

JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

The Tenants
in the Vineyard

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195*

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John S. Kloppenborg

The Tenants in the Vineyard

Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict
in Jewish Palestine

Mohr Siebeck

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For Leslie

tu ex amicis mi es certis certissima

Preface to the new Edition

This book first appeared in 2006 and happily has garnered much positive response. I am particularly gratified by reviewers' appreciation of the multiple levels on which the book's argument proceeds. Richard Rohrbaugh rightly saw that the function of the first two chapters is to understand the genealogy of *our* beliefs about what the parable means, and to expose the role that mediaeval, early modern, and modern political and economic ideologies play in commending certain readings of biblical stories as 'natural' and 'obvious', when in fact it most unlikely that a first-century Mediterranean audience would have agreed (*Review of Biblical Literature* 02/2008). Other reviewers such as Christian Grappe (*RHPR* 87/2, 2007) and Paul Foster (*ExpTimes* 118/6, 2007) saw the value in the attention given to the particulars of the raising of vines, both the discussion of viticulture in chapter 9 and the lengthy appendix of papyri that illustrate the practices described in that chapter. These portions of the book were included out of the deep conviction that our reading of the parables will not be adequate until we understand what the ancient hearer of Jesus' parables would have taken for granted: in this case, the types of persons who owned vineyards, the ways leases were constructed, the portion of the crop which went for rent, the pressures on the tenants, the risks born by the owners and many other facets of ancient viticulture that are not at all obvious to the modern North Atlantic reader.

My hope is that the approach taken in *The Tenants in the Vineyard* will encourage others both to engage in the study of Egyptian papyri, our richest available source of social and economic data for the eastern Mediterranean, and to think carefully about the genealogy of our readings of the texts of the early Jesus movement. Both reflect my commitments to a deeply historical reading of ancient texts and a historical and self-critical reading of *why* we interpret texts as we do.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, the Editorial Director for Theology and Jewish Studies at Mohr Siebeck, for agreeing to reprint this volume, now in paperback and to make it available more widely.

Toronto, May 2010

JSK

Preface

This book began in a course that I have taught for several years on the parables of Jesus. Having been persuaded by C.H. Dodd, Joachim Jeremias, Robert W. Funk, Charles W. Hedrick and a spate of other interpreters that the parables ascribed to Jesus should be read not as coded allegorical stories but as pieces of realistic fiction, often with somewhat unusual narrative turns, I began to approach the parables by attempting to define more precisely the social, legal, and economic practices which these stories engaged and presupposed. The necessary preliminary steps for thinking about Luke's Good Samaritan parable, for example, included looking carefully at the location of roads in Judaea, the phenomenon of banditry in Jewish Palestine, the distribution of priestly settlements, the development of the obligations concerning a *meth mitzwah* (a neglected corpse), reasons that would bring a Samaritan to Judaea, and the existence and nature of inns in the ancient Mediterranean. In the case of the parable of the Dishonoured Master (Luke 16,1–8a), it was necessary to understand estate management, the structure and provisions of lease agreements, the typical forms of debt instruments, and the complex obligations that existed between an owner and his or her estate manager or *vilicus* and between that manager and others who had dealings with the estate.

In most cases it was possible to read the parables of Jesus realistically once the economic and social *realia* had been clarified sufficiently. The parable of the Tenants, however, presented real obstacles to a realistic interpretation, so dense was the allegorization with which it had been supplied by Mark and Matthew. Moreover, it became clear the more I read of ancient viticulture and its social and economic features that much of what had been written on the parable lacked a strong empirical foundation in the practices of ancient wine growing, in particular the assessments of which features of the parable were realistic and which were not. With a very few notable exceptions, interpreters had simply projected onto the text modern assumptions about how owners should have acted, how estates were managed, and how tenants would have behaved. Two other realizations struck me. First, it became clear that this parable, perhaps more than any other parable attributed to Jesus, had been subjected to powerful ideological manipulation in its history of interpretation, with the result that the parable is now no longer read from the perspective of the eastern Mediterranean world of agrarian economics, tenancy, debt, conflict, family dynamics, status hierarchies and so forth. Instead, it is instinctively treated as discourse

belonging to triumphalistic rhetorics of empire and social control. Second, critical scholarship on this parable, more than virtually any other parable attributed to Jesus, is deeply divided on basic source- and tradition-historical issues. Is Mark's form of the parable the earliest textual expression, or the form in the *Gospel of Thomas*, or other forms lurking behind either Matthew or Luke?

