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*Jews, and Jesus* (Doubleday, 1979). Lapidé's work, which looks at Israeli works in Hebrew about Jesus, and the reaction to them in Israel, is especially interesting (cf. the present volume, pp. 73-75).

Typographical errors: "conversation [conversion] of Israel" (24); "ale [able] to continue" (40); "religions [religious] symbolism" (54); "univiersalism" (61); "Gladding [Gladden]" (65); "a matter of fat [fact]" (117); "cruse [curse] fell upon the Jews" (130); "Ernest Reman [Renan]" (152).

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## One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism

Larry W. Hurtado

Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988

\$16.25 paper

If you have ever wondered how worship of Jesus could arise in a religion of presumably strict monotheism, this book should prove interesting. Not that Hurtado, Associate Professor in the religious studies department at the University of Manitoba, presents reams of new data. But he orders and analyses the data we have—ancient texts and modern studies—in an original way, focusing on early Christian worship of Jesus, rather than on the more commonly studied christological titles, in order to understand what he calls "the early Christian mutation"—i.e., worship of a figure alongside God.

It is a mutation rather than an absolute *novum* because it "was a direct outgrowth from, and indeed a variety of, the ancient Jewish tradition" (99). Jewish monotheism did not preclude "divine agency"—heavenly figures "second only to God" and "described as participating in some way in God's rule of the world and his redemption of the elect" (17). But one also observes in Christianity a *novum*—worship of both one God and one Lord. And now, as CBC newscasters say, the details.

Hurtado's introductory chapter ably defends his concentration on Judaism rather than (also or primarily) on paganism: the latter had monotheistic tendencies but no thoroughgoing monotheism, whereas Jewish monotheism, though well developed, included secondary beings as well (Judaism was more complex than much earlier scholarship has allowed). These are what Hurtado looks at in chapter one, "Divine Agency in Ancient Jewish Monotheism". He demonstrates that the idea of divine agency was widespread in Judaism, both in the diaspora and the land of Israel. The agents can be grouped into "divine attributes and powers" (e.g., Wisdom, or Philo's Logos), "exalted patriarchs" (e.g., Moses and Enoch), "principal

angels" (17). But common to them all is "the basic idea that there is a chief agent who has been assigned a unique status among all other servants of God" (21). But these roles are neither comprehensive nor central to the divine activity, as they are with Jesus: he is the agent of creation and redemption, universal Lord, eschatological judge, etc. (cf., e.g., Hebrews 1:1-14).

A commonly accepted view, espoused especially by W. Bousset in his classic *Kyrios Christos* (1913, 1921; ET, 1970), is that the presence of angels in postexilic Jewish literature indicates a remote deity and a diminished monotheism, with development of angelic cult as a result (24-25). But the evidence for such a view is slim, and quite the opposite is true. God is portrayed as still in direct contact with his creation and his people, and the angelic hierarchy he commands offsets the earthly hierarchies that oppress that people (25-26). Appearance of names of angels in exorcisms, charms, and spells, or on apotropaic amulets, does not constitute worship of angels (26-35).

In chapters two to four Hurtado looks at the major types of agent figures in ancient Judaism, to see how they relate to, or were used by, the first Christians to interpret the risen, exalted Jesus. Divine attributes (ch. 2), e.g., Wisdom and Logos, are among these. They are not to be taken literally, as though they existed as hypostases independent of God; rather, they are metaphors—ways of describing God, who is ultimately ineffable, and God's ways in the world. Most important for Hurtado's case is his contention that these agents were not worshiped. But the idea of a chief agent "served the early Christians in their attempt to accommodate the exalted Jesus alongside God" (50).

