

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe 64

James Carleton Paget

The Epistle of Barnabas



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Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

64

The Epistle of Barnabas

Outlook and Background

by

James Carleton Paget



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To my parents

Acknowledgements

This monograph is a revised version of my Ph.D. dissertation written in Cambridge between 1988 and 1991, and examined in April of 1992 by Prof. H.C. Chadwick and Prof. O. Skarsaune. Both examiners made important suggestions for the improvement of the dissertation, many of which have been incorporated in the revised version.

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Peterhouse, 12 August 1994

James Carleton Paget

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for this study are from the "Instructions for Contributors," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988), pp.579-596, with the following additions:

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>AJSReview</i> | Association of Jewish Studies Review |
| ArchBib | Archéologie Biblique |
| B. | The author of the Epistle of Barnabas |
| Barn | The Epistle of Barnabas itself |
| BETL | Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium |
| BST | Basel Studies in Theology |
| EHPRUS | Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuse de l'Université de Strasbourg |
| GCP | Graecitas Christianorum primaeva |
| <i>JDT</i> | Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie |
| <i>JLZ</i> | Jenaer Literaturzeitung |
| <i>MH</i> | Museum Helveticum |
| MTS | Münchener theologische Studien |
| PatSorb | Patristica Sorbonensia |
| SBEC | Studies in Early Christianity |
| Schermann | <i>Prophetarum vitae fabulosae - Indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini Dorotheo, Epiphanio, Hippolyto aliisque vindicata: inter quae nonnulla primum edidit</i> by T. Schermann (Leipzig, 1907). |
| SJLA | Studies in Judaism in late Antiquity |
| <i>StPat</i> | Studia Patristica |
| <i>StPh</i> | Studia Philonica |
| <i>StStR</i> | Studi storici religiosi |
| TCW | Transformation of the Classical World |
| TH | Théologie Historique |
| TSAJ | Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum |
| <i>TSK</i> | Theologische Studien und Kritiken |
| <i>TTJ</i> | Tübinger Theologisches Jahrbuch |
| <i>TTK</i> | Tidsskrift for teologi og kirke |
| VCSup | Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae |

The Text

For the text of **Barn** I refer the reader to Kraft's discussion (*Épître*, pp.49-63). I have employed his sigla for the four major witnesses:

| | |
|----------|--|
| L | The Latin translation (text stops at 17:2) |
| S | Codex Sinaiticus |
| H | Codex Hierosolomitanus/Constantinopolitanus |
| G | The archetype of the 8 Greek MSS. dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century (text begins from 5:7) |

The Aims of the Study

The Epistle of Barnabas¹ appears as an 'erratic block' in the history of Christianity. It seems to express a theology with little discernible antecedent or influence, and to defy any definitive interpretation.²

This 'strangeness' has done little to dampen scholarly interest. As early as 1876 Braunsberger was not exaggerating when he wrote: "Since this letter stepped out from the darkness of the library into the light of publicity, it has consistently attracted attention, and called into existence numerous Catholic and Protestant studies and books."³

Early studies tended to be theologically or historically orientated. In this respect, questions of date and authorship were particularly significant. Also discussed were the peculiarly hostile attitude of the author towards Judaism, and the related question of his approach to biblical interpretation. Discussion of these latter two subjects invariably elicited negative responses on the part of scholars,⁴ and led some to see the epistle as a 'Vorstufe' towards early Christian Gnosticism. Also prominent in early treatments of the epistle was the question of the literary unity of **Barn**, which had already been questioned by I. Voss as early as 1646.

It is in part with reference to interpolatory theories that we can explain the most recent phase in the study of the epistle, namely a tendency to look at the document from a source critical perspective. In these studies the observations of scholars who questioned the integrity of the epistle on the basis of perceived contradictions within it were taken seriously, but accounted for, not by a theory of interpolation, but rather by appealing to the idea that B. had made cumbersome use of sources. The 'fons et origo' of such an approach was Windisch, and all subsequent source theories are to a certain extent a 'fleshing out' of his initial observations. In these studies historical questions tended to play a minor role, partly because the author was felt to be no more than the inept regurgitator of the pre-existent. If this was true it was difficult to

¹In this monograph the epistle is referred to as **Barn** (except in headings, where it is written as Barnabas) and its author as B.

