[182] Of central importance to this approach

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[180] U. Luz argues this point based on the Evangelist's choice of Mark—another story—as the basis for his own work. For a list of specific signs indicating that the Gospel was intended to be primarily a narrative book, see Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 4 vols., Evangelish-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, eds. J. Blank, R. Schnackenburg, E. Schweizer and U. Wilkens (Zürich: Benziger/Neukirchener Verlag, 1985-2002), 1:26-28. In crafting his story, however, Matthew did incorporate other types of material, e.g., liturgical material (cf. G. Soares Prabhu, *The Formula Quotations in the Infancy Narrative of Matthew: An Enquiry into the Tradition History of Mt 1-2* [Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976], 76, n. 134).

[181] Of Matthew's literary precision Luz notes, "Inklusionen in größeren Textzusammenhängen erschließen sich nur der zusammenhängenden Lektüre. Wieder wird deutlich, daß Mt sich wünscht, daß sein Buch immer wieder und ganz gelesen und meditiert wird" (*Matthäus*, 1:22); cf. N. Lund, *Chiasmus in the New Testament: A Study in the Form and Function of Chiastic Structures*, repr. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1992), 240-319. That Matthew designed his Gospel to be read at two levels of understanding, viz., for people who occupied or who aspired to leadership (e.g., the so-called Missionary Discourse of chapter 10, and the "binding and loosing" in communal matters in 16:18-19 and 18:18-20), as well as for the wider majority of Christ-believers, would also provide evidence for the Evangelist's literary skill; cf. R. France, "The Formula-Quotations of Matthew 2 and the Problem of Communication," *NTS* 27 (1981): 233-51.

[182] For a useful summary of social-historical methodology, see P. Harland, *Associations, Synagogue, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 14-18.

is the detection and examination of general patterns. J. Neyrey contrasts the respective emphases of history and social science, noting that history stresses differences which take place over time, while social science looks for typical, repeated patterns. His comments on the social-scientific approach to biblical texts (Luke-Acts in particular) remain particularly relevant: "The primary focus . . . is not on the unique, occasional, or particular events . . . but on the common, recurrent patterns of conceptualizing, perceiving, and behaving."[183] Hence, this type of focus meshes well with this study's interest in patterns of usage and thought concerning the shepherd metaphor. The social-historical approach will come to the fore in Part Two of the study.

1.4.6 Mode of Procedure

In view of discussing the implications of Matthew's shepherd motif for his socio-religious orientation, it will be necessary to map how the metaphor is employed in different time periods by different groups of authors. This map of uses will demonstrate the diversity of understandings that existed for the metaphor between these groups. Moreover, from this map, patterns of usage that reflect distinctive patterns of thought for each group of authors can be traced, and it is against these patterns that Matthew's own thought concerning the metaphor can be compared. While some measure of overlap may be inevitable, the differences will be crucial for understanding Matthew. Whose literary and cultural world does the Evangelist's thought patterns most closely resemble? This type of agreement would suggest a measure of socio-religious continuity between Matthew and the group in question, and thus, represents a means of ascertaining the

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[183] J. Neyrey, "Preface" in J. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for*

Evangelist's socio-religious orientation, which can then be described in terms of its location on a socio-religious spectrum.

It should be emphasized that because the interaction between non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers was complex, involving diverse spheres of engagement, more than one type of spectrum could be generated that reflects socio-religious location.[184] For example, Matthew's socio-religious orientation could be discussed in terms of ritual practices: e.g., the Temple cult, the Sabbath, purity laws, and the like: how does Matthew's attitude towards these types of rituals compare with the attitudes of non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers (Figure 1 below)?[185] Or, it could be examined in terms of attitudes towards Gentiles: how does Matthew's view of Gentiles compare with the views of other Christ-believers and non-Christ-believing Jews (Figure 2 below)?[186]

Figure 1

Jewish Rituals ·   *Non-Jewish Rituals*
   | |
_____
                              ←←Matthew→→?

Figure 2

Jewish Attitudes   *Non-Jewish Attitudes*
towards Gentiles   *towards Gentiles*
   | |
_____
                              ←←Matthew→→?
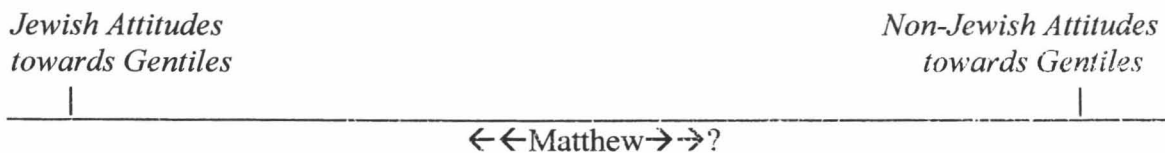
Interpretation (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), xiii.
[184] Cf. the discussion of Runesson, "Re-Thinking."
[185] Cf. Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 124-64.
[186] For other spheres of engagement between groups, see Barclay, *Jews*, 88-102.

This investigation is concerned primarily with locating Matthew along a spectrum based on patterns of thought concerning the leadership symbol of the shepherd metaphor:

Figure 3

Jewish Thought *Patterns*		*Non-Jewish* *Thought Patterns*

←←Matthew→→?
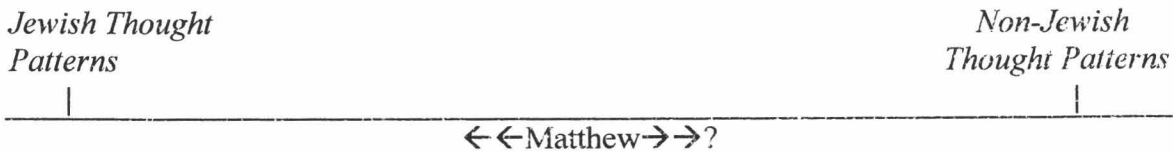
There are diverse ways of ascertaining patterns of thought—of conceptualizing or comprehending different aspects of religious life. The shepherd metaphor provides an effective means of doing this because of its primary nature—it represents a core leadership symbol for both early non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers—and because it is used commonly by non-Christ-believing Jews, Romans and Christ-believers in characteristic fashion.

With this in mind, the study shall proceed as follows. The shepherd metaphor will first be analyzed in the HB and its uses mapped. As far as Matthew is concerned, it is clear from his extensive use of the Jewish scriptures that they form an integral part of his religious worldview, and they represent the foundation upon which he builds his case for Jesus' messiahship. "Shepherd" passages from the HB which Matthew cites in relation to Jesus will receive particular emphasis since these texts will provide a more specific base of comparison with Matthew's appropriation of them.

After analyzing the metaphor in the HB, the appropriation of the shepherd metaphor by non-Christ-believing Jewish, Roman, and Christ-believing authors will be investigated. The thrust of this analysis will be to discern distinct patterns of thought or tendencies of these groups of authors. It must be stated here that the reason for treating

these texts in this order and under these three headings is simply heuristic. These classifications have no bearing on the conclusions of the study and are used for the sake of convenience and clarity. Moreover, in the concluding section to chapter three, the summary chapter of Part One, as well as in chapter six, all of these texts will be categorized in terms of their deployment of the shepherd metaphor. In Part Two of the study, Matthew's shepherd motif will be examined in detail, and its theological contributions to the Gospel discussed. Finally, Matthew's motif will be compared with the metaphor's use by the groups of authors analyzed in chapter three, to determine with which group Matthew's motif best aligns. That is, Matthew's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor will reveal patterns of thought with regard to the metaphor that will place him on a socio-religious spectrum either in closer proximity to Jewish nationalistic belief or closer to non-nationalistic belief. After determining Matthew's location on this spectrum, some of the social-historical implications of this position will be outlined in order to show how Matthew's socio-religious orientation would have influenced some of the institutional realities of the Mattheans.

PART ONE
THE SHEPHERD METAPHOR IN LITERATURE RELATED TO MATTHEW

CHAPTER 2

THE HEBREW BIBLE

2.1 Introduction

Because Matthew shows himself to be steeped in the worldview, thought and

language of the HB, an examination of the shepherd metaphor in this document is an

essential prerequisite for understanding the Evangelist's shepherd motif. Matthew's

literary and theological concerns can be more clearly discerned, points of continuity and

discontinuity between Matthew and the HB identified, and any social implications for the

Gospel better assessed, by comparing his deployment of a "shepherd" text with the

corresponding HB passage.[1]

This chapter will proceed by presenting a thematic survey of the metaphorical use

of רעה in the HB. Special emphasis will be given to "shepherd" texts specifically

employed by Matthew, viz., Mic 5:1, 2 Sam 5:2, Ezek 34:5, 17, Zech 11:13, and Zech

13:7, to provide a base of comparison for Matthew's appropriation of these texts. The

analysis of these particular texts will centre on the identity and activity of the shepherd.[2]

These categories will provide significant points of comparisons with Matthew's

deployment of these texts: how does Matthew alter the meaning of the texts he cites in

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[1] B. Peckham's observation applies: "[Hebrew Scripture texts were composed] by authors with training and skill who meant what they said. They were read and redone by others who knew what they said but meant something different" (*History and Prophecy: The Development of Late Judean Literary Traditions*, ABRL [New York: Doubleday, 1993], viii).

[2] The identity of the shepherd's sheep may also be discussed when it sheds additional light on the shepherd.

regard to the shepherd's identity, and activity (and the sheep's identity)? To enhance the comparisons between the shepherd metaphor in the HB and its use by Second Temple Jewish and Christ-believing authors (in chapter three), changes in the metaphor over time will be noted and discussed.[3] These changes will help to situate these authors historically, insofar as they reveal points of continuity and discontinuity between them.

2.2 Thematic Survey

2.2.1 Introduction

It is not surprising, given the agrarian orientation of ancient Israelite society, that the shepherd-sheep metaphor is frequently employed in the HB.[4] Shepherd-sheep imagery most commonly symbolizes the relationship between a nation's leaders (the shepherds) and the general populace (the sheep).[5] In the HB the metaphor of the "shepherd" typically refers either to rulers or to YHWH. In what follows, the various ways that the metaphor is used for these two referents shall be examined: what types of rulers are likened to shepherds and how does YHWH serve as a shepherd for his people? Additionally, "shepherd" texts appropriated by Matthew shall receive particular attention to determine how Matthew's deployment of these passages compares with these texts.

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[3] It should be noted that a diachronic evaluation of these texts is not crucial to understand Matthew's use of them, since ancient commentators viewed the Scriptures as a cohesive whole, with one section illuminating another, irrespective of questions of and discrepancies in unity, authorship, socio-historical setting, and the like.

[4] In almost half of its 167 occurrences, רעה is used metaphorically. For a discussion of shepherds and sheep in ancient Israel, see Huntzinger, "End of Exile," 56-62.

[5] This use of the shepherd metaphor is commonly observed in Ancient Near East (ANE) literature. For a detailed examination of the shepherd metaphor in ANE texts, see J. Vancil, "Shepherd, Sheep," *ABD*, vol. 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1992): 1187-90; Vancil, "Shepherd," 14-99. For more cursory overviews, see Fikes, "Ezekiel 34," 24-52, Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt*, 16-38 and de Robert, *Berger*, 9-20. This use of shepherd as ruler can also be observed in classical Greek literature, where earthly monarchs and the gods are likened to shepherds; cf. the discussions of Bracewell, "Shepherd Imagery," 73-84, and Seibel, "Shepherd & Sheep," 16-29.

2.2.2 Rulers as Shepherds

The biblical authors employ the shepherd metaphor for leaders in Israel's early (pre-monarchical) past.[6] Thus, Joshua and Moses are implicitly considered shepherds (Num 27:17;[7] cf. Isa 63:11) as are Israel's judges (2 Sam 7:7/1 Chr 17:6). It is not unexpected, then, that with the advent of the monarchy, Israel's kings are depicted as shepherds,[8] such as Ahab (1 Kings 22:17/2 Chr 18:16) and especially, David: "And he chose David his servant . . . to shepherd Jacob his people and Israel his inheritance. And he shepherded them with integrity of heart; with the skills of his hands he led them" (Ps 78:70a, 71b-72).

One text within this category of "rulers as shepherds" that Matthew appropriates is 2 Sam 5:2b: "You will shepherd my people Israel" (cf. Matt 2:6b). Of particular relevance for the later discussion of Matthew's use of this text is the identity of the shepherd, the activity of the shepherd, and the identity of the shepherd's sheep. The shepherd in question is David, who ascends to the throne in place of Saul by the divine appointment of YHWH.[9] To shepherd Israel means to rule the nation as its king.[10]

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[6] Ps 49:15a presents one instance in the HB where the shepherd-sheep metaphor does not represent the king-subjects relationship, but death and the disobedient: "Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol; death shall be their shepherd" (New Revised Standard Version = NRSV). That the next strophe speaks of the upright "ruling" over them reinforces the meaning of "shepherd" here: death rules over the disobedient.

[7] De Robert lists ANE parallels for the Num 27:17 phrase "like sheep without a shepherd," calling this expression a "véritable cliché de la terminologie royale de l'ancien Orient: on la retrouve en Egypte et en Mésopatamie, ainsi que dans l'Ancien Testament" (*Berger*, 46).

[8] Cf. the use of שבט ("rod") to signify Jewish monarchs in, for example, Gen 49:10; Ps 2:9 and Isa 11:4.

[9] The point of David's replacement of Saul is variously underscored in the text: the people acknowledge that although Saul was their king, it was actually David (emphasized by the emphatic pronoun אתה ["you"]) who, on the one hand, "led out and brought in" (מוציא והמבי) the nation, an expression that typically refers to David (three of five occurrences in Joshua–Kings refer directly to David [1 Sam 18:13, 16], while a fourth [1 Kgs 3:7] refers to him indirectly), and that David is the one (again, אתה), on the other, who will shepherd and rule Israel. That the tribes of Israel come to David and ask him to reign over

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Hunziker-Rodewald maintains that רעה in 2 Sam 5:2bα possesses definite military

connotations because of its close association with נגיד ("leader") in 5:2bβ—an overtly

military term (cf. its use in 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 2 Sam 7:7-9).[11] The scope of David's

shepherding (i.e., the identity of his sheep) is the entire kingdom of Israel;[12] the

nationalistic outlook of the text (i.e., a concern for the moral renewal, or in this case, the

political-national restoration of Israel), then, is obvious. As section 5.2.1 below will

show, Matthew's deployment of 2 Sam 5:2b closely corresponds to these characteristics

of the HB text.

The prophets depict not only pre-monarchical rulers but frequently Israel's

current[13] or recent monarchs as shepherds within the context of negative judgment.

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them implies that he did not seek the throne by stealth (unlike, say, Absalom or Adonijah) nor by a military offensive against Saul or his son Ish-Bosheth. Rather, his ascent to Israel's throne is by divine appointment. De Robert comments, "Il semble donc que dans ces traditions sur David le titre de berger comme celui de *nagid* représentent la vocation du roi voulu de Dieu, et soient liés à l'élection par YHWH" (*Berger*, 55).

[10] There is a clear parallelism between the two strophes in 5:2b:

אתה תרעה את־עמי את־ישראל
ואתה תהיה לנגיד על־ישראל

"You will shepherd my people Israel,
And you will be a leader over Israel."

Thus to shepherd Israel is to be their leader (נגיד) which, in conjunction with the threefold repetition of "king" for David in v. 3, would mean "monarch" (cf. this meaning for נגיד in 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 25:30; 2 Sam 6:21; 7:8; see G. Hasel, "נגיד," *TDOT*, vol. 9 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 187-202.

[11] Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt*, 47-49; cf. Willitts ("Lost Sheep," 56), who similarly asserts that the echo of 2 Sam 5:2 with 1 Sam 18:5, 13, 16—which speak of David's military exploits—shows that David's ruling activity is both political and military. Certainly, this claim is strengthened within the narrative by what immediately follows the description of David's reign: the account of his capturing Jerusalem (5:6-9), which also ends with the statement, "And [David] became more and more powerful, because the Lord God Almighty was with him" (v. 10).

[12] The comprehensive scope of David's reign is underscored by the repetition of "all" and "Israel": "all the tribes of Israel" came to David (v. 1a), "all the elders of Israel" came to David (v. 3a); David will shepherd God's people "Israel," be the leader over "Israel" (v. 2b); he was anointed king over "Israel" (v. 3c). Two other factors within the narrative emphasize David's reign over the entire nation of Israel. On the one hand, he had already been anointed as "king over the house of Judah" (2 Sam 2:4). Hence, his anointing over Israel in 5:3 signifies the uniting of the kingdoms under David. The transitional phrase in v. 5, on the other hand, states that he reigned 33 years in Jerusalem over "all Israel and Judah."

[13] But cf. Wallis (and Huntzinger, "End of Exile," 79) who observes: "There is no evidence that the term 'shepherd' ever served as a title for a reigning king of Israel," attributing this reluctance to use the

Jeremiah, for example, condemns Judah's monarchy for its role in bringing about the Babylonian exile (cf. Jer 23:1-2;[14] cf. 10:21; 50:6). Similarly, Ezekiel offers an even more severe and explicit critique of the monarchy:

> Woe to the shepherds of Israel who are shepherding themselves! Should the shepherds not shepherd the flock? The curds you eat, with the wool you clothe yourselves, and the fat animals you slaughter—but the flock you do not shepherd. You do not strengthen those that are weak, you do not heal those that are sick, you do not bind up those that are injured, you do not bring back those that stray, and you do not search for those that are perishing. But rather, with force you rule them, even with harshness (Ezek 34:2b-4; cf. vv. 8-9, 15-17).

The prophets apply רעה not only to Israel's monarchs but to Gentile kings, as well.[15] They, too, are usually judged: "Weep, shepherds, and wail! Roll in the dust, leaders of the flock, for your days for slaughter have come. You will fall and be scattered like fine pottery" (Jer 25:34; cf. vv. 35-36; 49:19; 50:44; Zech 11:15-17). Occasionally they are viewed more positively: "[YHWH] says of Cyrus, 'My shepherd. Every delight of mine he will accomplish. And he will say to Jerusalem, "Let it be built," and to the temple, "Let it be established"'" (Isa 44:28; cf. Jer 43:12). The extent of shepherding can range from the large scale of ruling nations to the much smaller scale of commanding field troops.[16] In describing the Babylonian siege, for example, Jeremiah writes, "The

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metaphor for reigning Jewish monarchs to the Israelites' awareness that "shepherd" was a title for foreign gods ("רעה," *TDOT*, vol. 13 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2004], 550). If, however, the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel originated with these prophets (rather than with later scribes) then the assertion of these scholars is incorrect. In any case, however, clearly the metaphor can be used in the HB for Jewish monarchs.

[14] The larger literary context of Jeremiah 21 and 22, which deal with King Zedekiah's request for deliverance and the eventual end of his and of his successors' reigns, as well as the promise of a future Davidic king in counterpoint to Israel's careless shepherds, would suggest that the monarchy is specifically in view in 23:1-2.

[15] Cf. the use of שבט ("rod"), משענת/משען ("staff"), and animals to signify Gentile rulers, for example, in Isa 14:5; Amos 1:5; Zech 10:11; in 2 Kgs 18:21/Isa 36:6; Ezek 29:6; and in Isa 14:9 and Dan 8:4-8, respectively.

[16] Cf. the use of animals to symbolize military leaders in Isa 34:2-7; Ps 22:12, 20; and Zech 10:3-5.

beautiful and delicate one I [= God] will destroy: the Daughter of Zion. Against her

shepherds will come with their flocks; and upon her they will pitch their tents, each will

shepherd his own portion" (Jer 6:2-3; cf. 12:10; 22:22; Mic 5:5b-6; Nah 3:18).

The shepherd metaphor frequently extends beyond the monarchy to include other

members of Israel's leadership.[17] Thus, Jeremiah the prophet defends himself against his

accusers by asserting that he never shirked his duties as a shepherd of God's people

(17:16).[18] Similarly Deutero-Isaiah includes prophets as members of Israel's leadership:

"Those watching Israel are blind! All of them do not know . . . they are shepherds who

do not know how to discern" (Isa 56:10a, 11b;[19] cf. Zech 10:2-3). Deutero-Zechariah

chastises the ruling class because of their illegitimate wealth: "Those who buy them will

slaughter them but will not be free from guilt. And those who sell them will say, 'Blessed

be the Lord, for I am rich!' And those who shepherd them will not have compassion on

them" (Zech 11:5). That the buyers and sellers here should be identified with the

shepherds/leaders—i.e., those who exercise some measure of control over the flock—is

suggested by the structure of the verse.[20] Thus, when YHWH commissions the prophet to

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[17] Cf. the use of שבט ("rod") and מֹשֵׁעַן/מִשׁעֶנֶת ("staff") to symbolize members of the ruling class in, for example, Num 21:17; Ezek 19:11, and in Isa 3:1-4, respectively.

[18] Elsewhere, however, Jeremiah distinguishes between prophets and shepherds: "The priests did not say, 'Where is the LORD?' Those who handle the law did not know me; the rulers (רֹעֶה) transgressed against me; the prophets prophesied by Baal, and went after things that do not profit" (Jer 2:8, NRSV). While the number of groups to which the verse refers is somewhat ambiguous (either priests, shepherds and prophets or, priests, handlers of the Law—i.e., possibly scribes [cf. Jer 8:8], shepherds and prophets), shepherds are distinct from priests and prophets and probably represent here the unfaithful civil leadership, i.e., the ruling class.

[19] In the prophets, Israel's "watchers" typically refers to God's prophets, e.g., Jer 6:17; Ezek 3:17; 33:2-7; Hos 9:8; Mic 7:4, 7; Hab 2:1.

[20] That is, קֹנֵיהֶן יַהֲרֹגֻן ("those buying them slaughter them") is paralleled with לֹא יַחְמוֹל עֲלֵיהֶן וְרֹעֵיהֶם ("and those shepherding them do not have mercy on them"). In other words, the buyers (and sellers) represent the shepherds. Additionally, the nature of the metaphor, viz., the use of "buyers and sellers"—i.e., those controlling the flock—would also point in this direction.

shepherd the flock, the prophet assumes (figuratively speaking) the responsibilities of Israel's ruling class and not the monarchy.[21]

Along with kings past and present, Israel's future rulers are also likened to shepherds (e.g., Jer 3:15; 23:3-4). Several HB texts which Matthew cites fall within this subcategory of usage, viz., Mic 5:1, Ezek 34:23-24 and Zech 13:7. In Mic 5:1 the prophet predicts: "And you, Bethlehem Ephrathah, are insignificant among the clans of Judah. From you one will go forth for me who will rule Israel." According to Micah's oracle, the future shepherd will be an exalted ruler, whose greatness is reflected in the renown that will become associated with his place of origin, Bethlehem Ephrathah.[22] His ancestry stems from the lineage of David;[23] and he possesses a unique relationship with YHWH: YHWH is called, "the Lord his God" (יהוה אלהיו [v. 3bβ]),[24] in whose authority "he will stand and shepherd (רעה) his flock" (v. 3aα). The future Davidide's shepherding activity is characterized as kingly rule over his people: he "will be a ruler

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[21] P. Hanson concurs: "[The prophet] is commissioned to shepherd Yahweh's flock; this shepherding is the actual responsibility of the nation's leaders . . . [as 'shepherd'] came in post-exilic times to designate the civil leaders of the people" (*The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, rev. ed [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 342).

[22] The coming figure's greatness is also expressed by a contrast of associated terms: Judah's exilic king is called a שפט ("judge" [4:14b]), while the future shepherd is called a מושל ("ruler"), a term with a much closer semantic range to מלך ("king"). When used in this Qal active participle form (only in the historical writings), מושל refers exclusively to God (2 Sam 23:3; 1 Chr 29:12; 2 Chr 20:6) or to David's successors (2 Chr 7:18; 9:26).

[23] The Davidic ancestry of this future ruler is emphasized in the final clause of v. 1c: "and his origins are from of old, from days of antiquity" (ומוצאתיו מקדם מימי עולם). מוצאת reinforces יצא (v. 1bα): יצא does not refer to the Davidic ruler's earthly affairs but his ancestral descent, underscored by the double reference to ancientness in v. 1c. The grammatical construction of ימי + עולם appears six times in the HB. The phrase is used with a sense of exaltation with reference to the earlier, joyful days of Israel's history, e.g., the Exodus or the Conquest. This sense is conveyed once by Amos with respect to the Davidic monarchy which God promises to restore (Amos 9:11). Hence, here in v. 1 the phrase would likely connote the glorious days of the Davidic era, which will be renewed, according to Micah, with the advent of this future ruler.

[24] Here again, Davidic ancestry is underscored: of Israel's kings, only David spoke of YHWH as being "my God."

(מושל) over Israel" (v. 1bβ).[25] In addition to the military and nationalistic connotations (similar to 2 Sam 5:2), there are eschatological overtones with this Davidic ruler: he will deliver the Israelites from the Assyrian invaders who storm their land by leading his own army of shepherds against them in battle (cf. 5:4b-5).[26] The sheep are Jews living in the land of Israel: those who survived in the land during the exile, as well as those Jews who returned to the land after it was over—this latter segment of the flock is specifically identified as "the rest of his brothers, those returning to the sons of Israel" (v. 2b). As will be shown in the discussion of Matthew, these features of a Davidide closely aligned with God and appointed as king over the entire nation of Israel resemble Matthew's appropriation of this text.

In the second passage Matthew deploys, Ezekiel 34,[27] the prophet declares YHWH's promise to the exiles:

> So I will save my flock and they will no longer be plundered, and I will judge between sheep and sheep. And I will place over them one shepherd and he will shepherd them—my servant David—he will shepherd them, and he will be their shepherd. And I, the Lord, will be their God, and my servant David will be prince in their midst. I the Lord have spoken (Ezek 34:22-24).

Here, the coming shepherd is a king from the Davidic line: twice he is referred to as "David" in Ezekiel 34 (and twice more in the closely related passage, Ezek 37:24-25); he

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[25] In ruling Israel he will "stand and shepherd" them in the strength and majesty of YHWH (v. 3a). "Standing" often conveys the idea of someone serving in a particular position by divine appointment, e.g., Num 27:19-22 (Joshua), Isa 11:10 (the root of Jesse), Jer 23:18, 22 (prophets of YHWH), and Zech 3:1 (Joshua the high priest).

[26] If "Assyria" typologically represents the totality of forces that have oppressed Israel (not just Assyria), then this verse would have an eschatological sense to it: Israel's ultimate victory over its foes lies in the indeterminate future; cf. T. McComiskey, *Micah*, EBC, vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 429-30.

[27] As section 5.2.2 below will demonstrate, Matthew alludes to Ezekiel 34 in the eighth and ninth chapters of his Gospel, as well as in Matt 25:32.

ascends to the throne by divine appointment;[28] and his shepherding activity consists of

reigning over the people of God as their ruler—in contrast to Israel's failed shepherds,

who are responsible for bringing about the exile.[29] The nationalistic perspective of the

passages is clear: if the establishing of "one shepherd" over the people (v. 23a) is

understood in light of the related oracle of the joining of the sticks in 37:15-28,[30] then the

people of God would be comprised of the reunified northern and southern kingdoms.[31]

When the fuller picture of the "shepherd" in Ezekiel 34 is taken into account,[32] it will be

observed in chapter five below that Matthew substantially patterns his motif after Ezekiel.

The third passage that likens a future ruler of Israel to a shepherd which Matthew

cites is Zech 13:7: "'O sword, awake against my shepherd and against the person next to

me,' declares the Lord of Hosts. 'Strike the shepherd and the flock will be scattered and I

will turn my hand against the little ones'" (cf. Matt 26:31). The shepherd comes from the

line of David: that the Davidic line is specifically in view is suggested by 13:1, which

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[28] Israel's election by YHWH related to the establishment of David's throne; W. Zimmerli writes, "The election of David is for the faith of Judaean Israel indissolubly linked with the belief in the election of Israel" (*Ezekiel*, 2 vols., trans. R. Clements, Hermeneia, eds. F. M. Cross and K. Baltzer [Philadelphia: Fortress, Press, 1979], 2:218). David is identified in the oracle as "my servant" (cf. 37:24-25); "my servant" refers to David 17 times in the HB (three times more often than the second most frequent referent for this expression, Moses) and underscores David's special role in the history of Israel as a divinely sanctioned agent to bring about the purposes and the glory of YHWH's rule.

[29] YHWH promises to appoint the Davidic shepherd to be "prince" or "king" over Israel (v. 24 and 37:24a, respectively). I. Duguid notes that Ezekiel prefers to use "prince" (i.e., נשיא rather than מלך) for Israelite kings, and he employs the term quite differently than the way it is typically used in the HB (*Ezekiel and the Leaders of Israel*, VTS, vol. 56 [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 12-33). Duguid explains this difference by suggesting (cf. L. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, WBC, vol. 29 [Waco: Word Books, 1990], 194) that, because of the abuses of power by past kings, "נשיא [conveys] a ruler with limited authority, genuinely representative of the people."

[30] 37:22 reads: "I will make them one nation in the land, on the mountains of Israel. There will be one king over all of them and they will never again be two nations or be divided into two kingdoms."

[31] According to the prophecy of 37:15-28, Israel and Judah will reunite under one (Davidic) monarch.

[32] That is to say, not simply the portion dealing with a future Davidic king, but the metaphor as it relates to YHWH and his shepherding activities.

singles out the "house of David." He also possesses a close relationship with YHWH, which is conveyed in two ways: YHWH refers to the shepherd as "my shepherd";[33] and the phrase "the person next to me" (גבר עמיתי), when coupled with its syntactical parallel, "my shepherd," would suggest a close relationship between YHWH and his shepherd.[34] The striking down of the shepherd should be understood as an act of divine judgment by YHWH (likely executed by the ruler's opponents).[35] Ultimately this act of judgment brings about the cleansing of the people.[36] The recipients of this purification through the striking down of the shepherd are those who dwell (or who survive) in the land of Israel after the exile, i.e., the "one-third" who are not struck down in judgment (v. 8).[37] The obvious concern for the people of the land reveals the nationalistic outlook of the text. Matthew's appropriation of this text will mirror Deutero-Zechariah's notion of a Davidide closely related to God, who is struck down by God to purify his people.

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[33] The only other instance in the HB where רעה bears the 1CS suffix י is in Isa 44:28, where it refers to King Cyrus, through whom YHWH rebuilds Jerusalem and the temple.

[34] גבר frequently appears as a synonym for איש or אדם in the HB (e.g., Exod 10:11, 12:37; Deut 22:5; Josh 7:14-18; Judg 5:30). Other than here, עמית ("associate") occurs exclusively in Leviticus (nine times) and refers either to a neighbour (Lev 5:21; 18:20; 19:11, 15, 17; 24:19) or to members of the same (but larger) community (Lev 25:14, 15, 17).

[35] When YHWH is the subject of "turn a hand against" (either שוב יד על or נטה יד על), it is always in the context of judgment: e.g., in the case of נטה יד על, it is judgment against Israel or Judah (Isa 5:25a; Jer 6:12; Ezek 6:14; 14:13 [cf. 14:9, where the recipient is false prophets]; 16:27; Zeph 1:4; 2:13), or against other nations (Jer 51:25; Ezek 25:7; 13:16). In the case of שוב יד על, it is judgment against Israel (Isa 1:25), or against foreign nations (Ezek 38:12; Amos 1:8).

[36] So Zech 13:8c-9a: "But one-third will remain in it [= the land]. I will bring the one-third into the fire and I will refine them like the refining of silver, and I will test them like the testing of gold." P. Larmarche (Zecharie IX-XIV: Structure littéraire et messianisme [Paris: Gabalda, 1961], 107-108) asserts that the parallelism between 12:10-13:1 and 13:7-9 suggests that the striking of the Davidide with a sword in 13:7 should be viewed closely against the piercing of the figure in 12:10 that results in the cleansing of the inhabitants of the land; cf. S. Cook, "The Metamorphosis of a Shepherd: The Tradition History of Zechariah 11:17 + 13:7-9," CBQ 55 (1993), 462. Exactly how the death of this ruler accomplishes this cleansing is never answered in the oracle.

[37] The geographical focus of the oracle is the land of Israel. From the post-exilic perspective of Deutero-Zechariah there are two groups of people: the majority ("two-thirds") who perished at the hands of the Babylonians during the siege (v. 8a) and the remnant ("one-third") who were left in the land (v. 8b).

2.2.3 YHWH as a Shepherd

In addition to employing the metaphor for rulers, a number of texts included in the

HB liken YHWH to a shepherd,[38] whose care for his people embodies the ideal shepherd.

In four instances רעה is used as a title or in near titular fashion for YHWH.[39] In the

blessing Jacob offers his son Joseph, it occurs within a series of titles for God: "because

the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob, because of the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel,

because of the God of your fathers . . . and the Almighty" (Gen 49:24b-25a). Here רעה is

paralleled by the more common titles for YHWH, אל ("God") and שדי ("Almighty").

The author of Psalm 23 declares, "The Lord is my shepherd" (v. 1aα); consequently, the

psalmist testifies in the rest of the psalm how YHWH provides for, guides and protects

him.[40] In a psalm attributed to Asaph, the author writes, "O Shepherd of Israel, listen.

You who lead Joseph like a flock, who sits between the cherubim, shine forth. Before

Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh, awaken your might and come to our salvation"

(80:1-2). What was perhaps implicit in Psalm 23 is made explicit in Psalm 80: YHWH's

royal rule is often conjoined to his pastoral care of Israel.[41]

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[38] Cf. the use of שבט ("rod") for YHWH in Job 9:34; 21:9; Pss 23:4; 45:7; Isa 30:31; Lam 3:1; Ezek 20:37; Mic 7:14.

[39] Vancil, Wallis et al. note how this particular usage is extensively paralleled in ANE literature, e.g., Vancil, "Sheep, Shepherd," 1188; Wallis, "רעה,"548-49, and J. Jeremias, "Ποιμήν," *TDNT*, vol. 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1968), 486-87.

[40] The psalmist also uses a staff to symbolize the comfort that YHWH offers him (v. 4).

[41] Cf. Thomson, "Shepherd-Ruler," 407-408. Thus, for example, Micah 2 speaks of YHWH gathering his people in exile and bringing them back into his sheepfold, YHWH will go out before them, "their king will pass on before them, the Lord at their head" (2:13). Fikes also notes that when רעה applies to YHWH, the HB oscillates between personal testimony and royal depiction ("Ezekiel 34," 95).

The fourth text appears in the epilogue of Ecclesiastes. After a laudatory description of Qoheleth (12:9-10), the redactor of the epilogue of Ecclesiastes[42] writes, "The words of the wise are like goads, and like embedded nails are their collected sayings—given by one Shepherd" (12:11). Scholars have offered different views for the identity of "one Shepherd" (מרעה אחד).[43] While each of these views has its own set of difficulties, M. Fox argues that "one shepherd" merely extends the metaphor of goads and nails and simply refers to human shepherds in general.[44] Fox's interpretation, however, is problematic for several reasons.[45] Fox understands אחד as an indefinite article ("a"); however, very rarely does אחד function in this way.[46] Rather, the most common use for

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[42] Scholars agree that the epilogue (12:9-14) represents a later addition to the rest of the book. For a summary of the arguments, see G. Wilson, "'The Words of the Wise': The Intent and Significance of Qohelet 12:9-14," *JBL* 103/2 (1984), 175-78.

[43] Wilson lists some of the alternatives: God, Solomon, Hezekiah, and the president of a wisdom-collecting school. Since Ecclesiastes seems implicitly to claim Solomonic authority, he could legitimately be identified as the "one shepherd" since Solomon, during the Second Temple era, becomes something of a patron for the wisdom tradition. But while Solomon may represent the patron of wisdom and the wisdom tradition, ultimately, even he (according to the biblical record) received his wisdom from God (1 Kings 3; 4:29-34; passim). Moreover, if Wilson is correct that the redactor of the epilogue seeks to make explicit the Deuteronomic connection between wisdom and the Law, then, again, God would be the ultimate source of true wisdom: the Law. De Robert insists that the identity of the "one Shepherd" is Qoheleth (*Berger*, 94; cf. Bracewell, "Shepherd Imagery," 54), but this position is untenable, cf. n. 51 below. F. Zimmermann asserts that the title refers to Moses because he was the "shepherd par excellence" and because of the parallels between Moses and Hammurabi, who also refers to himself as a "shepherd" since Zimmermann (*The Inner World of Qohelet* [New York: KTAV Publishing, 1973], 162-63) argues for a Babylonian provenance for Ecclesiastes. David, however, is the "shepherd par excellence," since "shepherd" is associated far more often with him than with Moses. Furthermore, Zimmermann does not prove his case for a Babylonian provenance, thereby weakening his suggested parallel with Hammurabi. E. Broadhead, for his part, considers "one shepherd" to be some unidentifiable leader (*Naming Jesus: Titular Christology in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSS, vol. 175 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 92).

[44] M. Fox, *The JPS Bible Commentary: Ecclesiastes* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 84; cf. T. Krüger, *Qoheleth: A Commentary*, trans. O. Dean, Hermeneia, ed. K. Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 211, who follows Fox's interpretation.

[45] Moreover, even if "shepherd" in 12:11 merely continues the goads and nails metaphor, the question still remains: what is being compared to a shepherd? Are the actual words of the wise being likened to a shepherd or is the source of these words (i.e., God or someone else) like a shepherd?

[46] Of the five hundred-plus occurrences of אחד in the HB, BDB lists only five instances (which Fox cites for support) where it functions as an indefinite article: 1 Sam 6:7; 24:15; 26:20; 1 Kgs 19:4-5.

אֶחָד is "one." Further, while Fox translates נתן here as "set" (its secondary meaning—its primary meaning being "give"), נתן only takes this secondary meaning when followed by certain prepositions: על ,לפני ,ל ,בין ,ב ,אל or—which is not the case here.[47] Also, although in theory nails can be associated with shepherds,[48] it is unlikely that 12:11c continues the goads/nails metaphor since "nails" never appears elsewhere in connection with either explicit or implicit shepherding imagery in the HB.

What ultimately drives Fox to his position is what he perceives to be a conceptual difficulty, i.e., the usual connotations elicited by the God-as-shepherd metaphor do not seem to apply here.[49] Fox, however, assumes this, i.e., that there is no change or shift in the God-as-shepherd metaphor. Before the exile the metaphor seems to be static and not used in this kind of way; but this is not the case post-exile. The metaphor unambiguously becomes extended in the writings of the New Testament. This extension has even earlier Second-Temple roots like Deutero-Zechariah and Ecclesiastes, where a new way of thinking about the shepherd metaphor seems to be emerging. The reasons for believing that "one Shepherd" refers to YHWH are threefold.

And even of these, in 1 Kgs 19:4-5, אחד should actually not be understood as "a" but rather as "a certain" in v. 4 and consequently as "the" in v. 5.

[47] Cf. BDB, 680-81. Even in Fox's supporting text of Deut 15:17, where נתן takes its secondary meaning, it is followed by the preposition ב.

[48] Krüger, who accepts Fox's position, gives the example of a shepherd building a shelter or a fence.

[49] He comments: "The difficulty with the traditional understanding of 'by one Shepherd' is that the metaphor of shepherd for God refers to his role [of] protecting and providing for people—a role that is not relevant here. A shepherd does not 'give' words or commands. Nor, unlike law and prophecy, are the words of the wise ever considered to be given by God" (*Ecclesiastes*, 84).

Most commentators agree that the most obvious or natural referent for "shepherd" here is God, given the metaphor's usage in the HB.[50] Additionally, the only other references to "one shepherd" in the HB are found in Ezek 34:23 (רעה אחד) and Ezek 37:24 (רועה אחד), which refer to a future Davidic monarch, whose shepherding of the nation is explicitly co-extensive with YHWH's. Lastly, the text draws a distinction between the "upright and faithful words" of Qoheleth the "wise one" (הכם [sg.]) in vv. 9-10 and the words of "the wise ones" (חכמים [pl.]) in v. 11a, i.e., wise sayings that do not originate with Qoheleth.[51] This would seem to suggest that each of these subjects received their particular teaching from the same source, viz., "one shepherd." The easiest way to explain how diverse but authoritative wisdom teachings can come from the pens of different scribes would be if the author believed that God was the ultimate author of wisdom.[52] While it is possible that the words of the wise are being likened to a

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[50] E.g., G. Barton, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), 198; Zimmermann, *Inner World*, 163; R. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, WBC, vol. 23a (Dallas: Word Books, 1992), 125; E. Christianson, *A Time to Tell: Narrative Strategies in Ecclesiastes*, JSOTSS, vol. 280 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 105-106, and even Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 84; for a list of scholars, see Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 211 n. 14. Despite God being the most natural referent for "shepherd" in the verse, numerous scholars (like Fox) still seek a different referent.

[51] While Wilson assents that the identity of the "one Shepherd" remains problematic, he cogently concludes from his literary analysis of the epilogue that "(1) the epilogist refers here to a select collection of carefully arranged wisdom sayings; and (2) that collection is *not* coextensive with Qohelet" ("Intent," 177, his emphasis). Similarly Sheppard notes, "If בעלי אספות is taken to signify 'overseers of the collections,' then the antecedent to 'these' must be those same collections or 'the words of the wise,' that is, a reference to a set of existent collections or books inclusive of, but larger than, Qoheleth" ("The Epilogue to Qoheleth as Theological Commentary," *CBQ* 39 [1977], 188).

[52] This would be especially true if, as numerous scholars assert, the redactor(s) of the epilogue represented a competing wisdom tradition and sought to correct Qoheleth's teaching; cf. Zimmermann, *Qohelet*; Sheppard, "Epilogue"; Wilson, "Intent"; Krüger, *Qoheleth*, et al. This view of God being the ultimate source of wisdom would stand behind b. Hag. 3b, which explains the sometimes contradictory views that rabbis held of Torah, by appealing to Eccl 12:11c.

shepherd,[53] it seems more likely, based on grammatical, theological and contextual grounds, that their source of origin, viz., YHWH, is the focus of the comparison.[54]

This usage in Eccl 12:11, then, would represent a unique deployment of the shepherd metaphor. Earlier HB texts describe the activity of YHWH as a Shepherd using very pastoral imagery: in terms especially appropriate for describing the duties of literal shepherds (i.e., the shepherding vocation). Thus YHWH is portrayed as providing for the material needs of the flock, delivering them from enemies, resettling his people in their land, providing watchful leadership, and the like. In Ecclesiastes 12, however, the pasture that YHWH offers his flock is wisdom.[55] Further, within the immediate context of the epilogue, the flock (i.e., the receiver of YHWH's wisdom) should probably be identified as Qoheleth and other sages, who would, in turn, transmit these teachings to the people. This type of extended and non-pastoral use of the metaphor will be observed more frequently in the writings of Second Temple Jews and Christ-believers, including Matthew.[56]

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[53] I.e., the use of goads and nail-embedded prodding sticks by shepherds is similar to the words of the wise (Christianson offers this as a possible interpretive option [*Strategies*, 107-108]). According to this comparison, the effect of each is similar: both bring about painful correction.

[54] Grammatically, the use of אחד points in this direction (cf. the discussion above): if "words of the wise" is the focus of the comparison, then the presence of אחד (as an indefinite marker) would be superfluous, even confusing. Theologically, YHWH is the Shepherd for his followers in the HB. Contextually, the warning of 12:12 seems to make better sense if God is in view: to reject the words of the wise is to reject their ultimate source, God, who is to be feared (v. 13) because he will judge everyone accordingly (v. 14).

[55] Huntzinger claims that "there is no progressive or spiritual development of the [shepherd] image in the Old Testament literature" ("End of Exile, 82), but he does not investigate its use in Ecclesiastes.

[56] Bracewell observes a similar kind of development in Greek literature, noting that Epictetus uses the sheep-shepherd metaphor to depict Greek philosophers (in *Enchir.* 46). Here, however, the focus is on the "sheep": philosophers are likened to sheep, while the "shepherd," although mentioned, is more or less incidental in the passage.

In most of the texts in which YHWH is likened to a shepherd, the focus of the comparison is his activity as it relates to his people. Thus, in the blessing Jacob bestows on Joseph's sons, רעה is used to describe implicitly God's role in Jacob's life: "May the God before whom my fathers walked . . . the God who shepherds me all my life to this day, the angel who has delivers me from all harm . . ." (Gen 48:15b-16a).[57] The passage characterizes God's saving of Jacob from his brother Esau's vengeful wrath and the guile of his father-in-law Laban, and his leading him back to the land promised to Abraham as the activity of a shepherd. In the prophetic texts, YHWH's shepherding activity refers to his rescuing, gathering and protecting his people. Hence, Jeremiah declares:

> Behold, I am bringing them from the land of the north and I gather them from the ends of the earth . . . "he who scatters Israel will gather them and will watch over his flock like a shepherd. For the Lord will ransom Jacob and redeem them from the hand of those stronger than they" (Jer 31:8a, 10b-11; cf. Ps 28:9; Isa 40:11; Mic 7:14).[58]

The prophet promises that YHWH will rescue the captives from their Babylonian bondage, gather them together and watch over them once again as their shepherd.[59]

Two texts that Matthew appropriates fall within the "YHWH as a Shepherd" classification. One is Ezekiel 34, which is the most detailed text depicting YHWH as a shepherd. The prophet declares:

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[57] In v. 15, אלהים ("God"), מלאך ("angel") and גאל ("deliverer") appear in parallel with רעה (the Qal participle form of the verb רעה also serves as the substantive, "shepherd"), as each term has the definite article ה.

[58] Cf. the employment of verbs with pastoral connotations to evoke the image of YHWH as shepherd, without using רעה: e.g., נחה ("lead," "guide") in Exod 13:17-21; Deut 32:12; Neh 9:12; נהל ("lead," "guide") in Exod 15:13; 2 Chr 32:22; Isa 49:10; אסף ("gather") in Isa 49:5; Mic 2:12; 4:6; יצא ("go out") in Isa 37:32; Ezek 20:38; and בוא ("lead out") in Jer 30:3; Zech 10:10.

[59] This motif of Israel's restoration is often couched in the language of a new exodus (e.g., Isaiah 40). According to Chae, the Davidic shepherd traditions present a consistent pattern of Israel's restoration: Davidic expectation–shepherd imagery–end of exile (*Davidic Shepherd*, 93).

> For thus says the Sovereign Lord, "Behold, I myself will seek after my flock and look after them. As a shepherd looks after his flock on the day he is in the midst of his flock which is scattered, so I will look after my sheep and rescue them from all the places where they were scattered, there on a day of clouds and darkness. . . . "I myself will shepherd my sheep and I myself will cause them to lie down." declares the Sovereign Lord. "Those that are perishing I will seek after, those that stray I will bring back, those that are injured I will bind up and those that are weak I will strengthen. But the fat and the strong I will destroy; I will shepherd the flock with justice" (vv. 11-12a, 15-16).

Of special interest here is the nature of YHWH's shepherding activity and the objects of his shepherding. According to Ezekiel 34, YHWH's activity as shepherd consists of three elements. First, against the backdrop of Israel's failed leadership,[60] in assuming the reins as Israel's Shepherd, YHWH will do what the evil shepherds should have done but did not do, by attending to the lost, the strays, the injured and the weak: his shepherding activity closely echoes—but in the positive—the charge in v. 4 brought against the condemned shepherds: "You have not strengthened the weak or healed the sick or bound up the injured. You have not brought back the strays or searched for the lost."[61] Second, he will save his people from the consequences of bad shepherding: "I will rescue them from all the places where they were scattered, there on a day of clouds and darkness. And I will bring them out from the nations and gather them from the lands, and I will bring them into their own land" (vv. 12b-13a).

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[60] The first section of Ezekiel's oracle (vv. 2-6) represents an indictment of Israel's shepherds. These shepherds are denounced because they care only for themselves to the complete neglect of the flock. Duguid convincingly argues that the condemned shepherds, strictly speaking, should be taken as referring to the previous kings (Jehoiakim and Zedekiah) rather than the entire ruling class (*Ezekiel*, 39-40).

[61] The reverse order of the recipients, "the sick"/"the injured"/"the straying"/"the lost" in v. 4, compared with "the lost"/"the straying"/"the injured"/"the sick" in v. 16, would serve both to heighten the contrast between the evil shepherds and YHWH (i.e., they are the opposite) as well as the reversal of fortune that YHWH shall effect: he shall do what they did not.

Finally, YHWH promises to judge "the fat and the strong" (v. 16bα). Duguid

identifies these judged herd leaders, i.e., "the fat and the strong" (v. 16bα)/"the rams and

the goats" (v. 17bβ), as the ruling class,[62] since the "strong" (חזק) have already been

given a negative connotation in v. 4,[63] and because the strong sheep have already been

judged in connection with the indictment of the shepherds.[64] The judgment upon the

shepherds is comprised, negatively, of removing the evil shepherds from the flock, on the

one hand,[65] and positively, of providing a just and true Davidic shepherd to lead the flock,

on the other. As will be seen later, Matthew will apply these attributes of YHWH as

Israel's Shepherd to Jesus: Jesus is the true Davidic Shepherd who replaces Israel's evil

shepherds. The objects of YHWH's shepherding according to the oracle are the entire

nation of Israel, i.e., the reunified northern and southern kingdoms.

In addition to Ezekiel 34, the other text Matthew cites within the "YHWH as a

shepherd" category is Zech 11:13a: "And the Lord said to me, 'Throw [the 30 pieces of

silver] to the potter, the majestic price [for being their shepherd] at which I was priced by

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[62] Cf. Duguid, *Ezekiel*, 121-22.

[63] I.e., the evil shepherds have ruled the sheep with "harshness (חזק) and with brutality."

[64] Additionally, in light of the close parallel concerns (of seeking, healing, and the like) between vv. 4 and 16, the herd leaders should be identified with the shepherds; cf. Porter, *Monsters*, 70-72.

[65] Contra Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2:208 and D. Block (*The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997], 287-88), who amend שמד ("destroy") to שמר ("watch over"). שמד is used three times in Ezekiel. Twice it refers to destruction through military action (e.g., the Ammonites are "destroyed" by an army from the east [Ezek 25:7], as are Egyptians by the Babylonians [32:12]). A closer parallel to 34:16, however, would appear in an oracle against idolaters, where the disobedient prophet who utters false prophecy will be "destroyed" from among Israel (14:9). In the particular context of 13:1-14:11, שמד is best understood as a form of banishment: in the oracle against false prophets in 13:1-16, Ezekiel declares, "My hand will be against the prophets who see false visions and utter lying divinations. They will not belong to the council of my people or be listed in the records of the house of Israel, nor will they enter the land of Israel." The judgment for the false prophet is twofold: they are officially banned from any recognized form of leadership as well as from membership in the nation of Israel, and they are prohibited from participating in Israel's salvation, specifically, from entering the Promised Land. Thus, the judgment to destroy (שמד) the prophet "from the midst of my people Israel" in 14:9 would be an echo of the earlier sentence of banishment in 13:9.

them.'"[66] Here, the leaders of the flock of Israel reject YHWH as their shepherd.[67] While

C. and E. Meyers consider this shepherd oracle to be a retrospective commentary on the

Babylonian exile (i.e., its causes and consequences),[68] in view of Deutero-Zechariah's

obvious appropriation and reversal of Ezekiel 34 and 37,[69] it would seem better to

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[66] In the narrative oracle of 11:4-17, the prophet had been divinely commissioned to shepherd the people only to be relieved of his duties by the flock (vv. 4-12). While the prophet receives a severance pay of 30 pieces of silver (v. 12), according to the wording of v. 13a, "the majestic price at which I [i.e., YHWH] was priced" (אדר היקר אשר יקרתי), it was actually YHWH whose shepherding had been appraised. Thus, when the prophet is sent to shepherd the people he serves as a stand-in for YHWH, their true Shepherd (cf. Mark Boda, "Reading Between the Lines: Zechariah 11.4-16 in its Literary Contexts" in M. Boda and M. Floyd [eds.], *Bringing out the Treasure: Inner Biblical Allusion in Zechariah 9-14*, JSOTSS, vol. 370 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003], 281; also A. van der Woude, "Die Hirtenallegorie von Sacharja XI," *JNSL* 12 [1984], 144). The conceptual parallels between Zech 11:16 and Ezek 34:4, 16 (where the prophet accuses Israel's shepherds of shirking their duties and YHWH promises to do what they failed to do, respectively) would also support this position:

Zech 11:16	Ezek 34:4	Ezek 34:16
הנכחדות לא־יפקד	את־הנחלות לא חזקתם	את־האבדת אבקש
הנער לא יבקש	ואת־החולה לא־רפאתם	ואת־הנדחת אשיב
והנשברת לא ירפא	ולנשברת לא חבשתם	ולנשברת אחבש
הנצבה לא יכלכל	ואת־הנדחת לא השבתם	ואת־החולה אחזק
	ואת־האבדת לא בקשתם	

Those who perish he will not visit / The weak you did not strengthen / Those who perish I will seek after

The young he will not seek / The sick you did not heal / Those who strayed I will bring back

The injured he will not heal / The injured you did not bind up / The injured I will bind up

The healthy he will not feed / Those who strayed you did not bring back and those who perish you did not search for / The weak I will strengthen

Differences in grammar and vocabulary aside, virtually all scholars recognize that Deutero-Zechariah has been influenced here by Ezekiel 34 (for a list of some of these scholars, see Boda, "Reading," 284). The foolish shepherd will not do for the people what their true Shepherd YHWH had done for them in the past. Some scholars (e.g., Hanson) try to identify the shepherd of this oracle with the one struck down in 13:7, but van der Woude's arguments to the contrary ("Hirtenallegorie," 142-43), particularly in light of the probable parallel between 12:10-13:2 and 13:7-9, seem to carry more weight.

[67] This rejection of YHWH as Israel's shepherd is somewhat similar to Hos 4:16: "The Israelites are stubborn, like a stubborn heifer. How then can the Lord pasture (רעה) them like lambs in a meadow?" The stubbornness of the people causes them to act more like cows than sheep, consequently making it difficult for YHWH to shepherd them.

[68] C. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14*, AB, vol. 25C (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 281. Of the possibility of a prophetic sign pointing to a past event, however, van der Woude rightly insists, "dass eine Zeichenhandlung nicht Erlebtes, sondern Bevorstehendes zum Ausdruck bringt" ("Hirtenallegorie," 144).

[69] Cf. the analyses of Boda, "Reading," 284-88 and Hanson, *Dawn*, 343-53.

understand this prophecy as referring to the post-exilic circumstances of the redactor.[70] Because the nation rejects YHWH, he revokes his covenant with them. While both the flock at large and the leaders are addressed in the oracle, the burden of the guilt over the breaking of the covenant falls at the feet of the latter group: they are singled out for abusing the flock (resulting in the exile [vv. 4-6]), for acknowledging yet ignoring the veracity of the prophet's word to them (vv. 10-11), and for pricing and paying off the prophet, and relieving him of his shepherding duties (vv. 12-13).[71] As will be demonstrated in chapter five below, Matthew will transpose this theme of YHWH's rejection as Israel's Shepherd to Jesus, whose rejection by the Jewish leaders climaxes in his passion.

2.3 Changes in the Use of the Shepherd Metaphor over Time

2.3.1 Introduction

The shepherd metaphor normally refers to rulers or to YHWH in biblical texts predating Israel's post-exilic era.[72] While scholarly opinion regarding the specific dates

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[70] Hanson, for example, suggests that the redactor, who belonged to the prophetic tradition, uses this oracle to condemn the hierocratic, temple establishment for its Persian sponsorship, corruption and its "uneschatological" orientation (*Dawn*, 280-86).

[71] Hanson comments on the sign in v. 13: "The message is shocking but seems unmistakable: by this act the shepherd identifies the ultimate source of the corruption and the exploitation which are destroying the community: the temple and its leaders are to blame!" (*Dawn*, 347).

[72] The "Copenhagen School" has strenuously argued against dating any biblical text before the Persian (i.e., post-exilic) period. One of its leading proponents, P. Davies, claims that there are in actuality three Israel's: the literary (biblical) one, the historical one, and "ancient Israel," which he insists "scholars have constructed out of an amalgamation of the two others" (Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel*," JSOT, vol. 148 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992]). Davies contends that story should not be used to extract history because of their too-loose interrelationship (i.e., between story and history) and that the usual dates scholars proffer are arrived at in a hopelessly circular fashion. Further, he charges that historical-critical scholarship suffers from a religious (confessional) bias that leads scholars to make broad and romanticized generalizations and unwarranted jumps in logic. While a number of Davies's points are well taken, his general thesis misses the mark. For a cogent refutation of the Copenhagen School, see G. Athas,

of the individual passages examined in section 2.2 above vary considerably,[73] it seems

reasonably certain that the *terminus ad quem* for the final form of all these texts (with the

exceptions of Ecclesiastes, Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah), is no later than the exilic

period.[74] As also observed in the preceding section, the metaphor becomes extended in

Deutero-Zechariah and Ecclesiastes, where in the former text it refers to a future ruler

who (unlike other texts which speak of a future Jewish ruler) is condemned (rather than

approved) by God, and in the latter text to YHWH offering wisdom to the sages—an

activity not easily attributed to the shepherding vocation (i.e., it represents a non-pastoral

depiction of YHWH as Israel's Shepherd). Since these two peculiar usages of "shepherd"

are picked up and developed by Second Temple writers, this section shall attempt to date

these two texts to establish a general boundary marker for the development in the

metaphor.

"'Minimalism': The Copenhagen School of Thought in Biblical Studies," 3rd ed. (ed. trans. of Lecture, University of Sydney, 1999).

[73] Critical scholarship (like, for example, Peckham, *History and Prophecy*) argues for a tenth–seventh century BCE date range for Gen 48:15 and 49:24 (although these dates are not without dispute).

[74] Based on a typological sequencing of the passages cited above, Peckham, for example, places the final redaction of these texts in the exilic era (*History and Prophecy*, 2-28). Most commentators would agree that, while some of these texts possess earlier material, the *terminus ad quem* for the final form of the individual books would be the exilic period: e.g., J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004); B. Bandstra, *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing, 1995); J. Soggin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, trans. J. Bowden (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989); S. Bigger (ed.), *Creating the Old Testament: The Emergence of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); R. Rendtorff, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986); N. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985); W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline*, trans. D. Green (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1978). Some scholars insist on a post-exilic date for some of these passages (e.g., Micah 5; Ezekiel 34) but even if this is the case, the premise of this section still stands: changes in the metaphor take place during the post-exilic period and not before. It is not that these new applications (observed, for example, in Ecclesiastes 12) replace the old ones—they do not. They are merely added to them.

2.3.2 Dating Deutero-Zechariah

While earlier scholarship suggested a *terminus a quo* for Deutero-Zechariah of the eighth or seventh century BCE,[75] the upper range has commonly been shifted to the late sixth century BCE.[76] On the other side of the spectrum, some scholars insist that Deutero-Zechariah belongs to the Hellenistic period,[77] even the Maccabean era.[78] Despite these varied dates, the best date range would seem to be late sixth century to the late fifth century BCE.[79] Zechariah 13:7 speaks of a future Jewish monarch upon whom YHWH executes the unfavourable judgment of being struck down. Four other texts deploy רעה for a future Jewish ruler (or rulers): Jer 3:15; 23:3-4; Ezekiel 34 and Mic 5:1-3. In each

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[75] For the names of some of the scholars advocating this early date, see P. Redditt, "Nehemiah's First Mission and the Date of Zechariah 9-14," *CBQ* 56 (1994), 665 and A. Hill, "Dating Second Zechariah: A Linguistic Reexamination," *HAR* 6 (1982), 106.

[76] Critical scholarship universally acknowledges that the canonical book of Zechariah consists of two (or three: e.g., G. Wallis, "Pastor Bonus: Eine Betrachtung zu den Hirtenstücken des Deutero- und Tritosacharja-Buches," *Kairos* 12 ([1970]: 220-24) books: Proto- (or First) Zechariah and Deutero- (or Second) Zechariah. Since the more historically-oriented Zech 1-8 records specific dates to which its prophecies are bound (cf. Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1), thus dating Proto-Zechariah to around 520 BCE, then Deutero-Zechariah must be later than this date. How much later, of course, remains the subject of debate.

[77] For a list of scholars advocating this late date, see Redditt, "Nehemiah," 665, n. 5. In M. Delcor's exegesis of Zech 9:1-8, for example, the literary parallels between "the word" in Deutero-Zechariah and "the word" in Proverbs (esp. Proverbs 8), as well as parallels with Psalm 29, incline him to date Zechariah 9 to a period just after Alexander's death (since "l'auteur est encore tout proche d'un passé qu'il connaît bien"): i.e., c. 312 BCE ("Les Allusions à Alexandre le Grand dans Zach IX 1-8," *VT* 1/2 [1951]: 110-24). For cogent arguments to the contrary, however, see Redditt, "Nehemiah," 666-68.

[78] E.g., M. Treves, "Conjectures Concerning the Date and Authorship of Zechariah IX-XIV," *VT* 13/2 (1963): 196-207. For a list of other like-minded scholars, see Treves, "Conjectures," 200, n. 3. Treves's argumentation, however, is far too weak at numerous points, failing to take into account portions of earlier biblical texts which contain the particular elements that Treves believes characterizes Deutero-Zechariah as Hellenistic. As well, in trying to find support for his date relative to other biblical documents, he mistakenly dates these supporting texts later than can be proven: e.g., his date for Ecclesiastes is 165-140 BCE, a date that cannot stand up because of 4QQoh[a] (cf. n. 80 below).

[79] Hill ("Dating") uses linguistic analysis to establish a range of 515-475 BCE. Meyers and Meyers believe that the fallout of the Greco-Persian wars of the 450s and stark disillusionment with the resettlement of Jerusalem and Yehud account for the imagery in Deutero-Zechariah and suggest a date range of 515-445 BCE (*Zech 9-14*, 15-29). By employing the relevant data that the book of Nehemiah offers, Redditt argues that "the four collections inherited by the redactor [of Deutero-Zechariah] were composed between the years of 515 and 445, and that they represented the thinking of a number of people during the first half of the sixth century" ("Nehemiah," 676). According to Redditt, the final redaction of Deutero-Zechariah would be close to the time of Nehemiah, i.e., the end of the fifth century. Typological considerations (viz., combat myth patterns) lead Hanson to a date range of 520-425 BCE (*Dawn*).

of these texts, the coming ruler is portrayed positively. Only in Zech 13:7 is a future Jewish monarch judged negatively. The results of this unfavourable judgment, however, are both negative and positive for the flock: negatively, the sheep scatter and most perish (13:7b-8a); positively, a remnant is purified and restored as the people of God (v. 9). While a detailed discussion of the reasons prompting this shift in perspective concerning a future Jewish monarch is beyond the purview of this study, this change in attitude observed in Deutero-Zechariah could have resulted from a strong disillusionment with the post-exilic Yehudite leadership. In any case, Deutero-Zechariah's negative-judgment-with-positive-results prophecy will prove to serve Matthew (and Mark) well to explain the death of Jesus.

2.3.3 Dating the Epilogue of Ecclesiastes

The second unique shift in the shepherd metaphor in the HB occurs in the epilogue of Ecclesiastes. There is a "nearly universal placement of Qoheleth in the fourth to third centuries BC."[80] C. Seow, however, offers strong reasons for pushing the date back to the fifth-fourth centuries BCE.[81] While Seow's arguments do not prove his

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[80] So M. Fox, *Qohelet and His Contradictions* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1989), 151. Scholars arrive at a third-century BCE *terminus ad quem* based on the older of two manuscripts of Ecclesiastes, 4QQoh^a, found at Qumran, which dates approximately to 175-150 BCE (see E. Ulrich, "Qoheleth," *DJD*, vol. 16 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000], 221). The original text would thus be even older. As well, scholars recognize the likelihood that the late second-century BCE book of Ben Sira presupposes Ecclesiastes (cf. Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 19, Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, xiv, et al.). The apparent traces of Hellenistic thought in the book incline scholars to set the *terminus a quo* to fourth century BCE. For a brief summary of linguistic evidence pointing scholars to a post-fourth-century date, see S. Burkes, *Death in Qoheleth and Egyptian Biographies of the Late Period*, SBLDS, vol. 170 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 36, n. 4.

[81] Seow, "Linguistic Evidence and the Dating of Qohelet," *JBL* 115/4 (1996): 643-66; cf. J. Kugel, "Qohelet and Money," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 32-49, who pushes the *terminus ad quem* to the mid-fourth century BCE.

narrow date-range, they do demonstrate the likelihood of a fifth-century *terminus a quo*. Thus Ecclesiastes probably originates some time in the fifth to third centuries BCE.[82]

The redactor of the epilogue records that the pasture that God the Shepherd offers his flock is wisdom. Previously, the shepherding acts of God consisted more of (pastoral) matters akin to literal shepherding: rescuing the afflicted, gathering the lost, providing for their material needs, and watching over the flock to protect them from danger.[83] In Ecclesiastes, however, the activity of Israel's Shepherd extends beyond the realm of ruling to that of teaching, specifically, the dissemination of wisdom. Strictly speaking, the flock is narrowed to a single class of people, viz., wisdom teachers, who would be responsible for imparting wisdom and knowledge to the rest of the nation. A comprehensive discussion of the various factors that influenced the use of the shepherd metaphor by the redactor of Ecclesiastes lies beyond this study. It may simply be a matter of the redactor taking up (as Matthew does, cf. Matt 4:3-4) the thought behind Deut 8:3: "He humbled you by letting you hunger, then by feeding you with manna . . . in order to make you understand that one does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the LORD" (NRSV); for the redactor, the words that proceed from the mouth of God would be wisdom teachings. On the other hand, during a period marked by a steep decline in prophetic activity, Eccl 12:11 may represent an implicit claim to authority for the office of the sage: they are the prophets' successors.

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[82] Burkes posits a similar date range (*Death*, 36-42).

[83] As Fikes remarks, "The shepherd-king metaphor appears more frequently and prominently in the exilic prophets . . . They saw [God] as a faithful shepherd: leading, guiding, and caring for his flock" ("Ezekiel 34," 2).

The types of changes in the use of the shepherd metaphor observed in Deutero-Zechariah and Ecclesiastes will pave the way for non-Christ-believing Jewish and Christ-believing authors to deploy the metaphor in like manner, i.e., in a vein dissimilar from the more typical pastoral usage observed in the HB, as Wallis comments, "Diesen geistlichen Hirtenbegriff, den die Stücke aus den letzten Kapiteln des Sacharja-Buches entfalten, hat die frühe Christenheit als Amtsbegriff weiter ausgebaut."[84]

2.4 Summary and Conclusions

A thematic survey of "shepherd" in the HB reveals that רעה as a metaphor most frequently stands for earthly rulers. Prior to the monarchy, Israel's leaders (e.g., Moses and Joshua) are likened to shepherds; so are Israel's kings of the remote and recent past, as well as those yet to come. The term also applies to Gentile monarchs, military leaders and to members of Israel's leadership, including prophets and civic leaders. These observations are summed up by the following table:

Figure 4. Rulers as Shepherds

Pre-Monarchical Jewish Leaders	Jewish Monarchs	Jewish Leaders	Future Jewish Rulers	Gentile Monarchs	Military Commanders
Num 27:17	2 Sam 5:2	Jer 17:16	Jer 3:15	Jer 22:22	Jer 6:2-3
2 Sam 7:7	1 Kgs	Isa	Jer 23:3-4	Jer 25:34-	Jer 12:10
1 Chr 17:6	22:17/2 Chr	56:10-11	Mic 5:3	36	Mic 5:4-5
Isa 63:11	18:16	Zech	Ezek 34	Jer 43:12	Nah 3:18
	Ps 78:71-72	10:2-3	Zech 13:7	Jer 49:19	
	Jer 2:8	Zech		Jer 50:44	
	Jer 10:21	11:5		Isa 44:28	
	Jer 23:1-2			Zech	
	Jer 50:6			11:15-17	
	Ezek 34				

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[84] Wallis, "Pastor Bonus," 233.

A nationalistic outlook is an obvious element for the texts dealing with Jewish leaders. In a few instances (e.g., Jer 23:3-6; Ezekiel 34; Mic 5:3-5; Zech 13:7), the nationalistic element is combined with an eschatological one. This nationalistic perspective will be regularly taken up by Second Temple Jewish authors who appropriate the shepherd metaphor.

