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ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE BIBLE
AND ITS RECEPTION



Edited by

Christine Helmer,
Steven L. McKenzie,
Thomas Römer,
Jens Schröter,
Barry Dov Walfish,
Eric Ziolkowski

in cooperation with

Heinrich Assel, Helen Bond,
Stephen R. Burge, Rhonda Burnette-Bletsch,
George D. Chryssides, Joseph Davis,
Dyron Daughrity, Natalie Dohrmann,
Eckart Frahm, Jörg Frey,
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Love

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I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament and Ancient Near East

1. Terminology. Contrary to many modern languages, biblical Hebrew does not make a distinction in vocabulary between “love” and “friendship.” The same root *’āhab* is used for both terms (Wallis).

There are other roots that belong to the semantic field of “love”: the root *y-d-d* is used mainly in substantives, like *dôd* (the loved one or the lover); famous names constructed with this root include David as well as Solomon’s other name Jedidiah (Yē-dīdyā) (2 Sam 12:25, “YHWH’s beloved one”). In the plural form, the term *dodim* indicates “lust, sexual desire,” especially in the Song of Songs.

Other roots related to love are *d-b-q* (“to cling, to stick to,” cf. Deut 11:22; Prov 18:24) and *h-p-s* (cf. 1 Sam 18:22, “to take pleasure, to desire”).

The root *’-h-b* is used mainly to describe the following relations:

- a) the love between a man and a woman (e.g., 1 Sam 18:20, Michal’s love for David);
- b) the love between two men (e.g., 1 Sam 1:26, David and Jonathan);
- c) the love of a father for his son (e.g., Prov 13:24);
- d) a slave’s love of his master (e.g., Exod 21:5–6);
- e) the love of neighbors (Lev 19:18) and of foreigners (Lev 19:34);
- f) the love of a vassal towards his suzerain (e.g., 1 Kgs 5:15);
- g) Israel’s love towards YHWH (e.g., Deut 6:5);
- h) YHWH’s love towards individuals (e.g., Cyrus Isa 48:14) or his people (e.g., Isa 43:4).

2. Love and Marriage. As is still the case today in some parts of the world, marriage is not directly related to the sentiment of love between a man and a woman. In the ANE, it was a social obligation, and it was inconceivable that young people would remain unmarried. Often marriages were arranged inside a tribe (see Gen 24, where Abraham charges his servant to seek a wife for his son), and the wife became part of her husband’s family. Marriages were related to economic interests, but above all, were intended to provide offspring for the husband’s line. A wife who was unable to bear children could easily be divorced. Therefore, Assyrian marriage contracts stipulate that a sterile wife can adopt

the son of her female servant (this practice is presupposed in Gen 16). Depending upon his economic situation, a man could have several wives and/or concubines (as Jacob, David, or Solomon). Although marriage was primarily an arrangement between families, some married couples in the Bible are presented as loving each other (e.g., Isaac and Rebecca in Gen 26).

3. Homosexual Love? Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13 prohibit sexual intercourse between two men, and Lev 20:13 even prescribes capital punishment for such a “transgression.” Generally, Lev 18 and 20 forbid incest and other sexual relations that cannot produce offspring. It seems that for the priestly authors of these passages sexuality is to be limited to procreation. The story of David’s rise to the throne contains, however, a secondary plot, which is centered on Jonathan’s love for the young David, and many scenes of their encounters are depicted in a very erotic way (Schroer/Staubli; Römer/Bonjour). It is quite possible that the author who narrated the story about David’s rise knew the description of the erotic relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, which can be described as “heroic love” (Ackermann), and used some of these motifs to describe the relationship between David and Jonathan. Although David and Jonathan would not qualify as a “gay couple,” David characterizes Jonathan’s love for him after his death as greater to him than the love of women: “greatly beloved were you to me; your love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women” (2 Sam 1:26).

4. Dangerous Love. Some biblical narratives focus on the idea that falling in love can have dangerous or even deadly outcomes. The story of Gen 34 tells how Shechem fell in love with Jacob’s daughter Dinah after having had extramarital sex with her (34:2–3; it is disputed whether he did “rape” her, cf. Macchi). Shechem’s father then agrees to have the whole city that he rules circumcised so that his son can marry Jacob’s daughter. But before the men recover from their circumcision, they are killed by Simeon and Levi, who justify their act by claiming that Shechem treated their sister like a whore (34:26–31). Another episode of dangerous love is the story of Samson and Delilah. Samson fell in love with Delilah (Judg 16:4), but she betrayed him by appealing to his love for her in order to learn the secret of his strength. After he revealed to her that his strength is related to the length of his hair, she cuts it and sells him to the Philistines who capture and blind him (16:15–31). Both stories deal with “mixed marriages” which are presented as dangerous.

5. From Divine to Human Erotic Love. The Song of Songs (which was probably composed in the Hellenistic period; see Heinevetter) makes clear reference to sensuality and to a relationship of physical love. It does so already in the first few lines: “Let

Love

him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth! For your love is better than wine" (Song 1:2). The text depicts two lovers who are trying to meet so that they might express their love despite several obstacles. This compilation of erotic poems describes all the different types of love, including its sexual dimension. The wish, "O that his left hand were under my head, and that his right hand embraced me!" (Song 2:6, and 8:3), evokes an iconographic scene that has often been reproduced in the ANE: a naked couple embracing each other before sexual intercourse. In contrast with many erotic poems, the Song of Songs describes not only the body and beauty of the woman, but also that of the man, and understands love and sexuality as a gift offered to humankind. The compilers of this text also understand love as giving sense to human life, which is limited by death: "Love is as strong as death" (8:6). The rhetoric of love and sexuality in this text is quite similar to ANE texts that describe the erotic love between a goddess and a god, especially between Ishtar and Tammuz, or Nabu (mentioned in Isa 46:1) and his consort Tashmetu. The dialogues between these two deities are very similar to the speeches of the young man and woman in the Song (for a translation see Foster: 944–48). They describe how Nabu and Tashmetu go to a bedroom, have sex there and then go out to a garden. Apparently, this reflects a ritual during which priests and priestesses brought statues of both deities to special places in order to represent their erotic encounter. Like in the Song of Songs (1:17), Tashmetu invites Nabu to meet her "under the shade of the cedar," and Nabu compares Tashmetu, again with great similarity to the Song of Songs, with a gazelle of the plain or a delicious apple. And both deities desire their lover's "fruit." Apparently, the author of the Song of Songs knew and adapted poems about divine sexual love in order to apply them to a young unmarried couple, transferring the divine character of love to human love (Nissinen). It has sometimes been argued that women were the authors of this kind of love-poetry (Carr: 95–100), and the same may be the case for the Song of Songs.

6. YHWH's Love for his "Wife" Israel. During the period of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, YHWH was worshipped in association with a goddess, either Asherah or the "Queen of Heaven" (cf. Jer 44). It is possible that during this period there were similar ideas about YHWH and the goddess as there were about Nabu and Tashmetu. When Asherah was eradicated from the official Judean cult (perhaps under Josiah, cf. 2 Kgs 23:6–7), YHWH's wife was replaced by his people Israel. This is especially the case in prophetic books, particularly in Jer, Ezek, and Hos. According to Jer 2:2–3, Israel, YHWH's fiancée, loved her husband and followed him in the wilderness, but as soon as she entered the land she became a harlot and followed other lov-

ers (other gods, Jer 3:1–5). Similar pictures appear in Hos 2, where Israel, despite YHWH's love, followed other lovers (2:15), and in Ezek 16:8–43, where YHWH's love is again betrayed by his wife Israel. In order to punish her, YHWH announces that he will gather all her lovers so that they can collectively rape her (16:36–37). Contrary to the Song of Songs, this depiction of YHWH's betrayed love and his punishment clearly reflects male fears and fantasies (see also Ezek 23, where YHWH is depicted as a polygamous husband of the two sisters Oholah [Samaria] and Oholibah [Jerusalem]).

7. Other Depictions of YHWH's Love. Theologians often tend to emphasize the importance of YHWH's love for the understanding of the theology of the HB/OT (Spieckermann). However, as shown above, the description of the relationship between YHWH and Israel in the husband-wife metaphor has a very patriarchal background and appears especially in prophetic oracles of judgment. Some texts, however, claim that YHWH will love Israel forever (Jer 31:3). Other descriptions of YHWH's love for Israel compare it with the love of a father towards his son (Hos 11:1), or are used, in the book of Deuteronomy, in order to give a reason for his election of Israel (Deut 4:37; 7:8). YHWH's love of individuals is directed to righteous people (Ps 146:8), but also to the Persian king Cyrus (Isa 48:14), whom he chooses to deliver his people from captivity.

8. Love and Loyalty. The exhortation of Deut 6:5 to love YHWH with all one's heart, soul, and might reflects a political use of the term "love." It is taken over from Assyrian vassal treaties (Moran), and especially Esarhaddon's loyalty oaths from 672. He admonishes his vassals to love his son and successor Assurbanipal and to serve him alone in this treaty. In this context, the root ³-*h-b* comes close to the lexeme *hesed*, which is sometimes considered as an equivalent for "love" (Sakenfield), but which denotes more the idea of loyalty and faithfulness. Equally, the texts that deal with a servant's love for his master, or a son's love for his father, denote an attitude of respect and solidarity, rather than the idea of affection.

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Thomas Römer

II. Greco-Roman Antiquity

The semantic field of “love” is in Greek (and Latin) represented by a number of terms with distinct meanings: *ἔρως/amor* (sexual attraction, also transferred to desires of all kinds); *φιλία/amicitia* (association and sympathy with a partner, mostly freely chosen, mutual understanding and support); the verbs *ἀγαπᾶν* and *στέργειν* (familiarity and closeness in everyday life, “to be happy or satisfied with,” *φίλοστοργία* often stands for the natural affection between parents and child); *εὐνοία/benevolentia* (good will, helpfulness).

On the other hand, Biblical Hebrew has a verb *’āhab* with many aspects and a theological dimension (God loving men, men loving God). The LXX generally translates it with *ἀγαπᾶν* (and the noun *ἀγάπη*, which is not attested in earlier sources). The choice of this translation is hard to explain from the original rather unemphatic meaning. It has been suggested that the reason was phonetic similarity. *Ἀγάπη* (and Latin *caritas*) became standard in theological contexts, and equivalents in modern languages took over its wide scope and metaphysical overtones. *ἔρως/amor* is avoided, probably because of its sexual connotation.

In the conceptual field of “love,” Greek and Roman culture developed several distinct lines of thought.

1. Eros. Sexual activity as an important part of life has gods as its protectors, Aphrodite and Eros. The capricious arrow shots of Eros symbolize the irrationality of “falling in love.” Their irresistible power over humankind as well as gods is often pointed out in poetry. Even Zeus becomes a victim of sexual desire (Homer, *Ilias* 14). In Hesiod’s *Theogony* (120), Eros is one of the three primeval entities, presumably because the origin of the world is seen (with certain exceptions) as a series of sexual procre-

ations. Greek mythology is full of love stories, happy and unhappy. Poetry, especially tragedy, presents vivid pictures of erotic passion. It can be seen as a kind of mental disease (*μανία* “madness”); the beginning of Euripides’ *Hippolytos* describes lovesick Phaedra in pathological detail. In cosmological theories of the Presocratics Eros appears as the power of physical attraction between the elements (Parmenides fr. 12,3 *δαίμων*, Empedocles fr. 17,7 *φύλοτης* and fr. 22,5 *Aphrodite*). Hellenistic literature (new comedy and novel) develops a more optimistic picture of erotic love: a chaste and faithful love overcomes obstacles of all kinds and finds its consummation in a harmonious marriage. Philosophical psychology tried to find a place for sexual desire in the structure of the soul; the Stoics made sexual impulses one of the seven parts of the soul. There were numerous essays entitled *On Love* (*Περὶ ἔρωτος*). Many books by Peripatetics and Stoics are lost; the Epicurean position is found in Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 4. Notable extant treatises from imperial time: Plutarch, *Amatorius*; Maximus of Tyrus, *Diatribes* 18–19; Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.5. Marriage is a related subject (books *Περὶ γάμου*). Some philosophers took a skeptical view of it because it seemed incompatible with a philosophic life. A fervent diatribe against marriage is attributed to Theophrastus (Fr. 486 Fort.), but marriage is highly appreciated by Plutarch, Musonius Rufus, and the Stoic Hierocles.

2. Platonic Love. This is a complex of ideas which originated in the circle of Socrates and Plato. The starting point was the archaic custom of “boy love” (*παιδικὸς ἔρως*). This institution came under criticism in the 5th century, while defenders stressed the educational and minimized the sexual aspect (see “Homosexuality”). Socrates’ famous discussions with adolescents had this background, and it became a subject of discussions among his disciples. Plato (in *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*) developed an elaborate explanation: fascination by sensual beauty, he claimed, could open the way to appreciation of spiritual beauty and in the last instance to a philosophical vision. These ideas became widely known and discussed, accepted, or rejected. The famous phrase in Aristotle’s theology that the “unmoved mover” sets things in motion “like a thing loved” (*ὥς ἐρώμενον Metaph.* 7, 1072b3) may be understood as an allusion to the Platonic concept of a transcendental beauty being loved. Plutarch in his *Amatorius* undertook to transfer this Platonic love into the context of marital love.

3. Philia (φιλία, “friendship”). This is the most general word for friendly relations; it is a key word in social life; persons may be classed as *φίλος* or *ἐχθρός*, friend or foe. The divine protector of friendship is *Ζεὺς φίλος*. Aristotle gave a penetrating analysis of the concept in his three ethical treatises (*Eth. nic.* 8–9, *Eth. eud.* 7, *Mag. mor.* 2.11–17). For

him, *φιλία* is essential for human life and happiness and at the basis of all social coherence. The ideal friend is ἄλλος αὐτός, “another self” (*Eth. nic.* 10.4, 1166a32). A side issue is self-love (*φιλία πρὸς ἑαυτὸν*, later termed *φιλαντία*) which is often disapproved; Aristotle takes it as a legitimate counterpart of *φιλία*.

The concept remains a subject of philosophical discussion and literature; most notable is Cicero’s *Laelius De amicitia*. In epistolography we find a type of letter (*φιλικὸς τύπος*) which serves to cultivate friendly relations between persons widely separated (*Ps.-Demetrius, De forma epistolary* 1.1–9).

There are two lines of thought extending *φιλία* to humankind in general. One is the “oikeiosis” theory which is part of Stoic ethics. Humans at the beginning of their lives become conscious of and “attached” to their selves, i.e., to their organs and faculties, and start to take care of themselves. “Attachment to oneself” (*οἰκείωσις πρὸς ἑαυτὸν*) is the key phrase. (The point is that these first impulses are not directed towards “pleasure,” ἡδονή, as the Epicureans claim.) This “attachment” is later extended to other beings seen as “belonging” to the self, first their own offspring, then other persons in widening circles, and finally to all humankind. Structure and origin of this theory are much debated; perhaps it was stimulated by Aristotle’s reflection on self love.

A related development is the rise of the concept of *φιλανθρωπία* (“love of humankind, Menschenliebe”), beginning in the 4th century BC. It implies good will and helpfulness towards all human beings, especially strangers. It is often used in praising politicians and rulers who take care of the interests of human beings. The idea of general human solidarity is present in the plots of many Hellenistic comedies: “Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto” (Terence, *Heautontimorumenos* 77, translated from Menander). With religious overtones: “Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem,” “It is a god [i.e., a manifestation of god] for a mortal to help a mortal,” (Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 2.18). Philosophical ethics, however, did not adopt the term *φιλανθρωπία*. Only a few authors, such as Plutarch and Emperor Julian, had a personal preference for it. In the case of Julian, it seems to serve as a contrast to Christian charity.

4. Religious Aspects. Greek gods can make selected humans their friends (*θεοφιλής*, “beloved by a god”). In archaic time, this applies to kings, priests, and especially poets. In a singular case (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.330) Athena says that she loves Odysseus for his cleverness, apparently because this is her own province. (In later discussions, similarity is often mentioned as a basis of *φιλία*.) Philosophers, however, tend to make divine love dependent on the ἀρετή of a human. But it is very questionable if there can be mutual *φιλία* between humans and

god, because there is no equality between the partners. “It would be preposterous if somebody would say that he loves (*φιλεῖ*) Zeus” (Aristotle, *Mag. mor.* 1208b31).

A god’s love for humankind in general is, however, possible. This begins with a dramatic effect in Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* (11, cf. 28): Prometheus is punished “in order to learn to give up his human-loving ways” (*φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπου*). For a non-human, this love is a kind of treason. In other cases a god can be praised as *φιλάνθρωπος* without reserve, especially Asclepius. Philosophers who develop the idea of divine providence can speak of *φιλανθρωπία* of the gods in general and human confidence in their care (e.g., Plutarch, *Suav. viv.* ch. 22).

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Herwig Görgemanns

III. New Testament

Several Greek words are translated by “love” in English versions of the NT. Each contributes to the richness of this cardinal Christian virtue. *Φιλέω* and its cognates often carry the connotation of friendship. Most important is *ἀγάπη*.

Although love is a key idea throughout the NT writings, it is especially prominent in the writings attributed to Paul, Peter, and John. Paul’s hymn to love in 1 Cor 13 emphasizes the selfless character of *ἀγάπη*, which “does not insist on its own way.” The heart of Paul’s gospel is found in Rom 5:8: “God proves his love for us in that while we still were sinners Christ died for us.” This gracious act of love is, for Paul, both source and motive for Christian love: “the love of Christ urges us on” (2 Cor 5:15).

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According to Rom 5:5, “God’s love” (ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ) has been “poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit” (Rom 5:5). The genitive here is probably both subjective (God’s love for human beings) and objective (love for God; Wright: 517). Both senses are otherwise found in the Pauline writings (Rom 5:8; 8:28).

Ephesians merits special attention. Ephesians 5:2 commands: “Walk in love as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, an offering and sacrifice to God.” The love of Christ, “the great love with which he loved us” (2:4), has a practical outworking: readers should bear “with one another in love” (4:2) and speak “the truth in love” (4:15). The same correlation between Christ’s love and human love appears in 5:25: husbands are to love their wives “just as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her.”

In First Peter, the noun ἀγάπη occurs twice (4:8; 5:14), the verb ἀγαπάω four times (1:8, 22; 2:17; 3:10). 1:22 (“Now that you have purified your souls by your obedience to the truth so that you have genuine mutual love, love one another deeply from the heart”; cf. John 15:12) emphasizes the group rather than the individual (Elliott: 386–87), and the love of which it speaks is to be constant and enduring (“deeply,” ἐκτενῶς). Such love “covers a multitude of sins” (4:8) and is expressed with affectionate greeting (5:14). In 2 Pet 1:7, as elsewhere in the NT, love (ἀγάπη) is the pinnacle of virtues.

Love is likewise central to the Johannine writings. Jesus’ command to the disciples that they “love one another as I have loved you” (John 15:12) is grounded in the love of God who “so loved the world that he gave his only Son” (John 3:16). Jesus’ prayer to the Father is that “the love with which you have loved me may be in them and I in them” (17:25). This is a love that the Father had for the Son “before the foundation of the world” (17:24). In John 15, “Jesus loves just as the Father loves (v. 9) and he commands his disciples to love one another just as he has loved them (v. 12)” (Whitacre: 378). The disciples are to abide in that love (15:10). John seems to use the words ἀγαπάω and φιλέω interchangeably in 21:15–19, and this is probably “a rhetorical alteration designed to avoid undue repetition” (Louw/Nida: 294). It is probable that “synonymous parallelism in Hebrew poetry created almost a predisposition for employing interchangeable synonyms” (Brown: 499).

Love is also a keynote of 1 John. In 4:16 the author asserts that “God is love, and those who abide in love abide in God and God in them.” In 3:1 he marvels: “See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God; and that is what we are.” In 3:11, the command in the Gospel of John to “love one another” (15:12) is reiterated. In 4:19, the author asserts that “we love because he [God] first loved us.”

In the synoptic tradition, love for God and love for neighbor are fundamental to the teaching of Jesus (Matt 22:37; Mark 12:30; Luke 10:27). When brought together these two principle demands are perhaps designed to recall the two halves of the Decalogue and so to sum up the Mosaic law in its entirety (Allison: 152–68). Jesus expands the understanding of the neighbor to include outsiders, as shown in the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–37). He even enlarges the scope of love to include one’s enemies (Matt 5:43–48; Luke 6:27–28, 32–36). Such love entails a commitment to peacemaking and conflict resolution. The parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) depicts the costly, unexpected, undeserved love of the Father, thus exposing the deepest meaning of the cross found anywhere in the NT (Bailey).

Hebrews 12:6 quotes Proverbs 3:12: “for the Lord disciplines those whom he loves, and chastises every child whom he accepts.” The words are intended to encourage readers to endure trials by interpreting them in terms of divine discipline and love. Revelation 3:19, which belongs to a rebuke of the church of Laodicea, is more harsh: “I reprove and discipline those whom I love. Be earnest, therefore, and repent!”

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Peter Rodgers

IV. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

Second Temple Jewish literature draws upon the HB/OT commands to love God (Deut 6:5) and neighbor (Lev 19:18). The expression “those who love God” (οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν θεόν) functions as shorthand for those whom the author deems faith-

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ful to God's covenant. Jewish authors commonly divided the commandments into two groups (1) commandments governing the relationship between God and humans; and (2) commandments governing relationships between humans.

1. Apocrypha. An illustration of the typical link between love for God and faithfulness to the covenant is found in Tobit:

All the Israelites who are saved in those days and are truly mindful of God will be gathered together; they will go to Jerusalem and live in safety forever in the land of Abraham, and it will be given over to them. Those who sincerely love God (οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ) rejoice, but those who commit sin and injustice will vanish from all the earth. (Tob 14:7; see also Sir 1:10; 2:15, 16; Bel 1:38; 1 Macc 4:33)

2. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha (OTP). *a. Love for God.* *Psalms of Solomon* uses the expression "those who love God" to separate the faithful from the unfaithful; with the appearance of the Messiah, those who love God and keep God's commandments will be vindicated and find relief from the suffering of the present age (*Pss. Sol.* 4:25, 28; 6:6; 10:3; 14:1; see also *Jub.* 20:7; 23:31).

b. Love for God and neighbor. This pairing is found in several OTP works; e.g., "Be humble in heart, hate bitter power, and, above all, love your neighbor as yourself, and love God from the soul and serve him" (*Sib. Or.* 8:480–482; see also *T. Iss.* 7:6; *T. Zeb.* 10:5; *T. Ash.* 5:4; *T. Dan* 5:3). On love for one's neighbor or brother, see *Jub.* 7:20; 20:2; 36:4, 8; 37:4.

c. God's Love for Israel. Love for God is predicated upon God's love for Israel: "And they all shall be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that I love them." (*Jub.* 1:25; see also 25:23; *Pss. Sol.* 18:3). These expressions hark back to Deuteronomy, where God's love for Israel is the basis for Israel's election (*Deut* 4:37; see also 5:10; 7:7–8; 10:15; 23:5).

