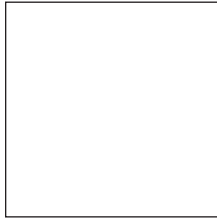


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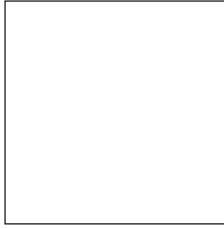
**Breaking Down the Dividing Wall
of Hostility: A Biblical Mandate
for the New Millennium**

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Jesuit School of Theology and
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Bill Cain

Co-Creator, Producer, Writer of ‘Nothing Sacred’

Sunday, May 17, 1998

7:30 p.m., de Saisset Museum

Tobias Wolff’s lecture has been cancelled.

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Breaking Down the Dividing Wall of Hostility: A Biblical Mandate for the New Millennium

John R. Donahue, S.J.

On Saturday, January 31, while I was in my office working on the text of this lecture, I received a message that a former student, Bill McKenney, S.J., who had been ordained in 1994, died of a sudden and massive heart attack. Bill was 39 years old. After his ordination he worked at one of the most challenging and difficult apostolates of the Society of Jesus. He was Pastor of the Church and Director of the Mission at Holy Rosary Mission, a church and school at the service of the Lakota Sioux nation in Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

In my presentation I will talk about breaking down the barriers between different people and creating communities of friends. Bill's life as a student at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley and as a priest at the Mission embodied this in a way far more impressive than my words will ever capture. In admiration, gratitude, and friendship, I dedicate this lecture to him.

Near the end of the first Christian century, a disciple of Paul composed a letter to the Ephesians in Paul's name. Here he described Christ as "our peace" who broke down the dividing wall of hostility between Jew and Gentile and created a renewed human person (Eph. 2:14).¹ This was a summary of Paul's theological achievement and of his pastoral practice. When we think of our world today we realize that the destruction of the Berlin Wall, which for so long was a reality and symbol of the division between East and West, was followed by the erection of walls of hostility throughout the world: Bosnia-Herzegovina (Catholic Croat against Orthodox Christian Serb), Rwanda, and Burundi (Roman Catholic Hutus and Tutsis in seemingly unending rounds of slaughter), as well as the strengthening of walls that have existed for centuries, e.g. Northern Ireland (Presbyterian against Roman Catholic). Our own nation has been characterized by a politics of polarization. One speaker, known as a spokesman for the values of the Christian Coalition, at a national political convention called for a "culture war," against people different from his approving audience.² Much of the contemporary division has Christian roots, even when its proponents have long abandoned Christian principles.

As we approach the end of our century, we will examine how the Pauline vision and pastoral practice can be a call to churches today to be agents of reconciliation in an increasingly fragmented world. The lecture will focus on a major dispute in the early Christian community in Rome between "the weak" (Rom 14:1,2; 15:1) and "the strong" (15:1), which has both religious and ethnic dimensions, and then suggest some ways in which Paul's response can become a paradigm in the face of divisions in the Church and in the larger society.

The Christian Communities in Rome, 58 C.E.

Paul wrote the letter to the Romans from Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, most likely in late winter in 57 or 58 C.E.³ This letter, which has stood at the center of virtually every major theological movement in the history of Christianity, really looks in two directions. When writing the letter, Paul is on his way to Jerusalem where he will deliver the money collected from the churches of Greece to the poor churches in Jerusalem (which were still recovering from the severe famine of C.E. 54).⁴ The letter also prepares for his visit to Rome and is unique among all of Paul's letters in being addressed to a community that he had never visited before. The letter is carried to Rome by Phoebe, the deacon of the church at Cenchreae, and one of its many purposes is to introduce her to the Roman community (see Romans 16). Paul also wants to elicit the support of the Roman congregations for his hoped-for missionary journey to Spain (Rom 15:22-29). Though the bulk of the letter (chs. 1-11) consists of a long theological reflection on the relation of Jew and Gentile to the Christ event, this too may have been influenced by Paul's plans to visit Rome. Since even by the year 50 C.E. he was a controversial figure who was opposed in Antioch by emissaries of the more conservative Jerusalem church (Gal 2:11-15), and a few years later by Christian "super apostles" in Corinth (2 Cor 11:5; 12:11), he wanted to lay out for the Roman community his theological vision, perhaps to avoid the kind of misunderstanding he had suffered at Corinth.

To understand the division in the Roman communities between "the weak" and "the strong," I must first mention a few things about the Jewish communities in Rome. At the time Romans was written, Jewish presence in Rome dated back at least to 139 B.C.E., when the praetor Gnaeus Cornelius Hispanus compelled the Jews to return to their homes because they were thought to be corrupting Roman religion.⁵ The greatest influx of Jews into Rome seems to have been after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 61 B.C.E. when he brought a great number of Jews to Rome, who settled for the most part in the Trans-Tiber region (modern day Trastevere). The campaigns of Pompey initiated shifting involvements between Rome and the last members of the Hasmonean dynasty and their successors, the Herodian dynasty (Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, and Herod's heirs).⁶ As Rome expanded to the East, a series of decrees and decisions emerged which recognized certain privileges granted to the Jews. Of special significance are those of Julius Caesar. Near the end of the long struggle between Caesar and Pompey in 48 B.C.E., Hyrcanus II and Antipater (Idumean king, the father of Herod the Great) supported Caesar in his Egyptian campaign (48 B.C.E.) through "a series of timely changes of loyalty at which the Idumean family was to prove so adept."⁷ Subsequently, Caesar issued a series of decrees in favor of the Jews which confirmed earlier decrees and added new provi-

sions. Chief among these were permission to form *collegia* or private associations which allowed Jews to assemble for cultic or common meals, permission to raise money for the Jerusalem temple, exemption from military service, and use of their own courts.⁸ These rights were respected and protected even amid sporadic outbreaks of violence against Jews. They were also rights that helped the infant Christian church to grow since it was viewed by Romans as a Jewish organization and could therefore share in the privileges of Judaism.

