

Hans-Ulrich Weidemann (ed.)

Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity

The Reception of New Testament Texts
in Ancient Ascetic Discourses

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht



Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus / Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments

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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity

The Reception of New Testament Texts
in Ancient Ascetic Discourses

Edited by Hans-Ulrich Weidemann

With an Introduction by Elizabeth A. Clark

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Preface

This volume contains the proceedings of the conference on Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity which took place from 26 to 28 October 2011 at the Catholic Department of Siegen University. I would therefore first of all like to express my deep gratitude towards all the authors whose participation in the conference made it a big success and whose contributions lay the foundation for this volume.

Moreover, I was able to recruit several other authors who deserve credit for complementing the volume with additional articles. A very special word of thanks goes to Elizabeth A. Clark who willingly agreed to write an all-encompassing yet concise introduction and helped me with her advice on many occasions, and also to Virginia Burrus who generously contributed a second article.

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Siegen, 15. August 2012

Hans-Ulrich Weidemann

Inhalt

Preface	5
<i>Elizabeth A. Clark</i>	
Introduction	11
New Testament Texts and their Ascetic Reception	
<i>Hans-Ulrich Weidemann</i>	
Engelsgleiche, Abstinente – und ein moderater Weintrinker Asketische Sinnproduktion als literarische Technik im Lukasevangelium und im 1. Timotheusbrief	21
<i>Andreas Merkt</i>	
Reading Paul and Drinking Wine	69
<i>Martin Meiser</i>	
Johannes der Täufer als Asket	78
<i>Michael Theobald</i>	
Die Hochzeit zu Kana (Joh 2,1 – 11) – ein Problem für Asketen?	92
<i>Thomas R. Karmann</i>	
„Er erkannte sie aber nicht, ...“ Maria, das Virginitätsideal und Mt 1,18 – 25 im späten 4. Jahrhundert	118
<i>Liesbeth Van der Sypt</i>	
The Use of 1 Cor 7:36 – 38 in Early Christian Asceticism	148

Ascetic Texts and their Reception of the New Testament. Literature of the Eastern Mediterranean

Jeremy W. Barrier

Asceticism in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla's* Beatitudes

The Coptic Heidelberg Papyrus as an Exegetical Test Case 163

Judith L. Kovacs

Was Paul an Antinomian, a Radical Ascetic, or a Sober Married Man?

Exegetical Debates in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis* 3 186

Catherine M. Chin

Who is the Ascetic Exegete?

Angels, Enchantments, and Transformative Food in Origen's *Homilies*

on Joshua 203

Andrew S. Jacobs

Sordid Bodies

Christ's Circumcision and Sacrifice in Origen's Fourteenth Homily on

Luke 219

Virginia Burrus

"The Passover Still Takes Place Today"

Exegesis, Asceticism, Judaism, and Origen's *On Passover* 235

Johan Leemans

Biblical Interpretation in Basil of Caesarea's *Asketikon* 246

Brian J. Matz

Ascetic Readings of the Agricultural Parables in Matt 13:1 – 48 in the

Cappadocians 268

David Brakke

Reading the New Testament and Transforming the Self in Evagrius of

Pontus 284

Mariya Horyacha

The Spiritual Interpretation of the Pauline Writings in the Ascetic

Writings of Pseudo-Macarius 300

Samuel Moawad

Schenute von Atripe und die Auslegung der Heiligen Schriften 320

Stephen J. Davis

Completing the Race and Receiving the Crown 2 Timothy 4:7–8 in Early Christian Monastic Epitaphs at Kellia and Pherne	334
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**Ascetic Texts and their Reception of the New Testament.
Literature of the Western Mediterranean**

Andreas Hoffmann

„ <i>Ad Dei munera per diuina praecepta</i> “ (Cypr., <i>hab. uirg.</i> 2) Ethische Unterweisung und ihre biblische Begründung in Cyprians Schrift <i>de habitu uirginum</i>	377
--	-----

David G. Hunter

Asceticism, Priesthood, and Exegesis 1 Corinthians 7:5 in Jerome and his Contemporaries	413
--	-----

Elizabeth A. Clark

Jews, Camels, and “Literal” Exegesis The Pelagian Treatise <i>De Diuitiis</i>	428
--	-----

Virginia Burrus

“Honor the Fathers” Exegesis and Authority in the Life of Saint Helia	445
--	-----

Contributors	458
------------------------	-----

Index of Biblical References	460
--	-----

Elizabeth A. Clark

Introduction

Although the Siegen conference on “Asceticism and Exegesis in Early Christianity” focused largely on patristic authors’ deployment of Biblical texts to create ascetic meaning for Christians of late antiquity, it is helpful to recall that New Testament authors and editors *themselves* reworked earlier materials to produce messages pertaining to asceticism. Through literary compositions that drew on materials at-hand and that were in turn to become sources for patristic commentators, New Testament authors and editors displayed their creative ingenuity. Here, Hans-Ulrich Weidemann’s essay illustrates the ways in which the authors or editors of Luke and 1 Timothy subtly reworked the materials before them to provide these materials with a different “afterlife”, one that would furnish later Christians with a host of examples for imitation.