²Hefele described the letter as "eine der rätselhafteren Erscheinungen in der patristischen Literatur..." (*Sendschreiben*, p.III).

³"Seitdem dieser Brief aus dem Dunkel der Bibliothek an das Licht der Oeffentlichkeit getreten ist, hat er allenthalben die Blicke auf sich gezogen und zahlreiche katholische und protestantische Abhandlungen und Bücher ins Dasein gerufen..." (*Barnabas*, p.137).

⁴An early negative judgment comes from T. Elborowe (writing in 1668, and cited by Grant, 'Fathers', p.421): "His (B.'s) following letter indeed may not prove so very acceptable to some, in regard of his strange explications of scripture, which are not after the modern and more refined mode. But it is to be noted that when he wrote, Christianity was but in the cradle, and scarce advanced into her morning suit." Selwyn is much more caustic: "He (B.) did not know what was fit for the synagogue, much less for the modern drawing room." (*Ideas*, p.52).

discern what parts of the epistle were relevant to the author's contemporary situation. A particularly important consequence of this observation was the claim that the supposed anti-Judaism of the epistle was of little or no significance in determining its historical purpose.

In this monograph I shall attempt to address the questions raised by the source critics. In opposition to them, I shall argue that earlier studies which took historical questions seriously were justified in so doing. Hence my first chapter is devoted to the so-called introductory questions (authorship, date, provenance, genre, and purpose). Here I shall argue, amongst other things, that the anti-Judaism of the epistle should play a significant role in the epistle's interpretation. In my second chapter I shall examine the grounds presented by scholars to justify a source critical approach to **Barn**. In this context some space will be devoted to an investigation of B.'s citation of scripture, and the possibility, arising from this investigation, that he used scriptural testimonies. Against the backdrop of source critical studies, I shall examine chs.2-16. Here I will argue that while there are good grounds to accept that B. has used sources, we should not be blind to his own contribution. This lies in the anti-Judaism of the text and its approach to scripture: these are the two singular factors in the epistle's theological outlook. My third and final chapter will address the problem of the letter's theological background. To what extent is **Barn** an 'erratic block' in the history of the early church? While I will contend that we do not possess a precise parallel to the epistle's outlook (either in Judaism or Christianity), I will argue, amongst other things, that part of its perspective can be seen in the work of certain Christians who were themselves involved in the 'Christianisation' of the Jewish Bible. In addition to this, and more tentatively, I shall suggest that the veneration in which some held the epistle, at least until the end of the fourth century, might be seen as proof that its opinions were not so peculiar to some ancient Christians as they might appear to us.

The general objectives of the study can be summarised as follows:

(1) to survey the very extensive secondary literature, which has mainly appeared in languages other than English.

(2) to reconstruct a believable context out of which the epistle has emerged.

(3) to offer a critique of the source critical approach.

(4) to place **Barn** in the context of early Christian debates about scripture and Judaism, insofar as the two can be distinguished.

While I do not believe I have *overhauled* the judgment of Vielhauer that "Der Barn ist wohl das seltsamste Dokument der urchristlichen Literatur",⁵ it is my hope that, after studying this monograph, readers will find the letter less strange than the quotation above indicates.⁶

⁵ *Geschichte*, p.612.