The dietary laws and customs of the Jews provoked animosity among pagan authors. Stories of heroic Jewish observance of food laws were told as early as the book of Daniel, and in other works often called *Diasporanovella* [Tales of the Diaspora] because of their rhetorical function of encouraging Diaspora Jews to fidelity to Mosaic traditions (Dan 1:3-18; Tob 1:10-12; Esth (LXX) 14:17; Judith 12:1-2; *Joseph and Asenath* 7:1).⁹ Josephus recounts Apion's criticism that the Jews "sacrifice domestic animals and do not eat pork."¹⁰ He also tells of Jewish priests imprisoned in Rome who would eat only figs and nuts to avoid pollution from Gentile food (*Life*, 14). The evidence of writings by both Jewish and Pagan authors confirms that observance of food laws became a defining characteristic of Diaspora Judaism.

By the beginning of the first century C.E. scholars estimate that there were between 40,000 and 50,000 Jews in Rome.¹¹ This century is also marked by close relations between Jews and Romans. Raymond Brown notes that a characteristic of Roman Judaism was its "close political and intellectual affiliation with Jerusalem and Palestine."¹² Herodian princes were reared in Rome and became friends of emperors; Nero's second wife, Poppaea, was favorable to Judaism, and may have even been a proselyte;¹³ and Titus had a Jewish mistress, Bernice, sister of Agrippa II, whom he wished to make empress.¹⁴ Inscriptions suggest that at least two synagogues were named after Roman officials, the synagogue of the Augustesians, perhaps consisting of the emperor's freedmen; and the synagogue of the Agrippesians.¹⁵ The acceptance of the Jewish community however, was punctuated by expulsions of Jews by Tiberius in 19 C.E., as by Gaius's (Caligula) attempt to profane the temple, and by the expulsion under Claudius most likely in 49 C.E.¹⁶

Aspects of Jewish life in Rome are important for exploring the kinds of communities to which Paul was writing. Even the often inaccurate and harsh criticism of Jews by Roman authors disclose elements of their communal life—elements that have parallels to the practices Paul deals with in Rom 14:1-15:13.¹⁷ Such caricatures can reveal the public impression made by Judaism. In addition to circumcision, which is constantly criticized, but not mentioned by Paul in Rom 14:1-15:13, observance of the sabbath is the practice most often mentioned by Roman authors—although their understandings of sabbath practices are distorted. Augustine quotes Seneca as criticizing the Jews for "introducing one day

of rest in every seven,” which increases idleness.¹⁸ Likewise, Juvenal scorns the Jews for flaunting the laws of Rome, and giving up every seventh day to idleness.¹⁹ Ovid speaks of “the Syrian Jew [who] holds the seventh day sacred.”²⁰ In his famous satire on meeting the boor on the Via Sacra, Horace recounts his hope that Aristius Fuscus would rescue him from the boor by doing private business, but Fuscus replies, “I’ll tell you at a better time. Today is the thirtieth day, a sabbath. Would you affront the circumcised Jews?” (that is, by doing business on the sabbath).²¹ Persius satirizes the custom of lighting lamps on the “sabbath of the circumcised.”²² Tacitus who offers the most extensive description of Judaism by any Latin author, but who also reflects the prejudices of educated Romans at the end of the first century, says that the Jews “first chose to rest on the sabbath; but after a time they were led by the charms of indolence to give over the seventh year as well to inactivity.”²³ Tacitus goes on to record another explanation of the sabbath as rooted in worship of Saturn.

Along with sabbath observance, dietary customs evoked opposition in the first century C.E. Epictetus offers interesting evidence of different eating customs which led to conflict when he asks, “Is it possible at this present time that all the opinions which Jews, and Syrians, and Egyptians and Romans hold on the subject of food are rightly held?” and further notes that there is conflict (*machē*) between these groups over whether the particular act of eating swine flesh may be holy or unholy.²⁴ Persius mocks the custom of eating tuna fish and drinking red wine on sabbaths,²⁵ and Juvenal suggests that Jews were known for eating “vinegar and beans” (*cuius aceto, cuius conche tumes?*).²⁶ Likewise, awareness of Jewish “non eating” (fasting) is also attested. Fasting on the sabbath, which is at variance with what is otherwise known of ancient Jewish practice, is mentioned by Pompeius Trogus: “Moses consecrated the sabbath as a fast day because that day at once ended their hunger and their wanderings.”²⁷ Suetonius comments “not even a Jew, my dear Tiberius, fasts so scrupulously on his sabbaths as I have today,”²⁸ and Tacitus states that Jews engaged in “frequent fasts” as “witness to the long hunger with which they were once distressed,” (*longam olim famem*).²⁹ In a bitter satire on unwelcome odors, Martial complains about the “breath of fasting Sabbatarian women.”³⁰

These harsh comments by upper class Roman authors reflect a general tendency in antiquity to construct stereotypes of people who were different or “other.”³¹ The Greeks routinely called all non-Greeks “barbarians,” which derives originally from the manner in which Greeks characterized non-Greek speakers as making unintelligible, “bar, bar” sounds. Even though by the first century Greek culture came to dominate Rome, educated Romans constructed their own “outsiders,” and Juvenal complains about the number of “foreigners” in the city, with special scorn for people from the East, in his famous complaint that “for a long time now the Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber.”³² Often this construction of the other as inferior and enemy serves as an index of the fears and feelings

of inadequacy of those making the harsh judgments.³³ This tendency to characterize the Jews as “others” and to treat them as unwelcome outsiders continued into the Christian era and helped to spawn the legacy of anti-Semitism which only now the Catholic church is fully acknowledging, and for which it is calling believers to repentance.³⁴

At the same time, from the “insiders” perspective, those very customs of sabbath celebration and observance of eating rituals were the very things that enabled Jews to maintain their identity in an alien environment. Sabbath observance recalls the one God who is creator of heaven and earth and who led forth the people from slavery. Ritual observance of food laws were rooted in a sense of the holiness of creation and the need to consecrate certain things necessary for life (food and drink). These aspects of Jewish religion also became boundary markers to distinguish members of the community from outsiders.