Examining numerous passages in Luke, Weidemann shows how that editor reworked his Markan materials to cast the disciples as model celibates: even Peter, whose unmarried status might be questioned, is “rescued” for asceticism by Luke’s positioning the pericope of Peter’s cure of his mother-in-law (Luke 4:38–39) to a time *before* his call to discipleship in Luke 5. Likewise, Luke recasts the discussion of marriage and the afterlife (Luke 20:34–36) so that followers of Jesus are urged to adopt the unmarried, angelic state here and now, not just at the resurrection of the dead, as Mark 12:25 implies. As for dietary asceticism, Luke’s John the Baptist stands in the Nazarite tradition, abstaining from wine (Luke 1:15), while Jesus is said to live forty days in the wilderness without eating, where he is not, as in Mark 1:13, “served by” angels. The Last Supper, as described in Luke 22:14–38, casts that meager meal as a mere “breaking of bread”, and “breaking bread” without wine will be the regime of Jesus’ followers in the intervening time until they again eat and drink at his table in the Kingdom. Luke’s asceticized portrayals of the celibate Jesus and his teaching, of John the Baptist, and of the unmarried disciples would give patristic commentators much ammunition for their ascetic warfare – as (Thomas Karmann shows) do the nativity stories in Matthew and Luke, which in the fourth century become interpretive sites for Mary as a model for Christian ascetics.

In 1 Timothy, however, we see a different pattern. Widely understood as an attempt to tame Paul’s more ascetic message in 1 Corinthians and other “genuine” Pauline books, 1 Timothy represents Paul as counseling the previously-ascetic Timothy to abandon his water-only regimen, taking wine

“for the sake of his stomach” (1 Tim 5:23). Nor is Timothy to wander about as a homeless missionary, but to “stay in Ephesus” (1 Tim 1:3) as part of the city’s Christian community. Borrowing a phrase from Gail Corrington Streete, Weidemann labels as “counter-asceticism” 1 Timothy’s recommendation of an orderly, disciplined but *not* radically ascetic Christian life. Exhibiting moderate control now trumps the more rigorous message of 1 Corinthians. “Paul” has “corrected” himself.

If such examples illustrate the ingenious ways in which authors of what became canonical New Testament books could shape their material to deliver a particular message, patristic authors had an even more riotous field-day in the production of ascetic meaning. Such production, to be sure, required “interpretation”. “Interpretation is work”, Catherine Chin claims in her discussion of Origen, and indeed, the essays in this volume show just how *much* labor early Christian commentators expended to align Scripture with their ascetic commitments – or, alternatively, to read Scripture’s “harder” passages in ways that lessened renunciatory demands on Christians of late antiquity. “Interpretation” was directly related to what the exegetes needed the texts to *do* for their respective audiences. Some wished to advocate a stringent interpretation of Scriptural texts while avoiding charges of “heresy”, while others read Scriptural passages in ways that would not overwhelm “average” Christians with sacrifices greater than they could bear. Here looms the question of the commentator’s audience: for writers addressing only their fellow-monastics, the “average” Christian might fall out of consideration altogether. Some writers go so far as to imply that ascetic devotees were the *only* real Christians (see David Brakke’s essay on Evagrius Ponticus, and Andrew Jacobs’, on Origen): an ascetic version of Christianity *was* Christianity, meant for all. Throughout, the startling malleability of Scriptural texts, which skilled writers often pressed (in Virginia Burrus’ phrase) to an “abyss of interpretation” is evident. As Liesbeth Van der Sypt shows in regard to ancient interpretations of 1 Corinthians 7:36–38, there *was* no agreement about the “plain” meaning of some passages.

Asceticism in late ancient Christianity included a range of practices and renunciations. Essays in this volume center largely on just three. The exegesis of sexual renunciation, or at least moderation in marriage, is examined in essays by Judith Kovacs and David Hunter. Second, dietary practices receive the essayists’ attention: verses relating to wine-drinking, as Andreas Merkt shows, required ingenious interpretation for those who had “renounced”. Michael Theobald points up how urgently “interpretation” was needed to make the narrative of Jesus changing water into wine at the wedding at Cana (John 2) into an ethically, spiritually, and theologically satisfying tale. The dietary regime of John the Baptist (especially if the locusts were removed) could inspire later Christian ascetics, as Martin Meiser shows. Some food

practices here detailed startle the modern reader: while all ascetics reduced food intake (although cenobitic communities featured a heartier diet than desert anchorites), Origen can depict both angels and ascetics as “eating” the Scriptures, as Chin and Burrus note.

Third, the degree to which a radical asceticism required the renunciation of riches and property, with no allowance for interpretive “hedging”, is illustrated in Elizabeth Clark’s essay. Even if Scripture did not explicitly mention such “renunciations”, as in the case of John the Baptist, later patristic authors, Meiser shows, could detail the items he allegedly “renounced” in his pursuit of the “angelic life”. And, as Andreas Hoffmann writes in his essay on Cyprian’s *De habitu virginum*, the dedicated virgins from higher social circles in Carthage were sternly warned that any display of expensive clothing and jewelry would align them with the Whore of Babylon of Revelation 17:1–4.

The essays in this volume reveal both scholars’ intense interest in early Christian asceticism in recent decades as well as changed directions in scholarship. Doubtless some of the interest and the changes relate to wider theoretical and scholarly currents, most especially, the focus on “the body” and attention to textual interpretation, now simply called “reading”. Throughout these essays, the focus on “the body” is supreme: the bodies of Christians, the body of Christ (somewhat problematic in its “Jewishness”), bodies of angels and demons, even the “body” of Scripture. Up for debate was whether the body should be considered solid or porous, whether it could be “transformed” here and now or only – even if then – in the afterlife.