⁶ In this respect, my aims are not so very different from those expressed by Müller, *Erklärung*, p.III.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Epistle of Barnabas

I. Authorship

If there exists a single axiom in the study of the Epistle of Barnabas, it is that, contrary to most of the ancient witnesses, its author was not Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul.¹ Indeed as early as 1840, Hefele, against his earlier convictions, wrote: "I do not believe that we can ever again see the apostolic Barnabas in this man (the author)."² He cited eight reasons in support of this judgment, of which two appeared decisive. The first related to chronology: it was simply impossible to date the epistle to a time in which Barnabas could believably have been thought to have been alive; and the second to theology: what we knew of Paul's estranged companion, particularly in relation to the incident at Antioch recorded in Gal. 2:13f., appeared incompatible with the contents of the letter attributed to him. Or stated more precisely, the radical attitude towards the law and the hostility towards the Jews witnessed in the epistle seemed at odds with the relatively conservative opinions ascribed to the Levite Barnabas in the New Testament.³

Yet quite recent attempts to defend an apostolic attribution do exist. Burger has given one of the most robust of these.⁴ Against the argument from chronology, he contended that the epistle could

¹For the apostolic origin of **Barn** see Clement: *Strom* 2.6:31; 2.7:35; 2.20:116; and 5.10:63; Vaticanus 859 (part of **G**): Ἐπιστολὴ Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου συνεκδηροῦ Παυλοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου (probably reliant upon Clement); Jerome: *Vir. ill.* 6; and Didymus: *Zech.* 259:21–24. Origen: *c.Cels.* 1:63; **L**; the editors of **S** and **H**; and Eusebius: *H.E.* 3.25:4; 6.13:6 and 6.14:1, do not explicitly give an apostolic attribution. Of the surviving lists of apostles from later centuries, only the *Index anonymus Graeco-Syris* attributes a letter to Barnabas (See Schermann, p.175).

²"In diesem Manne glaube ich nimmermehr den apostolischen Barnabas blicken zu dürfen." (*Sendschreiben*, p.175). In modern scholarship scepticism on the subject of apostolic authorship dates back as far as 1645 when Menard, somewhat nonchalantly, declared that the epistle was written by "S. Barnabas, sive quis alius." (*Epistola*, p.79). For a list of other early objectors see Müller, *Erklärung*, pp.16–17.

³On the basis of the Augustinian dictum 'si illorum essent recepta essent ab ecclesia' (*Contra adversar. Leg. et Proph.* I.1:20) some scholars prior to Hefele, and some after him, had argued that the non-canonical status of **Barn** was the most decisive proof of its pseudonymity. But as Hefele stated, the supposed non-canonical status of **Barn** proved nothing in relation to its authorship. See further Braunsberger, *Barnabas*, pp.199f.

⁴'L'Énigme', pp.191–193.

legitimately be dated to the early 70s, a time in which one could reasonably imagine Barnabas still to have been alive. In refutation of the theological argument he made four points. First, he noted that according to Acts (Acts 11:22f.) Barnabas was an early participant in the mission to the Gentiles. As such he had probably adopted a liberal attitude to the law early on. Secondly, he claimed that the incident at Antioch proved nothing about Barnabas' theology for the Levite refrained from table fellowship with Gentiles out of political expediency, not theological conviction; thirdly, he noted that Barnabas' separation from Paul, recorded in Gal. 2, was not terminal (see references to Barnabas in 1Cor. 9:6 and Col. 4:10, both of which are later than the reference in Gal. 2); and fourthly, that it was quite possible for Barnabas, over a period of 20 years, and particularly in the wake of the Jewish war of 66–70 (a time in which hostility between Christians and Jews increased considerably), to have developed the kind of ideas we find in his eponymous epistle.

But such a thesis, while daring to attack the scholarly consensus at its strongest points, is untenable. First, Burger has posited an extraordinary development on the part of Barnabas: it is, I would contend, extremely difficult to imagine that the Jew, and former Levite, Barnabas, could have argued that the Jewish ritual laws should never have been implemented literally; could have imputed the literal command to circumcise to an evil angel (9:4); and could have denied that the Jews ever possessed a covenantal status with God (4:7–8; 14:1–4). Not even Paul, apparently more radical than Barnabas (Gal. 2:11f.), claimed any of these things.⁵ Burger's argument that the Jewish war of 66–70 can account for this mental transformation constitutes a weak form of the *argumentum e silentio*.⁶ Secondly, Burger has failed to explain the absence from the epistle of any reference to Barnabas himself or to Paul. Moreover, his argument is reliant upon his own

⁵See Windisch's observation: "Der die Lehrweise des Paulus weit übersteigende Radikalismus in der Beurteilung des Judentums und seines Kultus ist dem Apostel Barnabas, der nach Act 13:24; 14:23; Gal. 2:13 offenbar viel konservativer und mehr an die väterlichen Gebräuche gebunden war als Paulus, unmöglich zuzuschreiben." (*Barnabasbrief*, pp.412–413).