This background helps to understand the dispute that Paul addresses in 14:1-15:13. This section of the letter is part of the larger unit, Romans 12:1-15:13. Virtually all commentators view this as a distinct unit within the letter, and four recent major commentaries are typical.³⁵ Joseph Fitzmyer comments that Romans 12-15 “forms a catechetical unit, a paraenetic development of the consequences of justification,” and designates it “the hortatory section” which treats of “the demands of upright life in Christ.”³⁶ Similarly Ernst Käsemann says that here Paul treats of “the righteousness of God in daily Christian living,” and James Dunn speaks of “the outworking of the Gospel for the redefined people of God in everyday terms.”³⁷ Brendan Byrne in his excellent recent commentary calls the section, “the summons to live according to the Gospel.”³⁸

After a general description of the new life in Christ that is to characterize Christians (12:1-13:14), which concludes with the command “put on the Lord Jesus Christ” (13:14), Paul turns in 14:1-15:13 to the problem that threatens to divide the community. The specific issue is stated bluntly by Paul shown in the grammatical structure of 14:1, beginning with: “As for those whose faith is threatened,” (*ton de asthenounta tē pistei*), followed by the programmatic imperative: “Welcome them!” (*proslambanesthe*).³⁹ This brief command reveals the situation that precipitated the problem. Paul is concerned that one group, called threatened or weak in faith, are not welcomed to common assemblies by others except for “disputed opinions which lead to mutual judgments and feuding parties.”⁴⁰ It also highlights Paul’s generic response to the problem, (mutual acceptance, 14:1), to which he returns in 15:7 when he urges “welcome one another (*proslambanesthe allelous*) as Christ has welcomed you to the glory of God.” The imperative plural indicates that Paul is addressing another group, later identified as the “strong,” with whom Paul himself identifies when he says, “We who are strong ought to bear with the failings of the weak,” (15:1). Paul is clearly involved in a serious dispute within the communities at Rome—one which tests the theology of the

whole letter, and one which may threaten his future plans (15:14-33). Less clear is the identity of the weak and the strong and the precise nature of the dispute.⁴¹ Since a lengthy discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of the present essay, we will follow the majority opinion that the “weak” are most likely Jewish Christians or Gentiles who were Jewish “god fearers,” prior to becoming Christians.⁴²

The initial, and apparently major, area of contention arises from the fact that: “Some believe in eating anything, while the weak eat only vegetables,” (14:2, 14:21). Other aspects of the dispute are that: one esteems one day as better than another, while another esteems all days alike (14:5), and at least some do not drink wine (14:21). Both the weak and the strong are criticized by Paul. The strong engage in contentious arguments with the weak (14:1) and “reject them with contempt” (14:3, *mē exoutheneito*, “let him not reject them with contempt”); (14:10, *sy ti exoutheneis ton adelphon sou*, “why do you reject with contempt your brother”).⁴³ Their actions put a stumbling block in the way of others (14:13) which causes such harm that they are in danger of destroying the work of God (14:20). The weak are judgmental of others who do not share their practices; they interpret their observance of particular days as honor to the Lord (14:6).

Paul’s response to the problem unfolds rhetorically in varied and expanding fashion. Initially he counters the dispute over food with a brief rejoinder that mutual recriminations are to be rejected since everyone must stand in judgment before the Lord (14:3-4). He then counters in more detail the division over observances of certain days (14:5-6) by arguing that the true honor to the Lord is not living for one’s self but for others, and introduces for the first time Jesus’ death as an example for both sides (v 7-9). In 14:10 he takes up again the issue of mutual recriminations by invoking the universal judgment of all humanity (14:10-12), which should be a caution to the weak against judging others and to the strong against being a stumbling block to the weak.

In contrast to 14:1-13 where the different positions are mentioned almost in passing, in 14:14-23, Paul focuses on one central issue, the eating of unclean food, which causes a brother or sister to stumble. Though Paul alludes to the abstinence from wine in v 21, allusions to eating or food occur six times, and dominate the section. As 15:1 makes explicit, Paul here addresses primarily the strong, whose fundamental perspectives he shares. The theological grounding for their position is provided by a rather solemn statement of Paul, “I know and I am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean in itself” (14:14), a position which he repeats positively “everything is indeed clean,” (v 20).

The arsenal of theological perspectives Paul marshals in support of his argument testifies to the seriousness of the dispute. Considerations of the nature of God predominate and throughout there is a stress on the authority and power of God: God accepts the strong whom the weak criticize

(14:3); those with different observances and eating practices both give thanks to God (14:6); God will judge both the weak and strong (14:4, 10-12); God's reign does not consist in food and drink, but in justice, peace, and joy in the holy spirit (14:17); disputes over food destroy the work of God (14:20); a person's faith is known to God (14:22), and Paul prays that the God "of patience and consolation" will effect a resolution of the dispute (15:5-6). The Christ-event is also invoked constantly to challenge the behavior of both groups. People should live for others according to the example of Christ (14:7-9); each person should please his or her neighbor, for Christ did not please himself (15:2-3); the warring groups should welcome each other as Christ welcomed them (15:7), and Christ became a servant to the circumcised in order to confirm the promises to the patriarchs and so that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy (15:8-13). This combination of theocentric and christocentric perspectives characterizes the theology of the letter as a whole. God is the impartial one who offers salvation to all people through the Christ event.⁴⁴

In Rom 14:1-15:13, Paul addresses issues which threatened to undermine the fragile coalition of Roman communities. The positions of both groups rest on deeply held convictions. For the "weak," who are most likely Jewish Christians or Gentiles who have come to Christianity through Judaism, the dietary laws and observance of the sabbath and other feasts are identity markers which have sustained Diaspora communities throughout the Greco-Roman world.⁴⁵ Jews who converted to Christianity and non-Jews who had been "god fearers," that is members of the synagogue communities, somewhat analogous to "catechumens" today, would have heard the stories of their ancestors who died horrible deaths rather than give up these practices which are rooted in God's revelation in the *Torah*.