A second direction in recent scholarship has been a concern to relate textual interpretation to *praxis*. Exegesis related to “life”: reading and practice were closely linked. Essays by Burrus on Origen, Mariya Horyacha on Pseudo-Macarius, and Brakke on Evagrius Ponticus bring this claim into strong focus. As Karmann shows in his essay on three patristic interpretations of the nativity story in Matthew 1:18–25, the focus on Mary’s virginity was strongly driven by the desire of authors to showcase Mary as a model for Christian ascetics.

Likewise, in recent scholarship, the role of the audience in influencing a speaker’s presentation has received closer attention. Andrew Jacobs, treating Origen’s homily on the Lucan story of Jesus’ circumcision and purification in the Temple, argues that Origen sensed his audience’s discomfit at the text’s suggestion that the body of Jesus was “Jewish” and in need purification, and sought to allay their qualms. Another example: Basil of Caesarea’s portrayal, Karmann suggests, of Mary as a model for *both* the virginal *and* the married relates to his need as bishop to craft a nativity sermon that could appeal to both groups among his audience. And when Christianity began to find a greater audience among the higher, educated social classes, bishop Cyprian of Carthage (as Hoffmann shows) tried to spur their Christian devotion through the employment of rhetorical techniques that signaled his *own* high background, education, and rhetorical training: *he* could count as one of *them*.

A fourth direction in recent scholarship on early Christian asceticism has been to supplement the evidence from texts with that from material remains. In this volume, one essay – Stephen Davis’ essay on painted inscriptions at Kellia and related sites – addresses such remains. Davis shows how nine painted inscriptions cite 2 Timothy 4:7–8 (“I have fought the good fight to the end; I have run the race to the finish; I have kept the faith; all there is to come now is the crown of righteousness reserved for me...”), complete with illustrations of crowns. The decorated inscriptions thus visually ally the monk with the earlier martyrs: both have “fought the good fight”.

Also important for scholars of our day is an increased recognition of the different cosmological frameworks and presuppositions of early Christian ascetic authors, often strange to modern readers. In Christian antiquity, humans had no monopoly on populating the universe: all around them, battling angels and demons fought for mastery of the ascetic practitioner’s soul. Scripture reading for Origen, Chin argues, serves as an intervention in this struggle, giving “nourishment” to the “good” angels who hope to gain the soul of the Christian. Davis, writing on 2 Timothy 4:7–8, illustrates the prominence of the theme of the ascetic life as an *agon*, an athletic contest aimed at “winning the prize”, in both ascetic literature and in ascetics’ art. Images of battle and contest abound in this literature, as ascetics in general are seen as engaged in a “battle against the flesh”, as Hoffmann’s elaboration of Cyprian’s exhortation to virgins shows.

The theme of “contest” is especially prominent in the essays on Origen and Evagrius Ponticus by Chin, Jacobs, and Brakke. Chin posits that for Origen, however, the notion of ascetic praxis as *individual* effort might usefully be modified by the notion of *collaboration* between ascetics and their helpers (for Origen, the angels who fought along with humans in the latter’s struggle for eternal salvation). Thus asceticism is not always best explained by the Durkheimian theme of competition, of an ascetic’s struggle to attain a “distinction” unachievable by most; in the Origenist model, the ascetic joins with “Others” – whether spiritual powers or human – in a “discourse of union”, as Jacobs puts it. In addition, Johan Leemans shows how a less individual and more communal approach to the ascetic life came to be favored by Basil of Caesarea, a change that can be traced in the number and selection of Biblical texts he employs to argue his case.

But back to the question, what did early Christian exegetes need the Biblical texts to *do*? The answers are multiple. Of course, many read texts so that the latter were taken to advocate renunciation, yet avoided outright “heretical” denigration of the body, allegedly God’s creation. Any implication by ascetic devotees that the created world, including the human body, was tainted with evil could raise charges of “heresy”. Already in 1 Timothy (as Weidemann shows) this theme was prominent, as “Paul” there warns against the

demonically-inspired who would tempt Christians to overly rigorous ascetic renunciation. Kovacs shows how Clement of Alexandria's Scriptural interpretation countered that of both libertine and radically ascetic "Gnostics", and Jacobs, how Origen disputed "heretics" who claimed that Christ's body was made of a special, non-human "stuff". Karmann observes that Basil adds an anti-heretical note to his discussion of Christ as Mary's "firstborn" by claiming for orthodoxy the intertext of Colossians 1:15: "first-born of all creation" does *not* mean (as Basil accuses Arians of holding) that Christ is a "creature". Theobald, for his part, cites various Church Fathers who "read" the Johannine story of Jesus' wine-producing facility at the wedding at Cana to critique Enkratites, Marcionites, and Manicheans, who were held to denigrate the goodness of God's creation, including the fruits of the vine; the narrative also served, in its seeming approval of marriage, as a bulwark against those "heretics" who claimed that marriage was impure.

Should Biblical texts be taken in a "harder" reading, or might the already-"hard" ones be gently lightened in their ascetical import? Both possibilities stood as options, depending on the exegete's desired end. For example, Jerome (Hunter notes) interpreted Biblical texts such as 1 Corinthians 7 so as to make more rigorous the injunctions regarding sexual impurity; while Tertullian, Van der Sypt claims, "hardened" his own approach within the course of just a few years, "self-correcting" his earlier, less rigorous writings. The story of Jesus' attendance at the marriage at Cana, Theobald shows, could be taken by rigorous ascetic advocates such as Tertullian and Jerome as a somewhat grudging acceptance of first marriage, but as implicit rejection of second marriage.