Hence, there are three sets of problems surrounding the parable of the Tenants. The first concerns issues in the history of interpretation and the profound effect of ideology on texts and interpreters. Second, there are source-critical problems having to do with reconstructing a tradition history of the parable that accounts for its four extant textual performances. And, finally, we have socio-cultural issues related to the mechanics of ancient viticulture, the typical social levels of landlords and tenants, and the combination of factors that made ancient viticulture a uniquely conflicted sector of the agrarian economy. These included the tenants' requirements for subsistence, and the landlord's interests in realizing high profits and in maintaining the value of his large capital investment.

The result of this study is, I think, an exploration of the parable and the world it presupposes that puts us on a much firmer footing for interpretation, since it lays out in detail the economic, legal, and social *realia* which the first hearers of the parable simply took for granted. While providing an 'archaeology' of ancient viticulture, the book also offers two other 'archaeologies': a reconstruction of the development of the parable from its earliest to its later Synoptic forms, and an archaeology of interpretation – an exploration of how the parable has come to mean what it does (or did) by the late nineteenth century and how powerful cultural and ideological forces much larger than the streams and eddies of theological and exegetical opinion have manipulated readings of the text.

I owe many debts: to William E. Arnal (University of Regina) for nudging me to read Louis Althusser and to Lincoln Blumell (University of Toronto) and Charles W. Hedrick (Southwest Missouri State) for reading the entire manuscript and offering many helpful criticisms and suggestions. Many friends and colleagues have contributed with various acts of generosity, suggestions, and trenchant criticisms: Peter Arzt-Grabner (Universität Salzburg), Rene Baergen (Emmanuel College), Willi Braun (University of Alberta), Ron Cameron (Wesleyan University), Zeba Crook (Carleton University), John H. Elliott (University of San Francisco), Craig Evans (Acadia University), Anselm Hagedorn (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Leslie Hayes (Claremont Graduate University), Jack Horman (London), Henk de Jonge (University of Leiden), Dennis R. MacDonald (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity), Bruce J. Malina (Creighton University), Douglas E. Oakman (Pacific Lutheran University), Stephen J. Patterson (Eden Theological Seminary), Daniel Smith (Huron College), Graham Stanton (University of Cambridge), Guy Strouma (Hebrew

University of Jerusalem), Hami Verbin (Tel Aviv University), my colleagues in the Context Group, and three anonymous reviewers of the manuscript. Katelijin Vandorpe (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) shared her expertise in the field of Ptolemaic taxation; David Neelands (Trinity College, Toronto) clarified matters concerning the history of the *Book of Common Prayer*; and Paul Wilson (Emmanuel College) gave me important advice on the history of homiletics. Finally, I owe an enormous debt to Roger Bagnall of Columbia University, who graciously and tirelessly read the entire appendix of papyri and offered numerous corrections, comments, and suggestions for restorations, sparing me from infelicities in interpretation and translation. To repay debts of this magnitude is impossible.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey for accepting this volume into the distinguished series *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, to Dr. Henning Ziebritzki, the Editorial Director for Theology and Jewish Studies at Mohr Siebeck, and to Jana Trispel for facilitating the process of production. Heather Gamester's careful eye spared me from numerous inconsistencies in style and greatly improved the manuscript.