Equally, former converts from Paganism and those from Judaism who accepted the vision of God's impartiality articulated by Paul, and who had heard of his "law-free" Gospel, may have seen continued observance of dietary laws, etc. as an obstacle to bringing the Gentiles under God's promises articulated in Scripture. They could invoke Paul as their "patron" (Rom 15:1) and wanted to embody their convictions in religious practices, not so obviously identified as Jewish.

The issues had social consequences also. As mentioned, the first Christian communities in Rome which existed before the arrival of Peter and Paul were heavily Jewish in nature. The Roman historian Suetonius records that "all the Jews" were expelled from Rome, probably in 49 C.E., because of riots occurring "impulsore Chresto" (at the instigation of Christ), most likely a reference to disputes between Jews and Jewish Christians.⁴⁶ This also suggests that Claudius and Roman officials had not yet begun to distinguish Jews and Christians. Claudius who died in 54 C.E. was followed as emperor by the 19-year-old Nero (54-68 C.E.).⁴⁷

Despite the final horror of Nero's reign when he murdered his mother and wife and persecuted Christians, the first five years of his tenure as emperor were marked by peace and progress. During this time Nero took no actions against Jews and may even have been favorable to them. Jews and Jewish Christians expelled under Claudius would have been allowed to return to Rome. It is quite possible, however, that having once been the largest group and leaders among the Christian communities, at the time of Paul's letter they may have been a minority.

Another factor that influences Paul is the organization of the early Christian communities at Rome. As Peter Lampe has carefully shown, "during the first centuries the Christians of the city of Rome met separately in privately owned locations scattered throughout the capital city."⁴⁸ He also notes that these house-churches had "no central worship facility and a lack of central coordination that matched the profile of the separated synagogues in Rome."⁴⁹ He suggests at least five Christian groups in Romans: one, the house-church of Prisca and Aquila (Rom 16:3, the only time in the letter Paul uses *ekklesia* of a Roman Christian group); the two groups who gather around those named in 16:14, 15; those who belong to the household of Aristobulus (16:10); and those in the household of Nereus (16:11). A close reading of the names listed in Romans 16:1-16 reveals Greek and Roman names, Jewish and non-Jewish names, as well as names of upper-class figures and slaves or former slaves; and, of the 26 people mentioned, nine are women. The Roman Christian community was diverse and not unified under a single authority. Christian Rome was not governed by a single bishop until the middle of the second century. The structure of the Roman communities would allow for the emergence of diverse practices. Even among the "weak," one "house church" could well manifest some ascetical practice which might not have been observed by every other "weak" Christian.⁵⁰

Paul is then faced with a major challenge of unifying different, small Christian communities who lived in a hostile atmosphere but who also followed significantly different ways of living their Christian life. It is very important to understand Paul's specific goal. He **does not** urge either group to abandon their religious practices; the weak are not exhorted to abandon their special celebrations or to give up their observance of not eating certain foods; the strong are not told to observe the practices of the weak. What Paul desires, and what he repeats three times, is that all the different groups should "welcome each other" (14:1; 15:7). The term that has been translated "welcome," in Greek, *proslambanesthe*, is taken from the moral glossary of friendship, and in a recent and important study Stanley Stowers has translated it as "accept as a friend."⁵¹ In this section Paul draws on the important teaching of Greco-Roman moralists on friendship, a topic which was the subject of considerable reflection from the time of Plato (429-347 B.C.E.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.), and which was especially important at the time of the emergence of

Christianity, as shown by treatises on friendship by Cicero, Plutarch, Lucian of Samasota, Seneca, Philo of Alexandria, and Philodemus of Pompeii, all of whom wrote between 50 B.C.E. and 150 C.E. Further exploration of Paul's use of the moral teaching on friendship is important both for understanding Romans and for its relevance today.

Paul, Friendship, and the Dispute at Rome:

Friendship was not only discussed in writings of ancient philosophers and humanists, but also was a large part of the popular culture, manifest in sayings such as “friends hold all things in common,” or “friends are other selves,” or friends “share a single soul.”⁵² Such sayings are reflected in Luke's description of the early Christian community in Acts 2:44-47 and 4:32-37 where the community holds “all things in common,” (2:44) or where all the believers were “of one heart and soul” (4:32). Aristotle who stands at the fountain head of reflection on friendship says that “it is one of the most indispensable requirements of life,” and that “friends are an aid for the young to guard them from error, to the elderly to tend them, and to supplement their failing powers of action; to those in the prime of life, to assist them in their noble deeds.”⁵³ Also very influential is his division of friendship as that based on pleasure (*hēdonē*), or on utility (*chrēsimon*), or on virtue (*kat' aretēn*), of which the latter is the highest and only true form of friendship.⁵⁴ Cicero, writing in 45 B.C.E., states that “friendship is nothing else than an accord in all things, human and divine, conjoined with mutual goodwill and affection and I am inclined to think that, with the exception of wisdom, no better thing has been given to humans by the immortal Gods.”⁵⁵ The highest form of friendship was only between equals and was directed to the benefit of the other person.⁵⁶ Friendship was maintained by presence, actual or through letters, by mutual gift giving, and by hospitality. Friendship was thought to be a higher form of love than physical or erotic love. The supreme instance of ancient friendship was to give one's life for a friend, again reflected in Rom 5:6-8 where Jesus speaks of giving one's life for a good person, or John 15:12-16 where Jesus alludes to his own death as laying down his life for a friend and calls his disciples no longer servants but friends, since he has shared the revelation of the Father with them.