On the other hand, some exegetes felt impelled to "tame" already "hard" Biblical injunctions. As noted above, 1 Timothy's "Paul" self-corrected so as to "lighten" ascetic rigor. Jeremy Barrier, in his essay, shows how Greek scribes reduced an encratic version of the Beatitudes in a Coptic version of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* to something "merely ascetic". Kovacs illustrates Clement's "taming" of 1 Corinthians 7:9 ("better to marry than to burn") by citing his explanation that the verse should be taken to apply only to *second* marriage. Likewise, Merkt shows how Pauline texts counseling renunciation of wine were "softened" by interpretations that appealed to intertexts from Psalms and the Wisdom Literature celebrating the joys of the vine, or that conceded with Paul, that each follower of Jesus "had his own gifts" (1 Cor 7:7), which might not include such abstention. Preferences regarding the ascetic life could find support one way or the other by the verses the commentator chose to argue his case as Leemans shows through Basil of Caesarea's choice of texts in his promotion of cenobitic over anchoritic asceticism.

What passages of Scripture might most handily assist the ascetic exegete? 1 Corinthians 7 was often a text-of-choice for those advocating sexual renunciation or at least extreme moderation in marital relations (as Van der Sypt and Hunter make clear). Surprisingly, however, 1 Corinthians – or even

the New Testament – does *not* dominate the discussion in the Church Fathers' writings here considered. This is true even for Clement's treatise on marriage, *Stromateis* 3, Kovacs notes; since Clement believed that Paul was also the author of the Pastoral Epistles, he could cite verses from these books praising marriage and childrearing to "tame" the more ascetic message of 1 Corinthians 7. Even *within* 1 Corinthians 7, a clever exegete could isolate the verses emphasizing the "holiness" of children (7:14) or the "calling" of even non-celibate Christian (7:17, 24).

Why are New Testament passages less in the forefront than we might expect? The essayists offer two plausible reasons. For one, if an ascetic writer were addressing a group already committed to celibate renunciation, there was no need to emphasize verses counseling celibacy over marriage (as the tables of Biblical citations Leemans provides in his essay on Basil's *Asketikon* make clear). Second, if a thoroughly "Christological" reading of Old Testament books was in place, New Testament passages found no special favor: Old Testament verses did just as well, as Brakke shows in the case of Evagrius Ponticus. Moreover, if ascetic interpreters could construe Old Testament figures such as Elijah, Elisha, and Jeremiah as "virginal exemplars", then (as Meiser claims) the Old Testament could provide inspiring ascetic paradigms.

To what extent should the exegete argue for *difference* between teaching and examples drawn from the Old Testament and those from the New? How far should the argument from the "difference in times" be pressed? For some writers, as Clark shows in her examination of the Pelagian treatise "On Riches", the Old Dispensation was deemed decidedly inferior to the New, even worthy of mockery. Yet in the intriguing dialogue constructed by the author of the *Life of Helia*, Burrus argues, one book of that *Life* was devoted to showing the *continuity* between the examples and teaching of the Old Testament and those of the New; while a second book argued for their sharp *difference*; and Book Three, a graceful resolution, showed how both marriage and child-bearing could be taken "literally" (with the Old) and "spiritually" (with the New). Another intriguing example is furnished by patristic commentators' treatment of John the Baptist: as Meiser shows, he was a character standing in-between old and new, but when the ascetic features of the lifestyle were brought to the fore, he could become a model for Christians ascetics in his clothing, food, and "lifestyle".

Was there a correlation between Christian writers' treatment of Judaism and their treatment of Old Testament examples and practices? Not necessarily, some essayists conclude: Old Testament books could be fully and approvingly exploited, but "Jews" did not usually thereby receive any higher evaluation. Thus Jacobs shows the rhetorical use to which Origen could put the topic of Jesus' circumcised body; Brakke, how easily Evagrius appropriated language of a "second circumcision" for Christian purposes; and Burrus, how the message of Exodus 12 (on the Paschal sacrifice) could be preserved for

Christians “through transformation”, resulting in a certain ambivalence toward Judaism. On the other hand, Clark illustrates how the author of the treatise “On Riches” deems those Christians who refuse to divest here and now no better than “Jews”, who are very negatively cast. Although the author of this treatise could construe Christianity as a religion of “law”, he by no means thought that Christians should imitate the rich patriarchs of old.

An intriguing aspect of the essays concerns *how* the exegetes wrought rigorous – or, in some cases, less rigorous – meanings from the Biblical texts they employed to advance their positions. Here, Weidemann elaborates the ways in which even within the New Testament books themselves, some manipulation of previous materials either produces or reduces ascetic meaning. The techniques with which patristic commentators worked by no means devolve into something as simple as “literal” versus “allegorical” readings. Sometimes authors who criticize allegorical interpretation abundantly use it themselves, as Samuel Moawad illustrates in the case of Shenute. The essays on Origen and Evagrius, to be sure, show the wonders of allegorical interpretation, while the treatise “On Riches” brings out in full rigor the “literal” application of Jesus’ claim regarding the rich man’s entrance to Heaven. In some cases, as Chin shows for Origen in his *Homily 20 on Joshua*, the power of scriptural words is such that they can do their work without even being understood.

In one technique, scribes and exegetes could add to or change the text on which they worked, to make it more agreeable to orthodox sentiment, as Barrier shows in the case of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. They could also alter their *own* writings, adding Biblical verses to give fuller support to a particular position, as Ambrosiaster did in his *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*, as Hunter illustrates. As noted above, even by the mere repositioning the time of an event’s occurrence (as Weidemann’s example of Luke’s positioning of Peter’s cure of his mother-in-law *before* his call to discipleship) could effect the necessary ascetic message. And the emotional force of Biblical verses could be strengthened if a bishop (as Hoffmann details in the case of Cyprian) was highly adept in using rhetorical techniques and tropes to rouse his audience.