3. Dead Sea Scrolls. *a. Love for God.* In Qumran literature, references to "those who love God" (*hby 'dny*) are closely bound to the Deuteronomic context of the *Shema'*, which involves a pledge of loyalty to the God of Israel, e.g., "I love you (*w'hbk*) lavishly, with (my) whole heart and with all (my) soul I have purified ... [I have] imposed on myself not] to turn aside from all that you have commanded" (1QH 7:12–14; see also 8:21, 25; 1QH^a 6:26; 4Q393 3:2; 4Q525 frg. 5:13; 11Q11 6:12; 11Q19 54:12–13; 11Q22).

b. Love for Neighbor. Love for one's neighbor is limited to other members of the sect. Initiates are to seek God with all their heart and soul "in order to love all the sons of light, each one according to his lot in God's plan, and to detest all the sons of

darkness, each one in accordance with his guilt in God's vindication" (1QS 1:9–11; see also CD-A 6:20–21). The covenant bond thus excludes those Israelites who are not members of the Qumran community.

4. Philo. Like other Jewish authors of this period, Philo divides the Mosaic commandments into two groups: those focused upon piety (love for God) and those focused on ethics or duties toward one's fellow humans (see esp. *Decal.* 1:106–110).

a. Love for God. Philo's use of love for God (ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεόν) often retains its HB/OT covenantal context (e.g., *Post.* 1.12, 69; *Fug.* 1.58; *Spec.* 1.300).

b. Love between God and humans. φιλόθεος and θεοφιλῆς frequently appear together to express mutual love between God and humans (e.g., *Abr.* 1.50; *Mos.* 2.67; *Virt.* 1.184).

c. Love for God and Love of Self. In discussions of ethics and justice, love for God (φιλόθεος) is contrasted with love of self (φιλαυτός; e.g., *Fug.* 1.81; *Sacr.* 1.3; *QG* 1.60).

d. Love for the Stranger. On loving the stranger as oneself, see *Virt.* 1.103–104.

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Lori Baron

B. Rabbinic Judaism

The concept of love in Rabbinic Judaism encompasses three main areas: a) the love required of individuals towards other human beings; b) the love that exists between man and wife; and c) the love that God has for the people of Israel and that Israel concomitantly must show to God. In each of these areas, the rabbis focus on the feelings of empathy, generosity, selflessness, and understanding that love entails. Most importantly, these traits are attributed to God in his relationship to the people of Israel and are the model for what the people are expected to experience through their observance of God's commandments.

1. Love of Other Human Beings. While the commandment to love one's neighbor as oneself is biblical (*Lev* 19:18), the rabbis attribute to it a meaning and centrality missing in its biblical expression. In Scripture, the term commonly translated "your neighbor" (*re'akha*) probably encompassed only fellow Jews. The presence of a separate verse (*Lev* 19:33–34) enjoining love of the resident stranger (*ger*) suggests that "neighbor" in v. 18 did not intend to include all people, but commanded only that one "love" fellow members of the Israelite people. By contrast, both Hillel and Meir (*mAv* 1:12; 6:1) are explicit that the commandment in fact is to love all of humankind (*beri'ot*). Aqiva (Sifra, *Qedo-*

shim 4) goes further, asserting that the commandment to love one's neighbor is the single, encompassing principle of the Torah. While Ben Azzai disagrees, selecting instead Gen 5:1, "This is the book of the generations of Adam," this is a distinction lacking a real difference. Ben Azzai's point is that all humanity is the creation of God, in the image of God, with a single father. Therefore, all people, Jew and Gentile, are subject to neighborly love. This is because all people in fact are alike. Indeed, Aqiva himself makes a similar point (*mAv* 3:14), noting that, as an act of love, God informed all people that they are created in the divine image.

In the context of the obligation to love one's neighbor, the emotion of love reflects one's empathy for and understanding of the other. Hillel's focus on this commandment thus parallels his phrasing of the Golden Rule. If one empathizes with and feels a sense of mutuality towards one's neighbor, then one will not do to him what is despicable to oneself. This is the principle that Hillel deemed the entirety of the Torah (*bShab* 31a). This same idea is reflected in his statement (*mAv* 2:6) upon seeing a skull floating on the water: "Because you drowned others, they drowned you, and in the end those who drowned you will be drowned." Human goodness, in this perspective, comes down ultimately to the feeling of love that we must have for each other.

Notably, in early Judaism, the rabbis were not alone in setting out love as defining appropriate relationships among the people of Israel and between the people and others outside of the Israelite community. This idea appears as well in the DSS, the product of a community that evaluated its relationship to the rest of the world through the emotions of love vs. hate. Entrance into the Dead Sea community was understood to be a consequence of God's love in choosing the individual inductee. The initiate correspondingly was bound to love all whom God loves – that is, members of the group – and to hate those whom God hates, meaning, all outsiders. In this way, and especially through an open and unselfish sharing of knowledge and reproof only with those similarly loved by God, the individual affirmed his place in the community, and the community as a whole demarcated its boundaries.

2. Love Between Man and Woman. While the rabbis spend a great deal of time articulating rules for family life, marriage, sexual relations, and divorce, little attention is dedicated to the intricacies of romantic love. Still, the rabbis make explicit the central importance in marriage of mutuality and respect, the emotions that are primary to love. The rabbis thus rule (*bQid* 41a) that a man should not betroth a woman he has not personally met, lest he turn out to despise her and thereby violate Lev 19:18's commandment to love one's neighbor. A woman, similarly, should not accept betrothal through an agent, although, in this case, the rabbis

institute no firm prohibition, holding that "It is better to dwell with a load of grief than to dwell (alone) in widowhood" (*bYeb* 118b). Finally, in recognition of the importance of the rapport between husband and wife, the rabbis restrict a man from giving away in marriage a daughter who is too young to accede to the union; she must, rather, be able to say unambiguously, "I want so-and-so" (*bQid* 41a). At the same time, the rabbinic ideal that one must at all costs find a husband for one's daughter (*WayR* 21:8) suggests the centrality for the rabbis of the relationship between husband and wife that marriage made possible.

The rabbinic belief in the consequential power of love is perhaps best illustrated by the story of Aqiva (*bKet* 62b; *bNed* 50a). Aqiva began as a poor uneducated shepherd working for Kalba Savu'a, whose daughter, Rachel, fell in love with him and secretly agreed to wed him on the condition that Aqiva study and become a sage. Their love and subsequent marriage persisted despite Rachel's father's rejection of her for having married Aqiva, despite their great poverty, and despite years of separation while Aqiva engaged in Torah study. The point of this story is that love is about more than simply a husband and wife's living side-by-side. Love, rather, is the driving force behind the personal growth that turns Aqiva into the greatest rabbi of his age. It is the foundation of Aqiva's self-actualization and recognition of the true purpose of his life. Looked at in this perspective, we can better understand why Aqiva proclaimed the absolute centrality in Scripture of the Song of Songs (*AgShir* 5, ll. 22–23), read as a book about the beauty and value of the love between God and Israel, even as others questioned whether it belonged in the canon at all. Aqiva's valorizing of this love poem rejected both puritanism, which attempted to keep the Song of Songs out of Scripture, and licentiousness, which read it simply as a story of sexual escapades. Aqiva saw in it, rather, an expression of the true power and beauty of love.

3. The Love Between God and the People of Israel. The rabbinic reading of the biblical Song of Songs as an allegory of the love between God and the people of Israel is key to understanding the rabbis' depiction of the covenantal relationship. On the one hand, the rabbis work from biblical foundations in portraying God in human terms and imputing to God the human emotion of love. At the same time, the rabbis move beyond Scripture's perspective that balances the assertion that Israel is to serve God out of love with an equally weighted idea that they must serve God out of fear of punishment and retribution. For the rabbis, by contrast, love alone should be the primary motive for service of God, and this means that Deut 6:5, the commandment to love God "with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your might," is central in rabbinic

thinking (and, thus, in the liturgy the rabbis developed as well). Interpreting this verse, the rabbis explain that acting towards God out of love brings double the reward of serving out of fear. This is because fear, unlike love, is not internal to the individual. It is fleeting and, as soon as it is gone, correct behavior cannot be guaranteed (*SifDev* 32).

In focusing on the obligation to observe the terms of the covenant as a manifestation of one's love for God, the rabbis seem conscious that, as a selfless emotion, love endures through suffering and might even find its ultimate expression in martyrdom. In thinking of the relationship between God and the people of Israel as one of mutual love, the rabbis thus asserted that even horrifying experiences – whether national catastrophes or personal suffering – that appear to be the result of divine punishment or even abandonment in fact reflect God's love for and commitment to the Jewish people. While the rabbis maintained the biblical perspective that God, as a matter of justice, appropriately metes out punishment for sin, they are also explicit that suffering is not always a punishment. Suffering, rather, might be the result of divine correction or chastisement, which God brings only upon those he loves the most (*bBer* 5a). The challenge of suffering, imposed upon people God knows can withstand it, improves the individual's character (*BerR* 55:2) and thus is a true sign of God's love and care. In the first centuries CE, this perspective defended the continued validity of the original covenant and proved that the beleaguered people of Israel – and not those who persecuted them – in fact were the ones most loved by God. Even as this ideology proved God's continuing love for the people of Israel, it also explained why one must love God in times of adversity (thus, “with all your soul,” even to the point of martyrdom) as well as in times of prosperity (“with all your might”; see *mBer* 9:5; *bBer* 61b). This love, for the rabbis, was the essence of the people of Israel's covenantal relationship with God.

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Alan J. Avery-Peck

C. Medieval Judaism

The medieval concepts of love are rooted in rabbinic literature, which set the direction for the halakhic development. In addition, both philosophical and mystical trends affected the approach of how to love God, the understanding of divine love, and the love between human beings. A new dimension for the expression of love was offered by medieval poetry.

Thus, the biblical terms for love are emphasized in different medieval genres, indicating also their particular context in the HB/OT.

1. Love of God. a. Love as Apprehension and Practice (Maimonides). Maimonides (1138–1204) begins the second book of *Mishneh Torah* (*MishT*), called *Sefer Ahavah* (The Book of Love), with laws about the recitation of the *Shema* prayer. The first section (Deut 6:4–9) refers to the love of God, which Maimonides defines, together with God's unity and Torah study, as “the great principle upon which everything depends” (*MishT*, *Hilkhot qeri'at shema* [Laws of reading the *Shema*] 1:2). Continual practice and commemoration – prayer and reciting blessings, donning phylacteries and *tsitsit* (ritual fringes), mounting *mezuzot* (doorpost amulets), writing a Torah scroll, circumcision – instill the love and fear of God, concomitant with the knowledge of God (based on science and philosophy), which is stimulated by the study of Torah; apparently that's why Ps 119:97 (“Oh, how I love your law! It is my meditation all the day”) serves as the motto for the *Book of Love* (Kellner: 15). The highest degree of loving God, i.e., the constant awareness of God's presence, surpasses all sensual affection (see Lasker; cf. *MishT*, *Hilkhot teshuvah* [Laws of repentance] 10:3–6, and *Guide* 1.39; 3.35; 3.44).

b. Love as Joy and Sacrifice (Medieval Ashkenaz). Love is the main principle and starting point of *Sefer ha-Roqeah*, a halakhic compendium by Eleazar of Worms (ca. 1160–1230). The first order (*Hilkhot hasidut* [Rules of piety]) begins with the two paragraphs on love, *Shores ha'avat ha-shem* and *Shores ha-ahavah* (“The Root of the Love of God [lit. ‘the Name’]” and “The Root of Love”). The first one includes classic rabbinic statements on selfless love or love for God's sake, culminating in the maxim “whatever you do, do out of love” (Eleazar b. Judah: 5; quoted from *SifDeut* 41; cf. Rashi on Deut 11:13). The second one stresses that the soul is in a state of great joy when filled with the love of God, and eager to do his will (Eleazar b. Judah: 6; re Ps 100:2), up to martyrdom (*ibid.*: 6; cf. Rashi on Deut 6:5). The motif of joy and complete happiness is taken up in *Sefer Hasidim*: “Even a young man, who has not gone to his wife for many days, and his sexual desire (*ta'avah*) is great, the pleasure he enjoys at the moment his semen shoots like an arrow is nothing compared to the increasing strength of the joy of the love of God” (Parma ed. §815).

Ashkenazic *piyyutim* (liturgical poetry) glorify the love of God, too, and compare martyrdom on the one hand to Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac (see “Aqedah”), and on the other hand, to the wedding ceremony under the bridal canopy, while those, who are murdered, recite the *Shema*. Another spiritualization of bridal love appears in illuminated manuscripts of Ashkenazic *maḥzorim*. At the beginning of Benjamin ben Zerah's (11th cent.) *piyy-*

yut “Come with me from Lebanon, my bride” (Song 4:8; recited on Shabbat ha-gadol, the Sabbath before Passover) a loving couple is shown which sometimes inverts the iconography of the Christian allegory on the Song of Songs, namely the couple Jesus and Mary (as *mater ecclesiae*): in front of a Jewish bridegroom the personified Synagogue takes the place of the honored heavenly bride and queen (Shalev-Eyni).

In early medieval times Simon ben Isaac of Mainz (ca. 950–1015) elaborated the traditional connection of the Song of Songs to the Exodus and the future redemption in his composition *Ahuvekha ahevukha* (Your beloveds love you; included in the prayer book as *yotser* for the Sabbath of the intermediary days of Passover, when Song of Songs is read in the Synagogue), presenting God as spouse, who responds to the love of his chosen people: “I brought you near to me with love (*be-ahav*; cf. Prov 5:19)” (Habermann).

2. God’s Love. a. Love as Divine Quality (Kabbalah). The divine power of love as opposed to judgment or fear is characterized in kabbalistic literature by the fourth *sefirah* *Hesed* (kindness; see “*Hesed*”), and symbolized by the patriarch Abraham. The difference between the fourth divine quality (*sefirah*) and the sixth, *Tiferet*, which is also called *Rahamim* (mercy), was developed in the 13th century, for in *Sefer ha-Bahir* (The Book of Brilliance; ca. 1180) love (*hesed*) and mercy (*rahamim*) were still used synonymously, the latter being associated with God’s thirteen attributes of mercy (Exod 34:6–7). This development is reflected in Isaac of Acre’s (fl. end of 13th cent.) interpretation of the kabbalistic parable (*Bahir* §52) on the talmudic understanding of Gen 24:1 (“And the Lord had blessed Abraham with everything [*ba-kol*]”) that Abraham was blessed with a “daughter” (see *bbb* 16b). According to the parable, a king rewarded his trustworthy servant by recommending him to the king’s “great brother,” who loved him and called him “Abraham, my beloved” (Isa 41:8). The servant, in turn, “learned his qualities,” and received a beautiful vessel from the king’s brother, filled with pearls, signifying “with everything” (i.e., the tenth *sefirah* *Malkhut* or *Shekhinah*, the reservoir of the divine qualities). Isaac of Acre (*Me’irat ‘enayyim* [Enlightening the Eyes; see Ps 19:8; MT 19:9] 53; based on Nahmanides’ [1194–1270] comm. on Gen 24:1) explains that the “king” refers to *Tiferet* (the “great mercy,” re Isa 54:7; cf. Isaac b. Samuel: 10), but the “brother” points to *Hesed*, and the “servant” to “Abraham below,” meaning the patriarch. In any case, “love (*ahavah*) always refers to [the *sefirah*] *Hesed*,” which belongs to Abraham (re Mic 7:20), who was a “perfect *Hasid*,” because of his deeds of loving kindness and mercy (re Gen 21:33, following *MidTeh* 37).

The classical kabbalistic concept of love applies an inner dynamic to the world of divine emanations

(*sefirot*), which culminates in the sexual union of their male and female aspects. In so doing blessing is directed to the world below, but at the same time the deeds and prayers of Israel have an effect on the *sefirot*. This reciprocal relation is illustrated in the *Zohar* (2:152b, 176a, 277b) by referring to the talmudic tradition of the cherubim on the holy ark (Exod 25:18–21; 1 Kgs 6:23–28), which are said to face and embrace each other showing thereby the intimacy of the mutual love between God and Israel, but turning away from each other, when Israel does not fulfill God’s will (cf. *bYom* 54a; *bbb* 99a; see “Cherubim”). However, the love of the cherubim not only refers to the mystery of the divine couple (*Tiferet* and *Shekhinah*), but also to the “dwelling of brothers in unity” (Ps 133:1), that is, the love of the companions of the mystical circle mirrors the divine love (*Zohar* 3:59b). The special relationship between the mystic and the Torah is demonstrated in the famous parable of the beautiful maiden (i.e., the *Shekhinah*), who is hidden in her chamber within the palace, which her lover encircles ardently. She reveals herself entirely to her lover, who is called a “complete man” (cf. TO Gen 25:27) and “husband of the Torah” (*Zohar* 2:99a–b; Matt: 35).

b. Love as Cosmic Principle (Philosophy). The aim of the whole creation, the Torah, and humankind, is love, according to Hasdai Crescas (1340–1410/11). To summarize his main ideas: God fills the universe “with nothing but the good and rules it with nothing but joy. It is through love that God gave the law to Israel, and it is through love, expressed as obedience to the law, that Israel can cleave to and conjoin with God” (Robinson: 405). God’s infinite love, absorbed in doing good, is the pleasure of his will. In contrast to Maimonides, who prefers the term *hesed* for God’s incorporeal love, Crescas finds exegetical proof for the passionate character of God as the ultimate lover: “When the Torah mentions the love of the patriarchs (*ahavat ha-avot*) for God, it does so by using the term *ahavah*, but when it mentions God’s love (*ahavat ha-shem*) for the patriarchs, it reads *hesheq* (desire), thus showing the passion of love (*hesheq ha-ahavah*): ‘Only the Lord desired your fathers’ (Deut 10:15) ... for the greater the goodness, the greater the love” (*Or Adonai* 54b [2:6:1]). Pleasure and joy increase while drawing near to perfection, which is not achieved through the intellect, but by way of imitating God’s joyful will. The cosmic principle of God’s perfect love is the origin as well as the goal of love.

Crescas’ concept of divine love was popularized and developed by his disciple Joseph Albo (ca. 1380–1444; see Weiss); there might also be a link to Judah Abarbanel (ca. 1460–after 1523), whose celebrated *Dialogues of Love* present the theme of cosmic love in a universal way, complementing quotations from the HB with classical Greek sources (see “Abarbanel, Judah”).

Love

3. Love between Human Beings. a. The Pain of Love (Poetry). Secular and religious Hebrew poetry in medieval Spain shared the common topic of love. In different contexts the role of the female lover, often with allusions to the Song of Songs, could be taken on by a lovely girl or the (poet's) soul or the people of Israel. Special cases are lyrics of love and yearning for Zion (see "Judah ha-Levi"), or homoerotic love poems, which are also enriched by biblical phrases (see Lowin: 51–64). All three types of longing lovers (secular/individual, neo-platonic/spiritual, biblical/religious) are unified by experiencing the unsatisfactory condition of an unrequited desire, referring either to the dismissive attitude of the beloved, or to the earthly imprisonment of the soul, or to the exile of the Jewish people.

A striking example of the amalgamation of secular and religious love is Judah ha-Levi's poem "From time's beginning you were love's abode" (Scheindlin: 76–83), which is actually a translation of a secular Arab poem, and would fit well into the category of erotic poems of desire/delight (Arab. *'ishq*, Heb. *hesheq*). The unhappy lover identifies in such a complete way with the beloved that he welcomes the punishment, his abasement, and reacts to hate with self-hatred: "I love my foes, for they learned wrath from You ... The day You hated me I loathed myself / For I will honor none whom You disdain" (77). But Judah ha-Levi added a last line, which invokes the traditional hope for redemption with biblical key-words (Isa 26:20; Ps 111:9), recalling the Exodus (Deut 9:26): "Until Your anger pass, and You restore / This people whom You rescued once before."

b. Love of One's Neighbor (Exegesis). The theoretical question, whether the definition of "your neighbor" in Lev 19:18 may include gentiles or not, was secondary for the medieval exegetes. While Rashi just followed Rabbi Aqiva's statement ("this is a basic principle of the Torah," *Sifra*, *Qedoshim* 4), Abraham ibn Ezra (1089–1164) focused on the plain sense ("for your neighbor" [*le-re'akha*]), meaning to love what is good for one's fellow man (*la-havero*) as well as for oneself. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam; d. ca. 1158) reserves the love for those, who are good, and excludes wicked people (re Prov 8:13). Nahmanides (1194–1270) viewed this command from a psychological perspective: the Torah speaks here in a hyperbolic way, for it is not characteristic of human nature to love one's neighbor as oneself. Therefore, the commandment means not a person, but everything concerning others should be loved in the same way as if it would pertain to oneself. No-one should begrudge a beloved friend the attainment of an equal level in property, honor, or knowledge. Hence, no limit should be placed on love. Such was the love of Jonathan for David, "for he loved him as he loved himself" (1 Sam 20:17), that is, his love was complete, without jealousy – though Jonathan

was heir to the throne, he said to David (1 Sam 23:17): "You shall be king over Israel" (comm. on Lev 19:17). (GN)

4. Love in the Song of Songs. There is an ancient tradition, elaborated in rabbinic sources (Mishnah, Talmud, Targum, Midrash), that the Song of Songs describes the love between the Jewish people and God. This tradition is best expressed in Midrash Shir ha-Shirim and Targum Song of Songs. Rabbi Aqiva stated that "no day was as worthy as the day on which the Song of Songs was given to the Jewish people, for all the Writings are holy but the Song of Songs is the holy of holies" (*mYad* 3:5). This and other statements encouraged the tendency to allegorize the book and stress that it was not merely dealing with love between two human beings but with loftier matters, on a higher plane.

In the commentary tradition of the Middle Ages, this trend continued. Even in Spain and in the Northern French *peshat* school, where attention was paid to the literal, plain, or contextual meaning of the text, almost always the allegory was given pride of place. One prominent exception was an anonymous Northern French commentary, written in the late 12th century, which treats the book as a series of vignettes describing the love between two young lovers, King Solomon and a beautiful maiden. This unusual commentary has not the slightest hint of allegory in it (see Japhet/Walfish). There are only a few others like it (see e.g., Japhet).

In addition to medieval commentaries that followed the midrashic tradition, there also developed two new trends, one philosophical, the other kabbalistic, that interpreted the Song in these traditions. Philosophical commentaries treated the Song as "a spiritual dialogue between the rational human soul (the maiden) and the Divine Intellect (the male)" (Fishbane: 276). Mystical commentaries stressed the esoteric nature of the Song, which can lead the mystical adept to facilitate the union between the elements of the divine, symbolized by the *sefirot* and thus create harmony in the supernal realm. For example, according to Ezra b. Solomon of Gerona (d. ca. 1235), "the Song formulates the desire of the feminine Glory (*Shekhinah*) to conjoin with her masculine partner (*Tif'eret*) through 'kisses' symbolizing the interfusion of all beings" (ibid.: 295).