Among the classical writers, friendship existed almost exclusively between equals. It also existed very much in a culture of reciprocity, characterized by the giving and receiving of favors, and it quickly merged with a patronage system where favors were exchanged between patrons and clients.⁵⁷ Since virtually every treatise on friendship comes from upper-class authors, it was somewhat class specific; that is, friendship rarely crossed social and gender barriers.⁵⁸ This is vividly illustrated in a letter Cicero wrote to his beloved Tiro, a slave who served Cicero most of his adult life, and to whom he wrote 21 letters. In 53 B.C.E. Cicero granted

Tiro his freedom so that he would be “our friend instead of our slave.”⁵⁹ Though there are testimonies of great love between spouses in the Greco-Roman world, true friendship was not thought to be possible between men and women, due mainly to the prevailing notion of the inferiority of women and the stress on similarity or likeness as the basis of friendship. In Euripides tragedy (ll. 248-49), Medea laments that she is confined to the womens’ quarter of the home, while if her husband gets bored he can spend time with his friends.⁶⁰ For example, Aristotle compares the friendship of a husband and wife to that between rulers (the male) and their subjects in an aristocracy,⁶¹ and states that it is based on utility and pleasure (lower forms of friendship) while admitting somewhat cautiously that in rare cases, when the partners are of special moral character, it may be based on virtue (the highest form of friendship).⁶² Plutarch contains debates as to whether true friendship can exist between husband and wife, and counsels a newly married woman: “a wife ought not to make friends of her own, but to enjoy her husband’s friends in common with him.”⁶³ A recent study of friendship by a noted scholar says that in antiquity, friendship “involved an economic, political old-boys network, conferring favors.”⁶⁴

In the final section of the letter to the Romans (12:1-15:33) where Paul exhorts the community to be transformed and adopt a lifestyle acceptable to God, Paul employs motifs from the moral tradition (*topos*) on friendship.⁶⁵ The stress “on virtue as the basis of their mutuality” and the exhortations to “love one another with mutual affection; outdo one another in showing honor” (Rom 12:9-10), are motifs of the friendship tradition.⁶⁶ The term “mutual affection,” *philadelphia* (12:10), is one of the classic terms of the friendship tradition as is the stress on showing mutual honor. Shortly after this exhortation Paul tells the community to extend hospitality to strangers (12:13), and to “live in harmony with one another” (12:16; see also 15:5, lit. “to think alike among yourselves”)—both friendship motifs. Terms for mutuality characterize this section. In his concluding exhortation Paul notes expectation and support for his future travel (15:24), a friendship motif, and the whole section resonates with language of mutual affection.⁶⁷ Most importantly, the command to welcome one another, which for Paul is the goal of his whole engagement in the dispute between the weak and strong, is part of the friendship vocabulary and could be translated as “welcome as friends those who are weak in faith.”⁶⁸

The remarkable thing about Paul’s use of friendship motifs here is that he totally stands the tradition on its head, and releases it from its social and androcentric mooring among the upper classes. In more contemporary terms we would say that Paul “deconstructs” the Greco-Roman ideal of friendship. Far from exhorting people of like interests and like virtue to friendship, Paul wants the Roman congregations to form com-

munities of friends that break down the walls erected between people of different ethnic backgrounds, “the weak,” composed mainly of ethnic Jews or gentiles who had been Jewish sympathizers, and “the strong,” with their heavy predominance of gentiles. As mentioned, there may also be a significant class and social distinction between the weak and the strong. Two of the neuralgic issues are eating meat and drinking wine, both of which were normally reserved to the more prosperous classes, while the poor of Rome existed mainly on the daily dole distributed to the people or on simple meals of grain and vegetables.⁶⁹ Paul’s statement that “some eat only vegetables,” may reflect economic as well religious perspectives. When Paul summarizes his strategy for ending the dispute at Rome in the phrase “Welcome one another, therefore, just as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God,” (15:7), he is exhorting them to become communities of friends. This friendship does not involve even resolving the dispute. The weak can go on observing their food regulations and celebrating their special days, and the strong can go on eating whatever food they want. Deeply held convictions are not to be an obstacle to mutual acceptance since both groups have been accepted by God in Christ. Mutual acceptance in Paul does not result in some bland lowest common denominator identity shared by all, but co-exists with significance differences sustained by the radical new identity of being in Christ, and by a realization of the impartiality of a God who accepts radical difference.

The final verses of the letter, the letter of commendation for Phoebe 16:1-23, with its mixture of Jewish and non-Jewish names, its blending of upper-class names with those of slaves or people freed from slavery, and its prominence given to women church leaders is a parade example of Paul’s baptismal creed of Galatians 3:27-28, “For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ [like a garment or new identity]. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is no male and female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.” Thus Rome’s marginal and often beleaguered communities can claim for themselves the most desired values that the aristocratic Romans would deny them, to be a community of friends and even to be friends of God, to be a community that has broken down the walls of hostility.

A Brief Return to Santa Clara, 1998:

Much of what I have said seems distant from the concerns of a vital university community at the end of the 20th century. In a few short moments I will offer some suggestions of how Paul’s vision of communities can bridge significant differences challenge us today.⁷⁰ In doing this I am aware of the immense difficulty of moving from Paul to contemporary issues and would claim that Paul offers a vision of Christian and human life that cannot be literally reproduced today, but which can inform our Christian imagination and be applied analogously today.⁷¹ I wish to make

three points about Paul's vision.

First, Paul counters the tendency in Romans and throughout his writings to write people off as "barbarians" or rejected others. From his Jewish heritage, especially from the magnificent poetry of Second Isaiah, Paul sees the God of Israel as the God of both the Jew and the Gentile (Rom 3:29-30).⁷² Paul should not be interpreted as a fuzzy optimist about the possibility of bringing different groups together. He can plumb the depth of evil (Romans 1-2), and state that all people have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God, but are made right again by the gracious love of God, "for there is no distinction" (Rom 3:21-23). The impartiality of God is at the center of Paul's theology in Romans. This is counter to the tendency of any group today to claim exclusive understanding of the power and love of God, or to deny to any, whom we might class as "other," participation in this power and love.

Second, while writing to communities composed of men and women of very diverse ethnic background, social status, and religious views, Paul urges them to be communities of friends. This friendship is not forged at the cost of giving up one's identity or heritage. It arises from a new realization and a new identity. The new realization is rooted in a theology of creation where God creates all people "in our likeness, according to our image" (Gen 1:26); and for Christians, in a deep awareness that through baptism we are all sons and daughters of God, where there is "neither Jew, nor Greek, slave nor free, male and female" (Gal 3:26-28). Paul's vision resists that destructive tendency to construct "others" and "outsiders," simply on the basis that their language, life style, and understandings of God are different from one's own.

