

redemption. Paul speaks of those who have received the Spirit as awaiting "sonship, the redemption of our body" (Rom 8:23; see Adoption, Sonship). Life's choices here and now will not be overlooked in the resurrection at the end of the age. Redemption extends to that era. This will be in mind also in Paul's reference to being "sealed [by the Holy Spirit*] unto the day of redemption" (Eph 4:30).

See also CROSS, THEOLOGY OF THE; DEATH OF CHRIST; EXPIATION, PROPITIATION, MERCY SEAT; FORGIVENESS; JUSTIFICATION; PEACE, RECONCILIATION; SACRIFICE, OFFERING; SALVATION.

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L. Morris

RELIGIONS, GRECO-ROMAN

The adjective *Greco-Roman* indicates that the cults discussed in this article are those which were practiced in the ancient Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic* and Roman periods (i.e., from the late fourth century B.C. through the fifth century A.D.). These were periods of complex political and cultural change and syncretism in which first the Greeks and then the Romans provided the dominant political and cultural frameworks for life in the ancient Mediterranean world. Thus Greco-Roman religions include not only those public and private cults which had developed out of archaic and classical Greek and Roman relig-

ious practices, but also the many native cults and mystery religions which had arisen on ancient Near Eastern soil and which had subsequently spread to the major urban areas of the Mediterranean world, including early Judaism and early Christianity.

1. Political and Cultural Setting
2. Greek Religion
3. Roman Religion
4. Hellenistic Religions
5. Paul and Greco-Roman Religion

1. Political and Cultural Setting.

The political and cultural situation of the Mediterranean world changed radically following the victorious campaign which Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, waged against the massive Persian empire beginning in 334 B.C. when Alexander invaded Anatolia with a force of 37,000. His father, Philip II, had earlier defeated the Greeks at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., and upon his death in 336 he was succeeded by his son Alexander III. Alexander was successful at the battle of Granicus in Anatolia in 334 B.C., where he first clashed with the Persian army under Darius and won decisively; the final blow was delivered at the battle of Gaugamela near the Ganges river in 331 B.C. Following the premature death of Alexander in 323 B.C., his empire crumbled.

The *diadochoi*, or Greek "successors," of Alexander fought among themselves in the attempt to gain control of ever larger parts of the vast region which Alexander had conquered. The more important among these successors were able to found dynastic kingdoms in which a Greco-Macedonian elite ruled over extensive native populations until the Roman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean. Ptolemy founded the Ptolemaic dynasty, which ruled Egypt (and Palestine until 201 B.C.); Seleucus founded the Seleucid dynasty, which ruled the territories from Syria to India; Antigonus founded the Antigonid dynasty, which ruled Macedonia, shorn of its empire; and Lysimachus and his successors ruled Armenia and Thrace.

After Rome had taken control of most of Italy shortly after the beginning of the third century B.C., she embarked on a series of wars with Punic Carthage in North Africa for control of the western Mediterranean. Following Roman victories in the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.) and the Second Punic War (220-201 B.C.), Rome turned to the eastern Mediterranean, initially to punish Philip of Macedonia for the military assistance he had provided to Hannibal, the Carthaginian general. Rome fought a series of three Macedonian wars (214-205, 200-196 and 148-146 B.C.). After the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War in 146 B.C.

(which included the complete destruction of Hellenistic Corinth in 146 B.C.), Rome turned Macedonia and Greece into Roman provinces. At the same time Rome permanently eliminated the economic competition afforded her by Carthage by completely destroying this Punic North African city in 146 B.C.

After the decisive Roman victories over Macedonia, Greece and Carthage in 146 B.C., Rome slowly began annexing the Hellenistic kingdoms which had achieved independence following the crumbling of Alexander's Greco-Macedonian empire. The last Hellenistic kingdom to be defeated was Ptolemaic Egypt; Octavian, the Roman general who was later to become the first Roman emperor and assume the titular name Augustus (meaning "venerable"), defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII (the last Ptolemaic dynast) at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. At this point the Romans began to refer to the Mediterranean as *mare nostrum* ("our sea").

Rome had undergone profound changes since the city was founded c. 753 B.C. (the date preferred by the Roman antiquarian Varro, 116-27 B.C.). The period of the monarchy lasted from 753 to 509 B.C., when Tarquinius Superbus, the last of seven kings, was overthrown. The monarchy was succeeded by the Republic which lasted from 509 until it collapsed during the political and military chaos of 133-31 B.C. Following the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., Octavian took firm control of political and military affairs in Rome. In 27 B.C. he became the first of a series of Roman emperors to rule until the collapse of the western empire in A.D. 476, when the last Roman emperor Romulus Augustulus was deposed.

2. Greek Religion.

The Greek world consisted of hundreds of *poleis*, or "city-states," on the Greek peninsula and islands, on the west coast of Asia Minor, Sicily and in Magna Graecia in Italy. Each *polis* was fiercely independent. Each had its own distinctive internal political and religious structure. Originating c. 750 B.C., perhaps linked to the transition from monarchy to aristocracy throughout much of the Greek world, the *polis* reached a fully developed form by the late sixth century, and typically included such features as an acropolis, walls, a market, temples, a theater and a gymnasium (Pausanias 10.4.1). There were, in addition, a number of interstate religious institutions and sanctuaries which did not function primarily for the benefit of a particular *polis*. These institutions provided the hundreds of Greek communities, separated both by distance and topography, with a variety of cult centers which, along with the use of a common language (in

many dialects), contributed to the development of Hellenic national consciousness (Herodotus 8.144). The religious and cultural institutions accessible to all Greeks included the panhellenic games held at intervals of from two to four years (the Olympian games, the most famous, were held every four years beginning in 776 B.C.), the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, the healing cult of Asclepius at Epidauros and the Eleusinian mysteries at Eleusis in Attica. Another panhellenic religious development was the institution of the civic cult of the Twelve Gods instituted in a number of Greek cities beginning in the late sixth century B.C. In general, Greek religion was not organized around a set of coherent doctrines, but rather centered in the observance of traditional rituals such as processions, prayers, libations, sacrifice and feasting (see Worship).