In addition to earthly rulers, YHWH is commonly depicted as a shepherd. His shepherding is frequently linked to his royal rule. Moreover, for the biblical authors YHWH embodies the ideal shepherd: he gathers his lost flock, leads them to abundant pasture and carefully watches over them to protect them from danger. A nationalistic outlook also undergirds a number of "YHWH as a Shepherd" passages (e.g, Ps 80:1-2; Ezekiel 34). Figure 5 below summarizes these findings:

Figure 5. YHWH as a Shepherd

YHWH as Deliverer	YHWH as General Caregiver	YHWH as a Provider of Wisdom
Gen 48:15	Ps 23:1	Eccl 12:11
Gen 49:24	Jer 31:10	
Ps 28:9	Ezek 34	
Ps 80:1	Hos 4:16	
Isa 40:11	Mic 7:14	
	Zech 11:13	

Of importance is the type of imagery that the biblical authors typically employ to depict the shepherding acts of YHWH: the language of "leading," "guiding," "gathering," "protecting," "pasturing" his flock, and the like, represents very pastoral or earthy imagery that would be commonly used to describe the duties of literal shepherds. This pastoral description of shepherding or the lack thereof will prove to be a significant

characteristic of Second Temple Jewish and Christ-believing authors who take up the metaphor later.

While YHWH's shepherding activity prior to and including the exile is described in very pastoral terms, during the post-exilic era, the metaphor becomes extended to include the giving of wisdom to the nation's wisdom teachers, responsible for disseminating their wisdom and knowledge to the rest of the nation. Additionally, during the post-exilic period, a future Davidic ruler is depicted uniquely as falling under YHWH's condemnation (but with positive results). These changes are epitomized by Figure 6 below:

Figure 6. Changes in the Shepherd Metaphor over Time

Referent	Pre-exilic–Exilic Era	Post-exilic Era
YHWH	Provides for the physical and material needs of the nation	Offers wisdom to the sages (Eccl 12:11)
Future Rulers	Viewed positively, bringing prosperity to the nation	Falls under YHWH's negative judgment (Zech 13:7)

As previously mentioned, these new uses of the shepherd metaphor do not replace its more typical usages—they merely add to them. As the next chapter will demonstrate, these extensions of the metaphor will continue in the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers.[85]

Also of note in this thematic study is the common contextual pattern for רעה. When referring to earthly rulers, in approximately two-thirds of its occurrences, judgment is implicit to the literary context in which רעה is used: someone is either being judged, is

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[85] For a more focused discussion of the extending of the metaphor, see W. Baxter, "From Ruler to Teacher: The Extending of the Shepherd Metaphor in Early Jewish and Christian Writings" (Unpublished Paper presented at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, November 2006).

about to be judged or is executing a sentence of judgment on another. In fact, in most of these instances the shepherds or leaders are the objects of judgment.[86] By comparison, when "sheep" (צאן), for example, is used metaphorically, judgment is involved only about one-third of the time.[87] This would seem to suggest that when the biblical authors invoke the shepherd metaphor with רעה, an implicit negative critique of the ruling establishment may be involved. Since judgment is an important theme for Matthew,[88] one that intersects with his shepherd motif (most explicitly in 25:32; cf. section 5.2.3 below), this observation will play a valuable role in evaluating Matthew's stance towards the nation of Israel with respect to the question of whether he believes God has rejected the Jewish nation.

Additionally, some common traits seem to emerge from the particular HB texts that Matthew appropriates to develop his shepherd motif. First, each of these texts can be used to produce a messianic interpretation and as such, some common messianic contours

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[86] Cf. 1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chr 18:16; Jer 2:8; 22:22; 23:1-4; 25:34-36; 49:19; 50:44; Ezekiel 34; Zech 10:2-3; 11:5-8; 13:7; Nah 3:18. Jeremiah 3:15 describes the coming of future kings, against the backdrop of the nation's failed leadership (most specifically, 2:8, 26-28, passim). Only twice is the nation Israel judged within the wider literary context (in Isa 56:11; Jer 10:21). At other times, the shepherd serves (in the broader context) as an agent for divine judgment: Isa 44:28; Jer 6:3; 12:10; 17:16; 43:12; Mic 5:3-5; Zech 11:9. While not involving judgment per se, Num 27:17 describes a dangerous situation for the nation in the wake of Moses' impending departure, viz., to be without a shepherd. Similarly, Jer 50:6 describes the appalling situation of the shepherds having caused their sheep to stray and roam aimlessly. The lack of a tone of judgment in the remaining "shepherd" texts can be explained by their retrospective orientations: 2 Sam 5:1-4/1 Chr 11:1-3 describes David's coronation over a kingdom that had been divided through war; 2 Sam 7:5-7/1 Chr 17:4-6 describes God's dealing with his people prior to the construction of the temple; Psalm 78 is an historical psalm whose reteiling of history climaxes with the reign of David; Isa 63:11-14 represents a brief retrospective of how God delivered his people from Egypt through agency of Moses.

[87] "צאן is used metaphorically by itself (i.e., without רעה) 22 times in the HB: 2 Sam 24:17; Job 21:11; Pss 44:12, 23; 74:1; 77:21; 78:52; 79:13; 95:7; 100:3; 107:41; 114:4, 6; Isa 53:6; Jer 12:3; 13:20; Ezek 34:31; 36:37, 38; Mic 2:12; 5:7; Zech 9:16. Of these only six involve judgment: 2 Sam 24:17; Pss 44:12, 23; 74:1; Jer 12:3; Mic 5:7.

[88] Cf. the studies of D. Marguerat, *Le Jugement dans l'évangile de Matthieu* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981) and A. Runesson, *The Gospel of Matthew and the Myth of Christian Origins: Re-thinking the so-called Parting(s) of the Ways between Judaism and Christianity* (forthcoming).

can be observed: all of these texts (if the two passages from Deutero-Zechariah are taken together) deployed by Matthew feature a figure embodying Davidic ancestry; this Davidide possesses a unique relationship with YHWH, whereby YHWH works coextensively through the agency of this figure to gather together his dispersed people to rule over them. Second, the people who are gathered together in the Land and over whom this Davidic figure rules make up the reunified kingdom of Israel. Third, within the literary context of each of these passages Matthew appropriates is the idea of failed leadership: the Davidide comes to replace Israel's leaders who have failed to execute their duties faithfully as shepherds of God's flock and who, consequently, have brought the people of God into disastrous circumstances from which they need rescuing. The notion of YHWH raising up a Davidic shepherd to replace Israel's unfaithful leadership and to tend his people, bears significant implications for Matthew: whom does Jesus replace as a shepherd and in what capacity? These questions shall be addressed in Part Two of the study.

These basic characteristics of the shepherd metaphor observed in the HB would have been standard fare for subsequent non-Christ-believing Jewish and Christ-believing commentators who appropriated the metaphor in their own religious writings to communicate something of import to their respective audiences; and indeed, as the next chapter shall show, their use of the metaphor—particularly, the former group—often mirrors the patterns observed in the HB. Points of departure from these patterns, however, will be significant, and variations will offer comparisons with Matthew, in determining whether the patterns of thought of the Evangelist concerning the shepherd

metaphor more closely resembles those of non-Christ-believing Jews or those of other Christ-believers. The focus of this study shall now turn to the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews, non-Christ-believing Romans, and Christ-believers, and their employment of the shepherd metaphor.

CHAPTER 3

THE TEXTS OF NON-CHRIST-BELIEVING JEWS, ROMANS AND CHRIST-BELIEVERS

3.1 Introduction

The importance of exploring the shepherd metaphor in the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews, Romans, and Christ-believers in preparation for a study of the motif in the Gospel of Matthew, and its implications for Matthew's socio-religious orientation cannot be overstated. Since non-Christ-believing Jews adopted, like Matthew, the shepherd metaphor from HB texts, analyzing their appropriations can shed light on the Evangelist's deployment of the metaphor in his Gospel. Matthew will at times use the metaphor in ways consonant with non-Christ-believing Jewish and Christ-believing authors; at other times, his appropriation of the metaphor will differ considerably. By examining the use of the shepherd metaphor by these authors and discerning the patterns of thought relative to each group, it will be possible to determine where Matthew's patterns of thought fit among these authors. Hence, attention will be paid particularly to questions concerning the social setting of the Jewish texts as a means of setting in greater relief the socio-religious orientation of the author and/or the group addressed, and showing the kinds of Second Temple Jewish groups that used the metaphor.[1]

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[1] When discussing the social setting of the different early Jewish texts, caution must be exercised. It is not assumed that every text (e.g., *1 Enoch*) was the product of a tightly organized and highly co-ordinated community; rather, a text most likely reflects the ideology of various groups of people. Nickelsburg (as do others) has questioned the methodological assumption that a text or idea necessarily implies a specific group. Nickelsburg believes it is more accurate, in some instances, to assume that the text reflects something like a "proliferation of individuals and groups, some of whom had some connection with one another, [including] a mentality that things were not right in Israel and, specifically to some degree, in the temple. This mentality led in some cases to the formation of groups" ("Response: Context,

This chapter will begin by presenting a thematic survey of the metaphorical use of "shepherd"[2] in the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews. Next, the use of "shepherd" in Roman writings will be analyzed, followed by an examination of the texts of Christ-believers contemporaneous with the Gospel of Matthew.[3] As in the previous chapter, the focus will be on metaphorical deployments of "shepherd" rather than "sheep,"[4] and the exegesis of texts will concentrate on the shepherd metaphor, without being especially concerned with other elements within a passage, unless they possess particular bearing for understanding the metaphor. Apart from Roman texts (cf. section 3.3 below), literal usages of "shepherd" will be ignored, except when they offer additional insight into its metaphorical deployment.

Text, and Social Setting of the Apocalypse of Weeks" in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 241).

[2] In early Jewish texts with a Hebrew *Vorlage*, "shepherd" would (as in the HB) translate רעה, while ποιμήν and ποιμαίνω would likely underlie "shepherd" in texts with a Greek *Vorlage*; cf. the discussion in section 1.4.4 above.

[3] Hence, the Christian additions of *4 Ezra* (which features the saying, "Await your shepherd; he will give you everlasting rest, because he who will come at the end of the age is close at hand" [2:34]) will not be assessed because of its late date: T. Bergren argues for a date range of mid-second century CE to mid-third century CE (*Fifth Ezra: The Text, Origin and Early History*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series, vol. 25, eds. C. Cox and W. Adler [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 24-26); cf. also B. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *OTP*, 1:520.

[4] Similar to the analysis of the metaphor in the HB, the examination of Second Temple Jewish texts will focus on the use of "shepherd" since shepherd imagery without the use of "shepherd" neither adds appreciably to nor changes the basic pattern observed for the usage of the metaphor; cf. the discussion of this point in section 1.4.4 above. Consequently, the writings of Christ-believers from the period subsequent to Matthew are excluded from this study because, on the one hand, the shepherding imagery of these documents revolves around the use of "flock" rather than "shepherd" (e.g., *1 Clem.* 16:1; 54:2; 57:2); and on the other hand, when "shepherd" is appropriated (e.g., Ign. *Phld.* 2:1) it merely (and without substantial insight) reflects the use of the term for assembly leaders already found in the NT, which is discussed in section 3.4.3 below.

3.2 The Use of the Shepherd Metaphor in the Writings of Non-Christ-Believing Jews

3.2.1 Introduction

To ascertain Matthew's socio-religious orientation, his shepherd motif must be compared with the employment of the shepherd metaphor by Second Temple Jewish authors in order to compare their respective patterns of thought concerning the metaphor. This section will examine the shepherd metaphor as it is appropriated in the texts of non-Christ-believing Jews: Festival Prayers, 4QWords of the Luminaries, the Damascus Document, *1 Enoch*, Ben Sira, Judith, *Psalms of Solomon*, Pseudo-Philo, *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, as well as certain works of Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. This analysis will seek to identify patterns of thought which characterize the use of the metaphor by Second Temple Jewish authors. These patterns of thought will then provide a useful point of comparison for Matthew's shepherd motif in Part Two of the study.

3.2.2 Rulers as Shepherds

As in the HB, non-Christ-believing Jews like Josephus use "shepherd" as a metaphor most frequently for rulers. Born in 37/38 CE, Josephus came from an upper-class, priestly, Jerusalem family, but he was granted Roman citizenship by Emperor Vespasian and lived the second half of his life in Rome.[5] That Palestinian-born Josephus

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[5] While some scholars believe that Josephus (i.e., by the time of *AJ*) became a Pharisee (e.g., E. Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 456), S. Schwartz (*Josephus and Judaean Politics*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, vol. 18 [New York: Brill, 1990]) offers a more nuanced position. He notes that in *AJ* Josephus does not explicitly identify the new Jewish leadership, whose support he strongly advocates, with any pre-66 CE group such as Pharisees or high priests. Although the group with which Josephus identifies sought accurate legal observance of the Mosaic Law, and this is a feature characteristic of the Pharisees (cf. *BJ* 1:110; 2:162; *AJ* 17:41; 18:12; *Vita* 191; 198; Matt 23:1-36; Acts 22:3; 26:5; Phil 3:5-6), this must be balanced with the fact that Josephus's

became a "Diaspora Jew by adoption"[6] is evidenced (at least in part) by his extensive use

of the Hellenistic style of writing he learned in Rome.[7] Of significance for properly

understanding Josephus's use of "shepherd" in *AJ* 17:278 (discussed in section 3.2.5

below) is the purpose of *AJ* and its intended audience. This text emphasizes the crucial

importance of correctly observing the Mosaic Law for the Jewish nation. Because of its

centrality for Jews, Josephus claims that the Law possesses fundamental relevance for the

Gentile nations who govern them: Gentile rulers will be punished by God if they do not

permit the Jews to follow their laws, and they will also incite widespread Jewish revolt

against their government. *AJ*, then, seems primarily to have been written for Greek and

Roman authorities, with the aim of securing their continued support for the Jews and their

leaders.[8]

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attitude towards Pharisees range only from neutral to poor. Thus, it would seem more likely that "Josephus moved close to Pharisaism without actually adhering to it, or promoting adherence among others. The leadership he promotes likewise must have been close to Pharisaism, but refrained from actual adherence to the party" (Schwartz, *Josephus*, 200; cf. S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Compositional-Critical Study* [Leiden: Brill, 1991]). Support for this "close-to-but-not-quite-Pharisaism" position would also come from Josephus's view on dream interpretation: Josephus considers himself gifted in this area; but of the Jewish groups he mentions, only the Essenes (a group he consistently praises) are adept at interpreting dreams, not any of the others—including the Pharisees.

[6] So Barclay, *Jews*, 346. For further discussion of his social context, see Barclay, *Jews*, 346-68. M. Goodman ("Josephus as a Roman Citizen" in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, eds. F. Parente and J. Sievers, Studia Post-Biblica, gen. ed. D. Katz, vol. 41 [Leiden: Brill, 1994]: 329-38) demonstrates that, although Josephus fully enjoyed the benefits of Roman citizenry and high-level Roman connections, and although—particularly in the wake of the Revolt—he would have been tempted to play down his Jewish identity (or even reject it [like Philo's infamous nephew, Tiberius Julius Alexandra]), his apologetic works show that his primary loyalty was to the Jewish nation.

[7] E.g., his use of characterization through speeches, emotion and pathos, eroticism, Hellenistic vocabulary in ethics and philosophy; cf. Barclay, *Jews*, 357-58. Additionally, Josephus adopts a "classical pattern" of an historical account comprised primarily of political and military history, which demonstrates a high level of Roman influence; see Schwartz, *Josephus*, 47-57, for a list of Greek and Graeco-Oriental influences.

[8] Josephus's style in *AJ* (see n. 7 above) may suggest an attempt by Josephus to write in a stylistically pleasing manner for Gentiles. By contrast, the audience for *BJ*—which does not mention "shepherd" in the parallel for *AJ* 17:278—would most likely be primarily Jewish: on the one hand, *BJ* was originally in Aramaic and only later translated into Greek; thus, it would have originally been intended for

In one of the two instances that Josephus employs "shepherd" metaphorically,[9] he

uses it with reference to King Ahab: in recalling the history of Israel's monarchy

Josephus implicitly cites Micaiah's prophecy against King Ahab that Israel would be "just

like sheep without a shepherd" [*AJ* 8:404]).[10] The use of "shepherd" in the text Josephus

cites presupposes a nationalistic perspective: if Ahab goes to war he will die in battle;

thus without its king, "all Israel" will be scattered on the mountains—rather than remain

as a nation under its monarchy. Because Josephus simply recounts Israel's history using

the story of Kings, this perspective is also reflected in his account. In the second

metaphorical use of "shepherd," he employs the term for David: in recounting God's

plague against Israel described in 2 Samuel 24, he cites the LXX version of 2 Sam 24:17,

where King David explicitly refers to himself as Israel's "shepherd" (*AJ* 7:328).[11]

Philo of Alexandria, whose social setting most closely resembles Josephus's (of

all the texts examined in this section), employs the metaphor much more frequently than

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Jewish readers (and only later would the audience have expanded to non-Jews—hence, the translation into Greek). On the other hand, it is more supportive of the priestly traditions (unlike *AJ*), and it seeks to absolve the Romans from culpability in regards to the destruction of Jerusalem (thereby implicitly promoting the acceptance of Rome by Jews); these factors would support a primarily Jewish audience for *BJ* (cf. Barclay, *Jews*, 351-56).

[9] Josephus employs ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω literally over 40 times in his writings. Usually he uses the term for the vocation (e.g., he refers to Abel as a shepherd [*AJ* 1:53], as well as Jacob [*AJ* 1:309], Joseph's brothers [*AJ* 2:186-88], Moses [*AJ* 2:265], David [*AJ* 6:163] and Israel's ancient ancestors [*Ap.* 1:82-103; 1:230-66]), or more generally (cf. *AJ* 1:169, 219, 260-61, 285-87, 258-64; 6:185, 297).

[10] Cf. 1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chr 18:16.

[11] The LXX version of 2 Sam 24:17 differs from the MT in that David's plea begins, "Behold, I am the one who has sinned; and I am the shepherd (ὁ ποιμήν), I have done wrong." And these are sheep" (v. 17bα). The MT, however, reads, "Behold, I have sinned and I have done wrong, and these are sheep" (v. 17bα), thus omitting "the shepherd" (הרעה). P. K. McCarter surmises that a scribal error on the part of the Massoretes has led to the omission of הרעה, noting that 4QSamᵃ has הרעה (P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel*, AB, vol. 9 [Garden City: Doubleday, 1984], 507); cf. E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, ed. F. M. Cross, vol. 19 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 86-87.

Josephus. As a Hellenistic Jewish commentator of the Jewish scriptures,[12] Philo (born c. 30-20 BCE) draws freely from Platonic, Stoic and Pythagorean philosophy[13] to extol the Jewish religion and important Jewish figures (like Moses and the Patriarchs),[14] and to demonstrate the significance and relevance of the Jewish scriptures.[15] Since some of Philo's treatises attest to criticisms of Jews by non-Jews,[16] some of what he writes must be considered an apologetic for Judaism,[17] extensively addressing questions of polytheistic worship, participation in non-Jewish traditions, associations and activities, and matters of table fellowship, thereby suggesting that these were serious issues for Jews in his community.[18] Sandmel suggests that Philo's expositions of the Law targeted Jews on the verge of apostasy.[19] It would seem, then, that Philo's audience would have been Diaspora—specifically, Alexandrian—Jews but with perhaps some interested Gentiles.

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[12] For a helpful discussion of the views of Philo's profile (exegete, philosopher, etc.), see P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*, NTS, vol. 86 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1-13.

[13] Of his very obvious incorporation of Greek philosophy, J. Barclay writes, "[His] integration of Judaism into Hellenistic culture was exceptionally profound, but [he] ultimately turned that synthesis to the advantage and defence of the Jewish community" (*Jews*, 180). For further discussion of Philo's social context, see Barclay, *Jews*, 158-63.

[14] Thus (as S. Sandmel notes), Philo did not write treatises on Pythagoras, Plato or Aristotle, he wrote on Abraham, Joseph and Moses. In other words, for Philo, Hellenism ultimately served Judaism.

[15] While Sandmel considers most similarities between Philo's exegetical method and the early rabbis overdrawn, he nevertheless acknowledges some measure of overlap, owing to a communication between Alexandria and Palestine (*Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979], 132-34).

[16] Cf. *Legatio ad Gaium*, *De specialibus legibus*, and *De virtutibus*.

[17] Sometimes he does this explicitly (e.g., *Hypothetica*), sometimes implicitly; cf. R. Hecht, "The Exegetical Context of Philo's Interpretation of Circumcision" in *Nourished with Peace*, eds. F. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert and B. Mack (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 52-79. Seibel ("Shepherd & Sheep," 100) believes that Philo's dual presentation of Joseph—as the lowest of statesmen in *Legatio ad Gaium* and as the ideal ruler in *De Iosepho*—suggests a dual audience: one Jewish (the former depiction) and one Gentile (the latter). It is doubtful, however, that Philo had so large a following with Gentiles as to merit extensive treatises devoted strictly to so-called "friendly Gentiles" (cf. E. Goodenough, "Philo's Exposition of the Law and his *De Vita Mosis*," *HTR* 26 [1933]: 109-25).

[18] Cf. Borgen, *Philo*, 158-75.

[19] Sandmel writes: "If in Alexandria [Jews were] nearly on the verge of leaving the Jewish community, as did Philo's nephew, *The Exposition* [*of the Law*] might well have been addressed to them

Philo applies the term to kings, three times referring to monarchs as "shepherds of people" (*Mos.* 41, 61; *Prob.* 31; cf. *Agric.* 50).[20] He also uses the term for Israel's pre-monarchical rulers, implicitly for Moses (whom Philo regards as a king)[21] and explicitly for his successor Joshua in *Virt.* 58: Philo states that Moses asked God to "find a man to set over the multitude to guard and protect it, a shepherd who shall lead it blamelessly that the nation may not decay like a flock scattered about without one to guide it."[22] Philo depicts the activity of a shepherd-ruler with fairly pronounced (pastoral) imagery suitable for describing the activities of the shepherding vocation: he guards, protects, leads and guides the flock.[23]

Like Philo, the author of *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, viz., Pseudo-Philo, also employs the metaphor for Moses. Virtually all scholars agree that *L.A.B.* dates between 30 and 100 CE, with a date in or around 70 CE probably advocated by most.[24] A

... there would conceivably be very little difference in actuality in the tone of a writing whether it was aimed at friendly Gentiles or at uninformed Jews on the threshold of apostasy" (*Philo*, 47; cf. Barclay, *Jews*, 174-80).

[20] Philo writes that for kings to be called "shepherds of people" is a surpassing honour because shepherding animals serves as an effective "training ground and preliminary exercise in kingship"—something most clearly observed in the life of Moses (*Mos.*, 60-62; cf. *Ios.*, 2, where Philo asserts that "success in shepherding will produce the best king"). The application of the phrase, "shepherds of people," to kings comes from earlier Greek authors: e.g., Homer uses the expression for Agamemnon (*Il.* 2:253). For a detailed exposition of shepherd and sheep imagery in the works of Philo, see Seibel, "Shepherd & Sheep," 48-161.

[21] Insofar as Moses is a "shepherd" he represents a king, saviour, legislator, teacher of virtue (who produces virtue in his flock), revealer of divine truth and agent of Logos (cf. Seibel's detailed discussion of Moses as a shepherd in Philo in "Shepherd & Sheep," 62-84).

[22] Philo here cites Num 27:16-17, equating shepherding Israel to guarding and protecting it to ensure that the flock would not become morally corrupt in their scattered state. Seibel suggests that this prayer represents an extended application of the verse by Philo: "This is no longer a prayer for the election of Joshua, however, but an intercession of the shepherd Moses on behalf of his flock that they may continue to be led by right reason" ("Shepherd & Sheep," 82).

[23] As noted in section 2.4 above, biblical authors typically employ pastoral imagery to depict the shepherding acts of YHWH, i.e., they use the language of "guiding," "gathering," "protecting," "pasturing" his flock, and the like—language particularly appropriate for describing the duties of literal shepherds.

[24] Cf. the discussion of S. Olyan, "The Israelites Debate Their Options at the Sea of Reeds: *LAB* 10:3, Its Parallels, and Pseudo-Philo's Ideology and Background," *JBL* 110/1 (1991), 87, especially n. 40.

Palestinian origin is suggested by the author's interest in stock Palestinian traditions,[25] his

concern for Palestinian geography,[26] the likelihood of a Hebrew *Vorlage*,[27] and the

numerous verbal parallels with the (probably) Palestinian texts of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.[28]

When applying the metaphor to Moses, Pseudo-Philo explicitly underlines Moses'

role as Israel's intercessor. He writes, "Who will give us another shepherd[29] like Moses

or such a judge for the sons of Israel to pray always for our sins and to be heard for our

iniquities?" (19:3b; cf. v. 9a).[30] Thus according to Pseudo-Philo, as Israel's shepherd,

Moses was responsible both to lead and to intercede with God on behalf of the nation.

King David is another referent for the metaphor in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[31] There

is nearly unanimous agreement that the general period of the Qumran community

extended from the second century BCE to the first century CE.[32] The consensus theory

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[25] E.g., the location of the cult, the rules for sacrifice, the Law and the covenant, eschatology, and angelology.

[26] Cf. D. Harrington, "Biblical Geography in Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*," *BASOR* 220 (1975): 67-71.

[27] Cf. H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1:215-24; D. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," *OTP*, 2:298-99.

[28] If Olyan ("Debate") is correct, then *L.A.B.* 10:3 would also suggest a Palestinian provenance; cf. the judgment of Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo*, 1:210-11.

[29] Although the text of Pseudo-Philo exists in Latin, if *L.A.B.* was originally composed in Hebrew, then רעה would stand behind the Latin term for "shepherd," *pastor*.

[30] The use of "judge" in v. 3, since it is paired with "shepherd," likely refers to the leadership position (e.g., the judges that appear in the story, beginning with the election of Kenaz in ch.25), rather than the act of executing judgment.

[31] In addition to the five instances that רעה appears metaphorically in the Scrolls, it also occurs in the highly fragmentary 4Q254 (*4QCommGen C*) vii 1-5, where it seems to appear in a direct quote from Gen 49:24-25—a text discussed in section 2.2.2 above. In 11Q5 (11QPsalmsª) רעה is used literally for David in Psalm 151A, referring to his humble beginnings as a shepherd of his father's flocks (in XXVIII, 4). The parallelism between l. 3b-4a, "he appointed me a shepherd for his flock and a ruler over his young goats" (ישימני רועה לצונו ומושל בגדיותיו), and l. 12a, "and he appointed me leader over his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant" (וישימני נגיד לעמו ומושל בבני בריתו), might suggest a subtle metaphorical sense to "shepherd" here: in which case, "shepherd" would refer here to David's ruling over Israel.

[32] Cf. J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 47-71; S. Talmon, "The 'Dead Sea Scrolls' or 'The Community of the Renewed Covenant?'" in *The Echoes of Many Texts: Reflections on Jewish and Christian Traditions*, eds. W. Dever

regarding the social origins and history of the Qumran community[33] identifies the

community in some manner with the Essenes.[34] The assumption for this study, however,

is that the Qumran community was a subgroup of Essenes.[35] The Essenes were probably

part of a larger, broad-based coalition of Palestinian Jewish religious conservatives, the

Hasidim.[36] If the Essenes, the parent group of the community, were part of a "rainbow"

coalition of religious conservatives, then this would account for some of the diverse

ideological traits reflected in the Scrolls.[37] Even if this Essene–Hasidim move is not

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and J. Wright (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 129, and L. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 38-57.

[33] The term "Qumran community" is used according to the common convention when speaking of the group commonly associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls C. Hempel's charge that the term is somewhat misleading because it does not align with the chronology of the site's occupation is well taken ("The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses" in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005]: 249-55).

[34] Scholars arrive at this position largely because of parallels between the practice and beliefs of the Dead Sea community depicted in the Scrolls and the description of the practice and beliefs of the Essenes in the writings of Philo, Pliny and Josephus; cf. G. Vermès and M. Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). This theory was first put forward by E. Sukenik after the initial discovery and purchase of four of the scrolls in 1947, and, in recent scholarship, has the support of (among others) Magness, *Archaeology*, 39-43; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998); C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction*, STDJ, vol. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 3-8, and VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 71-93.

[35] A straightforward 'Qumran equals Essenes' identification seems far too simplistic for reasons Talmon outlines in "Community of the Renewed," 128-29. Garcia Martínez and van der Woude likewise view the Qumran community as resulting from a "split" within the Essene movement ("A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 56 [1990], 537).

[36] García Martínez and van der Woude "exclude the identification of the parent group with the Hasidim on the basis of the condemnation of Alcimus" ("Groningen," 540). But they unnecessarily and inaccurately narrow the profile of the "Hasidim." According to Maccabean history, the Hasidim were a very broad coalition of conservative religious Jews: 1 Macc 2:42-44 introduces the Hasidim as joining forces with Mattathias, the leader of the Hasmonean revolt; yet later in the narrative, the Hasidim are said to support the high priesthood of Alcimus because of his Aaronic ancestry (1 Macc 7:12-14), although Judas, Mattathias's successor, squarely opposes him (7:23-24; cf. 2 Macc 14:6, where Judas is referred to as the leader of the Hasidim). Clearly from the perspectives of 1-2 Maccabees, the coalition of Hasidim were broad enough to include opposing religious perspectives. Although he pushes his argument too far, Talmon is probably correct that the Qumran community partially reflected an earlier, fairly mainstream, prophetic-apocalyptic, post-exilic Judaism (Talmon, "Community of the Renewed," 129-33). Similarly, García Martínez and van der Woude believe that the origin of the Essene movement can be traced back to "the Apocalyptic Tradition of the third century BC" ("Groningen," 537).

[37] At some points the ideology of the community seems Essene-like (e.g., determinism), at other points Sadducean (e.g., various halakhot) and at still others, Pharisaic/proto-rabbinic (e.g., the style of some

taken, Qumran scholars have come to recognize that some of the beliefs exhibited in the Scrolls represent a larger segment of Palestinian Second Temple Judaism and not simply those of a small, sectarian community.[38]

David appears to be the referent for the metaphor in 4QWords of the Luminaries (4Q504) and in Festival Prayers (1Q34; 4Q509).[39] Festival Prayers and 4QWords of the Luminaries are Qumranic texts employing the metaphor which seem to represent more mainstream Jewish thought. Although scholars continue to debate whether the liturgical prayers of 1Q34 and 4Q509 are Qumranic in origin or predate the community, the evidence seems to tilt toward the latter position.[40] In the case of 4Q504, the second century date of the copy, coupled with its general and not explicitly sectarian language and ideas suggest that the original composition likely predated the Qumran community and was part of the broader make-up of Second Temple Judaism.[41]

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of the biblical exegesis). García Martínez considers the parent group which spawned the Qumran community to be a "ménage à trois" of the (at times) contradictory forms of Zadokite, "Danielic" and Enochic Judaism ("Comparing the Groups Behind Dream Visions and Daniel: A Brief Note" in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 45-46).

[38] C. Newsom raises this issue in her article, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran" in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, eds. W. Propp, B. Halpern and D. Freeman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167-87. In seeking to determine how to find "sectually explicit" material in the Scrolls, the obvious assumption is that not all of the writings originated with the Qumran community.

[39] 1Q34 (= 4Q509 97-98 i) is typically referred to as 1Q34-1Q34[bis] because the document consists of five fragments: fragment one (1Q34), first published by J. T. Milik, "Recueil de priers liturgiques (1Q34)," *DJD*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), to which J. Trever added four more (1Q34[bis]): "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments From Qumran Cave I," *RevQ* 19 (1965): 323-36. For simplicity's sake, the full document will be referred to as 1Q34. The copy of this text has been dated to 50-25 BCE.

[40] Cf. Newsom, "Sectually Explicit," and D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ, vol. 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[41] Cf. Falk, *Daily*, 63. The connection between these two texts has been noted: Falk writes, "*Words of the Luminaries* and *Festival Prayers* exhibit a virtually identical structure and form distinct from other prayer collections in the Dead Sea Scrolls, suggesting that they are of the same provenance" (*Daily*, 63). E. Chazon exercises more caution, suggesting that they point to a common liturgical tradition ("A Liturgical Document from Qumran and its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' [4QDibHam]" [Ph.D. Dissertation, Hebrew University, 1991], 19).

4Q504, a collection of prayers for the days of the week,[42] the prayer in fragment 1-2 iv[43] begins with the petitioner reminding God of his sovereign election:[44] God chose Jerusalem as the place where his name would dwell forever (1-2 iv 2-4); and from out of the nation Israel, he favoured the tribe of Judah and established his covenant with David so that David would be "like a shepherd, a leader over your people, that he might sit on the throne of Israel before you" (1-2 iv 6-7).[45] This phrase (כרעי נגיד על עמכה [l. 7]), mentioned in close connection with YHWH establishing his covenant with David (l. 6), is almost certainly an allusion to 2 Sam 5:2b (חרעה . . . לנגיד על־ישׂראל). Thus,

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[42] According to palaeographical analysis, M. Baillet dates the oldest copy of 4Q504 to the middle of the second century BCE ("Paroles des Luminaires [Premier Exemplaire: DibHamᵃ]," *DJD*, vol. 7 [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982], 137).

[43] Fragment 1-2 iv 3-9 reads: "In Jerusa[lem the city which] you [cho]se from the whole earth for [your Name] to be there for ever. For you loved Israel more than all the peoples and you chose the tribe of Judah and your covenant you established for David to be like a shepherd, a leader over your people; and he will sit upon the throne of Israel before you for all days. And all nations saw your glory which you made holy in the midst of your people Israel."

[44] Chazon has shown that a coherent literary structure exists within the collection of prayers of 4Q504 and, more pertinent here for the purpose of exegesis, that each prayer was a self-contained unit ("Liturgical Document"). According to her, the weekday prayers are marked by the following structure: a superscription indicating the type of and occasion for the prayer, a call for God to remember his holiness or past dealings with Israel, and an historical summary of Israel's relationship with God. She also observes that these summaries form a progressive narrative (with the exception of the Sabbath), beginning with creation on Sunday and ending with the exile and post-exilic struggles on Friday, a petition, a benediction and a response of "Amen, Amen."

[45] There is some ambiguity in the beginning of this line. M. Baillet reads it as להיות כרעי נגיד ("to be like a shepherd, a leader [over your people] ("Paroles des Luminaires," 143, followed by K. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, SBLEJL, ed. W. Adler, vol. 7 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], 174, n. 14), et al. E. Qimron ("Improvements to the Editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Eretz-Israel* 26 [1999], 142-43 [in Hebrew]), however, reads the line as להיות מזרעו כנגיד ("to be from his seed, a leader [over your people]," in which case "shepherd" does not appear. If Qimron is correct, that would eliminate this text from consideration; its absence, however, would not affect the results of this survey since 4Q504 merely corroborates a pattern observed in other Second Temple Jewish texts.

"shepherd" refers to David's ruling as king over Israel. The eschatological-like language of the passage suggests that this specific petition expressed nationalistic concerns.[46]

Similarly, in 1Q34 part of a larger corpus of prayers offered at various Jewish festivals, the shepherd metaphor appears within the context of covenant renewal:[47] "[. . . you raised up][48] for [th]em a faithful shepherd [. . .] poor and [. . .]" (ii l. 8). Although the Qumran community may have identified "faithful shepherd" with the leader of their group, the original referent would likely be King David for two reasons. On the one hand, 1Q34 represents one of those Qumran texts that predated the community and thus would have been used as a festival prayer for a much larger segment of Second Temple Judaism.[49] Hence, the "faithful shepherd" whom God raised up would have been a figure widely recognized by Second Temple Jews as a faithful shepherd: David, with whom the shepherd metaphor is most frequently associated in the HB, would be one of the primary contenders. Additionally, when the metaphor is used in connection with covenant

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[46] The passage speaks of the shepherd as "[sitting] on the throne of Israel before [YHWH] for all days," of "all nations [having seen YHWH's] glory" and consequently, "to [YHWH's] great name they bring their offerings" to "glorify [his] people and Zion, [the] holy city and [YHWH's] house."

[47] Fragment 3 ii 5b-8 reads: "You chose for yourself a people in the time of your favour for you remembered your covenant. And you established them to be separated for yourself to be holy among all the peoples. And you renewed your covenant for them in the vision of glory and the words of your Holy [Spirit], by the works of your hand. And your right hand has written to make known to them the regulations of glory and the words of eternity. [. . . Your raised up] for [th]em a faithful shepherd [. . .] poor and . . ."

[48] While J. Charlesworth and D. Olson ("Prayers for Festivals" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers*, ed. J. Charlesworth, vol. 4a [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997]) do not attempt to supply a verb to match רועה, F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, vol. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 1998]) and Falk (*Daily*) seem correct in supplying "you raised up" because God's actions are being described in the immediate context: God "chose" a people . . . God "remembered" his covenant . . . God "established" his people . . . God "renewed" his covenant with them . . . his right hand "has written" glorious and eternal words. The idea that God "raised up" for them a shepherd, then, would fit nicely with these other divine actions.

[49] Cf. Falk, *Daily*, 156-57.

language and divine election (as it is here), David would seem to be in view.[50] Thus, "shepherd" here refers to David's ruling of Israel as its king.[51] The mention of divine election, the renewal of the covenant and the revelation of the Law also reveals the nationalistic concerns of this particular petition.

Quite a different use of the metaphor for rulers appears in the Dream Visions section of *1 Enoch*, one of the para-biblical manuscripts found at Qumran. While the earliest parts of the Enochic literature date to as early as 300 BCE,[52] most scholars date the Dream Visions (chaps. 83-90) to the second quarter of the second century BCE.[53] Scholars agree that, although *1 Enoch* shows traces of Hellenistic and Babylonian

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[50] Cf. 4Q504, where David is explicitly identified in the text; in 4Q509, however, covenant language is absent and the referent for the metaphor is YHWH not David (cf. the discussion of this latter text in section 3.2.3 below).

[51] Even if the referent for "shepherd" here is YHWH or Moses or the like, the overall point of the chapter (that "shepherd" refers to YHWH and to rulers) would not sustain any damage.

[52] J. Charlesworth comments, *"The Enochic literature began before 200 BCE and conceivably as early as the end of the fourth century BCE. Thus the terminus ante quem of the earliest books preserved in 1 Enoch is clearly 200 BCE and perhaps so early as 300 BCE"* ("A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books" in *Henoch: The Origins of Enochic Judaism, Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19-23, 2001,* ed. G. Boccaccini [Torino: Silvio Zamorani editore, 2002], 234, his emphasis).

[53] E.g., I. Fröhlich, "The Symbolic Language of the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch: 1 Enoch 85-90," *RevQ* 14 (1989-90), 629; R. Beckwith, "The Pre-History and Relationships of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes: A Tentative Reconstruction," *RevQ* 11 (1982-84): 1-46; J. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature" in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions,* ed. J. Scott, JSJSS, vol. 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 96. Tiller (*A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,* SBLEJL, vol. 4 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993], 61-79) initially establishes a date range of third century–second century BCE, based on a third century BCE date for *1 Enoch* 6-11 (The Book of the Watchers), which Dream Visions uses, and on the oldest fragment of Enoch (4QEn^f) at Qumran, whose dates range between 150-100 BCE (cf. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976], 41, and K. Beyer, *Die aramäische Texte vom Toten Meer* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 228). He then uses inner-linguistic analysis and comparisons with 2 Maccabees to narrow the date of composition for the original to approximately 160 BCE. G. Nickelsburg also posits a 165-163 BCE date for the final redaction but suggests that an earlier form may date to the end of the third century BCE (*1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of Enoch Chapters 1-36; 81-108,* Hermeneia, ed. K. Baltzer [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001], 8).

influences,[54] a community of Palestinian Jews stands behind the Enochic literature.[55]

Given its use by non-Christ-believing Jews,[56] as well as by Christ-believers,[57] *1 Enoch*

would seem to represent a very influential movement.[58] G. Boccaccini considers the

highly cosmic orientation of *1 Enoch* to be representative of what he calls "Enochic

Judaism."[59] While the term "Enochic Judaism" may assume too much, in view of the

influence of Enochic traditions on other early non-Christ-believing Jewish circles, this

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[54] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 62, for Hellenistic influences, and J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature" in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*, eds. R. Kraft and G. Nickelsburg (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 357, for Babylonian.

[55] The calendrical concerns of the document lead a number of scholars to conclude that *1 Enoch* originated in priestly circles: more precisely, the forebears of Enochism were anti-Zadokite priests that had been expelled from the Jerusalem temple (see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 67, and G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 77-78. Hanson (*Dawn*), however, claims that Enochic literature originated in non-priestly circles). For two recent discussions on the social origins of *1 Enoch*, see G. Boccaccini (ed.), *Enoch and Quman Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), and G. Boccaccini (ed.), *Henoch: The Origins of Enochic Judaism, Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19-23, 2001* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani editore, 2002); but cf. P. Tiller ("The Sociological Context of the Dream Visions of Daniel and 1 Enoch" in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 26), who asserts that no community *per se* stood behind *1 Enoch* but only "a class of professional sages and teachers".

[56] Besides manuscripts of *1 Enoch* appearing among the Dead Sea Scrolls, significant conceptual or literary parallels with *1 Enoch* appear in Daniel, *Jubilees*, Wisdom of Solomon and, if it existed, the "Book of Noah" (for a defence of the existence of this document and a core outline of its content, see W. Baxter, "Noachic Traditions and the 'Book of Noah'," *JSP* 15.3 [2006]: 179-94). The cosmic wisdom claimed by *1 Enoch* also seems to serve as a sparring partner for Ben Sira and possibly for *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 68-69).

[57] For a discussion of the influence of *1 Enoch* in the traditions of the Jesus movement and early Christianity, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 83-87. Of its uses by Christ-believers, it is explicitly cited by the author of Jude.

[58] While D. Jackson (*Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Exemplars*, Library of Second Temple Studies, eds. L. Grabbe and J. Charlesworth, vol. 49 [London: T & T Clark, 2004], 17) doubts Boccaccini's claim about the extensiveness of "Enochic Judaism," he also comments that it was not necessarily comprised of only a small group. In other words, while not "mainstream," it may have been a reform movement within (at least initially) the mainstream.

[59] Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene*. This cosmic orientation is expressed most prominently by theodicy (viz., that the origin and continuance of evil lies with the fallen angels [Watchers]), by a heavy-handed emphasis on divine revelation and the heavenly wisdom which proceeds from it, as well as a concomitant devaluation of the Mosaic Law and the Covenant. While Boccaccini overemphasizes the importance of the aetiology of evil and theodicy as a means of distinguishing between different strands of Judaism, his core premise of a large (influential) Jewish group with cosmic-oriented expression of Judaism seems cogent.

more cosmic-oriented expression of Judaism was probably fairly prevalent in Second Temple Judaism.

In the allegory of the history of Israel, the Gentile powers that previously ruled over Israel are depicted as angelic figures.[60] Although some scholars claim that these angelic beings are Gentiles rather than angels,[61] Nickelsburg makes a strong case for understanding these characters as angels not humans.[62] Despite being appointed by God, these angelic shepherds brutalize God's flock in ruling over them;[63] however, they are divinely condemned to the fiery abyss in the final judgment.[64]

Thus, when employing "shepherd" for rulers, non-Christ-believing Jewish writers like Philo, Pseudo-Philo, Josephus, and the authors of 4Q504, 1Q34 and the Dream Visions apply the metaphor for Israel's pre-monarchical rulers (like Moses), Israel's

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[60] In depicting Israel's suffering under foreign domination, for example, the author of Dream Visions writes: "[The Lord of the Sheep] summoned seventy shepherds and surrendered those sheep to them so that they might pasture them. He spoke to the shepherds and their colleagues, 'From now on, let each and every one of you graze the sheep; and do everything which I command you. I shall hand them over to you duly counted and tell you which among them are to be destroyed; and you shall destroy them!' So he handed over those sheep to them" (*1 Enoch* 89:59-61a). These beings are referred to as "shepherds" more than 20 times in the last two chapters of the Dream Visions.

[61] E.g., Fröhlich, "1 Enoch 85-90," 631; cf. P. Tite, who also understands the shepherds as Gentile rulers but simultaneously acknowledges, "the motif of angels standing over nations who war against one another should not be discounted (cf. Dan 10:10-14), and thus perhaps these seventy shepherds fit both [an] angelic and my political connection" ("Textual and Redactional Aspects of the Book of Dreams [1 Enoch 83-90]," *BTB* 31/3 [2001], 112). Similarly, VanderKam ("Exile," 97) describes a mediating position: these angelic beings represent the Gentile nations that dominate Israel.

[62] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 390-91. Perhaps his strongest point is that "all identifiable human beings in the historical survey [in the apocalypse] are symbolized as animals." This type of angelic patron for God's people also appears in Daniel 10-12 and *Jub.* 15:31-32; cf. the arguments of P. Tiller, *1 Enoch*, 51-54, and Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 103-104. Tiller writes, "The whole period from Jehoiakim to the final judgment is conceived of as a period in which Israel is ruled by angels, not God" (*1 Enoch*, 325). The passage speaks of Jewish leaders who formerly led Israel as "sheep": e.g., Moses (89:16-39), Joshua and the elders (89:37), the judges (89:41), Saul and David—who are sheep-turned-rams (89:43-45), Solomon (89:48), and the prophets (89:51-54).

[63] Although they victimize the flock in ruling over them, the redactor speaks of them three times as "pasturing" the flock (89:59, 72)—an otherwise pastoral description of their (angelic) shepherding activity.

[64] Siebel suggests that "the angelic shepherds play the same role of [the] bad shepherds" that are divinely judged in ancient oracles like Ezekiel 34 and Zechariah 13 ("Shepherd & Sheep," 40-41).

monarchy (most often David), and (in the case of *1 Enoch*) for the angelic beings that ruled Israel during its lengthy period of foreign oppression.

3.2.3 YHWH as a Shepherd

When likening YHWH to a shepherd, non-Christ-believing Jews most commonly portray God as merciful or compassionate. Thus, in the very fragmented text of 4QFestival Prayers (4Q509)[65] IV, 10 ii-11 1-7,[66] YHWH[67] is implicitly referred to as a shepherd: "you have shepherded" (l. 3).[68] The first two letters of the previous line, רח, probably represent the first part of רחם ("to have mercy/compassion"): hence, YHWH would be described here as a merciful shepherd to his people. Although it is hard to tell because of the lacuna, the appeal for YHWH to "remember the distress and weeping" within a sombre acknowledgement of a community without its healer and comforter (cf. n. 66 above), suggests a nationalistic concern on the part of the petitioner.

Mercy is explicitly associated with the image of YHWH as Israel's shepherd in Ben Sira. The usual date range for Ben Sira is 196 to 175 BCE.[69] While some have

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[65] 4QFestival Prayers would represent part of the same document as 1QFestival Prayers (discussed in section 3.2.2 above). These two manuscripts are different copies found in different caves.

[66] The larger portion of 4Q509 reads as follows: "And there is no one who heals [. . .] comforting those who stumbled in their transgressions [. . . Remem]ber the distress and weeping. You are the companion of prisoner[s . . .] . . . [. . .] you have shepherded and . . . in your . . . [. . .] and your angels [. . .] and your inheritance [. . .] Lord [. . .]" (III 12 i-13 4–IV 10 ii-11 7).

[67] YHWH is the obvious referent because the text also refers to "your [i.e., YHWH's] angels" (l. 5) and "your inheritance" (l. 6) as well as to אדוני ("Lord" [l. 7]).

[68] García Martínez and Tigchelaar (*Scrolls*, 1025) correctly translate the last line from the previous column (III, 12 i-13 6), [. . . תחרעה אסירי]ם, as "you are the companion of prisoner[s . . .]." Because רעה/shepherd never occurs in the Hithpael form, רעה here is the alternative word, which means "to associate with" (cf. BDB, 945).

[69] This date is based largely on what are perhaps the two most significant time markers for the book: the ode to Simon the Just that concludes Ben Sira's celebration of the heroes of Israel's past in Sira 50:1-21 (Simon, who served as high priest from 219-196 BCE, is spoken of and included in the hymn by Ben Sira as a figure of the past; hence a *terminus ad quem* of 196 BCE date seems probable); and the lack of any mention of the Hellenistic and anti-Jewish reforms of Antiochus IV: given Ben Sira's emphasis on

sought to locate Ben Sira within Sadduceeism (because of his priestly lineage and Hellenistic tendencies) or within Pharisaism (since he was a scribe and some of his theology aligns with what is known of Pharisees), these conflicting positions might suggest that Ben Sira represents a stream of Judaism wider than either one of these two sects.[70] Although his primary purpose for writing would be to encourage his fellow Jews against the pervasiveness of Hellenistic culture,[71] he does so, on the one hand, not by advocating a kind of cross-cultural abstinence, but rather, as one who embraced Hellenism insofar as it could be used to bolster Judaism.[72] He also seems to do so, on the other hand, by way of an implicit polemic against factions (like perhaps the group behind *1 Enoch*) who were opposed to the temple priesthood and who subordinated Torah to contemporary revelation, contrary to Ben Sira's convictions.[73]

After extolling God for his all-surpassing mercy, Ben Sira writes:

A person has mercy for his neighbour but the Lord has mercy upon all flesh, reproving and training and teaching and turning them around like a shepherd his flock; to those who receive his instruction he shows mercy, even to those who hasten to his judgments (Sir 18:13-14).

Torah as well as his commentary on the cult (e.g., Sira 7:29-31; 35:4-11 [Greek 32:6-13]; 45:16) it would seem that if Antiochus's anti-Jewish reforms had been in place at the time of Ben Sira, it would almost certainly have been mentioned in some fashion; hence a *terminus a quo* of 175 BCE date seems likely. For a brief summary of the dating issues, see R. Coggins, *Sirach*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, ed. M. Knibb (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 18-20.

[70] Coggins notes that both Sadducean and Pharisaic identifications are problematic (*Sirach*, 56-60).

[71] Whether he does this as a leader in a religious movement or simply as a professional scribe, remains a matter of debate; cf. Tiller, "Sociological Context," 17-22 and 23-26.

[72] Signs of Hellenistic influence in Ben Sira include his use of a "signature" (50:27) as well as his hymn to the fathers, which appears to be patterned after Hellenistic *encomia* (a eulogistic history in honour of a shrine or city). J. Sanders succinctly writes that "[Ben Sira] is entirely open to Hellenic thought *as long as it can be Judaized*. What he opposes is *the dismantling of Judaism*" (*Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom*, SBLMS, vol. 28 [Chico: Scholars Press, 1983], 53, his emphasis).

[73] Cf. B. Wright, "Putting the Puzzle Together: Some Suggestions Concerning the Social Location of the Wisdom of Ben Sira," *SBLSP* 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996): 133-49, and R. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment*, SBLEJL, vol. 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 250.

For Ben Sira, YHWH as a shepherd represents the embodiment of compassion,[74] extending his mercy to his entire creation, but especially to those who respond to his judgments. To his flock YHWH's mercy manifests itself as instruction so as to train them in the way they should live. This mention of YHWH teaching the flock resembles Eccl 12:11, where the redactor describes YHWH as providing wisdom to the nation's wisdom teachers (cf. section 2.2.3 above).[75]

The small, fifth fragment of the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, plainly citing Ezek 34:14-16, fills out the picture of YHWH's mercy even further than Ben Sira. Because this text has not survived intact and four fragments survive only in secondary sources, determining its date and origin is difficult and highly speculative. Nevertheless, scholars tend to date *Apocryphon* between 50 BCE and 50 CE.[76] Its noted Jewish character,[77] the portion of fragment one preserved in Hebrew in b. Sanh. 91a-b, and its fairly extensive use of

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[74] Embedded in the shepherd imagery is the notion of divine compassion (v. 13a). In fact, the syntax of the Greek suggests that v. 13b is subordinate to and is governed by v. 13a (although the main verb [ἐστίν] in v. 13a must be supplied, that the four verbs of v. 13b are participles suggests that their actions depend on the main verb in the previous clause [v. 13a]: "the Lord has mercy" [ἔλεος δὲ κυρίου]). Hence the four actions of "reproving," "training," "teaching" and "turning around" should be understood as expressions of God's mercy.

[75] Being "like a shepherd of his sheep" here involves four overlapping activities. A shepherd rebukes (ἐλέγχω) his sheep so as to prevent the sheep from going astray. That this act of rebuking is more preventative than corrective is suggested by the use of ἐλέγχω in Ben Sira 19:13-17, where four of its other six occurrences appear. A shepherd trains those in his care the way a father does his child. A shepherd teaches his flock. Lastly, a shepherd turns his sheep, representing, bringing the lost to repentance. While the exact means by which YHWH rebukes, trains, teaches and turns back his sheep is never specified, in light of Ben Sira's affiliation with other wisdom literature, specifically, Ecclesiastes, YHWH would likely accomplish this through the agency of wisdom teachers; cf. the exposition of M. Gilbert "God, Ben Sirach and Mercy: Sirach 15:11-18:14" in *Ben Sira's God: Proceedings of the International Ben Sira Conference, Durham—Ushaw College 2001*, ed. R. Egger-Wenzel, BZAW 321, ed. O. Kaiser [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002], 131).

[76] Mueller and Robinson, "Apocryphon," *OTP*, 1:488; cf. K.-G. Eckart, "Das Apokryphon Ezechiel," *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* 5.1 (1974): 45-54. Its explicit use by 1 Clement and a (possible) allusion to it by Josephus would be decisive factors in its *terminus a quo*.

[77] Cf. Mueller and Robinson, "Apocrypon," *OTP*, 1:489; Eckart, "Apokryphon," 47-49, and A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 190.

Ezekiel 34 (a text commonly appropriated by Second Temple Jews), would seem to suggest a Jewish Palestinian origin.

The text of *Apocryphon* proclaims: "Therefore he says by Ezekiel. 'And the lame I will bind up, and that which is troubled I will heal, and that which is led astray I will return, and I will feed them on my holy mountain . . . and I will be,' he says, 'their shepherd and I will be near to them as the garment to their skin.'" While closely following the sense of the original passage in Ezekiel 34, the author supplements YHWH's pastoral shepherding activity of healing, leading and feeding—all of which are expressions of divine mercy—with the idea of being near his people. That is, according to the author of this text, as Israel's shepherd, YHWH will be as close to them as the very clothes they wear.[78] Further, the author of the text clearly takes up Ezekiel's nationalistic perspective, when he speaks of YHWH gathering the strays, feeding them on his holy mountain and being their shepherd.

Both mercy and judgment are associated with the other use of the metaphor in Pseudo-Philo. When Phinehas the priest recites to Kenaz the judge, the prophets, and the elders a solemn message passed on to him by his father Eleazar about the nation's future moral corruption, Kenaz and the entire assembly lament, "Will the Shepherd destroy his flock for any reason except that it has sinned against him? And now he is the one who will spare us according to the abundance of his mercy, because he has toiled so much among us" (28:5). While possessing great mercy as the nation's shepherd, God also has

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[78] This notion of God's presence or his glory with (or being absent from) his people is a clear motif in the book of Ezekiel (cf. Ezek 3:23; 8:4; 9:3; 10:18; 37:27-28; 43:4-5; 44:4; 48:35), although not explicitly a part of the shepherd imagery of Ezekiel 34. The author of *Apocryphon* is likely making explicit what would be implicit in the metaphor; i.e., YHWH's close presence with his people would be presupposed by his shepherding deeds of searching, healing, leading and pasturing done in their midst.

the sovereign authority to judge his people severely (i.e., "destroy his flock") on account

of their sins. Pseudo-Philo describes God's "toil" among his people in rather material

terms, referring to his acts of creation and the formation, election and care of his people

Israel.[79] Furthermore, that this statement appears within Kenaz's covenant with Israel, in

which he warns the nation about forsaking YHWH after his departure, reflects the text's

strong nationalistic outlook.[80]

Mercy and judgment are also associated with the metaphor in the Dream Visions.

Although YHWH is never explicitly called a "shepherd" in the Dream Visions, this text

deserves mention for several reasons. As G. Manning suggests, the divine title "Lord of

the Sheep" (used some 28 times in the passage) would serve as a positive substitute for

"Shepherd."[81] Furthermore, the term "Lord"[82] would elevate YHWH as a shepherd above

the other shepherding figures in the vision, viz., the angelic shepherds and the sheep-

shepherds (i.e., the Jewish leaders); in other words, YHWH represents not simply the

shepherd, but the owner of the sheep. Moreover, YHWH as "Lord of the sheep"

explicitly functions in the role of a compassionate shepherd in the Dream Visions: he

hears and responds to his people's cries for help (89:17), he protects them (89:25), tends

or pastures them (89:28), gathers them from the nations, brings them into this house (i.e.,

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[79] According to the text, twice in Eleazar's final words to his son Phineas, God speaks of toiling among his people (*L.A.B.* 28:4, 5): this toil begins with the act of creation; he continues: "And I would plant a great vineyard, and from it I would choose a plant; and I would care for it . . ." (v. 4).

[80] *L.A.B.* 28:2 reads: "And now I will establish my covenant with you today so that you do not abandon the LORD your God after my departure. . . . Now therefore spare those of your household and your children, and stay in the paths of the LORD your God lest the Lord destroy his own inheritance."

[81] Manning states that author avoids using "shepherd" for YHWH (as well as for Israel's heroes) because he has decided to give it a negative connotation (*Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, JSNTSS, vol. 270 [London: T & T Clark, 2004], 88-89).

[82] The underlying word for "Lord" would be מרא (so Milik, *Enoch*, 204); cf. also κύριος in 89:42 of the Chester Beatty Papyrus.

the temple) and restores their sight (90:28-29).[83] But whereas YHWH can be a merciful

shepherd for his people, he can also sovereignly give them over to evil, angelic shepherds

who brutalize them for an extended period of time (89:59-65). Ultimately, however,

YHWH executes divine judgment upon these evil shepherds on the Day of Judgment

(89:71, 76; 90:15-26). A nationalistic perspective is reflected in the eschatological tone

near the end of the passage: the Lord of the sheep builds "a new house (i.e., the temple),

greater and loftier than the first one"; the nations fall down and worship the sheep (i.e.,

the people of God); and YHWH gathers his flock from the nations and brings them into

this house.

Somewhat similar to the notion of the Lord of the Sheep protecting his flock in the

Dream Visions, the protection YHWH offers his people as their shepherd appears in the

book of Judith. The modern consensus offers an early Hasmonean date for this text, some

time between 164-80 BCE.[84] The issue of provenance is a more difficult question. If S.

Zeitlin et al. are correct about a Hebrew *Vorlage*, this would point to a Palestinian origin

for Judith.[85] Although earlier scholars argued for Pharisaic authorship,[85] nothing in the

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[83] Nickelsburg remarks, "[T]hat the Lord was closely involved in the lives of those sheep [was] evident, from a grammatical point of view, in the author's use of 'the Lord of the sheep' as the subject of a variety of verbs. The Lord was the immediate subject of actions of which the sheep were the objects or beneficiaries" (*1 Enoch*, 389).

[84] For a list of scholars and dates, see B. Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigraph, ed. M. Knibb (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 132. In terms of dating, M. Delcor has demonstrated that, on the one hand, the various titles for officials (e.g., σατρά πης, ἡγούμενος, ἄρχων) extend from the Persian period well into the Seleucid period, while the term for "senate" (γερουσία) and the act of welcoming a monarch with "garlands and dances and tambourines" (Jdt 3:7), on the other, suggest a Seleucid period of composition ("Le livre de Judith et l'époque grecque," *Klio* 49 [1967]: 151-79); cf. the judgments of M. Enslin and S. Zeitlin, *The Book of Judith* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), and C. Moore, *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1985).

[85] The Greek text of Judith represents, according to Zeitlin, "from start to finish not only a translation but a very literal one, regularly following its Hebrew original in both idiom and *syntax*" (*Judith*, 40); cf. Moore, *Judith*, 70.

book would necessarily point in this direction.[87] T. Craven, for example, demonstrates how the piety reflected in Judith has points of resemblance with not only Pharisaic attitudes but also Sadducean, Zealot and Essene.[88] Additional support for a non-sectarian perspective would come from the attitude of unity amongst Jews in general,[89] and the attitude towards Samaria in particular.[90] Rather than Pharisaic, these observations seem to suggest that Judith represents the broader Hasidim movement of the early Maccabean era.

In seeking to deliver her people from their Assyrian invaders, Judith informs Holofernes that, although the Jews can never be conquered by another nation as long as they refrain from sin and walk according to the Law of their God,[91] the Assyrian siege will force the people to eat food in violation of their Law. Consequently, the God who protects them will abandon them, leaving them defenceless. Holofernes will then be able to take Judea and Jerusalem because the Jews will be "like sheep for which there is no

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[86] Cf. Otzen, *Judith*, 135. Beckwith, for example, assumes that because Judith affirms future judgment, tithing, and ceremonial purity, it represents "[one of] the earliest Pharisaic writings" ("Pre-History," 30). These concepts in themselves, however, do not prove Pharisaic authorship: they are characteristic of Second Temple Judaism generally; see Sanders, *Practice & Belief*.

[87] H. Mantel argues that the religious perspective of Judith testifies to Sadducean authorship ("חסידות קדומה," *Studies in Judaism* [1976]: 60-80 [in Hebrew]).

[88] T. Craven, *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith*, SBLDS, vol. 70 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 118-22. Moore observes that the religious views of the book "are not belligerently sectarian in character," i.e., even if they are Pharisaic (as he asserts) they are neither anti-Sadducee nor anti-Essene (*Judith*, 70).

[89] Moore writes, "The author [has an] irenic attitude toward all Jews, seeing them as being essentially one people and one religion" (*Judith*, 70).

[90] According to the story, Judith is from Bethulia, in the region of Samaria; also, when all of the inhabitants of Samaria heard of Holofernes' impending invasion of Jerusalem and the temple, they blocked his path to Jerusalem (Jdt 4:4-8).

[91] This point was already made by Achior in his speech to Holofernes (5:5-5:24) to which Judith explicitly refers (11:9).

shepherd" (Jdt 11:19).[92] While this phrase in the HB refers to Jewish monarchs, the

referent for "shepherd" here is not earthly rulers but YHWH. Thus YHWH as Israel's

Shepherd refers here specifically to his activity of protecting his people from military

danger. In view of the story's setting of the crisis of Assyrian conquest, the specific

meaning of the metaphor in 11:19—YHWH as Israel's military protector—and the

possible allusion to the nationalistic text of 1 Kgs 22:17,[93] Jdt 11:19 would possess the

nationalistic overtones.

Much less nationalistic is one of Philo's appropriations of the metaphor for God.

He notes that God is called a "Shepherd" in Ps 23:1,[94] and as such, his sovereign rule

extends to the entire created order:

> For land and water and air and fire, and all plants and animals . . . the sky, and the
> circuits of the sun and moon, and the revolutions and rhythmic movements of the
> other heavenly bodies, are like some flock under the hand of God its King and
> Shepherd (ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεύς).[95] This hallowed flock he leads in
> accordance with right and law (*Agric.* 51).

For Philo, then, because God is the universal, sovereign king and controls (rules over)

every facet of creation, he thus acts as its shepherd.

Thus, when YHWH is likened to a shepherd by these authors, his mercy is most

often highlighted in the comparison, and a nationalistic outlook is often presupposed.

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[92] If Craven is correct that the story of Judith draws upon the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal in 1 Kings 18 (*Artistry*, 47-48), then the phrase would likely represent an allusion to 1 Kgs 22:17.

[93] The military tone of the passage would support the idea of an allusion to 1 Kgs 22:17. While Huntzinger correctly notes that this expression "signifies the vulnerability of the people and their need for proper leadership" ("End of Exile," 165), he incorrectly links this passage to Ezek 34:5, leading him to conclude that the metaphor here is a subtle attack on Israel's leaders.

[94] Philo refers to God as the "all-good Shepherd" (πάντα ἀγαθοῦ ποιμένος [*Agric.* 49]).

[95] When an article precedes two substantives connected by καί, this often indicates apposition: hence, "the shepherd and king" should be understood as "the shepherd-king" (cf. BDF, 144-45). Thus Philo, like the exilic prophets before him, connects royal rule to pastoral care.

3.2.4 Messiah as a Shepherd

The metaphor is employed for the messiah in *Psalms of Solomon* 17. Like Judith,

Psalms of Solomon may also suggest a broader Hasidim origin. Scholars generally

maintain that the various psalms reflect the Pompeian era, ranging in date from 63 to 48

BCE,[96] with the final redaction of the document probably emerging some time before 70

CE—since Jerusalem (according to *Psalms*) has been desecrated but not destroyed. M.

Winninge lists the three central views on the socio-political and religious provenance of

Psalms as Hasidic, Pharisaic and non-Qumran-Essene.[97] Many scholars advocate

Pharisaic composition of *Psalms*.[98] Because of their affinities with the Dead Sea Scrolls,

however, a growing number of scholars assert that *Psalms* are not Pharisaic but have a

broader socio-religious origin.[99] The origin of the *Psalms* can likely be traced to the

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[96] Pompei's invasion of Jerusalem in 63 BCE seems to be described in *Psalms* 2, 8 and 17, while his assassination in Egypt in 48 BCE appears to be alluded to in the latter part of *Psalm* 2. But as R. Hann notes, these allusions would not represent the founding of the sect behind the *Psalms* since the "Roman invasion is portrayed consistently in the psalms not as the crisis which brought the sect into being, but as its later vindication in the face of the persecution which it had received from its enemies" ("The Community of the Pious: The Social Setting of the Psalms of Solomon," *Studies in Religion* 17/2 [1988], 172). Hence, the community would have predated the *Psalms* by a generation or so. J. Tromp, for his part, argues that these references do not refer to Rome or Pompey ("The Sinners and the Lawless in Psalm of Solomon 17," *NovT* 35/4 [1993]: 344-61). Even if he is correct, however, there is no appreciable difference to the basic Palestinian setting of the document.

[97] M. Winninge, *Sinners and Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters*, Coniectanea Biblica/New Testament Series no. 26 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 12-14.

[98] According to L. DiTommaso (*A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1859-1999*, JSPSS, vol. 39 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 873-93), Pharisaic authorship is commonly accepted by scholars after 1977.

[99] E.g., G. Stemberger (*Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995]) believes that they are the work of some unidentified segment of pluralistic, early Judaism. R. Wright believes that the *Psalms* originate from some Jerusalem-based apocalyptic group. Wright shows that not only are the concepts in the *Psalms* not confined to the Pharisees (e.g., opposition to the Hasmoneans, dedication to the Law, theological tension between divine sovereignty and human responsibility and belief in the afterlife), but some are actually atypical of them (e.g., the detailed apocalyptic expectation) and have affinities with the Scrolls ("The Psalms of Solomon, the Pharisees and the Essenes" in *1972 Proceedings for the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 2, ed. R. Kraft [Los Angeles: 1972]: 136-47). R. Hann

Hasidim and perhaps narrowed from this rather inclusive movement to the broader form

of the "Essenes"—i.e., the parent group that would have spawned the Qumran

community.[100]

The author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 paints a bleak picture of the moral state of his

nation (viz., the defiling of Jerusalem and the temple by the Hasmoneans and the

Romans), prompting him to cry out to YHWH for a messianic deliverer to save his

people. The nature and works of this messiah, described as one who "shepherds the

Lord's flock" (v. 40b), comprise the second part of the psalm.[101] There are four primary

traits of the Davidic shepherd. The Son of David is a royal figure: he is the true heir to

David's throne and will reign over the nation as the "King of Israel" (vv. 21, 32, 42) in

fulfilment of ancient expectation.[102] The Son of David is a warrior-like judge;[103] and as

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narrows the identity of this group to a variation of "early Essenism." Hann rightly observes that "there was more than one sort of Essenes and that not all Essenes were identical with those of Qumran . . . The Qumran covenanters were certainly Essenes, but not all Essenes belonged to—or shared the perspectives of—the movement of Qumran. The sect of the Psalms of Solomon was another group of Essenes" ("The Pious," 189). For Hann then, the similarities between the *Psalms* and the Scrolls would be explained by their common parent group, "proto-Essenism."