Thirdly, Paul's concrete mandate of hospitality, "receive the other as friend," remains a mandate for church (and I would add for society today). Hospitality for Paul was both literal, welcoming people who were different into one's house church, and a metaphor for the welcome that God has given in Christ, and for the deeper welcoming of one member of the community to another. Parker Palmer, a well-known educator, has described the kind of hospitality that would implement Paul's vision today: "Hospitality means receiving each other, our struggles, our newborn ideas with openness and care. It means creating an ethos in which a community of truth can form, the pain of truth's transformation can be borne."⁷³

A University today is a privileged locale where people of different genders, ethnic backgrounds, and faiths come together as friends. It must also be a place where the stereotypes of the other are exposed and shattered. I am not recommending a bland multiculturalism which gives superficial recognition to "difference" in the hope that everyone will turn out to be like me. Paul urged his community to welcome each other as friends, not to give up their heritage and identity.

Such a vision is, I feel, being implemented in many ways at this

University. Students do come from diverse backgrounds; friendships are formed not only in classes but in student activities such as drama and sports, and in the liturgical and prayer life of the campus, especially in those moments when a tragedy strikes the campus. Still, faithful to the Greco-Roman heritage of friendship as a virtue and the Pauline mandate that our lives should consist of a service of our intellect (Rom 12:1-2), things like friendship and true hospitality can be taught. A University must also in the words of the letter to the Ephesians, “speak the truth in love” (Eph. 4:15). The quest for truth involves exposing the politics of polarization and countering the overriding tendency to class people according to stereotypes. Santa Clara can be a privileged place where true friendship can be taught and practiced.

A true humanistic education, in the Jesuit tradition, is precisely one which begins to break down the walls of hostility and celebrates the human in all its diversity, in the words of Gerard Manley Hopkins, to discover the Christ “who plays in ten thousand places, lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his, To the Father through the features of men’s faces.”⁷⁴

Endnotes

¹On the issues surrounding the authenticity and audience of Ephesians, see Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Doubleday: New York, 1997) 626-35.

²The reference is to the speech of Patrick J. Buchanan addressing the Republican Convention at the Houston Astrodome on August 17, 1992. See also John Dillin, “Conservative Republicans Call for ‘Culture War’” *The Christian Science Monitor* Vol. 85, 3 (May 17, 1993).

³For a survey of the dating of the letter, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (Anchor Bible, 33; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 85-88. Throughout, I employ the current convention of using B.C.E. (before the common era) and C.E. (the common era) in place of B.C. and A.D.

⁴Rom 15:25-33.

⁵See esp. Raymond E. Brown and John P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome: New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* (New York/Ramsey, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1982), 92-105, and Wolfgang Wiefel, “The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome,” in *The Romans Debate*, (ed. Karl Donfried; Peabody, Mass.; Hendrickson, 1997) 85-101. This expulsion is narrated by Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3.3. His account was written in the time of Tiberius and preserved in epitomes dating from the fourth century C.E. The expulsion of the Jews is in the context of the banishment of “Chaldean” astrologers. The original texts and translations

are in Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974) 1.357-60. Also 1 Maccabees (14:24) mentions an embassy sent by Simon Maccabeus to Rome c. 140 B.C.E.

⁶For the history of Jewish relations with Rome, I have relied principally on E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976); see also J. A. Fitzmyer, "From Pompey to Bar Chochba," *New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, R. E. Murphy; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1990) 1243-48.

⁷Smallwood, *The Jews*, 37. Hyrcanus, sometimes called, Hyrcanus II, is the son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome, who served as high priest during his mother's reign (76-67 B.C.E.), and claimed kingship after the death of his mother. He was later executed by Herod the Great in 30 B.C.E.; see Scott T. Carroll, "Hyrcanus," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 3.353.

⁸Josephus, *Antiquities* 14:185-216; Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 94; Smallwood, *The Jews*, 126-38.

⁹John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 87, citing A. Meinhold, "Die Gattung der Josephgeschichte und des Estherbuches: Diasporanovelle, I, II," *ZAW* 87 (1975) 306-34; 88 (1976) 79-93. Though not in the genre of *Diasporanovella*, 1 Macc 1:44-50; 2 Macc 6:18-7:42; 4 Macc 1:32-35; 4:24-26; 5:16-27 also contain narratives of heroic observance of Jewish law.

¹⁰Josephus, *Against Apion* 2.137; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.415. Translations follow those in Stern, who reproduces the texts and translations from the Loeb Classical Library.

¹¹Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 94. Estimates vary. Harry J. Leon (*The Jews of Ancient Rome* [Updated ed.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994] 15, 135, 257) estimates a Jewish population of c. 50,000 at the time of Augustus, while R. Penna ("Les Juifs à Rome au temps de l'apôtre Paul," *New Testament Studies* 28 [1982] 328) gives a low estimate of 20,000 during the reign of Nero.

¹²Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 95.

¹³Josephus, *Ant* 20.8.11 §195; *Life* 3.16. Miriam Griffin (*Nero: The End of a Dynasty* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984] 133) calls her a "Jewish sympathizer."

¹⁴Dio Chrysostom, 66.15.4, cited in Leon, *Jews*, 32. See also David C. Braund, “Bernice” *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D. N. Freedman; 6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1.677-78.

¹⁵Weifel, “Jewish Community,” in *The Romans Debate*, 89-90; Leon, *Jews*, 141-44.