2.1. The Gods. The Greek notion of deity contrasts sharply with traditional Jewish and Christian conceptions. For the Greeks the gods were not transcendent and passive, but rather immanent and active. They did not create the cosmos (which was thought to be eternal), but came into being after the cosmos. Consequently gods such as the sun, moon and stars were considered "eternals," while gods such as Zeus, Hera and Poseidon were considered "immortals." Though the Greek gods were thought to be more powerful than humans, both were subject to *moira* ("fate"). Further, gods were sustained by ambrosia and nectar, usually inaccessible to mortals, and "ichor" rather than blood flowed in their veins. Though considered very powerful and very wise, they were neither omnipotent nor omniscient. Human beings were considered mortal, while the Greek gods were considered immortal; in archaic and classical Greek religion, immortality was not a possibility for mortals. The scores of deities worshiped by various Greek cities were placed into a comprehensive genealogical relationship by Hesiod in his *Theogony*. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, epic poems probably created by a series of bards collectively designated "Homer," a synthetic presentation of the many originally local divinities was depicted as a pantheon of Olympian gods (though chthonic deities such as Demeter and Dionysus are not mentioned). The cult of Twelve Gods, however, first appears in the late sixth century; literary and archeological evidence indicates that an Altar to the Twelve Gods was dedicated c. 520 B.C. (Herodotus 6.108; Thucydides 6.54.6; Plutarch *Nicias* 13.2). However, this group of Twelve, while they were probably major Attic deities, was not identical with the later pantheon of twelve Olympians (which typically included Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Hades, Apollo, Artemis, Hephaestus, Athena, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hestia). The earth deities Deme-

ter and Dionysus (absent from Homer) are sometimes substituted for Hades and Hestia. The earliest complete list of the Twelve Olympians comes from 217 B.C. in connection with the list of gods honored at the *lectisternium* (a sacred banquet where the gods were made guests at a meal; Livy 22.10.9-10; Quintus Ennius *Annales* 7.240-41).

The Greeks recognized three kinds of deities: Olympian gods, chthonic ("earth") gods and heroes. Some of the Olympian gods were of Indo-European origin and were brought with the Greeks when they migrated into the Greek peninsula c. 2000 B.C. The most important Greek deity, for example, was Zeus (the genitive form is Dios, a cognate of the old Sanskrit term *dyaus*, "bright sky"), who corresponds to the central Roman god Jupiter (derived from *Dius* + *pater*, i.e., "Zeus father"). Other Olympians, such as Athena, Apollo, Artemis and Poseidon, were indigenous to the Greek peninsula or western Anatolia. Most of the chthonic gods, including Demeter and Dionysus, appear to have been deities indigenous to the Greek world and associated with the earth, crops and the underworld. The heroes were thought originally to have been mortals (usually with one divine parent) who were deified upon death and received cultic honors at the supposed site of their tomb. The major exception to this generalization is Heracles, a mythological figure who was worshiped as a god in some places, but as a hero in others, even though he had no known tomb (Herodotus 2.43-45; Apollodorus 2.7.7). Some heroes appear to have originally been considered gods who subsequently "faded" to heroic status (e.g., Asclepius, Helen), some are mythical (e.g., Perseus, Achilles, Orestes, Oedipus, Theseus; on the last two see Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1590-1666; Plutarch *Theseus* 35-36), while yet others are historical (the Spartan heroes Brasidas and Lysander).

In general the Greeks were extremely open to new deities and cults, and often identified their own deities with some of the major foreign deities which they encountered. During the long contact that the Greeks had with Egypt, they developed an *interpretatio Graeca*, "Greek interpretation," of Egyptian religion in which they regarded various native Egyptian deities as identical with traditional Greek deities. For example, Demeter was thought to be the Greek equivalent of Isis, Athena of Thoeis, Zeus of Ammon and Hermes of Thoth. The pantheon of Olympian gods was the creation of the Homeric poet(s), who produced a synthetic assembly of divinities unknown before the seventh century B.C.

2.2. Prayer. From Homer on, Greek prayer involved formulas that were intended to ensure that the god

addressed would not be offended by an incorrect invocation. The hymn of Zeus in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus is introduced in this manner: "Zeus, whoever he is, if this name pleases him in invocation." Here the liturgical formula *hostis pot' estin*, "whoever he is" occurs (lines 160-61). An earlier example of this formula occurs in *Odyssey* 5.445: "Hear, Lord, whoever you are." In Plato *Cratylus* 400d-e, a distinction is made between the names which the gods use of themselves, which are unknown to humans, and the customary names which humans use in prayers since the true names of the gods are unknown. Prayers were uttered aloud in connection with great public sacrifices, at the beginning of public assemblies (Aristophanes *Thes.* 295-305) and before battle (Aeschylus *Sept. c. Theb.* 252-60; Thucydides *Hist.* 6.32).

2.3. Sacrifice. The primary type of sacrifice practiced in Greek religious rituals was the slaughter of approved types of domestic animals, part of which was burned on an altar and part of which was consumed by those who offered the sacrifice. Such sacrifices could be part of domestic or public religious ritual. Certain animals were thought to be required of particular divinities. Cows were sacrificed to Athena, while pigs were sacrificed to Demeter. In the Greek protocol of sacrifice a distinction was made between sacrifices made to Olympian and to chthonic (earth) deities. Sacrifices to Olympians were made on a raised altar (*bomos*) during the day; the sacrificial animals were light colored; their throats were slit upward so that the blood would spurt toward the sky before running down on the altar. Sacrifices to chthonic deities, on the other hand, were made on a low altar (*eschara*) during the evening; the sacrificial animals were dark colored; their throats were slit downward so that the blood would spurt down upon the low altar or pit. The central event of many of the great civic religious festivals, such as the Hyacinthia at Sparta or the Panathenaia at Athens, was a great procession in which the priests and civic officials led the sacrificial victims to the altar, followed by the citizens. After the ritual slaughter, parts of the victims were burned on the altar, while the edible portions were divided up equally among the populace. These portions of meat were sometimes cooked and eaten on the spot or were taken to private homes for cooking and eating.

2.4. Festivals. In the *polis* of Athens, about which most is known, approximately 120 days of the calendar were devoted to religious festivals, and the number may have been even greater. Most of these festivals originated as rural, agricultural celebrations. The single festival found more frequently than any other throughout the Greek world was the Thesmophoria,

celebrated in honor of Demeter, an indigenous Aegean earth goddess.

2.5. Temples. The Greek temple, a free-standing architectural form, originated in the early eighth century B.C., perhaps in conjunction with the rise of the *polis*. Most temples were rectangular (the Telesterion of Demeter at Eleusis was square), and in a central room, called the *cella*, was located a cult-statue of the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated, usually larger than life-size. The temple functioned primarily as a house for the god. Inside the temple various types of offerings and dedications to the deity were stored, and incense was burned in honor of the god. Altars where animals were sacrificed were always located in the open air, usually in front of the temple. Worshipers gathered outside the temple for festivals and sacrifices, never inside.