⁶For the same *argumentum e silentio* see Tugwell, *Fathers*, p.44. He writes, "... it is tempting to believe that the converted Levite, who spent some time as one of the prophets and teachers in the church at Antioch, who later travelled with St. Paul and then quarrelled with him, and who blotted his copy book, in some eyes, by being cowed into Judaising, is the same man as the teacher who was cowed in the 70s to warn people against the temptation to which he had once succumbed." See Andry, *Introduction*, p.90 (and also p.261), who rejects *theological* arguments against apostolic authorship on the grounds that they are 'unscientific'. I admit that such arguments are 'unscientific' insofar as one does not *know* how Barnabas' opinions developed. But they are scientific insofar as they deal in probabilities. See Donaldson's apposite words: "... the possibility (that Barnabas turned out to be the author of the epistle) is one of which the highest degree of improbability may safely be predicated." (*Apostolic*, p.253).

early dating (just after 70) of the epistle, which, even if right, might have been after the death of Barnabas, an event about which we in any case have no reliable information.⁷

But a defence of apostolic authorship has one strength: it tries to account for what appears to be an extraordinary attribution. How could anyone have ascribed authorship of this epistle, with its strongly anti-Jewish tone and its idiosyncratic interpretation of the Jewish law, to the Levite Barnabas?

Some of those who argued that the epistle as it now stands was the result of a number of interpolations explained this fact by arguing that Barnabas actually wrote the original letter.⁸ But, as we will show later, all interpolatory theories are unconvincing. Others asserted that we need not think of the epistle as apocryphal for, "there is no indication ... that the author (of **Barn**) desired to be taken for the apostle Barnabas." Hence it would not be unreasonable to ascribe the letter to "some unknown namesake".⁹ But the regularity with which we meet pseudepigraphic epistles in the literature of the early church makes such a thesis unlikely. Müller adopted another theory.¹⁰ He noted that the first ascription of Hebrews to Paul appeared in Clement of Alexandria,¹¹ but that we hear of earlier ascriptions of the same letter to Barnabas.¹² On the basis of these two observations, Müller argued that once Hebrews had been attributed to Paul, another letter had to be attributed to Barnabas. Hence the ascription to Barnabas of what was an originally anonymous letter. But such a speculative theory assumed that Clement was the first Christian to attribute Hebrews to Paul, which on the basis of **P46**, where Hebrews is placed after Romans amongst the Pauline epistles, is shown to be incorrect. Equally problematic was the theory of a school of Barnabas. This relied too heavily upon the

⁷See Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, p.108, for a sceptical discussion about the fragments of information we have on this subject; and Braunsberger, *Barnabas*, pp.129–135, who argues for a date between 56 and 62. The traditional date of his death is 11th June A.D. 56.

⁸See Schenkel, 'Barnabas'; Heydecke, *Dissertatio*; and Robillard, 'Barnabé', p.208 (though he is not absolutely decided on this point).

⁹Lightfoot, *Fathers*, p.504. For the relative frequency with which the name 'Barnabas' appears in Jewish ostraca and inscriptions see Tcherikover, *Jews*, pp.187–188.

¹⁰*Erklärung*, p.16.

¹¹See *H.E.* 6.14:2.