¹⁶On these expulsions, see Leon, *Jews*, 15-27. The cause, extent, and date of the “expulsion” under Claudius are highly debated. Suetonius (*Claudius* 25.4), without specifying the year, states that Claudius “expelled the Jews from Rome because of their constant disturbances, *impulsore Chresto* (at the instigation of Chrestus).” This expulsion is then correlated with Acts 18:2 where Paul meets Prisca and Aquilla at Corinth “because Claudius had ordered all Jews to leave Rome,” and the expulsion is dated by the majority of scholars to c. 49 (R.E. Brown, in Brown and Meier, *Antioch and Rome*, 100-102; James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 1-8*, Word Biblical Commentary 38 [Dallas, TX: Word Books Publ., 1988] xlviii-l). Smallwood (*Jews*, 210-216) opts for two events, a threatened expulsion with other penalties in 41, followed by expulsion in 49. Since Josephus does not mention any such expulsion under Claudius, and on the basis of a comment in Dio Cassius, *History* 60.6.6 that Claudius withdrew the right of public assembly from Jews in 41, a minority of authors conclude that there was no expulsion in 49, but some action against the Jews in 41—which, however, Dio never calls an expulsion. In favor of 41 are Leon (*Jews*, 21-27); Gerd Luedemann (*Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984] 6-7). Those authors who follow Acts and Suetonius for the most part interpret *impulsore Chresto* as disputes between Jews and Christians over Jesus as Messiah. Whatever the exact date and cause, Judaism and other “eastern religions” were suspect in Rome and suffered periodic pogroms. Christianity in its infancy would be linked with such religions.

¹⁷See Jerry L. Daniel, “Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic Roman Period,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979) 45-65, for a good survey of anti-Jewish attitudes in this period.

¹⁸From Seneca, *De Superstitione*, in Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 6:11; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.431.

¹⁹Juvenal, *Saturae*, 14:96-106; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 102-03.

²⁰Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.75; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.348.

²¹Horace, *Sermones* 1.9.60-78; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.324-25.

²²Persius, *Saturae* 5:176-84; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.436. Persius also calls the sabbath the *dies Herodis*, which has evoked heated discussion. Stern argues that it was so described simply because of the notoriety of Herod and his descendants, so that Jewish practices (at least according to Persius) were associated with Herod.

²³Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5:4; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.25.

²⁴Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 1.11:12-13, 1.22:4; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.542. Plutarch (*Quaestiones Conviviales* 4:5:1-3) has a lengthy discussion of the Jewish prohibition of pork in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1. 551-56. See also Tacitus, *Historiae* 5:4:1-2; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.18, 25.

²⁵Persius, *Saturae* 5:180-84; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.436.

²⁶Juvenal, *Saturae* 2.293-94; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.98-99.

²⁷Pompeius Trogus, *Epitome* 2:14, found in Justin, *Historiae Phillipicae*, 36.2.14; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.335-37. Apart from the long section of Tacitus (see below), Pompeius Trogus offers the most extensive picture of Jewish customs.

²⁸Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 76:2; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.110.

²⁹Tacitus, *Historiae*, 5.4.3; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.18, 25.

³⁰Martial, *Epigrammata* 4.4; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 1.524. Though the reference here to *ieiunia sabbatariorum* is not certainly to Jewish practice, Stern argues that this is the most likely context.

³¹See esp. Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition Through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

³²*Satires* 3.62, Text and Translation from G.A. Ramsey, ed. and trans., *Juvenal and Persius* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

³³See esp. Henry Baudet, *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man* (New Haven: Yale University Press), cited in Bernard McGrane, *Beyond Anthropology: Society and the Other* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 2.

³⁴See esp. Luigi Accattoli, *When a Pope Asks Forgiveness: The Mea Culpa's of John Paul II*, trans. J. Aumann (Boston: Pauline Books and Media, 1988).

³⁵James D.G. Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, Word Biblical Commentary 38 (Dallas, TX: Word Books Publ., 1988), x; Fitzmyer, *Romans*, xi-xi; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publ., 1980), x.

³⁶Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 637.

³⁷Käsemann, *Commentary*, 323; Dunn, *Romans 9-16*, 705.

³⁸Brendan Byrne, *Romans* (Sacra Pagina; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996) 361.

³⁹The translation/interpretation of the phrase is disputed. Stanley Stowers (*A Rereading of Romans: Justice Jews and Gentiles* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994] 322) translates it as “those who are weak in faithfulness,” in contrast to the more frequent, “those weak in faith.” “Whose faith is threatened” is my own translation.

⁴⁰Käsemann, *Romans*, 367.

⁴¹The identity of the weak and the strong is a subject of seemingly unending suggestions. C.E.B. Cranfield (*The Epistle to the Romans* [2 vols.; International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1979] 2.692-95) has listed at least six major groups that have been proposed as possible candidates for the weak in Romans: (i) scrupulous Jewish legalists; (ii) people in Rome like those addressed in 1 Corinthians 8-10 who did not feel free to eat meat offered to idols; (iii) Jewish Christians who were conducting a penitential fast from meat and wine in sorrow for the lack of conversion of Gentiles; (iv) those observing ascetical fasting for self-control; (v) practitioners of pagan ascetical practices that had been retained when Gentiles were converted—the Pythagoreans, for example, did not eat meat; (vi) Christian Jews concerned for strict observance of the ceremonial legislation of Judaism. Since Cranfield's work, candidates continue to multiply. Mark Nanos (*The Mystery of Romans: The Jewish Context of Paul's Letter* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995] 86-165, esp. 98-99, 158) suggests that the strong are Gentiles who have come to the faith without strong attachment to Jewish law or customs, and the weak are non-Christian Jews. This position is highly problematic since Paul uses Christological motivation to challenge both the strong and the weak. The latest suggestion of J.P. Sampley (“The Weak and the Strong: Paul's

Careful and Crafty Rhetorical Strategy in Romans 14:1-15:13,” in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne Meeks* [ed. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995] 40-52) is that “weak” and “strong” are simply fictitious groups used by Paul for rhetorical effect.

⁴²Terminology is difficult here. The term “Christian” can give a false impression of an organized “religion.” More accurate, but too cumbersome, would be Jews and non-Jews who had come to accept the crucified and risen Jesus as the Messiah (*Christos*) of the Jews. For those who hold that “the weak” are Jews or Jewish sympathizers, see Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 687; Brendan Byrne, *Romans* (Sacra Pagina: Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996) 403-06.

⁴³The root *exouthenein* has the strong nuance of despise or disdain, as well as reject with contempt. It is used in the treatment of Jesus in the “passion prediction” of Mark 9:12.