The 13th-century Zohar portrays the Song as a "supernal wedding song for the sake of all existence" establishing divine harmony in all spheres of being, above and below (ibid.: 300). The Song begins with a call by the bride (*Shekhinah* = *Malkhut*, the divine counterpart of the Assembly of Israel, *Keneset Yisra'el*) that the most hidden and unknown divine dimension, kiss her with the kisses of his mouth: she does not address her lover directly, as the second half of Song 1:2 implies ("your mouth"), but uses the third person "He" (grammatically called *nistar*, "hidden"), referring to the highest se-

firah (*Keter*), and “He” reveals himself by way of the *sefirah Hokhmah* (wisdom). Here the arousal of kissing begins, stimulating the kisses between bride and groom (symbolized by Jacob kissing Rachel, Gen 29:11). Love joins the lower to the upper world, and the divine kiss, desired by the Assembly of Israel, was given to every single Israelite after accepting the commandments at Mount Sinai, because there is no true cleaving of spirit to spirit except through a kiss, especially on the mouth. The mutual kissing reveals the secret of divine love: the breath (or spirit) issuing from the male to the female together with breath of the female to the male, form the four letters *a-h-b-h* (love, Heb. *ahavah*), which correspond to the four letters YHWH (the numerical value of the tetragrammaton [Y-H-W-H = 26] is twice that of “love” [*a-h-b-h* = 13]), i.e., the *sefirah Tiferet*, symbolized by Jacob (Zohar 2:146a–b; Matt: 331–35); thus, the ultimate goal is the “Kiss of His Mouth (i.e., that of the most Supernal Reality), which blesses these actions and makes the many One” (Fishbane: 301) (see “Kiss”). (BW)

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Gerold Necker and Barry Dov Walfish

D. Modern Judaism

1. Hasidism. In the kabbalistic stream of early modern Jewish thought, the flow of divine energy into the world is described as an ever-flowing river of sacred vitality and beneficence. The Hasidic masters of the 18th and 19th centuries, however, often refer to the entire project of creation as an expression of God’s inestimable love. Recasting elements of Safed Kabbalah that had focused on the origins of evil, Hasidic sources claim that God lovingly contracted the infinite expanse of sacred light, in order to form a space in which to create the cosmos. Even the physical world is studded with fragments of the original divine light, sparks of divinity that must be uplifted and returned to their origin in God through humanity’s loving service. But the rather abstract theology of love found in Hasidic sources appears alongside concrete, personal descriptions of God’s intimacy with Israel. The divine love is expressed as that of a tender parent, as well as the fiery yearning of the beloved for the lover.

Hasidism as a whole may thus be accurately described as a renewal movement founded in devotional love. Tradition recalls Israel Baal Shem Tov (d. 1760) as having taught that the religious life pivots on three loves, all of which are interrelated: love of God, love of Torah, and love of the Jewish people. The passionate quest for God, a burning and all-consuming love for the Divine, is a cornerstone of Hasidic piety. This longing for God, manifest in Hasidic prayer, is coupled with a loving commitment to encountering the Divine through the sacred text. The Hasidic masters understood Scripture to be nothing less than the ineffable Divine expressed through language. But in Hasidism, the love of God and the divine writ are inextricably intertwined with the ethical commitment to helping others. Such interpersonal encounters, founded in love, are another opportunity for witnessing the Divine.

Communion with the Divine, called *devequt* by the Hasidic masters, takes many forms of varying intensity. The highest degree of *devequt* is at times described as an overwhelming passion for the Divine that eradicates the very boundaries of the self. The Hasidic masters are well aware that such love for God can be dangerous, for the worshiper’s longing for mystical rapture can become an inescapable siren call that leads even unto death. Many Hasidic sources read the story of Nadab and Abihu (Lev 11 and 16) as a tale about the mortal hazards of spiritual enthusiasm:

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How exalted, lofty and elevated was the death of these two sons of Aaron “as they drew near to Y-H-W-H” (Lev 16:1). They approached the sweet pleasantness of the highest delight. “And died” – they themselves sensed that their souls were connected to the highest pleasantness, and that this would bring about their death, yet nevertheless they did not hold themselves back from giving over their souls and spirits. They refused to disconnect themselves from the beloved intimacy and highest, sweetest affection. Understand this. (Abraham Joshua Heshil: 175)

The author of this source, Abraham Joshua Heshil of Opatów (d. 1825), describes the death of Nadab and Abihu as the inevitable consequence of their love and devotion to God. Drawn to the Divine, Nadab and Abihu enter the sanctuary and encounter the sublime sweetness of God with no hesitation. This unmediated proximity, not sin, led to their end. Nadab and Abihu sensed that such attachment would cause them to expire, but it did not dissuade them in the least. Loving death amidst blissful ecstasy in God, for some Hasidic mystics, is worthy of the highest sacrifice.

Hasidic leaders such as Menahem Nahum of Chernobyl (d. 1797) teach that all human experiences of love are rooted in God. Humankind’s innate capacity for love may be expressed in a variety of manifestations, from the entirely positive to the expressly forbidden, but all share a common origin in God’s love for humanity. Even “fallen” forms of affection must be traced back to their sacred origins. This process allows the worshiper to bring all parts of the self into the service of God.

2. Martin Buber, Zionism, and Abraham Isaac Kook. The 20th-century philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965) was drawn to the Hasidic emphasis on love in divine service. Buber was attracted to Hasidism’s holistic vision of love, its embrace of all love including bodily desire, and the Hasidic emphasis on loving presence in all of one’s deeds, ritual and especially interpersonal. In his later years Buber was particularly inspired by the Hasidic masters’ embrace of love for other human beings as a foundational religious precept. In a 1943 essay, Buber wrote:

You cannot really love God if you do not love men, and you cannot really love men if you do not love God ... One shall, says Kierkegaard, have to do essentially only with God. One cannot, says Hasidism, have to do essentially with God if one does not have to do essentially with man ... The uniqueness and irreplaceability of each human soul is a basic teaching of Hasidism. God intends in His creation an infinity of unique individuals, and within it he intends each single one without exception as having a quality, a special capacity, a value that no other possesses; each has in His eyes an importance peculiar to him in which none other can compete with him, and He is devoted to each with an especial love because of this precious value hidden in him. (Buber: 112, 125, 128)

As translated into Buber’s more universalistic vision, Hasidism looked beyond the false dichotomy

of the love of God and the love of other human beings. The key to the life of the spirit is cultivating a posture of humility and open-heartedness, which enables the seeker or worshiper to lovingly embrace the immeasurable worth of every human being.

Buber was only one of many modern Zionists who rediscovered the erotic elements of Jewish theology, which had become anathema to many westernized 18th- and 19th-century Jewish thinkers. Zionist ideologues now applied this loving eros to the return to the land of Israel, to the embrace of the body and physicality, the reclamation of Hebrew poetry and literature, and the fervent energy of Zionist youth movements.

R. Abraham Isaac Kook (1865–1935), a scholar of Jewish law as well as a mystic, philosopher, and poet, witnessed this cultural rebirth and was inspired by its vitality. Rather than fearfully demanding that religious communities retreat into traditional structures, R. Kook sought to answer the challenge of modernity with a robust call for creativity and renewal. He drew on the lively energy of Zionism, articulating a tolerant religious vision deeply rooted in the language, literature, and practices of the Jewish past, that could address the spiritual and national call of the hour. For R. Kook, all human flourishing and prosperity, in the arenas of religion, society, culture, and politics, is grounded in the cultivation of love. He writes:

The heart must be filled with love for all ... The love of all creation comes first, then comes the love for all mankind, and then follows the love for the Jewish people, in which all other loves are included ... All these loves are to be expressed in practical action, by pursuing the welfare of those we are bidden to love, and to seek their advancement. But the highest of all loves is the love of God, which is love in its fullest maturing. This love is not intended for any derivative ends; when it fills the human heart, this itself spells man’s greatest happiness. (Kook: 135)

R. Kook’s approach has a universal element, which is counterbalanced, however, by an emphasis on the unique place and spiritual power of the Jewish people. Though he was shaken by the 1929 Arab riots, R. Kook still interpreted Lev 19:18 to command Jews to love their non-Jewish neighbors, as well as their fellow Jews, and that by a display of loving respect, dignity, and honor, they would cultivate a relationship with their Arab neighbors.

3. After the Holocaust. The fires of the Shoah and the Nazi death machine threatened, and for many, shattered the ancient understanding of God’s love for Israel. Some traditional religious thinkers maintain a belief that, although the Divine’s loving countenance was hidden during the trauma of the Holocaust, God’s faithful covenant, forged in love, was tested but unaltered. Other modern Jewish writers, such as Elie Wiesel (1928–2016), have argued that God’s silence and even powerlessness during the Shoah signaled a new theological paradigm

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in which humanity's moral obligation to effect peace is amplified. Taking a more radical tack, a number of prominent post-Holocaust theologians have suggested that the biblical and medieval notions of God's undying love for Israel must be fundamentally reconceived. And for many of these thinkers, such as Richard L. Rubenstein (1924–), Israel's loving commitment to God's covenant must be similarly rebuilt in the wake of the death camps.

Looking beyond the confines of the Jewish community, scholar and activist Irving (Yitz) Greenberg (1933–) has suggested that the Holocaust must lead to a fundamental reconstruction of Jewish-Christian relations, since the dogmas of Christianity, from decicide to supersessionism, had a role in setting the stage for the Holocaust. Greenberg argued that the terrible failure of the "Gospel of Love" theology, which did not save the Jews from the death camps, should bring about a profound shift in Christian attitudes toward the Jews and Judaism. And, in an age of renewed Jewish sovereignty, Greenberg warns that Jews must also become wary of the misuses of power, and must avoid delegitimizing the religious love that is expressed by other political groups and faith traditions (Greenberg 1974; id. 2006).

Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972) wrote extensively about God's loving pathos for human suffering; this theme is a common refrain that cuts across Heschel's entire corpus of writings. The divine love for humanity is manifest in our innate yearning for wonder and amazement at the world. But Heschel's God is vulnerable, a longing lover in search of people who will respond to the divine call for justice and mercy. The prophet is one who experiences God's suffering in the face of human iniquity, callousness, and cruelty, and therefore calls humankind to task and exhorts them to lovingly embrace those less fortunate or in need.

The prophets attacked what may be called the fallacy of isolation. Things and events, man and the world, cannot be treated apart from the will of God, but only as inseparable parts of an occasion in which the divine is at stake ... We are taught to believe that where man loves man His name is sanctified; that in the harmony of husband and wife dwells the presence of God ... Beyond all mystery is the mercy of God. It is a love, a mercy that transcends the world, its value and merit. To live by such a love, to reflect it, however numbly, is the test of religious existence. (Heschel: 95, 162)

Michael Wyschogrod (1928–2015), a Jewish theologian whose works were in dialogue with Christian thought, explored the election of Israel as founded in God's love. He rejected as a caricature the fundamental distinction between *eros* and *agape*, claiming that biblical love includes both the passionate fire of lovers as well as the selfless and giving love of the parent. The everlasting covenant with Israel – for indeed Wyschogrod saw it as such – is the result of God having inexplicably fallen in love with Abra-

ham. God's love is neither idealized or abstract, but concrete and grounded in its true encounters with the complexities of human beings:

The love with which God has chosen to love man is a love understandable to man. It is therefore a love very much aware of human response. God has thereby made himself vulnerable: he asks for man's response and is hurt when it is not forthcoming ... In the Bible, it is not Abraham who moves toward God but God who turns to Abraham with an election that is not explained because it is an act of love that requires no explanation. If God continues to love the people Israel – and it is the faith of Israel that he does – it is because he sees the face of his beloved Abraham in each and every one of his children as a man sees the face of his beloved in the children of his union with his beloved. (Wyschogrod: 63–64)

The writings of R. Joseph B. Soloveitchik (1903–1993), a scion of a dynasty of talmudists, offer a very different picture. Soloveitchik believed that God's love for Israel is most profoundly expressed in his gift to them of the Torah, which invites the Jewish people to become participants and partners in the unfolding process of creativity. This covenantal relationship of scholarship and innovation extends across the generations. Soloveitchik's theology should not be misconstrued as purely intellectual or cerebral, however, for he describes the person of faith as being totally overwhelmed by his love for God. Like Buber and Heschel, Soloveitchik underscores that this amorous passion for God must intensify one's service to the community and help to those in need.

In spite of this rich theological legacy, it is worth noting in conclusion that many, if not most, contemporary Jews are deeply uncomfortable with the language of love found in earlier Jewish sources. This unease is due in part to the dramatic rupture of the Holocaust, as well as an ongoing wish to distinguish Judaism from Christianity. But the tamping down of theological *eros* among Jews has its roots as well in the Jewish experience of modernity in Europe. Passionate love of God came to be associated with Kabbalah and Hasidism, which were entirely delegitimized for Western European Jews in their attempt to present a philosophically sophisticated image of Judaism. Instead of fiery passion, these modern thinkers – liberal and Orthodox – sought to broadcast bourgeois respectability by emphasizing loyal obedience to law rather than brooding, all-consuming love for the Divine. Rejecting such dispassionate religiosity as colorless and arid, Jewish revival attempts since the 1960s, including the Haverah movement, Neo-Hasidism and Jewish Renewal, have sought to reinfuse contemporary Jewish life and theology with a devotional spirit inspired by that of the Baal Shem Tov.

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Ariel Mayse

V. Christianity

■ Patristic and Early Christianity ■ Medieval Times and Reformation Era ■ Modern Europe and America ■ New Christian Churches and Movements

A. Patristic and Early Christianity

1. Greek Patristic and Early Orthodox Christianity. Love was a many-splendored theme among writers of Christianity’s first millennium. They assiduously explored the multiple theological and pastoral dimensions of the Bible’s teaching on love for purposes ranging from ethics and apologetics to epistemology and mystical union.

The earliest post-apostolic writers, in line with the Jewish scriptures and the teaching of Jesus, focused on love’s importance for living the Christian life. The *Didache*, influenced by wisdom teaching on “the two ways,” saw love for God and neighbor (Matt 22:37–40; Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18) as “the way of life” (*Did.* 2). Clement of Rome praised love’s power to overcome division; hoping to ward off schism among the Corinthian Christians, he appealed to 1 Pet 4:8 (“love covers a multitude of sins”), and to Paul’s hymn to the majesty of love in 1 Cor 13:4–7 (1 *Clem.* 49–50; cf. 2 *Clem.* 16.4). For the Epistle of Barnabas, “the way of light” consists in loving the Creator and – intensifying the command of Lev 19:18 – loving neighbors “more than [ὑπὲρ] your life” (*Barn.* 19.5). In characteristically provocative language, Ignatius of Antioch wrote, “My love (ἔρω) is crucified” (Ign. *Rom.* 2.7.2); some interpret-

ers understand this as mortifying earthly desire (cf. Gal 5:24), though since the time of Origen (who quoted Ignatius’ this saying; *Comm. Cant.* Prologue; ACW 26:35), some have seen ἔρω) as an Ignatian title for Christ (Ramelli: 614). Polycarp asserted that our hope of future resurrection like Christ’s depends on whether we “walk in his commandments and love the things he loved” (Pol. *Phil.* 2.2; cf. John 15:9–12). For the Letter to Diognetus, love and not mere knowledge leads to life, which is why Paul wrote, “Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up” (*Diogn.* 12:5; 1 Cor 8:1).

But love was destined for broader and deeper analysis as Christian thinkers came to dialogue with wider spiritual and intellectual trends. An admixture of biblical reflection and with ancient philosophical teaching characterized early Christian teaching on love. Plato had taught that love is a medium between the beautiful and the ugly, and between the heavenly and earthly (*Symp.* 201D–212A; *Phaedr.* 243E–257B; McGinn 1991: 26–29). Love, constituted by desire (ἔρω), longs for the perfection of beauty; beginning with one beautiful body it comes to love all bodies, then the beauty of souls, laws, institutions, and ultimately all knowledge. The lover, who strives to contemplate Beauty and the Good, brings forth virtue. Continuous moral effort leads to the gradual purification of love and knowledge, and prepares the soul for sudden glimpses of ultimate Reality, described variously as Beauty, the Good, and the One. The *Enneads* of Plotinus goes on to identify the One with Love (ἔρω), or self-Love, a super-intellect that does not have knowledge but is the knowing that it loves (*Enneads* 6.8.13).

Early Christian teachers, agreeing with the philosophers that love is a heavenly reality and a mystical force, made love a perennial subject of Christian exegesis and resource for theological speculation. Ancient biblical thought on the figure of Wisdom, nourished especially by the Hellenistic Jewish speculation that gave rise to the Johannine Logos (John 1:1, 14), was a flowing spring of spiritual teaching of love. That spring became a fountainhead for Christian wisdom in Origen of Alexandria, who elaborated the theme Christologically. For him the paradigm of contemplative love was the communion of the pre-incarnate soul of Christ joined to the Logos. The Christ-soul’s unbroken adherence to contemplation of God allowed him to take on a body as the medium for those returning to God through the magnetic power of contemplative love, for which he became “the model and teacher for all other souls” (McGinn 1991: 115). The Logos came to inhabit the words of scripture as a sort of extension of the Logos’ incarnation. Origen’s theology and mysticism was thus not free-form: he saw spiritual ascent as an ordered process guided by the medium of the written Word, and exegesis was key to the divine-human exchange of spiritual love.

Origen discerned a biblical frame for the three-fold pedagogy familiar to ancient philosophers in three HB/OT books ascribed to Solomon that mapped the soul's spiritual ascent: the book of Proverbs provided beginners with moral instruction for virtue; the book of Ecclesiastes taught wayfarers natural science and learning; the Song of Songs was the spiritual person's source for "epoptics," the introspective discipline wherein the image of the Bride and Groom instills within the soul "the love of things divine and heavenly." The Song "teaches us that communion with God must be attained by the paths of charity and love" (*Comm. Cant.* Prologue; ACW 26:41). Origen wrote, "The power of love is none other than that which leads the soul from earth to the lofty heights of heaven, and the highest beatitude can only be attained under the stimulus of love's desire" (*ibid.*: ACW 26:23–24). Origen based the differences between heavenly and earthly love on two versions of humanity's creation in Genesis: one pictures spiritual humanity created "in the image and likeness of God" (Gen 1:26); the other sees, fleshly humanity is "formed from the slime of the earth" (Gen 2:7). Conceptually, this corresponded with Paul's notion of the inner and outer person (2 Cor 4:16), i.e., spirit and flesh (*ibid.*: ACW 26:25). Origen's theory of "the spiritual senses of the soul" discerned scriptural links between the realms in the use of homonyms, that is, identical terms describing different senses of the body that doubled as descriptions of movements of the soul. The fleshly-minded – those unable to move from bodily to spiritual understanding – should avoid altogether the danger of reading the Song of Songs (*ibid.*: ACW 26:22–23). But the soul that has been "moved by heavenly love and longing when, having clearly beheld the beauty and fairness of the Word of God, it falls deeply in love with his loveliness and receives ... from the dart Himself a saving wound [Song 2:5], will be kindled with the blessed fire of his love" (*ibid.*: ACW 26:29–30). One who possesses this *amor caelestis* "finds in the Song the central message of the Bible" (McGinn 1991: 121).

For Origen, the Song's image of "the kisses of his mouth" (Song 1:2) conveys the love of "the Spouse Himself, that is, the Word of God" (*Comm. Cant.* 1; ACW 26:61); that of "breasts better than wine" (Song 1:2 LXX) portrays the treasures of wisdom and knowledge within the bosom of Christ hidden in the law and the prophets (*ibid.*: ACW 26:64, 69); that of the "dart and wound of love" interrelates Isa 49:2 ("He set me as a chosen arrow") and Song 2:5 LXX ("I am wounded with love") to picture divine love so piercing that the soul "yearns and longs for Him by day and night, can speak of nought but Him, can think of nothing else, and is disposed to no desire nor longing nor yet hope, except for Him alone" (*Comm. Cant.* 3; ACW 26:198). Indeed, the erotic language of the Song affects the

very conception of the divine. "Origen, adapting Platonic eros to his Christian faith, makes a daring breakthrough – God himself must be Eros if the eros implanted in us is what returns us to him" (McGinn 1991: 119). "I do not think," wrote the Alexandrian, "one could be blamed if one called God Passionate Love (*eros/amor*), just as John calls him Charity (*agape/caritas*; 1 John 4:8)" (*Comm. Cant.* Prologue; ACW 26:35).

For Origen, love is effectively a component of spiritual knowledge; the soul knows by participating in its object, or "mingling" with it in love. But this Platonic idea too is christologized. For Origen, spiritual knowledge involves a personal relation to Jesus, of which Origen often speaks movingly (e.g., *Hom. Isa.* 5.2). Commenting on John 8:19, "If you knew me you would know my Father also," Origen wrote that "knowing" results from the conjoining of spirits in love (cf. 1 Cor 6:15–17), as when Adam "knew" Eve (Gen 4:1) and thus portrayed the form of mystical knowledge (*Comm. John* 19.23). By "ordering all human affections according to the truth of the scriptures," Origen is "the first to make the order of charity an important element in theological speculation" (McGinn 1991: 126).

Under Origen's influence, Gregory of Nyssa thinks the soul's passions do not impede the formation of virtue, as the Stoics had suggested. After all, God approved of the "desire" of Daniel (Dan 10:12), the "anger" of Phineas (Num 25:11), and the "fear" that leads to wisdom (Prov 9:10), suggesting that the passions can be "helpful in achieving virtue" (*Anima Res.*; PG 46:57A). Their enduring principle is a "yearning for the Good," whose constant coefficient is "the disposition of love" (*ἀγαπητικὴ διάθεσις*; *ibid.*; PG 46:93C). The soul "clings to and mingles" with the Good, wrote Gregory, reporting the words of his sister and teacher, Macrina, "through the movement and activity of love, fashioning itself to that which is being grasped continually and discovered" (*ibid.*; PG 46:93C); that is why Paul wrote, "Love never ends" (1 Cor 13:8) (*ibid.*; PG 46:96A; Wilken 1995: 151–52). Gregory can say that the Bride's love-wound in Song 2:4 was inflicted by Christ's fiery arrow of *ἔρως*, "for when *ἀγάπη* is aroused it is called *ἔρως*" (*Hom. Song* 13, commenting on Song 5:9 [Jaeger VI: 383, line 9]). The Pseudo-Dionysius later equated *ἔρως* with *ἀγάπη* by invoking the passionate love for wisdom (i.e., Christ) urged in Prov 4:6. He also recalled David's description of Jonathan's love as "wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Kgs 1:26 LXX = 2 Sam 1:26), which unexpectedly twice used a form of *ἀγάπη* rather than *ἔρως*. Quoting the logion of Ignatius, "My *ἔρως* has been crucified," he mused that as a name for Christ, *ἔρως* might even be "more divine" (*θειότερον*) than *ἀγάπη* (*De divinis nominibus* 4.12; PG 3: 709B; Ramelli: 621). Maximus the Confessor echoed Origen, Gregory, and the Areopagite by

speaking of spiritual persons who turn human desire into a “blessed passion of holy love (ἀγάπη) which binds the mind to spiritual realities and persuades it to prefer the immaterial to the material and intelligible and divine things to those of sense” (*Capitulum de Caritate Centuria* 3.67; PG 90:1037B; Berthold: 70; Wilken 1995: 157). This recalls the love-infused, participatory knowledge described by Origen and Augustine. In the 10th century, Symeon the New Theologian is still ringing the changes on the theme of love as affective knowledge: “Love is the divine Spirit (1 John 4:13, 16) ... Love is outside of all creatures, then again it is with all things (Wis 6:24); it is fire, it is dazzling light, it becomes a cloud of light (Matt 17:5); it completes itself as a sun (Wis 6:29). And so as a fire it warms my soul, and inflames my heart (Luke 24:32)” (*Hymn* 17, ll. 236, 323–39; Griggs: 100, 103).