2.6. Divination. Oracles and divination played an important role in the lives of the Greeks from the archaic period until the triumph of Christianity in the fourth century A.D. Divination is the art or science of interpreting symbolic messages from the gods; often these messages are of an unpredictable or even trivial nature. Some of the more typical forms of divination included cleromancy (casting lots), ornithomancy (observing the flight of birds), hieromancy (observing the behavior of sacrificial animals and the condition of their internal organs before and after sacrifice), cleidomancy (interpreting random omens or sounds) and oneiromancy (dream interpretation). The general Greek term for the diviner was *mantis*, a word which is translated "diviner," "soothsayer," "seer" and "prophet." Greeks and Romans often distinguished between "technical divination" (the interpretation of signs, sacrifices, dreams, omens and prodigies) and "natural divination" (the direct inspiration of the *mantis* through trance, ecstasy or vision), though in practice there was no rigid distinction between these two types of divine revelation.

The term "oracle" could refer both to the verbal response of a god to a query as well as to the sacred place where the god was consulted. Local oracles were of several types: lot oracles, incubation oracles and inspired oracles. One of the most famous incubation oracles of antiquity was the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidauros. There healing was believed to be accomplished through the nocturnal appearance of the god to the patient, who was often given instructions about what he or she must do to be cured. The most famous inspired oracle of ancient Greece, which was combined with a lot oracle, was the panhellenic oracle of Apollo at Delphi. There on the seventh day of each month, inquirers could pose questions to the Pythia,

a priestess believed to be the spokesperson for Apollo when seated on Apollo's throne-tripod. The male priests who assisted the Pythia would convey her responses, often in verse, in oral or written form to the inquirer. Apollo gave advice on such matters of state concern as the founding of colonies, the waging of war and issues of sacrificial ritual and protocol, and on such private matters as business trips, occupations, marriages and the whereabouts of stolen property. Thousands of such oracles have survived, most of them in literary sources, though most of them are not authentic. Since oracles were often phrased enigmatically, oracle interpreters (*chresmologoi*) would explain their meaning for a fee.

2.7. Domestic Cults. The ancient Greek extended family (the *oikos*, or household) was the context for a form of cult which focused on the hearth and the tomb. The hearth was the place where meals were cooked over a fire that was kept burning for an entire year. It was ritually extinguished each year only to be rekindled again the same day for the next year. Prayers were said before the hearth at the beginning and end of each day, and libations (drink offerings usually consisting of a mixture of wine and water) were poured out on the ground or on the hearth, which functioned as a domestic altar (Hesiod *Op.* 722-24). The male head of the household functioned as a priest, and such offerings were often made to deceased ancestors, who had been made divine upon death. Offerings to these ancestors were also made at the site of their tombs, located on land owned by the family.

3. Roman Religion.

Though Rome was a single city-state which became the political seat and administrative center of an enormous empire which surrounded the Mediterranean Sea and extended north and northeast into Europe, native Roman religious cults and cultic practices were never adopted in any significant way by those who were not Roman citizens. Even when citizenship was extended to all adult male inhabitants of the Roman empire by the emperor Caracalla in A.D. 212, the practice of the traditional Roman forms of public worship (religious rituals performed on behalf of the state by members of the college of priests and the magistrates, and rituals celebrated by all citizens) and private worship (the *sacra domestica*, "domestic worship," practiced by families and clans) remained almost exclusively the concern of those who were ethnically Roman. The following description of the public and private aspects of Roman religion focuses on the stage of development which had been reached by the reign of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14).

3.1. Central Features. One of the central features of Roman religion throughout its long history was an emphasis on the *pax deorum* ("peace with the gods"), that is, the conviction that the maintenance of a harmonious relationship with the gods was the basis for temporal prosperity and success. All public disasters were assumed to have been caused by a breach in the relationship between the Roman people and the gods and the reasons for these breaches must be diagnosed through divination and rectified by specific cultic measures. The *pax deorum* was maintained by following a number of measures: (1) deities must be placated by sacrifice and prayer, (2) all vows and oaths must be fulfilled exactly, (3) the city must be preserved from hostile influences by the ritual of *lustratio* and (4) strict attention must be paid to all outward signs of the will of the gods. By the imperial period, the most important aspect of the *pax deorum* was the support and protection of the emperor by the gods.

3.2. Roman Deities. The ancient Romans recognized three categories of divine beings. The first type was composed of the autonomous divinities, often arranged in triads (following the Etruscan model), such as Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, or Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. These deities had a relatively fixed character and were individually honored but (unlike Greek divinities), though they could be called "Father" and "Mother," they did not have marital relationships or offspring. Consequently, the Romans had no native mythology recounting the adventures of the gods (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 2.19-20), though they later absorbed Greek myths about the gods, and their deities could never be arranged genealogically. Roman mythology took the form of historical accounts with a pervasive legendary component (e.g., Virgil's account of the origins of Rome in the *Aeneid*). The most important Roman god, Jupiter Optimus Maximus ("Jupiter Best and Greatest") had two partners (not wives), Juno and Minerva. Archaic Roman religion grouped Jupiter with Mars and Quirinus. There is evidence attributed to Quintus Ennius (early second century B.C.) for the introduction of the Greek grouping of Twelve Gods in Rome, called *di consentes* ("united gods"), under the names Juno (= Hera), Vesta (= Hestia), Minerva (= Athena), Ceres (= Demeter), Diana (= Artemis), Venus (= Aphrodite), Mars (= Ares), Mercury (= Hermes), Jupiter (= Zeus), Neptune (= Poseidon), Vulcan (= Hephaestus) and Apollo (Ennius *Annales* 7.240-41). During the terrifying days of Hannibal's invasion of Italy in 217 B.C. during the Second Punic War, the Greek municipal cult of the Twelve Gods was incorporated into the *lectisternium* of the Twelve Gods in Rome (previous *lectisternia* honored

only six gods). A *lectisternium* was a "sacred banquet," held only at times of political or social crisis, at which the images of the Twelve Gods were placed in pairs on each of six couches (Livy 22.10.9-10); *lectisternia* were celebrated until at least A.D. 166 (see *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Marcus Antoninus*, 13.1-2).

The second type of Roman divinity was the countless numbers of secret beings which were jealous of their anonymity and which were constantly helping or hindering the Roman people in their various undertakings, though the Romans were at a disadvantage because they were unable to name them and so control them through the appropriate ritual.

The third category of divinities were the so-called *indigitamenta*, teams of minor deities (existing in extensive lists) each with a minor function in assisting or hindering in each activity or fraction of various human activities, particularly those characteristic of rural areas and those involving private life (Tertullian *Nat.* 11; *De An.* 37-39; Augustine *Civ. D.* 4.11).