[100] That is, if (as assumed above) the Qumran community was a subgroup of Essenes, who were, in turn, part of a larger, broad-based coalition of Palestinian Jewish religious conservatives, the Hasidim; cf. the analysis of Winninge, *Sinners*, 141-80. In any scholarly reconstruction, however, *Psalms of Solomon* would represent a Palestinian Jewish setting.

[101] Although the shepherd metaphor comes near the end of this section of the psalm, Willitts cogently argues ("Lost Sheep," 84-86) that "the motif encapsulates the whole description [of the Davidic Messiah] and, thus, functions as a unifying framework for the vision of the future Davidic King" ("Lost Sheep," 84).

[102] Cf. the prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Amos and the like, which speak of a coming Davidic deliverer. The language of 17:21 ("See, Lord, and raise up for them their king, the son of David") is perhaps somewhat reminiscent of Jer 23:5 ("[YHWH] will raise up to David a righteous branch, a king"; cf. Jer 30:9). The psalmist underscores the Son of David's rightful claim to Israel's throne with the titles, "Lord Messiah" and "the King of Israel." With respect to the former term, R. Wright notes that most commentators emend the text to read "Lord's messiah" (χριστὸς κυρίου) but that there is no textual evidence to support this reading ("Psalms of Solomon," *OTP*, 2:667-68, n. z); so also, R. Hann, "Christos Kyrios in PsSol 17.32: 'The Lord's Anointed' Reconsidered," *NTS* 31 (1985): 620-27. Hann argues that the Hebrew *Vorlage* for χριστὸς κυρίος is not משיח יהוה ("YHWH Messiah") but משיח אדון ("Lord Messiah")—the latter concept possessing parallel expressions in post-exilic and post-biblical literature.

such, the psalmist expects him to destroy the Gentile rulers for trampling Jerusalem (v. 22), punish arrogant Jewish "sinners" who have turned their backs on the covenant (vv. 23-25),[104] and "judge peoples and nations" (and so put other Gentiles under his yoke [vv. 29-30]).[105] The prayer's interest in the security and purity of Jerusalem as well as in the righteous state of the Jewish nation reflects the clear nationalistic concerns of the psalm's author.

Third, the Davidic messiah will take care of his people: in pastoral fashion, he will gather them together, lead and judge them in faithfulness and righteousness, and settle them in their land (vv. 26-28), "not allowing any among them to become weak in their pasture" [v. 40b]). His flock will ultimately consist of the righteous Jewish remnant and reverential Gentiles, who revere the messiah and receive mercy from him (17:35, 40).[106] The final trait of the Davidic shepherd is his close relationship with YHWH: on the one

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[103] The author achieves this warrior-like imagery by alluding to Isaiah 11: he expects the "Son of David" to destroy the unlawful nations "by the word of his mouth" (v. 24) and to "strike . . . the earth with the word of his mouth" (v. 35); "he will gather together" (v. 26) a holy people and possess "power by the holy spirit and wisdom in the counsel of understanding and strength" (v. 37). This type of appropriation of Isaiah 11 to depict a coming warrior-like deliverer can also be seen in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1QSb V, 24-29; 4QIsa[a] iii 17-24, and 4Q285 vii 1-6. Additionally, the dual projection of Israel's kingship, which parallels the dual projection of Israel's kingship/shepherding in Ezekiel 34 (i.e., YHWH promises, on the one hand, to shepherd his people, but on the other hand, to appoint someone from David's line to shepherd them) and the singling out "weak" members among the flock to receive his shepherding, which also appears in Ezekiel 34, suggest that the author of the psalm borrowed from the basic imagery of Ezekiel 34.

[104] These "sinners" would be the "children of the covenant" who adopted Gentile practices (v. 15). The use of shepherd imagery (i.e., the "iron rod" by which he executes punishment) would seem to suggest that Jews are being taken to task here, not Gentiles. Jerusalem will be purged of its defilement—when the messiah judges Gentile invaders and lapsed Jews—and become holy once more (v. 30).

[105] Despite being called upon by the psalmist to judge the nations with harshness, the Davidic messiah has mercy on those nations who stand before him in fear (v. 34b). Mercy in *Psalms* is usually reserved for righteous Jews (those who love/fear God): 2:33-35; 4:25; 5:12; 6:6; 8:27-28; 10:3-4; 13:12; 14:9; 16:3, 6; 17:3; 18:9; or for Israel: 2:8; 9:8; 11:9; 17:45; 18:1, 5.

[106] For a useful discussion of the identity of the messiah's flock, see Willitts, "Lost Sheep," 86-91.

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hand, God represents the source of the messiah's power,[107] enabling him to accomplish the deeds expected of him (v. 22)[108]—deeds which YHWH executes through the messiah's word.[109] On the other hand, YHWH has made the Son of David "pure from sin" (v. 36),[110] so that he can rule over the nations.[111] This intimate affiliation between YHWH and the Son of David is reflected in the author's co-extensive view of Israel's kingship: the Son of David is "Israel's King" (cf. vv. 21, 32, 42) but so, too, is YHWH.[112] In other words, YHWH rules through the agency of the Davidic shepherd.

As will be observed in chapter five below, this very nationalistic depiction of a coming son of David, possessing a unique relationship with God, who shall reign as King of Israel, shepherding and caring for God's people, while judging the nations, correlates quite closely with Matthew's view of Jesus as the Son of David.

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[107] Wright is probably correct that the imperative verb ὑπόζωσον ("to gird") grammatically controls the string of five infinitives that follow in vv. 22-24 ("Psalms," 667, n. q).

[108] The allusion to Isa 11:1-2 ("A shoot shall come out from the stock of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. The spirit of the LORD shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD" [NRSV]) in 17:37 suggests that the Davidic ruler has been appointed specifically by YHWH to accomplish these deeds.

[109] By the "word of his mouth" the Davidic deliverer destroys unlawful nations (v. 24), judges the earth, (v. 35), rebukes and removes sinners from their place (v. 36), and judges God's people (v. 43). The author extols the words of the deliverer as being "purer than the fine gold" and like the "words of the holy ones in the midst of sanctified peoples" (v. 43). The Davidic messiah, for his part, is aware that his power and authority come from God and therefore he relies on him: "[the messiah] has a strong hope in God" (v. 34, cf. v. 39). As Willitts notes, the normally distinctive roles of gatherer (YHWH) and governor (messiah) coalesce in *Psalms of Solomon* 17.

[110] The use of the pronoun αὐτός before καθαρός makes the expression more emphatic: "[the Son of David] himself (αὐτός) is pure from sin." Based on similar expressions in Pss 18:12-13 [LXX]; 51:2, and Prov 20:9 (e.g., Ps 18:12-13 [LXX = Ps 19:12-13, MT]: "But who can detect their errors? Clear me from hidden faults. Keep back your servant also from the insolent . . . Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression" [NRSV]; Ps 51:2 [LXX]: "Have mercy on me, O God . . . and cleanse me from my sin" [NRSV]), the messiah's pure state before God should be viewed as coming from God; i.e., he stands before God as pure from sin because God has cleansed him.

[111] The tripartite articular infinitival clause, τοῦ ἄρχειν λαοῦ μεγάλου, ἐλέγξαι ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐξᾶραι ἁμαρτωλούς ("to rule a great people, to reprove rulers and to remove sinners") that follows αὐτὸς καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας ("he himself is pure from sin") likely denotes purpose (cf. BDF, 206).

[112] The opening and closing of the psalm represents an inclusio that project YHWH's kingship: "Lord, you are our king forevermore" (v. 1a) and "The Lord himself is our king forevermore" (v. 46).

3.2.5 Other Usages of "Shepherd"

The notion of judgment that factors so significantly in the portrayal of the Davidic shepherd in *Psalms of Solomon* 17 is also the focus of the metaphor in one of its uses in the Damascus Document (CD).[113] The scholarly consensus maintains that CD is a product of Qumran ideology.[114] Hempel persuasively argues otherwise,[115] but her thesis would only affect the legal section of CD and not cols. XIII or XIX, where the shepherd metaphor appears. These two passages, then, would correspond to the highly apocalyptic, isolationist group that separated not just from mainstream Palestinian Judaism, but from their parent body, a subgroup of Essenes.

Towards the end of the text appears a discussion of members of the sect who reside in the camps scattered throughout Palestine—in contrast to those who "walk in perfection" and practice celibacy (XIX, 4b-6a). Those members who get married and have children must walk in complete accordance with the Law, particularly in regard to spousal and parenting relationships; those who refuse to obey these "commandments and

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[113] Unlike the other Qumran texts, CD was first known prior to 1947 by two medieval manuscripts found in Old Cairo, "A" and "B" (the former dates from the tenth century CE; the latter from the twelfth century CE). To these two texts were later added the fragmentary manuscripts found at Qumran in Caves four (4Q266-73), five (5Q12) and six (6Q15); cf. the work of J. T. Milik in J. Baumgarten, "Qumran Cave 4: XIII; The Damascus Document (4Q26-73)," *DJD*, vol. 18 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). The literary relationship between the A and B manuscripts of CD has been debated for some time; cf. Hempel, *Laws*, 77-79, and S. White, "A Comparison of the 'A' and 'B' Manuscripts of the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 48/12 (1987): 537-53. The general time frame for the final redaction of each would be the latter part of the second century BCE. Of principal importance for this present study is the subtle thematic difference between the parallels of B and A: in manuscript A, the stress lies on the act of apostasy, i.e., on the act of turning away from the covenant (which results in divine judgment).

[114] Baumgarten and Schwartz aptly summarize this position: "[J]ust as Josephus records the existence of marrying Essenes, alongside of the ones who do not (*War* 2.160-61), CD recognizes the same dichotomy; there are those who live in 'perfect holiness' (7.5) and others who 'live (in) camps, according to the rule of the land, and take wives and beget sons (7.6-7)" (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7).

[115] She writes, "Not all the components of works that are sectarian in their final form should be defined as sectarian themselves . . . Whether or not a piece of communal legislation is sectarian or not will have to be established carefully in each case by examining their attitude to Jewish society outside the community" (*Laws*, 20).

ordinances" will receive judgment when God visits the earth (XIX, 5b-6). This divine judgment is described in terms of a citation from Deutero-Zechariah. When God punishes the wicked, it shall be like:

> When the word comes which is written by the hand of Zechariah the prophet, "O sword, awake against my shepherd and against the man close to me," declares God. "Strike the shepherd and the flock will be scattered and I will put my hand against the little ones." Those that watch him—they are "the afflicted one of flock"—these ones will escape in the time of the visitation. But those who remain will be delivered up to the sword when the messiah of Aaron and Israel comes (XIX, 7-11a).

According to the text, those Jews who reject the teachings of the Qumran community will be harshly judged when the messiah comes: they will be divinely struck down—in similar fashion to the shepherd of Zech 13:7.[116] Thus it is not the "shepherd" *per se* that is the focus of the metaphor but rather, what happens to the shepherd in Zech 13:7 that occupies the redactor's sights: he is struck down.[117] This point is germane to the author's message: although the shepherd was close to YHWH he became an object of his wrath and was struck down by him in judgment; similarly, those Jews who are unfaithful

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[116] The emphasis in the B manuscript (unlike the A) is on the judgment itself. For example, the summarizing expression "Thus will be the judgment" is more tightly connected to the initial declaration of judgment (i.e., the emptying of punishment over the wicked) in B than its counterpart in A.

[117] The contrast in the text is between the "afflicted of the flock" (an implicit citation of Zech 11:11) and "those that remain": the former group is rescued from judgment while the latter is not; instead, this latter group will be delivered up to the sword in judgment. The delivering up of the disobedient to the sword in judgment is reiterated in l. 13, where the sword is described as "executing the vengeance of the covenant" upon those "who do not remain strong in these precepts" (l. 14). M. Knibb fails to make this connection and consequently identifies the shepherd as the "leaders of non-Essene Judaism" (*The Qumran Community* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 59). Similar to the position advocated here, P. Davies (*The Damascus Document: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document,"* JSOTSS, vol. 25 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982]) also espouses a corporate identification: "'Ephraim' and the 'sheep' are not those who turn away from the community. They represent those to whom apostates might be *attracted*, that is, the society outside the community, the mainstream of Jewish society, the 'establishment'" (*Damascus*, 152, his emphasis). Davies's understanding may be correct for CD XIII, but in CD XIX, the citation of Ezek 9:4, which speaks of physically distinguishing between idolatrous and faithful Jews (in fact, in Ezek 9:8, both groups are considered part of "the remnant of Israel") would confirm the identity of the group to be judged as the adherents of the community who live throughout Palestine but who reject their teaching.

to the covenant will experience divine judgment in the day of the messiah.[118] A

nationalistic outlook is present within the text, i.e. a concern for the moral purification

(through divine judgment) of God's people: the covenant God made with ancient Israel he

has since renewed with the predecessors of the Qumran community (cf. CD I);

consequently, the author of the text emphasizes the centrality of obedience to the Mosaic

Law and to the communal regulations (cf. VII, 4-8; XIX, 2-5, 13-14) so that the

community will avoid incurring "the curses of his covenant"—as opposed to ancient

Israel—as prophesied by Zech 13:7 (and Isa 7:17 in VII, 9-12).

Another innovative use of the metaphor in CD occurs in the second part of the

document.[119] The passage discusses three offices of leadership for the Essene camps: the

priest, the Levite and the "Examiner" (מבקר).[120] The role of the Examiner receives its

fullest explanation in XIII, 7-12:

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[118] Cf. the discussion of CD XIX in Huntzinger, "End of Exile," 166-69. The parallel in CD VII, 10-21 would confirm this interpretation: Those who refuse to walk according to Torah are said to receive the punishment to be meted out in the day of divine visitation. This punishment comes in direct fulfillment of the prophetic word of Isa 7:17. The grammar in CD VII is more explicit than in the parallel: "when comes upon them (עליהם) the word which is written in the words of Isaiah" (VII, 10); the parallel passage in the B manuscript omits עליהם (XIX, 7). In other words, the punishment described in the succeeding lines of CD VII is the result of the fulfilment of the prophetic word of Isa 7:17. In like fashion, the striking down of the shepherd should be understood as an outpouring of divine wrath (upon them, i.e., apostates), consonant with the prophecy of scripture.

[119] The second part of CD treats biblical halakhah and organizational rules for the community (cols. IX-XVI); רעה appears within a subunit dealing with "the rule for those dwelling in the camps" (XII, 22b).

[120] מבקר is rendered variously: J. T. Milik translates it "Overseer" ("Damascus Document"; cf. R. Steiner, "The mbqr at Qumran episkopos in the Athenian Empire, and the Meaning of lbqr' in Ezra 7:14: On the Relation of Ezra's Mission to the Persian Legal Project," JBL 120/4 [2001]: 623-46); García Martínez and Tigchelaar render it "Inspector" (The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition, vol. 1 [Leiden: Brill, 1997]); Baumgarten and Schwartz use "Examiner" (The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, ed. J. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995]). מבקר is perhaps best understood as relating to the verb בקר, which denotes "to search for," "to take care of," or "to examine" (cf. BDB, 133). For a discussion of the origin of the office of the מבקר, see Steiner, "mbqr," 643-46. מבקר appears some 14 times CD and twice in 1QS. In CD XV, 7-14, the מבקר serves as the examiner in the enrolment procedure for entering the sect:

vacat And this is the rule of the Examiner for the camp. He shall instruct the Many in the works of God and enable them to discern his mighty wonders, and recount before them the eternal happenings with their interpretations. He shall have compassion on them as a father does for his sons, and he will watch over (וישקוד)[121] all the afflicted among them as a shepherd over his flock. He will loosen all the chains that bind them so that there will be neither oppressed nor crushed in his congregation. *vacat* And anyone who joins his congregation, he should observe him for his works, and his intelligence, and his strength, and his might and his wealth. And they shall write him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of light. *vacat* [122]

Texts with English Translations, ed. J. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995]). מבקר is perhaps best understood as relating to the verb בקר, which denotes "to search for," "to take care of," or "to examine" (cf. BDB, 133). For a discussion of the origin of the office of the מבקר, see Steiner, *"mbqr,"* 643-46. מבקר appears some 14 times CD and twice in 1QS. In CD XV, 7-14, the מבקר serves as the examiner in the enrolment procedure for entering the sect: new converts must stand before and be tested by him in matters pertaining to Torah. In CD IX, 16-22, the מבקר acts as a type of Principal to whom violations of Torah are reported by the eyewitnesses. In CD XIV, 8-16, the מבקר functions as the authority figure over all the camps, granting the final word for permission to enter into the community, and serving as the final arbiter for communal disputes. In 1QS VI, 12, only the מבקר is permitted to speak in the assembly without the consent of the assembly, while in 1QS VI, 20, the possessions and earnings of the initiate to be tested are given to the מבקר who keeps them until the period of testing is complete, before, ultimately, being distributed among the community.

[121] Other options exist, e.g., É. Cothenet ("Le Document de Damas" in J. Carmignac, É. Cothenet and H. Lignée, *Les Textes de Qumran: Traduits et Annotés*, 2 vols. [Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1961-63], 2:200-201) understands the phrase as "et il ramènera tous les égarés"; one of the more popular alternatives remains the view of García Martínez and Tigchelaar *(Scrolls)*, who read this word as וישקה and subsequently translate it, "and he will heal"; cf. Chae, who supports their reading and translation but for very unconvincing reasons *(Davidic Shepherd*, 146-48). If, however, שקה is the correct reading, then their translation of "heal" remains highly problematic. The standard meaning of שקה is "to give a drink to" or "to water" (cf. BDB, 1052); the word takes this meaning not only in the HB but also when it appears in the Scrolls (cf. 1QpHab XI, 2; 1QM XII, 10, XIX, 2; 1QH^a XII, 11; 4Q270 4, 6; 4Q299 6 i 5); hence, in relation to מדהבה ("afflicted" or "distressed," cf. its non-physical sickness orientation in 1QH^a XI, 25; 4Q416 2 ii 13-14; 4Q427 7 ii 3-5; 4Q431 1, 1-4), to translate שקה as "heal" would represent a spiritualizing of the term, which seems an unlikely reading for שקה: רפא would be the more natural choice for "heal." It would be better, then, to give שקה its expected meaning, "to give a drink to/water"—something shepherds typically offer their sheep. That said, the reading of Baumgarten and Schwartz *(Dead Sea Scrolls)* as וישקוד ("and he will watch over") seems more probable. Indeed, E. Qimron, who supports the reading of García Martínez and Tigchelaar, also adds that "the reading וישקוד is equally possible" ("The Text of CDC" in M. Broshi [ed.], *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992], 35). As Baumgarten and Schwartz note, שקד fits the context better than שקה: שקד appears with מדהבה in 4Q416 2 ii 14; and indeed, a closer conceptual parallel would be established between line 9a (have compassion/them–father/children) and 9b if line 9b is understood as, watch over/the afflicted–shepherd/flock, rather than give drink to/the afflicted–shepherd/flock: a father has compassion for his children, a shepherd watches over (i.e., takes care of) his flock. Whichever meaning is adopted, however, the basic thrust is the same: the Examiner is to offer compassionate care for his flock.

[122] The parallel for this text appears in 4Q267 9 iv 3-9.

According to this passage, the Examiner represents a religious ruler for the community, who exercises a high level of authority over the community in the areas of recruiting, commerce, marital affairs and instruction.[123] The Examiner is to perform these duties with a fatherly compassion: he is to keep diligent watch over those who are particularly distressed—the way a shepherd would his flock—by loosening the chains that bind the flock to ensure that no one under his care will be oppressed or crushed.[124] Although the description of the Examiner's duties is not overtly pastoral, there is, nevertheless, a pastoral or earthy element to them: he watches over the afflicted, loosens their chains and has particular regard for the "oppressed and crushed."[125]

Like CD XIII, *4 Ezra* employs the metaphor for a religious leader. A first-century CE date is assumed for *4 Ezra*. Based on the opening sentence of the document (i.e., "In the thirtieth year after the destruction of our city"), some scholars consider the date of composition to be around 100 CE.[126] The likelihood of a Hebrew original,[127] the highly

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[123] According to the latter part of the passage (XIII, 11-16), only the Examiner possesses the authority to permit new members to enter the sect (ll. 12b-13) and the authority to oversee the business of buying and selling within the community (ll. 14-16b). The first part of the text deals with his role in the instruction of the community (ll. 7-8).

[124] The close parallel between l. 10 and Isa 58:6 ("Is this not the kind of fast I have chosen: to break open the chains of evil, to loosen the bands of the yoke and to send forth those who are crushed?") and Deut 28:33—the only other place where the exact phrase, "oppressed and crushed" [עשׁוק ורצוץ], occurs (describing how God's people can reap the curses in the covenant for their disobedience; cf. CD I, 17)—suggest that in l. 10, the shepherding of the Examiner enables the congregation to keep the commandments of God in an acceptable manner so that no member incurs divine judgment.

[125] The particular regard for the "oppressed and crushed" echoes the sentiments of Ezek 34:16 and Zech 11:7, where the weak (in Ezek 34:16) and the oppressed (in Zech 11:7) are especially singled out for shepherding.

[126] For a survey of approaches to dating *4 Ezra* in light of the opening verse, see M. Stone, *Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra*, Harvard Semitic Series, ed. F. M. Cross, vol. 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 2-4; cf. B. Longenecker, *2 Esdras* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 13-16, and B. Metzger, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," *OTP*, 1:520. Some scholars take 3:1 to be merely part of the "pseudepigraphical garb" of the author with no relevance for the date of work (for a list of authors maintaining this view, see Stone, *IV Ezra*, 232, n. 9). Based on his identification of the three heads in the eagle vision (in *4 Ezra* 11-12), Stone dates *4 Ezra* to the latter part of Domitian's reign, i.e., 81-96 CE (*4*

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theodicy-oriented nature of the book concerning Zion's desolation by the "Babylonians" (i.e., the Romans),[128] parallels with the (probably) Palestinian texts of *2 Baruch* and *1 Enoch*, along with possibly with *Psalms of Solomon*, Pseudo-Philo and *Apocalypse of Abraham*, would point in the direction of a Palestinian provenance for *4 Ezra*.[129]

The story of *4 Ezra* opens with Ezra grieving over Zion's destruction at the hands of the Babylonians. He begins to ponder the origin and pervasiveness of sin, and the current predicament of his people,[130] when an angel appears to him in a vision. In response to Ezra's disturbing query,[131] the angel tells him that the end of the age—when the righteous are rewarded and the wicked punished—is coming soon, with accompanying signs of forewarning. At the end of the vision, Phaltiel ("a chief of the people") comes to Ezra, asking,

> Where have you been? And why is your face sad? Or do you now know that Israel has been entrusted to you in the land of exile? Rise therefore and eat some bread, so that you may not forsake us, like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of savage wolves (*4 Ezra* 5:16b-18).

A number of things stand out in this passage. Ezra occupies a high seat of authority within the community such that other leaders look to his leadership.[132] He has

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Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra, Hermeneia, ed. F. M. Cross [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990], 9-10).

[127] Cf. Stone, *IV Ezra*, 35-38 and Metzger, "Ezra," 1:519-20.

[128] M. Desjardins captures the tone when he writes, "4 Ezra has a definite post-Holocaust mood to it. Suffering is so extensive that the basic elements of the faith have been cast into doubt and a fundamental reappraisal of existence is required" ("Law in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra," *Studies in Religion* 14 [1985], 31).

[129] Cf. Stone, *4 Ezra*, 10; Longenecker; *2 Esdras*, 14; Metzger, "Ezra," 1:522-23.

[130] What seems to trouble Ezra the most is that Babylon is a sinful nation—far worse than Israel—yet God has not only allowed them to prosper, but used them to destroy God's chosen people (3:28-36).

[131] I.e., "Why Israel has been given over to the gentiles as a reproach; why the people whom you loved has been given to godless tribes, and the Law of our fathers has been made of no effect and the written covenants no longer exist?" (4:23b).

[132] A "chief of the people"—a person possessing some measure of authority within the community—considers Israel as having been "entrusted" to "you"—viz., Ezra—not to "us," i.e., Ezra and

been (divinely) "entrusted" with the leadership of exilic Israel. Without his leadership Israel will fall prey to their enemies; and "savage wolves" in this passage probably refers to Israel's Gentile oppressors, the "Babylonians." The wider narrative does give definition to the kind of leadership Ezra exercised,[133] but it is probably enough to say that "shepherd" here refers to the religious leadership of Israel, without which the people are virtually helpless to know and observe the Law and to find hope in God despite their disastrous circumstances. While the metaphor is not used so pastorally here, there remains a measure of earthiness to it: Ezra the shepherd must eat to have strength to defend his flock against the savage wolves threatening his sheep.[134] Moreover, in view of the story's Babylonian exilic setting and Jerusalem's destruction (3:1-2), Ezra's anxiety over Israel's subjugation to Gentiles (4:22-25), his complaints about divine inequity (5:22-34), and the apocalyptic visions comprising most of the book, when Phaltiel frets for exilic Israel being like abandoned sheep left in the power of savage wolves, nationalistic concerns would be in view.

The use of the metaphor in *2 Baruch* resembles its use in *4 Ezra*. The accepted date range for *2 Baruch* is after 70 CE but some time before the Bar Kochba revolt of 132 CE.[135] A Palestinian provenance seems to be suggested by Baruch's stand in the story

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the other chiefs. This distinction is corroborated by the rest of the passage: Ezra brusquely dismisses Phaltiel until further notice (*4 Ezra* 5:19-20a).

[133] The people, for example, consider Ezra to be a prophet (12:42) and closely identified with Moses (cf. Longenecker, *2 Esdras*, 85-88); and according to the final vision, he is commissioned by God to "reprove the people" in the things of the Law (14:20) and to instruct those who are wise in the "eschatological mysteries" (cf. Longenecker, *2 Esdras*, 90-93).

[134] For further comment on and comparison of this verse, see section 3.5 below.

[135] Desjardins ("2 Baruch and 4 Ezra," 25) cites passages like *2 Bar.* 32:1-3 and 85:3 as well as the general (literary) setting of the destruction of the Temple for positing a date between 75 and 100 CE. A. Klijn regards the conflicting traditions of the temple (heavenly vs. restored) as evidence not for an earlier date but for pre-70 CE sources used by the author ("2 Baruch," *OTP*, 1:617). For an examination of the

with the inhabitants of Palestine over and against the Diaspora Jews, to whom the people of the story earnestly petition Baruch to write and send a letter of exhortation.[136] Additionally, the questions the author raises throughout the book concerning the loss of land and leadership, as well as the likelihood of a Hebrew *Vorlage*,[137] may suggest a Palestinian origin.[138]

Unlike in *4 Ezra*, the appropriation of the metaphor for a religious leader in *2 Baruch* has a narrower focus on the activity of the leader. Baruch warns his people that, in view of how God dealt with his people in the past, unless they live uprightly they, too, will join the rest of the nation in exile (77:1-10). Baruch's impending death, however, leads to uncertainty in the minds of the people and they request that he write a letter to the Jews in Babylon before his departure to encourage the Diaspora Jews in their exilic plight. Their reason for their request is that "the shepherds of Israel have perished, and the lamps which gave light are extinguished, and the fountains from which we used to drink have withheld their streams" (v. 13). The author appropriates the shepherd

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date range, see G. Sayler, *Have the Promises Failed? A Literary Analysis of 2 Baruch*, SBLDS, vol. 72 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 103-110. Sayler, for her part, concludes that the *terminus ad quem* remains unknown.

[136] The letter comprises the final section of the document; cf. Klijn, "2 Baruch." 1:617.

[137] Cf. Desjardins, "2 Baruch and 4 Ezra," 25 (and n. 3); also Klijn, "2 Baruch," 1:616.

[138] For a discussion of the internal evidence of the author's world, see Sayler, *2 Baruch*, 110-118. The highly apocalyptic outlook of the book may also point in the direction of a Palestinian origin, but Collins's caution is an important one, viz., "the common assumption that all the apocalyptic literature is Palestinian is open to question" ("Apocalyptic Literature," 357). While apocalyptic literature does not necessitate a Palestinian provenance, because the Jewish documents that exist are Palestinian, *2 Baruch*'s apocalyptic orientation would lead in that direction.

metaphor for Law teachers, i.e., authoritative teachers of the Law—like the author.[139] By

their teaching these religious teachers provide light and refreshment to the people.[140]

Because the community considers Baruch to be the sole surviving leader in the

wake of Jerusalem's destruction, they believe his (impending) death will leave a huge

void in religious leadership.[141] But Baruch reassures his followers, saying,

> Shepherds and lamps and fountains came from the Law and when we go away, the
> Law will abide. If you, therefore, look upon the Law and are intent upon wisdom,
> then the lamp will not be wanting and the shepherd will not give way and the
> fountain will not dry up (2 Bar. 77:15b-16).

As in v. 13, "shepherds," "lamps" and "fountains" represent teachers of the Mosaic Law.

The larger point here, however, is that these recognized teachers ultimately derive their

authority from the Law (and not merely from some communal appointment). Moreover,

the nationalistic concern of the text seems evident. Baruch has just warned the people

that if they are to avoid exile, they must remain faithful to God's Law (77:1-10); in view

of Baruch's imminent departure, however, the people express anxiety over how to do this

without a teacher to help them. Baruch therefore encourages them that as long as they are

faithful to what they know, God will provide them with other religious teachers, i.e.,

shepherds, to guide them.[142]

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[139] According to R. Wright ("The Social Setting of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch," *JSP* 16 [1997]: 81-96), the author of *2 Baruch* considered himself to be "a recognized/authorized 'Baruch' intermediary."

[140] The parallelism between "extinguished lamps," "dry fountains" and "perished shepherds" implies that Israel's shepherds were supposed to offer light to the people, lest they walk about in darkness, and drink, lest they thirst; consequently, the people speak of being "left in the darkness and in the thick forest and in the aridness of the desert" (v. 14).

[141] This concern for a leadership void in the wake of Baruch's departure has already been expressed in the narrative in ch. 44-46: "[W]ill there be no light anymore for that people who are left? For where shall we again investigate the Law or who will distinguish between death and life for us?" (46:2-3).

[142] Hunziker-Rodewald asserts, "Dass in der syrischen Baruch-Apokalypse nicht eindeutig zwischen der lichtspendenden Funktion des Gesetzes und derer, die das Gesetz dem Volk vermitteln, zu

Although Philo employs the shepherd metaphor for kings and for God, he most frequently deploys the metaphor innovatively for the human mind (26 times, mostly in *De Agricultura*).[143] To shepherd bodily passions is to exercise perfect self-control over them. Philo appeals to Moses to underscore the importance of being a good shepherd: just as Moses prayed that the flock would be given a good shepherd to lead them out of wickedness and into virtue, so also should a person pray for a mind that can rule like a shepherd (*Agric.* 44-48): i.e., not to allow bodily passions to consume a soul, but to be able to exercise authority and control over unlawful bodily dispositions.

In another use of "shepherd," Philo expresses an awareness of a critical attitude towards the shepherding vocation: when speaking of Joseph's brothers' admission to Pharaoh about being shepherds, Philo writes:

> [I]f the care of literal goats or sheep was what was meant, they would perhaps, in their shrinking from disgrace, have been actually ashamed to own what they were; for such pursuits are held mean and inglorious in the eyes of those who have compassed that importance, wholly devoid of wisdom, that comes with prosperity, and most of all in the eyes of monarchs (*Agric.* 61).

Philo does not merely adopt the perspective of Gen 46:34bβ (viz., "all shepherds are detestable to the Egyptians"). On the one hand, his explanation of their vocation substantially amplifies the critical attitude inherent in the biblical text. On the other hand, he seeks to justify Joseph's brothers' claim of being shepherds, contrary to Gen 46:34.

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unterscheiden ist, liegt daran, dass die Vermittler aus dem Gesetz stammen (77:15), d.h. nur entfalten, was jenes bereits enthält" (*Hirt*, 211). The teachers of the Law do derive both their teaching and authority from the Law; nevertheless, the author of *2 Baruch* views the teachers as the shepherds not the Law (cf. 77:13). Moreover, the author made this same point previously: "Israel will not be in want of a wise man, nor the tribe of Jacob, a son of the Law. But only prepare your heart so that you obey the Law, and be subject to those who are wise and understanding with fear. And prepare your soul that you shall not depart from them. If you do this, those good tidings will come to you of which I spoke to you earlier" (46:4b-6).

[143] Other less substantial occurrences of the metaphor being applied to the mind are *Abr.* 221; *Det.* 3, 9, 25; *Ios.* 2; *Migr.* 213; *Mut.* 110; *Post.* 67, 98; *Prob.* 31; *Sacr.* 45, 48-49, 51; *Sobr.* 14; *Somn.* 2:151-54.

That is, in Genesis, it is precisely because Egyptians detest shepherds that Joseph instructs his brothers to inform Pharaoh of their occupation: so that they can live in Goshen. The Egyptians' low view of shepherds is not a problem for the redactor of Genesis. It is, however, for Philo (or perhaps for his readers): hence he attempts to rationalize the vocation of Israel's Patriarchs.

Similarly, in one of his literal uses of "shepherd," Josephus reveals a negative attitude towards shepherds. In *AJ* 17:278, Josephus describes Athronges, one of the challengers to Herod's throne, as aspiring to the kingship despite not being distinguished by his ancestry, character or wealth; but on the contrary, he was only a shepherd and was unknown to the general populace. Here, Josephus indicates that there is a definite lowliness to the social status of a shepherd.[144]

3.2.6 Summary of the Shepherd Metaphor in the Writings of Non-Christ-Believing Jews

The range of uses for the shepherd metaphor can be mapped as follows:

Figure 7. Basic Uses for the Shepherd Metaphor

Rulers	YHWH	Messiah	Act of Judgment	Teachers of the Law
1 Enoch	1 Enoch	Pss. Sol. 17	CD XIX	2 Baruch
4Q504	4Q509			
1Q34	Ben Sira			
CD XIII	Judith			
Philo	Apoc. Ezek.			
Pseudo-Philo	Philo			
Josephus	Pseudo-Philo			
4 Ezra				

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[144] This contrast between being of noble ancestry and being a shepherd is lacking in the parallel account of *BJ* 2:60 and is maybe due to a difference in the respective audiences, which Josephus addresses; cf. the discussion of the social setting of *AJ* in section 3.2.2 above.

Similar to the HB, Second Temple Jews most commonly appropriate the metaphor for rulers and for YHWH.

Within the category of "Rulers as Shepherds," there are further correspondences with the HB but also some differences:

Figure 8. Specific Referents of the "Rulers as Shepherds" Metaphor

Shepherd Trait	1 Enoch	4Q504	1Q34	CD XIII	Philo	L.A.B.	4 Ezra	Jos.
Monarchs					X			X
King David		X	X					X
Intercessor					X	X		
Angels	X							
Religious Leader				X			X	
Virtuous Mind					X			

While 4Q504 and 1Q34 are too fragmentary to offer further insight here, *1 Enoch*, CD XIII, Philo and *4 Ezra* depict shepherd-rulers in fairly pastoral terms, similar to the metaphor's use in the HB:[145] the redactor of *1 Enoch* refers three times to the evil shepherds governing Israel as "pasturing" the flock; the "Examiner" of CD XIII is responsible for watching over the afflicted, loosening their chains and paying particular regard for the "oppressed and crushed"; Philo speaks of shepherd-rulers as guarding, protecting, leading and guiding the flock; and in *4 Ezra*, the shepherd must eat to have strength to defend the flock against savage wolves.

Non-Christ-believing Jewish authors can also use the shepherd metaphor innovatively. Pseudo-Philo, like the author of 2 Samuel 7, uses "shepherd" for pre-monarchical rulers of Israel: Moses and the Judges. But the particular aspect of their

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[145] While Josephus does not use the metaphor in this way, this may be because he is merely following the specific contours of the biblical text: he quotes 1 Kgs 22:17 in *AJ* 8:404 and 2 Sam 24:17 in *AJ* 3:328.

leadership that Pseudo-Philo highlights, in contrast to 2 Samuel 7, is their role of intercessor for the nation's iniquity. *1 Enoch* describes Israel's rulers during their period of foreign domination as angelic beings: the demonic forces whose activity, according to the author, resulted in the nation's captivity and oppression. The author of CD XIII describes the Examiner—the religious leader of the Essene camps—as a "shepherd" who exercises authority over the community in the areas of admittance, commerce, marital affairs and religious instruction (cf. the more general depiction of a religious leader in *4 Ezra* 5). Philo, for his part, uses the metaphor for the virtuous mind that successfully rules over bodily passions. Thus, compared to the HB, Second Temple Jewish authors appropriate the shepherd metaphor for non-political figures (e.g., religious leaders/teachers, human mind) and for non-political functions (e.g., interceding, controlling bodily passions, teaching) with greater frequency.[146]

When applied to YHWH, the shepherd metaphor parallels what is observed in the HB:

Figure 9. Implicit or Explicit Traits of YHWH as a Shepherd

Shepherd-Trait	Ben Sira	1 Enoch	Jdt	4Q509	Apoc. Ezek.	Philo	L.A.B.
Merciful	X	X		X	X		X
Judge		X					X
Protector			X				
Sovereign Ruler						X	

When depicted as a shepherd, YHWH is most commonly portrayed as merciful or compassionate. And similar to the HB, YHWH's shepherding is described in fairly earthy terms. According to the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel*, YHWH binds up and heals the

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[146] Only in four of its many uses in the HB does the metaphor refer to prophets rather than monarchs or civic rulers.

troubled and the lame, and feeds them; Pseudo-Philo describes God's toiling amongst his

people in terms of creation and the formation, election and care of his people Israel; the

redactor of *1 Enoch* speaks of the "Lord of the sheep" as protecting his people, pasturing

them and eventually, gathering them in his house and restoring their sight; and according

to Judith, YHWH, as Israel's Shepherd, protects his people from military dangers.

The metaphor is deployed uniquely in three passages:

Figure 10. Specific Referents for Other Uses of "Shepherd"

Text	Referent	Characteristics
CD XIX	Act of Judgment	Apostates receive divine condemnation when the messiah comes
Pss. Sol. 17	Davidic Messiah	Davidic warrior-ruler and judge
2 Baruch	Teachers of the Law	Provide light/guidance and (spiritual) refreshment

In CD XIX the focus is not so much on the shepherd of Zech 13:7 *per se*, but on what

happens to this shepherd: he is struck down by God. Hence, the striking-down-of-the-

shepherd represents the execution of God's wrath, in the day of the messiah, upon those

Jews (who were once faithful but) who turned away from the Covenant. In *Psalms of

Solomon* 17 the messianic Son of David is depicted as a warrior who will sternly judge

the Gentiles and apostate Jews, but gather together the people of God and extend

YHWH's rule over the nation, shepherding them in righteousness.[147] The author of *2

Baruch* describes the authoritative teachers of the Law as Israel's shepherds who, by their

teaching, provide light, guidance and refreshment for Israel.

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[147] Manning believes that the Son of David's role as a chief teacher of God's Law is emphasized (*Echoes*, 95), but two of the verses he cites in support of this notion explicitly refer to his role as ruler; the third speaks more of the close relationship between YHWH and his messiah: YHWH accomplishes his deeds through the messiah's words.

As observed in the above discussion and summary, Second Temple Jewish authors often idealize the activities of the model shepherd (e.g., YHWH) in the (pastoral) terms commonly used to describe the shepherding vocation:

Figure 11. Degree of Pastoral Imagery Used in the Texts of Non-Christ-believing Jews when Idealizing a Shepherd

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
1 Enoch CD *Pss. Sol.* 17 *Apoc. Ezek.*	Judith Pseudo-Philo	Ben Sira Philo

One of the central characteristics of the appropriation of the shepherd metaphor by non-Christ-believing Jews remains the nationalistic overtones:

Figure 12. Nationalistic Overtones in the Metaphor's Use by Non-Christ-believing Jews

Strong Overtones	Modest Overtones	Little or No Overtones
1 Enoch 4Q504 CD XIII; XIX *Pss. Sol.* 17 *Apoc. Ezek.* Pseudo-Philo *4 Ezra* 2 Baruch	1Q34 4Q509 Judith Josephus	Ben Sira Philo

As in the HB, there is a clear tendency for non-Christ-believing Jewish writers to associate a nationalistic perspective with the metaphor.

It is obvious that the shepherd metaphor appears most frequently in Jewish Palestinian literature and is deployed by Jewish authors for their Jewish communities. Further, while the size of the audience represented by these texts cannot be determined with any precision, it seems clear enough that the metaphor was appropriated by small groups, such as the Qumran community (i.e., CD XIII; XIX), and by larger groups, like

the one standing behind *1 Enoch* (a group which exerted some influence on other Second Temple Jews and Christ-believers). The only Diaspora Jewish writers who use the metaphor are Philo and Josephus. The metaphor is altogether absent in, for example, the Diaspora Jewish writings of Artapanus, Aristobulus, *Letter of Aristeas*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Pseudo-Phocylides, and Wisdom of Solomon, which (with the exceptions of Aristobulus and Pseudo-Phocylides) present material which would have (at least potentially) provided a suitable context for the shepherd metaphor's appropriation: although fragmented, Artapanus deals with Joseph and Moses in the context of kings and rulers; two of the questions posed in *Letter of Aristeas* concern the chief characteristic and the definition of kingship; *Joseph and Aseneth* has descriptions of Joseph, the ruler of Egypt, and YHWH; there are also fairly lengthy descriptions of Moses and YHWH in Ezekiel the Tragedian; and the sixth chapter of Wisdom of Solomon deals with the rule of kings.

Philo and Josephus are Diaspora Jews writing for other Diaspora Jews, as well as for Gentiles in the case of Josephus, and possibly for Philo.[148] Only in their texts does "shepherd" receive negative connotations.[149] The reason for this might be their respective

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[148] Their respective destinations would likely include Gentiles because of their more religio-cultural and apologetic concerns. That is, both Philo and Josephus sought to defend and extol Judaism against its Gentile detractors. This type of orientation is lacking in the other texts discussed in this section of the study.

[149] Josephus and Philo use "shepherd" in a mixed manner, i.e., with both positive and negative connotations. By way of contrast, among the numerous uses of "shepherd" by Palestinian Jewish authors, only *4 Ezra* 5:16b-18 (possibly) and CD XIX employ the metaphor with negative connotations: thus, the general tendency of Palestinian authors is to deploy the metaphor positively. Further, the question could be posed, does the metaphor actually receive negative connotations in the former text? *4 Ezra* 5:16b-18 reads: "Where have you been? And why is your face sad? Or do you now know that Israel has been entrusted to you in the land of exile? Rise therefore and eat some bread, so that you may not forsake us, like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of savage wolves"? While this may constitute a negative use of "shepherd," the statement does not in any way make a general characterization about shepherds, viz., that

Diaspora contexts and the intended recipients of their texts: Philo writes for Egyptian

Jews (and possibly Gentiles), while Josephus writes from Rome primarily for Gentile

authorities: the vocation was held in low regard by Egyptians and Romans.[150] While this

observation cannot be pressed too far, it may be that, based on the available (but limited)

data, the shepherd metaphor possessed a greater interest for Palestinian Jews than it did

for their Diaspora counterparts. Part Two of this study will discuss how Matthew's

appropriation of the metaphor fits with these basic patterns of thought observed in the

metaphor's use by non-Christ-believing Jews.

3.3 The Use of "Shepherd" in the Writings of Non-Christ-Believing Romans

3.3.1 Introduction

Of non-Jewish, non-Christ-believing writings, Roman texts possess the most

impact for any study of Matthew because of the strong social and political influence the

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they are prone to abandoning their flock in times of danger [in fact, according to Fourth Gospel, John describes the person who does this as a hired hand and not a true or "good" shepherd]. All that should be taken from *4 Ezra* 5:18 is that some shepherds do (forsake the flock), some do not, and Ezra is being admonished not to be like the former—"like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of savage wolves"; the inference is that he should rise up and look after his flock of exiles like a responsible shepherd. If this reading is correct, then that would make CD XIX the sole exception to the observable tendency or pattern concerning the use of the shepherd metaphor by Palestinian Jewish authors.

[150] Cf. the discussion of "shepherd" in Roman texts in section 3.3 below. This critical attitude towards shepherds intensifies in the writings of the ancient rabbis, who frequently criticize shepherds as being untrustworthy (t. Sanh 5:5; y. Sanh 21a; b. Sanh 25b, 26b), given to thievery (b. Baba K. 118b), cruel (b. Pes 49b), almost worthless (b. Sanh 57a; b. Avod 13b; t. Baba M. 2:32). S. Shimoff ("Shepherds: Hellenism, Sectarianism, and Judaism" in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism: The Literature of Early Rabbinic Judaism: Issues in Talmudic Redaction and Interpretation*, Studies in Judaism, eds. J. Neusner, E. Frerichs, W. Green and G. Porton, vol. 4, ed. A. Avery-Peck [Lanham: University Press of America, 1989], 123-31) suggests that "the extreme position against shepherds was dictated by . . . Rome from without and sectarianism from within" ("Shepherds," 131). According to Shimoff, since the image of the shepherd was commonly appropriated by Jewish sects (e.g., Qumran and early Christ-believers), the rabbis, as guardians of tradition, countered such claims by, on the one hand, avoiding shepherding imagery in their homilies, and by deprecating shepherds, on the other hand. Additionally, the critical attitude Romans had for shepherds almost certainly would have played a part in the deprecation of shepherds by rabbis.

Roman Empire would have wielded on its Jewish and Christ-believing constituents.[151]

As mentioned in section 1.3 above, Carter has probably drawn the most attention to the

relationship between Matthew's Gospel and the Roman Empire. The starting point for his

method is the historical context of Matthew: "the Gospel comes from and addresses a

world dominated by the Roman Empire."[152] Matthew would thus represent a response (at

least in part) to this context of Roman political, economic, ideological, and social

domination in which the Jesus movement seeks to carve out a place for itself. How close

or how far off Matthew's deployment of the shepherd metaphor is with the use of

"shepherd" in Roman texts will have direct bearing on determining the socio-religious

orientation of Matthew (and perhaps even more so, his audience).

Of special importance for this study are the titles of honour bestowed upon Roman

emperors. Carter correctly points out that Matthew's presentation of Jesus closely echoes

(and challenges) the claims of Roman Imperial theology.[153] In view of these parallel

claims, some measure of overlap in the titles and terms applied to the emperor and to

Matthew's Jesus would be expected.[154] The first part of this section, consequently,

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[151] For a discussion of the shepherd metaphor in Greek sources, see Vancil, "Shepherd," 99-127; G. Aalders, *Political Thought in Hellenistic Times* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975), 17-27, as well as Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 160-68. Aalders comments that the metaphor implicitly elevated the king above the rest of humanity (i.e., the king is one kind of being: a human [shepherd], while his subjects are of a different kind: animals [sheep]); this elevation is later observed in the deification of the king in Hellenism, most famously, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but also Antiochus I, who is referred to in an inscription as "The Great King Antiochus, God Just and Manifest" (cf. Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 161-62).

[152] Carter, *Empire*, 1.

[153] Carter (*Empire*, 57-74) focuses on the claims of divine sovereignty, presence, agency, and societal well-being. Imperial claims, for example, assert that the emperor of Rome has been anointed by the gods as their agent through whom their presence in and power over the Roman Empire are manifest: e.g., Domitian is called "present god" (*deus praesens*)—the god's presence and favour reside in him (*Sil.* 5.2.170); cf. Carter, *Empire*, 20-34. Matthew makes similar claims for Jesus: in Jesus and in his mission, God's presence and his sovereign rule (i.e., the kingdom of God) are revealed.

[154] This overlap would especially be anticipated if, as Carter correctly asserts, Matthew, on the one hand, seeks implicitly to challenge the Romans' view of divine sovereignty, divine presence, agency, and

surveys the titles given to Roman emperors to determine if "shepherd"—an important

descriptor Matthew employs for Jesus—was among these honorific Roman titles.

Of additional relevance is the general attitudes of Romans towards shepherds

because, as will be evident, their attitudes stand in very sharp contrast to those of non-

Christ believing Jews and Christ-believers. Roman authors typically do not employ

"shepherd" as a metaphor.[155] While a number of Roman authors writing near the time of

Matthew frequently use the term "shepherd" (Latin, *pastor*) only when referring to the

shepherding vocation,[156] or as a proper name,[157] sometimes the manner in which they

discuss shepherds as a vocation or as a social class does produce some insight into the

attitudes that non-Christ-believing Romans had towards shepherds in Matthew's day.

Since the usage of "shepherd" in these texts is almost exclusively literal and not

metaphoric, the second portion of this section will only summarize the attitude reflected

in the texts rather than engage in a detailed exegesis of passages, and discuss how it

relates to the previous subsection.

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societal well-being, since these concepts relate both to the emperor and to Jesus. It would also be expected if, on the other hand, Matthew wrote as someone steeped in Roman culture—whether by virtue of ethnic identity or a high degree of acculturation.

[155] In one instance, however, *Inst.* 8.6.18.1, Quintilian (c. 40–118 CE) does explicitly quote Homer's metaphor, "shepherd of the people." As observed in section 3.2.2 above, Philo also cites this phrase three times, referring to kings—similar to Homer, who uses the expression for Agamemnon (*Il.* 2:253). But Quintilian cites Homer's phrase only to demonstrate the need to use metaphors appropriately and not simply for the sake of using a well-known figurative expression.

[156] For "shepherd" as a vocation, see Ovid (c. 43 BCE–17 CE), *Fast.* 1.379; 2.369; 3.879; 4.487, 735, 776, 795, 810; *Trist.* 4.1.12; *Metam.* 1.573, 676, 681; 3.408; 4.276; passim; Seneca the Younger (c. 4 BCE–65 CE), *Ep.* 34.1; 122.12.2; *Herc. fur.* 139, 232, 451; *Med.* 101; *Phaed.* 422; *Oed.* 146, 808, 816; *Herc. Ot.* 128; *Oct.* 774; *Nat.* 2.22.1.8; Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE), *Nat.* 8.54.3, 100.5, 106.2, 114.3; 10.40.6, 115.3; 12.22.5; 16.75.5, 179.4, 208.1; 18.330.3; 19.27.3; 22.56.2; 25.14.8; Martial (c. 40–104 CE), *Epi.* 5.65.11; 8.53.3; 11.41.1; 13.38.1; 14.156.1; Petronius (first century CE), *Fr.* 27.10; Statius (c. 45–96 CE), *Achill.* 1.20; 2.51; *Theb.* 1.367; 2.378; 4.301, 368, 715; 6.188; 7.393, 437; 8.692; 9.191; 10.574; 11.310; 12.268; *Sil.* 1.2.43, 214; 1.4.105.

[157] Pliny the Younger (c. 61–113 CE), uses it as a proper name ("Junius Pastor" [*Ep.* 1.18.3], as does Seneca the Younger, who uses it as the name of a Roman knight (*Ira* 2.33.3-4).

3.3.2 Honorific Titles for Roman Emperors

Of the honorific titles ascribed to Roman emperors, the most common of these given to Julius Caesar (49–44 BCE) and to Octavius Caesar (27 BCE–14 CE) are "Saviour" (Σωτήρ), "Benefactor" (Εὐεργέτης), "God" (Θεός) and "Founder" (Κτίστης).[158] In addition to these titles, F. Sauter notes that Martial[159] and Statius[160] ascribe to Domitian (81–96 CE) the names "Peacemaker," "Favourite of God [and Humans]" and "Lord/Master of the World,"[161] as well as the names of popular Roman gods like "Jupiter" and "Hercules."[162] Other titles for Domitian include "Lord of the Earth" (Statius, *Sil.* 3.4.20), "Ruler of the Nations" (*Sil.* 4.2.14-15), "Master of the Sea and Land" (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 7.3), and "Ruler of Lands and Seas and Nations" (Juvenal, *Sat.* 4.83-84). Despite the variety of titles of honour bestowed upon living and dead emperors of the Roman Empire, the ascription of "shepherd" never appears among them.

This non-use of "shepherd" for monarchs by Roman authors clearly diverges with the term's employment by ANE, Classical Greek and Hellenistic sources. Among ancient

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[158] Other honorific names include: *parens patriae, pontifex maximus* and *Divus Iulius* for Julius Caesar, and *divi filius* and *Augustus* for Octavius Caesar; cf. a list of inscriptions that accord divine honours to Caesar, Antony, Augustus and his house in L. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975), 267-83. The emperor-worship that accompanied these exalted titles was confined to the dead. It was not until Gaius and Domitian that living emperors demanded worship during their lifetime; cf. M. Goodman, *The Roman World: 44 BC–AD 180,* Routledge History of the Ancient World, gen. ed. F. Millar (London: Routledge, 1997), 123-34.

[159] Marcus Valerius Martialis (c. 40–104 CE) was a Spanish-born poet who lived two-thirds of his life in Rome.

[160] Publius Papinius Statius (c. 45–96 CE) was the son of a prominent schoolteacher and became prize-winning poet.

[161] Suetonius (69–121 CE) also asserts that Domitian sought to be called "our Lord and God" (*dominus et deus noster*).

[162] F. Sauter, *Der Römische Kaiserkult Bei Martial und Statius* (Stuttgart-Berlin: Verlag Von W. Kohlhammer, 1934).

Greek sources, for example, Vancil notes that Euripides speaks of the Athenian ruler as a "young and valiant shepherd" (*Supp.* 191), while Plato periodically employs the metaphor for good and wise rulers.[163] The absence of this particular usage of "shepherd" in the writings of Roman authors (approximately) contemporary with Matthew is intriguing in light of the fact that most of the Roman titles previously mentioned are applied to Jesus by his early followers: Jesus is called "Saviour" (σωτήρ) in Luke 2:11; John 4:42 and Phil 3:20; he is called "God" (θεός) in John 20:28 and Rom 9:5; he is the "Source of Creation" (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως) in Rev 3:14 (cf. John 1:3; Col 1:16); John's expression for Jesus, ὁ μονογενής (John 3:16; cf. μου ὁ ἀγαπητός in Mark 1:11), would approximate "Favourite of God"; Jesus is referred to as "Ruler" in 1 Tim 6:15 and Rev 1:5; and, of course, he is frequently called "Lord" (or "Master") throughout the NT. The reasons why Roman authors avoided using "shepherd" likely have to do with what seems to be the prevailing attitude of Romans towards shepherds, as evidenced by how they are depicted in Roman writings.

3.3.3 The Portrayal of Shepherds in Roman Texts

Roman authors writing around the time of Matthew view shepherds quite negatively. Livy[164] uses "shepherd" some 21 times in *Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, which describes the rise of the Roman Empire. Livy portrays shepherds—even within their very minor role in his literary history—as semi-violent, unprincipled rabble-rousers (cf. *Ab*

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[163] Vancil, "Sheep, Shepherd," 1189; cf. his more in depth assessment of the metaphor in ANE and Classical Greek texts in Vancil, "Shepherd," 14-127.

[164] Titus Livius (c. 59 BCE–17 CE) spent most of his life in Rome and was a member of the elite literary circle patronized by Augustus.

Urbe. 1.4.9, 5.7).[165] He also considers them to be of very low social repute, associating them with vagrants,[166] and deeming the life of a shepherd as being only a little better than living in exile (5.53.8-9).[167] In a similar vein Seneca the Younger[168] draws a negative comparison between the high social rank of a senator and the low rank of a shepherd (*Ep.* 47.10.7).[169]

The bellicose conduct of and low regard for shepherds observed in Livy, appear in the Roman history, *Historiae Romanae* by Velleius Paterculus.[170] In an account of the war between Athens and Lacedaemonia, King Codrus, in order to secure victory for Athens according to a Pythian oracle, disguises himself as a shepherd, provokes a quarrel, and is slain in the ensuing skirmish (*Hist.* I, 2.1-2).[171] The contrast between these two

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[165] In the account of the assassination of King Tarquinius, he writes that the sons of Ancus hired two shepherds to perform the deed of the assassination by feigning a loud brawl in the entrance court of the palace; when finally given an audience with the king, one of the shepherds kills him with an axe (*Ab Urbe.* 1.40.5-7). This story suggests, on the one hand, that shepherds were viewed as unscrupulous characters—since they could be hired to assassinate a king. This finds confirmation elsewhere in Livy: when describing an insurrection in Apulia, he writes that there arose a "conspiracy of shepherds who had endangered the highways and the public pasturelands by their brigandage" (39.29.9).

[166] He simultaneously refers to both shepherds and vagrants as "rabble" (2.1.4).

[167] A more subtle yet nonetheless critical attitude towards shepherds can be observed in Pliny, *Nat. His.* 35.25.5. In a passage describing the worth that Romans place on foreign paintings, Pliny relates two brief stories. In the first, he relates how, in response to a witness's question, "What sort of person do you take me to be?" Crassus the pleader retorted, "'That sort of person,' pointing to a picture of a Gaul putting out his tongue in a very unbecoming fashion" (35.25.1-4). Pliny then follows this Roman forum story up with a second: "It was also in the forum that there was the picture of the Old Shepherd with his Staff, about which the Teuton envoy when asked what he thought was the value of it said that he would rather not have even the living original as a gift!" Although the pictures displayed at the forum are of considerable worth according to Pliny, in view of the preceding forum anecdote of the "unbecoming gesture," as well as the devaluation of "the living original"—i.e., the shepherd himself and not his portrait—this would seem to represent another instance of the maligning of shepherds.

[168] Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 BCE–65 CE) was born in Spain but raised and educated in Rome in rhetoric and philosophy.

[169] Elsewhere for the sake of a contrast he tries to establish, Seneca juxtaposes "shepherd" and "goddesses" (*Ag.* 731): in other words, shepherds represent the antithesis of gods and goddesses.

[170] Gaius Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 BCE–30 CE) served in the military in Germany under future emperor Tiberius, and was appointed *quaestor* (in 6 CE) and later *praetor* (15 CE).

[171] This idea of a shepherd provoking a quarrel resembles the scene in Livy, *Ab Urbe.* 1.40.5-7 (discussed above).

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social classes,[172] when combined with the shepherd's murder—which happens during a simple domestic dispute—suggests that the social status of a shepherd was so low that even the murder of one would not raise an eyebrow.

Alongside these instances where shepherds are portrayed rather unfavourably,[173] two references seem to move in the opposite direction. In his 12-volume treatise *Des Rustica*, Columella[174] speaks of shepherds in a more positive manner, describing them as possessing a keen mind (*Rust.* 1.9.1-5).[175] An even more positive depiction of shepherds appears in the *Annales* of Tacitus.[176] According to this text, some shepherds find the

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[172] Paterculus writes that Codrus "[laid] aside his kingly robes and [donned] the garb of a shepherd". The first part of this phrase seems somewhat superfluous unless the author intended to contrast implicitly the social classes of a shepherd and a king.

[173] In addition to these literal employments of "shepherd," it is twice used metaphorically in *Moralia*, whose author, Plutarch (c. 45–125 CE), was a Greek biographer and philosopher who became a Roman citizen. Each time "shepherd" bears negative connotations. In the first, Plutarch uses "shepherd" to describe the actions of a royal servant named Philopoemen, who "tends" (ποιμαίνω) King Attalus by fattening his master with food and drink, thereby contributing to the king's inactivity. Consequently, rather than Attalus's eminence increasing—as typically occurs through kings' military campaigns—leisure and inactivity lead to his diminished status (*An seni* 792A-B). "Shepherding" here refers to filling up a monarch with luxuries resulting in tarnishing the king's status and thus, appears to possess critical overtones: it results in a monarch's diminished rank. Plutarch remarks how the glutted Attalus is mocked by the Romans: "does the king have any influence with Philopoemen?" In other words, it seems as if Philopoemen the servant can do more for the people than the king can. While the act of "tending" in itself would not necessarily imply an unfavourable connotation, the name of the servant responsible for sullying the king's reputation would: "Philopoemen" (Φιλοποίμην), which means "shepherd-associate." A shepherd, then, is the one responsible for soiling the king's reputation. In the second occurrence of the metaphor, Plutarch uses it in relation to Epicurean philosophers. He describes them as "tending" (ποιμαίνω) their philosophies (*Def. orac.* 420B). Here, "shepherding" would essentially refer to practicing and peddling philosophical teachings. While tending/shepherding philosophies would not by itself elicit negative overtones, insofar as it is the Epicureans who do the shepherding and no one else—Plutarch's character Cleombrotus is quite critical of Epicureans and, although Cleombrotus also opposes some of the teachings of the Stoics [cf. *Def. orac.* 420 A], he does not attack them in the virulent way that he does the Epicureans—"shepherd" receives a critical connotation by association.

[174] Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella (c. 4 BCE–65 CE) was a native of Spain but lived most of his life in the environs of Rome. He served for a time in the military and also owned several farms at various points in his life.

[175] He adds that the "good shepherd" is the one who cares for the sheep responsibly for the sake of the owner of the sheep (7.3.13-15).

[176] Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–116 CE) was a Roman historian, who also served as *praetor* (in 88), *consul suffectus* (97) and later as proconsul in 112-13 CE.

body of King Radamistus's pregnant wife Zenobia floating in a river, and because she still shows signs of life, they

> [acknowledged] her high birth from the distinction of her appearance, they bound up her wound, applied their country remedies, and, on discovering her name and misfortune, carried her to the town of Artaxata . . . [where] she was escorted to Tiridates, and, after a kind of reception, was treated with royal honours (*Ann.* XII, 51).

In light of the generally critical tone towards shepherds, how should these two more positive portrayals be understood? While a mixed view is possible, it should be rejected because the balance of evidence does not support this position: the vast majority of texts indicate that shepherds were peripheral at best;[177] and of those texts which offer a further glimpse into how shepherds were viewed, the perception is quite negative. Moreover, it is possible to explain the positive tone of these two statements.

In Columella, the strength of these more positive statements would largely be muted in view of the purpose of his treatise, which is, to defend the agricultural enterprise against its highly vocal Epicurean detractors (cf. *Rust.* 1.1-12);[178] he thus extols the merits of every aspect of his enterprise, including shepherding. In the *Annales*, the sympathetic depiction of shepherds[179] is probably better explained by Tacitus's tendency to use "type-

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[177] Cf. n. 156 and 157 above.

[178] E.g., in opposition to the Epicurean theory that the cause of fruitless farming is overproduction of the land, Columella insists, "I am convinced [that this is] far from the truth; for it is a sin to suppose that Nature, endowed with perennial fertility by the creator of the universe, is affected with barrenness as though with some disease; and it is unbecoming to a man of good judgment to believe that Earth, to whose lot was assigned a divine and everlasting youth, and who is called the common mother of all things—because she has always brought forth all things and is destined to bring them forth continuously—has grown old in mortal fashion" (1.2).

[179] An interesting parallel to the medicinal skills the shepherds display in the *Annals* occurs in *Naturalis Historia*. Pliny describes the ability of shepherds to ward off fevers (*Nat. His.* 29.64.4). More specifically he describes a shepherd named Melampus who was noted for the divination by which he cured the daughters of Proetus of their madness (25.47.3). According to Pliny, then, their medicinal skill is merely attributed to divination.

characters" in the *Annales*, specifically, the "Noble Savage" character.[180] Of the Noble

Savage character type, B. Walker observes, "[T]heir virtues are placed in the strongest

contrast with Roman vices . . . Above all they have not been tainted by greed."[181] Thus,

this seemingly positive portrayal of shepherds serves less as an implicit editorial about

them and more as a narrative device to convict Tacitus's Roman readers with its "shock

value."[182]

Thus, Romans writers held shepherds in low regard; and this critical attitude

towards shepherds would likely explain why they never use "shepherd" for Roman

emperors: it would be offensive.

3.3.4 Summary of "Shepherd" in Roman Writings

That Roman authors most frequently employ "shepherd" incidentally[183] suggests

that they viewed shepherds as unimportant at best. Numerous uses push this attitude even

further: shepherds are often seen as bellicose, social outcasts given to varying degrees of

violence. R. MacMullen comments, "No one's social relations were so limited and

tenuous, so close to no relations at all, as the shepherd's in the hills. His work kept him

away from people. *In those he did meet he had reason to fear an enemy*".[184]

This disparaging attitude towards shepherds probably accounts for its absence

among the numerous ascriptions given to Roman emperors. The unfavourable portrayal

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[180] B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus: A Study in the Writing of History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), 204-34.

[181] Walker, *Annals*, 225.

[182] There would be similar shock value, for example, in Luke's parable of the Good Samaritan: Luke is not concerned with demonstrating the virtues of Samaritans, but rather, with exposing and shaming the religious elite.

[183] Cf. n. 156 and 157 above.

[184] R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations: 50 BC to AD 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 1 (emphasis added).

of shepherds and the absence of the term as an honorific title for Roman emperors demonstrate the insignificance these authors placed on the shepherd as a metaphor for leadership.[185] This contrasts with its use as a metaphor, not only in the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers, but also in ANE, Classical Greek and Hellenistic sources. This characteristic attitude of Roman writers towards shepherds will help further to situate Matthew's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor in Part Two of the study.

Since there is otherwise clear overlap between early titles for Jesus and Roman titles for emperors, this distinction—at least in the case of Matthew—may, on the one hand, imply something as to the cultural setting in which Matthew wrote and expected his Gospel to be read.[186] The distinction, on the other hand, may allow the author, against the backdrop of first-century Roman Imperialism, to present Jesus in an overtly political manner—insofar as Jews would be concerned, that is—that contrasts with his Roman counterpart. In other words, the Emperor of Rome is a distant, ruling king but not a close, personal shepherd like Jesus, who exercises divine ruling authority but remains his people's caring shepherd (cf. Matt 1:23: "God with us").

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[185] Although only the texts of Roman authors whose dates intersect with the early first–early second CE range of Matthew are considered, interestingly, the results of this analysis receive support by the recent study of K. Chew, "*Inscius pastor*: Ignorance and Aeneas' Identity in the *Aeneid*," *Latomus* 61/3 (2002): 616-27, which deals with the use of "shepherd" by Virgil (c. 70—19 BCE) in *Aeneid*. Chew demonstrates that "shepherds"—particularly as the vocation relates to Aeneas, the central character—become a locus for violence in the story.

[186] Matthew does not use a number of the aforementioned designations: e.g., "Benefactor," "Founder" or "Peacemaker." When he does employ some of them (e.g., "God" [Matt 1:23], "Favourite of God" [Matt 3:17], and "Ruler" [Matt 2:6]) or mimic (at least to a degree) others (e.g., "Saviour" [Matt 1:21]), these designations appear only in LXX citations.

3.4 The Use of the Shepherd Metaphor in the Writings of Christ-Believers

3.4.1 Introduction

To ascertain Matthew's socio-religious orientation, his shepherd motif must also

be compared with the shepherd metaphor as it is appropriated by other Christ-believers.

This section will examine the shepherd metaphor in the following texts: the Gospels of

Mark, Luke and John, the book of Acts, the Letters of Hebrews, 1 Peter, Jude and

Ephesians, the book of Revelation, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. The analysis will seek

to identify tendencies or patterns of thought which characterize the appropriation of the

metaphor by Christ-believers (approximately) contemporaneous with Matthew. These

patterns of thought will then provide another point of comparison for locating Matthew

on a spectrum describing socio-religious orientation.

3.4.2 Jesus as the Messianic Shepherd

Christ-believers commonly apply the shepherd metaphor to Jesus. The author of

the Gospel of Mark uses "shepherd" twice in his narrative. In the first part of the Gospel,

when Jesus sees the crowd, his compassion for them is aroused because "they were like

sheep not having a shepherd" (Mark 6:34a).[187] Consequently, Jesus' response is that "he

began to teach them at length" (v. 34b). Since the lesson lasts well into the day, it

becomes difficult (as the disciples point out) for the crowd to tend to their need for

physical nourishment (vv. 35-36). Jesus, however, attends to this need by multiplying the

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[187] Here the reference to Jesus would be indirect: the masses are helpless—like a flock without its shepherd—so Jesus steps in and does for them what their (absentee) shepherds should be doing, viz., he tends to their needs.

disciples' paltry food supply of five loaves and two fish to feed and satisfy the 5000-plus

member crowd (vv. 36-44).