¹²See Tertullian, *Pud* 20. "Exstat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos, a deo satis auctoritati viri, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiae tenore: aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus operandi potestatem? et utique receptor apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastori Moechorum." There need be no doubt that the 'epistola Barnabae', mentioned in the latter part of the quotation, is a reference to Hebrews. Not only is this made clear by the words that precede it, but also by the fact that Tertullian goes on immediately to cite, somewhat loosely, a passage from Hebrews (6:1, 4–6). In his discussion of the authorship of *Heb* (*Vir. ill.* 5) Jerome mentions this passage from Tertullian, though without any obvious approval.

similarities between **Barn** and Hebrews (suggesting a literary relationship of some kind), and the ascription of Hebrews to Barnabas, already mentioned above.¹³ Kayser's admittedly tentative solution to the problem was even more speculative.¹⁴ On the basis of the thesis that **Barn** attacked the Ebionite heresy, and on the assumption that Barnabas was a hero of that movement,¹⁵ he ingeniously argued that the ascription of the letter to Barnabas was a polemical ploy on the part of the author of the epistle. What better thing than to ascribe your letter to the hero of your opponents! But if such a thesis is correct, and it could be correct without the Ebionite dimension,¹⁶ one might expect more usage of Barnabas' name in the text itself.¹⁷ Another solution to the problem lay in making a connection between, on the one hand, those traditions which associated Barnabas with Alexandria, and on the other, the evidence of the epistle's popularity in the same city.¹⁸ The popular epistle was attributed to Barnabas because it was thought, by some at least, that he had lived in that city.¹⁹ Such a thesis might appear more cogent when we note that in *Ps.Clem.Hom.* 2.4:2–3 Peter states that in Alexandria Clement (of Rome) learnt from Barnabas "the word about prophecy" (τὸν περὶ προφητείας λόγον): **Barn** has a strong interest in the prophetic value of the Old Testament (see 1:7 and the frequent references to ὁ προφήτης).

¹³See Veil, 'Barnabasbrief, 1904', p.297.

¹⁴*Barnabasbrief*, pp.126–127.

¹⁵In support of this Kayser points to the role of Barnabas in the Pseudo-Clementine literature, considered by him to be Ebionite in origin. In this respect, see especially *Ps.Clem.Hom.* 1.9f. and our discussion below.

¹⁶In the light of a text like Gal. 2:13f., Barnabas could have been thought to have represented the kind of Jewish-Christian opinions supposedly attacked in the epistle.

¹⁷For this same criticism of Kayser's thesis see Braunsberger, *Barnabas*, pp.248–249. For a similar thesis, which plays up the ironic dimension of the superscript see Draper, 'Barnabas', p.13. He writes: "One of the purposes of such an ironical device (the naming of the epistle after a man who apparently would not have held to the sentiments contained within it), would be to claim in support of the polemic against the Torah, one who was held in reverence by those who are the main target of the letter, namely, those Christians who are still keeping the Torah."

¹⁸For these references, the most important of which is *Ps.Clem.Hom.* 1.9:16, see my discussion of Provenance, pp.30f. We should also note the possibility that Barnabas actually preached in Alexandria. In Acts 15:39 Paul leaves Barnabas in Cyprus. An obvious missionary destination after Cyprus was Alexandria. See Dio, *Hist* 68:32, where the historian reports that "they (the Jews of Alexandria) perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus under the leadership of a certain Artemion", implying a close association of Cyprus with Egypt.

¹⁹Braunsberger summarises the argument succinctly: "Wollte man den Brief einem Apostel zuschreiben so war Barnabas derjenige von welchem man am Ehesten annehmen konnte, er habe die Alexandriner mit einem Brief beehrt." (*Barnabas*, p.249). See also Donaldson, *Apostolic*, p.253; and Trevijano, 'Church', p.471, who argues that the Alexandrian origin of the epistle may well have generated the myth that Barnabas actually visited Alexandria.

But the most satisfactory solution appears to be an adaptation of one suggested by Windisch. Building in part upon observations already made by Müller, he argued that the failure of the epistle to make mention of Barnabas in its actual text indicated that the ascription was secondary.²⁰ This secondary ascription could be explained as resulting from a desire to disseminate the epistle further afield. The decision to ascribe it to Barnabas was made on the basis of its Jewish/Levitical content,²¹ and, I would argue, the belief that Barnabas was associated with Alexandria where the epistle probably originated. This thesis has a number of things to commend it. First, in the New Testament we are actually told that Barnabas was a Levite (Acts 4:36), and it is quite rare (in the New Testament) to be given such information. The fact that Barnabas had been a Levite may have been quite well-known. In the epistle we find much legal (2; 3; 9; 10; 15; 16) and cultic (chs. 7 and 8) material. Such material may have been thought to be compatible with someone who was known to have been an expert in such matters.