3.3. Priests. There were two different terms for "priest" in Roman religion, *pontifex* (a member of a college of priests holding supreme authority in public religious matters in Rome, and later a term for an inferior grade of priest) and *flamen* (a priest charged with carrying out the sacrificial ritual of a particular deity, and in the imperial period a priest of a deceased or living Roman emperor). The offices of priest and magistrate were not mutually exclusive, so that all priesthoods, with two exceptions (the *rex sacrorum*, "king of sacrifices," and the *flamen Dialis*, "priest of Jupiter"), were part-time positions which could be held for life (with the exception of the six Vestal virgins, who held office for thirty years). These customs ensured that no priestly class ever developed in Rome, just as none had developed in Greece.

During the late period of the Republic and the Empire there were four main colleges of priests that developed: (1) the *collegium pontificum*, or "college of priests," consisted eventually of sixteen *flamines*, including three *flamines maiores*, "major priests," the *flamen Dialis*, "priest of Jupiter" (Aulus Gellius *Noc. Att.* 10.15), the *flamen Martialis*, "priest of Mars," and the *flamen Quirinalis*, "priest of Quirinus" (reflecting the archaic triad of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus), together with twelve *flamines minores*, minor priests. Other members of this college included the *rex sacrorum*, "king of sacrifices" (a survival of one function of the Roman kings) and six *virgines vestales*. This college was under the jurisdiction of the *pontifex maximus*, "high priest" (Cicero *Phil.* 11.18), an office regularly held by the emperor during the imperial period. (2) the college of sixteen *augures*, (3) *quindecimviri sacris faciendis*,

a college of fifteen men "for conducting sacrifices," and (4) the *septemviri epulones*, a college of seven, and later ten "supervisors of public feasts"). Only the emperor could belong to all of the priestly colleges simultaneously (Augustus *Res Gestae* 7.3).

Public divination, the *ius divinum*, was an important part of Roman civic religion, for divination was the primary means for diagnosing the causes which were thought to have interrupted "peace with the gods" and for interpreting prodigies, signs sent by the gods. There were three types of public diviners whose chief task was to proclaim divine approval or displeasure by interpreting various types of symbolic messages sent by the gods: the *augures*, who interpreted the flight of birds and the meaning of thunder and lightning (Cicero *De Leg.* 2.30), *haruspices*, who interpreted the entrails of sacrificial animals, and the *quindecimviri*, who kept and interpreted the Sibylline books.

3.4. Prayer. The invocation of a god or gods by name is a universal feature of prayer. When Romans prayed or sacrificed, they always did so with their heads covered. In the polytheistic system of Roman religion, it was necessary to discover which deity one wanted to influence through invoking his or her name (Varro in Augustine *City of God* 4.22; Horace *Odes* 1.2.25-26). The Romans used a kind of "to whom it may concern" prayer formula so that their prayers would be properly addressed. This formula is usually phrased *sive deus sive dea*, or *si deus si dea*, "whether a god or goddess" (Livy 7.26.4; Cicero *Rab. Perd.* 5; Aulus Gellius *Noc. Att.* 2.28.3) or *sive quo alio nomine te appellari volueris*, "or whatever name you want to be called" (Virgil *Aeneid* 2.351; 4.576; Catullus 34.21-22). A regular part of the structure of ancient prayer was the reasons given why a deity should respond favorably to the request. Two common reasons were: (1) because the god had done so in the past, and (2) because it was within his competence to do so now. In Roman religious ritual, Janus was the first deity invoked in prayers and invocations (followed by Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus), while Vesta was the last.

3.5. Sacrifice and Temples. Sacrifice was one of the most important aspects of Roman religion, both public and private. One invariable rule was that male animals were offered to male deities and female animals to female deities. It was considered a good sign if animals went willingly to their slaughter. According to the Roman antiquarian Varro, the early Romans worshipped the gods without statues or temples for 170 years (Augustine *Civ. D.* 4.31), when the Etruscan king Tarquinius Priscus vowed to erect a temple to Jupiter on the capitol (Livy 1.38.7). Roman temples were usually rectangular buildings constructed on a raised plat-

form and had four main features: (1) the inner room, or *cella*, contained the statue of the god to whom the temple was dedicated, together with an altar for the burning of incense; (2) a room or rooms behind the *cella* for the preservation of treasures; (3) an anteroom located in front of the *cella*, surrounded by (4) a roofed colonnade, oblong in Italian temples, but square in Romano-Celtic temples. A stone altar was usually located in front of the temple, where animal sacrifices were made. With the sacrifice of smaller animals, such as goats or lambs, the priest and the sacrificers could eat the edible portions of the sacrifice. The sacrifice of larger animals, such as oxen, provided a feast for a larger number of people, and often the excess meat was sold to the public in the market.

3.6. The Imperial Cult. The antecedents of the Roman imperial cult are to be found in the civic cults of the Hellenistic kings (see 4.2 below). The Hellenistic period is characterized in part by a tendency to blur the traditional Greek distinction between mortal and immortal. From the end of the third century B.C. on, there were many cults of Roman magistrates instituted by the Greek cities they controlled. The deified Julius Caesar and the deified Augustus, who were consecrated by official acts of the Roman senate, became part of the official pantheon of the Roman people. The imperial cult was of far greater importance in the provinces than in Rome itself. In Roman Asia in particular, the imperial cult provided a presence for an absent emperor. In the traditional form of the imperial cult, the emperor was worshiped as a god only after his death and apotheosis. In the imperial cults in Anatolia, the divinized emperor was usually associated with other, more traditional, gods such as Dea Roma or various groups of Olympian deities (see Emperors).

4. Hellenistic Religions.

4.1. Introduction. The Hellenistic period began with the conquests of Alexander the Great during the late fourth century B.C. Technically it concluded with the Roman conquest of the last independent Hellenistic kingdom, Ptolemaic Egypt, at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Nevertheless, it actually continued on into the Roman period because of the enormous cultural influence which the Greeks had on their Roman conquerors. The immense political, social and cultural changes accompanying the conquests of Alexander meant that the tension between continuity and change was one of the central features of the Hellenistic age.