2. Latin Patristic and Early Medieval Latin Christianity. In the Latin west, Tertullian made love a main plank of his apologetic campaign against Christianity’s detractors. For him love for God par excellence appeared in the martyrs; having overcome fear of suffering, they were perfected in the love that “casts out fear” (*Fug.* 9; 14; 1 John 4:18). Tertullian famously reported the pagan observation about the Christian community, “See how they love one another!” (*Apol.* 39; cf. John 15:12). He pointed skeptics to the Christian practice of loving one’s enemies (Matt 5:44) as an intensification of the command to love one’s neighbor (Lev 19:18) that displayed an ethical perfection unknown in the pagan world (*Marc.* 1.23). Against the claim that the law of Moses belonged only to Jews, Tertullian wrote that when God commanded Adam and Eve not to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:9), the entire law was given to humanity embryonically. Had they obeyed that command, Tertullian added, the couple would have preemptively fulfilled the double command to love God and neighbor. Like a womb, this “primordial law” of love gave birth to all the law’s commands (*Adv. Jud.* 2). Elsewhere Tertullian countered Marcion’s rejection of the OT by asserting that the double command to love God and neighbor (Deut 6:5; Lev 19:18) anticipated the NT’s “faith working through love” (Gal 5:6); this suggested that divine grace rooted in love united the Testaments (*Marc.* 5.4). On the other hand, Tertullian condescendingly used the law of love to reproach women he thought too concerned with external appearances (*Cult. fem.* 2.2); primping made them accessories to men’s illicit desire, and therefore transgressors against the law of love for one’s (male) neighbor!

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage during the persecutions and schisms of the mid-3rd century, sought to actualize the church’s unity and purity through love. Despite the church’s many martyrs, idolatry and desertion had sullied the church’s purity, and

internal strife had threatened its unity. Cyprian sought healing from schism from Scripture’s injunction to “bear with one another in love” (*Unit. ecdl.* 8; Eph 4:2). Cyprian reminded them of Paul’s observation that even martyrdom gained nothing without love (*ibid.* 14; 1 Cor 13:3). Jesus’ double command of love for God and neighbor (Matt 22:37–40), wrote Cyprian, was a lesson in unity because it concentrated the entire law and prophets in two precepts (*ibid.* 15; cf. *Dom. or.* 28). Cyprian sought to preserve the community purity partly by way of rigorous discipline. He urged members to turn from “love for the world” (1 John 2:15), and not to be “lovers of mammon” (Matt 6:24), since evil’s deepest root lay in the love of money (1 Tim 6:9; *Eleem.* 10; *Laps.* 12). If young virgins were irked by his instructions to reject immodest dress, then they should consider this discipline a spiritual work of love (*Hab. virg.* 1; cf. Prov 3:11). Almsgiving most clearly expressed love of neighbor; for Cyprian, the earliest Christians displayed the model of true spiritual rebirth in love when, acting with one heart and one soul, they sold their goods and property to feed the poor (*Eleem.* 25; Acts 4:32).

Ambrose of Milan remains noted for his versions of “christologized platonic theoria” (McGinn 1991: 71), but also for his spiritualization of erotic love inspired by Origen’s reading of the Song of Songs. Threading imagery from the Song through many works, Ambrose practiced an “ecclesial mysticism” wherein the individual soul aspired to union with the Word though the church and sacraments (*ibid.*: 203). For Ambrose, as for Origen, the Song “expresses the inner meaning of all the books of the Bible” (*ibid.*: 209) by portraying “a complex game of love” (*ibid.*: 212) wherein the Word alternately woos and withdraws from the soul-lover, stirring spiritual passion and prompting moral effort that strives to delight in the total union of love (e.g., *Exp. Ps.* 118.6.18).

Ambrose’s protégé, Augustine of Hippo, also placing love at the center of his teaching, both creatively invents and eclectically “draws together and provides a structure for earlier tendencies” (Osborn 1992: 696). Though eschewing earlier tradition’s preoccupation with the eroticism of the Song of Songs, Augustine nevertheless goes beyond it in the scope and depth of his biblical exploration of love. Not a technical exegete like Origen or Jerome, Augustine was fermentive and fertile as an assiduous believing Bible student. On that basis he became perhaps the most profound expositor of the biblical theme of love in early Christianity.

Augustine’s predominant word for love was *cari-tas*, though he made no hard distinction from alternatives he used interchangeably, *dilectio* and *amor* (cf. *Civ.* 14.14; Cameron 2018). Love was the subject of some of Augustine’s best one-liners: “My love is my weight” (*Conf.* 13.9.10). “Late have I loved you,

Love

O Beauty, so ancient and so new” (*Conf.* 10.27.38). “Two loves have created two cities” (*Civ.* 14.28). It grounded many important discussions across the range of Augustine’s thought, from theology proper (“You see the Trinity if you see love”; *Trin.* 8.8.12), to epistemology (“No one enters into truth except through love”; *Faust.* 32.18), and ethics (“Love and do as you please”: *Tract. ep. Jo.* 7.8). Love was a coinhering principle of both understanding and morals; as John Burnaby observed, for Augustine “perfect knowledge of what is good necessarily implies the love of it, else we would not be knowing it *as good*” (Burnaby: 48; emphasis in text). At one point Augustine turned a sentence of the Song of Songs, “Set charity in order within me” (Song 2:4 LXX), into a thumbnail sketch of Christian ethics: “It seems to me that a brief and true definition of virtue is ‘rightly ordered love’” (*Civ.* 15.22 [WSA 1.7.173]). (Augustine was perhaps influenced by Origen, who had seen in this verse degrees and kinds of love hierarchically arrayed; *Comm. Cant.* 3; ACW 26:187–95).

Along with Origen, Augustine interrelated Greco-Roman philosophical reflection with the biblical vision of divine and human love. In his earliest post-conversion period as a lay Catholic apologist (387–91), love was already central to his thinking, both philosophical and biblical-theological. He focused on the church’s thinking about love in the first book of *The Catholic Way of Life and the Manichean Way of Life*: because the happy life comes from a life of virtue, therefore “virtue is nothing but the highest love of God” (*Mor.* 1.15.25 [WSA 1.19.43]). From that standpoint, the four classic philosophical virtues are understood to derive from “a certain varied disposition of love itself” (*ex ipsius amoris vario quodam affectu*; *ibid.*; PL 32:1322). Augustine continued, “Temperance is love offering itself in its integrity to the beloved. Fortitude is love easily tolerating all things on account of the beloved. Justice is love serving the beloved alone and as a result ruling righteously. And prudence is love that wisely separates those things by which it is helped from those things by which it is impeded” (*ibid.*). But then he went on to use biblical teaching on love to show the unity of scripture by recourse to a battery of biblical texts (*Mor.* 1.8.13–13.23). Love for God with the whole heart and soul and mind (Deut 6:5) harmonized with both Christ’s teaching on love for God as the greatest commandment (Matt 22:37–40) and with Paul’s teaching on the love of God (i.e., for God) in Rom 5:5. For Augustine, only love unlocked the divine-human exchange portrayed in Matt 7:7: “Love asks; love seeks; love knocks; love reveals; love, finally, remains in what has been revealed” (*Mor.* 1.17.31; WSA 1.19.46).

Augustine’s biblical focus on love intensified in his first works as a bishop. *On Christian Teaching* (396) exploited love’s hermeneutical dimensions. A climactic statement of Book 1 fused 1 Tim 1:5 and

Rom 13:8, portraying the love of God and neighbor as “the fulfilment and end (*plenitudo et finis*) of the law and of all the divine scriptures” (*Doctr. chr.* 1.35.39; BA 11.2.126). Augustine asserted flatly that anyone who failed to build up the double love of God and neighbor from reading the Bible had not understood it (*ibid.*: 1.36.40). Love as interpretive key is a recurring theme of the massive *Expositions of the Psalms*, a collection of more than 200 homilies and tracts produced throughout his time in Hippo. “Whatever truth may be dug out from any page of divine scriptures, it tends toward one end only, and that is charity ... Wherever there is any obscure passage in scripture, charity is concealed in it, and wherever the sense is plain, charity is proclaimed” (*Enarrat. Ps.* 140.2; WSA 3.20.301–2). Collectively the *Expositions* are clearer than *On Christian Teaching* that this love is rooted in Christ; from different angles, love (1 Tim 1:5) and Christ (Rom 10:4) are each “the end of the law” (e.g., *ibid.*: 54.1). The Christological shape of love is particularly clear in Augustine’s expositions of the “Step Songs” of the Psalms (Pss 119–33 [MT 120–34]), where he shows that love is not a disembodied principle, but rather bound concretely and specifically to the humility of Christ in his incarnation and crucifixion (*Enarrat. Ps.* 119.1; 122.1). Because believing in Christ leads to loving Christ, love in him leads upward to God (*Enarrat. Ps.* 123.2). The Pauline image of the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12–28) allowed Augustine to praise the unity and intimacy of love’s unity while side-stepping the spiritualization of erotic love familiar in Origen and Ambrose. It also tapped some of the richest veins of Christian teaching in all of Augustine’s works. Love, he explained, so infuses Christ’s presence within believers that he and they exchange identities, and one speaks in the voice and in the name of the other. This is Augustine’s teaching of *totus Christus*, “the whole Christ,” grounded in the incarnation and realized in love. By it the Lord declares, “When you did it for the least of these, you did it for me” (Matt 25:40), and asks Saul, “Why are you persecuting me?” (Acts 9:4; *Enarrat. Ps.* 142.6). Christ and church had become one flesh (Gen 2:24; Eph 5:30–31). Searching out the identity of the speaker in the Psalms, Augustine asked, “If two in one flesh, why not two in one voice?” (*Enarrat. 2 Ps.* 30.1.4; WSA 3.15.324; cf. *Enarrat. Ps.* 142.3). Thus the triangulation of love, exegesis and the body of Christ created a hermeneutical frame for understanding the Psalms (Cameron 2015: 26–28).

Another short work of the early 400s, *On Instructing Beginners* (*De catechizandis rudibus*), made love its central theme (Cameron 2018). Written for a frustrated teacher named Deogratias, who had asked how he might better to teach the biblical story, it used a plethora of biblical texts to demonstrated love as the heart of scripture. No stronger reason for Christ’s coming can be found, Augustine

explained, than to reveal God's love. By laying down his life for us (1 John 3:16), who were his enemies (Rom 5:8), Christ disclosed God's preemptive love (1 John 4:19). Because we were unable to love God, God "took the initiative in loving" by refusing to spare his only Son (Rom 8:32), and did so in order to secure human love in return (*Catech.* 4.7). In a finely crafted statement (*Catech.* 4.8), Augustine interwove salvation history, high Christology, the parable of Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32), and the double love command as the key to reading Scripture (Matt 22:37–40).

Christ came chiefly so that people might learn how much God loves them, and might learn this so as to flame up with love for him who first loved them, and might also love their neighbor by way of him who both commanded them to love and gave his example of love ... All divine Scripture written before Christ's coming had the distinct purpose of announcing that coming; and whatever was committed to writing and confirmed by divine authority after he came tells of Christ and counsels love [narrat Christum et dilectionem monet]. One thing is crystal clear [manifestum]: on these two precepts of love for God and neighbor hang not only the entire Law and Prophets [which were still the only sacred Scripture that existed at the time our Lord said this], but also whatever any other books with divine lettering that later were set apart for our salvation and marked for handing down to us. (*Catech.* 4.8; BA 11.1.68)

Augustine's famous couplet on scriptural unity that culminates this passage turns on the dialectic of hidden and revealed of love throughout the Bible. "Thus we say, 'In the Old Testament is the veiling of the New, and in the New Testament is the unveiling of the Old'" (ibid.; BA 11.1.70).

Augustine did not stop there. Turning from the content of teaching to the person of the teacher, he grounded the Christian instructor's being in the imitation Christ's love. That made love the soul not only of Christian life but also of teaching practice (Cameron 2018). Love is the essential attitude of good teachers, the method by which they work, and their persistent aim for their hearers. By explaining and modeling the teacher's attitude, and not just teaching content, Augustine deftly pushed Deogratias not only to teach love from scripture but also to incarnate the humble love he was teaching about. Since scripture everywhere "tells of Christ and counsels love," Augustine told Deogratias, you will succeed as a Christian teacher by "keeping this love in front of you as a kind of goal to which you direct everything that you say," telling the story of the scriptures in such a way that the listener "by hearing may believe, by believing may hope, and by hoping may love" (*Catech.* 4.8; BA 11.1.72).

Augustine's *Answer to Simplicianus*, written ca. 396, about the same time as *On Christian Teaching*, looked at love from a different perspective based on his new understanding of unilateral or operative divine grace that precedes, transforms, and prompts

the human will to love God. Before this time, the Pauline phrase "letter and spirit" (2 Cor 3:6) had framed for him the hermeneutical paradigm for literal and spiritual levels of reading of scripture. But after reading Paul more closely, Augustine further discerned Paul articulating the dynamics of law and grace in the soul's striving for righteousness. For unredeemed persons, the "letter" of the law referred to the law without the transformative power of love. Augustine wrote, "The law is the letter for those who do not fulfill it through the spirit of love, which is the domain of the New Testament" (*Div. quaest. Simpl.* 1.1.17; WSA 1.12.184; cf. Rom 7:6). Writing a little later against the Manichean Faustus, he noted that Paul did not impugn the law by saying, "the letter kills and the spirit gives life" (2 Cor 3:6), any more than he impugned knowledge by saying, "knowledge puffs up and love builds up" (1 Cor 8:1). For Paul knew that "with love, knowledge not only does not puff up but even gives strength" (*Faust.* 15.8). For Augustine thought that, one particularly striking phrase of Paul's expressed this well. The expression "faith working through love" (Gal 5:6), Augustine wrote, concisely teaches how the law's commands are fulfilled in the conscience of one who lives rightly (*Faust.* 19.18).

Love is central to Augustine's series of *Homilies on the First Epistle of John*, the only extended treatment of this letter to survive from the ancient church. While John "said many things," Augustine observed, "nearly everything was about charity" (*Tract. ep. Jo.* Prologue; WSA 3.14.19). Love is examined broadly, if not exhaustively, from many angles treated in 1 John, particularly God as love (7.4–5) and God giving love (7.7; 9.10). Strikingly, in treating the declaration that "love is from God" (1 John 4:7), he daringly reversed the famous declaration of the next verse, "God is love" (*Deus dilectio est*), to say, "Love is God" (*dilectio Deus est*) (*Tract. ep. Jo.* 7.6; WSA 3.14.108; cf. 9.10). Among other subjects discussed: believers' love for God (9.10; 10.3–7); believers' love for one another, which equates to love for Christ and the "one Christ loving himself" (10.3; WSA 3.14.148; 1 Cor 12:26–27; Eph 5:30–32); and the pernicious character of love for the world (2.8–14; 5.9; 7.3). Brief treatments abound for love's relation to, e.g., the Holy Spirit (6.8–10; 7.11), knowledge (2.8), discipline (7.11), beauty (9.9), faith (10.2), sin (5.2–3), works (8.9), deification (2.14). Augustine even covers a theme not addressed in the letter, love for enemies (1.9–11; 8.4).

Gregory the Great fittingly recapitulated in a pastoral mode early Christianity's broad reflections on love's theological, ethical, mystical and epistemological dimensions. Gregory made "the compunction of love" critical to his approach to spiritual life and to counseling penitents. A particularly fresh application of Gregory's biblical understanding of charity appears in the prescriptions of his *Pas-*

toral Rule that accommodated people of different temperaments and conditions of heart. In order to counsel the impatient, he wrote, one should learn particularly how love adapts itself to them, for “charity is patient” (1 Cor 13:4; *Regula Pastoralis* 3.9). One should use scripture as a tool for learning how to attain and maintain the virtue of patience. Love is realized by “ruling one’s spirit” (Prov 16:32), by “possessing one’s soul” (Luke 21:19), by practicing love for enemies (Matt 5:44), by learning to “bear one another’s burdens” (Gal 6:2), by “putting away bitterness” (Eph 4:31), by removing the beam from one’s own eye before correcting another (Matt 7:3; *Regula Pastoralis* 3.9–10). Love also formed the core of Gregory’s ethical thought. For him “charity is the key to his understanding of all the virtues,” for which it is “the ‘root,’ ‘source,’ ‘mother,’ and ‘guardian’ ... a type of stability, *soliditas*, a firmness and enduring strength that is a true sign of election” (Straw: 92–93). Finally, Gregory succinctly expressed love’s role in the formation of spiritual wisdom in a sentence that echoed readers of scripture since Origen and Augustine even as it bequeathed to Latin medieval thought and mysticism an axiom that would inspire writers like William of St. Thierry. “Love,” wrote Gregory, “is itself a form of knowledge (*amor ipse notitia est*)” (*Homiliarum in evangelia* 27.4; PL 76: 1207A; McGinn 1994: 58).

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Michael Cameron

B. Medieval Times and Reformation Era

In medieval theology, the perfection in love towards both God and neighbor was taken to be the ultimate aim of Christian life. In the debates on the scientific nature of theology, especially Franciscan theologians underlined the role of love: loving God more perfectly was the aim of theology as an academic discipline.

Due to sin, however, medieval theologians argued that human love is inordinate. Instead of love, fear rules the human heart. For Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), filial fear (*timor filialis*) directs the believer to love God more, and thus reduces the fear of punishment (*timor poenae*). Love is the highest of Christian virtues (1 Cor 13). Love, along with faith and hope, are infused virtues, which means that they are not acquired like other virtues (through habituation and practice) but they are given by God without merits to those who believe.

An intellectualist strand of thought is visible in Aquinas’ explanation of John 4:16 (*Summa theologiae* I, q.20). If love is an emotion, which entails change in the subject, how can God be love? Aquinas responds by claiming that love is the first movement of the will that tends towards two things; to the good that one wills, and to the person whom one wills it. Aquinas sees love as the medium of union, or a binding force, between persons. Thus faith needs to be infused with love, which redirects, or gives form to faith so that it unites the believer with God. Without love, faith is worthless.

In the Reformation, we see a growing suspicion towards human love, which is seen as tainted by concupiscence. The human (essentially impure) love is contrasted with divine, completely selfless and pure agape, manifested in God’s self-giving acts. Martin Luther defines God’s love as a transformative force. God loves things not because they are good but because God wants to make them good. More particularly, God’s love means that God donates what God asks for.

For Luther, love between humans and creation is regulated by two principles. The Golden Rule offers a general framework for properly ethical actions, while the Decalogue gives more accurate form to love, i.e., how one should express the Golden Rule in particular cases. Against Antinomians, who

saw themselves as freed from the law and able to interpret the rule of love by themselves, Luther underlined the binding nature of the NT commandments. The main problem, however, according to Luther, was not that humans do not know what is good; instead they do not love the good and act upon it (Rom 7). John Calvin shared a similar view, being perhaps slightly more pessimistic regarding the natural knowledge of the good that is the object of human love.

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Olli-Pekka Vainio

C. Modern Europe and America

Theologians throughout the 16th century reflected on the topic of love in relation to the primary soteriological topics of justification by grace and by faith.

The Roman Catholic Church, with the aid of its *Catechism* (1566), aimed to help pastors kindle love for God's goodness. The Catholic Church taught that God ought to be loved "above all things" (pt. 2, "Qualities of Sorrow for Sin"). It also instructed husbands and wives to cherish one another: their love mirrors the love of Christ for his Church (Eph 5:25). Mystical thinkers, such as Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) and John of the Cross (1542–1591), viewed loving God and one's neighbor as the "perfection" which all monastic and religious practices must serve (*Interior Castle*, 1577, third mansions, 44). In order to progress toward the center of the soul, "the important thing is not to think much, but to love much" (fourth mansions, 49).

The Reformed *Heidelberg Catechism* (1563) barely touches on the theme of love, except to restate Jesus' summary of the Law and the Prophets in the double commandment of love (qu. 4, 94, and 107; Matt 22:34–40). It is "by faith alone" (i.e., not through love!) that one becomes "right with God" (qu. 61). Among Lutherans, the *Formula of Concord* (1577) rejects the idea that "righteousness before God is not entire or perfect without [the] love and renewal" which faith produces (ch. 3, 8th antithesis).

The 17th century saw a major revival of mysticism, which occurred mainly among Catholics. There was also a notable revival among Protestants, who, with the emergence of Pietism, became fascinated with the subjective, affective experience of God.

Francis of Sales' (1567–1622) *Treatise on the Love of God* (1616) can be read against the background of Rome's massive effort at spiritual renewal and the education of the clergy and the faithful. Love is the only way to bring the Protestants and their "Jeri-

chos" back into the fold: "It is through charity that we must shake the walls of Geneva, we must invade this city through love, through love we must overtake it" (December 1593, *Œuvres* 7:107). What is love, according to Francis? It is "no other thing than the movement, effusion, and advancement of the heart towards the good" (*Treatise on the Love of God*, 1:7). Human beings have "a natural inclination," but not the power "to love God above all things" (ibid.: 1:16; most Protestant theologians of the time, unlike many modern Protestants, would have disagreed with the first part of that claim).

Toward the end of the 17th century, "pure love" became a topic of debate. This debate involved Madame Guyon (1648–1717) and François Fénelon (1651–1715), who both argued that disinterested love, being utterly focused on God, banishes all self-centered consideration for one's salvation. Francis of Sales had already written that a true Christian "prizes hell more with God's will than heaven without it" (*Treatise on the Love of God*, 9:4). However, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) bitterly fought these "quietist" ideas.

Among Protestants, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) called for a renewal of Protestantism in order to put an end to the endless doctrinal debates: "[D]isputing is not enough either to maintain the truth among ourselves or to impart it to the erring. The holy love of God is necessary" (*Pia desideria* 1675: 40). Johann Arndt (1555–1621) had already discussed the topic of love at length in his highly popular book, *True Christianity*. After Spener, Nikolaus von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) created a community, the Herrnhut-Brotherhood, whose members, on August 13, 1727, "learned to love one another." His vision of the Christian life was one of "brotherly love," *philadelphia* (cf. John 13:35: "By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another").