Portions of this book were presented as papers at various colloquia and seminars, to whose participants I am most grateful for rich and probing conversations. Chapter 1 began as the Presidential Address to the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies in 2001 at the Université Laval and a later draft was presented to the Humanities Group of the University of Alberta at the kind invitation of Professor Guy Thompson. A first draft of the final chapter was a guest lecture at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in April 2002 at the kind invitation of Dennis R. MacDonald, the director of the Institute. A penultimate version was discussed at the 2005 meeting of the Context Group. Other portions of the book were read at meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston (1999) and Atlanta (2003), or delivered as lectures at the University of Helsinki (2001), the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2001), and the Senior New Testament Seminar at the University of Cambridge (2000).

During a year's leave in Jerusalem in 2001 I enjoyed the hospitality of Tantar Ecumenical Institute. I am particularly grateful to its rector, Dr. Michael McGarry, for extending to me library privileges. Guy Stroumsa made me welcome at the Centre for the Study of Christianity at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Finally, I must acknowledge the generous financial support of the Connaught Fund of the University of Toronto and the constant support of my colleagues at the Department for the Study of Religion, in particular James DiCenso.

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Abbreviations

For abbreviations of ancient sources and modern works I have used the conventions of Patrick H. Alexander, *et al.*, *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999). In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

Grammars, Series & Periodical Literature

<i>AESC</i>	<i>Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations</i>
<i>AGASU</i>	<i>Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>Berichtungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten</i> . Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter (vol. 1); Heidelberg: Otto Harrassowitz (vol. 2); Leiden: E.J. Brill (subsequent vols.). I: ed. F. Preisigke, 1922; II: ed. F. Bilabel, 1929–1933; III: eds. M. David, B.A. van Groningen, E. Kießling, 1958; IV: eds. M. David, B.A. van Groningen, E. Kießling, 1964; V: eds. E. Boswinkel, M. David, B.A. van Groningen, E. Kießling, 1969; VI: eds. E. Boswinkel, P.W. Pestman, H.-A. Rupprecht, 1976; VII: eds. E. Boswinkel, W. Clarysse, P.W. Pestman, H.-A. Rupprecht, 1986; VIII: eds. P.W. Pestman, H.-A. Rupprecht, 1992; IX: eds. P.W. Pestman, H.-A. Rupprecht, 1995; X: eds. P.W. Pestman, H.-A. Rupprecht, 1998; XI: eds. H.-A. Rupprecht, and A.M.F.W. Verhoogt, 2002.
<i>CCL</i>	Corpus Christianorum latinorum
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum scriptorum latinorum
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CGAEMC</i>	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiastorum latinorum
<i>EEFGRM</i>	Egypt Exploration Fund. Graeco-Roman Memoirs
<i>KBL</i>	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds. <i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> . 3. Aufl. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967–1996.
<i>PapColon</i>	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Sonderreihe, Papyrologia Colonia
<i>PapLugdBat</i>	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava
<i>PapTexteAbh</i>	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia Graeca (Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca)
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia Latina (Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina)
<i>PrincStudPap</i>	Princeton University Studies in Papyrology

Prosopographia Ptolemaica

W. Peremans, ed. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. 9 vols. Studia Hellenistica 6. Leuven: Leuven: Bibliotheca Universitatis, 1950–1981.

StPal

Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde

StPap

Studia Papyrologica, Revista española de papirología. 22 vols. Barcelona: Facultades de Filosofia y Teología, San Cugat del Vallés, 1962–1983.

Stud. Amst.

Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologiam pertinentia

UMSHS

University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series

Classical and Patristic Literature

*1 Clem.**1 Clement**Barn.**Epistle of Barnabas*

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

*Protr.**Protrepticus (Exhortation)**Strom.**Stromata*

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA

Comm. in Isa. Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam (Commentary on Isaiah)

*Dig.**Digesta Iustiniana*

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

Comm. in Esiam Commentaria in Esiam (Commentaries on Isaiah)

Comm. in Ps. Commentaria in Psalmos (Commentaries on the Psalms)

Hist. eccl. Historia ecclesiastica (Ecclesiastical History)

*Gos. Thom.**Gospel of Thomas (the entire gospel)**GThom**Gospel of Thomas (for individual sayings)*HERMAS, *Sim.**Hermas, Similitudes*

IRENÆUS

Adv. Haer. Adversus haereses (Against the Heresies)

JEROME

Comm. in Matt. Commentarium in Matheum (Commentary on Matthew)

In Jer. In Hieremiam prophetam (Commentary on Jeremiah)

JOSEPHUS

Ant. Antiquitates (Antiquities)

*Bell.**Bellum iudaicum (War of the Jews)**Vita**Vita (Life)*

JUSTIN MARTYR

Dial. Dialogue with Trypho

*Liv. Pro.**Lives of the Prophets*

ORIGEN

Comm. in Ioh. Commentarium in Iohanem (Commentary on John)

Comm. in Matt. Commentarium in Matheum (Commentary on Matthew)

Fr. Lam.

Fragments of the Commentarium in Lamentationes (Commentary on Lamentations)

*Hom. in Ier.**Homiliae in Ieremiam (Homilies on Jeremiah)*

PHILO

- Agr.* *De agricultura (On agriculture)*
Det. *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat (That the worse attacks the better)*
Decal. *De decalogo (On the Decalogue)*
Somn. *De somnis (On Dreams)*
Spec. Leg. *De specialibus legibus (On the Special Laws)*

PLINY THE ELDER

- Hist. nat.* *Historia naturalis (Natural History)*

PLINY THE YOUNGER

- Ep.* *Epistulae (Letters)*

TERTULLIAN

- Adv. Prax.* *Adversus Praxeam (Against Praxeas)*
Adv. Marc. *Adversus Marcionem (Against Marcion)*
Carn. Chr. *De carne Christi (On the Flesh of Christ)*

THEODORET

- Comm. in Esiam Commentaria in Esiam (Commentaries on Isaiah)*
Thom. Cont. *Thomas the Contender*

Other Abbreviations

- au. gold
ar. silver
cu. copper
cul. *culleus, cullei* (1 *culleus* = approx. 517 litres)
dr. drachma, drachmae
dn. denarius, denarii
Dtr Deuteronomistic
ha. hectare(s)
hl. hectolitre(s)
HS sestertius(s)
iug. *iugerum, iugera* (1 *iugerum* = 0.248 ha. or 0.614 acres)
ob. obol, obols (1 obol = $\frac{1}{6}$ drachma)
Q Vocabulary or grammatical features taken over from *Q* (e.g., ἕτερος: Luke 11:26^Q).
R Redactional vocabulary or grammatical features (e.g., λαός: Matt 20:9^R).
S Vocabulary or grammatical features which appear in *Sondergut* or Special Material (e.g., ἤρξατο: Luke 4:21^S).
Mk Words taken over from Mark by Matthew or Luke (e.g., λαός: Matt 22:2^{Mk}).

Papyri and Inscriptions

The following is a list of abbreviations of the papyri, ostraca and papyrological corpora cited in chapters 5–9 and in Appendix I. For multi-volume corpora, I have included *only* the individual volumes that are actually cited herein. For a complete set of papyrological abbreviations, the reader should consult J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, and W.H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*. 2nd ed. BASP Supplements 1 (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978) and the online version at: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

Papyri published in major corpora are cited using the following abbreviations *in italics*, but without a period and space after ‘P’. Inventory numbers are given Roman script. Thus: *PLond* VII 1957, but P.Lond. inv. 2340.