4.2. Hellenistic Ruler Cults. The development of the ruler cult of Alexander the Great, followed by the cults of subsequent Hellenistic kings, was in many respects

an adjustment to the political reality that the cities were no longer independent. As such they required a type of cult appropriate to their subordinate status. One of the major forms of this adjustment is reflected in the development of the ruler cult. Such cults (with priests, processions, sacrifices and often games) were founded in honor of various Greek rulers such as Lysander of Sparta and Dion of Syracuse. Alexander the Great both requested and was granted a cult with divine honors. Greek cities often benefited from various privileges and benefactions from those Hellenistic rulers in whose honor they established cults. Cities normally took the initiative in founding ruler cults and these cults were integral to the affairs of each city-state. After the death of Ptolemy I (c. 280 B.C.), his son and successor Ptolemy II Philadelphos arranged for the formal deification of his father Ptolemy I and his mother Berenike, as *theoi sōtēres*, "savior* gods." In the 270s, Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe II were officially deified while yet living as *theoi adelphoi*, "sibling gods," and were offered divine worship in the shrine of Alexander the Great. After Ptolemy II, each successive Ptolemaic king and queen was deified upon accession and worshiped as part of the royal household.

4.3. Private Associations. During the Hellenistic and Roman period there were three types of voluntary associations (*collegia*), each of which had a religious character: (1) professional corporation or guilds (fishermen, fruit growers, ship owners, etc.), (2) funerary societies (*collegia tenuiorum*), and (3) religious or cult societies (*collegia sodalicia*), which centered in the worship of a deity.

4.4. Mystery Religions. *Mystery religion* is a general term for a variety of ancient public and private cults which shared a number of common features. The term *mystery* is based on the Greek term *mystēs*, meaning "initiant," from which is derived the term *mysterion*, meaning "ritual of initiation," that is, the secret rites which formed the center of such cults. In contrast to the public character of most traditional cults of the Greek city-states, the mystery religions were private associations into which interested individuals could be initiated by undergoing a secret ritual. The mystery religions did not appear suddenly in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic period, though the period of their greatest popularity appears to have been the first through the third centuries A.D. Many of the mystery cults in the Greek world were profoundly influenced by the oldest of all mystery cults (referred to as "the mysteries"), the Eleusinian mysteries with their cult center in Eleusis in Attica. While very little is known about these rituals of initiation (called *teletē*), they appear to have consisted of

three interrelated features of a mystery cult initiation ritual: (1) *dromena*, "things acted out," or the enactment of the myth on which the cult was based; (2) *legomena*, "things spoken," or the oral presentation of the myth on which the cult was based; and (3) *deiknymena*, "things shown," or the ritual presentation of symbolic objects to the initiant. Initiants who experienced the central mystery ritual became convinced that they would enjoy *sōtēria*, "salvation," both in the sense of health and prosperity in this life as well as a blissful afterlife (Firmicus Maternus *De Errore Prof. Rel.* 22.1). Mystery religions were once thought to share a common focus in a divinity who represented the annual decay and renewal of vegetation through his or her death and restoration to life. In recent years the great diversity among those cults formerly lumped together as "mystery cults" has become increasingly apparent. Though there were many mystery cults in antiquity, only the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Mysteries of Mithra will be summarized.

4.4.1. The Eleusinian Mysteries. This cult was native to Attica until it was taken over by Athenians upon the unification of Attica under Athens. Originating as early as the fifteenth century B.C., the cult continued to flourish until the Telesterion, the rectangular temple in Eleusis which served as the center for the cult, was destroyed by the Goths in A.D. 395. The earliest literary evidence for this cult is found in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, which originated c. 550 B.C. A story about the goddess Demeter and her daughter Persephone served as the central myth of the cult. Hades, the god of the underworld, seized Persephone and took her down into the underworld as his wife. Grieving for her daughter, Demeter sought her whereabouts for nine days, when Helios (the sun god) revealed to Demeter what had happened to her daughter. In anger Demeter left Olympus and caused a drought which deprived humans of food and gods of sacrifices. Zeus therefore sent Hermes to strike a compromise with Hades. Persephone was returned to her mother on the condition that she spend one-third of every year in the underworld with Hades. In this myth Demeter is literally the "earth mother," while Persephone represents grain. Persephone's presence with her mother for two-thirds of the year represents the rainy season (primarily during the winter) when crops flourish, while her descent to Hades each year represents the dry, dormant season of the year (Hesiod *Op.* 582-88).

These vegetation deities were understood as metaphors for life and death, and those initiants who voluntarily participated in this cult believed that their ritual identification with Persephone would guarantee them a blissful afterlife (Isocrates *Paneg.* 28-29). One

fragment of Sophocles (found in Plutarch *How to Study Poetry* 22F) emphasizes the salvific benefits of initiation: "Thrice blest are those who go to Hades after beholding these rites. For them alone is there life there; for all others there is only evil" (see also Pindar in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 3.3.17).

Initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries was a voluntary, two-staged process. The first stage involved initiation into the Lesser Mysteries celebrated annually during the month Anthesterion. After the interval of at least one year, a candidate could be initiated into the Greater Mysteries, which took place during the month Boedromion (September/October). The ritual began in Athens with a gathering of the initiants and the offering of a sacrificial pig in honor of Demeter. Thereafter there was a torchlight parade to Eleusis culminating at the Telesterion, or "hall of initiation." The initiation concluded when the initiants were led into the Telesterion, and to the innermost room of that temple called the Anaktoron. There the initiation was completed. Though ancient sources divulge very little information about the specific character of the initiation ritual, the *dromena* ("things enacted") probably consisted of a nocturnal drama depicting Demeter's sufferings, the *legomena* ("things spoken") possibly consisted of a recitation of a myth similar to that preserved in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, and the *deiknymena* ("things shown") may have consisted of the display of symbolic ritual objects such as an ear of grain.

4.4.2. The Mysteries of Mithra. Mithras was worshiped as the sun god, and the name is of Iranian origin. The actual Iranian connections of this cult are dubious, however. Though the earliest datable evidence for the existence of the Mithraic mysteries is the first century A.D., it is likely that this cult originated in the first century B.C. This mystery cult flourished in the second through the fourth centuries A.D., after which the triumph of Christianity resulted in its ultimate disappearance. Information about this cult is primarily available through archeological evidence, which suggests that it was particularly popular in Italy and in the region of the Danube. Epigraphical evidence indicates that members of the cult included soldiers, bureaucrats, merchants and slaves (women were excluded). The central focus of the cult was the preparation for astral salvation, which would be realized upon death when the soul would ascend through the seven planetary spheres to the place of its origin. Members of the cult were initiated into seven ascending levels or grades of initiation, each of which had the protection of a planetary god: (1) *corax*, "raven" (Mercury); (2) *nymphus*, "bride" (Venus); (3) *miles*,

"soldier" (Mars); (4) *leo*, "lion" (Jupiter); (5) *Perses*, "Persian" (Moon); (6) *heliodromus*, "courier of the sun" (Sun); and (7) *pater*, "father" (Saturn). This cult worshiped in artificial caverns, structures called mithraea (fifty-eight of which have been identified by archeologists), located below grade. Every Mithraeum had an artistic representation of the *tauroctony*, or "bull-slaying" scene, in which Mithras is portrayed as slaying a bull, and it was probably the experience of this event, presented through the medium of a ritual, that constituted the central salvific events for adherents to the cult.