“Contextualization” was another common way of creating ascetic meaning, or, alternatively, lessening the ascetic rigor of a text. Thus Clement, as Kovacs shows, appealed to the notion of contextualization against his Gnostic opponents: they must quote the *whole* of a Biblical passage, not merely single out a few words that might advance their cause. And the lively dialogist, the young virgin Helia, in Burrus’ account, accuses those who oppose her desire to remain a virgin of “selective quotation”: if they took whole passages in context, she argues, they would see that her claim for rigorous ascetic renunciation was correct.

Yet “decontextualization” could also lend assistance to the ascetic exegete. By focusing on the meaning of a particular word, quite removed from the larger sense of a sentence, the exegete could create the meaning he needed for his argument. Thus Karman illustrates how patristic exegetes could creatively

interpret the word “until” (ἕως) in Matthew 1:25 (that Joseph did not know Mary “until” she had given birth) to argue that Joseph and Mary *never* had sexual relations. Just as Jesus vowed to be with his disciples “until” the end of time (Matt 28:20) – i. e., forever – so the perpetual virginity of Mary might be given an exegetical assist by a different understanding of one word.

“Internalization” was another interpretive ploy. Ancient Christian writers could perform acts of “interiorization” to make verses describing outward acts and deeds (e. g., fornication) apply to inward states, as Horyacha shows for Pseudo-Macarius; historical facts and eschatological promises similarly become events in the mystery of the soul. Texts themselves become “internalized” in the monastic’s mind, so that the distinction between text and reader breaks down, as Brakke argues in the case of Evagrius.

Similarly, Biblical events that took place in times past could be “eternalized”, as Burrus puts it, so that they are always happening “now”. As an example, she cites Origen’s treatment of Passover, which happens “now” for the Christian in the act of reading. As early as Luke’s Gospel, Weidemann claims, the link of celibacy with the resurrection could be recast so that it was a requirement for real Christians *now*, not just in an “angelic” life in the Kingdom. Last, Christians who thought that only in the afterlife would poor and rich be equalized were harshly judged by the author of “On Riches”, who claimed that such equality should not be relegated merely to a mythical Golden Age of yore or to a future millennium: past and future should be condensed into the “now” when it comes to redistribution of wealth.

Last, a “gender-bending” exegetical technique is evident in some of interpretations. As Davis notes in his discussion of the “crowns” that martyrs and ascetics are represented as winning, the metaphor of “winning the crown” derives from the (male) activity of the athletic contest – but how easily it could cross sexes to apply to women ascetic devotees, such as Severa, Macrina, and Paula! Women are thus assured that if they have run the race to the finish, they, along with male contenders, will receive their “crown”.

By such exegetical techniques and innovative readings, Christian writers and clergy of ancient Christianity created ethical, theological, and ascetic meaning for their respective audiences. The essays in this volume thus illustrate just how *much* work was expended by Biblical and patristic authors to advance their respective positions in debates over early Christian asceticism.

New Testament Texts and their Ascetic Reception

Hans-Ulrich Weidemann

Engelsgleiche, Abstinente – und ein moderater Weintrinker

Asketische Sinnproduktion als literarische Technik
im Lukasevangelium und im 1. Timotheusbrief

1. Einleitung

In ihrer 1999 erschienen Monographie „Reading Renunciation. Asceticism and Scripture in Early Christianity“ widmet sich Elizabeth A. Clark der „asketischen Sinnproduktion“, die altkirchliche Autoren insbesondere in ihren Kommentaren zur Bibel betrieben haben. Ausgangspunkt ist die Beobachtung, dass die christliche Bibel, Altes wie Neues Testament, nur ganz sporadisch eindeutige und direkte Schriftbelege für asketische Praxis liefert.¹ Clark legt sodann dar, wie man in asketischen Milieus, und das heißt immer: auf dem Hintergrund asketischer Praxis und Erfahrung,² Bibeltexte las und mit welchen hermeneutischen Strategien und Lese-Techniken dadurch eine „asceticized *Wirkungsgeschichte*“ des biblischen Textes produziert wurde.³

Grundlegend für die von Clark untersuchten Texte und damit auch Ausgangspunkt ihrer Untersuchung ist die Unterscheidung von „Schrift“ und „Kommentar“.⁴ Den Kirchenschriftstellern des 2. bis 5. Jahrhunderts lag die Schrift als bereits (in wesentlichen Teilen) *kanonisierte* vor. Das wiederum führt dazu, dass sie ihre Anliegen nur durch *Interpretation* der sakralen Texte, also durch *Auslegung* verfolgen konnten: „Once a Biblical text – for example Genesis – was deemed sacred literature, it could not be rejected, only interpreted“. Damit stünden die altkirchlichen Interpreten vor der Herausforderung, „to assimilate the earlier traditions they claimed to own – in this case both the Old and the New Testaments – to the demands of their new ascetic agendas.“⁵

1 CLARK, Reading, 1: „How, given the the Bible’s sometime recalcitrance, could the living experience of Christian renunciants find a Scriptural justification? How might they derive a consistently ascetic message from the Bible?“.