But any solution to the problem of the letter's ascription must necessarily remain conjectural.²²

Excursus 1: The Author of Barnabas: Jew or Gentile?

The debate about the ethnic origins of B. continues to stimulate discussion. Those in favour of a Jewish origin argue their case on the basis of the Jewish character of the epistle.²³ In this respect particular attention is paid to the presence in the epistle of rabbinic traditions (chs. 7 and 8), to the use and knowledge of Jewish exegetical methods,²⁴ to an outlook shared with Jewish apocalypses,²⁵ a future hope expressed in terms of the Jewish idioms of land (6:8–19) and temple (4:11; 6:15; 16:7f.), to the *Two Ways* material, which it is claimed is of Palestinian origin, to the great concern of the epistle with the interpretation of the law, and its obvious respect for the law²⁶ and in one instance, to the contention that the epistle reflects the concerns of a supposed Tannaitic

²⁰ *Barnabasbrief*, p.413.

²¹ A parallel to what Windisch suggested lay in the ascription of Hebrews (a similarly levitical text) to Barnabas (see p.5 n.12 above).

²² See Pfeleiderer's observation: "Wer der Verfasser dieses Briefes gewesen sei, können wir, da er sich selbst nicht nennt, nicht wissen; ebensowenig, wie er in der Tradition zu dem Namen des Barnabas gekommen sei." (*Urchristentum*, p.560).

²³ For the Jewish origin of B. see amongst many others Funk, *Patres*, pp.viii-ix; Güdemann, 'Erklärung'; and Barnard, who has argued his case in many places, but most recently in 'Setting', pp.81f.

²⁴ Often noted in this respect are the presence of peshar-like passages (4:3–5 and 16:3–4), of midrash (6:8–19); and of Jewish-Hellenistic traditions, often conveyed through allegory. For the last of these three points see especially Martín, 'Barnaba', whose work I will discuss below.

²⁵ This point is emphasised by Horbury, 'Barnabas', p.332, who especially notes the strong hostility to Rome expressed in an apocalyptic-like passage such as 4:3–5 with its parallels in 4Ezra 11–12, 13 and *SibOr* 5:403–33.

²⁶ See especially 10:12, and the praise bestowed upon Moses' legislation (βλέπετε πῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν Μωϋσῆς καλῶς).

catechism.²⁷ These arguments can appear powerful, especially when we note that passages in **Barn** only appear to be thinly Christianised.²⁸ Those who oppose a Jewish origin for the author²⁹ point to the stridency of the epistle's anti-Judaism, the apparent lack of knowledge of rabbinic traditions, the likening of the Jerusalem temple to a pagan place of worship, and at 16:7 and possibly 14:5, the imputation to the author and his readers of a former state of unbelief (see the words at 16:7 $\pi\rho\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$).

To decide for or against either of these two positions is difficult, not least because, as we will see, some would contend that B. is using sources, and so the letter will tell us more about the ethnic origins of the writer(s) of the sources than of B. himself. While there can be no doubt that the epistle carries with it a strongly Jewish character, it is not easy to determine how this relates to the problem of the provenance of the author. It may simply indicate the proximity of a Gentile to a Jewish community, a proximity which we can probably assume, and the appropriation of Jewish ideas for polemical purposes, or alternatively the use of sources which were heavily influenced by Judaism. We certainly cannot assert that the author of the epistle was a converted rabbi.³⁰ However, the points made against a Jewish origin are equally unconvincing. A harsh anti-Judaism need not indicate a Gentile origin - the Gospels of Matthew and John and the letters of Paul in the New Testament, are salutary reminders of this fact. Indeed, it is perfectly reasonable to see the epistle as on occasions reflecting debates which were taking place within the Jewish community itself;³¹ and to argue on occasions for the close proximity in the epistle of what might be termed 'Jewish' and 'Christian' traditions.³² The supposed faults in B.'s knowledge of rabbinic traditions are not proven, and even if they were, would not be decisive.³³ B.'s harsh attack on the Jerusalem temple is not an unjewish thing, as the Hebrew Bible itself shows, and may, as we will argue later on, find a parallel in the