5. Paul and Greco-Roman Religion.

5.1. Introduction. Though there is little doubt that Paul must be understood primarily in terms of Judaism (he claims to have been an observant Jew and a Pharisee in Phil 3:5-6), it must also be recognized that he was a Hellenistic Jew from Tarsus who spoke and wrote fluent Greek and who lived in a context in which Judaism had undergone the process of Hellenization to various extents (see Jew, Paul the). Paul was fully aware that his pagan contemporaries recognized many gods and many lords (1 Cor 8:5). Both the Pauline letters and the Acts of the Apostles, the two primary sources for our knowledge of Paul, reflect the ways in which aspects of Hellenistic and Roman religious beliefs and practices had an effect on Paul and his missionary* activity.

5.2. Paul and the Mystery Religions. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, representatives of the German "history-of-religions school" maintained that early Christian sacramentalism (particularly the baptismal* experience of sharing the death* and resurrection* of Christ* reflected in Rom 6) was derived from the dying-and-rising god figure who was supposedly a central feature of Hellenistic mystery cults. Following R. Bultmann, several scholars have argued that Paul formulated part of his argument in Romans 6 and 1 Corinthians 15 in opposition to a Hellenistic sacramental theology which had been adopted by some segments of early Christianity (see Paul and His Interpreters). This theology consisted of a form of realized eschatology* understood in terms of the present realization of a resurrection mode of existence.

A. J. M. Wedderburn has provided a series of convincing arguments concerning the mystery cults and Paul's relationship to them: (1) The mystery cults were widespread in the first century A.D., and not primarily in the second century and later as some scholars have argued. (2) The mystery cults had no standard theology centering on the promise of immortality through

the ritual experience of sharing the death-and-resurrection experience of the cult deity. (3) The view that the mysteries offered immortality through the ritual identification of the initiate with a dying-and-rising deity is not verified by the surviving evidence about the significance of such mystery initiations. (4) The close connection between baptism* and the Spirit* of God has no analogy in the mysteries.

Some scholars (H.-J. Schoeps; L. Goppelt; H. Böhlig) have proposed that Paul was, at least indirectly, influenced by the particular form of mystery cult found at Tarsus, the annual public festival in honor of the vegetation god Sardon-Heracles. During this festival an image of the god was burned on a funeral pyre. This cult reportedly centered on the dying of nature caused by the intense heat of the summer sun and its resurrection to new life when the rainy season began. In this cult Sardon-Heracles was celebrated as "savior," and the title "Lord" was also applied to him, supposedly in a way similar to Paul's use of the designation "Lord"* for Christ. More recent evidence suggests, however, that the cult of Sardon-Heracles cannot be considered a mystery cult, and it seems likely that the Pauline use of the titles "savior"* and "Lord" were derived from Jewish religious language rather than from the admittedly analogous use of religious language in the Greco-Roman world. However, there are what appear to be a number of words and phrases in Pauline vocabulary which seem to have been derived ultimately from the language used to describe aspects of the mystery cults. These terms, which include "wisdom"* (1 Cor 1:17-31), "knowledge"* (1 Cor 8:1; 13:8), "spiritual person" contrasted with "psychic person," (1 Cor 2:14-16), "to be initiated" (Phil 4:12), "mystery"* and "perfect"* or "mature" (1 Cor 2:5-6), "unutterable" (2 Cor 12:4), do not appear to be drawn directly from the mystery cults but had much earlier passed into the common fund of figurative religious language. In particular instances it appears that Paul actually adopted the language of his opponents in his attempt to refute them (e.g., 1 Cor 2:6-13).

5.3. Paul and the Imperial Cult. The imperial cult was particularly influential throughout Asia Minor, including the eastern region where Tarsus was located. Beginning with the divine Augustus, Roman emperors* were frequently lauded with such titles as *kyrios* ("Lord") and *sōtēr* ("savior"), and these titles were also used of Jesus by Paul and other early Christians (Rom 1:4; 4:24; 16:2; Phil 2:11; 3:20). While these titles are used of God frequently in the Greek OT, they would have had clear associations with the imperial cult to many ancient Mediterraneans. While the title

"Son of God"* was certainly derived from the OT (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7), the phrase *divi filius* ("son of god") was used of Augustus (referring to his adopted father Julius Caesar) and was a title taken over by other Roman emperors to underline their filial relationship to their divinized predecessors, so that this designation would also have had associations with the imperial cult for many ancients.

5.4. Paul and Pagan Sacrifices (1 Cor 8:1-13; 10:14-33). Since observant Jews had scruples against idolatrous* practices and followed dietary laws based on the Torah, which prohibited the consumption of meat from unclean animals or even clean animals not killed in a ritually appropriate manner, Jews and Jewish Christians were naturally reluctant to eat the meat of animals sacrificed to pagan deities (2 Macc 6:7, 12; 7:42; 4 Macc 5:2; *m. 'Abod. Zar.* 2:3; Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; Rev 2:14, 20; *Did.* 6:3; Aristides *Apol.* 15:5; Justin *Dial. Tryph.* 35; see Food). While part of the victims sacrificed in Greek temples was consumed on the premises by priests and worshipers, the rest was sold to the public in the market place. The practice of eating "meat sacrificed to idols*" (*eidōlothyton* in 1 Cor 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:19; or *hierothyton* in 1 Cor 10:28), could refer to participation in a sacrificial meal in a temple or during the distribution of sacrificial meat in the course of a public religious festival, or to the practice of eating meat purchased at the marketplace but which had originally been part of a pagan sacrifice. Paul thought that when people sacrificed to idols they were really sacrificing to demons (1 Cor 10:20), a view common in Judaism (Deut 32:17; Ps 19:5; *Jub.* 1:11; 11:4-6; *1 Enoch* 19:1), and even found among some pagans such as the philosopher Celsus, though for him *daimones* were petty deities (Origen *Contra Celsum* 8.24).