2 Es geht Clark um die „imbrication of ascetic readings of the Bible in the lives of Christian renunciants“, um den Nachweis, „how the interpretation of Biblical texts intersected with the lives of these early Christians and their communities“. Die Kirchenschriftsteller und ihre Gemeinden haben nicht alleine theoretische, sondern insbesondere *praktische* Bedürfnisse (ebd. 9), daher formuliert sie (ebd. 12 zu Chrysostomos, Hieronymus und Origenes) pointiert: „Here, ascetic interpretation and ascetic praxis meet“.

3 Vgl. CLARK, Reading, 4.

4 Dazu programmatisch CLARK, Reading, 5–11 (im Anschluss an R. Barthes, M. Foucault und J. Derrida).

5 CLARK, Reading, 10.

Gerade an dieser Stelle ergibt sich nun bei einer Anwendung von Clarks produktiver Fragestellung auf das Neue Testament, also bei einem Wechsel von einer patristischen zu einer exegetischen Perspektive, eine charakteristische Verschiebung. Laut Clark kreierte die Kirchenschriftsteller „a new asceticized Scripture – but by interpretation, not (usually) by a literal erasure or replacement of the Biblical words.“⁶ Eben dieser Aspekt stellt sich anders dar, wenn man die Frage nach asketischer Sinnproduktion nicht im Kontext der Rezeption der Schrift, sondern dem ihrer sukzessiven *Entstehung* stellt. Denn im Falle der erst später als kanonisch rezipierten neutestamentlichen Schriften wird asketischer Sinn nicht durch Interpretation, sondern durch literarische (Neu-)Produktion gewonnen.

Es geht also im Folgenden darum, exemplarisch die Prozesse asketischer Sinnproduktion bei der *Entstehung* neutestamentlicher Schriften zu beleuchten, nicht die bei deren Kommentierung. Damit wird erneut deutlich, dass die asketisch gesinnten Kirchenschriftsteller durchaus Ansatzpunkte in den kanonischen Schriften selbst hatten, von denen aus sie ihre eigene kreative Tätigkeit auch in andere, „nichtasketische“ Bereiche vorantreiben konnten. Vor allem aber kann gezeigt werden, dass die Väter des 2. bis 5. Jahrhunderts Prozesse fortsetzen, fortschreiben, verstärken, teilweise neu gewichten und akzentuieren, eventuell auch bewusst selektieren und ignorieren, die schon bei neutestamentlichen Autoren des ausgehenden 1. Jahrhunderts angelegt waren. In der formativen Phase des neutestamentlichen Kanons lassen sich also bereits Linien erkennen, die bei seiner *Kommentierung* fortgesetzt werden – und denen später gerade durch die Kommentierung gegenüber anderen zur Dominanz verholfen wird. Dies wird für uns dort literarisch greifbar (und auch einigermaßen nachweisbar), wo jüngere Schriften durch Aufnahme oder Fortschreibung älterer Schriften entstanden sind.

Es geht mir also nicht um eine (weitere) Sammlung von asketisch rezipierbaren Aussagen des Neuen Testaments⁷ oder um eine neue Hypothese zu den Ursprüngen der frühchristlichen Askese.⁸ Vorausgesetzt werden kann allerdings mit der älteren Forschung, dass asketische „Milieus“ (was immer man jeweils darunter versteht) nicht erst zur Wirkungsgeschichte neutestamentlicher Texte gehören, sondern bereits seine Entstehung begleiteten.⁹ Vielmehr geht es darum, Clarks Aufweis der asketischen Sinnproduktion durch *Kommentierung* den Nachweis von asketischer Sinnproduktion bei der *Schriftwerdung* an die Seite zu stellen, genauer: asketische Sinnproduktion bei

6 CLARK, Reading, 5. Ebd. 6: „the explication of Biblical verses became the accepted mode of meaning-production for the Christian interpreter“.

7 Vgl. dazu den klassischen Überblick bei CAMPENHAUSEN, Askese, außerdem NIEDERWIMMER, Askese. Ausführlich dann VAAGE/WIMBUSH, Asceticism.

8 Vgl. dazu KRETSCHMAR, Beitrag, im Anschluss an PETERSON, Beobachtungen.

9 KRETSCHMAR, Beitrag, vermutet z. B. die Ursprünge der frühchristlichen Askese bei den christlichen Wanderpropheten.

der Entstehung neutestamentlicher Spätschriften nachzuzeichnen, die in Auseinandersetzung mit literarischen Vorlagen entstanden sind.

Exemplarisch bieten sich für eine erste Fallstudie das *Lukasevangelium* sowie der *1. Timotheusbrief* an und zwar aus drei Gründen: (1.) Das lukianische Doppelwerk und die sog. Pastoralbriefe – die beiden Corpora dürften etwa um die Jahrhundertwende entstanden sein – scheinen im Hinblick auf Askese geradezu gegensätzliche Positionen einzunehmen, zeigen also in jedem Fall am Thema Interesse.¹⁰ (2.) Beide Textcorpora setzen erhaltene und später sogar kanonisierte Prätexte voraus, deren asketisches Potential sie entweder vermehren und verstärken (LkEv) oder begrenzen und kontrollieren (1 Tim) wollen. In beiden Fällen lässt sich also verfolgen, wie asketischer Sinn durch *literarische Produktion* generiert wird. (3.) Beide Schriften entstammen zudem einem „paulinischen“ Milieu, auch wenn Einzelheiten hier umstritten sind.