Romanticism, like Pietism, emphasized love as a lived experience and feeling. But Christian theology, even when it was influenced by Romanticism, maintained that love is, first and foremost, a divine reality. Schleiermacher (1768–1834) concluded his *Christian Faith* (1821/22, 1830/31) with a discussion of God as love. Love is not just another divine attribute, but the very essence of God: "[O]nly love and no other divine attribute can be equated with God in this fashion" (Schleiermacher: §167; 2:1008; see 1 John 4:16: "God is love"). Schleiermacher conceptualized divine love in conjunction with divine wisdom. Almost a century later, in 1940, Karl Barth (1886–1968) intimately linked divine love with divine freedom, and derived all of God's other perfections from these two fundamental ones (Barth 1940). Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), in the 1870s and 1880s, conceived of God's loving will as "the only adequate conception of God" (Ritschl: 3:273–74).

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In contrast, Ludwig Feuerbach severed God from love using philosophical terms and claimed that love “is a higher power and truth than deity” (Feuerbach: 53). If “God is love,” does that mean that “love is God”? This question was posed in the wake of Feuerbach’s reversal of the predication that God is love. In attempting to answer this question, Christian theologians have concentrated on specifying the type of love assigned to God. Love is, as stated in 1 John 4:7, *of God*.

In addition to being a significant divine attribute, love is also a divine command. Can love, however, be commanded? The Lutheran theologian Søren Kierkegaard took up this question in a number of his writings, especially *The Works of Love*. He considered love in relation to obedience, inwardness, and sin. Some have argued that his views, which convey his convictions regarding human distortions of love, are individualistic, antisocial, and otherworldly. However, recent scholarship (Ferreira) has shown that his views have been misinterpreted.

In the 20th century, love continued to be a significant theological topic. It is hard to imagine sermons being preached in the 20th century on “sinners in the hands of an angry God” (Jonathan Edwards, 1703–1758), even if that century was marked by sin. And yet, in 1914, leading European theologians (Troeltsch, Herrmann, Harnack) were motivated by a misbegotten patriotic love. The instrumentalization of God for sinful political purposes, particularly by the German Christians in Nazi Germany, led other theologians to distinguish God from the world. By doing this, these theologians who were primarily from the “dialectical school” could stress the pronouncement of God’s judgment on the world.

In *Agape and Eros* (1930–1936), Lutheran theologian Anders Nygren (1890–1978) posited a fundamental contradiction between *eros* and *agape*. He suggested that authentic love is spontaneous, i.e., not extrinsically motivated and disinterested, whereas *eros*, springing out of need and desire, is possessive and egocentric. Nygren opened the floodgates to protests against his dualistic approach to love: many authors (Burnaby, C. S. Lewis, Pieper, Outka, Jüngel, C. Keller, V. Burrus, and others) have challenged this dualism. Other thinkers, such as Emmanuel Levinas, consider love from a philosophical perspective by positing a primacy of ethics over ontology: “[P]hilosophy is the wisdom of love in the service of love” (Levinas: 162). Josef Piper, a modern Thomist, aptly points to an important aspect of love that is captured by the exclamation: “It is good that you exist; it is good that you are in this world!” (Piper: 163–4). Contemporary feminist theologians Catherine Keller and Virginia Burrus have focused constructive theological efforts on formulating a theopoetics of love.

In its relation to faith and hope, love is a complex phenomenon. Specifically, because it is the

theological virtue that has primacy (1 Cor 13:13). Proponents of the Social Gospel were committed to love in its relationship to justice (1 Cor 13:6) (Rauschenbusch). This commitment was also later expressed by left-wing theologians (Tillich) and philosophers (Weil, Ricœur), and, since the 1960s, by liberation theology (Gutiérrez) and other contextual theologies. Other thinkers are interested in the relationship between disinterested love and human emotions (Frankfurt) and desire (Coakley). Christian theologians have, on the whole, tended to critique sentimental and individualistic reductions of “love” in contemporary culture. Feminist theologians have also criticized uses and abuses of “self-sacrificing love” that mitigate against women’s flourishing. Critical and constructive proposals take up the topic of love in view of Jesus of Nazareth’s life of service, his practice of radical, fulfilled love (John 13:1). His life, including his death on the cross and his resurrection, manifests the precedence of God’s love, which stands over against any human response (1 John 4:19; Rom 5:8), whether that response is positive or negative.

In the face of two immensely destructive World Wars, the Shoah, and other massacres perpetrated on a scale previously unseen, major 20th-century figures have advocated love and its ramifications for justice in societies torn by violence, hate, and fear. Gandhi, André Trocmé, Dorothy Day, Martin Luther King, Jr., Thomas Merton, and Desmond Tutu have all applied the concept of love in different ways and contexts in order to overcome the cycle of violence and revenge. The roots of their non-violent resistance are found, in part, in Jesus’ message, including Jesus’ call to love one’s enemies (Sermon on the Mount, Matt 5–7). If love and peace are indeed eschatological realities (“Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet; righteousness and peace will kiss each other. Faithfulness will spring up from the ground, and righteousness will look down from the sky”; Ps 85:10–11), these realities beg to be concretely embodied, even if imperfectly, in the world.

Notable other witnesses in recent and contemporary history to the kind of love that seeks justice – together with many other anonymous figures – include Pope John XXIII, Mgr Romero, Nelson Mandela, br. Roger of Taizé, Jean Vanier, sœur Emmanuelle, and Christian de Chergé.

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Christophe Chalamet

D. New Christian Churches and Movements

In his spiritual classic *The Four Loves*, C. S. Lewis distinguishes between *στοργή* (affection), *φιλία* (friendship), *ἔρως* (sexual love or lust), and *ἀγάπη* (love, or esteem). The last of these, being the cardinal Christian virtue, is emphasized by most, if not all, new Christian groups.

In common with the KJV, the *Book of Mormon* prefers to use the word “charity” to describe Christian love. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) teaches that Jesus Christ showed love for the Nephites when he reappeared in America after his resurrection. The *Book of Mormon* teaches that “it is the most desirable above all things” (1 *Nephi* 11:22), and that the kingdom of heaven cannot be inherited without it. Love is manifested in God’s love for God’s children and in Christ’s sacrifice. The *Book of Moroni* presents an extended passage which parallels 1 Cor 13, extolling the virtue of charity above faith and hope (*Moroni* 7:39–47). Love should be shown to the Jew as well as the Gentile (2 *Nephi* 33:8–10). The LDS Relief Society, founded in 1842, has as its motto “Charity never faileth” (1 Cor 13:8; *Moroni* 7:46).

A number of groups that took the rise in the 1960s were believed to engage in “love bombing” – in particular the Children of God (now The Family International), The Way International, and the Unification Church. The practice consisted of showing an undue degree of warmth and friendship, in order to make new seekers feel wanted. In the case of the Children of God, the type of love that was shown was more akin to *eros* or sexual desire: new seekers, particularly women, were offered sexual gratification, allegedly on the grounds that one’s basic sexual needs had to be satisfied before one could be receptive to the group’s religious message. Founder-leader David Berg (a.k.a. Moses David)

taught the need to show the love of God through sexual relationships. In 1995 The Family introduced the *Love Charter*. This defined the rules to be observed within its communities, including those relating to the “sharing” of marriage partners – a practice which has been characteristic of the organization.

By contrast, the Unification Church officially deplores extramarital sexual relationships, holding that members should only engage in sexual activity after undergoing the Blessing ceremony. According to the Unification Church’s teaching, God desired men and women as the object of his love. However, Adam and Eve exercised selfish love by engaging in sexual activity before they reach the age of maturity, succumbing to the false love of Satan rather than God’s own true love. This love can only be truly fulfilled, it is held, when humans achieve God’s three “blessings”: to be “fruitful,” to “multiply,” and to “have dominion” (Gen 1:28). The first involves the perfection of individual love, while the second relates to the marriage of husbands and wives who are free from sin and who can raise sinless children, who can then create a perfect world (the third blessing). God’s love was demonstrated in God’s successive endeavors to restore humanity to its original pre-fallen state, which was accomplished through the sending of various figures, including Jesus, whose mission is believed to have been completed by the Lord of their Second Coming, who has restored families of true love. Such a claim has proved problematic, however, in the light of sexual indiscretions of which founder-leader Sun Myung Moon and some members of his family have been accused. One important Unification festival is the Day of the Victory of Love, which commemorates the death of Moon’s son Heung Jin, who was killed in a car crash. Unificationists believe that he lovingly sacrificed his life in order to save fellow passengers. Most new Christian groups subscribe to traditional teachings about love, acknowledging that Christ’s teaching that one should love God and one’s neighbor is the greatest commandment of the law, and that love is one of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5:22).

By contrast, however, Anton LaVey’s *The Satanic Bible* contends that it is impossible to display universal indiscriminate love towards everyone, and that both love and hate are fundamental emotions that humans intensely feel. While Satanism does not condone cruelty or violence, one should adopt a realistic view regarding the expression of love: “Satanism represents kindness to those who deserve it instead of love wasted on ingrates!” (LaVey: 64).

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George D. Chryssides

VI. Islam

The language of love, centered on the root *ḥ-b-b* and its derivatives, is not central to qur'ānic vocabulary expressing the personal relationship between God and humanity. Many commentators would have considered the term too human and not worthy of God, preferring instead to use words describing his loving qualities, such as clemency, compassion, or mercy, although the emotional connotation is removed from the terms when applying them to God.

Unlike in Christianity, where God's love is often spoken of as a parent for his child, or a bridegroom for his bride, in Islam, a more abstract understanding of God's love is adopted. For, God's love is greater than that of a parent for a child. Much of the literature on love in Islam is found within Sufi Islam, which focuses on man's love for God as the highest good. The love of God is considered the culminating stage of the Sufi path when one goes beyond the desires of the ego.

Love is not one of God's "eternal attributes" (*al-ṣifāt al-azaliyya*) although, *al-Wadūd*, "the loving towards his servants," is one of the ninety-nine names of God, often simply translated as "the loving" or "He who loves." Utterly transcendent, humanity's love of God can in no way effect him. He is neither sad at one's indifference nor glad at one's response. The Qur'an nowhere states that God loves humanity. Divine love differs from human love in that divine love is substantive and eternal (S 2:29; 45:13). His love is conditional (S 3:30) based on the merits of the one he loves. Love is often mentioned in conjunction with ethical injunctions, for God loves those who follow his commands and do good. God does not love those who do not follow his commands and do evil. There are different degrees of God's love. God has a general love, which brings the world and individuals into being, including wrongdoers. God has a higher love for true believers who attract God's love to themselves by their works. God has a special love for those who are perfect, such as the prophets. On the other hand, God does not love those who do not follow his commands.

Everyone is drawn to love God, whether consciously or not. For all are drawn to what they believe to be the ultimate good, which a Muslim knows is God. Humanity does not love God for two reasons, either ignorance or a preoccupation with transient and baser objects of worldly love. Humanity ought to love God as a servant loves the creator from whom one derives perfection. Al-Ghazālī defined love as an inclination of the subject towards a pleasure-giving object. Knowledge of the object is a necessary prerequisite for one cannot love what one

does not know. For al-Ghazālī, humanity ought to love God because God created and holds each person in existence, gives them everything they possess, does good, is the most beautiful and most excellent being, and, there is an affinity between humanity and God, for the soul of each person is a part of the divine soul according. Loving God means complete submission and obedience to his commands, finding pleasure in such acts of servitude. One who truly loves will always prefer his beloved's will over his own (S 3:31). Aware of God's greatness one strives to avoid anything that might invite God's wrath. Ethical rules are guidelines to this path of love, enlightened and orientated by teachings of the intellect and the prophets.

After God, one must love the Prophet (and the household or *Ahl al-Bayt*, according to the Shi'a) because God has loved him, because he is the ideal of perfection personifying the virtues to the highest degree, and because he has guided humanity on the path of morality and attaining God's pleasure. Finally, there is love amongst fellow Muslims is known as *'ukhkhawwa*, that is, fraternal love or brotherliness.

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Marie Nuar

VII. Hinduism and Buddhism

Western observers of the Indian tradition have suggested that the Hindu concept of spiritual love (*bhakti*) only flowered with the arrival of Christianity in India in the early centuries CE. In part, this assertion looks to the time frame of *bhakti*'s rise in India, generally understood to be the first centuries CE, which is also the period of Christianity's arrival in India (see, e.g., Grierson: 143; Winternitz: 431). Viewed in a critical light, however, this assertion suggests a subtle disparagement of the Hindu tradition; as R. S. Sugirtharajah has observed, it not only "perpetuates the claim that anything religiously good can only come out of the Judeo-Christian religion," but also rejects any possibility of parallelism between Indian religions and Christianity (Sugirtharajah: 197). Looking beyond the search for possible historical linkages, however, the effort to establish an association between the Hindu and Christian notions of divine love played a prominent role in the 19th century encounter between India and the West.

As the British East India Company (EIC) attained political dominance in India at the end of the 18th century, enlightened English administrators

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began to cultivate India's intellectual class. This situation was viewed as an opportunity by the Protestant missionaries in India (despite the EIC's active discouragement of their program) to gain converts from this prestigious and culturally influential class of natives. Essential to this encounter was the search for a common medium of religious terminology. The concept of divine love, which in India had a highly developed theology rooted in the 15th-century writings of the Hindu saint Chaitanya, formed a natural element for this medium. Thus, in one of the earliest works to arise from the Hindu-missionary interaction, Ram Mohan Roy's *The Precepts of Jesus; the Guide to Peace and Happiness, Extracted from the Books of the New Testament* (1820), Roy identifies the concept of love as the essential element of Christianity (Crawford: 24). In another context, Roy, who was one of the earliest and most prominent Indians to interact with the missionaries in discussions of religious matters, claimed that "love of God" also represented Hinduism's "true system of religion." Significantly, Roy's assertion here seems to have been intended not only to express a common ground between Hinduism and Christianity, but also to show that Hinduism, despite the "errors of the puerile system of idol worship," was in essence a religion of love, and so stood on the same religious plane as Christianity (Roy: ii–iii).

This articulation of a religion based on love of god continues throughout the 19th century in the writings of Roy's successors, and even assumes a pseudo-biblical form in Debendranath Tagore's famed "Brahmic Covenant": "I will worship, through love of Him, and the performance of the works He loveth, God the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer, the Giver of salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipresent . . .," predicating the chief Indian gods (the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer) to the "Giver of salvation," which suggests a Christian, rather than a Hindu conceptualization of the divine (Murdoch: 143).

By the close of the 19th century, as Indian intellectuals wearied of the missionaries' dismissive attitude toward their traditions, the concept of divine love became a means of suggesting the superiority of Hinduism over Christianity; as one writer declared: "Bhakti as preached in the Gita is not to be found in Christianity. Love for love's sake, love that knows no fear, knows no return and knows no hatred is not [sic] where clearly preached in the Bible" ("Notes and Thoughts": 390). In a similar vein, the Sri Lankan Buddhist revivalist Angarika Dharmapala, observed sharply that "No loving god would send countless millions to an eternal hell, even if he had the power" (Barker/Greg: 244), while describing (albeit in a different context) the gods of India as "all love, all merciful, all gentle" (Barrows: 868). At the World's Parliament of Religions (Chicago, 1893), Dharmapala famously berated the missionar-

ies in South and East Asia for their intolerance and selfishness, and then, in another address to the Parliament's audience, declared that, in contrast to this, "the fundamental teaching of Buddhism" was "universal love and sympathy with all mankind and with animal life" (Barrows: 868).

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Herman Tull

VIII. Literature

Almost every biblical book is occupied with the topic of love. This abundance has given rise to innumerable exegeses and sermons on love, yet has also given rise to ample reception of the Bible in secular love literature. This mutual reference between biblical love and literature can be observed on at least three levels: first, numerous biblical texts that deal explicitly with love employ figurative language, most prominently metaphor and/or allegory. Second, biblical motifs, narratives, and allusions are frequently used or evoked in secular love literature. Third, biblical writings on love have long been interpreted as allegories (Song) or typologies (Ruth), and have therefore brought about an extensive reception history not only in theological exegesis, but also in literary theory.

1. Love Metaphors and Allegories within Biblical Literature. Within the biblical canon, metaphors and allegories of love are especially present in the prophets, Psalms, the Song of Songs, and Ruth. For instance, in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, the covenant faithfulness between God and Israel is introduced via the metaphor of engagement or marriage. Common to the HB/OT is also the figure of motherly love, as an image for God's faithfulness to his people (Isa 49:15) or his care for the individual believer (Ps 131:2).

On the other hand, the Song of Songs is the most explicit representation of erotic love within the biblical canon. It passionately celebrates sensual love and sexual desire in poetic and rhetoric abundance, rich in metaphorical language.

In contrast to the HB/OT, love is generally not much used as a metaphor in the NT (apart from the wedding feast/bride metaphor in Rev), even though it is one of its core teachings.

2. Bible Reception in Love Literature. Due to its abundant metaphorical language, the Song, “the only ... purely secular love poetry from ancient Israel” (Alter: 185), has become a main reference text for literary representation of love and eroticism throughout the centuries. Figures and images such as “the rose” or the “garden closed” (Song 2:1; 4:12–16; cf. Alter: 200–201) had a prominent afterlife in Western love literature. They are present in numerous medieval love allegories, most famously Guillaume de Lorris’ and Jean de Meun’s *Romance of the Rose* (vv. 129–30; cf. Heller-Roazen; Lewis: 119–20). But also later love novels, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Julie, or The New Heloise* (1761), refer to similar *hortus conclusus* images clearly derived from the Song’s tradition (cf. de Man 1983: 202–3). In Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1856), a classic of Western love literature, the Bible, and especially the Song, is evoked when depicting the adulterous heroine’s seductions. The biblical love ideal here stands in sharp contrast to both Emma’s unhappy marriage and her romantic illusions. The Yiddish author Sholem Aleichem, in his 1917 novel *Song of Songs* (*Shir hashirim*), quotes the Song as a counterpoint to the narrative’s development, as the youthful protagonist’s failure to express his love to his beloved (and sexually taboo) “sister-bride” ironically contrasts with its rhetorical abundance.

Especially after the “secular” paradigm shift in modernity, biblical love imagery is often evoked, but emptied of its symbolic power. Thus, one of the most intriguing female characters in John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) is called “Rose of Sharon,” referring back to Song 2:1. Albert Cohen’s 20th-century “love classic” *Her Lover* (*Belle du Seigneur*) (1968) also transposes the Song’s lyricism into an exuberant failure, since all verbal passion still fails to express true love. And Toni Morrison’s 1977 novel *Song of Solomon* juxtaposes biblical love to a grim earthly world: while the novel’s title and the first names of the protagonist’s sisters (“First Corinthians 13” and “Magdalene”), and mother (“Ruth”) evoke the most prominent love stories from the OT and NT respectively, the narrative itself is a tale of pain and loneliness, and the name “First Corinthians 13” is merely random. On the other hand, in Umberto Eco’s 1980 mystery *The Name of the Rose* (*Il nome della rosa*), Adso’s only, but fervent sexual encounter with an unnamed peasant girl (“perhaps the Rose,” as the *dramatis personae* has it) is verbatim told in the dense language of the Song, followed by the narrators’ reflections on allegorical expression.

3. Afterlife in Theory: The Song of Songs in Literary Criticism. The Song has not only been quoted, adopted, and adapted in numerous works of fiction, but, unlike other biblical books, it has also been widely discussed in literary theory (cf. Exum 2005a; Alter: 185–203). In and after post-

structuralism the Song became newly prominent in theories of allegory (de Man 1979), in studies on narratology (Alter), or as a paradigm for literature as such (Kristeva); later it was one of the key texts of feminist literary theory (Pardes; Brenner/Fontaine; Brenner). Moreover, it has become the epitome for reading the Bible as literature – a tradition that could be said to have started in the 18th century with the German philologist, poet, philosopher, and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder (who in turn, was highly influenced by Lowth and Hamann; cf. Baildam: 58–59). In his interpretation of the Song, Herder engages with the tradition of allegorical reading, as well as with contemporary exegeses, for the most part rejecting their interpretations (Herder: 95; cf. Baildam: 55–56; Gaier: 318–20). For Herder, the Song’s “meaning” is nothing but “love, love” (Herder: 63–64), a fundamental human experience, which makes it “the most human of all books,” just like the Bible itself (cf. Gaier: 326, 330). The Song, for Herder, is a part of the biblical canon precisely as a poetic masterwork.

One metaphor from Song 4:12–16 had an especially prominent afterlife in literary theory: the orchard, an image which of course refers back to the paradise narrative (Gen 1–3). As early as in rabbinic midrashim, the “locked garden” has been interpreted as the place of delight in Torah, i.e., as a place of interpretation and commentary of Scriptures (Krochmalnik: 10). Thus, the garden metaphor has been the symbol for the very questions that connect theology and literature: how to read and interpret. Since there have been, in the wake of de Man’s readings of Rousseau, convincing attempts to establish a “theory of literature as the language of love” (Hamacher: 166), biblical love can be said to be a foundational aspect of literature and literary theory.

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Caroline Sauter

IX. Visual Arts

Love is first and foremost given to God, however, the love of God is also given to each person, insofar as each human being is created in God's image, and this is then expressed as love of one's neighbor. Love of one's neighbor takes various forms: love for a partner, love of a parent, or love of one's children to name just the most intimate forms, each of which appears in art.

Abraham's obedience presents perhaps one of the strongest examples of the love of God (Gen 22:1–12). Abraham unconditionally accepts the demand to sacrifice his son (Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, 359, Treasury of Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome), even before the implementation of the Law. This love is also reciprocated, as is shown in images of the Last Supper (St. Martin, Zillis, panel paintings on the ceiling, early 12th cent.). One of the disciples, identified as John, is depicted leaning on Jesus' breast because of Jesus' particular love for him (John 13:23: ὁν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς). One could also mention the Visitation in this context (*Codex Egberti*, between 977–93, Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms. 24, fol. 10v), it is called ἀποσιμῶς in Greek (Luke 1:41), which can also mean “to like.” The affection between Mary and Elizabeth probably relates to the fact that one of them carries God's son while the other bears his forerunner. We can also interpret the Visitation in terms of neighborly love, which is also expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus himself exemplifies the principle of humble brotherly love by washing his disciples' feet (John 13:1–17; 1st half of the 11th cent.; Katholikon, Hosios Loukas). The anointing in Bethany (John 12:1–3; Bernard Column, 1020, Hildesheim Cathedral) can also be understood as a gesture of humility and as an expression of the love of God.

In common parlance, however, the word love is generally understood as romantic love. Husband and wife pairs appear often in the Bible, although their relationships to one another can vary widely.

Some, such as Isaac and Rebekah, David and Bathsheba, Sarah and Tobias, and Samson and Delilah, chose each other. Others were brought together by God, like Adam and Eve, or by the bride's father, like Othniel and Achsah. In the case of Anna and Joachim, the story of how they came together is not told, and Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were not lovers.