5.5. Paul in Acts. In the narrative world of Acts the ubiquitous presence of a variety of Greco-Roman religious traditions and cults become the backdrop for Paul's missionary activity in Anatolia and Europe. In Philippi Paul exorcised a *pneuma Pythōna*, or "spirit of divination," from a young female slave used as a fortune teller by her owners (Acts 16:16-18; see Demons, Exorcism). While in Ephesus* (a famous ancient center for the practice of magic*), those who responded to the gospel reportedly rejected sorcery and burned their magical books (Acts 19:18-19). These clashes with paganism are either used by Paul as opportunities for proclaiming the existence and claims of the one true God, or reflect pagan hostility in response to Paul's successful proclamation of the gospel.*

5.5.1. Deities in Disguise (Acts 14:11-13). Following the narrative of the healing of a cripple at Lystra by

Barnabas* and Paul, the onlookers make the acclamation "The gods have come down to us in human form," and they called Barnabas Zeus and Paul Hermes (cf. Acts 28:6). The priest of the local temple of Zeus then brought oxen and garlands with the intention of sacrificing to Barnabas-Zeus and Paul-Hermes. From Homer on, Greek tradition entertained the possibility that gods could disguise themselves as human beings (*Iliad* 24.345-47; *Odyssey* 1.105; 2.268; 17.485-87; Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* 94-97, 275-81; Plato *Soph.* 216b; *Rep.* 2.20 [381b-382c]; Silius Italicus 7.176; Ovid *Metam.* 8.626), though such disguises were not usually maintained very long and were generally followed by a recognition scene. Zeus and Hermes were occasionally paired since Zeus had chosen Hermes as his herald and spokesperson (Diodorus Siculus 5.75.2; Apollodorus 3.10.2; Iamblichus *De Myst.* 1.1). Paul was identified by the onlookers with Hermes precisely because he was the chief speaker (Acts 14:12). The closest mythological parallel recounts how Zeus and Hermes, disguised as mortals, were barred from a thousand homes until welcomed by the aged farm couple Baucis and Philemon (Ovid *Metam.* 8.611-724). In Greek tradition the appearance of a deity is traditionally the occasion when divine honors are instituted, a fact which accounts for the behavior of the priest of the temple of Zeus in Acts 14:13.

5.5.2. The "Unknown God" (Acts 17:23). In the context of a visit to Athens* narrated in Acts 17:16-34 (a section in which the author of Luke-Acts reveals a familiarity with philosophical traditions and language), Paul visits the Areopagus and, in the manner of an ancient philosopher, directs an apologetic speech to the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers present. In the introduction to this speech (the *captatio benevolentiae*), he congratulates the Athenians for their piety and then refers to an altar in the vicinity with an inscription "to an unknown god," claiming that it is this God whom he is now proclaiming to them. The German classical scholar E. Norden discussed this passage in detail on the basis of the evidence of the unknown gods of antiquity and claimed that the conception of an unknown god is oriental rather than Greek; this view has been refuted by P. W. van der Horst. Jerome thought that Paul had rephrased the inscription (Jerome *Comm. in Tit.* 1.12; *Ep.* 70), a view held by many modern scholars. Pausanias reports the existence of altars to "unknown gods" (in the plural) in Athens and Olympia (Pausanias 1.1.4; 5.14.8). Important cult centers such as Athens, Olympia and Pergamon had dozens of altars to traditional Greek gods (Zeus, Athena, Hermes, etc.), to less traditional deities (e.g., Helios, "sun," and Selene, "moon"), to abstrac-

tions (e.g., Pistis, "fidelity," and Arete, "virtue") and (in an attempt to be complete, i.e., to have a *pantheos peribōmismos*, a "precinct for altars of all gods without exception") to "unknown gods" and (safer still) to "all the gods." Though no inscription has been found which exactly reproduces the phraseology of Acts 17:23, it is quite possible that such inscriptions actually existed.

5.5.3. Artemis of the Ephesians (Acts 19:23-41). In this episode (perhaps alluded to in 1 Cor 15:32 and 2 Cor 1:8-11), Paul's success in proclaiming the gospel in the Roman Province of Asia is perceived as threatening the livelihood of the silver-workers guild, which made miniature silver replicas of the temple of Artemis to be sold as souvenirs or amulets (Acts 19:24). The temple of Artemis in Ephesus* was one of the seven wonders of the world (Strabo 14.1.20-23; Pausanias 2.2.5; 4.31; Achilles Tatius 7-8; Xenophon *Eph. Ephesian Tale* 1.1-3), and the city was given the title *neōkoros*, "temple-keeper" (Acts 19:35), as a major center of the imperial cult. The acclamation "Great is Artemis of the Ephesians" (Acts 19:28) reflects a popular title of the goddess (Xenophon *Eph. Ephesian Tale* 1.11).

See also ATHENS, PAUL AT; DEMONS AND EXORCISM; ELEMENTS/ELEMENTAL SPIRITS OF THE WORLD; EMPERORS, ROMAN; EPHEBUS, PAUL AT; FOOD OFFERED TO IDOLS AND JEWISH FOOD LAWS; GNOSIS, Gnosticism; HELLENISM; IDOLATRY; MAGIC; PHILOSOPHY; WORSHIP.

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REMARRIAGE. See MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE, ADULTERY AND INCEST.

REMNANT THEOLOGY. See ISRAEL; RESTORATION OF ISRAEL.

RESTORATION OF ISRAEL

Paul's attitude toward his people Israel* often seems quite contradictory. In one of his earliest letters, Paul comes down hard on "the Jews," affirming that "the wrath* of God has come upon them *eis telos*" (in one translation, "finally"; 1 Thess 2:14-16). In one of his latest letters, however, he expects that "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). Did Paul's view of Israel's future develop over the course of time or perhaps change periodically according to the missionary* situation with which he was confronted? In order to understand Paul's perspective on the future of Israel it is essential to appreciate the OT and Jewish background, for Paul's appropriation of the OT and his understanding of it provide the framework of his theology. Paul's Jewishness and immersion in biblical thought would have rendered him incapable of developing his theology apart from his traditional and biblical heritage. Against this background, furthermore, the apparent contradictions in Paul's perspective on Israel and her future tend to dissipate.

1. The Restoration of Israel in OT and Jewish Tradition
2. The Restoration of Israel in Paul

1. The Restoration of Israel in OT and Jewish Tradition.

For the purposes of this survey, the background of Paul's thinking can be traced to the two main streams of tradition which flowed out of the exilic and post-exilic situations.