Papyri and Epigraphic Corpora

- AM* *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*. Berlin: Deutsches archäologisches Institut, 1876– (cited by volume number, year, and page).
- BGU* *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen [staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. Berlin: Weidmann (first 9 vols.); Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz (vols. 12–17, 19–), 1895–. II: 1898 (nos. 62–696); III: 1903 (nos. 697–1012); IV: 1912 (nos. 1013–1209); VI: *Papyri und Ostraka der Ptolemäerzeit*, eds. W. Schubart and E. Kühn, 1922 (nos. 1211–1303; ostraca: nos. 1304–1499); VII: *Papyri, Ostraka und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia im Fayûm*, eds. P. Viereck and F. Zucker, 1926 (nos. 1563–1689; ostraca: nos. 1500–1562, 1697–1729; wooden tablets: nos. 1690–1696); VIII: *Spätptolemäische Papyri aus amtlichen Büros des Herakleopolites*, eds. W. Schubart and D. Schäfer, 1933 (nos. 1730–1890); X: *Papyrusurkunden aus ptolemäischer Zeit*, ed. W. Müller. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1970 (nos. 1901–2011); XI: *Urkunden römischer Zeit*, ed. H. Maehler. Berlin: Hessling, 1966–1968 (nos. 2012–2131); XII: *Papyri aus Hermupolis*, ed. H. Maehler, 1974 (nos. 2132–2210); XIII: *Greek Papyri from Roman Egypt*, ed. W.M. Brashear, 1976 (nos. 2211–2366); XIV: *Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mumienkartonage*, ed. W.M. Brashear, 1981 (nos. 2367–2450).
- CIJ* J.B. Frey, ed. *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum: Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. 2 vols.* Roma: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1936–1952.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum. 17+ vols. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1863–.
- CIRB* V.V. Struve, ed. *Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (CIRB): Korpys bosporskikh nadpisei*. Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, 1965.
- CorpOrdPtol* M.-T. Lenger, ed. *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées*. Brussels: Academie royale de Belgique, 1964 (Academie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres & Mémoires 57/1).

- CPapGr* M. Manca Masciadri and O. Montevecchi *et al.* eds. *Corpus Papyrorum Graecarum*. Milan: Tipolitografia Tibiletti, 1984–1985.
- CPJ* V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, eds. *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957–1964. I: 1957 (nos. 1–141); II: 1960 (nos. 142–450); III: eds. V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, 1964 (nos. 451–520).
- CPR* *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*. Vienna: Verlag der kaiserlichen königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei (first two volumes); Brüder Hollinek (remaining volumes), 1895–. I: *Griechische Texte I: Rechtsurkunden*, ed. C. Wessely, 1895 (nos. 1–247); VII: *Griechische Texte IV*, eds. H. Zilliacus, J. Frösén, P. Hohti, J. Kaimio, M. Kaimio, 1979 (nos. 1–60); X: *Griechische Texte VII*, eds. H. Harrauer *et al.*, 1986 (nos. 1–140); XV: *Griechische Texte XI: Papiri greci di Socnopaiu Nesos e dell' Arsinoites*, ed. G.M. Savorelli, 1990 (nos. 1–53); XVIIA: *Griechische Texte XIIA, Die Archive der Aurelii Adelphios und Asklepiades*, ed. K.A. Worp, 1991 (nos. 1–39 and Appendices a and b); XVIIIB: *Griechische Texte XIIB, Papyri aus Panopolis*, ed. P.J. Sijpesteijn, 1991 (nos. 1–47); XVIII: *Das Vertragsregister von Theogenis (PVindobG 40618)*, ed. B. Kramer, 1991 (nos. 1–34).
- IC* M. Guarducci, ed. *Inscriptiones creticae*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1935–1950.
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- PEdg* C.C. Edgar. “Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon,” in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale). 18 (1918) 159–182 (nos. 1–10); 18 (1918) 225–244 (nos. 11–21); 19 (1919) 13–36 (nos. 22–36); 19 (1920) 81–104 (nos. 37–48); 20 (1920) 19–40 (nos. 49–54); 20 (1920) 181–206 (nos. 55–64); 21 (1921) 89–109 (nos. 65–66); 22 (1922) 209–231 (nos. 67–72); 23 (1923) 73–98 (nos. 73–76); 23 (1923) 187–209 (nos. 77–88); 24 (1924) 17–52 (nos. 89–111).
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