Patriarchs, too, were regarded as divine agents (ch. 3). Human figures, they are more like Jesus, therefore, although they were from a remote past and (argues Hurtado) did not receive the kind of devotion accorded Jesus. A considerable literature attends each: Enoch, who is described as son of man, angel, Metatron (God's chief agent); Moses, God's partner, divine viceroy and envoy; Jacob, God's angel and ruling spirit; Adam, Abraham, and others. Such a "wide assortment of figures pictured as God's chief agent indicates the popularity of the tradition that God's rule involved some exalted figure in such a role" (65). For Jews the exaltation of the patriarchs showed that their heroes were the best in the ancient world; it also prefigures the eschatological destiny of Jews. But argues Hurtado, all this did not lead to a cult of the patriarchs. Christian devotion to Jesus is therefore a mutation in Jewish piety, but one that draws on this tradition of exalted patriarchs.

What about angels? In postexilic Judaism they are many and include chief angels set over the angelic hierarchy. Chapter four looks at this kind of divine agency. An interesting example is the Melchizedek of the Qumran scroll *11QMelchizedek*, which seems to identify Melchizedek with the archangel Michael and even as *elohim* ("God"). The appearance of Yahoel, in whom God's name dwells, is described (in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*)

in terms that recall visions recounted in Ezekiel 1:26–28 and Daniel 7:9 and 10:5–6. Nonetheless, it is God alone who is to be worshiped; the chief angels execute God's will, even as did the viziers in the earthly empires of the time. In rank these angels resemble "the status assigned to the risen Jesus in early Christian tradition" (82). Jewish speculation on these angels "provided the earliest Christians with a basic scheme for accommodating the resurrected Christ next to God without having to depart from their monotheistic tradition" (82).

"The Early Christian Mutation" (ch. 5), however, is that in their religious *practice* the exalted Jesus becomes an object of devotion alongside God, not as a rival to God, but because Jesus' followers believed this to be God's will and an affirmation of God's sovereignty and glory (99–100). It happened, not because of the influence of pagan converts, but early on, within Judaism itself (100), as an outgrowth of Judaism and a consequence of the resurrection of Jesus. Acts 2:33–36 is an example: God has exalted Jesus to God's right hand; that God does the exalting, with Jesus as the passive recipient, suggests that these are early traditions; at God's "right hand" Jesus is God's chief agent, as with other figures in Jewish tradition (94). Similarly, other early traditions, such as Romans 1:1–4, 1 Thessalonians 1:9–10, 1 Corinthians 15:20–28, Philippians 2:5–11, 1 Corinthians 8:1–6— passages that accord Jesus exalted heavenly status and begin to offer him cultic veneration (Philippians 2:5–11 is hymnic) and yet affirms one God (95–99). But Hurtado then outlines six characteristics of early Christian worship that show it to be "strikingly binitarian" (100) and thus "a significant mutation in the Jewish monotheistic tradition" (100).

There are the "Christ hymns" or hymnic fragments (e.g., Philippians 2:5–11, John 1:1–18, Revelation 7:15–17); prayer to Christ (e.g., 2 Corinthians 12:2–10; Acts 7:59–60; the binitarian greetings and benedictions at the beginning and end of Paul's letters; and *maranatha*, "our [or O] Lord, come!"); invocation of the name of Jesus (e.g., 1 Corinthians 1:2; Acts 9:14, 21) and baptism into the name of Jesus; the "Lord's supper"; "confessing" Jesus (e.g., 1 Corinthians 12:1–3, Romans 10:9, 1 John 4:2–3, 15); "I"-prophecy, i.e., prophecy as Christ's own words (e.g., Revelation 1:17–3:22). A number of clues (e.g., the Aramaic *maranatha* point to earliest, i.e., Jewish Christianity, as the venue of such devotion.

Why the Christian mutation? One important factor, according to Hurtado, is the ministry of Jesus with his call to accept him as God's eschatological prophet. The resurrected Jesus whom the early Christians experience also exercises authority (Matthew 28:18), now enjoying exalted status alongside God. In the light of these experiences Jesus' followers come to new understandings of the scriptures ("the *Old Testament*") and of Jesus' place in them (Luke 24:26–27). Some of the visions of the resurrected Jesus take place in corporate gatherings (1 Corinthians 15:5–7), thus adding to their effect. Such visions in

all likelihood... involved not just seeing Jesus in heavenly glory but also visions of him in connection with God or some symbol of God



such as the divine throne in such a fashion that God's pleasure in Christ's status was communicated along with the understanding that Christ's position did not threaten the uniqueness of God (121; cf., Acts 7:55-56; Revelation 5:- 12).