While there are a number of HB texts to which "like sheep not having a shepherd"

here may possibly be alluding,[188] the most probable contenders would be Num 27:17 and

Ezek 34:5. While the allusion to Ezekiel seems more primary for Matthew,[189] in Mark

the Numbers passage would be more prominent than the Ezekiel text for a few reasons.[190]

First, scholars recognize that the wilderness is an important motif in Mark's Gospel.[191] In

fact, within this section of the narrative, its importance is suggested by the triple usage of

"wilderness" (ἔρημος) in 6:31, 32 and 35. While ἔρημος does occur once in Ezekiel

34,[192] it occurs in almost stereotypical fashion in the book of Numbers,[193] even appearing

within the broader context of Num 27:17 (i.e., in 27:3 and 14).[194] Additionally, Num

27:17 would eclipse Ezekiel 34 as the primary allusion for Mark in view of Jesus'

immediate response to seeing the crowd "like sheep not having a shepherd": he begins to

teach them (v. 34c). While teaching does not occupy a place in Ezekiel 34, Moses is

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[188] E.g., Num 27:17; 1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chr 18:16; Ezek 34:5; Zech 10:2.

[189] Cf. the discussion in section 5.2.2 below.

[190] Willitts thinks along these lines as well ("Lost Sheep," 131-32).

[191] E.g., U. Mauser (*Christ in the Wilderness: The Wilderness Theme in the Second Gospel and its Basis in the Biblical Tradition* [London: SCM Press, 1963]) maintains that the wilderness in Mark must be interpreted against the background of the wilderness of the exodus; cf. W. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 39-62. Bracewell also recognizes the importance of this setting in Mark's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor ("Shepherd Imagery," 92-108).

[192] Ezek 34:25 [LXX]: "I will make a covenant of peace with them and rid the land of wild beasts so that they may live in the desert (ἔρημος) and sleep in the forests in safety."

[193] ἔρημος occurs 55 times in Numbers [LXX], followed in frequency by Isaiah (36 times), Exodus and Jeremiah (27 times each). Of the books of the Pentateuch, Numbers is most characteristically associated with Israel's period of wandering in the wilderness: the literary setting of Exodus 19–Num 10:10 is Mount Sinai (receiving the Law), the setting of Deuteronomy is the vicinity of the Jordan (preparing for the Conquest), while the bulk of Numbers (10:11-33:39) reflects the nation's wandering about in the wilderness.

[194] F. Moloney notes that the exodus theme—associated with Moses—is alluded to throughout Mark 6:31-44 (*The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002], 130-31).

recognized not simply as the Lawgiver but as Israel's teacher,[195] and in fact, immediately before (and after) the Numbers 27 passage, Moses expounds the Law (cf. Num 27:5-11). Lastly, the feeding miracle that immediately follows in Mark's narrative—and which was necessitated by the length of Jesus' teaching session—would almost certainly evoke thoughts of Moses and the miracle of manna in the wilderness.[196]

Given the connection between v. 34a and 34b (i.e., Jesus observes the shepherd-less state of the crowds so he begins to teach them), as well as the likely allusion to Num 27:17, Jesus' primary (but not exclusive) role as Israel's shepherd would be that of teacher.[197] The shepherds that the people lack would likely refer to the various religious leaders previously mentioned in Mark's narrative: the scribes (1:22), the priests (1:44), the Pharisees (2:16, 18, passim), and the Herodians (3:6). The negative responses of these leaders to "Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (Mark 1:1b) at this point of the narrative would seem to exemplify why the Evangelist can characterize the Jewish people as being without a shepherd: the leaders care more about strict legal observance than about the sick and the outcast among the flock.[198]

The identity of the crowd for whom Jesus feels compassion and whom he teaches and feeds in 6:34-44 is disputed: is this crowd Jewish or Gentile? Cranfield notes that the

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[195] Moses is referred to as "teaching" Israel, for example, in Deut 4:14; 5:31; 6:1 and 31:19. His position as Israel's teacher is also affirmed by Matt 23:2 and John 9:28.

[196] This is evidenced in John's Gospel where, after the sign of the feeding of the five thousand, John writes, "When the people saw the sign that he had done, they began to say, 'This is indeed the prophet who is to come into world'" (John 6:14). This connection between Jesus' miraculous provision and Moses' manna provision (and hence, the connection between Jesus and Moses) is made even more explicit in the "bread of life" discourse which follows (John 6:41-58).

[197] Within the broader context of the feeding miracle (vv. 35-44), a second role as Israel's Shepherd would be provider/feeder.

[198] The scribes accuse Jesus of blasphemy when he absolves the paralytic of his sins (2:7); the scribes of the Pharisees accuse Jesus of improper table fellowship because he eats with notorious sinners (2:16); the Pharisees and Herodians plot Jesus' murder after he healed on the Sabbath (3:6).

leftovers of the first meal were collected in "baskets" (κόφινοι),[199] something that the satirist Juvenal considered especially characteristic of Jews. Hence, it would seem that the crowd in 6:34-44 would be Jewish. Jesus' flock, then, at least at this juncture of Mark's narrative, is comprised of Galilean Jews. These are the people for whom Jesus serves as the messianic, Moses-like shepherd who teaches the people of Israel and who compassionately satisfies the nation's needs while they are in the wilderness.[200] Chapter five below will show that Matthew transposes Mark's shepherd-teacher tradition to one of shepherd-healer.

The second half of Mark (indeed the entire Gospel) reaches its climax in the passion and resurrection narratives of 14:1-16:8. At the conclusion of the last supper, Jesus and his disciples go out to the Mount of Olives, where Jesus predicts their impending failure and denial,[201] declaring, "You will all fall away, because it has been written, 'I will strike down the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered'" (14:27b). In Mark's appropriation of Zech 13:7 ("I will strike down the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered"), it seems clear that his purpose in citing this text is to demonstrate God's sovereignty over the events of the passion.[202] In other words, that the disciples should fall away does not contravene God's design but rather, their falling away wholly aligns with God's purpose for Jesus in his passion. Mark maintains the broad sense of "striking

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[199] Cf. Mark 6:43; the same term is used again with reference to this first feeding in 8:19.

[200] Cf. Broadhead's assessment of this verse: "Over against this critique stands the positive characterization of Jesus. In view of the failure of the leaders of Israel, Jesus shepherds the scattered flock of God. He does so first of all through instruction, then through the gift of food" (*Naming Jesus*, 94). Bracewell, for his part, suggests that even the feeding miracle was intended to teach ("Shepherd Imagery," 132-35). Certainly, according to Mark 8:14-21, there was a didactic point to the miracle, which Jesus expected his disciples to understand.

[201] Lane suggests that 14:27-31 represent a Marcan insertion into the primitive passion story since the flow of the narrative from v. 32 follows naturally after v. 26.

[202] The ὅτι here would be causative: i.e., "because it is written."

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down," "shepherd," and "scattered" found in Deutero-Zechariah.[203] But while preserving

the general sense of these terms, he does, nevertheless, modify and extend them.

Whereas the striking down of the shepherd refers to the violent end of the Davidic line in

Deutero-Zechariah, here it refers to the crucifixion of Christ. It is also clear from the

syntactical parallel between "fall away" and "scattered" that the scattering, while

involving physical dispersion, is self-imposed and caused by taking offence at Jesus'

suffering at the hands of the authorities.[204] Furthermore, Mark extends the shepherd

imagery of Zech 13:7 in the next verse: "But after I have been raised, I will go ahead

(προάγω) of you to Galilee" (v. 28). While προάγω/ἄγω ("go ahead"/"lead") does not

necessarily bear shepherding imagery, it can;[205] and in view of its close connection with

the shepherd citation in the previous verse,[206] προάγω would doubtless bear that

imagery here. Mark, then, extends the shepherd metaphor beyond the striking down of

the crucifixion to the resurrection of Jesus and the reconstitution of his dispersed disciples

in Galilee.

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[203] That is, for both Deutero-Zechariah and Mark "strike down" means to be killed, "shepherd" refers to God's appointed leader of his people, and "scattered" includes physical dispersion (cf. section 2.2.2 above). In Bracewell's analysis of the shepherd imagery in Mark 14:27 ("Shepherd Imagery," 136-61), while exploring questions of form, tradition and authenticity of the saying, he neglects comparing Mark and Deutero-Zechariah directly.

[204] It is the prospect of taking offence at Jesus that prompts Peter's strong objection in the narrative that he would never deny Jesus (14:29-31).

[205] E.g., in the LXX: Gen 46:32; Exod 3:1; Ps 77:52; Isa 63:12-14; Jdt 11:19. Cf. 2 Sam 5:2; Isa 40:11, and Ezek 34:13, for cognates bearing this same type of association.

[206] There is a definite A-B/A-B parallelism between v. 27b, "I will strike down the shepherd and the sheep will be scattered," and v. 28, "But after I have been raised, I will go ahead of you to Galilee":
Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα,
    καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται
ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με
    προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν

Thus, Mark adds to his earlier depiction of Jesus as Israel's messianic shepherd-teacher and provider in the wilderness: he portrays Jesus as Israel's prophesied shepherd, who was struck down and his followers dispersed—according to the sovereign plan of God revealed in the scriptures—only to be raised again to gather together his dispersed flock of disciples in Galilee.

A similar portrait of Jesus as the messianic shepherd appears in John's Gospel, where the shepherd metaphor appears in John 10, the so-called Good Shepherd Discourse. The discourse consists of two parts: the figure of speech or parable[207] (vv. 1-6) and the expansion[208] of this figure (vv. 7-18). The parable involves a comparison between Jesus, on the one hand, who, as the true shepherd, has access to the sheep through the door of the sheepfold, and strangers, on the other, who access the sheep through some other means. Since there is but one means of legitimately accessing the sheep in the sheepfold (i.e., through the door of the pen), everyone who seeks to enter the pen through any other means must be considered a "thief" or a "robber" (v. 1); the mark of the true shepherd is that he enters through the gate of the pen (v. 2). Consequently, the true shepherd of the sheep is recognized as such by the "gatekeeper," who opens the gate for him to enter, and also by his flock, who recognize his voice and whom he calls by name to lead them out of

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[207] Most commentators concede that although John refers to this teaching as a παροιμία ("figure" [v. 6]; cf. its occurrences in 16:25, 29), a term that is absent in the Synoptics, which instead use παραβολή ("parable")—which is absent in John—both terms render מָשָׁל ("proverb"). Consequently, the teaching should be understood as a parable.

[208] The unexpected switch in metaphors (from "sheep" to "gate") and the change in Jesus' role in the metaphor (i.e., from opening the door to being the door) would suggest that the second part of the discourse represents an expansion in thought rather than an explanation. C. Barrett comments that "[John's] thought moves in spirals rather than straight lines" (*The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text,* 2nd ed. [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978], 367).

the pen (vv. 3-4). If Manning is correct that the first section of the discourse alludes to

the sanctioning of Joshua as Moses' successor in Num 27:16-23,[209] then according to

John, Jesus' legitimacy as the true "shepherd of the sheep" comes via divine appointment.

John follows this parable up by expanding the point because according to the story

Jesus' audience's fails to understand the teaching (v. 6). There are three chief elements of

comparison in vv. 7-18 between Jesus and false shepherds. While Manning asserts that

the gatekeeper symbolizes the religious leaders (i.e., the Pharisees and the priesthood),[210]

it seems more likely that the text alludes to messianic pretenders.[211] The first comparison

between Jesus and these pretenders concerns the exclusive relationship between the

shepherd and the sheep (vv. 7-9). As the true shepherd of the sheep, Jesus represents the

only gate to the sheepfold, and as such, sheep cannot enter or leave the fold except

through Jesus. As for those who came before Jesus, i.e., the "thieves and robbers" (who

sought unauthorized access to the sheepfold), the sheep did not listen to them (v. 8). This

contrast between Jesus and his illegitimate predecessors, as well as the reference to a

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[209] Manning, *Echoes*, 103-108; cf. J. Turner, "The History of Religions Background of John 10" in *The Shepherd Discourse of John 10 and its Contexts*, eds. J. Beutler and R. Fortna, SNTSMS, vol. 67 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 38.

[210] Manning, *Echoes*, 107-108.

[211] Cf. Barrett, *St. John*, 371. There are several reasons for thinking this. First, the point of the contrast in the parable of 10:1-5 is the legitimacy of those who would seek access to the sheep, not their poor shepherding. Those who do not access the sheep pen through the door but seek entry through unauthorized means—they climb up (ἀναβαίνω) over the enclosure—are illegitimate leaders. Consequently, they are described repeatedly as "thieves" and "robbers" (vv. 1, 8, 10), labels which amplify the sense of their illegitimacy. Second, "[all of these thieves and robbers] have come (ἦλθον) before [Jesus]" (v. 8a); in other words, Jesus' opponents (viz., the Pharisees of chapter nine), are not specifically in view, but the people, i.e., messianic pretenders, who preceded him. Third, even in chapter nine, the Pharisees' reaction to the blind man whom Jesus healed is not the core issue of the chapter, but their response to Jesus' messianic claims (cf. 10:24). While the Pharisees are unsure of Jesus' origin, they are certain that he cannot be from God, unlike Moses (9:16, 29); consequently, they reject his claims (as well as those who accept them [9:22]). The man born blind, however, accepts Jesus' claims (9:33, 35-38). The closing verses of chapter nine (i.e., vv. 39-41), then, are concerned with recognizing Jesus as the Christ: those who believe his claims "see"; those who fail to recognize Jesus as the Christ—like the Pharisees—are "blind."

united flock under "one shepherd" (in v. 16), suggests an allusion to Ezekiel 34:[212] in other words, John views Jesus as the fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecy of a coming Davidic shepherd.

Another element in the contrast concerns the quality of the care offered by the shepherds. Jesus offers his flock the pasture of salvation: "by me [the door of the sheepfold] if anyone should enter, he will be saved (σωθήσεται) . . . I myself have come so that they might have life (ζωὴν)" (vv. 9a, 10b). Illegitimate shepherds, however, only steal, kill and destroy the flock (v. 10a).

The final element in the comparison between Jesus and the false shepherds concerns their commitment to the sheep (vv. 11-18). According to the text, the false shepherd or "hired hand" flees from the flock during times of distress (causing the sheep to scatter) because he is neither the shepherd nor the owner of the sheep (v. 13). The "good shepherd,"[213] however, does not flee at the first sign of trouble; rather, he will lay down his life for the sheep (v. 11). Moreover, this sacrificial act, far from being unintentional (one of the hazards of the job, so to speak), is by divine design: "no one takes [my life] from me but rather, I lay it down by myself; I have authority to lay it down and I have authority to take it up again; this commandment I received from my Father" (v. 18).

The intentionality of Jesus' sacrifice is based on two factors. It is, first, grounded in Jesus' close relationship with his sheep: "I am the good shepherd and I know my own

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[212] For a detailed discussion of John's use of Ezekiel 34, see Manning, *Echoes*, 111-24.

[213] J. Neyrey makes a strong case for translating "Good Shepherd" as "Noble Shepherd" ("The 'Noble Shepherd' in John 10," *JBL* 120/2 [2001], 267-68), but his thesis does not affect the point of this section.

[sheep] and my own [sheep] know me" (v. 14). Not only is Jesus the good shepherd because he will lay his life down for his sheep, but also because of the intimate knowledge he shares with them.[214] Second, the intentionality of Jesus' sacrifice is based on the intimacy Jesus shares with his heavenly Father: "just as the Father knows me and I know the Father" (v. 15a). That this mutual knowledge between the Father and the Son serves as model for the relationship between Jesus and his disciples is evident by the use of καθώς ("just as" or "even as") as a connector between the good shepherd's relationship with his sheep in v. 14 and the Father's relationship with the Son in v. 15.[215]

Of some importance for the discussion of the shepherd metaphor in John is the composition of Jesus' flock. In view of John's allusion to Ezekiel 34, it would be tempting to understand "one flock with one shepherd" (v. 16) as referring to Diaspora Jews—as it would in Ezekiel 34.[216] If, however, the "sheepfold" in the parable of vv. 1-5 stands for Judaism—as most scholars maintain—the position of Diaspora Jews would be unlikely.[217] The consensus view is likely correct: the flock consists of Jews and

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[214] This point seems presupposed in vv. 1-6 ("the sheep hear his voice and his own sheep he calls by name . . . the sheep follow him because they know his voice . . . they do not know the voice of strangers" [cf. 10:27: "My sheep hear my voice and I know them and they follow me"]). John makes it clear elsewhere in his Gospel that this type of mutual knowledge refers to Jesus' self-revelation to his disciples (cf. 14:21, 26; 15:26-27; 16:12-15; 17:6-7, 26). It also refers to the mutual love he and the disciples share, whereby Jesus initiates fellowship with them (1:47-50; 6:44, 65, 70; 12:32; 15:16; 17:6), sacrificing his life for them (3:14-16; 10:11, 15, 17-18; 15:12-13), and whereby his disciples respond to his initiation and sacrifice by faithful obedience to him (8:31; 14:21, 23-24; 15:5-10, 12-14).

[215] Hence, this mutual knowledge shared between Jesus and his disciples consists of the same kind of elements as the relationship between Jesus and the Father: self-revelation and love, on the part of the Father towards the Son, and faithful, loving obedience on the part of the Son towards the Father. This reciprocal knowledge between the Father and Son highlights for John the uniqueness of Jesus: Jesus stands alone as God's special agent for bringing about redemption. That this claim for exclusivity is at the heart of the shepherd discourse is evident by the reaction of Jesus' listeners: "A schism occurred again among the Jews because of these words" (v. 19).

[216] Cf. discussion in section 2.2.2 above.

[217] J. Painter suggests that John has "other Jewish Christians in mind, or perhaps the re-gathering of his own [scattered] community" ("Tradition, History and Interpretation in John 10" in *Shepherd*

Gentiles.[218] Hence, the Shepherd's flock would consist (ultimately) of Christ-believing

Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, if the sheepfold that Jesus enters represents Judaism, out of

which he "calls his own sheep" who follow him out of the pen—in contradistinction to

the "Jews"—and for whom he dies sacrificially, then Jewish nationalist sentiments here

would be minimal.

Thus, John 10:1-21 depicts Jesus as the messianic fulfilment of Ezekiel 34: unlike

his illegitimate, mal-intending predecessors, Jesus is the true shepherd. As such, he not

only possesses a unique and intimate relationship with YHWH, but intimately knows his

flock, which ultimately consists of both Jewish and non-Jewish Christ-believers, whom

he offers abundant pasture and, ultimately, his own life to ensure their redemption.

This idea of a shepherd who sacrifices himself for his sheep, observed in John,

appears as well in the closing section of the letter to the Hebrews (13:20-21). The first

part of this prayer represents the basis for which the petitioner can expectantly make an

appeal to God: "And the God of peace, the one who brought back from the dead the great

Shepherd of the sheep by the blood of the eternal covenant, our Lord Jesus" (v. 20). The

author of Hebrews makes an implicit comparison between Moses, the shepherd of Israel

under the old covenant, and Jesus, the shepherd of God's people under the new covenant,

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Discourse of John 10, 65-66). But here again, this kind of "Jewish" position seems unlikely if the "sheepfold" that Jesus enters to lead out his sheep is Judaism.

[218] Barrett typifies this position: "John was written in the context of the Gentile mission" (*St. John*, 376). According to story, Jesus has already preached to and gained adherents among the Samaritans (John 4:4-30, 39-42). Later in the narrative, several things occur: the Pharisees mention that "the world" follows Jesus (12:19); John immediately follows this statement with an account of Greeks seeking to meet Jesus (12:20-22), which prompts Jesus to announce the nearness of his passion (12:23-24) by which he will draw "all people" to himself (12:32). In John 10:16 Jesus speaks of having "other sheep" (in addition to his Jewish followers), who "will hear" (ἀκούσουσιν) his voice and "will become" (γενήσονται) one flock under his leadership. The future tenses of these verbs suggest that 10:16 should be viewed within the story as predictive/prophetic, and hence, points to the inclusion of Gentiles.

by alluding to Isa 63:11.[219] In keeping with the earlier part of his letter, the author

continues to elevate Jesus over Moses by inserting into his biblical allusion, "the great

[one]," to describe Jesus.[220] Not only is Jesus intrinsically greater than Moses,[221] but so is

the scope of God's intervention in his life: whereas God merely brought Moses up from

Egyptian oppression (Isa 63:11), he raised Jesus up from the realm of the dead.[222]

According to the author's appropriation of Zech 9:11 in v. 20,[223] God brought Jesus up

from the realm of the dead "because" when Jesus shed his blood,[224] he offered a unique

and perfect sacrifice for his people (cf. Heb 7:26-28) to accomplish their eternal salvation

in a way that the old covenant never could (cf. Heb 9:11-15). His sacrifice, then, was

ratified by his resurrection.[225]

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[219] One of two widely recognized biblical allusions in this prayer-wish is to Isa 63:11 [LXX], where "the shepherd" refers to Moses:
ὁ ἀναβιβάσας ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων (Isa 63:11b LXX)
ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν (Heb 13:20aβ)

[220] The author used μέγας ("great") previously in his letter with reference to Christ's priesthood (in 4:14 and 10:21, with the latter verse echoing the discussion of 3:1-6, where Christ and Moses are compared). The use of "great," then, may serve to link the concept of "shepherd" with "priest," which becomes the focus of the final strophe of the 13:20.

[221] Cf. the author's argument in 3:1-6, where he differentiates between the respective natures of Jesus and Moses: Moses was a faithful "servant" in God's house but Christ was a faithful "son" in God's house.

[222] The term, ἀνάγειν ("bring up"), its cognate ἄγειν ("lead") as well as the corresponding Hebrew term, בוא, are frequently associated with the shepherd metaphor in the Jewish scriptures (e.g., Exod 3:1; Num 27:17; 1 Sam 17:34; 2 Sam 5:2; Ps 78:52-54, 71; Isa 49:10-12; Ezek 34:13; passim; Chae regards this language as "semi-technical shepherd language" [Davidic Shepherd, 91]); but ἀνάγειν functions quite differently here: unlike in the HB where it is the shepherd who leads (the flock), in Hebrews the shepherd is himself led—by God.

[223] Heb 13:20bα reads ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου, while Zech 9:11a [LXX] has ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης.

[224] The implicit citation of Zech 9:11 suggests that ἐν should be understood instrumentally, i.e., "by means of the blood of the eternal covenant," rather than as introducing an attendant circumstance ("with the blood of the eternal covenant"). According to N. Turner, the causal sense would be in view here (Syntax, vol. 3 in J. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993], 252-53).

[225] By inserting "eternal" (αἰωνίου) into Zech 9:11 the author offers another comment on the superiority of Christ's sacrificial work: whereas the former covenant, inaugurated by the blood of animals

Hebrews 13:20 thus depicts Jesus as the messianic shepherd whose greatness surpasses that of Moses, a superiority reflected in God bringing Jesus up from the realm of the dead, compared to having only brought Moses up from slavery in Egypt. Additionally, the author of Hebrews attaches a priestly element to the shepherd motif insofar as he asserts that the "great" Shepherd was raised from the dead precisely because of Christ's sacrificial work on the cross as the "great" high priest for believers.[226]

Christ's sacrifice is also related to the metaphor in 1 Peter. In discussing Christ's substitutionary suffering (2:21-25), the author states that believers have been healed of their penchant for sin[227] (an inclination he likens to straying sheep)[228] by Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Thus, believers are no longer considered lost strays, "but rather," they have "now returned to the Shepherd and Overseer of [their] souls" (v. 25b). Scholars correctly note that "shepherd" here refers specifically to the activity of watching over and guarding

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sprinkled by Moses (cf. Heb 9:19-21), was impermanent, the new covenant established by the shed blood of Christ is eternal.

[226] On this connection between the shepherd metaphor and the image of the priest, H. Attridge comments, "The use of the metaphor of the shepherd at this point may in fact best be understood as a substitution for or transformation of the Christological image of the priest that dominated most of Hebrews. The effect of the substitution is to emphasize one of the qualities that was traditionally associated with the title of High Priest, Christ's heavenly intercessory function. The one whom God exalted from the dead is the one who ever remains as guide of God's flock" (*The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia, ed. H. Koester [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989], 406). While this shepherd-sacrifice connection is seen elsewhere (e.g., the citation of Zech 13:7 in Mark and Matthew, and John 10), its explicit association with the covenant would represent a new dimension to the metaphor. That is, (Jesus) the shepherd is the mediator of the New Covenant.

[227] Cf. the γάρ ("for") clause of v. 25a, which clarifies the nature of their healing in the previous verse.

[228] The allusion here to Isa 53:6 is the letter's fourth to the Servant Song of Isaiah 53 (Isa 53:9 in 1 Pet 2:22, Isa 53:7 in 2:23, and Isa 53:4 in 2:24). According to this Song, the straying sheep are described as those who despise and reject God's servant, who are transgressors, full of iniquities and intent on going their own way. J. R. Michaels (*1 Peter*, WBC, vol. 49a [Dallas: Word Books, 1988], 150); P. Achtemeier, (*1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*, Hermeneia, ed. E. Epp (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996], 204) et al. suggest the combination of "turning" and "healing" may allude to Isa 6:10 (cf. its use in Matt 13:15; Mark 4:12; John 12:40; Acts 28:27).

the flock.[229] This could perhaps be nuanced further: not only are the straying sheep healed of their proclivity to sin by Christ's sacrifice;[230] they are also restored to being the people of God under Christ's care and leadership. Added to this would be Peter's reference to Christ as the coming Chief Shepherd (5:4):[231] Christ as the Chief Shepherd will return to reward those leaders who faithfully shepherded their flock.

A somewhat different portrait of the messianic shepherd emerges from the book of Revelation. The metaphor initially appears in the letter to the church at Thyatira. To everyone who overcomes in the struggle against evil teaching, heeding Christ's criticism and keeping to Jesus' works until his return, a promise is given: "I will give him authority over the nations and he will rule (ποιμανεῖ) them with a rod of iron, as clay vessels are shattered. Just as I myself received from my father, I will also give to him the morning star" (Rev 2:26b-28). The allusion in these verses to Psalm 2 is well recognized.[232] The

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[229] That ἐπίσκοπος qualifies the meaning of ποιμήν is suggested by the grammatical structure: the use of one article for two nouns of similar case connected by καί means that the two nouns should be taken together, as "the shepherd-overseer" rather than as "the shepherd and overseer" (cf. BDF, 144-45). In other words, Peter views Christ as the shepherd of the sheep insofar as he watches over (ἐπισκοπέω) and cares for the flock. In 1 Peter, "the author is connecting the shepherding of Christ to that of the Christian pastor" (Seibel, "Shepherd and Sheep," 229). Indeed, if 1 Peter was written toward the end of the first century then the first readers would naturally connect ἐπίσκοπος to this early church office (cf. Acts 20:28; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3:1; Tit 1:7).

[230] The γάρ of v. 25a would connect this verse to v. 24: the sheep had strayed (from the shepherd) because of their penchant for sin (v. 25a); once healed of this proclivity (v. 24) they rather naturally return to their shepherd-leader (v. 25b).

[231] This text relates more specifically to "Assembly Leaders as Shepherds"; consequently, it is discussed more fully in section 3.4.3 below.

[232] E.g., D. Aune, *Revelation*, 3 vols., WBC, vols. 51-53 (Dallas: Word Books, 1997-98), 1:209; R. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eermans Publishing, 1977), 106, and C. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting*, JSNTS, vol. 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 124. In alluding to Psalm 2, the author of Revelation follows the LXX, which interprets תרעם as רעה ("shepherd") rather than רעע ("break" or "destroy"); cf. the discussions of Aune, *Revelation* 1:210-11, and Mounce, *Revelation*, 106, n. 66.

NT alludes to Psalm 2 elsewhere,[233] but only here (as well as in Rev 12:5 and 19:15, discussed below) is shepherding imagery employed. In Ps 2:8-9, the Davidic king recites the privilege accompanying divine sonship: ruling authority over the nations.[234] The author of Revelation applies this privilege—originally given to the Davidic king—to the faithful saints of Thyatira: Christ extends this privilege of worldwide dominion to those in Thyatira who overcome evil. The inclusion of the iron rod–clay pot imagery[235] suggests that Jezebel, her followers, and those like them will be subject to appropriately severe rule which they will be unable to withstand (in a vein similar to Psalm 2). Thus, the shepherd metaphor refers here to Jesus' jointly ruling the nations with the faithful members of his flock.

This notion of messianic rule appears in two other passages in Revelation. The first passage occurs in a vision of a pregnant woman of royal status and a fierce dragon seeking to devour her child (12:1-6): the woman gives birth to a son, "who is about to rule (ποιμαίνειν) all the nations with a rod of iron" (v. 5aβ). As with Rev 2:27, this verse alludes to Ps 2:9a, and the focus of this allusion is on the son's deeds, viz., he will rule the nations with a rod of iron. But unlike 2:27, which extends the scope of the Son's shepherding/ruling activity to include those who overcome (in Thyatira), messianic rule

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[233] It is explicitly cited in Acts 4:25-26; 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5, and possibly alluded to in Matt 3:17; 17:5; Mark 1:11; 9:7; Luke 3:22; 9:35; John 1:49; Phil 2:12; Heb 1:2; Rev 11:18; 12:5; 19:15, 19.

[234] The harsh terms ("break" and "shatter") used by the psalmist to express Davidic rule, when viewed against the rebellious nature of the nations (Ps 2:1-3), would be appropriate. P. Craigie adds, "The poetry in v. 9 presents this regal authority in a dramatic manner: an 'iron rod' is something intrinsically strong, just as a potter's vessel is constitutionally fragile. [There] is stark contrast between the power of the Davidic king and the fragility of earthly monarchs" (*Psalms 1-50*, WBC, vol. 19 [Dallas: Word Books, 1983], 67). Willitts interestingly notes that *Tg. Ps 2:9* translates the verse as "You shall teach them as with the staff of iron, like a vessel of a potter you shall shepherd them"; i.e., teaching is linked with shepherding.

[235] The author could have (presumably) omitted this reference—as he did with "the ends of the earth as your possession" (Ps 2:8b)—had it not served to advance his thought.

here is limited only to the Son. The use of μέλλω gives the phrase a sense of futurity, i.e., this worldwide rule of the son will take place in the imminent future (likely at the Parousia).[236]

The second passage concerns a vision of the Parousia. Perhaps the trait most underscored in this vision is that of supreme Judge: Christ is the "faithful and true" Judge who judges righteously (19:11b).[237] He also judges with strict severity: "And from out of his mouth comes a sharp sword, so that with it he may strike the nations and he himself will rule (ποιμανεῖ) them with a rod of iron; and he treads the winepress of the intense wrath of God Almighty" (v. 15). Here, ποιμαίνω connotes "rule" in the sense of meting out punishment.[238]

Quite a different use of the metaphor occurs in the interlude of Rev 7:1-17, which answers the question, "who is able to stand" in the great day of the wrath of God and the Lamb (6:17)?[239] John is shown a vision of a great multitude (from every nation, tribe,

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[236] The rest of the verse amplifies the identity of the son: he is caught up to God and to his throne. While other biblical figures have similarly been "snatched away" (ἁρπάζω) by God (e.g., Enoch [Gen 5:24], Ezekiel [Ezek 2:1; 3:12-14; 11:1-5; passim], Philip [Acts 8:39], Paul [2 Cor 12:2-4], and believers at the Parousia [1 Thess 4:16-17]; the idea of someone being taken up into the heavenly realm is also observed in *1 Enoch* 14:8-9 and *T. Ab.* 10:1-2, 20:14), the mention here of being caught up "to his throne," particularly in light of Rev 2:27 (cf. 2:18b), and the depictions of the Lamb "sharing" God's throne (cf. Rev 5:6; 7:17a) and receiving angelic worship (cf. Rev 5:8-14) make it clear that this "son" is Jesus, the unique Son of God. Hence, Jesus the messianic shepherd will rule over the nations as the true Son of God at his Parousia.

[237] The righteous character of God's judgments is a recurring motif in Revelation, cf. 15:1-4; 16:4-7; 19:1-2.

[238] That this punishment should be understood as severe can be seen by the clauses that surround ποιμαίνω. The first enveloping clause, on the one hand, alludes to Isa 11:4, where "strike [the earth]" parallels "slay [the wicked]"; the "sharp sword" of judgment appears in the letter to Pergamum, where it is used to "make war" against the wicked (2:16); the phrase "and he will rule them with a rod of iron" also alludes to Ps 2:9, where the Hebrew verb (רעע) underlying ποιμανεῖ means "to break" or "destroy." The second enveloping clause, on the other hand, refers to the messiah treading "God's fierce wrath," an obvious allusion to Isa 63:1-3, which speaks of YHWH accomplishing the "day of vengeance."

[239] The interlude offers two different portraits of those who will stand in the day of wrath. The first portrait in 7:1-8 depicts a Jewish group, divinely sealed and protected from harm and standing on the

and people group) dressed in white, standing before the throne of God, who find their

shelter and their needs provided for by the Lamb, who resides "in the middle of the throne

[and who] shepherds them and will lead them to the springs of living water" (v. 17a).[240]

That a lamb serves as a shepherd would seem unprecedented—although not an entirely

unexpected use of the shepherd metaphor in Revelation.[241] The figure of a lamb as a

shepherd highlights the centrality of Christ's sacrifice in redeeming and leading his

people.[242] The position of the lamb in the middle of the throne depicts his royal stature

(consonant with the shepherd metaphor's use in 2:27): he is a king, who shares God's

throne. As well, the parallel between 7:17aβ and 21:6b[243] may indicate that the

shepherding of the Lamb extends to the world-to-come.[244]

Thus, the book of Revelation depicts Jesus as the messiah who will shepherd all

the nations. Through the appropriation of Ps 2:9, Jesus' shepherding is equated with

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threshold of the great day of wrath. The second portrait in the interlude, 7:9-17, represents a much larger, non-Jewish group (i.e., they are "from every nation, tribe, people and language group") who have successfully come through the day of wrath.

[240] The author in Rev 7:16 ("They shall not hunger anymore, nor thirst anymore; the sun will surely not beat down on them, nor shall any heat") alludes to Isa 49:10a ("They shall not hunger or thirst, neither scorching wind nor sun shall strike them down" [NRSV]), which also bears some shepherding imagery of its own: "They shall feed along the ways, on all the bare heights shall be their pasture" (Isa 49:9b, NRSV).

[241] In the vision of the God's throne, the sole figure found worthy to open and read the book of judgments is "the Lion from the tribe of Judah, the Root of David" (5:5), who is depicted as a "lamb standing [in the middle of the throne] like one having been slaughtered" (5:6). Mounce offers some insight: "John now looks to the center of the celestial scene and beholds, not a Lion but a Lamb . . . bearing the wounds of sacrificial slaughter . . . In one brilliant stroke John portrays the central theme of NT revelation—victory through sacrifice" (*Revelation*, 144). This type of irony in 7:17, particularly concerning the Lamb, then, would not come as a complete surprise to John's audience.

[242] Seibel notes that "lamb" and not "shepherd" is the usual term NT authors use to discuss Christ's sacrifice. For a discussion of the "lamb" metaphor as it relates to Christ's sacrifice, see Seibel, "Shepherd and Sheep," 233-62.

[243] Rev 7:17aβ states, "he will lead them to the springs of living water," while Rev 21:6b reads, "to the one who thirsts, I myself will give from the spring of living water without cost" (cf. 22:1, 17b).

[244] Another indicator of his shepherding spanning into the world-to-come may be the switch in tenses in v. 17: the Lamb "shepherds" them (present tense) but he "will lead" them (future tense) to these waters.

ruling the nations at the Parousia: Jesus will gently shepherd his followers, sheltering them and providing for their needs forever, even sharing his ruling authority over the nations with his followers who overcome their difficult circumstances; but as far as the rebellious nations are concerned, he will rule them with harsh severity.[245]

In sum, Christ-believers highlight a variety of Jesus' attributes when appropriating the shepherd metaphor for him. He is a Moses-like teacher; he is the object of scriptural prophecy; he sacrifices his life for his flock, with whom he relates intimately, to redeem them but is raised from the dead; he is his flock's caregiver and judge, as well as (at his Parousia) the ruler of the universe.

3.4.3 Assembly Leaders as Shepherds

The shepherd metaphor appears in the second part of the epilogue of the Fourth Gospel,[246] concerning Jesus' reinstatement of Peter (John 21:15-25). Jesus asks Peter three times if he loves him (clearly correlating with Peter's threefold denial of Jesus in John 18:15-27), to which Peter responds each time in the affirmative. After each of Peter's declarations of love for Jesus, Jesus gives him the charge: "Tend my lambs" (βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου), "Shepherd my sheep" (ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου), and "Tend my sheep" (βόσκε τα πρόβατά μου).[247] His charge to Peter centres on leadership, i.e., Peter is restored to his Christ-determined position of leadership within the Christ-

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[245] Similarly, Slater, in his assessment of the Christological image of the Lamb, describes three "pastoral" functions: "he judges both Christians and non-Christians, gathers an elect eschatological community, and makes war with God's enemies. These are community-oriented functions with the purpose of protecting, correcting and vindicating these communities" (*Christ and Community*, 237).

[246] That the "epilogue" (i.e., John 21) represents a later, second conclusion to the Fourth Gospel is generally accepted among modern scholars. John 20:30-31 is accepted as the original conclusion to the work; cf. Barrett, *St. John*, 576-78; R. Brown, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, ed. F. Moloney (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 315, et al.

[247] Unlike in John 10, these verses in the epilogue probably do not allude to any HB passages; cf. Manning, *Echoes*, 131-32.

believing community. Although Peter is commissioned to shepherd the flock, he serves merely as an "under-shepherd" to Christ, who has already been uniquely identified in the Gospel as the "good shepherd" (cf. 10:1-21).[248] Thus, in the epilogue to the Fourth Gospel, "shepherd" refers to the office of leadership in Christ-believing assemblies. Peter, likely serving as a paradigm for leaders, is called by Jesus to shepherd and care for Jesus' flock (likely, from the redactor's perspective, the Johannine communities), service which ought to be motivated (ultimately) by the shepherd's love for Jesus the good shepherd.[249]

The idea of an assembly leader as an under-shepherd also appears in 1 Peter. In his parting instructions to the elders in 1 Peter 5, the author essentially gives one command: "shepherd the flock of God among you" (v. 2a). The author clarifies the meaning of his command in the latter part of v. 2: the imperative form of "shepherd" is modified by the participle that follows it, "overseeing" (ἐπισκοποῦντες).[250] The activity of shepherding, then, refers to watching over the people in the sense of caring for and protecting them.[251] The motivation for this imperative to shepherd the flock is that when God ultimately judges his people (4:17-18), he will especially judge those given charge

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[248] This point of being an under-shepherd to Jesus is emphasized in the text, firstly, by the threefold use of "my" (μου) in relation to Jesus—the flock in Peter's care ultimately belongs to Jesus—and secondly, by Jesus' command (twice) for Peter to "follow" him (vv. 19, 22). Thus, Peter is to shepherd Jesus' flock in the manner that Jesus did: as the Good Shepherd laid down his life for his sheep, so also Peter the under-shepherd must lay down his life for the flock (vv. 18-19; cf. John 15:12-13).

[249] Frequently in the Fourth Gospel, love for Jesus is measured by obedience to his commands; hence here, Peter's love for Jesus must issue in heeding his call to shepherd the flock of God.

[250] Cf. Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 325. Although ἐπισκοποῦντες is absent in the early witnesses א and B, it is present in ρ[72] and A. Additionally, as Michaels points out, the author often places an imperative immediately before a participle, which would support the witness of ρ[72] and A.

[251] The manner in which the elders are to shepherd the flock is presented in a series of "not–but" (μή/μηδέ–ἀλλά) phrases: they are not to shepherd them under compulsion, nor for dishonest gain nor as lording it over them; "but rather" (ἀλλά) they are to care for the flock willingly, enthusiastically, and as examples for assembly members to emulate.

over the flock.[252] The command, however, is issued from an ethos of humility: the author

does not address the leaders as underlings of apostolic authority, rather, he considers them

his co-witnesses[253] of Christ's sufferings and future partakers in Christ's glory when it is

revealed.

Should the elders faithfully shepherd those allotted to their care, they will receive

a reward when Christ the "Chief Shepherd" ($\dot{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\,\pi o\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu o\varsigma$) appears (v. 4). The author

thus draws a distinction between the elders (including himself [cf. 5:1a]) as shepherds (of

the flock) and Christ as the Chief Shepherd (of the flock): despite the importance of their

position and duties, elders remain under-shepherds. That is, their authority over their

sheep is derived from their calling as assembly leaders in Christ, for whom they shepherd

the flock and to whom they will ultimately give an account of their shepherding at the

Parousia.[254]

The accountability of the shepherds for the sheep is made even more explicit in

the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[255] The metaphor appears toward the end of the ninth Similitude,

where the Shepherd exhorts the Christ-believing community to forgive one another and to

be united in spirit so as to bring joy to the "lord of the sheep" (i.e., Christ). But should

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[252] The οὖν ("therefore") in v. 1a connects this exhortation to the preceding pericope, 4:12-19, specifically, the last part dealing with God judging his household. The sense of this pericope, then, would be: 'Therefore in view of God's future judgment . . .'

[253] That μάρτυς ("witness") is governed by the same article as συμπρεσβύτερος ("fellow elder") implies that it should be understood as σύμμαρτυς ("fellow witness"); cf. BDF, 144-45, and Michaels, *1 Peter*, 280.

[254] The idea of shepherding for Christ may be suggested by the term κομίζω ("receive") in v. 4. P. Davids notes that κομίζω is often used for receiving pay or wages (*The First Epistle of Peter*, NICNT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 1990], 181); cf. the picture of the prophet receiving his wages for shepherding God's unruly flock in Zech 11:12-13.

[255] The chapter-verse configurations for *Hermas* in this study follow Snyder, *Shepherd*.

they fail to heed this admonition, the shepherds—not the sheep—will be held

accountable:

> [I]f some of [the flock] are found missing,[256] woe be to the shepherds. But if the shepherds themselves are found missing, what will they say to the owner of the flock? That they are missing because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd could suffer at the hands of the sheep. Instead, they will be punished for their lie. I, too, am a shepherd, and it is exceedingly necessary for me to give an account for you (Herm. *Sim.* 108:5b-6).

While the topic of leadership has been discussed earlier in *Hermas*, only here are the

leaders explicitly identified as "shepherds."[257] According to this passage, shepherds are

judged (more harshly than the sheep) for the manner in which they contribute to

congregational unity, for this would seem to be their chief aim as shepherds: to help

establish unity in the congregation. The shepherds clearly exercise ruling authority over

the sheep, but they themselves are under the authority of another, viz., the "owner of the

flock" ("lord of the sheep"): Christ, to whom they will ultimately give an account of their

shepherding.

This pronouncement of woe upon evil shepherds in *Hermas* is echoed in the letter

of Jude. The author of Jude pronounces a curse on the false teachers troubling his

readers. He describes them as following in the path of Cain's wickedness, falling into

Balaam's error of prophesying for illicit gain; like Korah, they will perish because of their

rejection of divine and divinely sanctioned authority (v. 11). Jude's scathing rebuke of

these self-proclaimed leaders moves from biblical comparisons to nature metaphors in vv.

12-13, highlighting the emptiness of their teaching: "They are the dangerous threats at

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[256] While Snyder translates διαπίπτω as "missing," the word has a wide range of meanings and probably connotes here something like "lost."

[257] Some of the terms in *Hermas* used earlier for leaders include προηγούμενοι (6:6), πρεσβύτεροι (8:3) and ἐπίσκοποί (104:2).

your love feasts, eating together without fear, shepherding themselves" (v. 12a).

Commentators sometimes construe "shepherding themselves" (ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες)

with the mention of irreverent love feasting in the immediately preceding phrase. The

author, however, seems to allude to Ezek 34:2, where Ezekiel accuses the rulers of Israel

of feeding themselves at the expense of their flock: Ezek 34:2 reads היו רעים אותם ("they

are those who shepherd themselves"), while Jude 12 reads οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ . . . ἑαυτοὺς

ποιμαίνοντες ("they are those . . . who shepherd themselves").[258]

In view of this probable allusion to Ezekiel 34, as well as the comparison to Cain,

Balaam and Korah in v. 11, "shepherding themselves" should include the idea that these

false believers claimed to be religious leaders or shepherds of the assembly; but in

contrast to true shepherds, they only looked after their own needs rather than the

flock's.[259]

A much less critical but still sombre warning is sounded by Paul to the Ephesian

elders, in the book of Acts. According to the narrative, Paul, in view of his (possibly)

impending death in Jerusalem, leaves the leaders of this local assembly with the final

charge: "Watch out for yourselves and for all the flock, among whom the Holy Spirit has

made you overseers to shepherd the church of God, which he purchased with his own

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[258] R. Bauckham demonstrates that the author's preference in his allusions to the Jewish scriptures is for the Hebrew text rather than the LXX (*Jude, 2 Peter*, WBC, vol. 50 [Dalias: Word Books, 1983], 7). Here, for example, Ezek 34:2 in the LXX reads, μὴ βόσκουσι ποιμένες ἑαυτούς ("do they not tend, [that is], the shepherds, themselves?").

[259] According to the respective accounts in the scripture, each figure that Jude refers to illicitly sought some form of personal gain: Cain was jealous of his brother Abel's favour with God, causing him to murder Abel; Balaam prophesied for personal advantage; Korah was jealous of the status that Moses and Aaron had gained in the community and sought equal status within the community. Bauckham suggests that Jude's false teachers "probably [required] the church to support them at a high standard of living" (*Jude*, 92).

blood" (20:28). According to this text, shepherding duties belong to the overseers

(ἐπίσκοποι)—those occupying formal leadership roles in the assembly.[260] The type of

leadership implied by the meaning of ἐπίσκοπος is oversight and caring for diverse

needs.[261] The Ephesian elders have been placed in this position of leadership in the

assembly by the Holy Spirit for the expressed purpose of caring for their congregation.[262]

In caring for their flock, the elders are to protect them from enemies[263] and to follow

Paul's example of selfless giving.[264] The opponents referred to here are probably false

teachers, in which case the elders would protect their flock through diligent instruction.[265]

Teaching would then be implicit in the use of the metaphor here.

Thus, according to Acts 20:28, shepherds refer to those exercising leadership in

the oversight of the local assembly, caring for the needs of the members and protecting

them from being exploited by false teachers.

While the activity of teaching may be implicit in Acts 20:28, it becomes explicit

in the use of the metaphor in the letter to the Ephesians. After stating in a call for church

unity that Christ has given the Church diverse gifts in varying measure, the author of

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[260] Luke refers to overseers as πρεσβύτεροι in Acts 20:17. The closely related ἐπισκοπή appears in Acts 1:20, referring to the office of leadership among the Twelve that had been vacated by Judas.

[261] Cf. BAGD, 298-99, and E. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1981), 230.

[262] Since the verse would make sense without the infinitival phrase ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ("to shepherd the church of God"), ποιμαίνειν is best taken here as an infinitive of purpose (cf. BDF, 197).

[263] Paul states in the next verses, "I know that after my departure, savage wolves will come to you not sparing the flock, and from among you, men shall arise speaking distorted things to lead away the disciples after them" (vv. 29-30).

[264] Paul offers himself as an example of how to shepherd (vv. 33-35): whereas false shepherds are known to exploit the flock for personal, sordid gain, Paul never relied on others to have his own needs met: the Ephesians can testify that Paul was not covetous of others' possessions but, laying aside apostolic privilege (cf. 1 Cor 9:1-15), he independently supplied the ministry's needs so as to maximize his efforts for the weak among them.

[265] Cf. 1 Timothy, where proper instruction in the midst of heresy plays a prominent role in the letter (1 Tim 1:3-7; 4:6-7, 16; 6:1-5).

Ephesians uses Ps 68:19 (MT; LXX 67:19) to insist that the psalmist actually refers to Christ's ascension and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.[266] In other words, the gifts, which the psalmist proclaims were given to the people (of Israel), refer to the foundational ministries of the church:[267] "And he gave some apostles and some prophets and some evangelists and some shepherd-teachers (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους)" (4:11). The grammatical construction (of an article governing two nouns with the same number and case connected by καί) suggests that the last two nouns of the verse be viewed as one ministry, i.e., shepherd-teacher, rather than as two separate ministries.[268] Consequently, while "shepherd" typically connotes protection, care and oversight, here it is explicitly connected to teaching. Thus, according to this text, an integral component of a shepherd's task involves instructing the members of the assembly in the apostolic tradition with which they have been entrusted.[269] In this way, shepherd-teachers help to build up the local body of Christ to attain a thoroughgoing unity and maturity, as well as help keep believers from false doctrine.[270]

Thus, while they are likened to shepherds, assembly leaders function more as under-shepherds to Jesus: they are accountable to him for how they manage the flock—

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[266] That v. 11a begins with καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν ("and he gave") suggests that v. 11 be read as a continuation of the thought in vv. 7-10: the ἔδωκεν referring to Christ in v. 11a corresponds to the ἔδωκεν of the psalm citation, while αὐτός referring to Christ in v. 11a corresponds to the αὐτός in the author's midrash of the psalm in v. 10.

[267] These ministries would be foundational in the sense that they are "representatives and guarantors of the apostolic revelation and tradition" (A. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC, vol. 42 [Dallas: Word Books, 1990], 252).

[268] See BDF, 144-45; cf. Seibel, "Shepherd and Sheep," 227. This structure prompts M. Barth, for example, to translate this particular ministry as "teaching shepherds" (*Ephesians*, 2 vols., AB [New York: Doubleday 1974], 2:425, 438-39).

[269] The handing over of apostolic tradition to assembly leaders (who are explicitly linked with shepherding in the NT) is best seen in the letters to Timothy and Titus.

[270] According to Ephesians, without these foundational ministries the church falls prey to false doctrine (4:14).

shepherding care that includes teaching. Consequently, they are to shepherd his people not only out of love for Jesus but also knowing that they will be judged by him when he returns.

3.4.4 Rulers as Shepherds

The author of *Hermas* employs the shepherd metaphor in a parable about indulging in luxuries (chaps. 61-65) in a manner quite different from its other uses. One shepherd, a shepherd of luxury, leads a flock living lavishly, while the second receives members of the former shepherd's flock and drives them harshly. While Snyder suggests that this parable may reflect rival leaders,[271] in view of the explicit identification of these shepherds with angels (i.e., with the angel of luxury and deception, and the angel of punishment), and in view of "angel" being used synonymously throughout *Hermas* for "spirit," it would seem more likely that these shepherds do not refer to rival leaders, but rather to an inner disposition that ultimately leads to suffering for the Christ-believer. In other words, the use of "shepherd" here would parallel Philo's deployment of the metaphor for the mind (cf. section 3.2.5 above), in that the metaphor refers to an internal ruling disposition or attitude that inclines a person—i.e., rules over the person so as—to live a life of reckless indulgence.[272]

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[271] Snyder, *Shepherd*, 111-12.

[272] This use of "shepherd," however, would stand in obvious contrast to Philo's thought. For Philo, a "shepherd" (as opposed to a "cattle-rearer") exercises self-control leading to virtuous living; for the author of *Hermas*, this particular use of "shepherd" leads to self-indulgent living because, rather than exercising self-control, a person is ruled and overcome by indulgence.

3.4.5 Other Uses of "Shepherd"

The bulk of the material in *Hermas* (chaps. 25-110) is mediated by a "shepherd."[273] That the shepherd is "glorious to the sight" and possesses the ability to change his form (25:4; cf. 47:1) suggests that he is an angelic being, explicitly identified at the end of this vision and elsewhere (cf. 47:7; 49:1; 91:3; 101:4; 108:3; 110:1) as "the angel of repentance": the one who oversees the act of repentance (a primary motif throughout *Hermas*),[274] giving aid and understanding to those who repent of their sins. Into this angel's care, Hermas has been entrusted (25:3-4) to keep the commandments of God. In addition to this role, the Shepherd's primary task is to give to Hermas mandates to keep and parables to learn to strengthen him in his faith (in part, by the Shepherd's abiding presence with Hermas [cf. 49:4]), and to record these commands and parables to strengthen (presumably) Hermas's community (25:5-7). Thus, according to this reading of *Hermas*, the Shepherd represents an angelic mediator, sent by Christ to abide with the repentant, helping them and instructing them in the faith.

Whereas the author of *Hermas* uses "shepherd" metaphorically, the author of Luke's Gospel does not.[275] Something, however, can be said of how his literal use of

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[273] The other material in *Hermas* comes through the mediation of an "elderly lady" and "the great angel." While the exact placement of chaps. 111-14 is disputed (cf. R. Joly, *Hermas le Pasteur* [Paris: Éditions du Cerf, repr., 1986], 358-59, and Snyder, *Shepherd*, 158), of importance for this present study is the nature of the mediator and the message: the tone and thrust of the Shepherd's revelation stands apart from the messages of the elderly lady and the great angel in that, whereas the message of the elderly lady focuses on sin and the church, and that of the great angel on Hermas's commission (to instruct the church), the message of the angel-shepherd consists primarily of instruction.

[274] Cf. C. Osiek, *Shepherd of Hermas*, Hermeneia, ed. H. Koester (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 28, n. 218.

[275] Although ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω are not used metaphorically in Luke's Gospel, broader shepherding imagery does appear. Jesus' disciples are likened to sheep in the logion, "Do not fear, little flock, because your Father is pleased to give you the kingdom" (12:32). Within the wider context of 12:13-34, the emphasis of this saying is on the special relationship the disciples enjoy with God. Because he is

"shepherds" (i.e., for the vocation) contributes to his birth narrative where ποιμήν

appears. Luke's birth narrative emphasizes the humble beginnings of Jesus: he is born in

a manger "because there was no place for [his parents] in the inn" (Luke 2:7b); and the

news of Jesus' birth is first announced by the angel of the Lord to shepherds. That the

shepherds were "in the same region" (ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ) watching over their flock

would connect the shepherds in v. 8 with the birth of Jesus in the lowly manger in v. 7.

The marginalized circumstances of Jesus' birth—circumstances that will foreshadow the

direction of Jesus' ministry to the marginalized in Luke—are amplified, on the one hand,

by the birth announcement being made to mere shepherds first, and by these shepherds,

on the other hand, being the first visitors to pay homage to the infant Christ.[276] This

depiction of the birth of Jesus contrasts starkly with Matthew's birth narratives: Matthew

depicts the infant Jesus as the true king, to whom stately magi trek from the east to pay

homage, and to offer him treasures of gold, frankincense and myrrh (cf. Matt 2:1-11). In

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their Father (vv. 30, 32) they need not worry about food or shelter: just as God takes care of the birds and flowers, the disciples can count on God as their Father to take care of them; hence, they need not stockpile material possessions as unbelievers do (cf. vv. 13-21, 33-34). With its emphasis on encouraging an attitude of faith in God and responsible stewardship, then, the focus of this logion is the flock not the shepherd. The parable of the lost sheep (15:4-7) is the leadoff of three parables dealing with God's mission to the lost through Jesus (vv. 8-10 and 11-32). In view of the grumblings against Jesus in vv. 1-2 precipitating the parable, and the refrain of rejoicing over repentant sinners (vv. 6b-7, 9b-10), the central—though not exclusive—thrust of the parable of the lost sheep, then, would not concern God as a shepherd or as a woman (i.e., in the second parable). Rather, the parable justifies why Jesus associates with notorious sinners: it brings great joy to God and the heavenly host when such a lost person repents. Thus, J. Nolland (*Luke*, 3 vols., WBC, vols. 35a-c [Dallas: Word books, 1989-93]) writes that "in the first instance it is the behaviour of *Jesus* that is being defended" (*Luke*, 2:773, his emphasis; cf. the similar thrust of Luke 5:29-32). Given, therefore, Luke's literal use of "shepherds" in his birth narratives, and given the basic thrust of his broader shepherding imagery in 12:32 and 15:4-7 (the disciples/sheep rather than the shepherd/God for the former, and the justification of the recipients of Jesus' mission, for the latter), the shepherd metaphor does not figure as prominently in Luke as it does for Matthew or for some other Christ-believers.

[276] Bracewell argues that these literal shepherds "point backward in fulfillment of the Old Testament promises of a savior to rule after the manner of David. Unlike the unfaithful shepherds of the Old Testament, the shepherds of Luke 2 claim their messiah" ("Shepherd Imagery," 245). His claim, however, is exaggerated, not least because there is simply no sense in the HB depictions of unfaithful shepherds in which these unfaithful shepherds expected and rejected a messiah.

this way, then, Luke uses vocational shepherds to convey the humble beginnings of Jesus and his messianic mission.

3.4.6 Summary of the Shepherd Metaphor in the Writings of Early Christ-Believers

The range of uses for the shepherd metaphor in the writings of early Christ-believers can be summarized as follows:

Figure 13. Basic Uses of the Shepherd (ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω) Metaphor

Jesus the Messiah	Assembly Leaders	Angelic Mediator	"Ruler"
Mark			
John	John		
	Acts		
	Ephesians		
Hebrews			
1 Peter	1 Peter		
	Jude		
Revelation			
	Hermas	Hermas	Hermas

Typically, the metaphor is used either for Jesus as the messianic Shepherd or for assembly (congregational) leaders. The categories of "Assembly Leader" and "Ruler" would most closely mirror the "Rulers as Shepherd" category in the HB and in the texts of non-Christ-believing Jews. But unlike these texts, Christ-believers never employ the metaphor for kings or for other political leaders, although these figures are discussed in various places throughout the NT;[277] and "ruler" in *Hermas* refers to inner passions that can rule a person's disposition (inclining that person towards overindulgent living).

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[277] Cf., for example, Acts 7:10; 13:22; 1 Tim 2:2; 1 Pet 2:13-14, which speak of "kings" or "governors" in contexts where the mention of "shepherd" would be both possible and appropriate, and Rom 13:1-7, which discusses ruling authorities. Additionally, just as the metaphor is not used for political leaders, there are no political overtones in its use for assembly leaders: assembly leaders are teachers (of apostolic doctrine) and caretakers for the religious wellbeing of their community and not, for example, civic rulers.

Individual emphases within the "Assembly Leaders as Shepherds" category can be summarized by the table below:

Figure 14. Emphases within "Assembly Leaders as Shepherds"

Assembly Leader/Ruler	Assembly Leader/Teacher
John	
Acts	(Acts)
	Ephesians
1 Peter	
Jude	
Hermas	Hermas

A "shepherd" is viewed quintessentially as a ruler of the flock: assembly leaders would exercise ruling authority over their congregations, insofar as they would be responsible for looking after the various needs of their community.[278] The authors of *Hermas* and Ephesians, however, explicitly associate teaching with the metaphor (Acts seems to do so implicitly): an unusual move in the use of the metaphor, but not entirely without precedent.[279] The connection between teaching with shepherding would exemplify the non-pastoral depiction by Christ-believing authors of the activity of shepherds, unlike non-Christ-believing Jews' more earthy portrayal of the activity of shepherd-rulers.

When authors apply the metaphor to Jesus, they usually accent some particular feature(s), as Figure 15 demonstrates:

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[278] Acts offers a partial window into this type of governance by assembly leaders: the apostles seemed to be in charge (at least initially) of collecting and distributing monetary funds (4:34-35; 5:2), as well as food distribution (6:1-2).

[279] Cf. the discussions of the metaphor in Eccl 12:11 and *2 Baruch* in sections 2.2.3 and 3.2.5 (respectively) above.

Figure 15. Implicit and Explicit Traits of Jesus as the Messianic Shepherd

Jesus-Shepherd Trait	Mark	John	Hebrews	1 Peter	Rev
Offers Self-Sacrifice for Sheep	X	X	X		X
Offers Abundant Care	X	X		X	X
Raised from the Dead	X	X	X		
Moses-like	X	X	X		
Compassionate	X	X			
Object of Scriptural Prophecy	X	X			
Davidic Ancestry		X			X
Gatherer of Disciples	X	X			
Teacher	X				
Universal Ruler		.			X
(Universal) Judge				X	X
Relates Intimately with Flock		X			

The most common trait featured within this category is the abundant care Jesus offers his flock. When compared to the specific traits of "YHWH as a Shepherd" in the HB (cf. Figure 5 in section 2.4 above), Jesus (as the messianic Shepherd) parallels YHWH, insofar as he offers abundant care. An important distinction, however, would be the nature of that care. In the HB, YHWH as Israel's Shepherd is portrayed as providing for his people's physical and material needs, protecting and delivering them from their enemies, and reconstituting them in the land of Israel. With the exceptions of Mark and Revelation (once), the care Jesus offers as a shepherd is not so pastoral; [280] and it is

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[280] The authors of Mark and Revelation (once) depict Jesus using pastoral imagery. In Mark, Jesus the Shepherd provides for the material needs of his flock with a miraculous feeding (6:35-44) and goes ahead of his flock after the resurrection (14:27-28); in Revelation, the Shepherd satisfies the needs of those who hunger, who thirst and who lack shelter from the elements; and guides them to springs of living water (7:16-17). These texts will be discussed further in section 3.5 below. The emphasis of the metaphor in John 10 is on the exclusive relationship between the sheep and the shepherd; additionally, the pasture that the Good Shepherd offers is eternal life—which he obtains by sacrificing his life for his sheep because of the intimate relationship that the Shepherd and sheep enjoy. In Hebrews, the Shepherd is described in terms of his resurrection and his relationship to "eternal covenant." In 1 Peter the messianic shepherd cares for the soul and offers a crown of glory to the faithful. By way of contrast, of the non-Christ-believing Jewish authors who appropriate the metaphor for YHWH (*1 Enoch*, 1Q509, Ben Sira, Judith, Philo, *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* and Pseudo-Philo), only Philo and Ben Sira do not associate pastoral imagery with the metaphor:

anchored in his self-sacrifice[281]—a shepherding act completely foreign to the shepherd

metaphor in the HB, as well as in non-Christ-believing Jewish literature, since shepherds

typically save their flock through physical rescue. The following table can thus

summarize the use of pastoral imagery:

Figure 16. Degree of Pastoral Imagery Used in the Texts of Christ-believers when
Idealizing a Shepherd

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Mark 6:34 John Revelation 7:17	Mark 14:27	Acts Ephesians Hebrews 1 Peter Jude Revelation 2; 12; 19 *Hermas*

In addition to not using the shepherd metaphor for monarchs or for other political

rulers, Christ-believers' appropriations of the shepherd metaphor typically lack the Jewish

nationalistic perspective that so often characterizes its use by non-Christ-believing Jews:

Figure 17. Nationalistic Overtones in the Metaphor's Use by Christ-believers

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Mark	John Acts Ephesians Hebrews 1 Peter Jude Revelation *Hermas*

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and elsewhere, as observed in section 3.2.2 above, Philo does employ pastoral imagery when speaking of
Moses as Israel's shepherd.

[281] Even the author of 1 Peter discusses Christ's sacrifice on the cross in relation to believers (1 Pet
2:21-24) immediately prior to invoking the metaphor for Christ in 2:25.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

Some distinctive patterns can be discerned in the appropriations of the shepherd metaphor by non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers. Non-Christ-believing Jews employ the metaphor in ways that strongly resemble its use in the HB, as the tables below suggest:

Figure 18. Comparison of Shepherd Metaphor Usages/Traditions in the Texts of Non-Christ-believing Jews[282]

Ruler	*YHWH*
Num 27:17	Gen 48:15
Deuteronomistic History[283]	Gen 49:24
Chronicles	Psalm 23
Psalm 78	Psalm 28
Deutero-Isaiah	Psalm 80
Trito-Isaiah	Ecclesiastes
Jeremiah	Deutero-Isaiah
Ezekiel	Jeremiah
Micah	Ezekiel
Nahum	Hosea
Deutero-Zechariah	Micah
1 Enoch	Deutero-Zechariah
4Q504	**1 Enoch**
1Q34	**4Q509**
CD	**Ben Sira**
Philo	**Judith**
Pseudo-Philo	***Apoc. Ezek.***
Josephus	**Philo**
4 Ezra	**Pseudo-Philo**

Both sets of texts tend to apply the shepherd metaphor to political and national rulers, and to YHWH.[284] Their appropriations frequently bear pastoral imagery (i.e., the deeds of the

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[282] Texts of the later, non-Christ-believing Jews are in bold (cf. also Figures 19 and 20 below) to help distinguish them visually from HB texts.

[283] The "shepherd" texts of Deuteronomistic History are 2 Sam 5:2; 7:7, and 1 Kgs 22:17.

[284] Not included in this table but included in a more comprehensive one (Figure 24) in chapter four below, are the more distinctive appropriations of *Psalms of Solomon* 17, CD, Philo, and *2 Baruch*.

shepherd are depicted in terms appropriate for describing the duties of the shepherding

vocation), especially when idealizing the activities of a model shepherd (e.g., YHWH):

Figure 19. Comparison of Pastoral Imagery Used when Idealizing a Shepherd in the Texts
of Non-Christ-believing Jews

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Psalm 23:1	Gen 48:15	Ecclesiastes
Psalm 28:9	Gen 49:24	**Ben Sira**
Psalm 80:1	**Judith**	**Philo**
Isaiah 40:11	**Pseudo-Philo**	
Jeremiah 31:10		
Ezekiel 34		
Hosea 4:16		
Micah 7:14		
Zechariah 11:13		
1 Enoch		
CD XIII		
Pss. Sol. 17		
Apoc. Ezek.		

Similarly, both groups of texts frequently employ a nationalistic outlook: the text reflects

a concern for the political-national and/or moral restoration of the nation Israel:

Figure 20. Comparison of Jewish Nationalistic/Non-Nationalistic Usages of the Shepherd
Metaphor in the Texts of Non-Christ-believing Jews

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Gen 48:15	Ecclesiastes
Gen 49:24	**Ben Sira**
Num 27:17	**Philo**
Deuteronomistic History	
Chronicles	
Psalm 23	
Psalm 28	
Psalm 78	
Psalm 80	
Deutero-Isaiah	
Trito-Isaiah	

Figure 20 continued

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Jeremiah	
Ezekiel	
Hosea	
Micah	
Nahum	
Deutero-Zechariah	
1 Enoch	
4Q504	
4Q509	
1Q34	
CD	
Judith	
***Pss. Sol.* 17**	
Apoc. Ezek.	
Pseudo-Philo	
4 Ezra	
2 Baruch	
Josephus	

By contrast, Christ-believers tend to refrain from using the metaphor for political rulers or the activity of ruling,[285] and for YHWH, employing it instead for Jesus (as the messiah) and for assembly leaders, as summarized by Figure 21 below.[286] It should be noted that although Christ-believers apply the shepherd metaphor to Jesus, they do not actually connect the metaphor to the title "messiah"—a designation that can bear definite political overtones;[287] only Matthew makes this "shepherd"–"messiah" connection (cf. Matt 2:4-6).

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[285] Only Revelation offers an exception to this tendency in usage: "shepherding" designates the "ruling" of Jesus in Rev 2:27; 12:5, and 19:15.

[286] Not included in this table but included in the more comprehensive one in chapter four below, is the more distinctive appropriation of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

[287] "Messiah" represents a political figure, for example, in Isa 45:1, where it designates the Persian king, Cyrus. While occasionally Christ-believers can use "messiah" with political overtones (cf. Mark 12:35; 14:61; 15:32, and their respective parallels; also Luke 23:2; Acts 2:36; Rev 1:5), in the vast majority of instances where "messiah" occurs in the NT (almost 500 times), it lacks such connotations.