Such pairs of lovers understandably provided rich material for visual imagery. The most intimate loving moment (at least, the most intimate that was considered appropriate to depict) is certainly the kiss of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate. While this subject was depicted frequently, Giotto's rendering in the Arena chapel in Padua (after 1303) stands out for its depth of emotion. The relationship between Jacob and Rachel must also have been intimate, as Jacob had to serve Rachel's father Laban twice, each time for seven years, in order to win her hand. Hugo van der Goes (*The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel*, 1460–82, Christ Church Gallery, Oxford; and Palma il Vecchio, *Jacob and Rachel*, ca. 1520–25, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) depicts Jacob embracing and kissing Rachel. Jacob's father Isaac is also portrayed embracing his wife Rebekah in the *Vienna Genesis* (6th cent., Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 8v). Rembrandt (*The Jewish Bride*, 1667, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) depicts Isaac with his hand on his wife's breast, perhaps suggesting an increase in intimacy verging on the sexual. We find the same motif in the image of the fathering of Cain in the vestibule of Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice (13th cent.), in which two curtains are pulled back to reveal Adam and Eve lying on a bed with Adam touching Eve's breast. The conception of Cain is also depicted independently in the monastery church of Dečani (1327–35). Here, Adam and Eve embrace each other while standing next to Cain. These pairs of relationships sometimes begin with marriage. An image in the church of S. Maria Maggiore (432–40, Rome) shows the marriage of Moses and Zipporah, represented by the *dextrarum iunctio*, the clasping of their right hands.

Such partnerships, however, did not always turn out well, as shown by Delilah's treachery. Samson had chosen her from among the Philistines, but she betrayed him by cutting his hair. This moment of betrayal is commonly chosen in representations of the story (Andrea Mantegna, *Samson and Delilah*, 1495, National Gallery, London).

Parental love can also be found in Christian iconography. An impressive example of this appears in the Chora Church in Istanbul (1315). Here, Joachim and Anna embrace their daughter, Mary, who stands between them. Images of Adam and Eve mourning the dead Abel also express parental love (Johann Liss, *Adam and Eve Lament Abel's Death*, 1st third of the 17th cent., Galleria dell'Adademia, Venice) (see → plate 1.a). In the monastery church



Liss, Johann, *Adam and Eve Lament Abel's Death*: oil on canvas (1624); Galleria dell' Accademia, Venice/Italy
©akg-images/Cameraphoto.

of Dečani (1327–35), we see the mother embracing her dead child while the father laments. The (non-biblical) “threnos,” that is, the lament for the dead Jesus (1164, Sv. Panteleimon, Nerezi), represents a similar subject. Apart from these examples, it is primarily motherly love that has drawn artists’ interest. Examples include that of Hagar (Gen 21:14–21), who was cast out by Abraham with her son, Ishmael, at Sarah’s request and God’s command. In the desert of Beersheba, the mother and child nearly died of thirst. Because she could not bear to watch her son die, Hagar sat down some distance away (Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Hagar and Ishmael*, ca. 1732, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice). An angel finally rescued them, showing them a well. A mother’s deep care and fear for her child appears again and with more intensification in depictions of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem, where despairing mothers mourn their dead children (Duccio, 1308–11, Siena Cathedral).

The epitome of a mother’s love, however, appears in the relationship between Mary and her son. Aside from the nursing mother (*Maria lactans* [current nave, 14th cent., San Giusto, Trieste] or *Galak-*

trophousa [El Greco, *The Holy Family*, 1594–1604, Hospital de San Juan Bautista, Toledo]; see also “*Maria Lactans*” and plate 12), the intimacy of this relationship is reflected most clearly in the Eastern Orthodox *Glykophilousa* (an intensification of the *El-eousa*; fresco, before 1335, Chora Church, Istanbul), where the child twists his head at a nearly impossible angle in order to nestle against his mother’s cheek. Because of Mary’s status as a role model, her love for her son also becomes a model for human beings’ love for God.

The relationship between fathers and sons, by contrast, appears less frequently and primarily in the story of Abraham’s family and those of his descendants Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. The account of Abraham’s intended sacrifice of his son, Isaac, is particularly emotionally charged. Rembrandt presents a compressed version of this story, depicting the young Isaac in his father’s arms (*Abraham Caressing Isaac*, ca. 1637, Collection of J. de Bruijn). Rembrandt was apparently particularly fond of this subject, which he revisited in a similar form in the image of Joseph retelling his dreams to his father, Jacob, who holds the young Benjamin in his arms

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(*Joseph telling his Dreams*, ca. 1638–43, Albertina, Vienna). The *Vienna Genesis* twice depicts Jacob and Benjamin in a similar pose, just as Reuben (6th cent., Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 20v) and then Judah (fol. 21r) are insisting that their youngest brother should come to Egypt with them. Jacob resists, worried that he will lose this son as well, a fear that proves unfounded. Instead, Jacob eventually goes to Egypt with his sons, where he finally embraces Joseph again after many years of absence (Throne of Maximian, 546–56, Museo Arcivescovile, Ravenna). The mourning of the dead Jacob (*Vienna Genesis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 24v) serves as an antitype for the so-called “threnos.”

The story of Jacob and Joseph also provides rich material for the subject of brotherly love. Despite the fact that Jacob, with his mother Rebekah’s help, tricked his father, Isaac, into blessing him instead of his brother Esau, in the end the two brothers are reconciled. Francesco Hayez depicts this moment (*Meeting of Jacob and Esau*, 1844, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia), showing Esau embracing his brother and forgiving him for the wrong he committed. The story of Joseph, who wanted to keep his brother Simeon as a hostage in Egypt, is also emotionally charged. The brothers discuss this hostage-taking without knowing that Joseph not only understands them (he had used an interpreter to speak with them), but is also their brother. Joseph is so touched by his brothers’ laments that he turns away from them and weeps (Vienna Genesis, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 19r). The story culminates when Jacob moves to Egypt with his sons, at which point Joseph reveals his identity to his family. It is no surprise that this moment is often captured in art, and that the embrace between Joseph and the young Benjamin takes center stage (for example, Peter von Cornelius, fresco cycle from the Casa Bartholdy in Rome, 1816–1817, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin).

The bond between David and Saul’s son, Jonathan, who “took great delight in David” (1 Sam 19:1: ἠγάπητο τὸν Δαυὶδ σφόδρα), represents a male relationship resembling the relationship one would find between brothers. Rembrandt depicts the pair repeatedly, illuminating different aspects of their relationship, such as their brotherly bond (ca. 1632–33, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham), Jonathan comforting David (ca. 1640–44, Louvre, Paris), and their parting (1642, Hermitage, St. Petersburg).

Michael Altrip

X. Music

Love as a notion, even if restricted to what is traceable to biblical traditions, is broad and difficult to circumscribe briefly. As is made clear in the HB/OT

and NT articles above, love appears in a variety of ways in the Bible, also through the employment of different words. Many of the various aspects of love mentioned above have been importantly reflected in music over the centuries. However, in addition to the variety of the biblical vocabulary to express what has been received as “love,” biblical texts, which have been understood to express love, have been rendered differently in different Bible translations. For example, the idea of God’s “steadfast love” is expressed repeatedly in Psalms in the NRSV Bible: Pss 13:5; 42:8; 51:1; 66:20; 98:3; 103:4, 8, 11, and 17; 115:1, 117:2; 118:1–4, 29; 136:1–26; 147:11 to mention only some instances. In Ps 136 each of the twenty-six verses repeats the clause “for his steadfast love endures forever” as a refrain. The Vulgate Bible (Vg.; Ps 135) here gives “quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius” which in the (mainly) early modern Catholic English Douay-Rheims translation (originally made in the late 16th century) is rendered as “for his mercy endureth for ever” (Edgar/Kinney: 522–25). The German Luther Bible (1545) gives “denn seine Güte währet ewiglich” (which translates as “for his goodness lasts forever”). The King James Bible (AV) also has “for his mercy endureth for ever.” God’s love for a righteous individual, as mentioned in the HB/OT entry above, is given as “The Lord loves the righteous” in NRSV, “Dominus diligit iustos” in Vg. (Ps 145:8), rendered as “the Lord loveth the just” in the Douay-Rheims translation (Edgar/Kinney: 546–47), as in the AV. The Luther Bible similarly gives “Der HERR liebt die Gerechten.” In different languages (or communities of different Bible translations), thus, the notion of biblical love may have been received in slightly different ways. This entry will draw on musical settings of a variety of texts in several different languages, mainly Latin, German, Italian, French, and English, thus drawing on a linguistically wide reception of a biblical notion of love.

In the following, the discussion is divided in two main categories: 1. music for liturgical ceremonies, 2. music for non-liturgical performance, which, in modern times, may well also include liturgical pieces, which have been received into Classical Music (see “Classical Music”).

1. Liturgical music. Psalmody, the singing or chanting of Psalms was an essential part of Jewish as well as Christian liturgy as far back as we have any knowledge and up through the centuries in different ways and languages (Gillingham: 40–55; 68–71; 120–23; see also “Cantillation” and “Chant”). Thus, the already mentioned idea of God’s steadfast love was always liturgically present in song among Jews and Christians alike, for instance in the penitential psalm Ps 51:1, “have mercy on me, O God,/ according to your steadfast love;/ according to your abundant mercy/ blot out my transgressions.” Also the idea of God loving the righteous, and the right-

eous being those who love God and God's commands is expressed in Ps 97:10, "The Lord loves those who hate evil," and similarly in Ps 103:11, "for as the heavens are high above the earth so great is his steadfast love toward those who fear him."

In a Christian context, New Testament statements concerning Christ's self-sacrifice in order to save mankind were also sung in liturgy: *Sic deus dilexit mundum ut filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam alleluia* ("For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish but may have eternal life, hallelujah," cf. John 3:16). This text was sung as an antiphon in numerous places throughout the Middle Ages on Pentecost Monday (Cantus Database). *Mandatum* (or footwashing) ceremonies during the Middle Ages (and beyond, in many places held on Maundy Thursday) were rituals that represented Jesus' command to the disciples to love each other. Here antiphons were sung with texts from the biblical narrative (John 13:1–17, 34–35) as well as from other biblical texts about love, including 1 Cor 13:13 or about the woman anointing Jesus' feet in Luke 7:37–50 (see "Footwashing").

Also in medieval Latin hymns one finds expressions of God's love through Christ, as in *Veni, creator Spiritus* for Pentecost by the Carolingian abbot, scholar, and later archbishop Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856) including the stanza "You who are called the Comforter,/ the gift of God who dwells on high,/ the living spring, and fire, and love,/ anointing of the spirit too" (*Qui Paraclitus diceris,/ donum Dei altissimi,/ fons vivus, ignis, caritas, et spiritalis unctio*; Walsh/Husch: 260–61). In the hymn *Gaude, virgo* by Peter Abelard (see "Abelard, Peter") to the Virgin Mary, one finds the formulation "The mother is loving,/ and the Son is love" (*Pia mater,/ pietas filius*; Walsh/Husch: 294–95).

Texts about love (between the bride and the bridegroom) from Song had a strong liturgical presence, not least for Marian feasts. In such contexts, they were understood metaphorically about the love between Christ and his bride, the Church. Many composers, especially in Early Modernity made polyphonic settings of these texts, as e.g., Palestrina and Monteverdi (in his Marian Vespers), and, in German, Schütz and J. S. Bach, but also in more recent times for instance Stravinsky (see "Bride VIII. Music" and "Lust VI. Music"). Many Latin liturgical texts were set in polyphony in early modern times (and later), in Protestant contexts often also in the vernacular. *Sic deus dilexit mundum* (John 3:16) for instance, was set by Palestrina, Josquin des Prez, and others in the 16th century, as well as by the Lutheran Hieronymus Praetorius (Oxford Music Online, q.v. *Sic deus dilexit mundum*). Heinrich Schütz set the same verse in German in his *Musikalische Exequien* (1636), a Lutheran burial service, based on

brief biblical excerpts and Lutheran hymns (Schütz: 9–11). Also biblical psalms were set in polyphony to a high extent in Early Modernity as well as later, mainly for liturgical use. Among his *Grands Motets*, Jean-Baptiste Lully famously set the *Miserere* (Ps 51 = Ps 50 in the Vg.) in 1663 (La Gorce). As part of his Vesper compositions, W. A. Mozart set Ps 117 (= Ps 116 in the Vg.; Konrad: 24). Felix Mendelssohn's German settings of e.g., Pss 13, 42, 66, 98, and 115, however, were partly to be used in a liturgical context but partly as concert pieces (Todd: 361–62, 407–8, 467, and 650).

The cantatas and Passions of J. S. Bach are among the most important examples of liturgical treatment of biblical notions of love in music. Bach's cantata *Sehet, welch eine Liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget* ("Behold, what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon us"; Leipzig 1723) begins with a chorus setting 1 John 3:1a ("See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God.") It continues with a chorale setting of the last stanza of Martin Luther's hymn *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ* (from 1524) including the words "Das hat er alles uns getan,/ Sein groß Lieb zu zeigen an" ("All this he has done for us/ To manifest His great love"; Stokes: 104; Dürr: 152–55). Bach's cantata *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* ("God so loved the world"; Leipzig 1725) for Pentecost Monday takes its point of departure in John 3:16, quoted in the opening chorale setting the first stanza of a Lutheran hymn by Salomo Liscow (1675; Dürr: 407–9, Stokes: 110–11). Also cantatas for Christmas, notably the so-called Christmas Oratorio (Leipzig 1734) give strong expressions with strong musical emphases on God's love, partly based (again) on the mentioned Luther-stanza (Stokes: 360, 364; Dürr: 131–33, 163). Both the St Matthew (1727 with later revisions) and the St John Passion (1724 with later revisions) have as their main theological focus to point to God's and Christ's love in the wish and the act to redeem humans, albeit represented in different ways in the two Passions, partly dependent on the different presentations of Christ's Passion in the two gospels. A particularly explicit expression of this, and one musical highpoint in the St Matthew Passion, is the aria *Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben* ("Out of love my Savior is willing to die"; Marissen: 58). The Bach works are main examples of German Lutheran liturgical music, but the main intentions of and biblical uses in these works are representative of a much broader German Lutheran liturgical repertory, based to a high extent not only on biblical texts, but also on Lutheran hymns, which again, naturally, are biblical receptions in their own right, as exemplified here.

Numerous Lutheran vernacular hymns in various languages have reformulated biblical notions of love in more or less similar ways. A major Danish example from the 19th century by N.F.S. Grundtvig

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may be chosen to point to a later (Romantic) style of hymn writing with a similar theological focus. In Grundtvig's hymn *O kristelighed* (Oh Christianity; 1824, rev. 1853; no. 321 in the official Danish Hymnal), set to music by L. M. Lindemann (1862), the last two stanzas begin with invocations of love poetically connected to Christ and the Holy Spirit: "O kærlighed selv" (Oh love itself) and "O kærligheds Ånd" (Oh spirit of love) (*Den danske Salmebog*, 343).

2. Music not written for liturgical purposes.

Many devotional works, which were not written to be part of a liturgical ceremony, represent divine love and/or human love in a biblical perspective. Many songs outside the liturgical repertory represent biblical narratives or notions including notions of love. For instance, Abelard wrote non-liturgical biblical songs of lament (see "Abelard II. Music"), among these a setting of David's lament about Saul and Jonathan, including the biblical statement of David's love of Jonathan being greater than his love of women (2 Sam 1:26). However, it is foremost in oratorios that biblical narratives or notions of love are primarily found. Partly many oratorios, by for instance Carissimi, Handel, Haydn, Mendelssohn and others re-tell biblical narratives in which love is an important ingredient, whether stories about Samson, King David from the HB/OT or the basic narratives about the nativity of Christ, his Passion or other topics showing Christ as representing God's love on earth. Passion Oratorios (as different from Oratorio Passions like the two famous Bach Passions) were oratorios, where the Passion of Christ was told through poetic re-writing of the biblical stories, rather than through the words of the Bible itself. They had the same theological and devotional intentions, i.e., to convey Christ's Passion, his love of humans and thus to impress the notion of God's love of mankind to their audiences. Numerous such works have been written since the 17th century (Smither).

In 17th-century Italy, it was common to write allegorical oratorios in which figures like "Celestial Love" and "Earthly Love" would dispute in order to convince an allegorical figure of a Christian about what was true and important. A biblical narrative (or a combination of more than one) would emphasize the superiority of the claims of "Celestial Love." This is so, for instance in Antonio Caldara's oratorio *Maddalena ai piedi di Cristo* (ca. 1700), based primarily on the story of the woman who anointed Jesus' feet at the house of the Pharisee (Luke 7:37–50), and also in Antonio Draghi's sepulchro *La vita nella morte* (1688; a devotional staged music drama for Holy week, see "Drama VI. Music A. Music Drama"), where the important allegorical figure is "Amor divino" who convinces Humanità (Humanity) of Christ's love and redemption by drawing on biblical "witnesses" such as Adam and Eve, and the Good Thief (on the cross at Golgotha) (Petersen:

150–54). A much later devotional allegorical music drama was composed by the eleven-year old W. A. Mozart, *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten Gebots* (The Duty of the First Commandment; 1766/67), the first part of a trilogy, where the two other parts (by Anton Adlgasser and Michael Haydn) have not been preserved. The title refers to Jesus' words in Matt 22:37: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind." Here it is the task of "Die göttliche Barmherzigkeit" (Divine Mercy) with the help of "Der Christen-Geist" (Christian Spirit) fighting especially against "Der Welt-Geist" (Spirit of the World) to convince the protagonist, a somewhat ambivalent Christian, to understand the necessity of his salvation. Although this happens foremost through the threat of damnation, Christian mercy and love is demonstrated through the activity of the main allegorical figures who want to help the lukewarm Christian (Schick: 233–34).

Biblical love, divine love and its mirror in human love of one's neighbor has been represented in music also in the form of settings of Jesus' parables, not least The Prodigal Son, Luke 15:11–32, and the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25–37). Both of these were set by Benjamin Britten in short music dramatic works, his Church Parable III, *The Prodigal Son*, and his dramatic *Cantata misericordium* (Cantata of the Merciful).

Also operas have represented many aspects of biblical love. To a high extent, this has been done in operas representing biblical narratives, which deal with human love, very much like oratorios, and usually taking up dramatic stories from the HB/OT, as for instance the stories of David and Bathsheba (see Leneman and "Bathsheba VII. Music" and "David VIII. Music") or Samson and Delilah, stories often also represented in the critical light in which human sexual coveting is often represented in the Bible, and in the history of Christianity (see "Coveting, Desiring" and "Lust VI. Music"). The same is true for Wagner's operas *Tannhäuser* and *Parsifal*, although these are not biblical in terms of being based on biblical narratives. However, their medievalist religious plots are to a high extent put in a perspective informed by a Christian worried attitude concerning the (at least) potential sinfulness of human sexuality, ultimately biblically based. Also in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* the plot is put in a traditional Christian moral perspective. Here it is not directed against sexual desires as such, but against Giovanni's abuses. A very different use of biblical love, based on Song, is found in a recent Danish opera by P. Gudmundsen-Holmgreen (2015; see "Lust VI. Music").

Mozart's opera *Le nozze di Figaro* (The Marriage of Figaro) has been interpreted to stage true human love, in the person of the Countess when she forgives her husband the Count for having betrayed

her, in a Christian perspective, reflecting notions of divine love and forgiveness. The British Mozart scholar Nicholas Till has expressed it in strong terms referring to Stendhal's *Vie de Mozart* (Life of Mozart; 1815), "The marital fidelity upheld by the Countess in *Le nozze di Figaro* is an emblem of God's own covenant to keep faith with mankind. Stendhal was quite right when he described the hymnlike music which follows the Count's contrition and abasement and the Countess' serene bestowal of grace as 'le plus beau chant d'église qu'il soit possible d'entendre' [the most beautiful church song which it is possible to hear]."

Erich Wolfgang Korngold's opera *Das Wunder der Heliane* (Hamburg 1927 to a text by Hans Müller, based on a mystery play by Hans Kaltneker) sets a story exhibiting both physical and spiritual love. The protagonists, Heliane and The Stranger are victims of a brutal ruler (Heliane's husband) and the plot involves miraculous resurrections and the final transfiguration of the two loving figures ascending toward heaven. They are merciful and long for human love, generally as well as in their mutual also physical relationship (Dixon).

The French modernist and Catholic composer Olivier Messiaen's opera *Saint François d'Assise* (Paris 1983) includes biblical references to God's love. In Act 1, tableau 3, which tells the story of how Francis came to kiss a leper to show brotherly love, the angel sings "But God, but God, but God is greater, greater than your heart ... He is Love, He is Love, He is greater, greater than your heart, He knows everything ... But God, but God, but God is all Love, and he who lives in Love, lives in God, and God in him" (cf. 1 John 4:16b; English translation of Messiaen's libretto by Siglind Bruhn; Bruhn: 210).

In his *Vier ernste Gesänge* (Four serious Songs, 1896), Johannes Brahms set 1 Cor 13:1–3, 12–13, as the concluding song in this major biblical work in the genre of the lied (see "Lied [Song]"), thus rendering Paul's central summary of Christian love musically (see "Corinthians, First Epistle to the III. Music" for other settings of the same text). Olivier Messiaen has also referred to divine love in some instrumental works, not least in titles for individual movements. Thus, the 5th movement in his orchestral piece *Eclairs sur l'Au-delà ...* (Illuminations of the Beyond ...; 1988–92) is entitled "Demeurer dans l'Amour" (to remain in love). His organ work *Méditations sur le mystère de la Sainte Trinité* (1969) has "Dieu est immense, éternel, immuable – Le souffle de l'Esprit – Dieu est Amour" (God is immense, eternal, immutable – The breath of the Spirit – God is Love) as a subtitle for its 5th movement. And the 20th movement in his huge piano work *Vingt regards sur l'Enfant-Jésus* for piano (Twenty contemplations on the infant Jesus; 1944) is called "Regard de l'église d'Amour" (Griffith).

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Nils Holger Petersen

XI. Film

Many films are built around conceptions of love, sometimes with direct reference to the Bible and other times via allusion. Connections to a specific text certainly get made on the screen. *Places in the Heart* (dir. Robert Benton, 1984, US), for example, tells the story of a widow (Sally Field) and her young children (Yankton Hatten and Gennie James), an Af-

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rican-American vagrant (Danny Glover), and a blind boarder (John Malkovich) attempting to survive together in tough economic times, in a difficult agricultural environment, and in the face of opposition such as the KKK. The wider community, divided by race and class, gender, and ability, cannot support or accept this unlikely *de facto* family. The movie's closing scene takes place in a church, where a relatively sparse crowd listens to the pastor reading the day's lesson (1 Cor 13) which describes the qualities that define love: patience and kindness, the lack of jealousy or boastfulness, and the fact that love never ends. During the communion that follows, an actualized ideal of what that sacred space would look like if love prevailed unfolds imaginatively. In that scene, all the characters separated by the community's brokenness serve one another and pass the peace. That image offers a melancholic critique of how love has failed in this place.