Over against Jews who looked with suspicion on the Christian mutation (or opposed it violently, as Paul did before his own vision) Jesus' followers either modified their devotion to Jesus or defended it all the more, even while affirming monotheism (Paul after his vision).

In his conclusion Hurtado reflects on the important but often neglected role of religious experience in early Christianity, in this case in the "mutation" that led, and led early, to binitarian devotion.

The christological rhetoric of the New Testament and of the later christological controversies and creeds reflects the attempt to explain and defend intellectually a development that began in human terms in profound religious experiences and in corporate worship (128).

In the forty pages of notes Hurtado carries on debates with earlier, differing views, or calls to his side scholars who support or anticipate aspects of his case. His book stands in the tradition of scholars like Jeremias, Manson, and now especially Martin Hengel, who look to Judaism, more than to paganism (Bultmann and the *religionsgeschichtliche* school) to understand christological origins (see William R. Long, "Martin Hengel on Early Christianity," *Religious Studies Review* 15/3 [1989] 230-234). But the way he draws evidence together to argue his case for a Christian mutation, rooting in the religious experience of Jesus' earliest followers, is distinctive and deserves a hearing. The clarity with which Hurtado presents his case and substantiates it from primary and secondary sources, and the clear structure of the book and of each chapter, mean he will get it. Though based on solid scholarship, it is not heavy with technical terms and will be intelligible to the general educated reader.

Some "however's": The general impression one gets from Hurtado's book is that Jews of the time kept intermediary beings neatly subordinate to God—they were not worshiped. However, even the third- and fourth-century rabbis, who would insist on these distinctions, had trouble with them; and other Jews ignored them, as Shaye Cohen points out (*From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* [Westminster, 1987] 84). More attention to what constituted "deity" in the Graeco-Roman world, and to the often fuzzy line between deity and humanity in that world, would have been welcome (e.g., C. Talbert, "The Concept of Immortals in Mediterranean Antiquity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94/3 [1975] 419-436; R.L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* [Yale University Press, 1984] 148-149).

There is an index of ancient sources and of authors but, unfortunately, no subject index.

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## Adam, Eve, and the Serpent

Elaine Pagels

New York: Random House, 1988

xxviii + 189 pp.

Elaine Pagels, known to students of early Christianity as the author of technical monographs and articles and to a wider audience as the author of *The Gnostic Gospels* (Random House, 1979), which won the (American) National Book Award and the National Book Critics Circle Award, in *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* draws on much current scholarship, including her own, to write, once again, for that elusive person publishers perennially postulate is out there somewhere—the “general educated reader”. She succeeds magnificently. Such readers will be both entertained and instructed. Students of the period, who will know many of the sources she explicates and the secondary literature she cites, will admire the skill with which she weaves together many seemingly disparate strands into a compelling retelling of the story of Christians of the first four centuries. The opening chapters of Genesis are the loom on which she weaves their interpretations of those intriguing narratives.

Chapter one looks at Jesus and the Jesus movement, against the background of Judaism. Both Jesus and his Jewish compatriots appeal to Genesis in support of their attitudes to divorce, procreation, and family, but those of Jesus (so the New Testament gospels report) diverge so from common Jewish ones that a new religious movement comes into being. By the end of the second century, however, the attitudes and practices within the movement span a spectrum from endorsement of marriage and reproduction to ascetic renunciation.

The Christian martyrs die opposing the Roman order, but Pagels brings them to life (ch. 2)—i.e., at her hands they emerge as flesh-and-blood human beings whose behaviour both before and at the final test, however irrational it appeared to the Roman authorities and to pagans generally, “made sense” to Christians: theirs was the true liberty that opposed an oppressive social and political order. Interpretation of Genesis is more implicit than explicit in this chapter, but in chapter three, on Christian gnostics, it is central.

The gnostics disagreed with mainstream Christians on how to read the early chapters of Genesis. The latter took them as literal history and drew