⁴⁴See esp. J.M. Bassler, *Divine Impartiality: Paul and a Theological Axiom*, (Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, 59; Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1982).

⁴⁵Dunn, *Romans*, 800.

⁴⁶On these expulsions, see note 16.

⁴⁷Descriptions of Nero and his reign are based on Mariam T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1984), “Nero,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1076-81, and B.H. Warmington, *Nero: Reality and Legend* (New York: Norton, 1969).

⁴⁸Peter Lampe, “The Roman Christians of Romans 16,” in Donfried, ed. *The Romans Debate*, 229.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Tim 4:2 provides evidence for diverse ascetical practices in early Christianity, when the author attacks those who “forbid marriage and enjoin abstinence from foods, and advises Timothy “no longer drink only water, but use a little wine.” Apparently Timothy, like some Roman Christians, abstained from wine.

⁵¹Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 322.

⁵²Aristotle (*Nichomachean Ethics*, 9.8.2 [1168b]; hereafter *NE*) quotes these as maxims already known. My reflections here are very much in debt to the work of Alan Mitchell, "Looking to the Interests of Others: Friendship and Justice in the New Testament Communities," in *Let Justice Roll Down Like Waters: Jesuit Education and the Faith That Does Justice* (ed. William J. O'Brien; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1993) 101-27 and "'Greet the Friends by Name': New Testament Evidence for the Greco-Roman *Topos* on Friendship," in *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship* (ed. John T. Fitzgerald; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997) 225-26. This latter article is an excellent survey of the use of friendship language throughout the New Testament. Also very helpful are John T. Fitzgerald, ed., *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1977); and Peter Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth: Social Conventions in Paul's Relations with the Corinthians* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987).

⁵³Aristotle, *NE*, 8.1 (1155a).

⁵⁴Aristotle, *NE*, 8.3.3 (1156a); Cicero follows Aristotle almost exactly, *De Amicitia*, 21.

⁵⁵*De Amicitia*, 6.20.

⁵⁶Aristotle, *NE*, 8.13.3-4 (1162B), cited in Mitchell, "Looking to the Interests," 103.

⁵⁷For this reason philosophers became concerned about how to distinguish true friendship from flattery; see Plutarch, *Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur* (*How to Distinguish a Flatterer From a Friend*), in *Plutarch's Moralia*, ed. and trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (LCL; Vol 1; Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1956) and the essays in Fitzgerald, ed., *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech*.

⁵⁸Edward N. O'Neil, "Plutarch on Friendship," in Fitzgerald, ed. *Greco-Roman Perspectives*, 107; Mitchell, "New Testament Evidence," *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵⁹Cicero, *Letters to His Friends*, 16.16.1.

⁶⁰I owe this reference to Professor Alan Mitchell of Georgetown University.

⁶¹Aristotle, *NE*, 8.11.4 (1161a).

⁶²NE, 8.12.25 (1162a).

⁶³Carolyn Osiek and David Balch, *Families in the New Testament World: Households and House Churches* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997) 218; Plutarch, *Advice to the Bride and Groom, Moralia*, 140d.

⁶⁴John Reumann, "Philippians as a 'Letter of Friendship,'" in John T. Fitzgerald, ed., *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech*, 104.

⁶⁵Writers on friendship in the New Testament note the paradox that while the *motifs* of friendship appear frequently, the *explicit language* does not appear often, perhaps because of the preference for the language of fictive kinship where Christians called each other brother, sister, father, or mother. Paul constantly addresses his communities as "brothers and sisters," (e.g. Rom 1:23; 1 Cor 1:10, 23; 2 Cor 1:8), calls himself "their father" (1 Cor 4:14; 1 Thess 2:11), and simultaneously uses "maternal" of himself (1 Thess 2:7), and notes that through baptism all Christians are sons and daughters of God (Gal 4:7). For an excellent discussion of this problem with extensive bibliography and with indications of the use of the friendship motifs in places that lack the explicit language, see Marshall, *Enmity in Corinth*, 130-64.

⁶⁶Mitchell, "Greet the Friends by Name," 232.

⁶⁷See B. Fiore, "Friendship and Exhortation in Romans 15:14-33," *Proceedings of the Easter Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies 7* (1987) 94-103, cited in Mitchell, "Greet," 231-32.

⁶⁸See Stanley Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans*, 322. Stowers translates 14:1 as "take into friendship those who are weak in faithfulness." I have not followed the second part of his translation because of the problematic rendering of *asthenounta en pistei*, as weak "in faithfulness." Also "weak in faith," carries the nuance of those whose faith is under attack and hence vulnerable, due to no fault of their own.

⁶⁹See Jérôme Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), esp. 178-82; 202-03.

⁷⁰In an important document released on April 15, 1993, the Pontifical Biblical Commission released an important document entitled, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church." This document welcomes the last century of critical biblical study as well as emerging new methods,

and calls for an “actualization” of the biblical text; that is, following the practice in Scripture itself of applying previous texts to new situations (e.g. Isa 61:1-2 to Luke 4:16-21), applying biblical teaching to new situations in the life of the church. For text and commentary, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Biblical Commission’s Document: “The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church,”* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995), esp. 170-176.

⁷¹See John R. Donahue, “The Challenge of the Biblical Renewal to Moral Theology,” in *Riding Time Like a River: The Catholic Moral Tradition Since Vatican II* (ed. William J. O’Brien, ed., Georgetown: Georgetown University Press, 1993) 59-80.

⁷²For the tension between the universalists and separatist strain in post-exilic Judaism, see “Samaritan History: I. The Persian, Hellenistic and Hasmonean Period,” in Alan D. Crown, ed. *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1989) 1; for Jewish universalism, see Alan F. Segal, “Universalism in Judaism and Christianity,” in Troels Engberg-Pedersen, ed. *Paul in His Hellenistic Context* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994) 1-29.

⁷³Parker J. Palmer, *To Know as We Are Known: Education as a Spiritual Journey* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993) 74.

⁷⁴From “As Kingfishers,” in *Gerard Manley Hopkins: Poems and Prose Selected by W.H. Gardner* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963) 51.





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