The same passage shows up in *The Mission* (dir. Roland Joffé, 1986, UK/FR), the story of Spanish and Portuguese political wrestling in South America and its impact on the work of Jesuits among the indigenous populations. When Father Gabriel (Jeremy Irons) visits with a jailed mercenary and slave trader named Rodrigo Mendoza (Robert DeNiro), he helps him find his penance and redemption among the Guaraní people he once hunted. When Mendoza wants to thank the Guaraní but does not know how, Father Gabriel hands him a book, saying, "Read this." A montage of Mendoza reading 1 Cor 13 and working amongst the people ensues. His experiences inspire him to join the Jesuits and to make his life about embracing the love he has discovered. Indeed, in the end, he will defend this outpost, his home, with his life. But whether he acts out of love, at least as Father Gabriel understands and articulates it, is one of the central questions the film poses.

Or one might consider *Bleu* (dir. Krzysztof Kieslowski, 1993, FR/PL/CH, *Three Colors: Blue*). The complications of realizing love come to the fore when Julie (Juliette Binoche), the wife and silent collaborator with her famous composer husband, loses both him and their daughter in a tragic accident. Unable to find her way out of the grief, she attempts to shun everything she knows. But life comes calling in the form of new acquaintances, her husband's pregnant mistress, and his final unfinished composition. Part of that completed score plays over the final scene, a montage of all the lives intertwined in and through this tragedy, and it includes the singing of 1 Cor 13. The plaintive notes, the rising and falling furious chorus, and the dark sadness of the colors and the faces shown, all suggest that love does not lack sorrow or pain, but, in fact, love may invite them.

It comes as no surprise that religiously explicit films explore this territory. Indeed, discoveries

about the true depth of what constitutes love stands out as a common theme. Speaking the truth to one another in love (Eph 4:15–16), for instance, appears in the story of Father Farley (Jack Lemon), a beloved Catholic priest who risks his reputation amongst his congregation by challenging them to support a young, brash seminarian (Zeljko Ivanek) who defies the rules and faces the censure of a dictatorial Monsignor (Charles Durning) in *Mass Appeal* (dir. Glenn Jordan, 1984, US). Father Farley tells the people he wants them to fight for their church by fighting for this young man and concludes by saying, "This is the first time I have ever said what I wanted to you; only now is love possible."

In *Dead Man Walking* (dir. Tim Robbins, 1996, UK/US), one finds Sister Helen Prejean (Susan Sarandon) counseling death row inmate Matthew Poncelet (Sean Penn) prior to his execution. While he confesses to the murder of Walter Delacroix (Peter Sarsgaard) and thanks Sister Helen for loving him just prior to his execution, there is love. But the families left behind continue to struggle. After Poncelet's funeral, Earl Delacroix (Raymond J. Barry), the father of the dead young man, tells Sister Helen about his ongoing struggle with hating what has happened in his life and the man responsible for it. Much as Rom 12:9–21 encourages the community to let love be genuine and to overcome evil with good, she tells him, "Maybe we could help each other find a way out of the hate." The final shots of the movie show them meeting for prayer in a small church, acknowledging that the justice of the state does not heal the pain of the survivors.

More standard Hollywood fare also speaks to the topic of love. In *As Good As It Gets* (dir. James L. Brooks, 1997, US), three isolated and lonely people, Melvin Udall (Jack Nicholson), Carol Connelly (Helen Hunt), and Simon Bishop (Greg Kinnear) learn – often with great awkwardness and pain – to both give and receive love in their interactions with each another. If the biblical standard is to love one another (Lev 19:8–18; Mark 12:31; 1 John 3:11), the movie demonstrates how showing kindness in simple acts such as caring for a neighbor's pet, exhibiting patience with the idiosyncrasies of others, extending aid to a child, or taking in a person in need, forges the foundation for learning to accept others, imperfect as they might be (1 Pet 4:8).

Love as mercurial, a source of contentment and encouragement as well as suffering and loss, comes through in *Tender Mercies* (dir. Bruce Beresford, 1983, US). Mac Sledge (Robert Duvall) drinks away his pain, while Rosa Lee (Tess Harper) raises her child Sonny (Alan Hubbard) alone after his father dies in Vietnam. Their marriage prompts Mac to begin writing songs again and even to reunite with his daughter, Sue Anne (Ellen Barkin). But the love they share cannot shield him from the loss of Sue Anne to a car accident or help him learn to trust in

happiness. It is, rather, in the quiet acts of daily tasks at their motel, or in tossing a football, that they follow the mandate to love one another as Christ loves (John 13:34–35; 1 John 3:11), showing the humility, grace, and patience that characterizes this bond (Eph 4:2).

The Bible also speaks of love beyond the human realm. Whether it be time (Ps 52:8) or space (Ps 36:5), height or depth (Rom 8:39), the love of God prevails in the universe. *Interstellar* (Christopher Nolan, 2014, US/UK) takes up this idea as two astronauts on a mission to save the people of earth discuss how to move forward. Brand (Anne Hathaway) wants to make the case for why love informs her decision-making to Cooper (Matthew McConaughey). He argues that the meaning of love resides in its social utility, while she struggles to express that there must be more, given its power. She tells him, “Love is the one thing we’re capable of perceiving that transcends the dimensions of time and space.” He will discover that truth for himself subsequently when his love for his daughter Murph (played at various ages by Mackenzie Foy, Jessica Chastain, and Ellen Burstyn) persists across the space/time dimension and allows them to communicate what is necessary to save the planet.

Another science-fiction film also covers this territory. In *The Terminator* (dir. James Cameron, 1984, US/UK), a hunted Sarah Connor (Linda Hamilton) must survive in order to give birth to the resistance leader who will fight against the machines in the future. While seeking refuge from the cyborg (Arnold Schwarzenegger) chasing them, she asks her protector Kyle Reese (Michael Biehn) why he chose this mission. He tells her, “I came across time for you, Sarah. I love you. I always have.” Not only, it turns out, will he father her child, but he also gives his life to ensure her survival. This dimension of love is also, of course, biblical. “No one has greater love than this, to lay down one’s life for one’s friends” (John 15:13).

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Sandie Gravett

See also → Allegory; → Brotherly Love; → Devo-
tut (Communion with God); → Emotions;
→ Forgiveness; → Friends, Friendship; → God;
→ Grace; → Hate, Hatred; → Homosexuality;
→ Love of Enemies; → Love of Neighbor; → Man,
Men; → Marriage; → Mercy; → Peace, Peacemak-
ing; → Sex and Sexuality; → Ten Command-
ments; → Virtues and Vices, Lists of; → Woman,
Women

Machiavelli, Niccolò

Born into an old, politically-engaged Florentine family, Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) found employment under both republican and princely governments; he is famous today for his writings about those two kinds of rule. Soon after the Florentine republic fell (1512), Machiavelli lost his fifteen-year position as head of the Second Chancery and Secretary to the Ten of War (*Dieci*; Guidi 2009; Barthas). To reclaim a professional identity, he extended his earlier literary efforts as a vernacular poet to include vernacular prose. The first fruits of this development were *The Prince* (1513–15) and *Discourses on Livy* (1515–17). Neither work circulated widely during his lifetime. Both entered print after his death, appearing repeatedly on the Church’s Index of Prohibited Books. They became significant among 17th- and 18th-century political philosophers who, like Machiavelli, pursued a question central to virtue ethics: what are the conditions of human flourishing? In exploring that question, Machiavelli gave religion a leading role.

The Bible thus played a supporting role in Machiavelli’s thought. He understood the Book as a ritual object for oath-taking and the Text as a fund of history and rhetoric. He drew on the OT, and less explicitly the NT, for a range of case studies, metaphors, phrases, and allusions suited to arguments about secular governance. From a handful of biblical personages, he fashioned material for exhortation, a laugh, a grimace of recognition, a snort, or a rush of righteous anger. Scholars disagree about how to interpret these usages, for Machiavelli was not a systematic thinker. He wrote quickly, intent upon occasion and audience, in a variety of genres, and sometimes left his work unpolished or incomplete.

Scholars argue about Machiavelli’s faith position, too, although his anti-clericalism and irreverence are not in doubt. His era of ecclesiastical crisis was simultaneously a period of religious enthusiasm, when Catholic reform was led not only by preachers, activist bishops, and proponents of Church councils, but also by lay confraternities, living saints, Platonizing intellectuals, scholastic theologians, radical prophets, and humanist translators. Because the Church did not forbid the Bible to the laity until 1559, Bibles and para-biblical texts and images were available in manuscript and print, in Latin and vernaculars. As a child, Niccolò might have thumbed a borrowed Bible in his father’s library (Atkinson: 141, 170). As a young man, he picked through his father’s canon law books, discovering a method of argument – fixed on the tension between rule and exception – that suited his professional duties and theoretical inclinations (Ginzburg; Fournel). Growing up in Florence, he knew the biblical David as a republican hero; employed by that republic (1498–1513), his daily path

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Table 1. The Bible in Machiavelli's Works (* indicates use of the word 'Bible,' or near-equivalent, or explicit, substantive mention of a biblical figure.)

Title	Editor/Year/ Page	Figure named or alluded to	Biblical source identified (Comment)
Letter to Ricciardo Becchi	Gaeta 1984, letter 3 at 69	*Moses	Exod 2:11–12 (in 1498, N. M. reports on Savonarola's use of Moses in a sermon; also notes his reference to Christ and Paul)
<i>Provision for the militia</i>	Marchand 1975: 446, 457	*Sancti Evangelii	(Bible as object: each militia recruit touches it during the annual oath of obedience; the Bible is not mentioned in references to oaths in <i>Art of War</i>)
<i>On Ambition</i>	Inglese 1981: 143–144	*Adam, Cain	Gen 1–4 (scene-setting at the poem's beginning)
<i>Prince</i> 6.7–11, 23	Martelli 2006: 113–115, 120	*Moses	Exod 33:11 (Moses is God's friend); Exod 20 (God's teachings to Moses and the Hebrews); Exod 2:11–12 (Moses kills the Egyptian taskmaster)
<i>Prince</i> 74–59	Martelli 2006: 126–149	[Christ]	Cesare Borgia an anti-type of Christ (McCormick, 21–44; cf. Parsons <i>passim</i> for allusive attacks on Christ throughout P)
<i>Prince</i> 13.15–17	Martelli 2006: 203	*David	1 Sam 17:38–40, 50–51 (N. M. makes allegorical rather than historical use of David bearing his own arms)
<i>Prince</i> 13.27	Inglese 1995: 96 n. 3	[David?]	An ambiguous passage ("quattro [uomini] sopra nominati da me") that includes David according to the letter but not the sense
<i>Prince</i> 26.2	Martelli 2006: 312	Moses	Refers to Prince 6.7–11 (Moses, Cyrus, Theseus)
<i>Prince</i> 26.9	Martelli 2006: 314	Moses	Exod 33:11 (Moses as God's friend)
<i>Prince</i> 26.12	Martelli 2006: 315 and n. 19	Moses	Exod 13:21; 14:21; 16:15; 17:6, cf. Ps 78:12–16 (N. M. uses miracles associated with Moses to por- tray Lorenzo de' Medici as a new Moses)
<i>Discourses</i> I.1.11	Bausi 2001: 12	*Moses	Num 32:33–42 (Moses captures cities in the land he acquired; in the Bible, Moses does not enter Canaan)
<i>Discourses</i> I.9.14	Bausi 2001: 66	*Moses	Exod 20, etc. (Moses, like Lycurgus and Solon, made laws for the common good)
<i>Discourses</i> I.19.6	Bausi 2001: 120 and n. 10	*David, *Solomon, *Rehoboam	1–2 Chr; 1–2 Sam; 1 Kgs (problems of succession; Bausi draws parallels to N. M.'s <i>Life of Castruccio</i>)
<i>Discourses</i> I.26.2	Bausi 2001: 138 and n. 7	*David	Luke 1:53 (becoming king, David remakes social structures; in the Magnificat, Mary affirms God's reversal of wealth)
<i>Discourses</i> II.8.17, 19	Bausi 2001: 355 and n. 35	*Moses	Num 32:33–42 (Moses violently takes cities, changing the province's name; in the Bible, how- ever, Moses charges others with capturing cities; he did not change the province's name to Judea)
<i>Discourses</i> II.8.21	Bausi 2001: 356 and n. 40	*Joshua son of Nun	Num 27:12–23; 1 Kgs 16:34 (Procopius, <i>Wars</i> , 4.10, reports an inscription)
<i>Discourses</i> III.1.32– 33	Bausi 2001: 532 and n. 80	*Christ	Gospels (the Franciscans promote the life of Christ)

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Title	Editor/Year/ Page	Figure named or alluded to	Biblical source identified (Comment)
<i>Discourses</i> III.30.17	Bausi 2001: 710	*Moses, *Bible	Ex 32:2–28 (Moses orders the murder of 3,000 Levites; cf. rebellions of Korah, etc.; N. M. formulates a method for extracting political lessons from the Bible)
<i>Mandragola</i> III.11	Stoppelli 2005: 218 at 105	*Lot's daughters	Gen 19:30–37 (following the destruction of Sodom, Lot's daughters sleep with their father to re-people the land)
<i>Mandragola</i> III.11	Stoppelli 2005: 219 at 113	*Archangel Raphael	Tobit 7–10 (Sarah's first seven husbands die on their wedding nights, Raphael guards Tobias, the eighth)
<i>Clizia</i> III.6	Inglese 1997: 148 and n. 43; Fachard 2013: 203 and n. 104	*Christ	Gospels (Christ outdoes the saints: re-phrasing Plautus, <i>Casina</i> II, 5, 330–32)
<i>Life of Castruccio Castracani</i>	Montevarchi/ Varotti, at 10 with n. 17	Moses	Exod 2:3–10 (allusion to Moses' infancy)
<i>Exhortation to Penitence</i>	Cutinelli-Ren- dina 2012: 411–15	*David	Ps 129:1–2 (<i>De profundis</i> , cited as words of "Davut profeta"); inexact quotations from Ps 85; 2 Kgs 11–13; Ps 50:3. The <i>Exhortation</i> is based on Erasmus, <i>De immensa dei misericordia concio</i> (Lettieri 2017)
<i>Exhortation to Penitence</i>	Cutinelli-Ren- dina 2012: 414	*Paul of Tar- sus	1 Cor 13:1 (inexact quotation)
<i>Exhortation to Penitence</i>	Cutinelli-Ren- dina 2012: 415–16	*Peter	Mt 18:21–22; 26:69–75; Luke 22:62 (inexact quotations)

to work passed by Verrocchio's David, and then Michelangelo's, too. Late in life, serving the court of Clement VII in Rome, he acknowledged both the complexities of David's character and his authorship of the Pss in an anti-Lutheran *Exhortation to Penitence* (1525: Lettieri 2017).

Machiavelli resembled his contemporaries in preferring implicit to explicit citations. Dante, Petrarch, and Aristotle are his most constant unnamed references (cf. Parsons on Christ's omnipresence in *The Prince*; Lettieri 2018 on the *Song of Songs* parodied in *Mandragola*). In contrast, explicit scriptural references are largely confined to the major works; the familiar letters and chancery correspondence give the Bible almost no explicit role. Even in the major works, references are vague and brief. Machiavelli's deployments can also be contradictory: the poem *On Ambition* (*Dell'Ambizione*; 1504–09?) draws on Gen 1–4 for initial scene-setting, but then relies on the classics, including Lucretius. The fable *Belfagor* (1524), recounting a devil's experiences on earth, ignores Scripture; so does the classicizing play *Clizia*

(by 1525), despite one electric reference to Christ. Quoting the *Magnificat* in the *Discourses*, Machiavelli attributes justice not to the Divinity, as the Virgin does (Luke 1:53), but to the human David (*Discourses* 1.26.2) – is that ignorance, haste, forgetfulness, jest, or malice?

In the comedy *Mandragola* (cf. the mandrake in Gen 30:14–17), Fra Timoteo draws on "la Bibbia" twice to persuade a pious wife to fruitful adultery. The act is no sin, he argues: witness the incest of Lot's daughters with their drunken father (Gen 19:30–37; Cabrini: 304–6). Lucrezia, like them, will serve the greater good. Then, to convince her to drink the mandrake potion although it may kill her lover, Timoteo offers to pray to the Archangel Raphael. This implicit reference to Tob 7–10 may recall obscene popular verse (Vela: 287 n. 26): Machiavelli's audience evidently appreciated "Lot's daughters" and "prayers to Raphael" as comic memes. In other words, that audience was Bible-literate in a low-key, often carnivalesque, and predominantly oral sense – probably Machiavelli's situation, too (cf. Stoppelli).

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Machiavelli also shared his audience's conviction that humans could and should learn from the past. Sensing that Livy's Roman history overflows with lessons, Machiavelli worried that his contemporaries did not know how to interpret them judiciously (*sensatamente*: Lynch; Montag). So he designed the *Discourses*, an idiosyncratic commentary on Livy, to show how a virtuous analysis of *virtù* (bold skill) in the ancients' exercise of power might right contemporary politics (Pedullà; Barthas). That same profitable method of reading suited the Bible (Zancarini: 122). "Whoever reads the Bible judiciously (*sensatamente*)," Machiavelli wrote, will see that Moses admirably protected his new "laws and his orders" by "kill[ing] infinite men" who "opposed ... his plans" (Exod 32:2–28; cf. *Discourses* 3.30.17). Machiavelli also found wisdom in Moses' role as "God's friend" (Exod 33:11; cf. *Prince* 6.7–11, 23 and 26.2) and in his strategic renaming of captured territory. Just as God gave Moses miracles that proved his authority, so would He make another Moses of Lorenzo de' Medici (Exod 13:21; 14:21; 16:15; 17:6; Ps 7:12–16; cf. *Prince* 26.12). Does Machiavelli engage here in allegorical reading or reject it? Scholars disagree. At the least, by political lessons from biblical events, Machiavelli innovated, reading the Bible as he did Livy, as a secular text serving secular politics. His innovation may derive from Dominican prophet Girolamo Savonarola (d. 1498), whose sermons on Florentine politics refer frequently to Moses (Brown). Machiavelli attended at least two such sermons (Letter 3 to Becchi: Atkinson/Sikes 8–10). By choosing Moses for lessons in virtuosity, Savonarola and Machiavelli contributed to what is now called "political Hebraism," the secular analysis of biblical histories by early modern ideologists (Hammill: 31–66; medieval antecedents should not be overlooked).

Machiavelli's wit suborns even Moses, however. In the anti-historical *Life* (1520) of the historical Castruccio Castracani (d. 1328), the infant hero, abandoned in a vineyard, swaddled in grape-vines, elicits "compassion" from the woman who finds him. Her response echoes that of the women who discovered baby Moses in the bulrushes (Exod 2:3–10): the judicious reader perceives in Castruccio another Moses. But that grave foreshadowing is decimated by the incongruously Bacchic setting, which blasphemously recalls the Eucharist. Nothing in the *Life* is trustworthy, and perhaps for that reason it won Machiavelli a plum assignment from the Medici: the *Florentine Histories* (1520–1525). In those *Histories*, the Bible has no part.

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Alison K. Frazier

Malay-Indonesian Bible Translations

The first attempts at Malay Bible translation were developed within the context of commerce (under the influence of the Dutch East Indies Trading Company) and Protestant missionary activities in South-East Asia in the 17th and 18th centuries. Seventeenth-century publications of portions of the Bible were commonly printed with the Malay in Roman characters and the Dutch version in parallel.

In 1612, Albert Cornelisz Ruyl prepared a Malay translation of the Gospel of Matthew, and eventually had the text published in 1629 in Enkhuizen. It is the first extant translation of a Bible portion into a non-Mediterranean, non-Western language. Notably, the term 'Allah' is used to translate God, a reflection of Arabic and Islamic influence on the Malay language. Jan van Hazel republished Ruyl's work, with the addition of Mark, in Amsterdam in 1638. He later developed translations of Luke and John (1646, with Justus Heurnius) and the Psalms (1648). In 1651, Justus Heurnius published the revised four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, also in Amsterdam. In 1662, Daniël Brouwerius published a Malay translation of Genesis, and in 1668 completed the NT. His version utilized market (i.e. low) Malay, marked by Portuguese and Dutch spelling peculiarities; additionally, it combined the terms Allah for God and Deos for "the Lord."

Melchior Leijdecker (1645–1701), who from 1678 was minister of the Malay congregation at Batavia, was charged in 1691 to produce a Malay translation of the complete Bible. By the time of his death, he had finished the HB/OT and the NT up to Ephesians 6. His manuscript was completed by Petrus van der Vorm within the same year. A separate low Malay Bible translation, promoted by the minister-scholar François Valentijn (1666–1727), never enjoyed the light of publication, and only fragments of it have survived. Zurich-born George Henric Werndly (1694–1744), along with C. G. Seruys, revised the manuscript of Leijdecker and van der Vorm; they published the NT in Amsterdam in 1731 and the entire Bible in 1733. Drawing on classical Malay literature, the "Leijdecker Bible" became the classical high Malay Bible translation, and its highly ritualized language retained popularity as the standard Malay Bible translation of the Moluccas, eastern Indonesia until the late 20th century.

A Jawi script edition of the Leijdecker NT was corrected by Robert Hutchings and printed at Serampore in 1817. It was reprinted at Singapore in 1831 by R. Burn and C. H. Thomsen. Thereafter, Malay scripture editions were primarily printed in Roman characters. At Sumatra, English Baptist missionaries undertook certain revisions: William Robinson revised John in 1823 and N. M. Ward revised the Psalms in 1827.

The Malay scholar Abdu'llah bin 'Abu'l-Kadir Munsyi (1796–1854), as described in his autobiographical *Hikayat Abdullah*, assisted missionaries in Melaka and Singapore in the study of the Malay language and in the production of revised Malay Scripture translations during the period 1815 until his death. Among them were C. H. Thomsen (Matt, 1819; Acts, 1829; Mark, 1830); W. H. Medhurst; John Stronach and Benjamin Peach Keasberry (Pss, 1847; NT, 1853; Prov, 1859).

The Evangelization Society in Surabaya, eastern Java (founded by German Pietist watch repairer Johannes Emde) desired a more colloquial, or low Malay, NT version suitable to contemporary local usage of Malay as the lingua franca in Java and the Malay Archipelago. By 1826, a Dutch participant in the society had developed the text. It was subsequently revised by Dutch minister Dirk Lenting and British missionary Walter Henry Medhurst, and printed in Batavia in 1835. Up until 1865, this Malay NT was reprinted several times and a translation of the Psalms was developed in 1846.

There then developed separate streams of Malay Bible translations. Singapore-based missionaries Benjamin Keasberry and W. G. Shellabear (whose complete Bible was published in 1912) developed Malay Bible translations which would be suitable for indigenous inhabitants of British Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Borneo. Their versions were superseded when the Malaysian Bible *Alkitab Berita Baik Untuk Manusia Modern*, using the principles of Today's English Bible, was published in 1987 and 2001. It became controversial in the 2000s when it was banned by local governments for using *Allah* (God) and *rasul* (apostle or messenger), considered exclusively Islamic terms by leaders of the majority Malay Muslim population.