Zum *Lukasevangelium*: Setzt man die Zweiquellentheorie samt der Markuspriorität voraus, dann hat Lukas das ihm vorliegende, ältere Markusevangelium zu etwa zwei Dritteln in sein eigenes Evangelium integriert und den Stoff zugleich einer umfassenden redaktionellen Arbeit unterworfen.¹¹ Im Hinblick auf unsere Fragestellung wird man daher darauf achten, mit welchen redaktionellen Techniken Lukas „asketischen Sinn produziert“. Hierfür bietet sich die Anwendung des „klassischen“ Instrumentariums der *Redaktionskritik* an. Hier wird – mit den Worten K. Bergers – der Text unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Innovation betrachtet, d. h. der Veränderung, die er gegenüber verarbeiteten Traditionen wie auch gegenüber Vorgängern in der Gattung aufweist.¹² Diese Veränderungen werden meist dadurch erreicht, dass aus der Vielzahl überlieferter Traditionen eine bestimmte Tradition (oder ein Bündel an Traditionen) neu akzentuiert wird, während andere eventuell der Selektion zum Opfer fallen oder in den Hintergrund treten.¹³ Durch eine Analyse dieser Innovationen, die hier natürlich nur selektiv zu leisten ist, lassen sich das Interesse bzw. die Tendenz der hier vorgenommenen lukianischen „Nacherzählung“ des Markusevangeliums erheben.

Die drei sog. *Pastoralbriefe* wiederum setzen ein bereits bestehendes Corpus Paulinum voraus, das sie ergänzen und dessen Rezeption sie eben durch diese Ergänzung in bestimmte Richtungen lenken wollen.¹⁴ Dazu wählt der Verfasser die Pseudepi-

10 Vgl. SEIM, Children, 115: „With regard to the obvious ambivalence of Pauline tradition concerning asceticism, Luke supports and intensifies Paul’s ascetic preference in ways that are opposed to the domestic accommodations of the Pastoral letters“.

11 Dies gilt unbenommen der von WOLTER, Lk, 12 u. ö. formulierten Anfragen an eine zu schematische Anwendung der Zweiquellentheorie. Mit Recht weist Wolter (ebd. 14) zudem die Annahme eines ausschließlich literarisch vermittelten Zugangs zur Jesusüberlieferung zurück. Auch BERGER, Exegese, 208, betont „verschiedene Grade der Fixiertheit von Traditionen“.

12 BERGER, Exegese, 202. Laut Berger bestehen die vom Redaktor zumeist angewandten Eingriffe in Selektion und Kombination.

13 BERGER, Exegese, 204.

14 Dazu grundlegend MERZ, Selbstausslegung, sowie MERZ, Amore Pauli.

graphie: Mittels dreier fingierter Briefe des Apostels an zwei seiner engsten Mitarbeiter sollen gewisse Aussagen des Paulus einer Art „Selbstkorrektur“ unterzogen werden, indem ihnen anderslautende, grundsätzlicher formulierte Anweisungen an die Seite gestellt werden.¹⁵ Die Wahl der Adressatenfiktion sowie die hier wiederholt betonte zeitlich unbefristete und lokal uneingeschränkte Gültigkeit der Anweisungen sollen dabei die Interpretationshoheit der Pastoralbriefe sichern.¹⁶

Zur *Definition* von „Askese“: Für die Zwecke dieses Aufsatzes ist eine relativ offene Definition von „Askese“ am brauchbarsten, die den Aspekt des dauerhaften oder zumindest des wiederholten *Verzichts* in den Vordergrund stellt. An dieser Stelle ist aber an den Einspruch J.S. Kloppenborgs zu erinnern, der in Auseinandersetzung mit J.R. Valantasis zu Recht darauf hingewiesen hat, dass eine zu allgemeine Definition von Askese insbesondere unter Absehung des *Körpers* unbrauchbar ist.¹⁷ Deswegen sei betont, dass hier keineswegs die klaren Unterschiede zwischen den neutestamentlichen Schriften und späterer, im engeren Sinne asketischer Literatur verwischt werden sollen. Allerdings geht es uns darum, die Zwischenstufen, Übergänge und Grauzonen zwischen jener und dieser Literatur zu markieren.

Auch Elizabeth A. Clark versteht Askese primär unter dem Aspekt des Verzichts (*renunciation*), dies aber im Horizont der gegenseitigen Interaktion von Körper und Seele als „bodily discipline serving to strengten the soul“.¹⁸ Vor allem aber weist sie darauf hin, dass sich dieser körperliche Verzicht nicht allein auf Sexualität, Ehe und Fortpflanzung bezieht, sondern ebenso auf Geld und Besitz, bestimmte Nahrungsmittel, Schlaf, Sozialkontakte, Körperpflege, Kleidung usw., und außerdem auf den Kampf gegen Laster. Hinzuzufügen wären körperliche Techniken wie die Einübung („Training“) in das Gebetsleben usw.

Wir reden von Askese im Folgenden also im Sinne eines programmatischen und religiös begründeten Verzichts auf *Sexualität* (bzw. die Ehe) und bestimmte *Nahrungsmittel*. Die Beschränkung auf Sexualitäts- und Nahrungs-

15 MERZ, *Amore Pauli*, 281. Ebd. 280 pointiert: „Die Wahl der Gattung des pseudoapostolischen Briefs setzt zwingend die Rezeption dieses Briefes im literarischen Zusammenhang mit anderen paulinischen Briefen voraus“.