Figure 21. Overall Comparison of Shepherd Metaphor Usages/Traditions[288]

Ruler	YHWH	Messiah	Assembly Leader
Num 27:17	Gen 48:15	Pss. Sol. 17	**John**
Deuteronomistic History[289]	Gen 49:24	**John**	**Acts**
Chronicles	Psalm 23	**Mark**	**Ephesians**
Psalm 78	Psalm 28	**Hebrews**	**1 Peter**
Deutero-Isaiah	Psalm 80	**1 Peter**	**Jude**
Trito-Isaiah	Ecclesiastes	**Revelation**	*Hermas*
Jeremiah	Deutero-Isaiah		
Ezekiel	Jeremiah		
Micah	Ezekiel		
Nahum	Hosea		
Deutero-Zechariah	Micah		
1 Enoch	Deutero-Zechariah		
4Q504	*1 Enoch*		
1Q34	4Q509		
CD	Ben Sira		
Philo	Judith		
Pseudo-Philo	*Apoc. Ezek.*		
Josephus	Philo		
4 Ezra	Pseudo-Philo		
Revelation			

Further, Christ-believers' appropriations of the shepherd metaphor tend not to depict the activity of the shepherd in the (pastoral) terms commonly used for describing the duties of literal shepherds:

Figure 22. Overall Comparison of Pastoral Imagery Used when Idealizing a Shepherd

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Psalm 23:1	Gen 48:15	Ecclesiastes
Psalm 28:9	Gen 49:24	Ben Sira
Psalm 80:1	Judith	Philo
Isaiah 40:11	Pseudo-Philo	Acts[290]
Jeremiah 31:10	**Mark 14:27**	**Ephesians**
Ezekiel 34		**Hebrews**

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[288] The texts of Christ-believers are in bold font (cf. also Figures 22 and 23 below) to help distinguish them visually from the other texts.

[289] The "shepherd" texts of Deuteronomistic History are 2 Sam 5:2; 7:7, and 1 Kgs 22:17.

[290] While Paul (according to Acts 20:28-29) uses pastoral imagery to describe the scenario about false teachers drawing away members of the Ephesian assembly ("savage wolves . . . not sparing the

Figure 22 continued

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Hosea 4:16 Micah 7:14 Zechariah 11:13 *1 Enoch* CD XIII *Pss. Sol.* 17 *Apoc. Ezek.* **Mark 6:34** **John** **Revelation 7:17**		**1 Peter** **Jude** **Revelation 2; 12; 19** ***Hermas***

As well, Christ-believers typically lack a concern for the political-national and/or moral

renewal of the nation Israel:

Figure 23. Overall Comparison of Nationalistic/Non-Nationalistic Usages of the Shepherd
Metaphor

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Gen 48:15; 49:24; Num 27:17	**John**
DtH	**Acts**
Chronicles	**Ephesians**
Psalms 23; 28; 78; 80	**Hebrews**
Deutero-Isaiah; Trito-Isaiah	**1 Peter**
Jeremiah	**Jude**
Ezekiel	**Revelation**
Hosea	***Hermas***
Micah	
Nahum	
Deutero-Zechariah	
1 Enoch	
4Q504; 4Q509; 1Q34; CD	

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flock"), it is the general situation and not the activity of the assembly leaders (i.e., the shepherds) that is depicted in this way. In fact, the rest of the passage (vv. 30-35), implicitly describes the activities of these shepherds as teaching the counsel of God/the word of his grace (to counteract the false teachers), and as following Paul's example in giving (materially) to the weak. Non-Christ-believing Jews, however, tend to describe a shepherd's activity in the terms more commonly used for describing the duties of the shepherding vocation.

Figure 23 continued

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Judith	
Pss. Sol. 17	
Apoc. Ezek.	
Josephus	
Mark	

While there are no exceptions to the pattern of referents, there seem to be some exceptions to the latter two patterns regarding pastoral imagery and Jewish nationalism. On the one hand, John 21:15-17 is the lone instance where assembly leaders are depicted in pastoral terms ("Feed my lambs. . . . Tend my sheep. . . . Feed my sheep."). But while John 21 cuts against the grain of the pattern of thought for Christ-believers employing the metaphor for assembly leaders, it nevertheless cannot overthrow the obvious tendency: generally speaking—though not an unalterable law—Christ-believers do not deploy the metaphor for assembly leaders in the (pastoral) terms commonly used for describing the duties of literal shepherds.

On the other hand, when applying the metaphor to Jesus, Mark 6:34 and 14:27, and Rev 7:17 employ pastoral imagery, while the first text also seems to bear some nationalistic overtones. Two things could be said in response. First, the counterevidence of these three passages from two authors is not enough to overthrow the general pattern generated by the other 14 passages from eight authors. As mentioned previously, "patterns" of usage/thought do not represent unalterable laws void of exceptions, but only general tendencies among authors. Second, it could be argued that Mark and Revelation (7:17) merely give evidence of why the socio-religious orientation of non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers should be described spectrally rather than in terms of

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an either/or configuration: the thought patterns of some Christ-believing groups can resemble types of Second Temple Jewish thought.[291]

There are two interesting parallels that perhaps best highlight the ruler/non-ruler and nationalistic/non-nationalistic differences in usage between non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers. *4 Ezra* 5:18 and Acts 20:29-30 offer the first parallel. Both texts speak of a "flock" being threatened by "savage wolves." In the latter text, the "savage wolves," who come in after Paul's departure and do "not spare the flock" are identified as men who "arise from among [their midst], speaking distorted things to draw away disciples after them" (20:30). In other words, the "savage wolves" represent false teachers (not rulers): hence, Paul admonishes the "overseers" to beware of these men and to follow his example as a leader. By contrast, the wider context of *4 Ezra* 5:18. makes it plain that the "savage wolves," in whose "power" exilic Israel would have remained without Ezra's leadership, are not false teachers but Israel's Babylonian conquerors/rulers: hence, Chief Phaltiel expresses concern for Ezra's whereabouts. As well, the central concern in Acts 20 is doctrinal purity or apostasy, whereas in *4 Ezra* 5 it is the national wellbeing of exilic Israel.

A second parallel that highlights the pastoral/non-pastoral and nationalistic/non-nationalistic differences is between *4 Ezra* 5:18 and the much later, Christian addition, *4 Ezra* 2:34.[292] As previously observed, the non-Christ-believing Jewish author of 5:18 employs the shepherd metaphor in a (fairly) pastoral manner with definite nationalistic

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[291] For further discussion of this point, see section 6.2.3 below.

[292] *4 Ezra* 2:34 reads, "Await your shepherd; he will give you everlasting rest, because he who will come at the end of the age is close at hand." As mentioned previously, Bergren argues for a date range of mid-second century CE to mid-third century CE for this addition (*Fifth Ezra*, 24-26); cf. Metzger, "4 Ezra," *OTP*, 1:520.

overtones for a religious leader. The Christ-believing author of 2:34 applies the metaphor

for Jesus but in a very different manner. On the one hand, he uses it in a much less earthy

fashion: the shepherd brings "everlasting rest" (i.e., salvation) and the "rewards of the

kingdom," which features "joy of glory," "glorious garments," and white clothing (cf.

2:34-39). On the other hand, the author takes a decidedly anti-Jewish nationalistic stance:

God sent Ezra to the people of Israel but they rejected his message: hence the author

exhorts the "nations" to hear and understand (2:33-34). These two parallels illustrate the

difference in thought between non-Christ-believing Jews and most Christ-believers

concerning the shepherd metaphor.

In order to situate Matthew on a socio-religious spectrum, this study will compare

the patterns of thought reflected by his shepherd motif with the observable patterns of

thought concerning the shepherd metaphor in the writings of other Christ-believers, non-

Christ-believing Jews, and Romans. Does Matthew's deployment of the metaphor

resemble the tendencies of contemporary Christ-believing authors? Does it align more

closely with the patterns of employment evident in the texts of non-Christ-believing

Jews? How does the motif compare with the use of "shepherd" by Roman authors?

These questions shall be addressed in Part Two of this inquiry.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

The second chapter of this study examined the shepherd metaphor in the HB, texts which, because of their authoritative stature for many Second Temple Jews and Christ-believers, framed much of Matthew's thought. In the HB, "shepherd" often symbolizes political and civic rulers: pre-monarchical rulers, Israel's present and future kings, the nation's ruling class, as well as Gentile monarchs and military leaders. In addition to earthly rulers, YHWH is commonly depicted as Israel's ultimate shepherd in pastoral terms—in imagery especially appropriate for describing the duties of literal shepherds: hence, YHWH gathers his lost flock, leads them to abundant pastures and carefully watches over them to protect them from danger. The metaphor is chiefly associated with YHWH's saving/delivering power exercised on behalf of his people, and is linked to his royal rule. A nationalistic perspective is intrinsic to the metaphor's use in the HB, whereby concern for Israel's moral and/or geo-political wellbeing is expressed or in view. During the post-exilic era, the metaphor becomes extended to include YHWH's dispensing of wisdom to the nation's wisdom teachers, who are responsible for teaching their wisdom and knowledge to the rest of the nation.

A pattern emerges in the particular texts that Matthew appropriates to develop his shepherd motif. Each of these texts can be used to produce a messianic interpretation of a Davidic descendant who possesses a unique relationship with YHWH and whose flock represents the reunified kingdom of Israel. Within the respective literary contexts of the passages Matthew uses is the notion of failed leadership: the coming Davidide will

replace Israel's leaders who have failed to execute their duties faithfully as shepherds of God's flock, consequently bringing the people of God into disastrous circumstances from which they need rescuing. In this regard, "shepherd" routinely appears in the HB within the literary context of judgment: someone is either being judged, is about to be judged, or is executing a sentence of judgment on another.

The third chapter began by exploring the use of the metaphor in the writings of early, non-Christ-believing Jews. Similar to the HB, these authors commonly appropriate the metaphor, on the one hand, for earthly rulers or for the activity of ruling. A few innovations within this category appear, however. Shepherd-rulers can refer to intercessors who act on behalf of Israel for the nation's iniquity (Pseudo-Philo); they can represent the (destructive) governing of Israel by angelic beings (*1 Enoch*); the metaphor can be associated with a local religious leader who exercises ruling authority over his flock in different areas of communal life (CD XIII); it can also symbolize the virtuous mind that successfully rules over or controls bodily passions (Philo). On the other hand, non-Christ-believing Jews regularly use the shepherd metaphor for YHWH, especially to underline his mercy and compassion.

Other innovative categories of usage appear. In CD XIX, the striking-down-of-the-shepherd represents the execution of God's wrath upon those Jews who turn away from the Covenant. In *Psalms of Solomon* 17 the metaphor applies to the messiah, the warrior-like Son of David who will sternly judge the Gentiles and apostate Jews, but gather together the people of God and shepherd them in righteousness. *2 Baruch* uses the metaphor for the authoritative teachers of the Law. Thus, compared to the HB, Second

Temple Jewish authors appropriate the shepherd metaphor for non-political figures[1] and for non-political functions[2] with greater frequency. These more distinctive usages of the metaphor occur in both Palestinian and Diaspora texts, but the metaphor appears only infrequently in Diaspora texts, compared with their Palestinian counterparts.

There would seem to be three basic patterns of usage concerning the metaphor's employment by non-Christ-believing Jews. The first pattern of thought concerns the metaphor's referent. As in the HB, non-Christ-believing Jewish authors invoke the metaphor for kings or king-like figures, and consequently, for the activity of ruling or governing. Hence, monarchs like David or other Jewish kings, or pre-monarchical rulers like Moses and Joshua, are likened to shepherds. Thus, for non-Christ-believing Jewish authors, the metaphor can have very definite (although not exclusive) political overtones.

The second pattern of thought is the nationalistic perspective frequently associated with the metaphor. When linked with the shepherd metaphor, this perspective (occasionally couched in eschatological language) expresses hopes for Israel's present and future wellbeing, moral and/or geo-political. Usually it is YHWH who is expected to accomplish this renewal, but in a few instances the hope is associated with Israel's leaders: at times royal, at other times messianic or religious.

The third concerns pastoral imagery. Second Temple writers (similar to the HB) commonly speak of shepherd-rulers in earthy terms: they pasture or graze the flock; they guard, protect and lead it; they watch over the afflicted, loosening their chains and paying special regard for the oppressed and crushed. Similarly, when YHWH is depicted as a

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[1] E.g., religious leaders, teachers, and the human mind.
[2] E.g., interceding, controlling bodily passions, and teaching.

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shepherd, he is described as gathering his sheep together and pasturing them, as binding up, healing and feeding his flock, and as protecting them from physical dangers.

The subsequent section of chapter three of the study considered the use of "shepherd" in Roman texts. "Shepherd" remains a very peripheral term in Roman writings and is rarely employed metaphorically. Moreover, unlike ANE, Classical Greek and Hellenistic authors, who favourably liken rulers to shepherds, Roman emperors are never portrayed in this fashion, likely because of the generally disparaging attitude towards shepherds by non-Christ-believing Roman authors.

The final section of the third chapter explored the use of the metaphor in the writings of early Christ-believers. Typically, the metaphor is used either for Jesus as the messianic Shepherd or for assembly leaders. While a "shepherd" is viewed quintessentially as a leader/ruler of the flock, how Christ-believers portray shepherd-rulers differs considerably from their portrayal in the HB and in other Jewish texts. Although Christ-believers commonly depict Jesus as a shepherd who, like YHWH, offers his flock abundant care their description of the messianic Shepherd, apart from two exceptions, lacks the pastoral imagery found in the portraits of YHWH as a shepherd in the HB and in Second Temple Jewish texts, as well as in the profile of the Davidic messiah in *Psalms of Solomon* 17. Additionally, Christ-believers link the metaphor to Jesus' death on the cross: the shepherd dies to secure his sheep's salvation—quite unlike the deliverance YHWH as a shepherd works on behalf of his flock according to the HB

and Second Temple Jewish texts, which typically involves some physical display of power.[3]

This more non-pastoral use of the shepherd metaphor (for Jesus) finds corroboration in the other major category of usage for Christ-believers, assembly leaders. While assembly leaders would exercise ruling authority over their congregations, Christ-believing authors (either explicitly or implicitly) associate teaching with shepherding. This connection between teaching and shepherding exemplifies how Christ-believers usually employ the metaphor for assembly leaders: without the pastoral imagery that so often marks the metaphor's usage by non-Christ-believing Jews.

Besides a less pastoral deployment of the shepherd metaphor, there are two even more significant tendencies in the metaphor's use by Christ-believers. On the one hand, Christ-believers' appropriations of the shepherd metaphor usually lack the Jewish nationalistic perspective that often characterizes the metaphor's use by non-Christ-believing Jews. The nation of Israel's moral or geo-political wellbeing is not typically the focus; the concern, rather, is much more universal: "the church of God" (Acts 20:28), "the body of Christ" (Eph 4:11-12), or the overcoming church (Revelation). On the other hand, Christ-believers neither liken earthly monarchs or other such leaders to shepherds

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[3] Although Deutero-Zechariah speaks of the purification of a remnant in relation to the striking down of his shepherd (13:7-9), the text is actually silent as to how the death of a Jewish ruler accomplishes this cleansing (cf. the discussion of Zech 13:7 in section 2.2.2 above). In fact, 13:7-9 does not make this connection and the relationship between the two events could be chronological rather than causative. In other words, rather than the passage meaning that the death of this ruler will bring about the purification of a Jewish remnant (causative), it could simply mean that after the death of this ruler—and not before—a Jewish remnant will be purified (chronological). While the Gospel writers, in applying this text to Jesus, take these two events as causative (the striking down of Jesus brings about cleansing from sin), the author of CD XIX does not: in the day of the messiah, the striking down of the shepherd represents the outpouring of divine wrath upon apostates, while the faithful escape judgment—they are not purified by the former event.

(conversely, assembly leaders are never portrayed as political leaders), nor do they usually liken the activity of ruling/governing to shepherding. Hence, for Christ-believers (unlike most of their non-Christ-believing Jewish counterparts) the shepherd metaphor possesses no political overtones.

Thus, the differences in the patterns of thought between non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers concerning the shepherd metaphor seem plain: most texts within the former group employ the metaphor for political monarchs; a Jewish nationalistic perspective is often reflected; and they tend to present "shepherds" and "shepherding" using pastoral language—i.e., in imagery appropriate for the shepherding vocation. The texts of Christ-believers, however, never use the metaphor for political monarchs; they do not convey Jewish nationalistic overtones; and they usually do not present the messianic Shepherd with pastoral overtones.

Therefore, according to their respective usages of "shepherd" with respect to the metaphor's referent, the groups could be mapped according to the following table:

Figure 24. Summary of Shepherd Metaphor Usages/Traditions[4]

Ruler	YHWH	Messiah	Assembly Leader	Unique Usages
(A) Jeremiah	Gen 48:15	(A,E) *Pss. Sol.* 17	**John 21**	Philo
(B) Num 27:17	Gen 49:24		**Acts**	*2 Baruch*
(C) Ezekiel	Psalm 23	(B,C) **John 10**	**Ephesians**	***Hermas***
(D) Deutero-Zech.	Psalm 28	(B,D) **Mark**	**1 Peter 5**	(D) CD
DtH	Psalm 80	**Hebrews**	**Jude**	
([E] Psalm 2)	Ecclesiastes	**1 Peter 2, 5**	***Hermas***	
Chronicles	Deutero-Isaiah	(E) **Revelation**		
Psalm 78	Jeremiah			

[4] This table is a revised version of Figure 21 in section 3.5 above. The texts of Christ-believers are in bold font (cf. also Figures 25 and 26 below) to help distinguish them visually from the other texts.

Figure 24 continued

Ruler	YHWH	Messiah	Assembly Leader	Unique Usages
Deutero-Isaiah	Ezekiel			
Trito-Isaiah	Hosea			
Micah	Micah			
Nahum	Deutero-Zech.			
1 Enoch	*1 Enoch*			
4Q504	4Q509			
1Q34	Ben Sira			
CD	Judith			
Philo	*Apoc. Ezek.*			
Pseudo-Philo	Philo			
Josephus	Pseudo-Philo			
4 Ezra				
Revelation[5]				

The letters (A through E) represent specific similarities of usage, i.e., instances where non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers appropriate messianically earlier shepherd-ruler traditions that speak of a future ruler.[6] In using the metaphor for assembly leaders, Christ-believers do something that sharply distinguishes them from non-Christ-believing Jews and Romans: while Christ-believers refer to their assembly leaders as "shepherds,"[7] Jews refrain from using this title for the leaders of their synagogues.[8] Romans also avoid the term for *collegium* leaders.[9]

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[5] As mentioned in section 3.5 above, "shepherding" designates Jesus' activity of "ruling" in Rev 2:27; 12:5; and 19:15.

[6] In terms of their respective, messianic appropriations of the shepherd metaphor, *Psalms of Solomon* 17 uses Jer 23:5 and 30:9; John and Mark allude to Num 27:17; John also alludes to Ezekiel 34; Mark and CD cite Deutero-Zechariah. Although the Hebrew text of Psalm 2:9a ("You will break [תרעם] them with a rod of iron") does not employ רעה, the LXX understands תרעם as רעה ("shepherd") not as רעע ("break" or "destroy"), and hence, uses ποιμαίνω: "You will shepherd them with a rod of iron." Therefore, Psalm 2 has been included here because both *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and especially Revelation (cf. the discussion of Revelation in section 3.4.2 above) read the verse messianically in this latter way.

[7] This assembly leaders-as-shepherds usage also appears in the writings of Christ-believers not included in here, e.g., 1 Clement and Ignatius.

[8] "Shepherd" never appears as a title for synagogue leaders in any of the extant primary sources (literary texts, papyri, and inscriptions); cf. the comprehensive study of A. Runesson, D. Binder and B.

As described in section 3.5 above, their respective Jewish nationalistic and non-

nationalistic uses of the metaphor yield the table below:

Figure 25. Summary of Jewish Nationalistic/Non-Nationalistic Usages of the Shepherd
Metaphor[10]

Nationalistic Usage	Non-Nationalistic Usage
Gen 48:15; 49:24; Num 27:17	Ecclesiastes
DtH	Ben Sira
Chronicles	Philo
Psalms 23; 28; 78; 80	Pseudo-Philo
Deutero-Isaiah; Trito-Isaiah	*4 Ezra*
Jeremiah	*2 Baruch*
Ezekiel	**John**
Hosea	**Acts**
Micah	**Ephesians**
Nahum	**Hebrews**
Deutero-Zechariah	**1 Peter**
1 Enoch	**Jude**
4Q504; 4Q509; 1Q34; CD	**Revelation**
Judith	***Hermas***
Pss. Sol. 17	
Apoc. Ezek.	
Josephus	
Mark	

Additionally, the degree to which these groups of authors portray a model shepherd in the

(pastoral) terms commonly used for the shepherding vocation, can be summarized as

follows:

Olsson, *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 CE: A Source Book*, Ancient Judaism and Early
Christianity, eds. M. Hengel et al., vol. 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

[9] Cf. Harland, *Associations*. Harland does note that the worshipers of Dionysos at Pergamum are
sometimes referred to as βουκόλοι ("cowherds"), and their leaders, who offered prayers, sang hymns and
danced in honour of Dionysos, as οἱ χορεύσαντες βουκόλοι ("dancing cowherds").

[10] This table is the same as Figure 23 in section 3.5 above.

Figure 26. Summary of Pastoral Imagery Used when Idealizing a Shepherd[11]

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Psalm 23:1	Gen 48:15	Ecclesiastes
Psalm 28:9	Gen 49:24	Ben Sira
Psalm 80:1	Judith	Philo
Isaiah 40:11	Pseudo-Philo	**Acts**
Jeremiah 31:10	**Mark 14:27**	**Ephesians**
Ezekiel 34		**Hebrews**
Hosea 4:16		**1 Peter**
Micah 7:14		**Jude**
Zechariah 11:13		**Revelation 2; 12; 19**
1 Enoch		*Hermas*
CD XIII		
Pss. Sol. 17		
Apoc. Ezek.		
Mark 6:34		
John		
Revelation 7:17		

Turning now to the analysis of the shepherd motif in Matthew, this study will locate the patterns of usage reflected by his motif among these groups of authors by comparing his patterns of thought with the observable patterns or tendencies in these writings.

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[11] This table is the same as Figure 22 in section 3.5 above.

PART TWO
MATTHEW'S SHEPHERD MOTIF AND ITS
SOCIO-RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS

CHAPTER 5

A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF MATTHEW'S SHEPHERD MOTIF

5.1 Introduction

Virtually all scholars agree that the Gospel of Matthew is a first-century text

written by a follower of Jesus of Nazareth.[1] From there agreement drops off sharply. The

guiding assumption for this study of Matthew is the Two-Source Hypothesis, viz., that

Matthew used the Gospel of Mark and the lost source Q to assist him in fashioning

(independently from Luke) his own Gospel.[2]

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[1] For a helpful spectrum of opinions on the dating of Matthew, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:127-28. An overwhelming majority of commentators date the Gospel between 70 and 100 CE. Few scholars argue for a pre-70 composition and fewer still for a post-100 date.

[2] The twentieth century saw the debate of the Synoptic Problem (i.e., the nature of the literary relationship between Matthew, Mark and Luke) narrow to three fundamental positions (lesser held positions continue to exist; for literature on these views, see Stanton, "Origin," 1900-1901, and Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:97, n. 48). Of the three major positions, the majority of scholars, on the one hand, maintain that Mark was used by Matthew and Luke. The classic statement of this view is B. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, rev. ed. (London: Macmillan, 1930). For a more recent defence of this position, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:97-127. A minority of commentators, on the other hand, argue for Matthean primacy, commonly known as the Griesbach Hypothesis, revived most famously by W. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964). For a list of scholars advocating this view, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:97, n. 51. While the former view is not without its own difficulties, generally speaking, when analyzing the differences between Matthew and Mark, it is much easier to understand why Matthew has changed Mark than why Mark would have changed Matthew: many of these "changes" to Matthew would have been completely illogical, resulting in increased ambiguity and embarrassing statements about Jesus and the Twelve. The postulation of a "Q" source would account for the approximately 230 verses that are absent in Mark but appear sometimes word-for-word in Matthew and Luke, despite their assumed literary independence. For literature on Q, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:115, n. 68. The third major view dispenses with Q and argues for dependence of Matthew on Luke or vice versa; so, for example, M. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg: Trinity International Press, 2002); cf. M. Goulder, "On Putting Q to the Test," *NTS* 24 (1978): 218-34, and A. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q" in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 55-88. Proponents of the Two-Source Hypothesis generally accept the independence of Matthew and Luke.

This chapter will examine Matthew's shepherd motif, concentrating on his explicit

uses of "shepherd" (ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω), by integrating the methodological approaches of

composition criticism, redaction criticism, and narrative criticism.[3] The study will pause

at points where Matthew appropriates "shepherd" texts from the HB to analyze how his

appropriation compares with them as another means of discerning the Evangelist's

literary and theological intentions. The chapter will end by summarizing Matthew's

appropriation of the shepherd metaphor and discussing how his motif contributes to the

Gospel's Christology and soteriology.

5.2 Matthew's Depiction of Jesus as the Shepherd

5.2.1 The Shepherd's Identity: The Davidic Messiah

Matthew introduces the shepherd motif in the birth and infancy narratives.[4]

Although ποιμαίνω does not occur until 2:6, chapter two is closely connected

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[3] For further discussion of these approaches, see section 1.4.5 above. Because explicit occurrences of ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω remain the focus of this study, passages like Matt 10:6; 15:24; and 18:12-14, where the shepherd motif occurs without the use of "shepherd," will not be analyzed. This does not mean that these instances of shepherding imagery without the use of "shepherd" have been overlooked. These texts have been analyzed, but in the end, they do not appreciably add to the use of the ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω-metaphor: as will be observed in this chapter, they merely follow the pattern of usage established by the ποιμήν/ποιμαίνω motif. One "shepherd"-less passage bearing shepherd imagery that will be treated because of the unique point it contributes is Matt 27:9-10 (see section 5.2.5 below).

[4] Unlike some of the other Christological motifs in the Gospel, "shepherd" is distributed fairly evenly throughout the narrative. The structure of the Gospel is unsettled: see Luz, *Matthäus*, 1:18-19 for a discussion of some of the difficulties of assessing the structure, and Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:58-72 for a survey of posited structural breakdowns. Not included in their survey is G. Buchanan, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 2 vols., MBC (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1996), 1:51-58, who asserts that the Hexateuch (i.e., the biblical books of Genesis through Joshua) is the basis for Matthew's structure. The lowest common denominator for the Gospel's structure would at least recognize a beginning/introduction, a middle/body and an end/conclusion. "Shepherd" appears in each of these sections—something that cannot be said for "Son of Man" or "Lord" (which do not appear in the beginning section) or "Son of Abraham" (which disappears after 1:1).

syntactically, lexically, thematically, and narratively to the first chapter.[5] The first

chapter essentially answers the question of who Jesus is: the Davidic messiah.[6] The first

line of the Gospel ascribes to Jesus the titles of Messiah, Son of David and Son of

Abraham (1:1).[7] The purpose of the ensuing genealogy (1:2-17) is largely to substantiate

Jesus' Davidic lineage and thereby legitimize his claim to Israel's throne:[8] Jesus is not

merely "a son of David" (like his father Joseph [1:20b]); he is *the* Son of David (1:1), the

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[5] Syntactically, the genitive absolute of Matt 2:1aα, Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ("Now when Jesus was born") serves to connect the story of 2:1-12 with the preceding paragraph of 1:18-25, which describes the circumstances of Jesus' birth: 1:18-25 begins with Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις ("Now the birth of Jesus Christ") and ends with Ἰησοῦς. Matthew frequently deploys the genitive absolute as a means of interlocking pericopes within his narrative (e.g., 1:18; 2:13, 19; 8:1, 5, 28; passim). For a relevant discussion of the different ways in which Matthew uses genitive absolutes, see Soares Prabhu. *Formula*, 180-83. Lexically, chapters one and two share a number of significant vocabulary terms: Χριστός (1:1, 16, 17, 18; cf. 2:4), Ἰούδας (1:2-3; cf. 2:5-6), γεννάω (1:2, 3, 4, passim; cf. 2:1), ὁ βασιλεύς (1:6; cf. 2:1), κατ' ὄναρ (1:20; cf. 2:12), τίκτω (1:21; cf. 2:2), καλέω (1:21, 23, 25; cf. 2:7), λαός (1:21; cf. 2:6) and διὰ τοῦ προφήτου (1:22; cf. 2:5). Thematically, the genealogy presents Jesus as the true heir to David's throne and 2:1-12 develops this kingship theme further. Narratively, 2:1-12 chronologically follows the events of 1:18-25: Jesus the true heir is born (1:18-25), and 2:1-12 presents how some groups of people respond to this news.

[6] Cf. K. Stendahl, "Quis et Unde? An Analysis of Matthew 1-2" in *The Interpretation of Matthew*, ed. G. Stanton (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), and Kingsbury, *Matthew*. Stendahl argues that chapter one is apologetically oriented, while Kingsbury asserts that its focus is more Christological. The two explanations, however, are not incompatible: both are probably true.

[7] While Davies and Allison offer strong arguments in support of understanding 1:1 as the title of the Gospel (*Matthew*, 1:149-60), W. B. Tatum correctly asserts that "the most obvious" scope for the superscription of 1:1 is the genealogy ("'The Origin of Jesus Messiah' [Matt 1:1, 18a]: Matthew's Use of the Infancy Traditions," *JBL* 96/4 [1977]: 523-35). Since, however, Matthew can simultaneously speak to different levels of understanding (cf. the comments in section 1.4.5 above), P. Bonnard is probably correct that the superscription is intentionally ambiguous and introduces both the genealogy and the entire Gospel (cf. *L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu*, Commentaire de Nouveau Testament [Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1963], 15-16). Hence, 1:1 would not only introduce who Jesus is in terms of his ancestral origin, but would also foreshadow the direction and focus of the Gospel: how these titles are realized in Jesus.

[8] That this is the main point of the genealogy is demonstrated by the frequent use of the name "David" (four times—more than any other name mentioned), the appellation of "the king" for the first mention of David (1:6), the three "fourteens" that make up the genealogy's structure, as well as the threefold repetition of "fourteen" (according to *gematria*, the three consonants of David's name in Hebrew [דוד] numerically add up to fourteen, i.e., דוד = 4 + 6 + 4), and David's position within the structure of the genealogy; that is, "David" serves as a kind of bridge between Abraham and the exile. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:187-88 list a few other features of the genealogy.

rightful successor to "David the king" (1:6), and the one who will ascend the Davidic throne.[9]

After describing Jesus' Davidic ancestry, the Evangelist offers an account of Jesus' birth in 1:18-25, whereby he establishes three further points. First, Jesus is conceived by the Holy Spirit (1:18b, 20b) and thus, relates to God in a unique way. Second, Jesus the Son of David has come for a salvific mission: "and you shall call his name Jesus for he will save his people from their sins" (1:21b, cf. v. 23b).[10] And third, Jesus' birth and mission to Israel were foreseen by and fulfil the Scriptures (1:22-23; cf. Isa 7:14).

The central theme of the story in chapters one and two is kingship, specifically, who Israel's true king really is. If the first chapter is concerned with Jesus' identity (who Jesus is), the second answers the question concerning his geographical origin (where Jesus is from).[11] The second chapter consists of two sections: vv. 1-12, which introduce the shepherd motif, deal with the events in Bethlehem; and vv. 13-23 deal with the geographical movement of the infant Jesus after he is forced to flee because of Herod's

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[9] For a brief but useful comparison highlighting the differences between Matthew's infancy narrative and Luke's, see Stendahl, "Quis," 56-59. Tatum concludes from these differences that Matthew's traditions demonstrate that Jesus' genealogy and geographical origins fulfill scriptural prophecies concerning the Davidic Messiah, while Luke uses his traditions to support his three-epoch view of salvation history ("Origin," 534-35).

[10] While Matthew does not spell out here how exactly Jesus will accomplish this saving act, the rest of the Gospel makes it clear that the saving of God's people takes place through Jesus' works of healing (cf., especially, chaps. 8-9 [see discussion in section 5.2.2 below]) and through his atoning sacrifice on the cross (cf. 26:26:28).

[11] This query is tightly connected to the first Christological question: in the Gospel of John, questions of the messiah's place of origin flow rather naturally from questions concerning his identity (John 1:44-46; 7:40-42, 52).

death plot.[12] Matthew unfolds this kingship theme largely through two implicit, interrelated contrasts between the Jewish leaders and the eastern Magi, and between Jesus and Herod.[13]

While Matthew's Magi remain anonymous in the narrative, widespread agreement among scholars exists about a few things concerning them. They are clearly Gentiles: they come from "another land" (v. 12b) from the east (v. 1).[14] While the notion of "kingship" is a much later Christian association with the Magi,[15] they would nonetheless probably represent a social class of some standing, possibly priests.[16] Additionally, although magical powers and superior understanding were often associated with Magi,[17] their knowledge about the coming king remained inferior to that of the Jewish leaders: their wisdom helped bring them to Jerusalem but it took the biblical knowledge of the chief priests and scribes of Israel to lead them directly to the Christ-child (vv. 1-2a, 4-5). Lastly, through their arts, the Magi recognized (without the aid of the scriptures) the

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[12] The second section of chapter two explains to the readers how the messiah, who was to be born in Bethlehem (according to the scriptures), ends up being from Nazareth. The geographical importance of the formula quotations extends beyond the second chapter into chapters three and four (cf. Tatum, "Origin," 532-33, and E. Krentz, "The Extent of Matthew's Prologue: Toward the Structure of the First Gospel," *JBL* 83 [1964]: 409-414), thus demonstrating that the first two chapters should not be regarded as a separate unit from the rest of the Gospel.

[13] Nolan combines these two contrasts into one: "unbelieving, semi-Jewish, but non-Davidic (Herodian) Jerusalem, and believing, non-Jewish (Magian), but Davidic Bethlehem" (*Royal Son*, 205).

[14] Early scholarship posited their origin to be Arabia, Babylon or Persia; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:228, and R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, ABRL, new ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 168-70.

[15] Cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:231.

[16] While the gifts of the Magi probably signify something like tribute given to a king, frankincense and myrrh have cultic functions in the HB (cf. Exod 30:34-38; Leviticus 2, passim; 24:7, 15 for frankincense, and Exod 30:23 for myrrh), and as such, would colour their gifts with a priestly tinge. Luz notes that μάγος, in the first instance, refers to someone belonging to the Persian caste of priests. Soares Prabhu remarks that although magi as "magicians" would have represented the popular thinking of the times, according to their deployment by Matthew in his narrative, the Evangelist seems to restore "their ancient exalted role" (*Formula*, 281).

[17] E.g., Dan [LXX] 1:20; 2:2; 4:4; 5:7; Acts 8:9-11; *AJ* 10:195, 216.

greatness of the "king of the Jews" and consequently desired to pay homage to him,[18] offering him precious gifts (vv. 2b, 10-11).[19] The leaders of the Jewish people (represented in the narrative by Herod, the chief priests, and the scribes), however, when informed of the Magi's request, are deeply troubled by it (v. 3). Despite knowing through the scriptures where the coming king would be born, as well as identifying this king with the coming messiah (vv. 2a, 4-5), despite residing only five miles from the birthplace and despite being named among the specific recipients of the messiah's rule (2:6b), the Jewish leaders refrain from visiting the Christ-child.[20] Rather, they—as epitomized by Herod— seek to destroy him because of the threat he poses to their rule.[21]

Thus, when the news of Jesus' birth becomes public, according to Matthew's story, the Magi, Gentiles possessing only a veiled and limited knowledge of the royal messiah, who must travel a great distance to see the Christ-child, respond to him with joy, homage and offerings. The Jewish leaders, however, despite enjoying the guidance of the scriptures and living in close proximity to the Christ-child, show only a feigned interest in

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[18] R. Horsley asserts that the homage of the Magi is "an act of the highest respect for, homage to, and submission to a king, a political ruler, not an act of worship of divinity, further expressing the worldwide political import of what is happening here" (*Sociology and the Jesus Movement* [New York: Crossroads, 1989], 58).

[19] In their "pilgrimage" to the Christ-child, many scholars see an allusion to Isa 60:6 (some also see allusions to 1 Kgs 10:1-10, 25; Ps 72:11-15; Song 3:6), which describes Gentiles coming from afar to worship YHWH in Zion. 1 Kgs 10:1-10/2 Chr 9:1-12 presents an interesting parallel: a member of Gentile royalty pays homage (bringing gifts that include spices) to King Solomon, the son of David, because she recognizes his greatness (cf. the reference to this story in Matt 12:42).

[20] Although the "crowds" visit Jesus early into the story (4:25), and the Jerusalem leaders travel to the wilderness to meet John the Baptist early in the narrative (3:5), it is not until 15:1 that Jewish leaders (viz., Pharisees and scribes) come to Jesus from Jerusalem; and not long after their visit Jesus informs his disciples of his impending passion in Jerusalem (16:21).

[21] Although this treacherous plot is not explicitly revealed until v.13, it is anticipated by the admonishing dream given to the Magi in v. 12a of the pericope.

the child, and ultimately, seek the demise of the one divinely appointed to shepherd them.[22]

The more important contrast in the infancy narrative is between Herod, who for Matthew typifies the Jerusalem leadership, and Jesus. Matthew's genealogy presents Jesus, the Son of David, as the rightful heir to the throne of "David the king." In chapter two, the reader is introduced to Israel's monarch at the time of Jesus' birth, "Herod the king" (2:1a).[23] The Magi ask Herod, "Where is the one born king of the Jews?" The question is ironic for Herod *is* the king of the Jews (v. 3a).[24] Consequently, Herod finds their question disturbing (v. 3),[25] thus revealing his insecurity, which ultimately leads to his plot against the child (vv. 13, 16). Although Herod ruled over the Jews, controversy existed over the legitimacy of his throne because of his Idumean ancestry,[26] his friendship with Rome and attraction to Roman culture,[27] and his excessive cruelty.[28]

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[22] Luz, in his Matthew commentary, slightly misses the mark here: the story does not have an "Akzent antijüdisch" but more specifically, an anti-Jewish leaders point. Nolan's contrast is closer (cf. n. 13 above).

[23] Although Matthew refers to Herod as "king" three times within the pericope, he never does so again after the first explicit appearance in the narrative of Jesus, the new-born king (cf. the use of only "Herod" in 2:12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22).

[24] By the time of Jesus' birth, Herod the Great (as he had become known) had been in power for over thirty years. Moreover, based on the inscription, "*Regi Herodi Iudaic(o)*" ("king of the Jews") on some pottery found at Masada (see H. Cotton and J. Geiger, "Wine for Herod," *Cathedra* 53 [1989]: 3-12 [in Hebrew]), D. Mendels asserts that Herod desired not merely to be "King of Judea" but "King of the Jews" (*The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*, ABRL [New York: Doubleday, 1992], 284, 322, n. 22). While Herod had ruled over a united Land of Israel, by the time Matthew wrote his Gospel, the Land had become politically fragmented by the colonial powers.

[25] Josephus records an interesting legend about Herod: when Herod was still a boy, he was met by an Essene prophet who greeted him as "king of the Jews," predicting that one day he would rule the nation (*AJ* 15.373-74). If this legend became well-known during the time of Jesus, then it would have added to the irony of the story—something not lost on Matthew's first audience.

[26] Herod's father was an Idumean, making Herod unfit to rule in the eyes of some Jews; cf. H. Hoehner, "Herodian Dynasty," *DJG* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1992), 319.

[27] Of his attraction to Roman culture, P. Richardson notes that in his architecture, "Herod balanced two competing needs: his commitment to Judaism caused him to give little offense in his building, especially the Temple in Jerusalem; but his attachment to Rome caused him to include, in as politically astute a way as possible, a symbol of Roman authority" (*Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*

Thus, while Herod's kingship was seen by some as illegitimate from the start, Matthew presents Jesus as the legitimate heir to the throne of Israel. Verseput comments, "[Matthew] even juxtaposes the legitimate child-heir with the house of Herod, so that comparisons with an earlier protest against the Hasmonean dynasty in *Ps. Sol. 17* are difficult to avoid."[29] Unlike Herod, Jesus belongs to the royal line of King David; and far from ascending to the throne through wealth or political guile, Jesus' appointment as king of the Jews comes via divine sanction as predicted by the scriptures. Hence, the ultimate reason why Herod's throne is illegitimate is because he is not the one God has appointed to rule his people: rather, it is Jesus.

While Matthew appropriates scripture earlier in the narrative to delineate Jesus' identity, his next citation in 2:6 confirms Jesus' legitimacy as the true heir to the throne, as well as tersely summarizes and foreshadows his mission to Israel. Jesus' claim to the throne is legitimized in two ways. The inquiry described in the verses leading up to the citation (vv. 4-5), reveals that the scripture about to be quoted refers to the birthplace not of the king but of the "messiah" (v. 4b).[30] Hence, part of Jesus' legitimacy as Israel's true king derives not simply from being of royal lineage (for even Joseph is called a "son of

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[Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996], 18). It was the latter commitment that aroused the ire of some Jews, causing them to protest vigorously and destroy Herod's eagle structure over one of the temple gates, resulting in their execution (cf. *BJ* 1:648-55 and *AJ* 17:149-67; also Richardson, *Herod*, 15-16).

[28] In the latter part of his reign (near the time of Jesus' birth), his cruelty manifested itself in (among other things) the execution of his wife Marianne (along with their three sons) because, being of Hasmonean descent, she possessed a greater claim to Israel's throne. The reason for this brutality was not simply that Herod wished to secure his throne, but also that he desired to appoint his successor. In each of the revisions of his will, Herod appointed different successors: from Alexander and Aristobulus, to Antipater, to all three, to Antipater, to Antipas, and finally to Archelaus; cf. Hoehner, "Herodian Dynasty," 320-21, and Richardson, *Herod*, 33-38.

[29] Verseput, "Davidic Messiah," 102.

[30] In other words, in the response to the Magi's query of where the "king of the Jews" would be born, the religious leaders seek the birthplace of the "messiah."

David" [1:20]), but from being Israel's "messiah"—the first Christological title appearing in the superscription of Matthew's Gospel (1:1; cf. 1:16, 17). Also, his birthplace has already been announced in the scriptures: the messiah will be born "in Bethlehem of Judea, for so it is written by the prophet" (v. 5b). For Matthew, the scriptures are divinely revealed[31] and therefore authoritative and binding.[32] Consequently, that Jesus' birth is foreseen by the scriptures would be an implicit affirmation both of his special character and also of the validity of his claim to the throne.

But just as the geographical origin of the king/messiah is anchored in the biblical citation, so, too, is the nature of his mission: "And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, by no means are you least among the rulers of Judah, for out of you will come a ruler who will shepherd my people Israel" (v. 6). This citation represents a conflation of Mic 5:1 (v. 6a) and 2 Sam 5:2bβ (v. 6b), and is without parallel in the other Gospels.[33] Davies and Allison note that the citation conforms neither to the LXX nor to the MT,[34] and subsequently should be viewed as an interpretation rather than a quotation of Scripture.[35] That is, implicit within this citation itself would be Matthew's understanding of how these texts relate to Jesus. A few points can be made here.

First, in his appropriation of Mic 5:1a, two elements are changed: "Ephrathah" becomes "Judah" and "you are least" becomes "you are by no means least." Matthew

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[31] E.g., Jesus, according to Matthew, links the scriptures with the power of God (22:29) and speaks of David as writing his Psalm "by the [Holy] Spirit" (22:43).

[32] Hence for Matthew, Jesus came to fulfill rather than abolish the Law because not a single letter or stroke from the Law can pass away until all of it takes place (5:17-18).

[33] A small number of scholars (e.g., Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 174-84) have argued for an additional text within this conflation: Gen 49:10.

[34] Cf. Stendahl, *School*, 99; Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 37; Brown, *Messiah*, 184-86.

[35] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:242; cf. D. A. Carson, *Matthew*, EBC, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 87.

eliminates a point of reference that would have meant little to his readers,[36] in favour of a term with much greater relevance, "Judah."[37] This would especially be so within the infancy narrative, where the patriarch Judah has already been mentioned in the genealogy (1:2-3), and according to Jacob's testament in the book of Genesis, a messianic figure would come through the line of his son Judah (Gen 49:10-12).[38]

At one point, Matthew also seems to reverse the meaning of the Micah text: according to the MT, Bethlehem is the least but Matthew seems to deny this.[39] This reversal should probably be understood in this way: although Bethlehem is the least among the rulers of Judah, because Jesus the messiah is born there, the city can no longer be considered insignificant but rather, great.[40] Matthew's use of Mic 5:1, however, actually mirrors the larger context within Micah: Bethlehem Ephrathah is small but in the future it will produce a great leader who will rule over Israel in the majesty of the name of YHWH (Mic 5:1b, 3). The difference would seem to be one of emphasis, whereby Matthew accentuates the greatness of Bethlehem after this prominent leader emerges. This may be one of the reasons why the Evangelist neglects to quote the last part of the verse in Micah, which speaks of the ancient origin of David's descendant (which would

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[36] Ephrathah appears only six times in the HB and all but one refers explicitly to Bethlehem.

[37] Soares Prabhu (who follows C. Cave, "St. Matthew's Infancy Narrative," *NTS* 9 [1962-63]: 382-90) suggests that Matthew's aim is not geographical precision but theological, insofar as he may be alluding to 1 Sam 17:12 (which refers to David as a son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah), thus reinforcing the Davidic lineage of Jesus (*Formula*, 262-63).

[38] That Gen 49:10-12 is understood messianically by early Jews can be seen, for example, in 4Q252 (4QGenesis Pesher³) and b. Sanh 98b; for a discussion of the messianic interpretation of Gen 49:10-12, see J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 60-64. Chae asserts that "Judah" here in 2:6 is intended as an allusion to Gen 49:10 (*Davidic Shepherd*, 174-76).

[39] The LXX, for example, maintains the sense of the MT: "least you are among the clans of Judah" (ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα).

[40] If Micah could refer to Bethlehem as least—despite its being the birthplace of King David—then clearly Matthew's reversal of this text means that Jesus' greatness far outstrips David's.

seem to fit with Matthew's genealogy): the Evangelist is most concerned here with

justifying Jesus' Bethlehem origin. In addition to these changes, Matthew also takes the

somewhat ambiguous term אלף, which literally means "thousand" but can connote either

a "tribe" or a "tribal chief,"[41] and opts for the latter connotation by using ἡγεμών

("rulers"),[42] which acts as a link to ἡγέομαι in the 2 Sam 5:2 citation in the second part of

the verse. Additionally, the use of ἡγεμών (rather than, say, χιλιάς) may serve to

underscore, within this brief citation, the reason for the messiah's emergence from

Bethlehem, viz., to replace those who currently lead (ἡγέομαι) Israel.[43] Certainly, Jesus'

replacement of the Jewish leaders is one of the ways that Matthew echoes the wider

literary context of Mic 5:1.[44]

Second, if Matthew's sole purpose in citing Scripture here was to justify the

geographical origin of Jesus, then 2 Sam 5:2 would be superfluous since only the Micah

text would be needed. But Matthew seeks to do more than simply validate Jesus' place of

birth. By appending the Samuel text, he achieves several interrelated effects. He

reemphasizes the Davidic Christology with which he opened the Gospel and which will

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[41] אלף is used in this way, for example, in Num 1:16; 10:4; 31:5; Josh 22:14 and Judg 6:15; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:242-43, and Carson, *Matthew*, 87-88.

[42] The LXX adopts a literal rendering of אלף with χιλιάσιν ("thousands").

[43] Of the Synoptic Gospels, only Matthew employs ἡγεμών with any type of regularity: nine times, compared to once in Mark and twice in Luke. One of these occurrences represents the triple tradition (Matt 10:18/Mark 13:9/Luke 21:12). Luke also uses ἡγεμών in an implicit reference to Pilate (Luke 20:20). Matthew consistently applies the term to Pilate in the passion narrative (six times: 27:2, 11, 14, 15, 21, 27; in v. 21 it represents an insertion into Mark: Matthew reads, ὁ ἡγεμὼν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ["the ruler said to them"], while Mark has Πιλᾶτος ... ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ["Pilate . . . said to them"]). Matthew also uses it in an implicit reference to Pilate in 28:14. Willitts asserts, "The Matthean phrase τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα in Matt 2:6 reflects the chapter's concern for the political power of Israel ("Lost Sheep," 108).

[44] According to the wider context of Mic 5:1, the coming Davidide shall rule over Israel in the majesty of YHWH, replacing Israel's former king who suffered humiliation at the hands of foreigners; cf. section 2.2.2 above.

be featured prominently throughout it.[45]   As well, while Davidic kingship is the central

thrust of the first portion of the infancy narrative, a corollary of this theme is the shepherd

motif. Indeed, David is viewed in the HB as the ideal shepherd (e.g., Ps 78:70-72; Ezek

34:23), and when the HB and Second Temple Jewish authors use the metaphor for David,

it refers to his ruling over Israel as its king (cf. sections 2.2.2 and 3.2.2 above).

According to Matthew, Jesus represents the promised ruler who will shepherd

God's people Israel. "Shepherd" here specifically connotes "rule" or "kingship."[46] At

the time of Jesus' birth, Israel had rulers/shepherds, viz., King Herod (v. 1a), as well as

the chief priests and the scribes (v. 4). But according to this text, God is about to replace

these shepherds with his own,[47] the reason for which is only hinted at in this portion of

the infancy narrative (i.e., they are disturbed by and disinterested in the arrival of God's

new king), but more fully evidenced in the second section of it: they reject him and plan

his destruction.[48] This replacement of Israel's shepherds is implicit in the 2 Samuel 5

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[45] While Davidic lineage is implied in the Micah text, it is explicit in 2 Sam 5:2, which represents words spoken by YHWH directly to David at his coronation over all Israel.

[46] By contrast, in the birth and infancy narratives in Luke's Gospel, Luke uses literal shepherds to reflect the humble circumstances of Jesus. The marginalized circumstances of Jesus' birth—circumstances that foreshadow the direction of Jesus' mission to the marginalized in Luke—are amplified, on the one hand, by the birth announcement being made first to mere shepherds, and by these shepherds, on the other hand, being the first visitors to pay homage to the infant Christ (cf. section 3.4.5 above).

[47] It is possible that Matthew linguistically extends the shepherding contrast between Herod and Jesus in his description of the action Herod takes after he receives the Magi's news: he "gathers together" (συνάγω) the chief priests and scribes of the people to learn where Jesus would be born (2:4). Frequently συνάγω bears shepherding imagery (e.g., Matt 25:32; cf. use of the cognate verb ἄγω in the LXX: e.g, Gen 46:32; Exod 3:1; Ps 77:52; Isa 63:12-14). Matthew had any number of linguistic options from which to choose (and which he employs elsewhere) other than συνάγω: e.g., καλέω (2:7), προσκαλέομαι (10:1), πέμπω (11:2) or ζητέω (12:46). That he opted for συνάγω here, particularly in view of its close syntactical (and conceptual) relation to ποιμαίνω in 2:6, may suggest a deliberate contrast on Matthew's part. Hence the contrast would be between the respective recipients of Herod's and Jesus' shepherding: Herod "gathers" or shepherds his own, i.e., the religious elite "of the people," whereas Jesus "will shepherd [God's] people Israel."

[48] In fact, Herod's attempt on the life of Jesus—the one born and divinely appointed to be Israel's king—parallels Saul's attempts to destroy God's chosen replacement for him as king, David.

passage, where David not only replaces Saul as the king, but the people acknowledge that even while Saul was king, David had been their true shepherd.[49] This notion of the replacement of Israel's shepherds and the rejection of God's shepherd will be unfolded in the Gospel. And lastly, although "shepherd" refers to Jesus as Israel's king in the context of the infancy narratives, it also reveals something of his mission, specifically, its scope and to a lesser extent, its nature.

For Matthew, Jesus has been appointed by God to shepherd God's people, Israel (v. 6b). Numerous scholars argue that "Israel" refers to both Jews and Gentiles.[50] D. Hagner, for example, argues that because "Matthew and his readers were capable of a deeper understanding of the expression [λαός] wherein it includes both Jews and Gentiles . . . We may thus finally equate this λαός, "people," with the ἐκκλησία, "Church," of which Jesus speaks in 16:18."[51] While Matthew can appeal in his Gospel to to different levels of understanding,[52] Saldarini has demonstrated that the Evangelist never uses λαός with the sense of "Church," but rather, he employs the word for the "social and political entity of the land of Israel, that is, the Jewish people. He also uses it to specify subgroups within Israel."[53]

It seems better to understand "his people" in 1:21 as referring to Jews for several reasons. "My people" (τὸν λαόν μου) is clearly an echo of "his people" (τὸν λαὸν

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[49] According to 2 Sam 5:2a, the people tell David, "Even in former times when Saul was king over us, it was you who led us."

[50] E.g., Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:210; Nolan, *Royal Son*, 133, and Carson, *Matthew*, 88. R. Menninger, for his part, claims that "Israel" refers to the remnant, i.e., "believing Israel" (*Israel and the Church in the Gospel of Matthew* [New York: Peter Lang, 1994], 142-44).

[51] D. Hagner, *Matthew*, 2 vols., WBC, vols. 33a-b (Dallas: Word Books, 1998), 1:19.

[52] Cf. France, "Formula-Quotations."

[53] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 28; cf. his analysis on pp. 28-34.

αὐτοῦ) in 1:21b. In 1:21 the angel tells Joseph that "he [= Jesus] will save his [= Jesus'] people (τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ) from their sins."[54] Since Jesus is Jewish "his people" would more naturally refer to the Jews. Similarly, given the verse's close proximity and relation to the genealogy, which deals with Israel's history from Abraham to the Babylonian exile, the Jewish nation would be in view in 1:21.[55] Further, the literary context of Mic 5:1 refers to a coming Davidic ruler who will gather together and shepherd the exiles of Israel, and in the literary context of 2 Sam 5:2, David is commencing to rule as king over "all the tribes of Israel." In his appropriation of these texts, Matthew tweaks them to apply them specifically to Jesus; he does not, however, change their basic sense. Thus, while not denying the legitimacy of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Jesus movement, the focus of Matthew's Shepherd here is the nation of Israel.[56]

This emphasis on the nation of Israel would explain why 2 Sam 5:2b is inserted into the Mican quote, rather than, say, appending Mic 5:3, in which the notion of a

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[54] It could be argued that "his" refers not to Jesus but to God, but this seems unlikely. On the one hand, in the phrase, "for he (αὐτὸς) will save (σώσει) his people from their sins," the emphatic pronoun αὐτός would refer back to υἱός and Ἰησοῦς in the first half of the verse: "You will bear a son (υἱόν) and you will call him, 'Jesus' (Ἰησοῦν)." On the other hand, when σῴζω refers to acts of power it is unambiguously associated in the Gospel with Jesus (cf. 8:25; 9:21, 22; 14:30; 27:40, 42). Moreover, even if God was in view here, at this point in the story, God's people would plainly refer to the Jews and not the "Church" of Jews and Gentiles.

[55] For Matthew, this brief outline of Israel's history climaxes with the birth of Christ (1:16-17), which the Evangelist treats in greater detail in the pericope of 1:18-25—in which 1:21 appears; cf. Carter, *Empire*, 77-79, and Sim, *Christian Judaism*, 250-51.

[56] The inclusion of Gentiles would be evidenced by, on the one hand, Matthew's genealogy. The common denominator of the four women mentioned in the genealogy, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba (referred to as "the wife of Uriah"), is their foreignness. Stendahl, "Quis," Tatum, "Origin" et al. assert that it is the "irregularity" in the Davidic line that these women represent that sets them apart, an irregularity that also marks Mary's adoption into the messianic line. Bathsheba, however, is not referred to by her name but by her relationship to Uriah the Hittite—a Gentile. This suggests that foreignness (in her case by association) would be more of a factor for the inclusion of these women in the genealogy, though not to the exclusion of the "irregularity" factor. Gentile inclusion would be evidenced, on the other hand, by the homage paid to Jesus by the Magi. It is more accurate to speak of Gentile "inclusion" rather than a Gentile "mission"—at least prior to the resurrection (28:19)—because Gentiles come to Jesus: he does not go to them, nor does he permit his disciples (cf. 10:5); hence, Gentiles are included but not evangelized.

Davidic "shepherd" explicitly appears.[57] On the one hand, Mic 5:3 speaks only of the coming Davidide as shepherding "his flock." Matthew's interest in Israel, however, will not allow for so general an identification of the messiah's primary focus; hence, he appends the Samuel text which explicitly spells out the messiah's focus: "[God's] people Israel."[58] On the other hand, Chae asserts that Mic 5:1-4 "envisions the extension of [the Davidic Shepherd's] reign beyond Israel and over the nations, a point underscored by the phrase, עד־אפסי־ארץ ("to the end of the earth," v. 4b).[59] If he is correct, then this broader scope of the recipients of the coming Davidic ruler's shepherding may have contributed to Matthew's omission of what would be the obvious choice of a "shepherd" text, Mic 5:3—i.e., given his appropriation of Mic 5:1. In other words, while the inclusion of the Gentiles in Jesus' messianic mission has already received some affirmation in the Gospel,[60] Jesus' focus remains God's people, Israel and not the Gentiles. By inserting 2 Sam 5:2 in place of Mic 5:3, Matthew supports this pro-Israel point: "Israel" (2 Sam 5:2) becomes the explicit target of Jesus' anticipated mission;[61] and

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[57] Micah 5:3 reads: "And he shall stand and feed his flock in the strength of the LORD, in the majesty of the name of the LORD his God. And they shall live secure, for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth" (NRSV). R. Gundry is correct that "shepherd" in Mic 5:3 provides a good linguistic tie-in to the Samuel text (*The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NTS, vol. 18 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967], 92-93), but this link does not explain why Matthew appropriates 2 Sam 5:2b rather than Mic 5:3.

[58] Soares Prabhu insists that the 2 Samuel insertion is "not because it speaks about ὁ λαός but because it is a text about David, and so explicitly identifies Jesus as the 'son of David' in whom the promises made to David are to be fulfilled" (*Formula*, 266). This understanding of the insertion, however, downplays the intra-textual reference between τὸν λαόν μου in 2:6 and τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ in 1:21. ὁ λαός and οἱ ὄχλοι play important roles for Matthew in delineating Jesus' mission and rejection in Israel (cf. Cousland, *Crowds*). Moreover, 2 Sam 5:2 can easily function in both ways: it can specifically identify Jesus as locus of God's promise to David as well as establish the mission field for Matthew's messiah.

[59] Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 177.

[60] Cf. n. 56 above.

[61] It is possible that the double reference to the "Land of Israel"—an expression used only by Matthew in the NT—in 2:20-21 is meant to echo "my people Israel" in 2:6.

furthermore, what would have been an implicit reference to the nations (i.e., "to the end

of the earth" [Mic 5:3-4]) is omitted.[62]

Thus, Matthew, in interpreting Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2 messianically, maintains

the nationalistic direction of the original passages: Jesus is the Davidide from Bethlehem

who will shepherd and rule over God's flock in the Land; and he is the Davidic heir who

will rule over all Israel upon David's throne in place of Israel's corrupt leaders.[63]

Although the nature of Jesus' mission to Israel will be unpacked in the unfolding

of the Gospel, it is, nonetheless, hinted at in and foreshadowed by the infancy narratives.

The close linguistic connection between 2:6b and 1:21b suggests that Jesus' shepherding

of God's people will focus on saving them from their sins. Here Davies and Allison

represent standard opinion when they remark:

> The Messiah's first task is to save his people from their sins (1:21), not deliver
> them from political bondage. . . . Jesus saves his people "from their sins." This
> underlies the religious and moral—as opposed to political—character of the
> messianic deliverance. Liberation removes the wall of sin between God and the
> human race; nothing is said about freedom from the oppression of governing
> powers (contrast Pss. Sol. 17).[64]

While it would clearly be wrong to minimize the moral (or "religious") character of

Jesus' mission—especially in light of the tone and plot of the entire story—the political

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[62] Chae uses the background of Mic 5:1-4 to argue the opposite, viz., the use of "people" looks beyond the narrow focus of Jesus' shepherd mission to Israel to the nations (*Davidic Shepherd*, 185). Chae, however, overemphasizes the Mic 5:1-4 background to the point of all but excluding the citation of 2 Sam 5:2.

[63] That only Matthew among NT writers uses the designation "Land of Israel" (twice: in 2:20 and 21), a title which indicates a unified concept of a land that was politically fractured at the time of the Gospel, may, on the one hand, represent another means of emphasizing that the appointed recipients of the messiah's shepherding/rule were the Jewish people, and it may, on the other, foreshadow (for Matthew) the future political restoration of the nation.

[64] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:174, 210; cf. R. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 23-24; Charette, *Recompense*, 87, et al. This interpretation, however, is (at least in many cases) the likely result of a Pauline interpretation of Matthew.

dimension of his mission should not be overlooked (as scholars typically do) for several important reasons.

First, σώζω ("save") most often refers to the physical rather than moral realm; hence, it typically denotes "deliverance" from some physical danger or impediment.[65] Although he adopts the moral direction for σώζω, Hagner notes, "The natural expectation regarding the significance of σώσει 'will save,' would be that it refers to a national-political salvation, involving in particular deliverance from the Roman occupation."[66] While the explicit mention of "sins" in relation to "save" leads commentators to override this "natural expectation" for "save," this type of either/or position should be rejected because this distinction between the religious and political spheres represents a modern convention and did not hold in antiquity.[67] According to the biblical record, political figures like kings could exercise religious authority;[68] biblical

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[65] Matthew's use of σώζω can be summarized as follows: deliverance from natural dangers (8:25; 14:30), deliverance from severe persecution (10:22; 16:25; 24:13, 22; 27:40, 42aβ, 49) and deliverance from physical ailments (9:21, 22; 27:42aα). Apart from the verse in question, only once does σώζω denote something other than physical deliverance—in 19:25, where it parallels "having eternal life." Regarding the third type of deliverance, it seems likely that Matthew regards Jesus' works of healing as saving the nation from the ramifications of their sins. That is, the physical oppression and afflictions affecting the nation ultimately stem from unfaithful and neglectful leadership (cf. the discussion in section 5.2.2 below).

[66] Hagner, *Matthew*, 1:19.

[67] W. Carter correctly observes, "Matthean scholars, shaped by the contemporary separation of 'religion' and 'politics' and by their location in a long 'spiritualizing' (and confessional) tradition of reading Matthew, have avoided 'political' interpretations of Jesus' mission to save from sins, preferring 'spiritualized' interpretations" ("Matthean Christology in Roman Imperial Key: Matthew 1:1" in *The Gospel of Matthew in its Roman Imperial Context*, eds. J. Riches and D. Sim, JSNTSS, vol. 276 [New York: T & T Clark, 2005], 157). In contrast to the scholars Carter criticizes, S. Bryan states that "to the extent that [Jesus] addressed the structures and institutions of society and commented on national aspirations, he would have been seen as intensely political" (*Jesus and Israel's Traditions of Judgment and Restoration*, SNTSMS, vol. 117 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002], 22-23); cf. the judgment of Collins, *Scepter*, 55. As far as Matthew is concerned, Verseput notes, "There is certainly no attempt upon Matthew's part to distance Jesus from the Davidic hope. Nor does he in any way emphasize a discrepancy between Jesus and the Jews regarding the Davidic agenda" ("Davidic Messiah," 114).

[68] David, for example, could wear the priestly ephod, sacrifice burnt offerings on behalf of the nation, and offer the divine blessing (cf. 2 Sam 6:16-19); Solomon, too, could offer the blessing and prayer of dedication for the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 8:14-61). In the case of David, his peculiar relationship to the

authors also make a direct connection between Israel's sins and their political oppression.[69] Additionally, during the Second Temple period, the priesthood begins to wield political power in increasing measure,[70] and Second Temple authors also link political oppression with Israel's sins. Thus, for example, the author of 2 Macc 6:1-16 explicitly ties the defilement of Jerusalem and the Second Temple by the Gentiles, as well as Antiochus's prohibition against practicing the Torah, to the nation's sins: the reader of his book is to "consider these punishments to be not for destruction but for the chastening of our nation" (6:12b; cf. 7:32, 36-38).[71] Thus, according to biblical and Second Temple Jewish traditions, Israel's sins had political ramifications: foreign oppression.

A second reason for not overlooking the political dimension to Jesus' mission is because in the narrative, 1:21 is followed by the account of Herod.[72] On the one hand, Herod is portrayed as a "disturbed" monarch who seeks only to preserve power no matter

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priesthood (i.e., a seeming superiority over it) is implicitly appealed to by Jesus during a Sabbath controversy to justify his disciples' "violation" of the Sabbath (Matt 12:1-8). Sanders notes that Judaism did not stand as an exception in the ancient world in combining political and religious authority: "Rulers whom we now think of as generals, conquerors, kings and emperors were also priests. Julius Caesar was a high priest [Pontifex Maximus; e.g., *Antiq.* 14.190]. Alexander the Great, in his triumphant conquest of much of the known world, sacrificed regularly. In Greece and Rome, it is difficult to understand just what a priest was because the 'distinction between civic magistracy and priesthood' is elusive" (*Practice and Belief*, 49).

[69] According to the Deuteronomic Historian, because the Israelites committed idolatry, God handed them over to their enemies to be plundered; but when his people cried out to him he "raised up judges, who saved them out of the hands" of those who plundered them (cf. Judg 2:11-18). Similarly, 2 Kings states that the causes of the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles, which brought about great affliction on his people, were the sins of the Jewish people (2 Kgs 17:3-20; 24:1-4).

[70] The political power of the priesthood eventually culminates in the merging of the offices of high priest, military commander and governor with Simon Maccabee (142-34 BCE) during the Hasmonean Dynasty. For a brief but useful discussion of the Jewish priesthood during the Ptolemaic and Seleucid eras, see P. Schäfer, *The History of the Jews in the Greco-Roman World,* rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 13-80, and J. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests After the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004).

[71] Similarly, *Pss. Sol.* 17:5 states, "But *because of our sins*, sinners rose up against us, they set upon us and drove us out. Those to whom you did not make the promise, they took away from us by force; and they did not glorify your honourable name."

[72] Verseput speaks of the contrast between Herod and Jesus as creating "inevitable political implications" ("Davidic Messiah," 102).

what the cost—hence, the slaughter of the Jewish infants. It is from this cruel reign that God's people Israel need saving.[73] On the other hand, the birth-prophecy of Jesus in Matt 2:6 reinforces the Davidic ancestry of the messiah first introduced in Matthew's genealogy. Consequently, as the Davidic messiah, the salvation Jesus brings—consonant with Second Temple Jewish expectation—would entail "political and national" restoration.[74] A third reason is that in view of how the shepherd metaphor is deployed in the HB,[75] saviour *qua* ruler—particularly from a first-century Jewish standpoint—would be the expected direction of σῴζω in 1:21, rather than saviour *qua* "spiritual" redeemer.

Therefore, in light of these reasons it would be highly unusual for a first-century Jewish reader not to understand salvation from sins as having political ramifications, viz., deliverance from political oppression. This is not to deny the centrality of Jesus' atoning sacrifice on the cross—indeed, the climax of every (canonical) Gospel. But to assume a mutual exclusivity or disconnect between the political and religious realms is to run completely counter to Matthew's first-century social context.[76] Moreover, even YHWH,

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[73] Verseput comments, "In massacring the children, Herod proved the spurious nature of his right to rule and illustrated the tragic plight of Israel this side of its salvation" ("Davidic Messiah," 109).

[74] Cf. Collins, *Scepter*, 49-73.

[75] Cf. section 2.2 above.

[76] Probably the major impediment to acknowledging the political aspect of Jesus' salvation in Matthew is that Jesus never acquires political power (or gives clear evidence of such aspirations) nor was Israel rescued from Roman rule. In what sense, then, could Jesus' salvation have included a political component? While political power is never realized during the days of Jesus' mission to Israel or thereafter (cf. the texts dealing with the persecution of Jesus' followers, specifically, 10:16-23 and 24:3-14), according to Matthew, the full realization of political power in Jesus and Israel's final political deliverance would come at Jesus' Parousia: upon his return with his angels, Jesus will sit as king on his glorious throne and judge "all the nations" according to how they treated his followers (25:31-46; cf. the more detailed discussion of this pericope in section 5.2.3 below). Matthew sees Jesus as inaugurating God's rule, the kingdom of heaven (4:17) and extending it among Israel (9:35; 11:12; 12:26-29), but not consummating the rule of God's kingdom—of which the restoration of Israel is a part (cf. 19:28)—until his return (23:39; 26:29).

according to several HB texts, can simultaneously promise his people "spiritual" renewal and political deliverance.[77]

Thus, according to the deployment of the shepherd motif in the birth and infancy narratives, a number of characteristics emerge concerning the coming Shepherd. Jesus the Messiah is the Davidic Shepherd. As prophesied by the scriptures, he was born in Bethlehem and he came to replace the Jewish leaders as Israel's Shepherd, a replacement echoed by the wider literary contexts of the "shepherd" texts of Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2, which Matthew cites. Since Jesus is the true heir to David's throne, those who occupy positions of leadership over the nation do so illegitimately (as evidenced by their reaction to the news of Jesus' birth).[78]

The focus of the messiah's shepherding is the Jews and the salvation he offers them is both religious and political, whereby he will rescue the people of God from their sins and the ramifications thereof, and in this way, the shepherd motif conveys definite nationalistic hope for Matthew.[79] In saving his people from their sins, the presence and concomitant favour of God is shown to dwell uniquely with them, because Jesus, the one

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[77] Cf. Jeremiah 30-31 (especially 30:8-9 and 31:31-34); Joel 2:28-32, and Ezek 37:20-28 (political deliverance is not in view here, but the passage speaks of cleansing from sin and consequent obedience to Torah alongside of re-establishing the reunified kingdom and monarchy).