²⁷ See Barnard, 'Setting', pp.181f, for whom the author is a converted rabbi.

²⁸ This is a point particularly emphasised by Kraft, who writes, "Although our picture of Judaism before it became normative is not entirely clear, there is no necessary contradiction between it and the traditions used by Ps.Barn." (*Dissertation*, p.283). Horbury, perhaps more provocatively, and independent of Kraft, suggests that we should regard the epistle as a "sub-section of Jewish literature." ('Barnabas', p.345).

²⁹ See Harnack, *Chronologie*, p.411; Windisch, *Barnabasbrief*, p.413; and most recently, Schreckenberg, *Adversus-Judaeos*, p.174.

³⁰ It is striking that both Horbury and Kraft, who, as we noted above, placed special emphasis upon the Jewishness of the epistle, refrain from moving from this observation to the contention that the author was of Jewish origin.

³¹ Significant in this respect is the debate about the law, which plays such an important role in the epistle. Philo describes members of the Alexandrian Jewish community, who, like B., denied the admissibility of a literal interpretation of the ritual laws (*De Mig. Abr.* 88-93). On the whole question of the epistle's anti-Jewish polemic and its possible relationship to the Judaism whence the author hailed see Martín, 'Barnaba', pp.181-182, who sees the epistle as transposing the internal tensions of the Jewish Diaspora community into the new historical situation of the Christians.

³² A case in point might be 5:8-9, where the view that the apostles sinned above all sin ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$) may very easily reflect a Jewish tradition. Further support for this contention is found in the fact that the Jews are referred to as 'Israel'. On this see Horbury, 'Barnabas', p.335.

³³ See Güdemann, 'Erklärung', who argues that B. makes mistakes in his understanding of the rabbinic sources, but does this intentionally!

Fourth Sibylline Oracle. Furthermore, B.'s claim that the temple is 'almost (σχεδόν)' like a heathen place of worship (16:2) may, in showing a reluctance to assert an exact likeness, give evidence of a Jewish origin for its author. The statement in 16:7 is perhaps the most powerful argument in favour of a gentile origin for the author. But it, too, can be explained as an attack upon Judaism, which in the epistle receives such harsh treatment.³⁴

Any conclusion on this matter must therefore be guarded. The epistle is strongly Jewish in character, but this observation does not allow us to state that the author himself was Jewish. Greater certainty can probably be established with regard to the identity of some of the recipients. Given the prominence of the issue of circumcision (ch.9), and such verses as 3:6 and 13:7, a gentile origin for them seems more likely.

II. Date

In setting the chronological boundaries within which to date **Barn**, we can restrict ourselves to a period of about fifty years. The letter is clearly written after the destruction of the Second Temple;³⁵ and the absence of any mention of the second Jewish revolt, particularly in a document so tainted by an anti-Jewish spirit, indicates a *terminus ad quem* of about 130 c.e.³⁶ Harnack's statement to the effect, "daß unser Brief an den Schluss des Zeitraumes 80–130 zu rücken ist",³⁷ is probably accurate.

In an attempt to establish an exact date scholars have regarded two passages as important.

i. Barnabas 4:3–5

These verses appear in a passage in which B. exhorts his readers to good behaviour. This exhortation is set within an eschatological framework, in which the author claims, apparently quoting from

³⁴ See Scorza-Barcellona, *Barnaba*, p.63, who argues that 16:7 "può essere considerato alla luce del rifiuto totale del giudaismo, e di per sé non esclude l'origine giudaica nè di Barnaba ..."