1.1. The Exilic and Post-exilic Situations.

1.1.1. The Exile. The exile which came upon the northern kingdom in 722 B.C. and upon the southern kingdom in 587 B.C. represents a tragic phase in Israel's history and religious self-concept. A fundamental tenet of the ancient Israelite faith was that Yahweh had promised Israel land and statehood as signs of his special covenant relationship with her. These institutions included a capital city and a formal sanctuary where sacrificial worship was carried out. All these had been attained during the reigns of David and Solomon. Consequently the annexation of Israel to the Assyrian empire and of Judah to the Babylonian empire came as a direct challenge to the professed heritage of ancient Israel.

The prophets' response to this situation both before and after Israel's exile was basically to call their audience back to allegiance to Yahweh. The people were challenged to fulfill their responsibilities as his covenant people. From the prophetic perspective the exile was an act of God that was both punitive and redemptive. For, on the one hand, the prophets preached that the Exile was a judgment of God for Israel's failure to live up to her obligations as Yahweh's chosen people. The deportations of both Israel and Judah were understood to be Yahweh's way of dealing with the sins of his people. On the other hand, however, the prophets preached that if the people repented, there was hope of restoration for Israel in the future.

1.1.2. The Post-exilic Situation. When the Persians gained control of the Babylonian empire, they attempted to secure peace among a large and diverse mix of nationalities and cultures. This was done by allowing deported peoples to return to their homelands and to set up theocracies (i.e., political institutions that had priestly leadership). The edict of Cyrus allowed for the return of deported Jews to the homeland, as well as for the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem and the Temple. Many Jews, however, who had been exiled to Babylonia did not take the opportunity to return to Palestine, for life there had become quite comfortable. And none of the ten tribes of the northern kingdom ever returned. A Davidic prince, Sheshbazzar, led the first group of those who returned, but he was not successful in reestablishing a new Jewish community in the homeland. An ambitious nephew, Zerubbabel, followed and sought to reopen the temple at Jerusalem to be a national and religious focal point. He was eventually removed by the Persian governor, who took measures to discourage further displays of royal ambitions. It was at this stage that the high priest of Jerusalem (Joshua ben Jehozadak) was vested with whatever leadership powers were deemed

appropriate by the Persian governor. In 515 B.C. a modest temple was completed, which did not compare with the splendor of the former Solomonic Temple.

1.2. Streams of Tradition: The "Already" and the "Not Yet." From this point in Israel's history, two major streams of tradition developed which differed radically in their interpretation of the postexilic situation (see Steck 1968; Hengel 1973, 321-22). According to one pervasive Jewish interpretation, the promised restoration had *already* occurred, as evidenced by such events as the return from Exile and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple. This perspective was based on the theocracy, centered on the Temple and the priesthood, and stressed the putative continuity with the preexilic cult. According to another influential interpretation, however, the restoration had *not yet* occurred and could still be expected in the eschatological future. For although the Israelites could return from exile, a restoration of all twelve tribes did not occur; although the Israelites could again live in the promised land, they did so under foreign rulers; and although the Temple was rebuilt, it was not the center of a unified people in its own land. Hence the theological ambiguity of the events at the turn of the post-exilic period allowed for both of these mainstream traditions to flourish, which they did throughout the Second Temple period and beyond.

1.2.1. The Theocratic Stream. The stream of tradition associated with Temple circles had as its theological agenda the establishment of the postexilic cult. According to Ezra 1:1, the seventy years of exile with which 2 Chronicles ends (36:16-21) are now over, and Yahweh has raised up Cyrus. Thus Israel is separated from the dark period of Exile, in which Yahweh requited the guilt of the last preexilic generation; the land has in between received the Sabbath years which were denied it; Israel stands again in continuity with the salvific dealings of God before the Exile. If Israel falls into sin, the cult can provide forgiveness and atonement. It does not matter that the northern tribes never returned from exile, nor even that most Judeans remained in the Diaspora, nor that all Israel (even those in Judah and Jerusalem) remain under foreign rule. The restoration has already been realized. For according to this perspective, there is only one theologically relevant factor: whether they adhere to the Jerusalem cult.

The theocratic tradition displays the "pattern of religion" which E. P. Sanders has called "covenantal nomism," identifying it as the common denominator of the various expressions of Palestinian Judaism from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. "Briefly put," writes Sanders, "covenantal nomism is the view that one's place in God's

plan is established on the basis of the covenant and that the covenant requires as the proper response of man his obedience to its commandments, while providing means of atonement for transgression" (Sanders 1977, 75). "All those who are maintained in the covenant by obedience, atonement and God's mercy belong to the group which will be saved" (Sanders 1977, 422). Unfortunately, however, Sanders has so stressed continuity in the covenantal relationship between God and his people, and readily available atonement for sin by means of repentance, that another major stream of tradition in Palestinian Judaism, which emphasizes prolonged *discontinuity* in the relationship as punishment for sin, has gone practically unnoticed. In no way can it be said that the "business-as-usual" approach of the theocratic stream prevailed in every quarter.

1.2.2. The Eschatological Stream. This stream of Jewish tradition takes the position that Israel has not yet been restored, but rather remains, until the eschatological restoration, under the wrath of God which came upon the people in 722 and 587 B.C. for their disobedience. From this perspective the Second Temple and its cult has no efficacy for atonement. In fact the Second Temple is often either considered polluted or deficient (cf. Dan 3:38 LXX; Sir 36:14; 1 Enoch 89:73; 90:28-33; Tob 14:5; T. Levi 16:1-5; 17:10-11; 2 Apoc. Bar. 68:5-7; T. Moses 4:8) or passed over altogether (cf. Yadin, 1:182-87). Many penitential prayers of the Second Temple period lament the present plight of Israel as a nation (e.g., Dan 9:4-19; Ezra 9:6-15; Neh 9:5-37; Bar 1:15-3:8; Pr Azar; Sir 36:1-17; see further Scott "Gal 3:10"). The people are seen as continuing under the judgment and curse of God. Theologically speaking, "all Israel is still in Exile just as before, whether she now finds herself in the Land, which others rule, or in the Diaspora" (Steck 1968, 454). Furthermore, this condition of Exile would last until God intervenes in the eschatological future, which is now recognized as a time well beyond the seventy years which Jeremiah had envisioned (cf. Dan 9:24: 70 x 7 years). Because God's judgment and curse on Israel persists, the whole sinful history from the Exodus on, which led to this judgment, also continues on the people. Therefore, the penitential prayers repeatedly acknowledge Israel's national guilt in order to declare the justice of God for the ongoing judgment (cf. von Rad). The earlier salvific deeds of God can now be only a pledge for the urgent plea that the expected restoration might come in order to bring an end to the present curse and remove the guilt of the people.

The eschatological stream is in no way limited to a