[78] Given the plot of the story, does Jesus actually replace the Jerusalem leadership? For Matthew he does in two ways. First, although Jesus never wielded any political power, according to Matthew only Jesus possessed the divine right to rule (upon David's throne); hence, of all kings, only Jesus had the authority to announce the coming of and to inaugurate God's kingdom rule (4:17), on the one hand, and to pronounce/predict divine judgment upon the Jewish leadership—as symbolized by the destruction of the temple in 70 CE (cf. 22:1-7; 23:37-24:2), on the other. In this way—i.e., insofar as he acted as God's emissary to inaugurate the kingdom of heaven (which begins with the restoration of Israel)—Jesus replaced Herod (his successors and Caesar). Second, insofar as the Evangelist depicts Jesus as the authoritative interpreter of Torah, Jesus would be the supreme teacher for Israel, and thus replace the nation's teachers (priests, scribes, and other teachers of the Law; cf. 7:28-29).

[79] Willitts argues that "the political-territorial aspects of the Shepherd-King motif seem to have been intensified by Matthean redaction" ("Shepherd-King," 114).

who shepherds Israel, represents Ἐμμανουήλ, "God with us." The placement of the Isa

7:14 quotation after the significance of Jesus' name rather than after the initial mention of

Mary's virginal conception or after Jesus' birth by a virgin, suggests that the emphasis of

"God with us" is the saving activity of YHWH in Jesus (and not Jesus' unique

conception).[80]

5.2.2 The Shepherd's Mission: His Works of Healing

The infancy traditions lead into the John the Baptist and the temptation narratives

(3:1-4:11). 3:1-4:11 heightens the sense of expectation within Matthew's plot for Israel's

salvation,[81] develops further Matthew's Christological portrait,[82] and sets the stage

(geographically) for the beginning of Jesus' mission. The first major discourse of the

Gospel, the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5-7), represents the consummation of the

exodus typology developed in the first four chapters.[83] While the Sermon on the Mount

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[80] Cf. Tatum, "Origin," 531. This saving activity represents the establishing of God's rule—the kingdom of heaven—among his people, whereby even demons (as demonstrated by Jesus' exorcisms) no longer have a place to exercise power over the people.

[81] The expectation of future salvation (1:21) wrought by the divinely appointed ruler (2:6) is amplified by the coming of John the Baptist. The Baptist comes preaching repentance "in those days" (3:1a), a phrase closely tied to eschatology in the prophets (e.g., Isa 4:2; Jer 30:8; Ezek 38:10; Hos 2:16; Joel 3:1; Amos 9:11). Eschatological overtones would resonate in Matthew: while Matthew, in reference to John, cites Isa 40:3, the larger Isaianic context would almost certainly resound for a first-century reader: "Comfort, O comfort my people, says your God. Speak tenderly to Jerusalem, and cry to her that she has served her term, that her penalty is paid, that she has received from the LORD's hand double for all her sins. A voice cries out: 'In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God' . . . Then the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all people shall see it together, for the mouth of the LORD has spoken'" (Isa 40:1-5, NRSV). As these words introduced a new era in God's salvific work in Israel in Deutero-Isaiah, so now in Matthew's story, they would lead to a heightened expectation of a new work of God's salvation on behalf of his people.

[82] Jesus is featured in interwoven fashion as the Servant of the Lord (3:13-17), the Son of God, and Israel par excellence (3:17-4:11).

[83] This typology centres primarily on the implicit parallels Matthew draws between Jesus and Moses in the circumstances of their birth and their respective missions. For a detailed discussion of these parallels, see D. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993).

showcases the authority of Jesus' teaching,[84] the so-called Miracle Chapters 8-9, demonstrate the authority of his deeds.[85] Together these chapters offer a window into Jesus' mission—the things he said and did. Matthew brackets these chapters with summary statements of Jesus' activity in 4:23 and 9:35,[86] the latter of which is explicitly connected to the shepherd motif.

The structure, theme and function of these chapters have been seriously debated.[87] Davies and Allison note the pattern of their arrangement as three triads:[88] three sets of

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[84] Matthew notes that at the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, "the crowds were amazed by [Jesus'] teaching for he was teaching them as one having authority and not as their scribes" (7:28b-29).

[85] After the healing of the paralytic, for example, the Evangelist states, "the crowds were awestruck and glorified God who gave such authority to people" (9:8, cf. 9:33).

[86] Matthew 4:23, which is actually part of a more detailed summary (extending to 4:25), reads: "And he went around all of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every sickness among the people." 9:35 states, "And Jesus went around all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every sickness." S. McKnight speaks of this inclusio as uniting the Sermon on the Mount and the Miracle Chapters ("New Shepherds for Israel: An Historical and Critical Study of Matthew 9:34-11:1" [Ph.D. Dissertation, Nottingham University, 1986], 14-15).

[87] H. Held's tripartite division based on Christology, discipleship and faith ("Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories" in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, trans. P. Scott [Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1963], 165-299), proved to be highly influential for the later studies of W. Thompson, "Reflections on the Composition of Mt 8:1-9:34," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 365-88; C. Burger, "Jesu Taten nach Matthäus 8 und 9," *ZTK* 70 (1973): 272-87, and J. Kingsbury, "Observations on the 'Miracle Chapters' of Matthew 8-9," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 559-73. Against regarding the Miracle Chapters as merely a composite collection of miracle stories, Luz notes that the "continuous movement" between individual stories of the section implies that "Matthew narrates a unified course of events. . . . His aim is to narrate a connected *story*" (*Studies in Matthew*, trans. R. Selle [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing, 2005], 225-26, his emphasis). Of the weaving together of various themes in the Miracle Chapters, he writes elsewhere, "Die Behandlung der 'Themen' gleicht am ehesten einem Seil oder einem 'Zopf,' der bald den einen, bald den andern Strang in den Vordergrund treten läßt. Seine Stränge laufen durch" (*Matthäus*, 2:6). For a summary and critique of the different structural positions, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:1-5. Not included in their summary is the view of Buchanan, *Matthew*, 1:363-64, who asserts that the beginning (the healing of the leper) and ending (the commission of the Twelve) of chapters 8-10 show that the structure of these chapters is based on the book of Leviticus. There are, however, better ways to explain the beginning and end of the Miracle Chapters. Moreover, Leviticus has little bearing on the events and microstructure of these chapters.

[88] According to them, Matthew's "love of the triad" is part of his distinctive style (*Matthew*, 1:86-87).

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three miracle stories with each set followed by the words of Jesus.[89] While scholars have considered Christology, geography, discipleship or the like to be the key to unlocking the structure of the Miracle Chapters,[90] the dominant (and multifaceted) feature of these chapters would seem to be Jesus' mission to Israel. That is, the central theme of these chapters is missiological—which would encompass Christology and discipleship.[91] The thrust of the "prologue" (chaps. 1-4) is Christological; the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5-7) focuses on discipleship; the latter portion of the Gospel (chaps. 10-20), while continuing to possess Christological elements, showcases Jesus' teaching. But here in the Miracle Chapters, it is not so much who Jesus is (although this is not ignored), nor is it what Jesus teaches (although that, too, is included). Rather, the focus of the Miracle Chapters is what Jesus does in Israel, i.e., his mission; hence, these chapters also convey Matthew's nationalistic concerns.[92] While Jesus clearly evangelizes the villages of Galilee (8:5, 28; 9:1; cf. 4:23), the particular focus of the Miracle Chapters is the Land of

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[89] The triads of miracle stories and words of Jesus consist of 8:2-17 and 8:18-22; 8:23-9:8 and 9:9-17; 9:18-34 and 9:35-38; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:67, 101-102, who consider 9:35-10:4 to be the transition between the Miracle Chapters and the Missionary Discourse. Davies and Allison note that while there are actually ten miracles, "the two miracles in 9:18-26 are part of one indissoluble unit; hence there are only nine miracle *stories*" (*Matthew*, 1:67, their emphasis). For a similar view of a triadic composition of the Miracle Chapters, see B. Drewes, "The Composition of Matthew 8-9," *South East Asia Journal of Theology* 12 (1971): 92-101. Drewes concludes that the structure of the Miracle Chapters demonstrates that "the core of Jesus' healing work is the healing of the demonized," and this healing work represents the fulfilment of the scriptures by the Servant of the Lord ("Composition," 100-101).

[90] Cf. the discussion of Kingsbury, "Observations," 559-62.

[91] In the Markan parallel to the material in the Miracle Chapters (viz., Mark 1:29-5:43), there is a much heavier dose of Christology and of Jesus' teaching than in Matthew: on the one hand, the Sabbath controversy with its Christological resolution occurs after the calling of Levi but before a summary statement of Jesus' healings and exorcisms, as well as before four of the miracles. On the other hand, after the summary statement and before the final four miracles that are paralleled in Matthew, Mark includes Jesus' parables of the kingdom.

[92] The "shepherd"-less shepherd imagery of 10:6 and 15:24 ("the lost sheep of the house of Israel") echo this concern. These texts deal with the exclusivity of the disciples' and Jesus' missions, respectively. In 10:6, Jesus sends his disciples to the Jewish nation—"the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—as opposed to sending them to the Gentiles or the Samaritans. In 15:24, in response to a Gentile woman's request for healing, Jesus states that he was sent only to the Jewish nation ("the lost sheep of the house of Israel"), which is he why is reticent to grant her request.

Israel, as suggested by the inclusio, ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ ("in Israel"), in 8:10b and 9:33b.[93] The other thrust of these chapters would seem to be how the Jews should respond to Jesus' mission.[94] Since the former focus (i.e., Jesus' deeds) has the most relevance for the shepherd motif, the ensuing discussion shall concentrate on it rather than on the responses to Jesus' mission.

There are several distinguishing features of Jesus' mission to Israel according to the Miracle Chapters. First, Jesus ministers to Israel with divine "authority." Matthew previously noted at the conclusion to the Sermon on the Mount that the crowds recognized the authority of Jesus' teaching (7:28-29). Now he puts the authority of Jesus' deeds on display. In seeking the healing of his servant, the Roman centurion acknowledges Jesus' authority:

> But only speak a word and my servant will be healed; for I, too, am a man under authority, having soldiers under me. And I say to this one, "Go" and he goes; and to another, "Come" and he comes; and to my servant, "Do this," and he does it. (8:8b-9)[95]

The centurion compares Jesus' position to his own: soldiers obey him because he is invested with the authority of Caesar: to defy him is to defy Rome; likewise, the centurion

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[93] This emphasis on the mission to Israel stands out against Matthew's Markan source, 6:7-13: there is no geographical delimitation in Mark.

[94] This seems to be the common thrust of the words of Jesus appended to each set of miracle stories. While Jesus addresses (at least in the first instance) his disciples in the Sermon on the Mount (cf. 5:1-2), he is accompanied down the mountain (in addition to his disciples) by great crowds of people (8:1) who witness his deeds as he travels about the land. How members of this constituency respond to Jesus is highlighted in the Miracle Chapters. Luz correctly recognizes that Matthew has a specific aim in mind for the Miracle Chapters, represented in 9:33-34: "the final reaction of the people and the Pharisees . . . to Jesus' miracles in Israel in general" (*Studies*, 228). And he is correct in seeing that part of Matthew's aim in the Miracle Chapters is to depict a "split" within Israel over Jesus' mission. He missteps, however, by asserting that the aim of the Miracle Chapters is to narrate the beginning of the "Christian church." With respect to this "split" in Israel, the Miracle Chapters is less a creative, narrative aetiology of the "church," and more a presentation of Jesus' mission to Israel and the characteristic responses to it.

[95] The story of the healing of the centurion's slave is absent in Mark and part of the Q tradition.

recognizes that Jesus possesses special authority such that he can heal with a single word.[96] Matthew similarly notes how Jesus can "cast out spirits with a word" (8:16),[97] and calm a violent storm with words of rebuke (8:26-27). Consequently, after the healing of the paralytic, the crowds testify of the authority given to Jesus by God: "When the crowds saw, they were afraid and they glorified the God who gives such authority to people" (9:8).

When the paralytic is brought to Jesus for healing, Jesus pronounces, "your sins (ἁμαρτίαι) are forgiven" (9:2b, cf. 5a, 6a). Ἁμαρτία occurs only seven times in Matthew, three times in this story of the paralytic's healing. The term first appears in the infancy narrative: "[Jesus] will save his people from their sins" (1:21), a verse which foreshadows the direction of the salvation Jesus will offer Israel. In the second use of the term, the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea go out to John the Baptist to receive his baptism by "confessing their sins" (3:6b). But as opposed to his Markan source, which records that John, in preparing the way for Jesus, preached a "baptism for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4b), Matthew (unlike Luke [3:3], who follows Mark) omits this phrase. For Matthew, only "the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins" (9:6a).

In light of Matt 1:21, the joining of physical healing and forgiveness of sins in the healing of the paralytic demonstrates that Matthew considered Jesus' works of healing to

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[96] The meaning of Jesus' initial response to the Gentile centurion's request for healing is debated: does ἐγὼ ἐλθὼν θεραπεύσω αὐτόν; (literally) mean, "I, coming, will heal him," or "Should I, coming, heal him?" Scholars are divided (cf. the brief survey of Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:22, n. 51). Davies and Allison are probably correct that, in view of Jesus' reticence to heal Gentiles in the Gospel (cf., for example, 10:5-6; 15:24), the second meaning is likely the more accurate rendering.

[97] The authority required to cast out evil spirits by word is made explicit in 10:1, where Jesus gathers his disciples together before sending them out and "gives them authority over unclean spirits in order to cast them out."

be an intrinsic part of the salvation Jesus would bring to his people Israel,[98] since for the Evangelist, like the biblical authors before him, sin's far-reaching effects extend even into the physical realm.[99] According to the Triple Tradition, Jesus viewed his acts of healing in terms of plundering Satan's house. Against the charge that he performed exorcisms through Satan's power, Jesus countered,

> [I]f Satan casts out Satan, he is divided against himself; how therefore will his kingdom stand? . . . But if by the Spirit of God I cast out demons then the kingdom of God has come upon you. Or how can someone enter the strong person's house and take away his property unless he first binds the strong person? Then he will plunder ($\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$)[100] his house." (Matt 12:26, 28-29; cf. Mark 3:26-27; Luke 11:18, 20-22)[101]

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[98] As Davies and Allison acknowledge, "Matthew thought that Jesus saved his people from their sins in a variety of ways" (*Matthew*, 1:210).

[99] Thus, the reason for the Assyrian and Babylonian exiles is the sins of Israel and Judah (2 Kgs 17:3-20 and 24:1-4, respectively). Similarly, Second Temple writers connect subsequent foreign oppression to the nation's sins (cf. 2 Macc 6:1-16; *Pss. Sol.* 17:5).

[100] Of its uses in the LXX, $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ can refer to what happened to Israel in exile: it was "plundered" by its oppressors, e.g., Deut 28:29; Ezek 7:21 and 2 Kgs 17:20, which gives the reason for the Assyrian exile: because God was angry with Israel over their idolatry, "The LORD rejected all the descendants of Israel; he punished them and gave them into the hand of plunderers ($\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\alpha\zeta\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$), until he had banished them from his presence" (NRSV). The Hebrew terms that correspond to $\delta\iota\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ are שסה (2 Kgs 17:20) and גזל (Deut 28:29; Ezek 7:21). Similarly, in a psalm recognized to have historical references to the desecration of Jerusalem by Pompey, the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 8 writes, "They [= the Romans] stole ($\delta\iota\eta\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\sigma\alpha\nu$) from the sanctuary of God as if there were no redeeming heir" (8:11). Based on his genealogy, it is possible that Matthew perceived his nation to be in exile until the birth of Jesus: the Davidic line resided there "until the coming of Christ" (1:17b). Thus, Jesus' mission could be conceived as delivering his people from the ravages of exile.

[101] Matthew structures his triads of miracles stories and alters Mark in such a way as to elevate the significance of Jesus' exorcisms within the Miracle Chapters. On the one hand, each triad contains an exorcism: 8:16-17, 8:28-34 and 9:32-34, and the centre of the Miracle Chapters is the exorcism of the Gadarene demoniacs. On the other hand, Matthew emphasizes the demonic aspect of Jesus' healings in his summary statement (8:16-17) compared to Mark (1:32-34): only the demonized are brought to Jesus in Matthew vs. the demonized and the sick in Mark; Jesus casts out spirits with a word and heals in Matthew, compared to healing and casting out demons in Mark (i.e., exorcism then healing vs. healing then exorcism). Also, whereas the legion of demons merely "drowns" in the sea in Mark (5:13), they actually "perish" in the waters in Matthew (8:32). Although Drewes, "Composition" may slightly overstate his case (since exorcism is slightly more prevalent in Mark on the whole), this emphasis on exorcism in the Miracle Chapters material suggests that Matthew considered the sheep of Israel as demonically oppressed and in need of deliverance.

Of all the Evangelists, Matthew most unambiguously connects Israel's state of plunder by

Satan with Jesus' therapeutic activity.[102] Thus, when Jesus "saves his people from their

sins," an integral component of Israel's salvation is their deliverance from physical illness

and satanic oppression.[103] The Miracle Chapters, then, demonstrate that the divine

authority that Jesus exercised in healing Israel's sick represented expressions of "saving

his people" from the ramifications of their sins, viz., sickness and oppression.[104]

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[102] According to Matt 4:8-9, the kingdoms of the world belong to Satan and he can give them to whomever he desires. The connection between Israel's plundered state and Jesus' deeds of healing is made in three ways. First, the centre of this "power source" controversy is Jesus' identity as the Son of David, which is Matthew's favourite title for Jesus' healing activity (as noted by Gibbs, "Purpose and Pattern"; Burger, *Davidssohn*, 71-106; Kingsbury, "Son of David"; Duling, "Therapeutic Son of David," and Novakovic, *Messiah*). Second, in taking up Mark 6:34, Matthew considers the shepherd-less crowds as "harassed and downcast (ἐρριμμένοι)," the latter term being used one other time by Matthew to describe the "lame, crippled, blind and dumb," who were placed at Jesus' feet to be healed by him (15:30). Third, because of Israel's "harassed and downcast" state, Jesus commissions the Twelve to perform works of exorcism and healing, in an attempt to rectify their situation.

[103] According to Carter (et al.), the deliverance from physical sickness and oppression would have been part of the political deliverance Jesus' initiated, viz., deliverance from the political ramifications of their sins. For Carter, one of the consequences of Roman oppression was sickness, brought on and compounded by the squalor and harsh conditions the Jews experienced under Roman rule: "Poor nutrition, an inadequate food supply, excessive work, poor or non-existent sanitation, overcrowded living conditions, and contaminated water were common. Disease was rife. But these conditions were common because of the imperial system's economic structures and practices . . . In such conditions of poverty, people get sick with skin disease, blindness, poor bone development, weak immunity to germs, and so forth. Life expectancy is short for the non-elite" (*Empire*, 71); cf. the hopeless picture R. Stark paints of life in a Greco-Roman city in Stark, "Antioch as the Social Situation for Matthew's Gospel" in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, ed. D. Balch (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 189-210. Not all scholars, however, agree with this portrait of severe oppression in Roman Galilee, e.g., the recent challenge of M. Jensen, *Herod Antipas in Galilee: The Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and Its Socio-economic Impact on Galilee*, WUNT 2/215 (Tübingen: Mohr Seibeck, 2006).

[104] While Jesus' healings deal with the consequences of Israel's sins, Matthew makes clear in the passion narrative (the seventh and final occurrence of ἁμαρτία) that Jesus' sacrificial death on the cross dealt with the problem of sin itself: "for this is the my blood of the covenant which is about to be poured out for the forgiveness of sins" (26:28). Martin writes, "The image of the shepherd which is evoked by the citation of Isa 53:4 in Matt 8:17 and which surfaces in the passion narrative with texts drawn from Dt-Zech is one subtle way in which Matt connects the healings worked by Jesus and the saving action of the cross" ("Image," 277).

In addition to divine authority, Jesus' mission to Israel is characterized, secondly, by compassion.[105] A number of recipients of his healing would have lived within the margins of first-century Jewish society: a leper, a Gentile slave, violent demoniacs, and a haemorrhaging woman.[106] Hence, in reaching out to the fringes of his society (something for which he incurred the disdain of the religious elite [cf. 9:10-11]), Jesus displays compassion. In approaching Jesus for healing, the leper assumes that Jesus is able to do it; he is merely uncertain if he is willing to do so. Jesus not only affirms his willingness, but, rather than heal him with a spoken word (as he does with others elsewhere, e.g., 8:13; 9:6, 33), he cures him through the touch of the hand (8:3), thereby risking ostracism because of his physical contact with a ritually impure leper.[107] Jesus' compassion is also observed in the final healing story of the Miracle Chapters, where two blind men cry out to him, "Have mercy on us, Son of David" (9:27b). Although Jesus' compassionate intervention is not limited to acts of healing,[108] it is only when healing is sought that "mercy" is specifically requested. If, in the scriptures, YHWH shows his mercy by his

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[105] A related point is made by the parable of the lost sheep in Matt 18:12-14: the wellbeing of Jesus' followers is of such grave importance that even if one should stray, Jesus leaves the flock to recover it because it is not the Father's will that any of his followers turn away from following him. In view of their significance to God, disciples must therefore consider each other as valuable and offer one another the esteem that God has for them.

[106] As Davies and Allison note, "Jesus heals a leper, a Gentile, a woman with fever. He does not heal a priest, a Pharisee, or a Sadducee" (*Matthew*, 2:58). Kingsbury describes the recipients of Jesus' healings as "no-accounts": "the healing-activity of Jesus, Son of David . . . is related to persons who in the eyes of contemporary society count for nothing" ("Son of David," 598).

[107] There are likely two reasons for Matthew omitting Mark's use of σπλαγχνίζομαι ("to have compassion") for Jesus here. On the one hand, Matthew tends to shorten Mark's stories (cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew* 1:103-106). On the other hand, Jesus' compassion for the leper would be self-evident and need not be explicitly stated: why else would Jesus touch a leper but for compassionate grounds? σπλαγχνίζομαι, however, does explicitly appear at the end of the Miracle Chapters: when Jesus sees the harassed and helpless multitude, he feels compassion for them (9:36).

[108] Jesus miraculously intervenes in the lives of people by saving them from the violence of nature (8:23-27; 14:27-33), by feeding them (14:15-21; 15:32-39), and even by providing money for tax relief (17:24-27). In addition to these types of intervention, children are brought to him for the express purpose of receiving his blessing (19:13-15).

saving acts,[109] then it is through "Emmanuel's" works of healing that YHWH, once again, demonstrates his mercy to his people.[110]

Third, Jesus' mission to Israel represents the fulfillment of Israel's scriptures. At the conclusion of the first triad of healing stories, Matthew offers a brief summary of Jesus' healing activity, stating that he did these things "in order to fulfill the word spoken through Isaiah the prophet saying, 'He took away our sickness and our diseases he carried away'" (8:17). Just as the details of Jesus' birth and infancy fulfilled Israel's scriptures,[111] his acts of healing are viewed in the same way. The notion of a healing messiah does not seem to be a widely recognized feature of first-century messianic expectation.[112] Matthew obviously recognized this and sought to ground unambiguously

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[109] Cf. D. Williams, "Mercy," *DJG*, 541-42.

[110] While Matthew stresses this connection more than the other Evangelists, the most explicit link between God's mercy and Jesus' healing occurs in Mark: after Jesus heals the Gerasene demoniac, he orders him to return to his people and tell them "what the Lord has done for you and how he has had mercy on you" (5:19b). As Lane comments, "the God of Israel was glorified through the proclamation of what Jesus had accomplished" (*Mark*, 189).

[111] E.g., his identity (1:22-23; cf. Isa 7:14), his birthplace (2:5-6; cf. Mic 5:1), his stay in Egypt (2:14-15; cf. Hos 11:1), his dwelling in Nazareth (2:22-23 [according to "the prophets"]), and his activity in Capernaum (4:12-17; cf. Isa 9:1-2).

[112] J. Charlesworth correctly cautions that "Early Jewish literature cannot be mined to produce a checklist of what the Messiah shall do" ("From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects" in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, ed. J. Charlesworth [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992], 6). D. Verseput notes, for example, the divergent details of the royal messianic tradition observed in different Qumran texts, *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and 4 Ezra ("Davidic Messiah," 103-104). Even putting Charlesworth's comment aside, of all of the numerous passages in the HB that are given a messianic interpretation by later Jewish and Christ-believing authors, only a few mention healing in connection with a messianic figure: Isa 53:4-5; 61:1 and Ezekiel 34. In Second Temple Judaism, healing is not one of the roles assigned to the Son of David in *Psalms of Solomon* 17. Nor does it come into play in rabbinic debates concerning the coming of the messiah in b. Sanh. 97b-99a (which, despite its late date, likely contains some earlier traditions). A few scholars (e.g., L. Fisher, "Can This Be the Son of David?" in F. Trotter [ed.], *Jesus and the Historian* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968], 82-97, and D. Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David," *HTR* 68 [1975]: 235-52), have sought to demonstrate that a "therapeutic Son of David" is tied to the Solomon-as-exorcist traditions, which were (it is argued) part of the Second Temple milieu. The extensiveness of this particular tradition in Second Temple Judaism, however, remains open to debate. Moreover, Solomon (even as exorcist) is never associated with a coming messiah, unlike David; additionally, the Davidic messiah is viewed pre-eminently as a royal conqueror (e.g., 1QM V, 1; 1QSb V, 20-29; 4Q161; 4Q285; *Pss. Sol.* 17:21-46) and not as a healer.

this rather unexpected element of Jesus' messianic mission in Israel's scriptures.[113]

Matthew restates (albeit more implicitly) this link between Jesus' acts of healing and the

fulfilment of Israel's scriptures at the end of the Miracle Chapters. After bracketing off

the Miracle Chapters with a second summary statement of Jesus' mission (9:35), he

writes that when Jesus saw the crowds, he "felt compassion for them because they were

harassed and downcast just like sheep not having a shepherd" (v. 36).[114]

Besides Ezek 34:5 ("they were scattered because there was no shepherd"), the

strongest contender for a possible allusion in Matt 9:36 is Num 27:17 ("so the Lord's

people will not be like sheep without a shepherd").[115] While 9:36 is much closer to Num

27:17 linguistically, an allusion to Ezek 34:5 should not be ruled out for the following

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[113] Hence, not only does Matthew explicitly state in 8:17 that Jesus' works of healing fulfilled the scriptures, he implicitly says the same thing in 11:5: in response to a doubting John the Baptist's query regarding Jesus' messianic identity, Jesus answers John by pointing him to his therapeutic acts, alluding to Isaianic passages that speak of healing. Additionally, since the "shepherd" of 9:36 should be read in connection with the Son of David title (as will be argued below), then the specific scriptural warrant for a "therapeutic Son of David" would be Ezekiel 34, which speaks of YHWH healing his sick sheep. Indeed, Martin comments, "The whole tone of Ezekiel 34 already prepares the way for seeing the shepherd as a healer" (Martin, "Image," 275). Healing has a much more prominent place in Matt 10:1-15 than in the parallel of Mark 6:7-13: the Missionary Discourse is syntactically linked to the summary healing statement of 9:35, which itself is connected with the earlier healing narratives of the Miracle Chapters; and healing is referred to in 10:1 and 10:8 (where it is part of Jesus' charge to his disciples). By contrast, Mark's "discourse" is linked to a summary statement in 6:6b, which condenses Jesus' mission to teaching with no mention of healing; while there is a description of the disciples healing, there is no charge to them to heal (unlike in Matthew); and when the disciples return from their expedition, they report to Jesus what they did "and what they taught" (6:30)—their teaching is underlined (quite unlike the parallel in Luke 9:10).

[114] D. Bauer notes the syntactical connection between 9:36 and 9:35: "Matthew 9:36 is linked to 9:35 by means of the connective 'and' (δέ) and by the circumstance that the subject (Jesus) is not expressly named in v. 36; the reader is forced to go back to the reference to Jesus in 9:35a. The reference to the crowds in 9:36 also points back to the mention of the crowds in 9:33" (*The Structure of Matthew's Gospel: A Study in Literary Design*, JSNTS, vol. 31 [Sheffield: Almond, 1988], 90).

[115] Other possibilities include 1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chr 18:16 and Zech 10:2. 1 Kings 22:17/2 Chronicles 18:16 can be ruled out, however, because in these passages, Israel is not without a shepherd. The phrase in Kings/Chronicles means that they are about to become shepherd-less. Zechariah 10:2 presents a closer contextual parallel than 1 Kgs 22:17/2 Chr 18:16 and may possibly be in view; however, on the strength of other parallels to Ezekiel 34 (including the repetition of "lost") and the lack of any such parallels in Zechariah 10, it would seem better to exclude Zechariah 10 from consideration as well; cf. Ham, *Coming King*, 86-87. For useful discussions on detecting scriptural allusions, see Allison, *Moses*, 19-23, and R. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29-33.

reasons. First, and perhaps most importantly, the context of the Numbers passage contradicts Matthew's meaning of the phrase, whereas the context of Ezekiel 34 fully aligns with it. In Numbers, Israel was far from shepherd-less: they had been led by Moses and were about to be led by Joshua, who was not succeeding an evil shepherd but one of the most central figures in Israel's history.[116] But Matthew's appropriation of "sheep without a shepherd" is meant to convey Israel's terrible plight and what is needed to bring about its restoration—as evidenced by the mission of the Twelve (cf. 9:37-10:8, especially). This appropriation closely lines up with the direction of Ezekiel 34.

Also, there are three contextual parallels between Matthew and Ezekiel 34: Ezekiel's evil, self-absorbed and neglectful shepherds find their match in the religious leaders, whom Matthew depicts as neglecting the outcasts (9:10-13) and as being without compassion (12:7, 10); the exilic plight of Ezekiel's people (resulting from poor shepherding) that makes them the victims of slavery and plunder is paralleled by Israel's plunder by Satan (as evidenced by their sicknesses and demonization), whom Jesus plunders through his acts of healing (12:24-29, 43-45); and just as a unique relationship exists between YHWH and the Davidic shepherd, whereby YHWH shepherds his people directly through the agency of his shepherd, so Matthew portrays Jesus as having a special relationship with God (1:18-23; 22:41-46).[117]

Additionally (and to be argued below), this verse should be taken with the Son of David title and the controversy in 9:27-34: Matthew presents Jesus, the "Davidic

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[116] For example, the Deuteronomist comments, "Never since has there arisen a prophet in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face. He was unequalled for all the signs and wonders that the LORD sent him to perform in the land of Egypt" (Deut 34:10-11, NRSV).

[117] For a detailed discussion of parallels between Matthew and Ezekiel 34, see W. Baxter, "Healing and the 'Son of David': Matthew's Warrant," *NovT* 48/1 (2006): 36-50.

Shepherd" (cf. 2:6), as doing what Israel's shepherds had failed to do (idealized by the Evangelist in works of healing and exorcism).[118] Further, there is an important verbal parallel between Matthew's references to Israel being "lost" (ἀπολωλός) in the closely connected verse 10:6 (as well as in 15:24, where it occurs in relation to the Son of David title) and ἀπολωλός in Ezek 34:4 and 16 [LXX], referring to Israel.[119]

Last, there is an additional parallel between Matthew's presentation of Jesus in the Miracle Chapters in particular (and the entire Gospel, generally) and Ezekiel 34, viz., overt shepherding imagery. According to Ezekiel, as Israel's true shepherd YHWH would do what Israel's shepherds had not done, viz., heal the sick, care for the marginalized, and deliver the flock from its bondage. These activities are witnessed in the Miracle Chapters: Jesus heals the sick, reaching out even to the outcasts and to those living on the social fringes of his society, and he delivers his people Israel from Satan's power. These are deeds that the Jewish leaders (i.e., Israel's shepherds) failed to do, causing Jesus to send out his disciples to extend his shepherding mission (9:36-10:8). In view of all this evidence, then, it would seem that the primary allusion in Matt 9:36 is to Ezek 34:5 (although not to the complete exclusion of a secondary/minor allusion to Num 27:17).[120]

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[118] The only occurrence in the HB of a shepherding Davidide where "David" is explicitly mentioned as "shepherding" Israel is in Ezek 34:23. Other prophecies speak either of a coming Davidic figure without invoking shepherding imagery, or of YHWH providing shepherds in the future but without explicitly linking them to "David."

[119] The only other occurrence of ἀπολωλός in the LXX is in Jer 27:6 (MT 50:6) which, although it perhaps presents as close a parallel as Ezekiel 34, should be excluded as an allusion here because the term appears twice in Ezekiel 34, which is clearly already in Matthew's sights; cf. Gundry, *Use of the OT*, 135.

[120] Cf. Willitts, "Lost Sheep," 122-23, who thinks along similar lines.

How does Matthew's appropriation of Ezek 34:5 compare with the text in Ezekiel? In Ezekiel's prophecy the idea of sheep without a shepherd refers to the exilic state of the sheep: on account of their shepherds,[121] the people of Israel found themselves weak, sick, injured and lost, victims of foreign oppression. While the people had shepherds, because these shepherds had neglected them and had only sought their own good, the nation looked as if they were without a shepherd. Consequently, YHWH promised to gather his scattered sheep and faithfully tend them through the agency of his "servant David." This sense of the passage carries over into the Gospel: according to Matthew, Israel's masses live in a sick and harassed condition on account of the neglect of their shepherds.[122] Consequently, Jesus, who had been filling this void in leadership by his deeds of healing, commissions his disciples to continue his shepherding mission to Israel. Thus, there is a close correspondence between the appalling state of God's sheep (viz., oppression), the cause of this state (viz., poor leadership and sin) and its remedy: YHWH's deliverance.

The primary difference between Ezek 34:5 and Matthew's deployment of it concerns the manner in which Israel's corrupt leadership is replaced. For Ezekiel, both YHWH and his chosen servant David shepherd Israel. For Matthew, YHWH appoints Jesus to shepherd Israel, thus fulfilling the role of the Davidic Shepherd of Ezekiel 34. But Jesus, in turn, commissions his disciples to continue shepherding Israel. Thus, within

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[121] In Ezekiel 34 "shepherd" would primarily refer to kings, but within the broader context of the book, the ruling class of prophets, priests, and elders could also be targeted; cf. the discussion of this text in section 2.2.2 above.

[122] These shepherds have already been depicted in the infancy narrative as being more concerned about maintaining their own positions of power (which were threatened by the new-born king) than about witnessing and receiving the birth of the promised messiah (as the Magi did).

the parallel, Jesus would correspond both to the Davidic shepherd, insofar as he has been chosen by God to shepherd Israel, and to YHWH, insofar as he appoints the Twelve to shepherd Israel as an extension of his own mission.[123]

Fourth, not only does Jesus' therapeutic mission to Israel represent the fulfilment of Israel's scriptures, the allusion to Ezek 34:5 (unlike the citation of Isa 53:4 in Matt 8:17) serves to accentuate the need for new leadership (which Jesus satisfies) and the replacement of Israel's failed leadership with the disciples (cf. Matt 19:28). The differences with the appropriation of the shepherd text in the Markan parallel demonstrate this. When Jesus notices the shepherd-less crowds in Mark, he is in the wilderness.[124] In Matthew, however, the crowds are those Jesus encountered while traveling throughout the cities and villages of Galilee (9:35),[125] making it plain that the locus of the Davidic Shepherd's mission is the Land of Israel.[126] Mark records that Jesus saw the crowd and felt compassion for them "because they were like sheep not having a shepherd" (6:34b). In Matthew, Jesus' compassion is aroused for the crowd because "they were harassed and

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[123] Chae refers to this double shepherding role of Jesus that mirrors the dual role in Ezekiel 34 as the "two shepherds schema," whereby YHWH (and Jesus) functions as the eschatological shepherd, and the coming Davidide (and Jesus and his disciples) functions as the Davidic shepherd-appointee (*Davidic Shepherd*, 380-85, 92). According to Chae, Jesus' sending of his disciples to the house of Israel represents the picture of Israel's restoration according to the vision of Ezekiel 34-37 and 40-48: in Ezekiel, the shepherd-leadership is transferred from YHWH (Ezek 34:1-22) to the Davidic Shepherd (Ezek 34:23-24; 37:24-25) to the Princes (Ezekiel 45-46); similarly, God transfers his shepherd-leadership to Jesus, who, in turn, transfers it to his apostles (Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 217).

[124] The wilderness setting is noted in the Markan pericope three times (6:31, 32, 35), thereby heightening Mark's allusion to Num 27:17 (cf. the discussion in section 3.4.2 above).

[125] While 9:35 speaks of "all the cities and villages" without specific geographical details, these details would doubtless be filled in by the front end of the inclusio in 4:23-25, viz., Jesus traveled throughout Galilee and crowds from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea and beyond the Jordan followed him as he went about.

[126] Cf. Matthew 10:5b-6: "In the way of the Gentiles do not go and any city of the Samaritans do not enter; but go, rather, to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

downcast like sheep not having a shepherd" (9:36b).[127] For Matthew, it is not simply that

Israel is (de facto) leaderless—i.e., because of the poor shepherding of their leaders;[128]

rather, he underlines the ensuing state that results from this failed leadership: the people

are "harassed and downcast (ἐρριμμένοι)."[129] Consequently, although Jesus has been

filling this void through his healing activity, he appoints his disciples to continue his

mission to and leadership of Israel.[130]

Whereas in Mark, Jesus' compassion compels him to teach the people (and

eventually feed them miraculously in the wilderness),[131] in Matthew he responds

differently. Because of the crowds' afflicted state, Jesus feels compassion for them and

commissions his twelve disciples to perform exorcisms and to heal illnesses (10:1),[132]

sending them out exclusively to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:6), and telling

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[127] This connection between "they were harassed and downcast" and "like sheep not having a shepherd" precludes an allusion to 1 Kgs 22:17, contra Buchanan, *Matthew*, 1:426. It is not, as he assumes, that Israel has been without a king since the exile and needs a new one (mirroring the situation in Kings). Rather, the people have been abused by their current shepherds and consequently, need new ones who will shepherd them in a more faithful manner.

[128] Luz asserts that the crowds are shepherd-less because of the Pharisees' rejection of Jesus (*Studies*, 229). The oppressed condition of the sheep (9:36), however, suggests that, consonant with Matthew's appropriation of Ezekiel 34, shepherd-lessness results from the poor shepherding of the Jewish leaders.

[129] The only other instance where Matthew uses ῥίπτω to describe people is in 15:30: the crowds come with their lame, crippled, blind and dumb and cast (ῥίπτω) them at Jesus' feet to be healed. The use of ῥίπτω for the shepherd metaphor (9:36) and the sick (15:30) would perhaps offer some support for Chae's assertion that healing is connected with shepherding (cf. n. 143 below).

[130] The manner in which Matthew's arranges Mark's miracle stories (in Mark 2-5) to compose the Miracle Chapters is noteworthy. In Mark 2-5, after Jesus appoints the Twelve, he still performs miracles: the stilling of the storm, the Garasene exorcism, the healing of the haemorrhaging woman and the raising of Jairus's daughter. In Matthew, however—insofar as Miracle Chapters are concerned—all of Jesus' miracles come prior to the appointment of the Twelve (including the four just listed), after which, the disciples are commanded to carry on Jesus' miracle-laden mission. Thus, there is more of a sense in Matthew than in Mark of the disciples taking up or completing Jesus' shepherding of Israel.

[131] Mark's concern in his pericope is to present Jesus as the messianic Moses-like teacher who provides for his people in the wilderness (cf. the discussion in section 3.4.2 above).

[132] Mark separates this commissioning of the Twelve in 6:7-13 and the shepherd-less sheep observation by the retrospective interlude concerning John the Baptist's execution in 6:14-32. Matthew brings them together (pushing the Baptist interlude further into his Gospel), thereby linking concern for leaders to his shepherd motif.

them to "heal those who are sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons" (10:8)—the very things Jesus has already done in the Miracle Chapters.[133] Although Jesus commissions his disciples to extend his work of shepherding Israel (10:1-6), Matthew clearly subordinates their mission to that of Jesus.[134] While they receive instruction to perform the (shepherding) works Jesus has been doing (as depicted in the Miracle Chapters),[135] nowhere does Matthew call the disciples "shepherds" or even explicitly associate the verb ποιμαίνω with them. In fact, Jesus sends them out, not as shepherds *per se*, but as "sheep in the midst of wolves" (10:16aβ). Hence for Matthew, unlike his contemporaries[136]—Christ-believing or otherwise—Jesus is uniquely the Shepherd of God's people Israel.[137]

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[133] Here again, whereas in Mark Jesus' works of healing—particularly those corresponding to Matthew's final triad of healing stories (in Mark 5:21-43)—are divorced from the shepherd metaphor in 6:34, Matthew brings them together. While teaching is a part of Jesus' and his disciples' mission (9:35a and 10:7, respectively), it is subordinate in the Miracle Chapters to healing, contra W. Tooley, "The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the Teaching of Jesus," *NovT* 7 (1964), 15-16.

[134] This Matthean emphasis on leadership distinguishes itself from the Markan parallel of Mark 6:7-13: the list of the names of the disciples is detached from the commissioning of the disciples, occurring earlier in the narrative in 3:13-19 (Luke follows Mark here). The list serves to emphasize their appointment as the Twelve (ἐποίησεν δώδεκα ["he appointed twelve"] occurs twice [vv. 14a, 16a], contra Matthew, where it does not appear). For Matthew, however, the list of names underscores the disciples' mission to Israel: in contrast to Mark, the disciples are designated ἀπόστολοι ("apostles," literally, "sent-ones") and these list of characters are "sent out" (ἀποστέλλω; again unlike Mark) to the lost sheep of Israel.

[135] Although Matthew clearly presupposes that the disciples can perform works of healing and exorcism, he never actually presents them as doing so, unlike Mark (6:13) and Luke (9:49; 10:17; cf. the book of Acts), and even describes on one occasion their inability to do so (17:14-20); cf. J. P. Heil, "Significant Aspects of the Healing Miracles in Matthew," *CBQ* 41 (1979), 285.

[136] As already observed in section 3.4.3 above, ποιμαίνω is explicitly associated with assembly leaders in Acts 20:28; Jude 12; Eph 4:11; John 21:15-17; Herm. *Sim.* 108:5b-6. 1 Peter refers to Christ as the "chief-shepherd" and explicitly subordinates the shepherding of the church leaders to Christ's (5:1-4), but as opposed to Matthew, he explicitly uses ποιμαίνω with reference to these leaders.

[137] This distinction that Matthew seems to make between Jesus as Israel's "Shepherd" and the disciples who function as shepherds of Israel but are not called "shepherds" finds a parallel in the Johannine corpus. That Christ-believers are υἱοί ("sons") of God cannot be disputed (e.g., Rom 8:14, 19; Gal 3:26); yet in the Johannine literature, only Jesus is explicitly called God's υἱός ("son" [John 1:34, 49; 5:25; 10:36; 11:4, 27; 19:7; 20:31; 1 John 3:8; 4:15; 5:5, 10, 12, 13, 20; Rev 2:18])—Christ-believers are never υἱοί but always τέκνα ("children") of God (John 1:12; 11:52; 1 John 3:1, 2, 10; 5:2). Thus, although Christ-believers would surely be υἱοί, the Johannine authors reserve this term for Jesus.

Additionally, Matthew has already foreshadowed an intended comparison between Jesus' deeds of shepherding and those of the Jewish leaders by the crowds' response to Jesus' teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, which represents an expansion of the first part of the summary description of Jesus' mission in 4:23, viz., his teaching. At the conclusion of the Sermon Matthew writes, "And so it happened, when Jesus finished these words, the crowds were amazed at his teaching, for he was teaching them as one having authority and not as their scribes" (7:28-29). The point is not simply that Jesus taught with authority, but that in so doing, he differentiated himself from the scribes/teachers of the people. The comparison here between Jesus and the Jewish leaders is explicit. If, as has been widely recognized, the Miracle Chapters represent the second part of the summary in 4:23 (i.e., his works of healing), then, although the comparison between Jesus' deeds and those of the nation's leaders is not as explicit as it is at the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, it would nonetheless be presupposed.[138] And, indeed, this shepherding comparison would be implicit in the background of Ezekiel 34, to which the Evangelist alludes at the end of the Miracle Chapters.

Finally, Matthew characterizes Jesus' mission to Israel in the Miracle Chapters as Davidic: Jesus' therapeutic deeds represent the acts of the Son of David. Matthew reintroduces the Son of David title towards the close of the Miracle Chapters in the account of the healing of the two blind men (9:27-31) and this serves to connect the "Son

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[138] S. van Tilborg correctly comments: "The stress in [9:32-34] is on the opposite reactions of the crowds and the Pharisees. . . . One can behave like the Pharisees and denounce Jesus as someone possessed by the devil, or one can react like the ὄχλοι and give a religious assent" (*The Jewish Leaders in Matthew* [Leiden: Brill, 1972], 144).

of David" with Israel's "Shepherd."[139] Although this connection is only implied here, it becomes more explicit in 12:22-24 where, after Jesus heals a blind and dumb demoniac, the crowds ask, "This is not the Son of David, is it?" to which the Pharisees respond by attributing Jesus' powers of healing and exorcism to Beelzebul, the ruler of the demons.[140] Jesus' acts of healing, then, which comprise an important part of his shepherding of Israel, should be viewed in the Miracle Chapters in light of his identity as the Son of David. The reason this connection between the "Son of David" and Israel's "Shepherd" is merely implied in the Miracle Chapters rather than explicit as in chapter 12 likely lies in their respective thrusts. The central theme of the Miracle Chapters is Jesus' mission to Israel. That is, the major thrust of the Miracle Chapters (as stated earlier) is missiological: they offer a window into what Jesus does in Israel—i.e., his mission and what the Jews' response should be to his mission among them.[141] In chapter 12, however, the thrust of the passage is far more Christological: hence, the explicit mention of this

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[139] Similarly, Verseput writes that "the messianic character of the whole [section of chapters 8-9] is placed into a distinctly Davidic garb by the final two pericopae (9:27-43)" ("Davidic Messiah," 111). Certainly if Martin is correct that "an image may be the bearer of a theme and may become the vehicle by which two themes interpenetrate and mutually modify one another" ("Image," 264), then the audience would make this connection between the "Son of David" and Israel's Shepherd more readily.

[140] The linguistic parallels between 9:32-34 and 12:22-24 are too close to be ignored: after the blind men are healed, "[some people] brought to him a dumb demoniac" (προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον κωφὸν δαιμονιζόμενον [9:32b]); in the second passage, "a blind and dumb demoniac was brought to him" (προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός [12:22a]). Jesus heals the man and "the dumb man spoke" (ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός [9:33b]), compared with the second story, where "the dumb man spoke" (τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν [12:22b]). In the first story the Pharisees say, "By the ruler of demons he casts out demons" (Ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια [9:34b]), while in the second they say, "This one does not cast out demons except by Beelzebub the ruler of demons" (Οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων [12:24b]).

[141] According to the example of the recipients of Jesus' healing in the Miracle Chapters, and the words of Jesus at the end of each triad of miracle stories, the Jews, in response to Jesus' mission in Israel, should respond with faith in Jesus (8:10; 9:2, 22, 29), with obedience to him and to his interpretation of the Mosaic Law (8:4), and by serving (8:15) or following Jesus (8:19-22; 9:9).

fourth of four Christological titles (Son of Man [12:8], Lord of the Sabbath [12:8], Servant of YHWH [12:18], and Son of David [12:23]).[142]

The implications of this Matthean connection between the shepherd motif and the Son of David title would be twofold. On the one hand, while the genealogy and infancy narratives make it clear that the Davidic Shepherd is a royal figure—the rightful heir to David's throne—the nature of his rule or shepherding includes works of healing. Thus, since Jesus' healing activity is most clearly associated with the Son of David title, for Matthew the Davidic shepherd is a healer, who saves his people from their sins by his acts of healing.[143] On the other hand, this connection helps establish the important place Ezekiel 34 had for Matthew.[144] Although explicit citations of the shepherd motif come from other parts of the HB (viz., 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6 and Zech 13:7 in 26:31) and references to Ezekiel 34 are confined to allusions, the "Son of David" motif would

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[142] Christology is at the heart of the Sabbath controversy, where Matthew insists that the disciples are not guilty of violating the Sabbath because of (in at least the first instance) their close relationship to Jesus (12:1-7), and that Jesus is not guilty of breaking the Sabbath because he stands in sovereign authority over it and as such, is the ultimate interpreter of its regulations (12:8-14). Christology is also the focus of the citation from Deutero-Isaiah, whereby Matthew grounds the humble and unassuming manner in which Jesus performed his messianic acts (12:15-21).

[143] Chae (*Davidic Shepherd*, 77) points out that healing seems to be connected with shepherding. He notes that the LXX translators render Zech 10:2cβ, רעה אין־כי יענו כמר־צאן ("they are afflicted like sheep for whom there is no shepherd"), with ὡς πρόβατα καὶ ἐκακώθησαν διότι οὐκ ἦν ἴασις ("they have also been afflicted like sheep, thus there is no healing"). Since ἴασις is usually employed in the prophetic corpus of the LXX for physical healing (e.g., Isa 19:22; Jer 8:22; Ezek 30:21; Nah 3:19), it would seem that for the LXX translators, physical healing was associated with shepherding; cf. Ham, *Coming King*, 117, n. 54.

[144] There is still another important parallel between the shepherding imagery of Matthew and Ezekiel 34 outside of the Miracle Chapters. The promise is given in Ezekiel: "In a good pasture [YHWH] will shepherd [his flock] . . . they will lie down in good pasture and in fat pasture they will feed on the mountains of Israel. I myself will shepherd my sheep and I myself will cause them to lie down" (34:14-15). For Matthew, the idealization of this scene takes place in the second feeding miracle (15:32-39): the setting for the second miraculous feed is a mountain in Israel (15:29) and there, Jesus orders the crowds to lie down on the ground in preparation for the meal. While Heil attempts to link the first feeding miracle (14:14-21) to Ezekiel 34 ("Ezekiel 34," 703), this seems unlikely because of the different setting for the miracle: the first feed takes place in the desert (ἔρημος [14:13, 15]) rather than on a mountain. It is more probable that Mosaic imagery is at work in the first feeding rather than shepherding imagery.

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augment and extend the shepherd motif in the narrative.[145] That is to say, insofar as

Matthew presents Jesus as the therapeutic Son of David, he presents him as Israel's

Davidic Shepherd.

By bringing into clearer focus the nature of Jesus' messianic mission to Israel,

Matthew's deployment of the shepherd motif in the Miracle Chapters, similar to the

motif's use in the Gospel's prologue, conveys pronounced nationalistic hope; as Willitts

comments, "[T]he Shepherd-King motif invoked by Matthew by means of the allusion

contains real political substance."[146] As the prophesied Davidic Shepherd, Jesus

shepherded God's people by inclusively reaching out to the socially marginalized,[147] and

by performing works of healing and exorcism with divine authority. By these works,

Jesus fulfills—in part—the angelic prophecy (1:21) and the prophecy of scripture (2:6),

by saving his people from the physical ramifications of their sins;[148] as Malina and

Neyrey note, "That programmatic statement [1:21] is carefully worked out in the

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[145] Burger, in his otherwise useful discussion of the Jewish background of the Son of David, fails to mention Ezekiel 34 (*Davidssohn*, 16-24). On the other side of the spectrum, Heil (with some exaggeration) claims that "the narrative strategy of Matthew's shepherd metaphor is guided and unified by Ezekiel 34, which supplies the reader with some of its terms and with all of its concepts and images" ("Ezekiel 34," 708). Like Matthew, Ezekiel 34 factored into the thought of other early authors, most notably, *1 Enoch*, *Psalms of Solomon* 17, John and Jude. For a discussion of the importance of the book of Ezekiel for Second Temple authors, see Manning, *Echoes*.

[146] Willitts, "Shepherd-King," 133.

[147] When Jesus reaches out to the marginalized members of Israel, Chae notes that this "initiative towards sinners [was] fundamental to the eschatological restoration of Israel. . . . Jesus' seeking sinners [represents] the inauguration of the process of restoration" (*Davidic Shepherd*, 269). According to 9:12, Jesus presented himself as one who came not to heal the strong (for they have no need for a doctor), but to heal "those having sickness" (οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες)—the very group that both the Pharisees (9:11, 13) and the failed shepherds of Ezek 34:4 LXX (τὸ κακῶς ἔχον) ignored. Thus, Kingsbury notes that "the healing-activity of Jesus, Son of David . . . is related to persons who in the eyes of contemporary society count for nothing" ("Son of David," 598).

[148] The Evangelist perhaps underscores the therapeutic aspect of Jesus' mission to Israel by the frequency of healings that take place in these missiologically oriented chapters: the majority of specific accounts of healing occur within them (nine of fourteen).

narrative of his ministry, in part by Jesus' exorcism of those possessed by Satan."[149]

Moreover, the nationalistic nature of Jesus' messianic mission to Israel is confirmed by

the pericope of John the Baptist's deportation (11:1-6).[150] Here, Matthew invites his

audience to reflect (along with John) on the nature of Jesus' messianic deeds. By

implicitly appealing to Isa 26:19; 35:5; 61:1 in Matt 11:5—which effectively recapitulate

the healings recorded in the Miracle Chapters—Matthew identifies Jesus' messianic

works of healing with Israel's national restoration.

Additionally, by presenting Jesus' therapeutic activity as an integral component of

his salvific mission to Israel, Matthew depicts him in rather pastoral terms, reminiscent of

the portrayal of YHWH as Israel's Shepherd in the HB:[151] in saving the Jews from their

sins, Jesus the Davidic Shepherd travels about the land of Israel healing the "harassed and

downcast," shepherd-less sheep of Israel.

5.2.3 The Shepherd's Eschatological Role: Universal Judge

Jesus' final discourse in chapters 24-25 (the so-called Olivet Discourse) comes

(within the Gospel) immediately before the passion narrative. Along with its strong

eschatological orientation,[152] the Olivet Discourse could be seen as the climax of Jesus'

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[149] Malina and Neyrey, *Names*, 123.

[150] Verseput ("Davidic Messiah," 112-13) perceptively argues that the resumption of the narrative movement following the Missionary Discourse remains connected to the Davidic character of the Miracle Chapters by means of the Baptist's inquiry into Jesus' works.

[151] Cf., especially, the portrayal of YHWH as a shepherd in Ezekiel 34: because Israel's shepherds have failed to heal the sick, YHWH promises to "bind up the injured and strengthen the weak" (34:16).

[152] Davies and Allison call Matt 25:31-46 an "eschatological testament" because of the many features it shares with Jewish and Christian apocalypses (*Matthew*, 3:526). Stanton classifies it as an apocalyptic discourse, discussing the common thrust between Matt 25:31-46 and texts with similar social settings—according to Stanton—like *4 Ezra*, *1 Enoch* and *2 Baruch* (*Gospel*, 221-30); cf. J. Court ("Right and Left: The Implications for Matthew 25:31-46," *NTS* 31 [1985]: 223-33) who also acknowledges the importance of recognizing the "apocalyptic revelation-discourse" character of the pericope for interpretative purposes. J. Donahue, however, argues that the pericope is best thought of as a type of parable, viz., an

teaching.[153] The logical flow within the Olivet Discourse would suggest that its own

climax would be the pericope of the Final Judgment in 25:31-46.[154]

There are four features of this pericope[155] that, for the purposes of this study, need

delineation. The first feature is the identity of the judge: "But when the Son of Man

comes in his glory and all the angels with him, then he will sit upon the throne of his

glory" (25:31). Matthew's depiction of Jesus as judge in the passage is noteworthy. He

is called the "Son of Man"—an echo of the son of man figure in Daniel 7[156]—who

appears sitting on a glorious throne with attending angels. What is only implied by

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apocalyptic parable ("The 'Parable' of the Sheep and the Goats: A Challenge to Christian Ethics," *TS* 47 [1986], 9-11).

[153] Whereas the other major discourses deal primarily with ethics, Torah interpretation, mission, and the nature of God's kingdom, the Olivet Discourse deals with Jesus' Second Coming and the Final Judgment.

[154] The first part of the Olivet Discourse treats the Second Coming (24:1-41); the next section deals with how to wait for Jesus' return (24:42-25:30); the final section discusses what happens when he finally returns (25:31-46). S. Gray argues that 25:31-46 "can be interpreted only in the context of the remainder of the gospel . . . [since] Matt 25:40 would be the elucidation of 28:20b" (*The Least of My Brothers: Matthew 25:31-46: A History of Interpretation*, SBLDS, vol. 114 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 351, 359). While the Final Judgment pericope should be read in light of the climax of the Gospel as a whole generally, to allow 28:20 to assert undue specific (rather than only general) influence upon the interpretation of the Final Judgment pericope would not prove to be particularly prudent. The Final Judgment reads much more naturally as the climax and the conclusion of the Olivet Discourse. J. R. Michaels notes that "[25:31-46] resumes and develops the imagery of Matt 24:30ff." ("Apostolic Hardships and Righteous Gentiles: A Study of Matthew 25:31-46," *JBL* 84/1 [1965], 27). Furthermore, 26:1 closes off this final major discourse of the Gospel: "And it happened that when Jesus finished all these words, he said to his disciples . . ." Additionally, as Nolan points out, chapters 27-28 form an inclusio with chapters 1-2 (and 28:20b in particular with 1:23b), so the final chapter would seem more specifically connected to the opening chapters than to the Olivet Discourse. Consequently, L. Cope ("Matthew XXV:31-46: 'The Sheep and the Goats' Reinterpreted," *NovT* 11 [1969], 3-4) recognizes the primary consideration for interpreting 25:31-46 is its context within the Olivet Discourse and only secondarily, its relation to 28:16-20. Thus, in interpreting this pericope (or any other for that matter), the exegete must not succumb to the temptation to read the Gospel "from the back," despite the importance of the final mandate of 28:18-20; cf. the discussions of S. Brown, "The Two-Fold Representation of the Mission in Matthew's Gospel," *ST* 31 (1977), 31, and Willitts, "Lost Sheep," 10, 32.

[155] This passage is without parallel in Mark and Luke.

[156] While the precise nature of the allusion invoked by the Son of Man title is far from settled (cf. Davies and Allison, 2:43-52), the son of man's coming with angelic beings and a throne of glory, as well as the title's use in the passion narrative (26:64), would almost certainly suggest an allusion to Dan 7:13-14: "I saw one like a [son of man] coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came to the Ancient One and was presented before him. To him he has given dominion and glory and kingship, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him" (NRSV). For a brief but useful discussion of Matthew's appropriation of Dan 7:13, see Gundry, *Use of the OT*, 231-33.

"sitting on a throne" becomes explicit in v. 34a: the Son of Man is called "the king."[157] The uniqueness of the relationship between this royal judge and God can be inferred by his reference to God as "my Father."[158]

The second feature is the manner by which the Son of Man judges. Matthew writes: "And before him will be gathered all the nations, and he will separate them from each other, just as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will put the sheep on his right and the goats on the left" (vv. 31-33). There are several observations to make here. The scope of the judgment is worldwide, i.e., "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) will appear before Jesus.[159] The passive form of "gather" (i.e., συναχθήσονται) suggests that "the nations" take their place before the Judge at his initiative.[160] That judgment is pronounced swiftly without any form of trial demonstrates the expansive knowledge of the Judge: he knows immediately who the sheep and goats are,[161] and the sheep are entitled to what has already—since the beginning of creation—been prepared for them. Matthew alludes in v. 32c ("just as the shepherd separates the sheep from the

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[157] The appellation "the king" in v. 34a harkens back, on the one hand, to its use in the infancy narrative for Herod (2:2), where it would possess irony since Matthew portrays Jesus as the true king of the Jews in that passage. It anticipates, on the other hand, its use in the passion narrative (27:11, 37, 42), where it also conveys irony: Jesus is mockingly called "the king of the Jews." In the Synoptic Gospels, only here in this pericope does Jesus refer to himself (albeit indirectly) as a king. Matthew 25:34a would thus reinforce the political/national aspect of Jesus' rule as Matthew perceives it.

[158] A Davidic allusion may be implied by the appellation of "Father" for God by the king, cf. YHWH's message to King David in 2 Sam 7:12-14: "I will raise up your offspring after you . . . and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me" (NRSV).

[159] While the precise identity of πάντα τὰ ἔθνη remains unsettled (see the discussion below), the least that can be said is that, no matter which of the major positions is adopted on the issue (cf. the survey of U. Luz, "The Final Judgment [Matt 25:31-46]: An Exercise in 'History of Influence' Exegesis" in *Treasure New and Old: Recent Contributions to Matthean Studies*, eds. D. Bauer and M. A. Powell. SBL Symposium Series, ed. G. O'Day, no. 1 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996]: 271-310; for a detailed history of interpretation of 25:31-46, see Gray, *The Least*), the judgment is not limited to one locale—i.e., it involves people from many geographical locations.

[160] Cf. Matthew 13:41 and 24:31, where the Son of Man sends forth his angels in the Eschaton to gather the lawless and the elect (respectively).

[161] According to Matthew, the Father shares his prescient knowledge with Jesus (11:25-27).

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goats") to Ezek 34:17, where YHWH promises (as Israel's true shepherd) to judge

between the sheep, as well as between the rams and goats.[162]

The third feature in the passage is the criteria for judgment. The "nations" are

judged according to their deeds of mercy (or lack thereof; cf. 23:23): "I was hungry and

you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and

you gathered together with me; naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me,

I was in prison and you came to me" (vv. 35-36). [163] Faith in Jesus does not explicitly

factor into the judgment envisioned here.[164] According to Matthew, Jesus' final judgment

is based upon performing deeds of mercy to "one of these brothers and sisters of mine,

the least of them" (ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων).[165] While the

identity of this group has received various interpretations,[166] in view of how Matthew

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[162] This act of judging, on the part of YHWH, is mentioned three times in Ezek 34:17-22. Chae insists, "No other comparable text exists beside Ezek 34:17-22 that involves sheep and goats in the context of God's judgment to establish the eschatological community. The allusion is nearly irrefutable" (*Davidic Shepherd*, 221).

[163] These acts of charity commonly appear in Jewish writings (cf. the survey in Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:425-28 of early Jewish texts that include similar lists of deeds of mercy). The Evangelist may be drawing from a passage in Deutero-Isaiah, where the prophet chastises his people for practicing their religion without any regard for social compassion: "[You should] share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house; when you see the naked, to cover them, and not to hide yourself from your own kin" (Isa 58:7, NRSV). The criterion for judgment described in 25:31-46, then, is not necessarily restricted to Gentiles. Court speaks of Matthew converting the charitable ethic to an eschatological one ("Right and Left," 230).

[164] S. Brown, however, argues that within the context of the Gospel and in a post-Easter setting, faith would be presupposed ("Faith, the Poor and the Gentiles: A Tradition-Historical Reflection on Matthew 25:31-46," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 6/2 [1990]: 171-81); cf. also Michaels, "Hardships," 28.

[165] The "elative superlative" (so Turner, *Syntax*, 31), τῶν ἐλαχίστων, functions adjectivally, describing the extent or scope of ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, thus yielding the sense, "one of these brothers and sisters of mine, *even* the least of them." Brown understands the second genitive as being in apposition to the first: "these brothers of mine, the least." Thus, "the two expressions, 'my brothers' and 'the least,' refer to the same group; the latter are not a sub-division of the former" ("Faith," 173). His position is similar to the one here: "the least" do not represent a subgroup *per se*, but any member of the community, regardless of their status within the community.

[166] Davies and Allison summarize the possibilities as everyone in need (whether Christ-believer or not), all Christ-believers/disciples, Jewish Christ-believers, Christ-believing missionaries/leaders, and Christ-believers who are not missionaries or leaders (*Matthew*, 3:428-29).

uses ἀδελφός[167] and ἐλάχιστος,[168] it would seem best to identify this group with the

Christ-believers generally, as opposed to simply those serving as missionaries or

prophets.[169] In other words, because Christ's presence resides with his disciples,[170] then

how "the nations" treat any disciple—whether great or small—will form the criterion of

their final judgment at the Parousia.[171]

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[167] Of its 31 occurrences in the Gospel, it usually denotes a biological relationship (cf. 1:2, 11; 4:18, 21; 10:2, 21; 12:46-48; 13:55; 14:3; 17:1; 19:29; 20:24; 22:24-25). In its other uses it refers to discipleship (cf. 12:49-50; 18:15, 21, 35; 23:8; 28:10; and probably 5:22-24, 47; 7:3-5).

[168] Matthew employs this word two other times: once referring to Bethlehem (2:6) and once referring to the commandments of the Law (5:19). In both of these instances ἐλάχιστος is used to convey the smallness of the particular subject in order to show the overall significance of either the subject or the object to which it is related. Hence, in the case of the former, Bethlehem cannot be considered the "least" among the rulers of Judah anymore because of the renown it will receive as the birthplace of the messiah. In the case of the latter, those who teach others to break even the "least" of the Law's commandments cannot expect to receive favour because of the overwhelming significance of the Law (since "not the smallest letter or stroke shall pass away from the Law until all is accomplished").

[169] Here, then, ἐλάχιστος would convey the overall significance of Christ-believers whereby even the slightest member has immense worth in God's eyes (cf. Matt 18:12-14). The saying would be similar to Matt 11:11, where the least (μικρότερος) in the kingdom of heaven is greater than the greatest of prophets, John the Baptist.

[170] Christ's presence with his disciples is evidenced by the phrase, "inasmuch as you did it to these brothers and sisters of mine, the least of them, you did it to me" (v. 40, cf. 45). This idea is stated more explicitly in 18:20: "For where there are two or three who assemble in my name, there I am in their midst." This notion of Christ's presence with his followers finds its parallel in Acts, where Jesus confronts Saul for persecuting members of the church (9:1-2), by asking him, "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?" (9:4b, cf. v. 5b: "I am Jesus whom you are persecuting"). Whereas ἐλάχιστος conveys the significance of the disciples, the related term, μικρός, seems to be no more than a synonym for "followers of Jesus" (cf. 10:42; 18:6, 10, 14); cf. Stanton, *Gospel*, 214-15.

[171] That followers of Jesus rather than Jesus himself form the criterion of judgment may seem unexpected. Within the narrative, however, this situation has been anticipated by 10:40-42 in the Missionary Discourse. The rationale for this type of criterion for judgment appears in 10:40: "The one who receives you receives me, and the one who receives me receives the one who sent me." Cope calls this the "halakhic principle of agency," whereby the commissioned agent is considered the equivalent of the person being represented (Cope, "Matthew XXV," 40; Buchanan refers to the messengers as "ambassadors" [*Matthew*, 2:52-53]). This principle of agency appears most explicitly in the Fourth Gospel (e.g., John 10:30; 12:44-45; 14:9, 24; passim). Acceptance of the messenger (evidenced by hospitality) presupposes acceptance of the sender, i.e., Jesus, as Brown writes: "If non-believers are saved by their works, it is because their actions have a Christological significance of which they are unaware" ("Faith," 172). Conversely, rejection of the messenger (evidenced by a lack of hospitality) presupposes rejection of the sender (Jesus). Moreover, because 25:31-46 is an apocalyptic discourse, it would function more as encouragement to persevere in the face of opposition. In discussing the relevance of the genre of apocalyptic discourse for the interpretation of 25:31-46, Stanton writes, "Apocalyptic regularly functions as consolation for groups which perceive themselves to be under duress. Apocalyptic language is also often used to reinforce attitudes of group solidarity amongst minority groups at odds with society at large; clear

The final feature in the passage is the identity of the recipients of judgment. Who are "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) separated in judgment by the eschatological Shepherd? Davies and Allison list the most serious positions as all non-Christ-believers (Jews and Gentiles), all non-Christ-believing Gentiles, and all of humanity.[172] A number of observations can be made here.