³⁵ See 16:4: διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Robinson, *Redating*, p.313, comments that this is the first document explicitly to mention this fact.

³⁶ It is significant that Justin, writing after the second revolt, often exploits that event for polemical reasons (see particularly his polemical interpretation of circumcision in *Dial.* 16). See also Tertullian, *Adv.Jud.* 12. The technical *terminus ad quem* is approximately 200 when Clement of Alexandria first mentions the epistle.

³⁷ *Chronologie*, p.418.

Enoch,³⁸ that the ‘final stumbling block’ is at hand, and that the arrival of the same has been speeded up in order that his ‘beloved’ (ὁ ἡγαπημένος) might come to his inheritance. Then, as if elaborating on the nature of this ‘stumbling block’, he cites two passages from Dan. 7:

λέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Βασιλεῖαι δέκα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλεύσουσιν, καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται ὅπισθεν μικρὸς βασιλεὺς, ὅς ταπεινώσει τρεῖς ὑφ’ ἐν τῶν βασιλέων. ὁμοίως περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λέγει Δανιήλ. Καὶ εἶδον τὸ τέταρτον θηρίον τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χαλεπώτερον παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέτειλεν δέκα κέρατα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μικρὸν κέρας παραφυάδιον, καὶ ὡς ἐταπείνωσεν ὑφ’ ἐν τρία τῶν μεγάλων κεράτων³⁹

Before undertaking an interpretation of these lines, we need to make a number of preliminary observations:

(1) Both quotations are from Daniel and in parallel, though it is to be noted that B. only explicitly attributes the second quotation (Dan. 7:7–8) to Daniel, and does not quote the citations in the order in which they appear in that book.

(2) The wording of the quotations is not an exact transposition of any of the extant Greek texts of Daniel, either the LXX, Theodotion, or the surviving papyri.⁴⁰ Both quotations constitute an abbreviation and, it would seem, a free rendering, of the passages in Daniel. This is particularly the case in the second passage. Here B. omits the detailed description of the actions of the fourth beast (Dan. 7:25), and similarly

³⁸The Latin text contradicts the Greek at this point, and ascribes the quotation to Daniel (“sicut Daniel dicit”). Prigent, *Épître*, pp.93–94, claims that such an ascription is understandable given the Danielic provenance of the quotations which follow, and the fact that the sentiment contained within 4:3a (Prigent only ascribes this part of the verse to Enoch) is quite close to Dan. 9:26–27. But, on the basis of the textual axiom *lectio difficilior potior est*, he argues that one should hold the Greek reference to be correct. The quotation finds no precise equivalent in Enoch, which is probably explicable on the grounds that B. is inspired by something he remembers from Enoch at this point (see for a parallel to I Enoch 89:61–64; 90:17f.). Kister, ‘Barn.’, pp.66f., notes that in a recently published fragment from 4QEzekiel (4Q385) we read, in fragmentary form, something closer to this verse than any Enochian equivalent: “Let the days hasten on fast until all men say: Indeed the days are hastening on in order that the children may inherit. And Yahweh said to me: I will not re[fu]se you, O Ezekiel. I shall cut short the days and the years [...] a little and you said [So that Israel will inherit the land.]” Kister suggests that the replacement of ‘Israel’ with ‘Beloved’ in **Barn** may in fact witness to a Christian development of a Jewish motif. Here, of course, Kister is able to attribute the whole of the verse to one source, something Prigent was unwilling to do.

³⁹“Thus the prophet also says: ‘Ten kingdoms shall reign upon upon the earth, and there shall rise up a small king after them (this following S, which reads ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν), who shall subdue three of the kings under one.’ Daniel says likewise concerning him: ‘And I beheld the fourth beast, wicked and powerful and fiercer than all the beasts of the sea, and that ten horns sprung from it, and out of them a little excrescent horn, and that it subdued at the same time three of the great beasts.’”

⁴⁰See Geissen, *Daniel*, for the surviving text of the Chester Beatty and Cologne papyri.

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