16 MERZ, *Amore Pauli*, 284.

17 Dazu instruktiv KLOPPENBORG, *Making Sense*. Kloppenborg problematisiert „a fairly generous definition of asceticism“, unter die dann auch die kanonischen Evangelien fallen würden, und plädiert statt dessen für „a narrower and more restrictive definition of asceticism that precisely excludes the canonical gospels“ (150). Diese enge Definition von Askese hat den menschlichen *Körper* (und zwar als „resistant, disciplined body“) zum Zentrum: „It is the body itself that provides the particular ‚surface‘ of performance“, und weiter: „the deployment of power in asceticism always concerns the human body, however much the ‚body‘ itself is socially constructed“ (ebd. 151 f.). Damit sind die Evangelien trotz ihrer Hochschätzung von Enthaltsamkeit, Selbstkontrolle, Besitzlosigkeit etc. laut Kloppenborg nicht asketisch, da eben Jesu Körper nicht als „a site where self-mastery is displayed“ präsentiert werde: „the body of Jesus is not a resistant body“ (155).

18 CLARK, *Asceticism*, 30, auch zum Folgenden siehe ebd.

askese ist zwar auch den Platzzwängen geschuldet, aber es sind doch gerade diese beiden Bereiche, die bereits in neutestamentlichen Schriften asketisch thematisiert und sogar miteinander verbunden werden: So nennt der pastorale Paulus in 1 Tim 4,3 gerade diese beiden zusammen, und auch in Lk 17,27 geht es um essen, trinken und den Geschlechtsverkehr (s. u.).¹⁹ Dass dem eine analoge Untersuchung zum Thema Reichtum und Besitz, aber auch der Beherrschung von Emotionen und der Selbstbeherrschung (σωφροσύνη) an die Seite zu stellen wäre, sei nur am Rande vermerkt.

2. Asketische Sinnproduktion im Lukasevangelium

2.1 Nahrung, Sexualität und Besitz „in den Tagen des Menschensohnes“ (Lk 17,26 – 30)

Einleitend sei ein typisch lukanisches Doppalexempel herangezogen, das der dritte Evangelist vermutlich in Aufnahme und Fortschreibung von Logienstoff (vgl. Mt 24,37 – 39) selbst gebildet hat.²⁰ In Lk 17,26 – 30 parallelisiert Lukas „die Tage des Menschensohnes“, d. h. die Zeit vor dessen blitzartiger Ankunft (17,24), mit den „Tagen“ Noahs bzw. Lots. Das damalige Verhalten der Menschen vor der Sintflut bzw. vor der Vernichtung Sodoms und das der jetzt lebenden Menschen entsprechen sich. Der Vergleichspunkt ist bemerkenswerterweise der Umgang mit Nahrung, Sexualität und Besitz.

- 26 a Und wie (καὶ καθὼς) es war in den Tagen Noahs,
b so (οὕτως) wird es auch sein in den Tagen des Menschensohnes:
- 27 a Sie aßen, tranken, heirateten, ließen sich heiraten²¹
(ἔσθιον, ἔπινον, ἐγάμουν, ἐγαμίζοντο),
b bis zu dem Tag, an dem Noah in die Arche stieg,
c und die Flut kam

19 Vgl. auch Röm 13,13: Gewarnt wird zunächst vor ausufernden Ess- und Trinkgelagen (μὴ κόμοις καὶ μέθαις), dann vor geschlechtlichen Ausschweifungen (μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελείαις) sowie vor Zorn und gewalttätigem Eifer (μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλω). Aus 1 Kor 6,13 (βρώματα und πορνεία) kann man schließen, dass die Korinther sowohl Speisen als auch Sexualität für sittlich indifferent gehalten haben, wogegen Paulus vorgeht (dazu ZELLER, 1 Kor, 223 f.). Erhellend ist das von LINDEMANN, 1 Kor, 146.152, z.St. angeführte Zitat von Epiktet, *Diss* II 8,12 (der Mensch solle darüber nachdenken, *was er isst*, und *mit wem er sich ehelich verbindet*). Vgl. außerdem Sir 19,2 (*Wein und Frauen* machen besonnene Männer abtrünnig).

20 Dazu HEIL, Lukas, 171 – 173.177 f.: 17,26 f. (Noah) geht mit kleinen redaktionellen Änderungen wohl auf Q zurück (par Mt 24,37 – 39), 17,28 f. (Lot) dürfte lukanische Ergänzung sein; so auch ECKEY, Lk II, 744. Das ist allerdings durchaus umstritten, vgl. die bei KLEIN, Lk, 569, skizzierte Diskussion. LUZ, Mt IV, 446, geht z. B. davon aus, dass Matthäus den Q-Text gekürzt hat.

21 Zu γαμίζειν i. S. von „sich freien lassen, heiraten (v. Frauen)“ vgl. BAUER/ALAND, Wörterbuch, 303.

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Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments Band 101

Many of the early Christian communities led an ascetic lifestyle, although a good number of New Testament texts do not seem suitable for justifying radical ascetic and encratite practice. The articles of the volume focus on the interpretation and application of those Scriptures in various ascetic milieus, in the works of several early Christian authors and on the reception history of New Testament texts either supporting or resisting an ascetic relecture.

With contributions by Jeremy W. Barrier, David Brakke, Virginia Burrus, Catherine M. Chin, Elizabeth A. Clark, Stephen J. Davis, Andreas Hoffmann, David G. Hunter, Mariya Horyacha, Andrew S. Jacobs, Thomas R. Karmann, Judith L. Kovacs, Johan Leemans, Brian J. Matz, Martin Meiser, Andreas Merkt, Samuel Moawad, Michael Theobald, Liesbeth Van der Sypt, Hans-Ulrich Weidemann.

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