To begin with, Matthew uses the phrase "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη) in 24:9, 14 and 28:19. In the eschatologically oriented chapter 24, "all nations" refers to "the whole world" (ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ).[173] "All" probably should be given an inclusive meaning (i.e., "every nation without exception"—including Israel),[174] rather than an exclusive one ("every other nation"—every nation except Israel), because of what follows in the discourse: according to 24:16-20, the disciples continue to live and evangelize in the land of Israel—since it is from there that they must flee—when all of these signs of the end transpire.[175] In the final chapter of the Gospel the disciples are commanded after the resurrection to make disciples of "all the nations" (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη). While some

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lines are drawn between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' . . . [it] provides hope of ultimate vindication for the powerless and oppressed people of God" (*Gospel*, 228). The phrasing of the criterion for judgment in terms of agency, then, would provide a greater sense of vindication for the Mattheans.

[172] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:422. Not included in the survey of Davies and Allison is the alternative position that "nations" refers to Diaspora Jews; cf. Buchanan, *Matthew*, 2:948-50. Each of these major positions acknowledges that individuals are judged. Brown suggests that πάντα τὰ ἔθνη represents Matthean redaction of a parable taken up by Matthew, which originally dealt with the judgment of individuals ("Faith," 174-75). Both Brown and Michaels assert that the grammatical peculiarity of a masculine pronoun (αὐτούς) used to refer to a neuter noun (ἔθνη) supports the contention of the nations being judged as individuals (Michaels, "Hardships," 28 n. 6).

[173] In 24:14, "all the nations" (πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) is paralleled by "the whole world" (ὅλη τῇ οἰκουμένῃ).

[174] While Matthew can use ἔθνη as a point of contrast with Israel (cf. 10:5-6), he can equally use it in close association with Israel (cf. 4:12-15).

[175] According to the Missionary Discourse, the disciples would not finish evangelizing the cities of Israel before the Parousia (10:23).

scholars try to exclude Israel from 28:19,[176] 10:23 and 23:39 will not allow for this

exclusion.[177] In addition to this, the criterion of judgment (i.e., deeds of mercy) can apply

equally to Jews and Gentiles. As well, the language of patriarchal blessing ("you who are

blessed of my Father") and of inheriting a foreordained kingdom (v. 34) refers to the

Abrahamic covenant (cf. 1:1c), which can apply to both Jews and Gentiles.[178] And

finally, Cope's observation bears repeating:

> Perhaps it is impossible to say conclusively who 'all nations' are, but it is possible
> to say who they are *not*. From the pronouncements of vss. 40 and 45 it is clear
> that those who have been given or refused hospitality are not a part of the
> judgment proceeding and that they are 'the least of these my brethren.' . . . 'All
> the nations' are those *other than the brothers of the Son of Man.*[179]

These four observations, then, suggest, on the one hand, that "all the nations" excludes

Christ-believers.[180] On the other hand, while it must include non-Christ-believing

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[176] The basis for their exclusion would be, according to most of these scholars, 21:43: "Therefore I tell you that the kingdom of God will be taken from you [the nation of Israel] and given to a nation (ἔθνος [i.e., the Gentiles]) producing the fruit of it"; cf., for example, Stanton, *Gospel*, 151-52, and U. Luz, *The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 119-20.

[177] 10:23b reads: "For truly I tell you, you will surely not complete the cities of Israel until the Son of Man comes"; that is, the mission to Israel will continue until the Parousia. 23:39 reads: "For I tell you, you [= Jerusalem] will not see me from now on until you say, 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord'"; in other words, Jerusalem will eventually see Jesus again—Jews will make that confession because of the continuing mission to Israel by some Christ-believers.

[178] Cf. Paul's appeal for Gentile inclusion in the Abrahamic covenant in Romans 4 and Galatians 3. While Krentz correctly understands "Son of Abraham" as referring to true Israel, he unnecessarily restricts how this title is realized in Jesus ("Prologue, 414). Jesus does surpass old Israel by his faithful obedience to God, but, in keeping with the promise of worldwide blessing to Abraham (cf. Gen 12:1-3), the title is realized in Jesus insofar as he is the locus of the blessing to the Gentiles.

[179] Cope, "Matthew XXV," 37 (his emphasis).

[180] Against this view, Donahue ("Parable," 9-13) argues that the literary context supports the view that the disciples should identify with those judged, like in the parable of the virgins (25:1-13) and the parable of the talents (25:14-30); cf. Luz, *Matthäus*. If the Final Judgment pericope was purely a parable—like the previous texts—then the assertion would hold. But as Luz and other scholars maintain, 25:31-46 is technically not a true parable. Since it is, however, apocalyptic discourse, it would function less as paraenesis and more as consolation for persecuted people (cf. Stanton, *Gospel*, 228). While Christ-believers are not judged in this scene, this does not imply that there is no final judgment for them. Since multiple judgments were common in Second Temple Judaism and first-century Christianity (e.g., Pseudo-Philo; *4 Ezra*; *Testament of Abraham*; Revelation), Matthew probably would have affirmed multiple judgments (judgment of Christ-believers appears elsewhere, albeit with less elaboration); but only one is

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Gentiles, it probably includes non-Christ-believing Jews.[181] The implication of this

identification is that while Matthew sees Jesus' mission as directed to Jews, ultimately,

his flock will consist, in the Eschaton, of both Jewish and Gentile Christ-believers.[182]

Matthew's deployment of the shepherd motif in the Olivet Discourse, then,

reveals that Jesus is the eschatological judge and king, to whom all people must

eventually answer, both Jews and Gentiles,[183] according to their treatment of Jesus'

followers. It is because the presence of Christ resides with his disciples, that those who

accept and show hospitality towards them are rewarded as having accepted Jesus. Those

who reject them—failing to show them hospitality—however, are punished as having

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envisioned in 25:31-46: unbelievers. And yet, there may be an implicit application for Christ-believers: a devout reader of any age would surely seek to apply this text on a personal and practical level: these are some deeds that should be done by a follower of Jesus (cf. M.-A. Chevallier, "Note à propos de l'éxegèse de Matt 25:31-46," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 48 [1974]: 398-400). Thus, Donahue comments that even if Matthew's readers are to identify with "the least," they are not absolved from care for the poor and needy of the world: "According to the rabbinic mode of argument from the 'lesser to the greater,' Matthew speaks of pagan virtues in such a way that Christians should surpass them (5:43-48). If the pagans are to be concerned for the hungry, etc., how much more Christian disciples?" ("Parable," 28).

[181] Buchanan suggests that Gentiles are not in view here, as they are in the Missionary Discourse, but rather, Diaspora Jews. There are, however, a number of weaknesses with this position. Because Buchanan perceives a close parallel with *1 Enoch* 62-63, where the ruling class (i.e., kings, governors and the like) are punished before the regnant Son of Man, he believes that Matthew probably has rulers in mind with "nations." This, however, is unlikely because in the *Enoch* passage unlike in Matthew, sheep-goat imagery is never invoked. Furthermore, it is doubtful that "nations" represent the ruling class because this is not the usual reading for τὰ ἔθνη. When Matthew refers to the Gentile ruling class, he always differentiates between them and τὰ ἔθνη (cf. 10:18; 24:9). If Matthew had the ruling class in mind he probably would have used ἡγεμών as he does elsewhere (cf. 2:6; 10:18; 27:2, 11, 14, 15, 21, 27; 28:14). While Buchanan correctly links πάντα τὰ ἔθνη of 25:32 with πάντα τὰ ἔθνη of 28:19, he incorrectly limits the recipients of the apostolic commission in 28:18-20 to "Judaized Gentiles" (i.e., Palestinian Gentiles) to the exclusion of non-Judaized (non-Palestinian) Gentiles. But, would post-70 CE Jewish messianic communities recognize this sort of distinction among non-Christ-believing Gentiles? Buchanan also seems to ignore the apocalyptic elements of 25:31-46, which would support a more grandiose scene of judgment involving "all the nations" of the world.

[182] The inclusion of Gentiles in God's flock, prior to the final commission in 28:18-20, has already been anticipated at various points of the narrative: the title "Son of Abraham" (1:1c); the women of the genealogy (1:3a, 5, 6b); the homage of the Magi (2:10-11); the healing of Gentiles (8:5-13; 15:21-28); and the sowing of the gospel in the world (13:37-38; 24:14). The title "Son of Abraham," then, serves to foreshadow the final inclusion of Gentiles (28:19) into the people of God.

[183] Cf. the account of the Magi, who seek to pay homage to "the one born king of the Jews." Luz remarks, "'Alle Völker,' betont den universalen Horizont des nun geschilderten Gerichts; gerichtet aber werden natürlich einzelne Menschen" (*Matthäus*, 3:518).

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rejected Jesus (like, for example, the Jerusalem leaders who, according to Jesus, are divinely judged when the temple is destroyed [cf. Matt 22:1-7; 23:37-24:2]).

In appropriating Ezek 34:17 for his shepherd motif, Matthew's deployment of the text differs noticeably from its use in Ezekiel's prophecy. In Ezekiel, YHWH's promise to "shepherd the flock with justice" involves executing harsh judgment on the flock's leaders, who had failed to shepherd the sheep fairly. The leaders will be banished from the community of Israel and YHWH will save the flock from their tyranny by replacing them with his own shepherd. The recipients of judgment in Ezekiel 34, then, are both the flock in general (who receive the promise of salvation and a true [Davidic] shepherd), and their leaders (who are condemned).[184] While Matthew regularly targets Israel's leaders in his Gospel, in his appropriation of Ezek 34:17, he broadens the scope of judgment to include the Gentiles.[185] Hence in Matthew's Final Judgment, "the nations" at large are separated into either membership in or exclusion from God's eschatological flock.

5.2.4 The Shepherd's Mission: His Atoning Sacrifice

The final explicit occurrence of ποιμήν comes in a short pericope (26:30-35),[186] within the passion narrative between the Last Supper and Jesus' arrest, that foreshadows in outline the remainder of the Gospel.[187] On the Mount of Olives, Jesus tells his

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[184] In Ezekiel's judgment, sheep are separated from sheep, and rams are separated from goats, with the rams and goats representing Israel's leaders; cf. Porter, *Monsters*, 71-72.

[185] Unlike in Ezekiel 34, in Matthew the separation is only between sheep and goats. This broadening of the flock results in a different tone to the judgment scene: whereas the verses of judgment in Ezekiel 34 concentrate on the harsh punishment meted out to the corrupt shepherds, there is greater balance in Matthew's judgment scene between the giving out of rewards and punishment.

[186] Luz suggests that v. 30 is a transitional verse and that vv. 31-35 represent a self-contained dialogue (*Matthäus*, 3:124).

[187] The pericope foretells the disciples' forsaking of Jesus, Peter's denial, the crucifixion and the resurrection; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:482-83, 488. The first verse of the pericope simultaneously concludes the Last Supper and introduces Jesus' words concerning the ensuing events in

disciples: "All of you will fall away on account of me in this night, for it has been written, 'I will strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.' But after I am raised I will go ahead of you to Galilee" (vv. 31aβ-32).

The Miracle Chapters offer one side of Jesus' shepherding activity: he performed works of healing and exorcism in the land of Israel to save his people from the physical ramifications of their sins. This pericope, however, presents the other, more central perspective of his shepherding: ultimate salvation from sin will come by Jesus' sacrificial, atoning death and resurrection from the dead.[188] The striking down of Jesus the Shepherd, which comes soon after the anticipatory language of sacrifice in the Last Supper,[189] doubtless refers to his crucifixion, as the ensuing events of the narrative make obvious. While the miracles of Jesus signify the inauguration and the ingressive coming of the kingdom of heaven, his atoning sacrifice represents the necessary prerequisite for its future culmination.

The idea of a suffering messiah who dies ran against the grain of early Jewish messianic expectation, something that Matthew and the other New Testament authors

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Jerusalem. It also probably alludes doubly to 2 Sam 15:30 (an allusion to this text would set up a parallel between Jesus' betrayal by his friends [especially by Peter] and David's betrayal by Ahithophel) and Zech 14:4, the latter allusion serving to establish (or perhaps continue—cf. the scripture citations in the Last Supper pericope in 26:26-29) an eschatological backdrop for the present pericope: the name "Mount of Olives" explicitly appears only twice in the HB: in 2 Sam 15:30 and Zech 14:4. Given the parallels between the circumstances of Jesus and David, the explicit link Matthew makes earlier between the "Mount of Olives" and the citation of Zech 9:9 (cf. 21:1-5) as well as here with the citation of Zech 13:7, both 2 Samuel 15 and Zechariah 14 would seem to be in view here.

[188] That Jesus' words take the form of predictions of what lies ahead in the story implies something of the Shepherd, viz., he possesses prescient knowledge (cf. the Final Judgment in 25:31-46, which lacks any form of trial to identify the sheep and the goats: the Shepherd simply knows immediately who belongs to him and who does not).

[189] That is, 26:28 reads, "[T]his is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins."

imply.[190] Hence, the Evangelist, consonant with his other use of scripture (where the identity and works of Jesus are said to fulfill or to be in accordance with the scriptures), states that the striking down of the shepherd and the scattering of the disciples happen "because it has been written" (v. 31aγ).[191] According to the Gospel, although none of Jesus' followers or the religious authorities could understand this aspect of Jesus' mission, it was part of God's sovereign plan to bring about the redemption of Israel from their sins and to secure (by his death) the climactic coming of the kingdom of heaven.

The death of Jesus is but one (albeit large) component of the kingdom's coming.[192] The other, according to the Synoptic Tradition, is Jesus' resurrection from the dead: "But after I have been raised I will go ahead (προάγω) of you into Galilee" (v. 32). Scholars like Luz assert that προάγω is best understood as referring to Jesus' arriving in Galilee prior to the arrival of his disciples and thus bears no shepherding imagery.[193] But the opposite seems more likely for several reasons. First, although προάγω is not explicitly tied to shepherding imagery in the LXX, when used with

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[190] When Jesus, for example, first mentions that he must suffer, Peter rebukes him and rejects Jesus' notion of a suffering messiah (Matt 16:21-23); cf. 1 Cor 1:23, where Paul refers to the idea of a crucified messiah as a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles. The frequent use of Isa 6:9-10, i.e., the notion of God hardening the hearts of Israel (cf. Matt 13:14-15; Mark 4:12; Luke 8:10; John 12:40; Acts 28:26-27), as well as the "stone of stumbling" passages (Isa 8:14 in Rom 9:33 and 1 Pet 2:8; Ps 118:22 in Luke 20:17; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet 2:7) represent a concerted effort on the part of early Christ-believers to explain the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus. While earlier scholars sought to show that the notion of a suffering messiah originated in some circles of Second Temple Judaism, subsequent scholarship has largely moved away from this position. For a useful discussion of the question of a suffering messiah, see Collins. *Scepter*, 123-35.

[191] Matthew thus changes the first word of Zech 13:7 from an imperative, "strike [the shepherd]" to a future: "I will strike [the shepherd]". In other words, the striking down of the Shepherd (i.e., Jesus' crucifixion) happens according to scriptural prophecy.

[192] Cf. Matt 26:26-29; Luke 22:14-20.

[193] Cf. Luz, *Matthäus*, 3:125-26; Carson, *Matthew* 541; Tooley, "Shepherd," 18. Luz seems particularly insistent on this: "Ich kenne keinen Beleg, wo προάγω von einem Hirten ausgesagt wäre. Im übrigen gingen palästinische Hirten normalweise hinter ihrer Herde und trieben sie, nur metaphorische Hirten gehen ihrer Herde voran" (*Matthäus*, 3:126).

reference to God (twice), it does speak of him as "guiding" his followers.[194] Additionally, the cognates of προάγω are often associated with shepherding.[195] Finally, in view of appearing in such close proximity with ποιμήν, πρόβατον and ποίμνη, προάγω would almost surely carry shepherding connotations here.[196] Moreover, the two thoughts of Jesus going ahead of the disciples like a shepherd, and of him going ahead of the disciples chronologically are not mutually exclusive: like a shepherd, Jesus leads his disciples to Galilee by first going there ahead of them.[197] Hence, the Shepherd's redemptive mission does not end with his sacrificial death but with his resurrection from the dead.[198]

Another important feature of Jesus' mission according to this pericope is the reconstitution involved in this redemptive act. Zechariah 13:7 not only anchors the otherwise unexpected death of Israel's messiah, but explains the falling away of the disciples: "All of you will fall away . . . because it has been written, 'I will strike the shepherd' . . ."[199] Technically the falling away of the disciples occurs at Jesus' arrest

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[194] In Prov 4:27c the guidance refers to God's providential oversight so as to bring about blessing for his follower: "And [God] will make your ways straight and guide (προάξει) your steps in peace." In 2 Macc 10:1 God's guidance refers to divine enablement to accomplish a task: "Now Maccabeus and his followers, the Lord leading (προάγοντος) them on, recovered the temple and the city" (NRSV). These types of guidance are consonant with the shepherd metaphor in the scriptures (e.g., Pss 23:1-3 [Ps 22 LXX] and 28:8-9 [Ps 27 LXX]). Chae notes that R. Pesch regards προάγω as a "Terminus technicus der Hirtensprache" (Chae, *Davidic Shepherd*, 199-200).

[195] There is a syntactical tie, for example, between ἄγω and ποιμαίνω in Gen 46:32; Exod 3:1; Ps 77:52; Isa 63:12-14, and Jdt 11:19.

[196] Matthew 26:31b-32 reads: Πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.

[197] According to Luz, Palestinian shepherds drove their sheep, but Wallis probably has it right: sometimes they drove them from behind but in other instances they led the flock by going ahead of them (Wallis, "רעה," 545). Surely the shepherd's going ahead of the sheep is presupposed, for example, in John 10:3-5. Luz remarks, "nur [gehen] metaphorische Hirten ihrer Herde voran." But this is precisely how the motif functions in Matthew (and elsewhere, like Mark and John): metaphorically.

[198] The author of Hebrews also makes this link between Jesus as a Shepherd and his resurrection (Heb 13:20), perhaps based on the Gospel traditions; cf. the discussion in section 3.4.2 above.

[199] The γάρ ("for") introducing the quote from Zechariah is causative: it explains how it is that this turn of events could happen. While Mark and Matthew place this pericope after the disciples had gone to

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(26:56). But something more can be said. The allusion to Zechariah 14 in 26:30 provides an eschatological backdrop to Jesus' solemn forecast concerning his disciples.[200] Additionally, when compared to Mark's citation of Zech 13:7, Matthew seems to append an allusion to Ezek 34:31:[201] while the Markan parallel has only "and the sheep will be scattered" (14:27bβ), the second strophe of Matthew's citation of Zechariah reads, "and the sheep of the flock (τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης) will be scattered" (26:31bβ); Matthew also reverses Mark's order of the subject and predicate.[202] The phrase "sheep of the/my flock" appears once in the Jewish scriptures: in Ezek 34:31. In Ezekiel 34, the expression refers to Israel knowing that YHWH is their God and that they are his people—"the sheep of my flock" (צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי [MT]/πρόβατα ποιμνίου μού [LXX])— and that they will again enjoy the blessings of the covenant,[203] after he gathers them from their dispersion and re-establishes them as his people in their own land. By inverting Mark's word order and inserting τῆς ποίμνης, Matthew would be emphasizing the dispersal of the flock, i.e., his disciples. Matthew also underscores this emphasis by the additions of the emphatic pronoun ὑμεῖς ("you") and the phrase ἐν ἐμοί (lit. "by me").[204]

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the Mount of Olives, Luke (22:31-38) and John (13:36-38) imply that it took place before that. Carson notes, "The abruptness with which Mark [and Matthew following him] begins this pericope suggests that he displaced it . . . [placing] this pericope where it will emphasize the gravity of the disciples' defection and Peter's denial" (*Matthew*, 540).

[200] For a good discussion of the eschatology inherent in the neighbouring passage of 26:26-28, see Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:475-77.

[201] Cf. Willitts, "Lost Sheep," 138-48, who also argues along these lines.

[202] Mark 14:27bβ reads, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα διασκορπισθήσονται, while Matthew has, καὶ διασκορπισθήσονται τὰ πρόβατα [τῆς ποίμνης].

[203] According to Ezekiel 34, the blessing of the "covenant of peace" would include deliverance from the "yoke" of their enemies as well as safety and productivity in the land.

[204] Carson captures the sense of these additions to Mark: "*you*, of all people, on account of *me*, your Messiah, by your own confession" (*Matthew*, 540, his emphasis); cf. Gundry, *Use of the OT*, 27-28. Chae, however, claims that τῆς ποίμνης implicates the whole community of Judah in Judas's betrayal

In view of the importance of Ezekiel 34 to Matthew, coupled with the nearby words of the covenant's fulfilment through Jesus' blood (in Matt 26:28), an allusion to Ezek 34:31 here would, firstly, contribute to the Evangelist's sustained irony that runs throughout the passion narrative. Matthew has already identified Jesus as the Davidic Shepherd of Ezekiel 34, the one responsible for tending God's flock; yet, contrary to Ezekiel 34, the Shepherd's flock will actually scatter. Secondly, an allusion to Ezekiel 34 would emphasize the dispersion of the disciples more than Mark (and Luke): it is from this dispersal that the Shepherd will gather his people. This idea of a shepherd gathering his dispersed flock closely mirrors the direction of Ezekiel 34, which speaks of YHWH tending to his "scattered" flock (Ezek 34:5, 6, 12). Matthew not only adopts this direction of Ezekiel 34 here, but his appropriation of Zech 13:7 also echoes the thrust of that passage: Deutero-Zechariah speaks of a Davidic ruler, who is struck down in judgment, causing the sheep of Israel to scatter; but the demise of the shepherd eventually results in the purification and restoration of the people of God. Matthew deploys this text in similar fashion: Jesus the Davidic Shepherd is struck down by God (by his crucifixion) and his disciples scatter as a result. But in the striking down of the Shepherd, Jesus atones for the sins of his flock (viz., his dispersed disciples and by extension, those who receive their message [cf. 10:40-42; 25:35-40]), securing their salvation and their reconstitution as the people of God through his death and resurrection from the dead.

Thus, according to his appropriation of the shepherd metaphor here, the mission of Matthew's Shepherd to Israel climaxes in his sacrificial atonement on the cross. While

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(*Davidic Shepherd*, 193). But Matthew's citation of Zech 11:13 in 27:9-10 makes this idea of Judah's guilt here unlikely (cf. the discussion in section 5.2.5 below).

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not consonant with early Jewish messianic interpretation, it is nonetheless part of God's

sovereign plan, as forecast by the scriptures. Moreover, the Shepherd's mission does not

end with his sacrificial death but with his resurrection from the dead and the

reconstitution of his dispersed people in Galilee.

5.2.5 Other Implicit Features of the Shepherd

While Matt 27:9-10 does not employ "shepherd," it nonetheless deserves special

consideration for several important reasons. It explicitly cites a portion of Zech 11:4-

17—one of the lengthy and more significant biblical narratives involving the

metaphorical use of "shepherd";[205] based on Matthew's citations and allusions to

Deutero-Zechariah elsewhere,[206] as well as his own elaborate shepherd motif, the

shepherd of Zechariah 11 would have been squarely within his purview and thus, the

entire context of 11:4-17 would be assumed for his audience; the Evangelist implicitly

identifies Jesus as the rejected shepherd of 11:4-17 in 27:9-10;[207] and, as will be

observed, this passage makes a special contribution to Matthew's shepherd motif.

Matthew 27:3-10 represents the Evangelist's version of what happened to Judas

after he betrayed Jesus. In contrast to other early accounts of Judas's fate,[208] the chief

priests figure prominently in Matthew's account.[209] This would suggest that the

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[205] Cf. sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 above.

[206] E.g., the citation of Zech 9:9 in 21:5; 13:7 in 26:31, and the allusions to Zech 9:11 in 26:28; 14:4 in 26:30, and 14:7 in 24:36.

[207] In Zechariah 11 the thirty pieces of silver is the paltry wage paid by the Jewish leaders to YHWH, care of the prophet (vv. 12-13a). In Matthew 27:9b the thirty pieces of silver is the price set (and paid for) by the Jewish leaders for Judas's betrayal of Jesus to secure his execution. Both YHWH and Jesus cost the respective Jewish leaders 30 pieces of silver.

[208] Cf. Acts 1:16-20, and Papias, Frg. 3 (as preserved by Apollinarus of Laodicea).

[209] Their actions and words occupy approximately the same amount of the story as Judas's: two-and-a-half verses centre on Judas (vv. 3, 4a, 5) and two-and-a-half verse treat the chief priests (vv. 4b, 6-7).

Evangelist intended his insertion[210] to explain not only Judas's fate and the aetiology of "Field of Blood," but also to reinforce the responsibility of the Jewish leaders for Jesus' death, a culpability he underscores in three ways.[211] First, although the account of Judas makes better sense (at least from an emotional perspective) during the crucifixion scene (as Davies and Allison note),[212] because it comes immediately after the handing over of Jesus to Pilate, the account serves to connect the cause of Judas's fateful remorse to the action of the Jewish leaders and not to Jesus' suffering (vv. 1-2).

Second, when Judas returns the money to the leaders, telling them that he has sinned by betraying innocent blood, they callously respond, "What is that to us? See to that yourself" (v. 4b). They do not deny Judas's assertion of Jesus' innocence, thereby implicitly confirming their own treachery. In other words, as far as the leaders are concerned, Jesus may be innocent, but so what? Third, they refer to the money with which they hired Judas to betray Jesus as the "price of blood," and consequently recognize that it would be unlawful for them to donate it to the temple treasury (v. 6). Prior to the trial scene, then, which concludes with the ominous words, "[A]ll the people

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[210] The story is absent in Mark. Without the insertion, Matthew's narrative reads quite smoothly: "And when morning came, all of the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus so as to put him to death. And after being bound they led him away and delivered him up to Pilate the governor . . . And Jesus stood before the governor and the governor questioned him . . ." (vv. 1-2, 11).

[211] Gundry, for example, misses this last point: "Matt felt no difficulty in the fact that in Zech the prophet gives the money to the potter and in his own narrative the chief priests give the money, for the essential point is that the money is paid *to the potter*" (*Use of the OT*, 126, his emphasis). The appropriateness of this citation for Matthew, however, lay not simply in who received the money, but also in what the money—"the established price which was set"—symbolizes: the rejection of YHWH in Zechariah, and the betrayal and rejection of Jesus in the Gospel.

[212] That is, from the reader's point of view it would be emotionally more satisfying if, after Jesus died on the cross, Judas would have hung himself: Judas would have thus received what he deserved, and poetic justice would have been more unambiguously served.

said, 'His blood be upon us and upon our children'" (27:25), Matthew has laid in triplet

(in effect) the responsibility for Jesus' death at the feet of the religious leaders.

The Judas narrative concludes with a citation from Scripture:[213]

Then that which was spoken through Jeremiah the prophet was fulfilled, saying: "And they took the thirty silver pieces, the established price which the sons of Israel set, and they gave them to the field of the potter, just as the Lord directed me" (vv. 9-10).[214]

The citation functions in two ways. It affirms that Jesus' rejection and crucifixion took

place according to the scriptures and was therefore an integral part of God's will in

bringing about the salvation of his people Israel. But moreover, Matthew establishes a

typological identification between the leaders who condemned Jesus and the leaders who

rejected YHWH in Zech 11:4-17. Support for this identification would be as follows.

As noted earlier, given the two citations and other allusions to Deutero-Zechariah,

the full context of Zechariah 9-13 would be assumed and hence, the entire shepherd

oracle of 11:4-17. A parallel exists not just between the rejected Shepherd of Deutero-

Zechariah (YHWH) and Matthew's rejected Shepherd (Jesus), but also between the

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[213] While the rest of the passion narrative is replete with scriptural allusions, 27:9-10 represents the final explicit citation ("formula quotation") in the Gospel.

[214] On the text-form of this quote, Stendahl states that its relationship to the LXX is "very slight, and its form is definitely dependent on the Matthew's interpretation of the Hebrew text" (*School*, 124; cf. Gundry, *Use*, 122-27, and Luz, *Matthäus*, 3:230-31). Davies and Allison essentially agree but, based on some minor agreement with the LXX, add: "we find in this formula quotation confirmation that Matthew knew the OT in both Hebrew and Greek" (*Matthew*, 3:570). While Matthew attributes his citation to Jeremiah, all scholars agree that the bulk of the words come from Zech 11:13. For a survey of suggestions why Matthew attributes a quote from Deutero-Zechariah to Jeremiah, see Stendahl, *School*, 125 n. 3; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:568-69, and M. Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthean Redaction*, JSNTSS, vol. 68 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 60-67. The conflating of two or more sources into one appears in 2 Chr 36:21 (Lev 26:34-39/Jer 25:11-12/29:10). as well as elsewhere in Matthew (Mic 5:1/2 Sam 5:2 in 2:5-6; Isa 62:11/Zech 9:9 in 21:5; Isa 56:7/Jer 7:11 in 21:13) and other NT texts (Mal 3:1/Isa 40:3 in Mark 1:2; Hos 2:1/Isa 10:22 in Rom 9:27).

leaders who rejected the former shepherd[215] and those rejecting Jesus, viz., the chief

priests and elders.[216] This attention to the leaders is also evidenced by Matthew's

insertion of "the sons of Israel" (ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ) into his citation.[217] Scholars

recognize that ἀπό is a partitive particle that yields a sense of separation.[218] Thus, all

Israel is not in view but a subgroup within Israel: the Jewish leaders.[219]

Support for a typological identification of Jewish leaders also comes from the

allusion to Jeremiah embedded within the Zechariah citation, which actually prompts

Matthew to attribute the entire quotation to this prophet.[220] Soares Prabhu suggests that

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[215] Deutero-Zechariah makes a distinction between the flock (11:4, 7a, 8b) and its leaders (11:5c, 7b, 11).

[216] Just as the leaders in Deutero-Zechariah's oracle set the wages for the rejected shepherd, so also in Matthew, the chief priests and elders set the price for Judas's betrayal and rejection of Jesus (26:14-15).

[217] Neither the MT nor the LXX have this phrase, which appears to be a "targumizing interpretation" (so Davies and Allison) of Deutero-Zechariah's "by them" (מעליהם/ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν).

[218] Cf. Turner (*Syntax*, 208), who acknowledges the use of a partitive construction here in which the ἀπό phrase stands as the subject of the verb: hence, "which the sons of Israel set" for ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

[219] Hence, Stendahl comments, "Matthew distinguishes between the authorities and the people, putting the responsibility on the former" (*School*, 126, n. 1). Luz also recognizes that the construction refers to the Jewish leaders (*Matthäus*, 3:241). Additionally, while the plural form of υἱός often denotes "people," when Matthew employs the plural form, it usually describes a particular group of people rather than people in general. Aside from references to James and John, the sons of Zebedee (20:20-21; 26:37; 27:56) and the conditional, ethical statements about becoming the "sons" of God (5:9, 45), "sons" refers to people generally only in the parable of the tares (13:38); and there, Matthew makes this explicit with the explanation of the parable: "And the field is the world, as for the good seeds, these are the sons (οἱ υἱοί) of the kingdom, and the weeds are the sons (οἱ υἱοί) of the evil one." In each of the other deployments of "sons," it refers either to the Twelve (as opposed to general followers [9:15]), the disciples of the Pharisees (12:27), those closely related to a king (17:25-26), or to the Pharisees (23:31). While some scholars argue that "sons of the kingdom" in 8:12 refers to the nation Israel, neither the implicit citation of Ps 107:3 in 8:11, nor the faith exhibited by Jews coming to Jesus in the Miracle Chapters (cf. 9:2, 18, 20-22, 27-29), permit such an identification. "Sons of the kingdom" in 8:12, on balance, would refer not to all Israel but to the Jewish leaders who are being warned to avoid presumption; cf. Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:27-29.

[220] Davies and Allison follow R. Brown, *The Death of Jesus the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 1:651, and Stendahl, *School*, 122, in asserting that the Evangelist alludes to Jeremiah 18-19 (the allegory of the potter) and 32:6-15 (the purchase of a field with silver). While the allusion to Jeremiah may span all of this material, it would be simpler to restrict the allusion to 19:1-6 because of the close linguistic ties between this passage and the Judas narrative: most of the significant terms or concepts that do not find their source in Zech 11:4-17 (e.g., elders, innocent blood, burial place, a change in name and overtones of severe divine judgment upon the land) find it in Jeremiah 19. The only concept not explicitly covered by Zechariah 11 or Jeremiah 19 is the purchase of a field, which consequently leads some scholars to Jeremiah

"in the διὰ Ἰερεμίου of Matt 27:9 there is a more or less conscious assimilation to the already closely parallel Matt 2:17: an assimilation perhaps prompted, and no doubt partly legitimized, by the allusion to Jeremiah in the text of the quotation introduced."[221] If correct, then the implicit typological identification with the Jewish leaders in 27:9-10 would be strengthened: in 2:17, Herod the leader of the Jews fulfills Jeremianic prophesy by his evil act against Israel, viz., the slaughter of the innocent; in 27:9-10, the Jewish leaders fulfill "Jeremianic" prophesy by their evil act of treachery against Jesus.[222]

If Matthew intends this identification of the Jewish leaders who condemned Jesus with the leaders of Zech 11:4-17, then an important implication would follow: the Jewish leaders have been replaced but not the Jewish people. In Zechariah 11, the leadership of Israel is condemned for failing the people and, consequently, YHWH replaces those shepherds with his own. When his shepherd is rejected, divine wrath ensues: the desolation of the people and foreign oppression of the land.[223] Despite the outpouring of YHWH's wrath upon the nation, only the leaders were replaced according to the oracle of Zechariah 11. The same would follow for Matthew: Israel's leaders are judged for having

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32. While this is possible, in view of the close linguistic ties to Jeremiah 19 as well as the adjoining phrase, "as the Lord directed me"—which parallels Zech 11:13a ("and the Lord said to me")—it would seem better to understand the notion of giving the silver for the potter's field as coming from Zech 11:13e: "and I threw [the silver] to the house of the Lord, to the potter." In other words, the basic idea of silver going to a potter comes from 11:13e, and Matthew adjusts this slightly to produce his reading; cf. Gundry, *Use of the OT*, 122-24, who argues against an allusion to Jeremiah 18 and 32 but in a different manner.

[221] Soares Prabhu, *Formula*, 54; cf. Knowles, *Jeremiah*, 77-81.

[222] Consonant with Zechariah 11, leaders are singled out from the rest of the flock in Jeremiah 19: "Thus said the LORD: Go and buy a potter's earthenware jug. Take with you some of the *elders* of the people and some of the *senior priests*" (v. 1, NRSV).

[223] A similar scenario can be observed in Jeremiah, the other prophecy to which Matthew alludes here. While the entire nation is at fault for disobeying the commands of the covenant (e.g., Jer 2:13-19; 5:1-13), the leaders of the nation are particularly singled out (e.g., 8:8-12; 23:1-2, 15-40; 50:6) for the part they have played in the nation's downfall and the subsequent judgment of the exile, prompting YHWH to replace them with shepherds of his own choosing (cf. 3:15; 23:4-6), but not Israel as his sheep.

failed the nation; consequently, Jesus (in his mission to Israel) replaces these shepherds. Jesus, however, is eventually rejected by the Jewish leaders,[224] bringing about God's wrath in the form of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE by the Romans.[225] But despite the destruction of Jerusalem, it is the religious leaders who have been replaced by God—a replacement foreseen by the scriptures (i.e., in Zechariah 11, according to Matthew)—and not the nation.

Thus, Matthew's appropriation of Zech 11:13 serves to emphasize the guilt of the Jewish leaders in the death of Jesus,[226] specifically implicating them in the destruction of Jerusalem and thereby scripturally justifying their replacement as Israel's shepherds.[227]

5.2.6 Summary

Matthew's interest in depicting Jesus as Israel's Shepherd seems obvious, given how he deploys the motif in the Gospel. According to the birth and infancy narratives Jesus the messiah is the Davidic Shepherd. Like King David, Jesus is born in Bethlehem—as prophesied by the scriptures. Since he is the true heir to David's throne, those who occupy positions of leadership over the nation are illegitimate. The account of the Magi paying homage to the infant Jesus shows (and foreshadows in the Gospel) that the salvation and rule (of the kingdom of heaven) that the Davidic Shepherd offers is

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[224] This rejection is crystallized in Matthew's report of the Jewish leaders' decision to put Jesus to death and the consequent handing him over to Pilate in 27:1-2, a text which is closely connected to the Judas narrative and explains the placement of the Judas story here rather than later in the Gospel: "Then when Judas, the one who betrayed him, saw that he was condemned . . ." (27:3a). Jesus' judicial condemnation by the religious leaders prompted Judas' remorse and eventual suicide.

[225] Matthew alludes elsewhere to the destruction of Jerusalem in 22:7; 23:38, and 24:1-2.

[226] Van Tilborg puts it this way: "Mt wishes to minimize the guilt of Judas at the cost of the Jewish leaders" (*Jewish Leaders*, 88).

[227] This latter point extends Matthew's earlier assertion in the Miracle Chapters: what began as Jesus (and his disciples) filling the void left by Israel's failed shepherds has become an outright replacement.

ultimately for the whole world and not just the Jewish nation. But the primary scope of the messiah's shepherding remains the Jews—i.e., "my people Israel"— whom Jesus came to save from their sins. Hence, the motif conveys nationalistic aspirations for Matthew: a nationalism that is also present in the two texts he appropriates in 2:6, Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2.[228] Consequently, the salvation Jesus offers his people possesses both a religious and a political dimension. Ultimately it depends on Jesus' atoning sacrifice on the cross, an event that represents the climax of Jesus' mission; but according to Matthew, Jesus' salvation has political overtones in that Jesus replaces Herod as the shepherd/king of Israel.[229]

Prior to his sacrifice on the cross, Jesus went about healing people of their physical afflictions. Matthew connects Satan's plunder of Israel with Jesus' therapeutic activity, and his therapeutic activity to the Son of David title. Thus, when Jesus "saves his people from their sins," an integral component of Israel's salvation is their deliverance from physical illness and satanic oppression. In this way, Matthew depicts Jesus as the Davidic Shepherd in the pastoral terms commonly used to describe the activities of literal shepherds. In other words, according to the Miracle Chapters, Jesus, on the one hand, inclusively reaches out to the socially marginalized (8:2-4; 9:9-13): he thus has concern for the weak and the stray of the flock;[230] on the other hand, he heals his people of their diverse sicknesses (8:16; 9:35): Jesus thus cares for and "binds up" the wounds of his

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[228] For a discussion of Mic 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2, see section 2.2.2 above.

[229] Against the backdrop of Roman Imperialism, Jesus would also replace the Emperor of Rome as the Sovereign authority of the world; cf. the gathering of all the nations before Jesus to receive his final judgment in Matt 25:31-46.

[230] Cf., for example, the description of the ideal shepherd in Isa 40:11; Ezek 34:4-6, 11, 16, passim; Zech 11:7a, 16; also CD XIII, 9-10; *Pss. Sol.* 17:40; *Apoc. Ezek.*

sheep,[231] correspondences which would be strengthened by Matthew's allusions to Ezekiel 34 in the Miracle Chapters.

The Miracle Chapters also bring clearer focus to the nature of Jesus' messianic mission to Israel. As the prophesied Davidic Shepherd, Jesus' works of healing and exorcism represent manifestations of YHWH's mercy to his people Israel, in fulfilment of scriptural prophecy (8:17; 9:36). But not only did his healings and exorcisms fill a significant void left by the Jewish leaders; he also appointed his disciples to continue the therapeutic activity he began exclusively to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," i.e., the Jewish nation. Thus, the missiological theme of the Miracle Chapters, the special emphasis on the deliverance from physical illness and satanic oppression wrought by the Son of David, and the explicit restriction of Jesus' and the disciples' mission to Israel, all reaffirm Matthew's nationalistic outlook (expressed earlier in Matt 2:6)—similar to the HB text to which the Evangelist alludes at the close of the Miracle Chapters, Ezekiel 34.

Matthew's deployment of the metaphor in the Olivet Discourse amplifies the royal character of the Shepherd (first introduced in the birth and infancy narratives): Jesus is the eschatological shepherd-king to whom all people—Jews and Gentiles—must submit. Additionally, the echo of 2:3a ("the king") in 25:34a would reinforce the national-political aspect, also found in the text Matthew appropriates here, Ezek 34:17. Moreover, the Shepherd is the eschatological Judge, who will judge all the nations according to how they treat Jesus' followers.

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[231] Cf., for example, the "healing shepherd" in Ezek 34:4, 16; Zech 10:2 [LXX]; Zech 11:16; also *1 Enoch* 90:35.

According to the passion narrative, the deeds of Matthew's Shepherd climax in his sacrificial atonement on the cross (in contrast to early Jewish messianic interpretation), forming an integral part of God's sovereign plan, as forecast by the scriptures. Additionally, the Shepherd's mission does not end with his sacrificial death but with his resurrection from the dead and the reconstitution of his dispersed people in Galilee. Furthermore, Matthew appropriates Zech 11:13 in the account of Judas's demise to affirm that Jesus' rejection and crucifixion took place according to the scriptures and was, therefore, a central part of God's will in bringing about the salvation of his people Israel. The use of Zech 11:13 emphasizes the guilt of the Jewish leaders in the death of Jesus, specifically implicating them in the destruction of Jerusalem and thereby scripturally justifying their replacement as Israel's shepherds. In this way, Matthew mirrors the nationalistic outlook of Deutero-Zechariah, echoing the prophet's concern for the leadership of Israel.

5.3 Conclusions

Because Matthew's shepherd motif has not received much attention in the past,[232] the specific contributions it makes to the Gospel as a whole have been overlooked. Despite not being the central preoccupation of the Gospel writer, the motif represents a significant sub-theme that adds to the theological framework of the Gospel. Most obviously, the shepherd motif contributes to the discussion of Matthew's Christology. Matthew's presentation of Jesus has led scholars to paint diverse Christological portraits

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[232] The recent (2006) and significant works of Chae, *Davidic Shepherd* and Willitts, "Lost Sheep," however, have helped substantially to remedy this situation.

of Jesus.[233] According to Matthew's birth and infancy narratives, Jesus has been divinely appointed to shepherd the nation of Israel. The genealogy makes it clear that Israel's Shepherd is Davidic in his ancestry, thereby confirming his legitimacy as heir to David's throne. This connection between Jesus as Israel's Shepherd and Davidic Messiahship (strengthened by the Evangelist's allusions to Ezekiel 34) underscores Matthew's concern to depict Jesus within a clear Jewish framework. That is, just as the Son of David motif "adheres closely to the paradigm of salvation anticipated by at least a significant segment of [Matthew's] devout Jewish compatriots and hence to the hopes and dreams that were fertile soil of messianic yearnings,"[234] likewise, his shepherd motif—particularly in view of the metaphor's use in the HB—would highlight Matthew's Jewish nationalistic interests.

In related fashion, his shepherd motif helps to bring out the national-political dimension of Matthean soteriology. While the explicit link between Jesus' kingship and his shepherding is not made until the Olivet Discourse (25:31-34a), when Matthew first introduces the motif in the Gospel, it is part of a fairly sustained contrast between Jesus and Herod. Matthew portrays Herod as a "disturbed" monarch who seeks only to preserve power at all costs. It is from this type of cruel reign that God's people Israel need to be "saved" (1:21).[235] The Evangelist presents Jesus, in contrast to Herod, as the

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[233] Cf. Stanton's discussion of Matthean Christology in "Origin," 1922-25. Saldarini (*Christian-Jewish*, 165-93) lists and discusses the names, titles, and roles Matthew assigns to Jesus: Messiah, Son of David, Son of Abraham, Son of God, Teacher, Healer, Moses, Wisdom, Prophet, Lord, Son of Man and Jesus Crucified and Risen.

[234] Verseput, "Davidic Messiah," 103.

[235] Although Herod dies while Jesus is still an infant, the end of Matthew's infancy traditions suggests that the tyrannical threat Herod posed continued with his son Archelaus: "And when [Joseph] heard that Archelaus was reigning in Judah in place of his father Herod, he was afraid to enter there. And

legitimate heir to the throne of Israel via divine sanction, as prophesied by the scriptures.

In replacing Herod, Jesus' kingship would doubtless transcend the typical geo-political

framework of kings and kingdoms, yet it would nevertheless bear essential continuity

with them. Although the kingdom Jesus inaugurates would primarily be (what would be

considered today) religious,[236] according to Matthew's birth and infancy narratives, it

nonetheless involves replacing not simply Israel's religious leaders but its king. By

employing the shepherd metaphor in this way, Matthew simply reflects its common usage

in the HB: monarchs are shepherds and ruling is viewed as shepherding.

The shepherd motif provides additional insight into Matthew's Miracle Chapters.

The Evangelist depicts Jesus' therapeutic mission to Israel in terms of shepherding the

nation, primarily by drawing upon Ezekiel 34, whose imagery finds a resting place in the

Miracle Chapters. According to Ezekiel, the nation finds itself plundered and in exile

because of its self-absorbed shepherds; YHWH, therefore, promises to do what these

leaders failed to do, by searching for the lost, healing, and rescuing the people from their

exilic plight, and by providing them with a Davidic shepherd. According to the Miracle

Chapters, Israel's leaders neglected the people and the social outcasts within Israel,

ultimately resulting in the nation's "harassed and downcast" condition. Jesus (YHWH's

Davidic Shepherd), therefore, goes about doing what they failed to do—idealized by

Matthew in works of healing and exorcism—and appoints his disciples to replace Israel's

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after he was warned in a dream, he withdrew into the region of Galilee" (2:22). Just as God warned Joseph
in a dream about Herod's threat (2:13), so he warns him about Archelaus (2:22b); and just as Herod's reign
caused Joseph and his family to retreat to another region (2:14), so the reign of Archelaus causes them to
retreat to Galilee (2:22); moreover, Archelaus reigning in place of his father Herod causes Joseph to
become "afraid" (2:22a).

[236] Or in the words of the Fourth Evangelist, "not of this world" (John 18:36).

failed shepherds to heal and to save the nation from its woeful state. Matthew thus characterizes Jesus' mission to Israel in the Miracle Chapters as Davidic: his therapeutic deeds represent the acts of the Son of David, and this serves to connect the "Son of David" title with Matthew's shepherd motif.[237] Jesus' acts of healing, then, which comprise (in part) his shepherding of Israel, should be viewed in the Miracle Chapters in light of his identity as the Son of David: insofar as Matthew presents Jesus as the therapeutic Son of David, he presents him as Israel's Davidic Shepherd. The implication of this connection would be that the royal Son of David's rule or saving of Israel includes works of healing and exorcism.

The Evangelist's use of the motif in the birth and infancy traditions as well as the Miracle Chapters, thus, serves to illustrate the connection between sin, political and physical suffering, and Satan. For Matthew, Satan's rule over Israel and the (Roman) empire (4:8-9; cf. 12:26) is most evident in the physical sicknesses which plague the people of God (cf. 8:16, 28-32; 9:32-36; 10:1, 8), and in the illegitimate rule of Herod (2:1-16), as well as the Jerusalem leadership (3:5-9; 21:43-46; 23:37-39). Consequently, when the Davidic Shepherd saves his people from their sins, he saves them (in part), according to the Miracle Chapters, from the physical ramifications of their sins by healing his people from their illnesses and satanic oppression, thus demonstrating his power over Satan (12:28-29). Moreover, he saves his people by forgiving them of their sins, by

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[237] This link becomes more explicit in the Son of David–healing controversy in Matt 12:22-24.

which he liberates them from their bondage to sin (perhaps best symbolized in the healing of the paralytic in 9:1-8).[238]

The shepherd motif sheds some light on the question of Israel's "replacement" as the people of God. Numerous scholars insist that Matthew believed that Israel had been replaced by the church.[239] Although other important lines of argumentation need to be called upon in any attempt to resolve this issue,[240] the contribution of the shepherd motif here should not be overlooked. According to the present analysis of this motif, it is not Israel that has been replaced as God's people, but Israel's leaders who are replaced as shepherds of his people. God appointed Jesus to replace King Herod (along with his successors) and the Jerusalem leadership; Jesus subsequently commissions his disciples to extend his shepherding mission and continue doing the works (he began) that Israel's leaders had failed to do. In the passion narrative, Matthew casts the ultimate responsibility of Jesus' death on the Jewish leaders, whom he typologically identifies with the Jewish leaders who had rejected YHWH as their shepherd in Zechariah 11.

In view of the presentation of Matthew's shepherd motif, how does his appropriation of the shepherd metaphor compare with its use by the non-Christ-believing Jewish, Roman and Christ-believing authors analyzed in chapter three of the study? Similarities and differences between Matthew and these texts will reveal something of the

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[238] The forgiveness of sins would be consummated in Jesus' sacrificial death on the cross (cf. Matt 26:26-28).

[239] So, for example, Gundry, "A Responsive Evaluation of the Social History of the Matthean Community in Roman Syria" in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, ed. D. Balch (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 63-64; Hagner, "*Sitz*," 58-59, and Stanton, *Gospel*, 11-12.

[240] E.g., scholars usually appeal to Matt 21:43 ("Therefore I tell you that from you the kingdom of God will be taken and it will be given to a nation [ἔθνος] producing its fruit") as proof for this position, arguing that ἔθνος excludes Israel. The immediate context of the parable, however, would not support this interpretation; cf. the arguments of Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 59-63, and Sim, *Christian Judaism*, 148-49.

Evangelist's socio-religious location. It is to this question of Matthew's socio-religious orientation that the study now turns.

CHAPTER 6

MATTHEW'S SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

6.1 Introduction

The preceding analysis of Matthew demonstrates that the shepherd metaphor occupies a significant place within the Gospel narrative. Clearly, the author exercised considerable care to present Jesus as Israel's Shepherd. The question now becomes, what does the shepherd motif reveal about Matthew's socio-religious orientation? As discussed in section 1.2.1 above, "*intra muros*" and "*extra muros*" have become the standard terminology employed in the debate over Matthew's socio-religious location, but these terms greatly oversimplify a highly complex situation. Rather than adopting this either/or configuration for Judaism and Christ-belief, and thinking of them as separate, intersecting, or concentric circles, the different groups are better thought of as points on continuum mapping Jewish nationalistic belief:[1] one end of the continuum would represent a Zealot-like nationalistic concern for the moral wellbeing and political-national restoration of the nation of Israel, while groups at the other end would have no desire for Israel's restoration.

To locate the Evangelist's place on this spectrum from the perspective of Matthew's deployment of the shepherd metaphor, his appropriation of the metaphor must be compared with the map of uses of the metaphor generated in the third chapter of the study, which revealed the patterns of thought concerning the shepherd metaphor's employment by non-Christ-believing Jewish, non-Christ-believing Roman, and Christ-

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[1] Cf. the reasons for this choice near the end of section 1.2.1 above.

believing authors. Is there agreement with one group over and against the others? This type of agreement would suggest some measure of socio-religious and cultural continuity between Matthew and that particular group, and thus, represent a means of ascertaining the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation. In order to accomplish this, and in order to outline the influence that his socio-religious orientation would have had on some of the institutional realities of the Mattheans, social-historical criticism will be employed.[2]

The analysis of this chapter will begin by comparing the patterns of thought exhibited by the use of "shepherd" in Roman texts with those reflected in its appropriation by non-Christ-believing Jews, Christ-believers, and Matthew. In the comparison with Roman texts, particular attention will be given to outlining some of the social-historical realties concerning Roman emperors, and their relationship to their subjects, as a way to underscore the different perspectives on leadership that existed between non-Christ-believing Romans, on the one hand, and Jews and Christ-believers, on the other. The second set of comparisons will be drawn between non-Christ-believing Jews, Christ-believers, and Matthew. By discerning points of continuity and discontinuity in patterns of thought between Matthew and these groups of writers, Matthew's socio-religious orientation can be established and located on a socio-religious spectrum. The chapter will then conclude by offering a sketch of some of the implications of Matthew's socio-religious orientation for the institutional realities of the Mattheans.

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[2] Cf. the discussion of social-historical criticism in section 1.4.5 above.

6.2 Comparing Patterns of Thought

6.2.1 Roman Authors vs. Non-Christ-Believing Jews, Christ-believers, and Matthew

As observed in section 3.3 above, Romans authors, unlike those of other ancient cultures, neither call nor liken Roman monarchs to a shepherd (*pastor*). The most common honorific titles ascribed to Roman emperors like, for example, Julius and Octavius Caesar, are "God," "Saviour," "Benefactor," and "Founder." These sorts of honorific titles, on the one hand, were consonant with what is known about Roman Imperial theology.[3] Roman Imperial theology makes the claim that "Rome and the emperor manifested the sovereignty, presence, will and blessings of the gods among human beings."[4] In other words, the gods willed for Rome to rule the world, and the Roman emperor represents the agent of their sovereignty, their presence among humans, and the conduit through which the societal gifts of peace, protection, provision, and the like flow.

While the Roman senate deified dead emperors, Goodman suggests that living emperors like Octavius sought to portray themselves merely as first among equals among senatorial aristocrats.[5] Later emperors, however, could on occasion demand worship during their lifetime.[6] In the case of Domitian—who probably would have reigned when

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[3] For a discussion of Roman Imperial theology, see Carter, *Empire*, 20-34.

[4] Carter, *Empire*, 20.

[5] Goodman, *Roman World*, 123-34. According to Goodman, their superiority as emperor came about "by virtue of the prestige freely bestowed upon them by the people in recognition of the excellence of their qualities" (*Roman World*, 123). This acknowledgment of excellence, however, would have come apart from the general populace spending any personal time with the emperor: emperors desired their subjects' support but not their company!

[6] Concerning Gaius, for example, Suetonius writes, "He made it his business to have statues of the gods . . . brought to Greece, so as to remove their heads and replace them with his own. . . . He also set up a

Matthew composed his Gospel—the names ascribed to him include "Favourite of God," "Lord of the World," and "Ruler of the Nations." In addition to these titles, Suetonius asserts that Domitian sought to be called "our Lord and God."[7] These types of exalted ascriptions, as well as the directives for emperor worship, reflect in part the importance of social hierarchy in Roman society: wealth and elite social status were celebrated, while poverty and manual labour were despised.[8]

Thus, the ruler–subject relationship in Roman culture would have been characterized by absolute dominance, discrimination, and elitism on the part of the ruler, fear on the part of his subjects, and probably mutual hostility.[9] Rulers, then, would have valued their economic, social and even physical separation from the general populace. The acute distinction between the emperor and his subjects would also be underscored ritually, inasmuch as Roman subjects offered vows, prayers, and sacrifices for the emperor's wellbeing, as well as, in the cases of Gaius and Domitian (at least), sacrifices

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separate temple . . . [in which] stood a golden life-size statute [of Gaius], and it was dressed each day in clothing such as he himself wore" (*Gaius*, 22).

[7] Cf. section 3.3.3 above.

[8] For a discussion of the Roman culture of social hierarchy, see P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London: Duckworth, 1987), 107-25, and MacMullen, *Roman*, 88-120. Matthew reflects an awareness of these Roman values: "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and those who are great rule over them" (Matt 20:25)—a value that the Matthean Jesus rejects and overturns for his followers: "It will not be this way with you; rather, whoever among you wants to be great will become your servant, and whoever among you wants to be first will be your slave" (20:26-27).

[9] This last point is debated, e.g., J. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982). Mutual hostility, however, seems likely. In terms of basic conflict theory, resistance invariably follows assertions of power (cf. J. Barbalet, "Power and Resistance," *British Journal of Sociology* 36 [1985]: 521-48). Additionally, the upper class often expressed their elitist attitude towards the lower classes in terms of insults and ridicule. Based on the comments of Juvenal and Pliny, MacMullen remarks, "The mockery and scorn [the lower class] endured was deliberate, unprovoked, and unresisted. In the very streets it pursued them. But it was better to be rudely ignored by 'the Haughty' than to be stopped, bullied, and humiliated by some young drunken blueblood" (*Roman*, 111).

to the emperor.[10] In view of the stress on social hierarchy and class division, as well as the shape and tone of the ruler–subject relationship, it should come as no surprise that Roman rulers were never likened to lowly shepherds.

By contrast, non-Christ-believing Jews took an entirely different view of shepherds (as observed in section 3.2 above), largely because they had lived in agrarian society for most of their history: hence, the overwhelmingly positive metaphorical use of the metaphor in the HB.[11] Consequently, unlike in Roman culture, not only do non-Christ-believing Jews call or liken God to a shepherd (e.g., *Agric.* 51; Sira 18:13), they also use the metaphor for monarchs and rulers (e.g., *Virt.* 58; 4Q504).[12] Based on his reading of biblical characters like Moses and Joseph, Philo asserts that shepherding animals served as an effective training ground and preliminary exercise in kingship (*Mos.*, 60-62; cf. *Ios.* 2). Beyond political rulers, these authors also appropriate the metaphor for religious leaders and for teaching (e.g., CD XIII and *2 Bar* 77:13-16, respectively). To shepherd their flock, Jewish leaders were expected to provide care, protection and guidance for their followers, and (at least according to the biblical tradition), were divinely reprimanded when they failed to do so (e.g., Ezekiel 34; Zech 11:4-17).

In section 3.4 above, it was noted that Christ-believers employ the metaphor for Jesus as the messiah and for assembly/congregational leaders. Not only do Christ-believers apply "shepherd" to Jesus, but they also ascribe to him some of the titles that

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[10] Cf. Carter, *Empire*, 29-30.
[11] Cf. chapter two above.
[12] Cf. section 3.2.2 above.

Roman authors use for their emperors.[13] Similar to their non-Christ-believing Jewish counterparts, Christ-believing leaders were to provide the proper religious care and nurture for their flock because of their role as "under-shepherds" to Jesus, to whom they were accountable as leaders. In view of its usage in Eph 4:11-13, where it is conjoined with "teacher" (i.e., "shepherd-teacher") and listed with other positions of leadership in Christ-believing assemblies (viz., apostles, prophets, and evangelists), it seems likely that "shepherd" would have been used in some instances as a title for Christ-believing leaders.[14] Not unexpectedly, Matthew's use of "shepherd" also differs markedly from its use in Roman literature: he applies the metaphor to Jesus as Israel's divinely appointed king; and he employs the metaphor to describe Jesus' salvific activity amongst his people: Jesus saved his people by performing deeds of healing and exorcism, and by offering up his body as an atoning sacrifice for their sins.

Thus, Roman culture represents very different thought patterns concerning "shepherd" than do non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers, including Matthew. The ruler-subject relationship in Roman culture would have been characterized by discrimination, elitism,[15] fear and hostility. The Emperor of Rome is depicted as a distant, ruling king, and not a close shepherd. While emperors sought the support of their subjects, Roman writers do not portray them as associating with their subjects. Even individuals of high rank—never mind emperors—refused and were even forbidden to

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[13] E.g., "God" (John 20:28; Rom 9:5), "Saviour" (Luke 2:11; John 4:42; Phil 3:20), and "Lord" (NT, *passim*).

[14] Its use as a title for leaders would be similar to the use of "shepherd" in some modern, Christian circles as a synonym for "pastor"—a transliteration of *pastor*, the Latin word for "shepherd."

[15] Social elitism in the Roman empire was evident and reinforced in their daily attire of togas and jewellery, which varied uniformly according to social rank. Hence, Garnsey and Saller write, "Romans paraded their rank whenever they appeared in public" (*Roman Empire*, 117).

socialize with commoners.[16] Jesus, however, is both king and shepherd: he exercises

divine ruling authority, but he also remains his people's ever-caring shepherd, seeking

out, gathering together and spending time with the social outcasts (cf. 8:2-4, 16; 9:9-12).[17]

Assembly leaders were to follow the example of the "Chief Shepherd": rather than

separate themselves from the flock, they must abide with them, and shepherd the flock

without regard for social class, elitism, or hostility.

6.2.2 Matthew vs. Non-Christ-Believing Jews and Other Christ-believers

A comparison of the basic referents for the shepherd metaphor in the texts of non-

Christ-believing Jews, Christ-believers, and Matthew can be summarized as follows:

Figure 27. Comparing Shepherd Metaphor Usages/Traditions[18]

Ruler	YHWH	Messiah	Assembly Leader	Unique Usages
(A) Jeremiah	Gen 48:15	(A,F) Pss. Sol. 17	John	Philo
(B) Num 27:17	Gen 49:24	(B,C) John	Acts	2 Baruch
(C) Ezekiel	Psalm 23	(B,D) Mark	Ephesians	Hermas
(D) Deutero-Zech.	Psalm 28	Hebrews	1 Peter	(D) CD
(E) DtH	Psalm 80	1 Peter	Jude	
([F] Psalm 2)	Ecclesiastes	(F) Revelation	Hermas	
(G) Micah	Deutero-Isaiah	(C,D,E,G) **Matthew**		
Chronicles	Jeremiah			
Psalm 78	Ezekiel			
Deutero-Isaiah	Hosea			
Trito-Isaiah	Micah			

[16] Garnsey and Saller write, "In the municipalities, the seating was arranged to give spatial definition to the distinction between the curial order and ordinary citizens. Caesar's law for the colony of Urso in Spain had already specified detailed regulations for seating in the amphitheatre and theatre, and laid down enormous fines for violations—an indication that something more was at stake than getting a good seat to watch the show. Putting everyone in his proper place was a visual affirmation of the dominance of the imperial social structure" (*Roman Empire*, 117).

[17] According to Matthew, members of Herod's party recognized Jesus' lack of regard for social status: "Teacher, we know that . . . you do not show partiality to anyone" (22:16b).

[18] This table represents a slightly revised version of Figure 24 in chapter four above. As mentioned there, the letters (A through G here) represent rather specific similarities of usage, i.e., instances where non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers appropriate messianically earlier shepherd-ruler traditions that speak of future ruler.

Figure 27 continued

Ruler	YHWH	Messiah	Assembly Leader	Unique Usages
Nahum *1 Enoch* 4Q504 1Q34 CD Philo Pseudo-Philo Josephus *4 Ezra* Revelation[19] **Matthew**	Deutero-Zech. *1 Enoch* 4Q509 Ben Sira Judith *Apoc. Ezek.* Philo Pseudo-Philo **(Matthew)**			

Matthew's use of the metaphor parallels its use by non-Christ-believing Jewish authors. This group typically employs "shepherd" for rulers or for the activity of ruling, and for YHWH. Matthew applies the term to rulers. He explicitly connects the metaphor to the activity of ruling in his infancy narrative: the messiah will "shepherd" or "rule" over God's people; consequently, God appoints Jesus to rule over the nation Israel—a rule possessing a political-national dimension (as argued in section 5.2.2 above). Although Matthew does not explicitly use the metaphor for YHWH, this inference could perhaps be made[20] (hence, the parenthesis for "Matthew" in the above table). According to Matthew, the redemptive acts of God become uniquely concentrated in the person and mission of Jesus: in him, the presence of God manifests itself to his people Israel—in Jesus "God is with us" (Matt 1:23)—so as to bring about their salvation from sins.[21] Thus, although Matthew presents Jesus as Israel's divinely appointed Davidic Shepherd, the assumption

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[19] As mentioned previously (in section 3.5 and at Figure 24 in chapter four above), "shepherding" designates Jesus' activity of "ruling" in Revelation.

[20] Cf. discussion in section 5.2.2 above.

[21] Matthew's unique interest in depicting God's redemptive presence in the mission of Jesus can be seen in 1:21-23; 9:8; 18:19-20; 27:50-53, and 28:18-20.

would be that YHWH implicitly shepherds his people through his Shepherd (Jesus). This notion of co-extensive shepherding would be strengthened by Matthew's allusions to Ezekiel 34, where YHWH promises both to shepherd his people and to raise up his servant "David" to shepherd them.[22]

Christ-believing authors use the metaphor for Jesus as the messiah and for assembly leaders but not for political rulers. Not only are earthly monarchs never likened to shepherds, but seldom do Christ-believers even portray Jesus as a ruling shepherd. Conversely, Matthew never uses the metaphor for assembly leaders;[23] moreover, he seems to distinguish between Jesus as Israel's Shepherd and the disciples whom Jesus commissions to extend his shepherding mission to Israel: the Evangelist uses ποιμαίνω (and ποίμην) for Jesus, but never for the disciples.[24] Unlike John and 1 Peter, where the authors use ποιμαίνω for both Jesus and assembly leaders, and unlike Acts, Ephesians and Jude, where the term is used only for assembly leaders, Matthew reserves the term for Jesus, whom he regards as the true Shepherd of God's people Israel.[25]

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[22] Cf. Chae's "two shepherd schema" for Ezekiel 34 in *Davidic Shepherd*, 380-85. Thus, the Matthean Son of David refers to himself as "sent" to the lost sheep of Israel (15:24; cf. 18:12-14): YHWH has sent Jesus, the Davidic Shepherd, to care for Israel, in fulfilment of Ezekiel 34.

[23] In not using "shepherd" for assembly leaders, Matthew resembles Second Temple Jews, who also refrain from using the term for synagogue leaders; cf. the comprehensive primary source study of Runesson, Binder and Olsson, *Ancient Synagogue*.

[24] While all of the Synoptic Gospels have some version(s) of the account of the disciples' commissioning, and while Mark and Luke specifically make reference to the disciples' success—they did what Jesus did (cf. Mark 6:13 and Luke 9:6; 10:17)—Matthew does not mention their success. Although their success would doubtless be implied, this omission may represent another way that Matthew distinguishes between Jesus as Israel's true Shepherd and the disciples, who act on behalf of the Davidic Shepherd.

[25] Matthew's reservation of "shepherd" for Jesus would parallel the distinction found in the Dream Visions section of *1 Enoch*: "shepherd" is reserved for the evil angelic rulers who brutalize Israel; Israel's rulers, like Moses, David and Solomon are not "shepherds"—although they function as shepherd-rulers—they are depicted as herd leaders, while YHWH is the "Lord" of the sheep. Manning is likely correct that the author avoids using "shepherd" for YHWH and for Israel's heroes because he has decided to give the term a negative connotation (*Echoes*, 88-89). As mentioned in section 5.2.2 above, a similar kind of

Non-Christ-believing Jewish authors tend to appropriate the metaphor in fairly pastoral terms, i.e., in terms commonly used to describe the duties of literal shepherds, particularly when idealizing the activities of a model shepherd (e.g., YHWH): the idyllic shepherd watches over the afflicted, binds up, heals and feeds the troubled and the lame, protects the flock from danger, and the like. Matthew, in the Miracle Chapters, depicts Jesus, the Davidic Shepherd, in pastoral terms: in reaching out to the socially marginalized (8:2-4; 9:9-13), Jesus demonstrates his concern for the weak and the stray of the flock; in healing his people of their diverse sicknesses (8:16; 9:35), he cares for and "binds up" the wounds of his sheep.[26] Hence, the following table of comparison can be drawn:

Figure 28. Comparing the Pastoral Imagery Used when Idealizing a Shepherd

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
Psalm 23:1	Gen 48:15	Ecclesiastes
Psalm 28:9	Gen 49:24	Ben Sira
Psalm 80:1	Judith	Philo
Isaiah 40:11	Pseudo-Philo	Acts
Jeremiah 31:10	Mark 14:27	Ephesians
Ezekiel 34		Hebrews
Hosea 4:16		1 Peter
Micah 7:14		Jude
Zechariah 11:13		Revelation 2; 12; 19

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distinction is made in the Johannine corpus: in the Johannine literature, only Jesus is explicitly called God's υἱός ("son"); Christ-believers are never υἱοί ("sons") but τέκνα ("children") of God.

[26] While Mark and Luke—and even Matthew elsewhere, for that matter—portray Jesus as engaged in these types of activities, only in Matthew are these activities related to shepherding Israel.

Figure 28 continued

Pronounced Imagery	Modest Imagery	Little or No Imagery
1 Enoch CD XIII Pss. Sol. 17 Apoc. Ezek. Mark 6:34 John Revelation 7:17 **Matthew**		Hermas

Jewish nationalistic usages of the shepherd metaphor by non-Christ-believing

Jews and Christ-believers can be summarized as follows:

Figure 29. Comparing Jewish Nationalistic Overtones in the Shepherd Metaphor

Strong Overtones	Modest Overtones	Little or No Overtones
1 Enoch	1Q34	Ecclesiastes
4Q504	4Q509	Ben Sira
CD	Judith	Philo
Judith	Mark	Acts
Pss. Sol. 17		Ephesians
Apoc. Ezek.		Hebrews
Pseudo-Philo		1 Peter
4 Ezra		Jude
2 Baruch		John
Josephus		Revelation
Matthew		Hermas

Matthew's strong interest in the restoration of the nation of Israel clearly corresponds

with the tendency that non-Christ-believing Jews have for Jewish nationalist concerns—

in stark contrast to the majority of Christ-believers.

The most common referent for the metaphor among Christ-believing authors is the

messiah. Its usage by these authors as well as by the author of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 can

be mapped by the following table:

Figure 30. Profile of the Appropriations of the Shepherd Metaphor for the Messiah

Shepherd Trait	Pss. Sol. 17	Mark	John	Heb	1 Pet	Rev	Matt
Sacrifice Self for his Sheep		X	X	X	X		X
Offers Abundant Care		X	X		X	X	X
Raised from the Dead		X	X	X			X
Gatherer of Disciples	X	X	X				X
Moses-like		X	X	X			
Compassionate	X	X	X				X
Davidic Ancestry	X		X			X	X
Object of Scriptural Prophecy		X	X				X
Relates Uniquely to YHWH	X		X				X
Universal Ruler	X					X	X
Universal Judge	X					X	X
Relates Intimately with Flock			X				
Flock includes Gentiles	X		X		X		X
Teacher		X					
Healer and Exorcist							X
Replaces failed shepherds							X

Matthew's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor most closely resembles that of the other Gospels: Jesus the compassionate shepherd sacrifices himself for his sheep but is raised from the dead; he gathers together disciples, he is the object of scriptural prophecy, and his flock (ultimately) includes Gentiles.

What is surprising, however, is the close correspondence between Matthew and *Psalms of Solomon*. In some ways, Matthew's appropriation of the metaphor actually resembles *Psalms* more than the writings of other Christ-believers. Only Matthew and *Psalms* combine Davidic ancestry with pastoral imagery.[27] On the one hand, Matthew depicts Jesus in the Miracle Chapters as the messiah who inclusively reaches out to the

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[27] While the messianic appropriations of Mark and Revelation 7 possess pastoral imagery, they lack the element of Davidic ancestry. John and Revelation 2 express the Davidic ancestry of the messiah but without much pastoral imagery. All the other texts of Christ-believers have neither.

socially marginalized,[28] and goes about healing the flock of Israel of their physical

afflictions. On the other hand, Matthew characterizes Jesus' mission to Israel in the

Miracle Chapters as Davidic: Jesus' deeds of healing represent the acts of the Son of

David.[29] Jesus' acts of healing should be viewed in the Miracle Chapters in light of his

identity as the Son of David. Thus, insofar as Matthew presents Jesus as the therapeutic

Son of David, he also presents him as Israel's Davidic Shepherd. Likewise, *Psalms of*

Solomon 17 portrays the messiah using pastoral imagery: the "*son of David*" will "*gather*

a holy people whom he will *lead* in righteousness" (v. 26a), he will "*distribute them upon*

the land" (v. 28a), and "faithfully and righteously [*shepherd*] the Lord's *flock* . . . not

[letting] any of them stumble in their *pasture*" (v. 40b).

Another way in which Matthew's use of the shepherd metaphor agrees with

Psalms over and against other Christ-believers is the nationalistic overtones. Matthew

conveys definite nationalistic aspirations in the birth and infancy traditions, by affirming

that the primary scope of the messiah's shepherding is the Jews—i.e., "my people

Israel"—whom Jesus came to save from their sins (1:21; 2:6). These overtones also

resonate throughout the Miracle Chapters:[30] in saving Israel from its sins and the satanic

oppression that resulted from the nation's unfaithful leadership, Jesus inaugurated Israel's

restoration as the people of God, undoing the ravages of the nation's sins.[31] Similarly, the

concern of the prayer in *Psalms of Solomon* 17 for the security and purity of Jerusalem, as

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[28] As Kingsbury writes, "the healing-activity of Jesus, Son of David . . . is related to persons who in the eyes of contemporary society count for nothing" ("Son of David," 598).

[29] Cf. the discussion in section 5.2.2 above of the close linguistic links between Matt 9:27-31 and 12:22-24, where the Son of David title becomes explicit in relation to Jesus' therapeutic acts.

[30] Cf. also Matt 10:5-6 and 15:24.

[31] While Jesus inaugurated this national restoration during his mission to Israel, it would only be completed at his Parousia (cf. 19:28; 23:39).

well as for the righteous state of the Jewish nation, reflect the clear nationalistic focus of the author of this psalm.

6.2.3 Summary and Assessment

In light of these comparisons, it is obvious that Matthew's employment of "shepherd" stands in pointed contrast with the term's use by Roman authors. Of the remaining two groups, it seems clear that the Evangelist's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor most closely resembles the patterns or general tendencies of thought reflected in the metaphor's use by non-Christ-believing Jews. Matthew agrees with other Christ-believers against non-Christ-believing Jews in applying the metaphor for Jesus;[32] and consequently, within the "messiah as shepherd" category, he agrees with other Christ-believers against *Psalms of Solomon* in associating the metaphor with atoning self-sacrifice, resurrection from the dead, and abundant provision. These similarities in usage, however, must also be weighed against Matthew's agreement with *Psalms of Solomon*. Like *Psalms*, the Evangelist combines Davidic ancestry with pastoral imagery, on the one hand; the metaphor reflects a strong nationalistic outlook, on the other. The Evangelist also stands with non-Christ-believing Jews generally against Christ-believers in using the metaphor for YHWH (at least implicitly), for the geo-political ruling of Israel, and he does not use the term, as other Christ-believers do, for assembly leaders.

It might be argued that these similarities are somewhat ambiguous, and that Matthew's messianic appropriation of the shepherd metaphor resembles John, Mark and Revelation more than *Psalms*; or that John, Mark and Revelation show enough

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[32] This agreement would be expected since Matthew is, after all, a follower of Jesus.

similarities with the patterns of usage of Second Temple Jews to warrant classifying them, with Matthew, alongside of non-Christ-believing Jewish texts. Such criticism, however, misunderstands the claim of the study, on the one hand, and underestimates the diversity that existed within first-century Christ-belief and Judaism, on the other. This study contends that Matthew's patterns of thought concerning the shepherd metaphor more closely resemble those of non-Christ-believing Jews *generally* than those of other Christ-believers *generally*. This does not mean, then, that the Evangelist's thought patterns resemble those of every Jewish author—at points, for example, Philo's appropriation of the metaphor is strikingly different from Matthew's (as well as from other Jews, for that matter). Nor does this mean that only the patterns of thought of the Mattheans—of all Christ-believing groups—resembled those of Second Temple Judaism. As argued in the General Introduction, interactions between Jews and Christ-believers are best configured spectrally: there were diverse strains of first-century Judaism and Christ-belief. Thus, on a Judaism–Christ-belief socio-religious spectrum, various Christ-believing groups would have fallen closer to the Jewish end of the continuum than others. It should not be surprising, then, to find that other Christ-believers—like, for example, the authors of John, Mark and Revelation—resemble non-Christ-believing Jewish thought patterns (at points). This may especially be true if, as some scholars argue, the three texts reflect (at least in part) the traditions of early, Palestinian Jewish, Christ-believers.[33]

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[33] In the case of Mark, for example, J. Marcus states, "Mark himself is a Jewish Christian from Judea" ("The Jewish War and the *Sitz im Leben* of Mark," *JBL* 111/3 [1992], 461). D. Aune, for his part, believes that there is strong evidence to suggest that the author of Revelation was a "Palestinian (Christ-believing) Jew" (*Revelation*, 3 vols., WBC, vols. 52a-c [Dallas: Word Books, 1997-98], 1:clxii).

Wilson's examination of second-century Jewish Christ-belief sheds further light on the diversity of Jewish Christ-belief. Although Wilson admits that the information about kinds of second-century Jewish Christ-belief is limited to the scanty and somewhat problematic references in the early church fathers (who treat Jewish Christ-belief as a heretical sect), and the Pseudo-Clementines,[34] he recognizes that, while "it may not be possible to delineate the sources [of Jewish Christ-believers] with great precision . . . their general drift and the differences between them can be used to explore certain lines of development in the history of Jewish Christianity."[35] Wilson, who (provisionally) identifies three clusters of second-century Jewish Christ-belief, concludes, "The variety among, as well as within, these groups alerts us to the danger of speaking of Jewish Christianity as if it were a homogeneous entity, and this in turn suggests *that they may have related differently to non-Christian Judaism*."[36] Direct lines of correspondence between the first-century groups behind John, Mark and Revelation need not be established with the second-century groups Wilson discusses. It seems clear enough, however, that based on a social-historical reading of the NT, the diversity that existed in the second century would also have existed in the first.[37]

Thus, three things become reasonably clear. First, John, Mark and Revelation reflect to varying degrees thought patterns related to the shepherd metaphor of Second

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[34] For a useful review of critical opinions on the Pseudo-Clementines, see F. Stanley-Jones, "The Pseudo-Clementines: A History of Research," *Second Century* 2 (1982): 1-33, 63-96.

[35] Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 144. For more skeptical views on isolating the sources in the Pseudo-Clementines, see J. Wehnert, "Literarkritik und Sprachanalyse: Kritische Anmerkungen zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Pseudo-Klementinen-Forschung," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 268-301, and G. Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 169-70 (especially). Wilson takes a middle stance between these more sceptical scholars, and commentators like H. J. Schoeps (*Jewish Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969], 13-18), who offers a more maximalist view.

[36] Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 157 (emphasis added).

[37] Cf. the discussion in section 1.2.1 above.

Temple Jews. Therefore, on a socio-religious spectrum they would be located closer to various forms of Judaism than the other texts surveyed in section 3.4 above (viz., Acts, Ephesians, Hebrews, 1 Peter, Jude, and *Hermas*). Second, this similarity merely attests to the diversity that existed among groups associated with the Jesus movement. Third, despite their similarities with non-Christ-believing Jewish thought patterns, Matthew's patterns of thought still align much more closely with those of non-Christ-believing Jews than with these three texts. In other words, if John, Mark and Revelation can be located closer to the Jewish-nationalistic side of a socio-religious spectrum, then Matthew can be located closer still.

Matthew's socio-religious orientation, then, reflects someone who operated within the conceptual framework of Second Temple Judaism, or as White puts it, "the Matthean community must be viewed still as a *sect* within the larger fabric of Judaism in its day, rather than having obtained the status or self-definition of a separate religion."[38] Thus, Matthew (and his followers) would have adhered to a Christ-centred form of Judaism, advocating (among other things), in addition to faith in Jesus as the promised messiah, Jewish nationalism—as evidenced by his appropriation of the shepherd metaphor.

As previously mentioned, Matthew's socio-religious location can be described in terms of occupying a certain area on a socio-religious spectrum. Based on this study, Matthew would be located on a socio-religious spectrum mapping Jewish nationalistic belief as follows:

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[38] White, "Crisis Management," 222 (his emphasis).

Figure 31. Situating Matthew's Socio-Religious Orientation

Jewish Nationalistic		*Non-Nationalistic*
Belief		*Belief*
ǀ	← **Matthew** →	ǀ

That is to say, based on the Evangelist's use of the shepherd motif—which gives evidence of a definite belief in a Jewish nationalism—Matthew's pattern of thought reflected by his appropriation of the shepherd metaphor puts him closer to a nationalistic form of Second Temple Judaism than a non-nationalistic form of Christ-belief. To assert that Matthew resides on the left side of this spectrum is to say more than simply Matthew is Jewish—a point that most scholars recognize.[39] The Gospel's shepherd motif suggests that its author advocated Jewish nationalism—like most strands of Second Temple Judaism, but quite unlike most segments of Christ-belief. Additionally, in light of the political-national overtones that "shepherd" possesses for Matthew, the Evangelist seemed to have a slightly different view of assembly leadership than many other types of Christ-belief. This point shall be revisited in section 6.4 below. To offer a more precise socio-religious location than the one offered here would demand a comprehensive treatment of other patterns of thought,[40] which would clearly lie outside the purview of this study.

Nevertheless, the results of this study regarding the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation can be integrated within broader Matthean scholarship. Scholars like, for example, Clark, Strecker, and Meier,[41] insist that Matthew was Gentile. In light of the unmistakable divergences in "shepherd" usage between Matthew and (near)

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[39] Segal, for example, writes that to say "Matthew represents Jewish Christianity . . . is not very helpful because even Paul is a Jewish Christian" ("Jewish Voice, 15).

[40] E.g., Matthew's view of the Mosaic Law, his attitude towards keeping the ritual laws, his view of Gentiles, and the like.

[41] Clark, "Gentile Bias," Strecker, *Der Weg*, and Meier, *Law and History*.

contemporary Roman authors, this (minority) view seems highly unlikely. Numerous

scholars argue that the Evangelist was Jewish (hence, accounting for the strongly Jewish

tone of the Gospel), but that he aligned himself with the non-nationalistic (and Torah-

free) mission to the Gentiles.[42] The Gospel's concern for the moral and geo-political

restoration of the nation of Israel, conveyed in large measure by Matthew's shepherd

motif, however, speaks against a non-nationalistic, Gentile orientation.

The outcome of this study supports the position of Saldarini, Sim, et al.[43]

Saldarini, in addition to employing sociological theory, investigates Matthew's

understanding of terms like "Israel," "people," and "Jews," the Evangelist's polemic

against the Jewish leaders, his understanding of the term "nations," along with his view of

the Mosaic Law, to arrive at his position that the Gospel reflects:

> A Christian-Jewish group which keeps the whole law, interpreted through the
> Jesus tradition. The author considers himself to be a Jew who has the true
> interpretation of Torah and is faithful to God's will as revealed by Jesus, whom he
> declares to be the Messiah and Son of God. . . . [Matthew] seeks to promote his
> interpretation of Judaism over that of other Jewish leaders, especially those of
> emerging rabbinic Judaism.[44]

Matthew's shepherd motif reflects someone who thought within the conceptual

framework of first-century Judaism. Right from the outset of the story, God appointed

Jesus to shepherd his people, the nation of Israel (2:4b-6)—a messianic rule with definite

geo-political dimensions. Consequently, the messiah's shepherding mission is

exclusively Israel-centric (chaps. 8-9; cf. 10:5-6), on the one hand; thus it is with

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[42] E.g., Stanton, *Gospel*, Hagner, "*Sitz im Leben*," and Foster, *Community*.

[43] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish* and Sim, *Christian Judaism*; cf. White, "Crisis Management," Segal, "Jewish Voice," J. A. Overman, *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), and Levine, *Social and Ethnic*.

[44] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 7.

reticence that Jesus heals those Gentiles who come to him (cf. 8:7; 15:24). The shepherd motif, on the other hand, makes it plain that Israel's Shepherd replaces the nation's leaders (2:1-6; 9:35-38), and that they are recipients of divine wrath—not the nation as a whole—according to God's sovereign design (27:1-10). While Jesus' death and resurrection represent "die Wende der Zeit,"[45] whereby Jesus' followers are directed to take the gospel to the Gentiles, the inclusion of, among other things, the difficult logion of 10:5b-6 (cf. 15:24), suggests that the Jews remained at the centre of Matthew's mission purview.[46]

In offering support of Saldarini's position, this study complements his work in two ways. First, while Saldarini's analysis of various Matthean words (e.g., "Israel," "people," "Jews") resembles the examination of "shepherd" here, there remains an important methodological difference. Saldarini's focus remains inductive: he investigates what these terms mean within the narrative, claiming that their "normal" usage by Matthew does not presuppose a non-Jewish or Christ-believing perspective. He does not, however, compare how these terms are used by Matthew's contemporaries (non-Christ-believing Jews, Romans, and other Christ-believers).[47] The present study employs both inductive and comparative approaches. Consequently, whereas Saldarini can conclude

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[45] Meier, *Law and History*, 65.

[46] Brown reasons, "What could have led [Matthew] to this course of action [of inserting 10:5b-6]? To suppose the evangelist was motivated by respect for a saying which he considered dominical is unsatisfactory, since he has not hesitated to omit Marcan sayings (e.g., Mk 7:27a) which have at least as good a claim to authenticity as Mt 10:5b-6. If the saying had become obsolete and irrelevant in his community, he surely would have dropped it and thus avoided the contradiction with Mt 28:19 . . . it is simply incredible that Matthew would have passed on a saying which had no relevance for any in his community and directly contradicted the climactic scene with which his gospel ends" ("The Two-fold Representation of the Mission in Matthew's Gospel," *ST* 31 [1977], 28).

[47] Cf. the similarly inductive approaches of other proponents of this position like, for example, Sim, *Christian Judaism*, Segal, "Jewish Voice," and White, "Crisis Management."

that Matthew uses these terms ("Israel," Jews," etc.) within the lexical parameters of non-Christ-believing Jews (although they also fall within the lexical parameters of Christ-believers), the present study goes one step further: this study demonstrates that Matthew's patterns of thought concerning the shepherd metaphor, beyond simply falling within wide parameters of possible thought patterns, closely resemble those of nationalistic, non-Christ-believing Jews.[48]

Second, while Saldarini correctly acknowledges that "[Israel's] destiny and Jesus' mission to reform Israel and instruct it in God's will is central to the Matthean narrative and to Matthew's world view,"[49] he does not discuss Matthew's Jewish nationalistic beliefs as a means of locating Matthew's socio-religious orientation. The Evangelist's shepherd motif provides additional evidence for his nationalistic sentiments: God chose Jesus to rule over/shepherd Israel (2:6); consequently, Jesus the Davidic Shepherd preached the inauguration of God's kingdom on earth in the land of Israel to the Jewish people, performed healings in the Land, and commissioned his disciples to preach (the gospel of the kingdom) there and to heal Israel's diseases in order to bring about the nation's moral and physical restoration (chaps. 8-9). Further, the kingdom which Jesus inaugurated in his first coming, would culminate in the realization of the worldwide, national-political triumph of the kingdom of heaven at his Parousia (25:31-46). Thus, Jewish nationalism would be an integral part of Matthew's apocalyptic eschatology, whereby the wicked receive eternal destruction, and the righteous—members of God's

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[48] Moreover, the Evangelist's patterns of thought contradict those of non-Christ-believing Romans and, generally speaking, only slightly resemble those of other Christ-believers.

[49] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 83.

covenant community through divine election (25:34; cf. 11:26-27; 16:17)—receive their

eternal inheritance: the kingdom of God (25:34; cf. 5:3, 5), where they will enjoy

unbroken fellowship with Israel's patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (8:11).

While Sim extensively analyzes Matthew's apocalyptic eschatology,[50] he remains

largely silent on the matter of the Evangelist's nationalistic outlook.[51] Furthermore, when

discussing Matthew's socio-religious location, rather than attempting to use the

Evangelist's apocalyptic eschatology as a possible line of argumentation for his position,

he relies on the customary inductive approach.[52] Although he does not seek to analyze

the similarities and differences in the apocalyptic eschatology of non-Christ-believing

Jews and Christ-believers, the way that they intersect in Matthew is noteworthy:

> The evangelist's distinctive portrayal of the Son of Man is *a combination of his
> Christian synoptic sources and certain Jewish traditions* which are also found in
> the Parables of Enoch. The climax of Matthew's eschatological scheme concerns
> . . . the bestowal of rewards and punishments. . . . The first of these themes is well
> represented *in both Jewish and Christian apocalyptic eschatology*, but the second
> finds *its closest parallels in Jewish tradition*. With the *notable exception of the
> book of Revelation*, the consignment of the wicked to the fires of Gehenna is *not
> particularly common in the early Christian literature*.[53]

Four observations from Sim's work are especially significant for the present study. First,

some of the patterns of thought represented in the apocalyptic eschatology of non-Christ-

believing Jews and Christ-believers overlap with one another. Second, Matthew draws

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[50] Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology in the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 75-249, especially.

[51] It may be that he does not believe that Matthew possessed such convictions and therefore, it does not factor into analysis. Still, Sim expresses some uncertainty: in commenting on how the judgment in Matt 19:28 (the Twelve judging the twelve tribes of Israel) fits with other judgment statements (7:21-23; 25:31-46), Sim writes that "it is not clear how the evangelist related these to one another. . . . [He may not have] clearly worked out and assimilated the precise details of the judgement from the disparate traditions at his disposal" (*Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 127).

[52] Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 183-95; cf. also the argumentation in his later work, *Christian Judaism*.

[53] Sim, *Apocalyptic Eschatology*, 176 (emphasis added).

from both traditions. Third, at times his thought patterns more closely resemble those of the non-Christ-believing tradition. Fourth, Revelation (at points) follows Matthew in reflecting this tradition. These observations of Matthew's apocalyptic eschatology echo those of this study: at times the thought patterns of non-Christ-believing Jews and Christ-believers converge; while Matthew's employment of the metaphor reflects both traditions, his use of it more closely resembles its use by some forms of non-Christ-believing Jews; and Revelation seems to follow the same pattern as Matthew (although not as much) in this regard. Therefore, although Sim examines apocalyptic eschatology with a completely different purpose in mind,[54] his observations confirm the results of this study from an entirely different angle.

6.3 Concluding Remarks: Matthew's Institutional Setting

Matthew's shepherd motif offers evidence that he operated within the conceptual framework of Second Temple Judaism. That is, Matthew (and his followers) adhered to a Christ-centred form of Judaism, advocating (along with other things), Jewish nationalism. Thus, on a socio-religious spectrum mapping Jewish nationalistic belief, the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation would be located much closer to the Jewish nationalistic end than the non-nationalistic end.[55]

If this is Matthew's socio-religious orientation, then it would doubtless have a good deal of bearing on the institutional realities of the Matthean communities. The first would concern leadership. Because "shepherd" represents a core leadership symbol (for

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[54] Sim is not concerned with locating Matthew's socio-religious orientation (at least, by using apocalyptic eschatology); rather, his ultimate aims are to demonstrate that apocalyptic eschatology is of great importance to Matthew, and to show why this is the case.

[55] Cf. Figure 31 above in the previous section.

Jews and Christ-believers), in light of Matthew's socio-religious orientation, his view of

leadership would have differed in some respects from numerous other Christ-believers.

For Matthew, the metaphor possesses definite political-nationalistic overtones.

Consequently, unlike many other Christ-believing authors, who rather innovatively use

the term for assembly leaders,[56] the Evangelist does not employ "shepherd" for Matthean

leaders. For the Private Private, leaders were likely called "prophets" (cf. 10:41), "righteous

men" (cf. 10:41), "disciples" (cf. 10:42), "scribes" (cf. 13:52), "servants" (cf. 20:26;

23:11), "wise men" ([or sages] cf. 23:34), and "teachers" (διδάσκαλοι [cf. 5:19; 28:20]),

but never "shepherd."[57] For Matthew, only Jesus was Israel's Shepherd: the divinely

appointed shepherd-monarch of the nation Israel, who inaugurated and who would

consummate at his Parousia the rule of the kingdom of heaven on earth.

Elsewhere the Matthean Jesus forbids his followers from referring to their leaders

as "Rabbi," "Father," or "Leader" (καθηγατής [23:7-10]),[58] restricting the application of

these titles to himself; however, this prohibition serves explicitly to distinguish the

Private private from the Pharisees—who enjoy these titles (23:6-7)—a distinction that would

have been of central importance if, as some scholars claim, Matthew was a Christ-

believing Pharisee.[59] But the restriction of "shepherd" to Jesus would not have concerned

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[56] Cf. the comments in chapter four above.

[57] Cf. R. Ascough, "Matthew and Community Formation" in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson, S. J.*, ed. D. Aune (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 121, and D. Duling, "The Matthean Brotherhood and Marginal Scribal Leadership" in *Modelling Early Christianity*, ed. P. Esler (London: Routledge, 1995), 172-75. Matthew also applies these terms (explicitly and implicitly) to Jesus: "prophet" (13:57; 21:11, 46), "righteous man" (27:19), "scribe" and "wise man" (23:34), "servant" (20:26-28), and "teacher" (8:19; 9:11; passim).

[58] This saying is without parallel in the other Gospels.

[59] Cf. the discussion of Runesson, "Re-Thinking," and White ("Crisis Management," 224-25), who asserts that Matthean ethical obligations are defined in "explicitly Pharisaic" terms of Torah observance. The prominent role that the Pharisees play in the Gospel (compared to the other Synoptics), the extensive

the Mattheans seeking to distinguish themselves from other groups; rather, the restriction would have concerned the nationalistic overtones that the metaphor often possesses for non-Christ-believing Jews (as evidenced in the HB and most Second Temple Jewish writings).[60] If for this group of writers, shepherds' rule typically includes a national-political element, then this would have made it more difficult conceptually for Matthew to apply the term to the assembly leaders of his marginalized sect in the first-century Roman Empire.

As Saldarini notes, Matthean terms for leadership are drawn from Jewish tradition:

> Matthew is not creating a new society or differentiating his leadership and authority from Jewish tradition. Rather, he is adopting a selection of roles and titles which are recognized and acceptable and which are not exclusively identified with his opponents.[61]

Matthew's leadership terms stand in sharp contrast to some of the titles used by some other Christ-believing authors, e.g., overseer (Acts 20:28; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3:2; Tit 1:7; 1 Pet 2:25), evangelist (Acts 21:8; Eph 4:11), elder (Acts 14:23; 1 Tim 5:17; Tit 1:5; 1 Pet 5:1; 2 John 1) and, of course, shepherd (Eph 4:11; Herm. *Sim.* 108:5b-6). Additionally, while three of Matthew's leadership terms (prophet, servant, and teacher) are used

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polemic against them, combined with the similar patterns of thought concerning the messiah that Matthew shares with *Psalms of Solomon* 17, would perhaps point in the direction of Matthew being a Christ-believing Pharisee.

[60] The nationalistic overtones associated with "shepherd" may be one of the reasons why Jews refrained from using the term for synagogue leaders; cf. comments pertaining to Figure 24 in chapter four above.

[61] Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 106.

elsewhere by other Christ-believers, his other (more Jewish) terms for leadership (righteous man, wise man/sage, disciple, and scribe) are not.[62]

Williams asserts that the Mattheans were moving from a prophet-oriented leadership to a more scribal oriented one,[63] but it is possible that prophets and scribes/teachers complemented each other. While their roles probably overlapped, scribes, on the one hand, may have been chiefly responsible for reinterpreting the biblical tradition in light of Jesus and his teaching; and they very likely remained with their local assembly, teaching, applying and transmitting the tradition to the rest of the community.[64] Prophets, on the other hand, may have concentrated on mission and engaged in itinerant preaching. It is even possible that the command to heal and perform exorcisms in the disciples' commission to Israel in 10:5-8 and its absence in their commission to go to all the nations in 28:18-20 may reflect Matthew's nationalistic outlook: part of Israel's restoration as God's people involved deliverance from physical illnesses and satanic oppression; while these activities were certainly not excluded generally in Christ-believers' mission to the Gentiles,[65] they would not have signified a "restoration" for the Gentiles in the way that they would have for the Jews.

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[62] Another possible Matthean leadership term might have been "leader of the synagogue"—a title used by the Ebionites, a second-century Jewish Christ-believing sect that received only the Gospel of Matthew (among the "canonical" Gospels) as an authoritative text, and which was known for its strict halakhic practices (cf. Wilson, *Related Strangers*, 148-49).

[63] Williams, *Stewards*, 115-19; cf. Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*, 107.

[64] A. C. Wire summarizes the activity of a scribal community as reinterpreting a revered literary tradition to teach ritual and ethical behaviour in order to help establish and facilitate structure and order in a community ("Gender Roles in a Scribal Community" in *Social History of the Matthean Community: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, ed. D. Balch [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991], 91).

[65] Cf., for example, Acts 14:8-10; 16:16-18; 19:11-12; 28:8-9; 1 Cor 12:28; Gal 3:5.

The Jewish nationalism conveyed by the shepherd metaphor may explain why NT authors never liken political or civic rulers to shepherds.[66] While NT authors use the metaphor for assembly leaders of Christ-believing congregations (and always in relation to Jesus),[67] the concern for assembly leaders and their sphere of influence would have been social and religious rather than political. Further, because (most) Christ-believers embraced the Jewish scriptures and derived much of their religious thought from them, they would have recognized the nationalistic overtones associated with the shepherd metaphor—overtones which would not have fit easily with an increasing orientation in Christ-believing assemblies towards Gentile, non-nationalistic congregations. Nevertheless, because Christ-believers sought to emulate Jesus' character,[68] because they aspired to do and to become identified with the works of Jesus,[69] and because they considered Jesus the true and ideal shepherd,[70] some believers would have sought to follow Christ as a "shepherd" and consequently, would have become identified as a shepherd of the flock.

A second implication of Matthew's socio-religious orientation relates to his view of Israel's future. While some groups of Christ-believers thought that the nation of Israel

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[66] Cf., for example, opportunities to do so in Acts 7:10; 13:22; Rom 13:1-7; 1 Tim 2:2; 1 Pet 2:13-14.

[67] In each instance, Christ-believing authors relate assembly leaders as shepherds to Jesus: in John 21:15-17 Jesus issues the command to shepherd his sheep; in Acts 20:28 the Holy Spirit (whom Luke relates to Jesus [cf. Acts 16:6-7]) has set the elders apart to shepherd "the church of God"; in Eph 4:7-11 Christ established the office of shepherd-teacher; in 1 Pet 5:1-4 elders are to shepherd the flock in view of being judged by Jesus the Chief Shepherd; and in *Hermas* shepherds are accountable to Jesus for how they have managed the flock (Herm. *Sim.* 108:5-6).

[68] E.g., Phil 1:21; 2:5.

[69] E.g., to be a servant [Matt 20:26-28; Phil 1:1]; to be a teacher [1 Cor 12:28; Jas 3:1]; to act as a prophet [Acts 13:1; 1 Thess 5:20]); to be a "sent-one" (ἀπόστολος [Rom 16:7; Eph 4:11]).

[70] Cf. section 3.4.2 above.

had been abandoned by God,[71] and consequently, no future restoration awaited the nation,

according to Matthew's nationalistic outlook as conveyed (in part) by his shepherd motif,

the Jewish nation experienced a measure of (Jesus-centred) restoration. Jesus inaugurated

Israel's moral renewal by offering divine forgiveness of sins and by healing the nation

from the physical ramifications of its sins, including satanic oppression. To participate

more fully in this national renewal required the acceptance of Jesus as Israel's messiah—

expressed by faith in him and his claims, and by obedience and service.[72] Those who

rejected Jesus could only expect divine condemnation in the Eschaton (11:20-24; 25:41-

46). Moral renewal, on the one hand, secures the heavenly blessings of God's kingdom

(5:3-9). On the other hand, it guarantees individual wellbeing like, for example, the

material and physical sustenance needed to face living in the impoverished conditions

(especially for the lower classes) of the Roman Empire (cf. 6:25-34).

Although most Jews rejected Jesus, Matthew did not believe that God had

abandoned the nation: he had merely condemned the nation's leadership (21:43-45; 27:3-

10), as symbolized by the destruction of the temple in 70 CE, and had replaced them (in

theory) with the leaders of the Mattheans (9:36-10:6). While a measure of restoration had

already come to Israel,[73] Matthew held out hope for a future, more expansive restoration

of the nation (cf. 23:37-39). In this regard Matthew sounds a note similar to Paul who,

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[71] Some of Paul's statements in Romans suggest that some of the Gentiles believers in Rome might have thought along such lines (e.g., Rom 11:1, 11, 19)—a view which Paul seeks to combat. Even though Paul believed in the future restoration of Israel (cf. Roman 11), some of his other statements (e.g., Rom 2:28-29; 10:4; Phil 3:3) probably helped to plant the seeds of supersessionism; cf. Sim's discussion of Ignatius and Paul in *Christian Judaism*, 260-69.

[72] Cf. the Miracle Chapters, which depict what should be the Jews' proper response to Jesus' mission in the land of Israel.

[73] Evidence of this immediate restoration would have been the pronouncements of the kingdom's coming and divine forgiveness, the healings and exorcisms that Jesus performed in the land of Israel, the followers that Jesus gained among the Jews, and the Gentiles that came to him to seek his favour.

despite being rejected by other Jews and spending his life preaching to Gentiles, still believed that "all Israel" would be saved.[74]

Political restoration also awaited Israel in the Eschaton. God appointed Jesus to rule over the nation Israel upon his father David's throne (2:6). Jesus, through his works of healing and deliverance, and pronouncement of divine forgiveness, inaugurated the rule of God's kingdom on the earth. His death and resurrection secured the consummation of the kingdom, but its full realization would take place only at Jesus' Parousia (26:29). At the Parousia, Jesus as the Shepherd-King will judge all the nations (25:31-34), and judge the nation of Israel through the agency of the Disciples (19:28); and his eschatological kingdom will be comprised of righteous Jews and Gentiles.

A third implication of the Evangelist's socio-religious orientation would concern his mission. Because Matthew was Jewish and held an unwavering commitment to his fellow Jews,[75] Matthew, unlike numerous other Christ-believers, did not abandon the mission begun by Jesus to the Jews (cf. 10:23; 23:39). Only Matthew among the Synoptics fails to mention the Disciples' success on their pre-Easter mission.[76] Compared with the Gentile mission, the mission to the Jews was not as successful and therefore called for perseverance in the face of failure on the part of its missionaries.[77]

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[74] Cf. his discussion of Israel's status before God in Romans 9-11, and his declaration of their future salvation in Rom 11:25-29.

[75] Again, Paul would likely reflect Matthew's heart for the Jews when he declares, "There is great grief for me and unceasing pain in my heart, for I would wish that I myself was cursed, separated from Christ on behalf of my brothers and sisters—kin according to the flesh—who are Israelites" (Rom 9:2-4a).

[76] F. Beare makes this observation in "The Mission of the Disciples and the Mission Charge: Matthew 10 and Parallels," *JBL* 89/1 (1970), 1-2. After Jesus sent out his Disciples, Mark states that they performed exorcisms and healings (Mark 6:13); likewise, Luke mentions the success of the Twelve (Luke 9:6) and the seventy/seventy-two (Luke 10:17).

[77] Sim offers the first part of the parable of the wedding feast as further evidence of the lack of success of the mission to the Jews: "When the evangelist refers to the past missionary activity of his

Hence, despite its limited success—especially when compared to the relative success of the mission to the Gentiles—and despite the obvious attraction (because of its greater success) that the flourishing Gentile mission held for Christ-believers, Matthew encourages his audience to maintain the Jewish focus in their mission, a focus that Jesus himself modelled. Although their messianic claims brought Jewish opposition, the Mattheans' strong nationalistic sentiments would have resonated with first-century non-Christ-believing Jews.[78]

Matthean mission seems likely to have consisted of several different aspects. It involved praying for more workers for the task (9:37-38).[79] It involved gaining followers through preaching and teaching the gospel of the kingdom (cf. 10:7; 24:14; 28:19-20). Matthew's followers were expected to preach the gospel beyond the confines of their own local cities (cf. 10:23; 24:14; 28:19). Among other places, the Mattheans (perhaps the scribes) would have debated with others in the public synagogues. While the Mattheans (like other associations) had their own private synagogues, they would have disputed with the Pharisees and other Jewish groups in the public synagogues in order to gain greater sway with other Jews. Matthean mission would also have been accomplished in more passive ways: by influencing their neighbours through their good deeds, which according to the Evangelist, would result in praise to God by those who experienced them (5:16).

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community, it is always in terms of the unsuccessful Jewish mission (cf. 22:1-6)" (*Christian Judaism*, 244-45).

[78] According to Alexander, one of the reasons why Rabbinism bested Jewish Christ-belief in Palestinian Jewish communities is because "Jewish Christianity would have found it hard to cope with Jewish nationalism, and nationalist sentiments were strong among the Jews of Palestine in the first two centuries of the current era" ("Parting," 22). While there were diverse types of Jewish Christ-belief, with some forms no doubt lacking this nationalistic outlook, Matthew's version, with its definite Jewish nationalistic perspective, would have been well-suited in this regard for engaging first-century Jews.

[79] Matthew 9:37-38 is without parallel in Mark and Luke. This type of petition would make particularly good sense if most Christ-believers sought involvement in the more successful Gentile mission.

Although the point is hotly debated in some circles, Matthew seems to have a positive attitude towards the Mosaic Law: faith in Jesus does not supplant obedience to the Law (5:17-19).[80] The nationalistic sentiments conveyed by the Evangelist's shepherd motif would offer some support for this view since biblical and early Jewish authors frequently interconnect Jewish nationalism and Torah-observance.[81] What changed for Matthew was how to interpret the Law in order to rightly perform it. Jesus, rather than the nation's scribes, Pharisees, and Sadducees, represented the final arbiter of the Mosaic Law (cf. 7:28-29): his interpretation was to be followed—even by Gentiles who became Christ-believers through the Matthean mission.

A fourth implication relates to the place of Gentiles in Matthean communities. Although concentrating on the Jews, the Matthean mission acknowledged the legitimacy of the Gentile mission,[82] although not without some dispute within the communities.[83]

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[80] Recently, Foster (*Community*) has argued that Matthew's arrangement of 5:17-48 shows that Jesus had replaced the Mosaic Law as a locus of authority for the Mattheans because he fulfilled it and brought it to completion (cf. Meier, *Law and History*). Although his dissertation makes a fine contribution to Matthean studies, one of the major errors Foster commits is to assume (from the outset) a diametrically opposed configuration between Jesus and the Law as respective authorities for the Mattheans; i.e., he pits Jesus' authority and his ethics against the authority and ethics of the Mosaic Law. This configuration, however, misconstrues the relationship between Jesus and the Law. Jesus' ethics are based entirely on the Mosaic Law, whether tightly (i.e., straightforward obedience [cf. Matt 8:4]), moderately (i.e., the reinterpretation of a law [cf. 5:21-26]), or very loosely (i.e., the redefinition of a law [cf. 5:33-37]). Jesus does not create a Law-free ethic, completely disconnected from the Mosaic Law, for even those antitheses that supposedly "overturn" the Law continue to have the Law as their starting point or point of reference. Because Matthew believed Jesus to be Israel's Messiah, the Evangelist sought to hold the authority of Jesus and the authority of the Law together coherently, rather than pit them against one another; cf. W. Loader, *Jesus' Attitude towards the Law*, WUNT, vol. 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 267-68.

[81] Thus, when the people of Israel disobey the Law they are punished; when they obey the Law, national blessing is expected; cf., for example, Jer 31:31-34; Ezra 9:3-15; Dan 9:1-19; CD I-II; 1 QS I-II; 1QSb; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26-32; *2 Bar* 77:11-26.

[82] Cf. the discussion near the end of section 5.2.3 above.

[83] Brown insightfully comments, "The tension between Mt 10:5b-6 and 28:19 arises from a difference in viewpoint between the evangelist and some of his community. This does not mean that Matthew was a lone crusader for the inclusion of the gentiles in his church's missionary effort. The view which he represents may even have been the predominant one. The point, however, is that it was not

After the resurrection Jesus commanded his followers to preach the gospel of the kingdom to non-Jews; however, for Matthew this dominical injunction merely sanctioned the mission to the Gentiles *in addition to* the mission to the Jews—it did not authorize the latter's replacement.[84] Hence, Matthew had, what could be called, an inclusively Jewish approach to mission, whereby Mattheans concentrated on reaching Jews but not to the exclusion of Gentiles.[85]

Matthew's Jewish focus meant, on the one hand, that Gentiles comprised only a minority within Matthean communities,[86] even in a post-70 CE context.[87] It meant, on the other, that Gentiles were probably expected to keep the (Jesus-interpreted) Torah in

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uncontested, and those who opposed it took their stance precisely on the basis of community tradition, whose authority they saw as coming from Jesus himself" ("Two-Fold," 30)

[84] Cf. A. von Dobbeler, "Die Restitution Israels und die Bekehrung der Heiden: Das Verhältnis von Mt 10:5b-6 und Mt 28:18-20 unter dem Aspekt der Komplementarität: Erwägungen zum Standort des Matthäusevangeliums," *ZNW* 91 (2000): 18-44. Von Dobbeler argues that, rather than viewing the mission statements of 10:5-6 and 28:19-20 in a salvation-historical sequence whereby the latter cancels the former (either by substitution or by expansion), the two missions should be understood more as "complementary."

[85] Cf. D. Senior, "Between Two Worlds: Gentiles and Jewish Christians in Matthew's Gospel," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 1-23, and Saldarini, *Christian-Jewish*. An inclusively Jewish approach would stand in contrast with: an exclusively Jewish mission, where Gentiles were excluded (see, for example, Sim, *Christian Judaism*), an exclusively Gentile mission, where Jews were excluded (see, for example, Hare, *Jewish Persecution*), and an inclusively Gentile mission, where Gentiles were the focus but Jews were also included (see for example, Foster, *Community*).

[86] Cf. the similar sentiments of Saldarini: "In Matthew's version of a reformed Judaism, gentiles are peripheral, but firmly present" (*Christian-Jewish*, 83).

[87] Few scholars doubt that Gentile Christ-believers came to outnumber significantly their Jewish counterparts during the final quarter of the first century. Thus, for example, E. Larsson asserts, "According to the consensus-interpretation, Jewish Christianity ceased to exist after the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70, apart from small sects which survived for a few centuries" ("How Mighty was the Mighty Minority?," *ST* 1/49 [1995], 93-94). C. Barrett, however, prudently cautions against this type of oversimplification: "It may well be true . . . that if the numbers of Jewish Christians and of Gentile Christians were plotted against years on the same piece of paper the curves would probably intersect at a point somewhere between AD 70 and 100; they would probably intersect a number of times before the Gentile curve decisively took off and left the Jewish curve behind. This, however, would be an over-simplification. We should need a fresh sheet of paper for every centre of population; the rates of change would not everywhere be the same" ("What Minorities?," *ST* 1/49 [1995], 1-2). In other words, despite being outnumbered generally, predominantly Jewish Christ-believing communities would have still existed in some locales.

the same way that the Jewish majority did.[88] Thus, Gentile members of the communities were likely expected to be circumcised.[89] This type of strict Torah-observance by Gentile Christ-believers would have enabled table fellowship between Jew and Gentile in Matthean communities, something that had been a problem in other Christ-believing circles.[90] According to Runesson's categories describing attitudes towards Gentiles, then, Matthew would represent an "open-ethnic religion," whereby ethnicity and religious identity are closely identified, but people outside of the ethnic group can still become members of the religion.[91] For Matthew, participation in God's kingdom required membership in God's covenant people, Israel (cf. 25:34)—hence, the close (but not synonymous) identification of ethnic identity with religious identity. Membership into the people of God, however, could only come about by believing in Jesus as YHWH's appointed messiah and by following his messianic interpretations of Torah. While membership, then, would not be confined to the Jews, it would result in identification

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[88] This position would be echoed, for example, by the Christ-believing Pharisees in Acts 15, as well as by some of Paul's opponents (cf. Galatians; Phil 3:2-4).

[89] Brown argues circumcision does not arise as a separate issue in the Gospel because "the question facing the Matthean community was not whether to circumcise gentiles but whether to actively missionize them" ("Gentile Mission," 218). Its absence in the Gospel, however, can be otherwise explained. On the one hand, if the focus of the Matthean mission was the Jews, then circumcision would have been a non-issue since non-Christ-believing Jews were probably already circumcised (cf. Sim, *Christian Judaism*, 253, and White, "Crisis Management," 241-42, n. 100; but cf. Saldarini [*Christian-Jewish*, 158-60], who argues that ancient Jews were not unanimous in their view of circumcision: hence, he asserts that some Gentiles in Matthew's communities were circumcised and some not).

[90] Cf. Gal 2:11-13; Rom 14:13-17; and possibly 1 Tim 4:1-4.

[91] Runesson, "Particularistic Judaism and Universalistic Christianity? Some Critical Remarks on Terminology and Theology," *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism*, online, vol. 1 (2000), 131 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004 [print]). Runesson describes a "closed-ethnic religion" as one that synonymously identifies ethnicity with religious identity, and that consequently, is closed to outsiders with no possibility of conversion. In a "non-ethnic religion," no such identification is made between ethnicity and religious identity; hence, people from different ethnic backgrounds adhere indiscriminately to a common religion.

with the nation Israel,[92] for according to the Matthean Jesus, in the Eschaton many will come from the east and west to dine in the kingdom of heaven—but they will do so alongside of the Jewish Patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Matt 8:11).

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[92] Levine, for her part, believes that "the church is neither the new Israel nor the true Israel . . . [since] the new era belongs not to Israel at all, but to the ἐκκλησία" (*Social and Ethnic*, 10-11).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Of all the texts examined in this study, Matthew uses the shepherd metaphor more than the other authors. The Evangelist introduces his shepherd motif in the "prologue" of his Gospel, linking it to the Davidic origin of Jesus and the royal nature of Jesus' messiahship. The author employs the motif to help describe and summarize Jesus' therapeutic mission to Israel in the Miracle Chapters. While the "shepherd" motif appears only implicitly in the middle portion of the Gospel, it reappears explicitly near the end of the narrative: Matthew depicts Jesus as the eschatological shepherd-king who will one day judge all the nations at his Parousia; prior to this event, however, he is the rejected Shepherd who is divinely struck down according to the scriptures, but his death provides an atoning sacrifice for his flock.[1] Hence, as Martin rightly notes, "Mt, more than any of the other NT authors, has a consistent and well-developed message which he develops around the theme of shepherd."[2] Martin also correctly recognizes that "an image may be the bearer of a theme and may become the vehicle by which two themes interpenetrate and mutually modify one another";[3] consequently, the Evangelist's shepherd motif is comprised of thematic clusters: Shepherd, Son of David, healing, and King of the Jews.

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[1] Thus, Chae (*Davidic Shepherd*, 387) remarks: "Matthew's story of Jesus can be read as the story of the Shepherd. Jesus is announced to be the Davidic Shepherd (Matt 2:6). He indeed takes upon himself the role of YHWH as the eschatological Shepherd as he seeks the lost and heals the sick with divine compassion and authority as the main body of the Gospel describes (esp., Matt 8-9). Further, Jesus is to be the Davidic Shepherd/King/Judge at the end (25:31-46), yet he suffers first as the smitten shepherd (26:31)."

[2] Martin, "Image," 271.

[3] Martin, "Image," 264.

Thus, Matthew's shepherd motif contributes in a number of different ways to the theological framework of his Gospel. It sheds light on the Gospel's Christology, specifically, underscoring its Davidic Christology. The opening genealogy (1:1-17) makes it clear that Israel's Shepherd is Davidic in his ancestry, thereby confirming his legitimacy as heir to David's throne. In addition to the Evangelist's citation of 2 Sam 5:2 in 2:6 (which links the motif to the birth announcement [Matt 1:21-23] and, less directly, to the genealogy), the connection between Jesus as Israel's Shepherd and Davidic messiahship is strengthened by the author's citation of Mic 5:1, as well as by his allusions to Ezekiel 34, whereby he implicitly likens Jesus to Ezekiel's Davidic shepherd. All of these features reveal Matthew's concern to depict Jesus within a distinctly Jewish framework.

Verseput correctly recognizes that Matthew's Son of David motif bears the "earthly political agenda" associated with traditional, Jewish expectations concerning Davidic hope. But while Davidic messiahship helps to bring out the political-nationalistic dimension of Matthew's soteriology, so does the Evangelist's shepherd motif. In being divinely appointed at his birth to shepherd/rule God's people Israel (2:6), Jesus, as God's emissary, replaces the corrupt Jerusalem leadership, including King Herod.[4] The political-nationalistic overtones observed in the "prologue" echo the shepherd metaphor's use in the HB and in Second Temple Jewish texts, where the metaphor often symbolizes political and civic rulers: pre-monarchical rulers (e.g., Num 27:17; 2 Sam 7:7; *LAB* 19:3;

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[4] As mentioned in section 5.2.2 above, for Matthew, Jesus would replace Herod insofar as only Jesus possessed divine authority to announce the coming of and to inaugurate God's kingdom rule (4:17). Further, because the Evangelist depicts him as the divinely authoritative interpreter of Torah, Jesus would

Virt. 58), Israel's present and future kings (e.g., Ezekiel 34; Mic 5:3; *Psalms of Solomon* 17 [king-messiah]), and the nation's ruling class (e.g., Isa 56:10-11; Zech 11:5; *4 Ezra* 5:16-18). Doubtless Jesus' kingship would transcend the typical geo-political framework of kings and kingdoms (as the rest of Matthew's Gospel makes clear). Nevertheless, a measure of continuity is presupposed: although the kingdom Jesus inaugurates is primarily "religious," according to Matthew's birth and infancy narratives, it nonetheless involves replacing not simply Israel's religious leaders but its king.

The shepherd motif provides additional insight into Matthew's Miracle Chapters. The overarching concern of these chapters is missiological, where the question is not so much who Jesus is, or what he teaches, as what Jesus does in Israel—i.e., his messianic mission to the nation. Matthew depicts Jesus' therapeutic mission to Israel in terms of shepherding the nation (9:35-36). If, as Heil writes, "Matthew's shepherd metaphor is guided and unified by Ezekiel 34, which supplies the reader with some of its terms and with all of its concepts and images,"[5] then nowhere is this perhaps more evident than in the Miracle Chapters, where in addition to verbally alluding to Ezek 34:5 (in Matt 9:36),[6] the Evangelist draws close contextual parallels with Ezekiel 34, concerning the nation's social and physical plight, the replacing of Israel's unfaithful leadership, and the shepherding activities of healing and delivering the nation from their afflictions. According to the Miracle Chapters, Israel's leaders neglect the social outcasts within

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be the supreme teacher for Israel, and thus replace the nation's teachers (priests, scribes, and other teachers of the Law).

[5] Heil, "Ezekiel 34," 708.

[6] Cf. the probable verbal allusion to Ezek 34:4 and 16 in Matt 10:6.

Israel, ultimately resulting in the nation's "harassed and downcast" condition (9:36).[7] Jesus, therefore, goes about the Land doing what the leaders failed to do, by offering compassionate care for God's people—idealized by Matthew in works of healing and exorcism—and appoints his disciples to replace Israel's failed shepherds by healing and saving the nation from its woeful state (9:37-10:8). For Matthew, Jesus' therapeutic deeds represent the acts of the "Son of David."

In delivering the people of Israel from their oppressed condition, then, Jesus' mission to Israel in the Miracle Chapters is characterized as Davidic (9:27-34; cf. 12:22-24)—similar to the connection the author makes in the birth and infancy traditions. Thus, the royal Son of David's rule/shepherding in the Land of Israel includes works of healing and exorcism; and consequently, the Miracle Chapters echo and develop the nationalistic hope first introduced in the beginning of the Gospel. If Jesus is to "save his people from their sins," then an integral dimension of Israel's salvation involves deliverance from physical illnesses and satanic oppression, for according to the biblical tradition, these ultimately result from the nation's sins. This type of concern for the well-being of the Jewish nation appears frequently, not only in the HB (e.g., Pss 28:9; 80:1-3; Jer 31:7-11), but to varying degrees in the writings of non-Christ-believing Jews (e.g., 4Q504; *Psalms of Solomon* 17; *4 Ezra*).[8]

The shepherd motif sheds some light on the question of Israel's "replacement" as the people of God. Numerous scholars insist that Matthew believed Israel had been

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[7] Matthew's allusion to Ezekiel 34 in the Miracle Chapters would suggest that he saw Israel's leaders as looking after their own needs instead of those charged to their care (similar to the situation described in Ezekiel 34).

replaced by the church.[9] An analysis of the shepherd motif, however, has shown that for Matthew, it is not Israel that has been replaced as God's people, but rather Israel's leaders as the shepherds of his people. God appointed Jesus to replace King Herod and the Jerusalem leadership; Jesus subsequently commissions his disciples to extend his shepherding mission and continue doing the works that Israel's leaders had failed to do. Further, in the passion narrative Matthew squarely lays the final responsibility for Jesus' death at the feet of the Jewish leaders, whom he typologically identifies with the Jewish leaders who had rejected YHWH as their Shepherd in Zechariah 11 (cf. Matt 27:1-10). This replacement of the Jewish leaders is consonant with the shepherd/רעה metaphor in the HB, where judgment (usually of leaders) is often implicit in the literary contexts in which "shepherd" appears (e.g., Jer 22:22; 23:1-4; Ezekiel 34; Zech 10:2-3; 13:7). It also echoes the literary context of the passages that Matthew employs for his shepherd motif: 2 Sam 5:2; Mic 5:1, and Ezekiel 34 contain the notion of failed leadership, whereby a Davidide replaces Israel's leaders who, in failing to execute their duties faithfully as shepherds of God's flock, have brought the people of God into disastrous circumstances from which they need rescuing.

Besides contributing to the theology of the Gospel, the Evangelist's shepherd motif reveals in part "patterns of religion" pertaining to the "[thought and understanding] that lies behind religious behaviour."[10] These patterns of thought can be partially discerned by assessing Matthew's use of the shepherd metaphor. An examination of his

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[8] For a summary of Jewish nationalistic sentiments in the texts of non-Christ-believing Jews, see Figure 12 in section 3.2.6 above.

[9] E.g., Clark, "Bias"; Hare, *Jewish Persecution*; and Meier, *Law and History*.

shepherd motif reveals the following patterns of usage concerning the metaphor. The Evangelist applies the metaphor for rulers or the activity of ruling (2:1-6). He explicitly connects the term to Jesus' ruling over Israel—a reign that, according to the narrative, possesses definite political-national overtones. Matthew thus associates the metaphor with monarchs (and the activity of ruling), similar to HB texts and Second Temple Jewish authors—but quite unlike other Christ-believing authors, who never appropriate the metaphor in this particular way.

Although Matthew does not explicitly use the metaphor for YHWH, this inference could be made. On the one hand, the redemptive acts of God become uniquely concentrated in Jesus (in whom "God is with us" [Matt 1:23]) so as to bring about the salvation of his people. On the other hand, in Matthew's appropriation of Ezekiel 34, Jesus typologically functions in the roles of both the Davidic Shepherd and YHWH as the Eschatological Shepherd.[11] Thus, although Matthew presents Jesus as Israel's Davidic Shepherd, YHWH co-extensively shepherds his people through his appointed Shepherd. If the literary skill and sophistication that Matthew exhibits presupposes (at least in some measure) a biblically literate audience, familiar with antecedents and inter-relationships of the shepherd metaphor,[12] then this YHWH-shepherd of Israel–Jesus-shepherd of Israel connection mediated through the Evangelist's appropriation of Ezekiel 34 would have been recognized by his audience. Matthew's implicit deployment of the metaphor for

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[10] Sanders, *Paul*, 18.

[11] Cf. Chae's "two shepherds schema" (*Davidic Shepherd*, 380-85, 92).

[12] Cf. Martin, "Image," 299; Heil, "Ezekiel 34," 699, n. 3; Luz, *Matthäus*, 1:22; et al.

YHWH would resemble in part its use by Second Temple Jewish authors, who regularly employ the metaphor for YHWH (e.g., Ben Sira; Judith; Philo).

Unlike other Christ-believers, the Evangelist never employs the shepherd metaphor for assembly leaders. Whereas Matthew can explicitly use a term like "prophet" for both Jesus and his disciples (cf. 13:57-58; 21:11; and 10:40-42, respectively),[13] he seems to reserve "shepherd" for Jesus—similar to how the author of the Dream Visions reserves the term "shepherd" for the evil angelic rulers of God's people, never employing it in *1 Enoch* for YHWH, nor for Israel's kings, even though they obviously function as shepherds in the text.[14]

Matthew also depicts Jesus in the Miracle Chapters using pastoral imagery, i.e., in earthy language especially appropriate for describing the duties of literal shepherds. Jesus the Davidic Shepherd inclusively reaches out to the socially marginalized throughout the Land of Israel (cf. 8:2-4; 9:9-13), tending to the physical needs of the crowds: he heals the sick, the lame and the blind.[15] This pastoral depiction of Israel's Shepherd echoes the earthy deployment of "shepherd" in the texts of non-Christ-believing Jews, who similarly speak of shepherding in terms of gathering the flock together (e.g., *Virt.* 58), binding up and healing the wounded (e.g., *Apoc. Ezek.*), and feeding them (e.g., *1 Enoch* 89:28). This employment of the metaphor contrasts with the not so pastoral use

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[13] Cf. other terms that either explicitly or implicitly do double duty: "righteous man" (27:19 and 10:41, respectively), "scribe" and "wise man" (23:34), "servant" (20:26-28) and "teacher" (8:19 and 28:20, respectively).

[14] Cf. Manning, *Echoes*, 88-89.

[15] The allusions to Ezekiel 34 in the Miracle Chapters would serve to strengthen Matthew's pastoral depiction of the Davidic Shepherd: reaching out to the marginalized would correspond to searching for the lost and the strays in Ezekiel 34; and healing the sick among the "sheep" of Israel would correspond to binding up their wounds.

of it by Christ-believers, who tend to associate teaching with shepherding (something first seen in Ecclesiastes 12 but not seen frequently elsewhere in Second Temple Jewish texts).

Most significantly, Matthew's use of the metaphor resembles its appropriation by non-Christ-believing Jews and diverges from other Christ-believers insofar as it conveys Jewish nationalistic aspirations. When he introduces the motif in the Gospel, it is to declare that Jesus the messiah has come to shepherd God's people Israel and save them from their sins. The saving/shepherding of Israel is partially unpacked in the Miracle Chapters. These chapters stress, on the one hand, the exclusivity of Jesus' mission to Israel: he came primarily to shepherd the Jews; and on the other hand, his shepherding of Israel includes acts of healing and exorcism. Jesus' mission and his deeds represent, for Matthew, the beginning of the restoration of the people of Israel (that Jesus will complete at his Parousia). Matthew's Jewish nationalistic perspective is closely echoed by non-Christ-believing Jews, who also show concern for the moral and/or geo-political restoration of the nation.[16]

Finally, a comparison between Matthew and the texts of non-Christ-believing Romans yields pronounced differences. Roman authors view shepherds critically; the Evangelist, however, presents Jesus, the Davidic Shepherd, as one who compassionately reaches out to the socially marginalized, through deeds of healing and exorcism. Moreover, Roman writers never ascribe the title of "shepherd" to Roman emperors.

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[16] The concern for the restoration of Israel is expressed, for example, in some of the Qumran prayer fragments and *Psalms of Solomon* 17; the physical wellbeing of the nation seems to be in view texts like *Apocalypse of Ezekiel*, *4 Ezra* and Judith.

Thus, when Matthew links kingship and shepherding, and employs "shepherd" as a title for Jesus in the passion narrative, he completely contradicts Roman convention.[17]

Therefore, in view of the strong affinity shared between Matthew and non-Christ-believing Jewish authors, the plain differences between Matthew and other Christ-believers, and the strong contrast between Matthew and Roman authors, Matthew's socio-religious location reflects someone who aligned more closely with Judaism than with non-Jewish culture; the Gospel of Matthew could thus be described as a Jewish text authored by a person with messianic convictions focused around Jesus of Nazareth. Consequently, on a socio-religious spectrum mapping Jewish nationalistic belief, Matthew's socio-religious orientation would be located as follows:

Figure 31. Situating Matthew's Socio-Religious Orientation

Jewish Nationalistic *Belief*		*Non-Nationalistic* *Belief*
|	← **Matthew** →	|

In light of Matthew's socio-religious orientation, a number of important implications would follow. In terms of leadership, because the metaphor possesses political-nationalistic overtones, unlike many other Christ-believing authors, Matthew reserves "shepherd" for Jesus. The Mattheans would likely have referred to their leaders as prophets, scribes, teachers, disciples, servants, wise men or sages, righteous men and

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[17] This is not to say, however, that other types of similarities did not exist between the Mattheans and non-Christ-believing Romans. Ascough ("Community Formation"), for example, suggests that Matthew's choice of ἐκκλησία as a designation for his community (cf. Matt 16:18; 18:17) was influenced both by his Jewish roots (cf. the appropriation of ἐκκλησία in the LXX), and by the term's use by Roman associations. Thus, J. Kloppenborg states, "In the environment of Greek cities, the term ἐκκλησία would almost certainly be understood (by all involved) as one of the names for a voluntary association" (J. Kloppenborg, "Edwin Hatch, Churches and *Collegia*" in *Origins and Method: Towards a New*

teachers—as opposed to some of the titles used by numerous other Christ-believing authors: overseer, evangelist, elder, and shepherd.

In terms of Israel's status before God, in contrast to the groups of Christ-believers who insisted that the nation had been rejected by God and no future restoration awaited it, according to Matthew's nationalistic outlook, as conveyed (partially) by his shepherd motif, the Jewish nation had experienced the beginning of a Jesus-centred restoration. Jesus inaugurated Israel's moral renewal by forgiving sins, healing the Jewish people of their sicknesses, and by casting out the demonic spirits afflicting them. Full participation in this national renewal required the acceptance of Jesus as Israel's messiah; those who rejected him faced divine condemnation in the Eschaton (11:20-24; 25:41-46). Full participation also required obedience to the Mosaic Law—as interpreted by Jesus (5:21-48; 12:1-6). Moral renewal secures the heavenly blessings of God's kingdom (5:3-9), and guarantees the material and physical sustenance needed to face living in the difficult conditions many Christ-believers would have faced in the Roman Empire (cf. 6:25-34).

Matthew did not believe that God had abandoned Israel; rather, God had condemned the nation's leadership—symbolized by the destruction of the temple (21:43-45; 27:3-10)—and replaced them with the leaders of the Matthean communities (cf. 9:36-10:6). While Jesus had begun Israel's restoration through his salvific and therapeutic activities in the Land, Matthew believed in a more expansive moral, as well as a political renewal in the Eschaton. God appointed Jesus to rule Israel upon David's throne (2:6);

Understanding of Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honour of J. C. Hurd, ed. B. McLean, JSNTS, vol. 86 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 231).

while his death and resurrection secured the consummation of the kingdom, its full realization would take place only at Jesus' Parousia (26:29).

In terms of mission, because Matthew was Jewish and was strongly committed to his fellow Jews, he did not abandon the mission to the Jews begun by Jesus (cf. 10:23; 23:39). Although their messianic claims brought Jewish opposition, the Mattheans' strong nationalistic sentiments would have resonated with first-century non-Christ-believing Jews. Also resonating with many Jewish groups would have been Matthew's conservative attitude towards the Mosaic Law. Faith in Jesus did not supplant obedience to the Law (5:17-19); rather, Jesus (and not the nation's scribes, Pharisees and Sadducees) was the final arbiter of the Mosaic Law (7:28-29): his interpretation was to be followed—even by Gentiles who became Christ-believers through the Matthean mission.

Matthew had an inclusively Jewish and open-ethnic approach to mission, whereby Mattheans concentrated on gaining Jewish followers but not to the exclusion of the Gentiles. Matthew's Jewish focus meant that Gentiles comprised only a minority within Matthean communities. It also meant that Gentile members were expected to keep the Torah (as interpreted by Jesus) in the same way that the Jewish majority did. Their obedience to Jesus would have enabled table fellowship between Jews and Gentiles in Matthean communities, which had become a problem in other Christ-believing assemblies.

Despite the range and the depth of research involved in this investigation of Matthew's shepherd motif, numerous related matters offer potentially fruitful areas for further exploration. The second chapter of this study noted a shift in thought concerning

the shepherd metaphor in the HB, whereby the metaphor becomes extended in Ecclesiastes 12 to include the teaching of wisdom. Whether this extension was brought about by some type of claims to authority for the sages of the time, whether it was the result of the emphasis on the public reading of Torah, or something else, the social-historical factors that would have contributed to this shift in the metaphor commend themselves for additional study. Similarly, because the negative portrayal of a coming Davidic shepherd in Zech 13:7 stands apart from other prophetic texts that always speak of a coming Davidide in positive terms, this distinction deserves further study. What was it about the post-exilic situation of Deutero-Zechariah that prompted him to depart sharply in tone from other Davidic prophecies?

This study has focused on the use of the shepherd metaphor in texts dated to the Second Temple period or shortly thereafter. An examination of the attitudes held by the sages towards shepherds in the early rabbinic material may offer interesting insights. While the rabbis seem to view shepherds unfavourably,[18] is this attitude uniform or mixed? Does this critical attitude sharpen over time or is it static? Is there a difference in the attitude towards shepherds (partial or otherwise) between the bavli and the yerushalmi, and what would be the implications of this difference? Is there a connection between this phenomenon and the general, a-political, a-messianic stance of the rabbis?

Other social-historical implications of the use of the shepherd metaphor commend themselves for further study. For Second Temple Jewish texts, is there a relationship between the breadth of the stream represented by a text and its particular use of the

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[18] Cf. Shimoff, "Shepherds."

metaphor? For example, do narrower streams of Judaism employ the metaphor more innovatively than wider, more "mainstream" forms, or vice versa?[19] Besides socio-religious orientation, can the metaphor be used to determine Matthew's provenance? That is to say, Palestinian Jews seem to have a much greater interest in the shepherd metaphor than their Diaspora counterparts. This tendency would seem to support the notion of a Palestinian (Galilean) provenance for Matthew, instead of the (more favoured) Syrian Antioch hypothesis. This study used the patterns of thought related to the shepherd metaphor to locate Matthew on a socio-religious spectrum mapping Jewish nationalistic belief. What other patterns of thought or religion can be used and for what type of socio-religious spectrum?

This study opened with the question, "When did Christianity and Judaism part company and go their separate ways?" While scholars will continue to debate this question, and no single research project can ever settle the matter in a once-and-for-all fashion, this investigation makes an important contribution to this very central issue for biblical studies. Matthew's appropriation of the shepherd metaphor reveals that although the author of the Gospel was a Christ-believer and firmly believed that Jesus was Israel's promised messiah, he nevertheless remained conceptually within the orbit of Second Temple Judaism and not separated from it. That is to say, more than simply being what many scholars consider the most Jewish Gospel,[20] the patterns of thought reflected by

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[19] De Robert was the first to suggest something like this: "Il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que ces texts appartiennent tous à une littérature qui se rattache à la branche ésotérique du Judaïsme" (*Berger*, 94-95).

[20] Saldarini comments, "[Matthew] has generally been recognized as the most Jewish of all the gospels because it refers in a sustained and serious way to the Bible, to specific Jewish customs and beliefs,

Matthew's shepherd motif give evidence that Christ-belief, at least for some in the first century, did not demand or necessarily result in a socio-religious divorce from "Judaism."

The results of this study demonstrate that the multiplicity of "Judaisms" and "Christianities" permitted a great deal of socio-religious overlap between groups such that one stream of Christ-belief could diverge from other streams so as to resemble a form of Judaism. Therefore, it is not legitimate to speak of Judaism and Christ-belief in terms of false opposites, as many scholars do. A bipolar configuration ignores the immense religious diversity of these groups, on the one hand, and the complex socio-religious interactions that characterized much of their early histories, on the other. While Dunn claims that hindsight makes the "Parting" an inevitable development, he rightly questions if this would have been so at the time: "would these outcomes have appeared inevitable to those *in via*?"[21] Clearly for Matthew, this was not the case. In the words of Stanton, "a long lingering embrace" could exist not simply for "many ordinary believers,"[22] but even for leaders of the early Jesus movement—like Matthew.

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and to the general Jewish cultural and religious thought world of the first century" (*Christian-Jewish*, 1); cf. Hare, "How Jewish," 264.

[21] Dunn, "Concluding Summary," 386.

[22] Cf. Stanton's comment in *Partings*, xxiv.

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