Kitab Perjanjian Baru – The New Testament in Baba Malay was developed by W. G. Shellabear and his Chinese assistant Chew Cheng Yong in 1913. It was intended for use by Baba (assimilated Malay-speaking) Chinese in Singapore and West Malaysia, and has remained in print continuously since its publication.

H. C. Klinkert produced a revised Malay complete Bible translation in 1879 for use in the Dutch East Indies. The Malay NT was further revised by Werner Bode and published in 1938. The Indonesian Bible of 1958 was based on the OT of Klinkert, combined with Bode's NT. Reissued in modernized spelling by the Indonesian Bible Society in 1974, the Klinkert-Bode Bible remains the standard church and reader Indonesian Bible version in print until this day. A revised translation version is currently under preparation. Finally, *Alkitab Kabar Baik* (*Good News Indonesian Bible*) was published in 1985.

The Malaysian and Indonesian Bibles enjoy great popularity in local churches, most of whose members come from Christian minorities speaking

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a local language who have adopted the Malaysian and Indonesian languages as their language medium.

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Thomas G. Oey

See also → Southeast Asia; → Versions and Translations of the Bible

Manna

- I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- II. New Testament
- III. Judaism
- IV. Christianity
- V. Literature
- VI. Visual Arts
- VII. Film

I. Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

According to the Tetrateuch man/manna (MT *mān*; TO, TPsj, Tfrag, and TNeof *manna* [status emphaticus]; LXX *μαν* or *μάννα*; NT *μάννα*) is a nourishment granted by God for the Israelites starving in the desert. Exodus 16:15 explains its name by the question of the Israelites: “What is it?” (Heb. *mān hū*; cf. Ant. 3.32; MekhY 16:15). Although *mān* is a primary noun (“Primärnomen”; Gesenius¹⁸), it is traditionally derived from the Hebrew root *m–n–h* (qal “divide in parts,” “count”), cf. Wis 16:20; Philo, *Legat.* 3, 166; MekhY on Exod 16:5. In addition, modern authors have tried to derive Heb. *mān* from the roots *m–n–n* (divide, measure), or *m–y–n* (split, secrete).

The earliest manna account is Exod 16:1–3, 6–7, 9–15, 21, 31, 35a (Priestly source), extended by vv. 22–26 (cf. Maiburger). A secondary Priestly layer in vv. 16–20 and 4–5 describes how the Israelites introduced the Sabbath. This account is continued in vv. 27–30 in a late dtr addition. According to vv. 32–34, a sample of one *‘ōmer* which will not decay has to be deposited in the tabernacle next to the ark (Rashi: an anachronistic passage as the tabernacle did not exist at the time.) cf. 1 Kgs 8:9; Heb 9:4.

It is God who explicitly grants the manna (Exod 16:4, 15, 29, 32; Deut 8:3, 16; Neh 9:20; Josephus, Ant. 3.26; John 6:32) and determines the amount for the individuals (Exod 16:4, 16–18, 22, 29) in their time in the desert (Exod 16:35; Josh 5:10–12). It is called “bread” (MT *leḥem*) in Exod 16:4, 8, 12, 15, 22, 29, 32; Ps 78:24 (“grain of heaven”). It descends from heaven (Ps 105:40; Wis 16:20) like rain (Exod 16:4; Ps 78:24) or with the dew (Exod 16:13–14; Num 11:9) Ps 78:26 (within vv. 23–25) stresses its heavenly origin by calling it “bread of angels” (cf. LXX; Wis 16:20).

Consequently, the Israelites find it in the early morning (Exod 16:8, 12, 21). It is compared with “fine hoarfrost” (Exod 16:14) or with “coriander seed, white” (Exod 16:31; Num 11:7). The Israelites “ground it in mills or beat it in mortars” (Num 11:8). Although it melts at noon (Exod 16:21), it can be cooked or baked (Exod 16:23; Num 11:8); but in Wis 16:20 it is “ready to eat.” It looks white (Exod 16:31) or has a yellowish “appearance like that of bdellium” (Num 11:7; LXX: “crystal”) or like gold (MekhY 16:5). It tastes “like wafers made with honey” (Exod 16:31). Cake made of manna tastes “like ... cakes baked with oil” (Num 11:8). In Wis

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16:20 it provides every pleasure and is “suited to every taste.” According to Josephus, *Ant.* 3.30–31 the manna substitutes for any other kind of food (cf. the opposite in Num 21:5). Within one day it breeds worms and becomes foul (Exod 16:20, 24; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.30: bitter). Some scholars identify the honeydew, a product of the leaf louse of the tamarisk (*tamarix mannifera*) in the Western and Southern Sinai peninsula, with the Heb. *mān* (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.41; Maiberger).

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Thomas Pola

II. New Testament

The NT mentions manna explicitly in four instances. Most prominently, manna appears within the bread of life discourse of John 6:22–59 (see John 6:31, 49), alongside the expressions “bread from heaven” (vv. 31–33, 41–42, 50, 58), “bread of God” (v. 33), “bread of life” (vv. 35, 48), and “living bread” (v. 51). In this passage, the Johannine Jesus builds a binary opposition between the manna that the ancestors ate in the wilderness but which did not overcome death, and the true bread from heaven that gives eternal life. Here, the manna no longer appears as a substance of the past but is something currently available in Jesus. Jesus depicts himself as the bread of the manna story (John 6:35). Thus, manna is not only food and nourishment but is described as a person and used as a metaphor to present Jesus’ salvific function.

Numerous hypotheses have been proposed concerning the origin of the citation in John 6:31, with a majority advocating for Exod 16:4, 15. Other suggestions include Num 11:6–9; Deut 8:3, 16; Josh 5:12; Neh 9:15, 20; Pss 78:24; 105:40; Prov 9:5; Sap 16:20 (LXX); the Johannine community; or a merged polyvalent quotation (Rytel-Andrianik: 85). Some have suggested that John 6:31–58 draws exclusively on extra-biblical aggadic manna traditions (Richter: 208–51, 262–71) or that it combines aggadic fragments with biblical sources (Borgen: 1, 20–27). In terms of its form, the passage has been considered as itself a Midrash – i.e., a new interpretation of the scriptural manna in the light of Jesus – and as a homily (Borgen: 1, 28–98; Malina: 102–6).

Aside from the Johannine references, manna appears explicitly in Heb 9:4 and Rev 2:17. According to Heb 9:4, manna is stored in a golden jar within the ark of the covenant, along with the tablets of the covenant and Aaron’s rod. Revelation 2:17 men-

tions the hidden manna as a gift from Christ, thereby adopting the idea of manna as heavenly nourishment.

Indirect references to the manna tradition include 1 Cor 10:3–4 where, significantly, Paul depicts the manna as a spiritual food in light of, and in analogy to, the bread of the last supper; and 2 Cor 8:15, which refers to the adequate amount of collected manna in the Exodus account.

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Esther Kobel

III. Judaism

■ Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism ■ Rabbinic Judaism ■ Medieval Judaism ■ Modern Judaism

A. Second Temple and Hellenistic Judaism

The main story of the miraculous food in the desert, called *man* in the MT and LXX, is found in Exod 16. There were multiple lines of speculation about this food among Second Temple Jewish writers. First, there are explications of what manna was like, based on Exod 16:31: “The house of Israel called it manna; it was like coriander seed, white, and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey” (NRSV). Josephus agrees that the manna was the size of a coriander seed and like honey but adds the detail that it was sticky and the rationalizing note that manna still appears in Arabia (*Ant.* 3.1.6). Artapanus (3:37) and Philo (*Mos.* 1.200) agree with each other that it is like millet rather than coriander (there being little difference in size), perhaps indicating a lack of familiarity with the underlying Hebrew term (*gad*).

Philo adds details about how the manna was prepared, into cakes like “honey cheesecakes” (*Mos.* 1.208; *Sacr.* 86; cf. *Det.* 118) providing part of a luxurious meal, along with the quails and the water from the rock. Together, these provisions prove the divinity of the Sinai laws (*Decal.* 16). Pseudo-Philo draws together the same three miracles as evidence of God’s beneficent care (*L.A.B.* 10:7).

Both Philo and Josephus emphasize the report at Exod 16:17–18 that no matter how much manna a family gathered, they had neither shortage nor excess. Philo likens the gathering to distributions of common meals in associations, all in proper proportion (*Mos.* 1:206). This proportionality, for Philo, passes for equality within the hierarchical associations (*Her.* 191). Josephus introduces the theme of justice: those who gathered too much were doing so at the expense of weaker members of the commu-

nity, and their excess is transformed to worms in punishment (*Ant.* 3.1.6). Fourth Ezra uses manna as a reminder of divine justice, accusing the audience of having forgotten eating such food in the desert (1:19).

At Ps 105:40, the manna is called “food of heaven” (*lehem šamayim*; cf. Neh 9:15, *lehem mišamayim*), a term Josephus repeats (*Ant.* 3.5.3). Fourth Ezra calls it the bread of angels (1:19; cf. Ps 78:25). In late literature, the idea appears that manna will be the future food of the messianic age (2 Bar 29:8; *Hist. Rech.* 13:2; *Sib. Or.* 7:146–49). In *Jos. Asen.*, an angel gives Aseneth a honeycomb to eat and she is told that it was produced in paradise and is the food of angels and the elect (16:14). Some scholars maintain that this honeycomb is to be identified with the manna. The frequent references to honey in describing manna could encourage this identification, but the persistent image of manna as seed-like militates against the idea. It is probable that manna, perhaps in a form like that of Philo’s cakes, is partially the source of Aseneth’s honeycomb, but it does not fully explain the image.

Philo, characteristically, transforms the trope of heavenly food. For him, the manna represents the *logos* (*Fug.* 137–39; *Her.* 79; *Leg.* 86), the word of God, or prophecy (*Sacr.* 86). As such it is the “the food of contemplation” (*Her.* 79), transforming the late biblical language. Even more abstractly, he explains the etymology of the term as derived from the word “what?” (*τί*), which signifies “the most universal,” which is first, God, and derivatively, the *logos* (*Leg.* 75). The luxuriousness with which he describes the manna-cakes (*Mos.* 1:208) provides an interesting illustration of the pleasures of contemplation he seeks to inculcate. This contrasts with Philo’s usual negative understanding of pleasure (e.g., *Leg.* 2:71), symbolized by the serpent in the garden.

There are no references to manna in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Rather, the alimentary focus is on the actual pure food of the community, which, being unlike manna, discouraged such speculations.

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Stewart Moore

B. Rabbinic Judaism

Although manna is only mentioned once in the Mishnah and three times in the Jerusalem Talmud, it appears more often in the Tosefta (ca. eight passages) and its qualities are discussed extensively in tannaitic midrashim, various later midrashic collections, and the Babylonian Talmud. The sages consider manna as a real food that indicates God’s benefaction toward Israel and as a supernatural substance. It is counted among the ten (or more) extraordinary items, such as the postdiluvian rainbow and Aaron’s staff, that were formed at twilight on

the eve of Shabbat at the close of Creation (*mAv* 5:6; *MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 5 = Lauterbach, 1:248; *SifDev* 355; *bYom* 54a). Certain rabbinic texts equate manna with mother’s milk, for it cannot cause harm: just as an infant may suckle excessively without ill effect, so the Israelites may safely consume manna with no negative consequences (but cf. *MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 4 = Lauterbach 1:242). Much as the breast is the primary focus for a baby, with everything else being secondary, manna was central to Israel. Akin to babies who grieve when denied access to the breast, the Israelites were at a loss when manna was no longer provided. Manna was thought to taste like whatever food one craved, with some texts naming possibilities (*SifBem* 89; *tSot* 4:3; *bYom* 75a–b). Unlike any known sustenance, manna was fully integrated into the body, without need for defecation (*SifBem* 88; cf. *bYom* 75b). For women, manna also provided an adornment, like spices or perfume (*SifBem* 89; *bYom* 75a). According to the Babylonian Talmud, precious stones accompanied manna, as well as special ingredients for cooked dishes (*bYom* 75a). This unique substance could also reveal hidden truths, especially if a litigant in a dispute were lying (*MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 5 = Lauterbach 1:247; *bYom* 75a). No other nation could partake of manna since Israelites alone were able to collect this ephemeral nutrient; therefore, it became a source of envy (*MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 3 = Lauterbach 1:241). Beyond these exceptional features, Moses had a singular link to manna: some sources view this divine gift as a result of Moses’ merit, which ceased with his death (*tSot* 11:2, 5, 8; *MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 5 = Lauterbach 1:249–50). A passage of the Grace after Meals is attributed to Moses as a grateful response to manna (*bBer* 48b).

Manna is also viewed as an educational instrument for Israel in the wilderness. The need to gather it daily reinforced their dependence on God and cultivated their attachment and faith (*SifBem* 88; *bYom* 76a). The Mekhilta presents this daily ration as an ideal model for Torah study: God supplies all physical necessities, thereby freeing the Israelites from practical concerns and enabling full attention to Torah. This source also suggests that manna facilitated the physical absorption of Torah in the Israelites’ bodies. Elsewhere in this midrash, the prophet Jeremiah engages counterparts who claim that they cannot study Torah due to their need to earn a living. Jeremiah tries to convince them otherwise by displaying a jar of manna and promising that they – like their ancestors who studied Torah in the wilderness – will be supported by God; thus, in this midrash, manna is used to encourage Torah study (*MekhY*, Di-Wayassa’ Beshallah 6 = Lauterbach 1:248–49). The notion that a jar of manna was preserved in the First Temple, and was later hidden or disappeared with the Holy Ark, appears in several

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texts (*tKip* 2:15; *tSot* 13:1; *yMSh* 1:1, 53c). Other sources state that Elijah will ultimately restore manna at the time of Israel's deliverance (*MekhY*, Di-Wayassa' Beshallah 6 = Lauterbach 1:249) and that it will nourish the righteous in the world to come (*bHag* 12b).

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Yael Wilfand

C. Medieval Judaism

1. Meaning of the Word Manna. Most exegetes don't address the etymological question, apparently, because the Torah already explains that they called it "man" because they did not know "what it was" (*man hu*; Exod 16:15). David Qimḥi (1160–1235) derived it from *m-n-h*, meaning "gift." Because they did not know what it was they called it "a gift" from God (Qimḥi: 196).

2. Physical Properties of Manna. Both Exod 16:31 and Num 11:7 describe the manna as resembling the seed of a plant called *gad*. Most exegetes identify *gad* as coriander (Rashi, Ibn Ezra), though there are some who say it is mustard (Saadia Gaon [882–942]). Rashbam puts it in the legume family. Its shape was round like a coriander seed (Rashi) and it was white in color. According to Num 11:7, it resembled something called *bedolah* (bedellium, or gum resin). According to Rashi, this was a precious stone, called crystal, while Rashbam, recalling the preceding verse, says it was hard and dry and therefore the people felt dried out by it.

3. The Human Experience of Manna. According to Rashi (1040–1105), the manna tasted like dough fried in honey. He also comments that its taste changed depending on whether it was ground, crushed, or cooked (at Num 11:8). Rashbam (ca. 1085–ca. 1158) notes the seeming contradiction between Exod 16:31 and Num 11:8 with regard to the taste of manna – according to the former it tasted like a wafer (*tsapitit*) in honey when eaten whole, but when it was ground, it tasted like a nut butter (more oily). Similarly, Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) noted that when it was raw it tasted like a wafer and when it was cooked it tasted like the finest of oil (*leshad ha-shemen*).

Ps 78:25 calls manna, the bread of *abbirim* (angels, NRS; the mighty, ASV, JPS). On this, Rashi, following rabbinic sources (e.g., *MekhY* Di-Wayassa 3) comments, that *abbirim* should be read as *evarim*, limbs (same consonants in Heb.), intimating that the manna was absorbed completely into the body and those who ate it had no need to defecate (Rashi,

ad loc.). According to Ḥizquni (13th cent.), this was a problem for some, presumably, those of little faith, who feared that their bellies would swell and kill them (ad Num 11:6).

God gave the manna to the Israelites to see whether they would fulfill the commandments connected to it (Rashi). They would be tested by being totally dependent on God every day for their sustenance (Rashbam; Ibn Ezra).

According to the Ephraim of Luntshits (1550–1619), author of the commentary *Keli yeqar*, the manna freed people from all worldly concerns, since their sustenance was provided for, which allowed them to devote their time to Torah study (similarly, Ḥizquni).

4. The Miraculous Nature of Manna. Medieval Jewish scholars are unanimous in seeing the manna as a great miracle. Saadia Gaon saw the miracle of the manna as the greatest of all the miracles God performed on behalf of the Israelites, "since something that is continuous is more wondrous than something that is not continuous, for one could never imagine a trick that would allow for the sustaining of close to two million people for forty years from nothing but the food that the creator created for them every day out of thin air" (BO, Introd. 6).

Ibn Ezra (at Exod 16:5) lists ten miraculous aspects to the manna phenomenon: (1) its descent from heaven; (2) its restriction to the area of the Israelites encampment; (3) its movement along with them from one encampment to the next; (4) that only the ungathered portion would melt away, not what was gathered; (5) that each person gathered exactly enough for themselves; (6) the double portion on the sixth day; (7) that it did not rot, day or night; (8) that it did not fall on the sabbath; (9) that it had two tastes; and (10) that it lasted for generations without rotting.

God chose to rain down "bread from heaven" (Exod 16:4) so that the Israelites would be totally dependent on him (Bekhor Shor; 13th cent.) and to magnify the miracle (Abraham ben Moses Maimonides; 13th cent.).

5. Attitude to Israelites' Negative Reception of Manna. Nevertheless, despite its miraculous qualities, the people complained about the manna and craved real food (Num 11:4–6). Rashi seems sympathetic, commenting on Num 11:6, "nothing but this manna to look to": "manna in the morning, manna in the evening," suggesting soul-crushing monotony. The Italian Obadiah Sforno (16th cent.), also could understand how they might miss fresh fruit and freshly baked bread (ad Num 11:7). Abraham Saba (15th–16th cent.) cites a story about R. Meshullam, physician to an Arabian king; the latter accused the Israelites of being ungrateful for complaining about the manna. R. Meshullam ordered the king's servants not to serve him garlic for one meal, which upset him greatly. When he com-

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plained, Meshullam said to him: “See, you are complaining after being deprived of garlic for one day. My ancestors were deprived of everything but manna for forty years” (Saba, *Tseror ha-mor*, ad Num 11:6).

Joseph Ibn Kaspi (14th cent.), on the other hand, has no sympathy for the Israelites who complained about the monotony of the manna, even though it was perfect in every way: “Their lust was like that of sick people who crave after coal or dirt” (ad Num 11:6). Gersonides (1288–1344) also called the Israelites inferior, for rejecting the manna which was perfect in every way, and presented in a clean, hygienic fashion on top of a layer of dew (ad Num 11:7).

6. Philosophy and Kabbalah. Maimonides saw the trial of the manna as a way of proving to the nations that devotion to God’s service is sufficient to guarantee humankind’s sustenance, i.e., by the provision of food in an uncommon way (*Guide* 3.24).

The Zohar describes the descent of the manna from heaven as follows:

For Israel in the desert – that manna came from dew on high, descending from the Ancient One, concealed of all concealed. As it descended, its light illumined all worlds, and the Apple Orchard and celestial angels were nourished by it. When it descended below, and was dominated by the world’s atmosphere, it congealed and its radiance changed, and its radiance was only as is written: “The manna was like coriander seed ... [Num 11:7], nothing more” (Zohar 3:208a; Matt: 9:458–59).

According to the Zohar, the manna contains wisdom which enters the persons who consume it, but only if they are believers. “Once it is consumed, and the scion of faith has blessed God for the delicious many-flavored manna, the once-ethereal manna receives an influx of divine emanation in response, and divine blessing penetrates and permeates the manna-eater, turning his belly into a site of sanctity” (Hecker 2018). Once the manna-consumers’ bodies have been transformed, they can turn their attention towards attaining divine wisdom, which is far superior to the knowledge of Torah which was given at Sinai. But the manna only had this salutary effect on the faithful. The unfaithful who ate it were infused with foolishness rather than knowledge. The manna was even used by God to distinguish the faithful from the wicked (ibid.; see Zohar 2:62b; Matt: 4:338).

The Zohar further distinguishes between matsah, the unleavened bread which the Israelites ate when they left Egypt, and the temple offering of two loaves of leavened bread on Shavuot (Lev 23:16–20), which corresponds to the manna. In this context, manna and matsah symbolize the *sefirot* Tif’eret (corresponding to the giving of the Torah) and Malkhut, the Shekhinah, or Divine Presence (Zohar 2:183a; Matt: 6:28; Hecker 2005: 82–115).

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Barry Dov Walfish

D. Modern Judaism

On discovering the manna, the Israelites exclaim (Exod 16:15), “*man hu*,” which is commonly translated either as “what is it?” or as “it is manna.” Those two translations well characterize modern Jewish thought on this subject. In the first instance, scholars and commentators attempt to understand what were the physical properties of manna. In the second instance, the concern is the metaphoric/symbolic message of manna.

Nahum M. Sarna (89) notes that the physical description of manna in Exod 16:14 is supplemented by information in Num 11:7 so that while it was “fine and flaky, as fine as frost” it also was like coriander seed, the color of bellium, and tasted, when prepared, like rich cream. Sarna concedes, however, that “[no] natural phenomenon in the Sinai region entirely matches these details.” Nonetheless, he then goes on to write of the “white honeylike substance excreted from the tamarisk bush and called manna to this day by the Bedouin who collect it and eat it.” Sarna does concede that the Bedouin experience is seasonal and limited, while in the Bible, “the biblical manna nourished the entire Israelite population throughout the forty years of the wilderness wandering.” Everett Fox (347) posits that manna “possibly refers to insect secretions found on the branches of certain Sinai plants,” but notes that the amount would be insufficient to feed a large population of people. See also Cassuto: 195–98; Plaut/Stein: 453–54; Hertz: 276–77.

Ellen Frankel considers the metaphorical/symbolic message of manna. She labels it a “miracle food,” and explains that “over the centuries Jews have developed a number of customs associated with manna, most of them centering around the Shabbat table ... for instance, hallah, the braided egg bread we eat on Shabbat and festivals” (114).

In the early 20th century, Benno Jacob addressed the matter of “Manna and Its Meaning” (467–75). He wrote that “Manna was the greatest, most far reaching *miracle* ever reported [for Exodus 16 presents a picture of] ... divine nourishment and its detailed description” (469–70, emphasis in original). “The narrative of the *manna* represents the ennoblement of the desert as the Paradise of Israel’s youth” (475).

There is some debate over the proper blessing to say over manna (Cooper). See similarly in the online Chabadpedia, which also compares manna to the Torah. Chaim Cohen explains that Exod 16 and Num 11 provide physical details of manna, “but several of the technical terms are themselves enig-

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matic, since they occur hardly anywhere else in the Bible" (440–41). He notes that the descriptions as "food from heaven" (Exod 16:4) and as "heavenly grain" (in Ps 78:24) are metaphorical, only figurative and expressive. The sure identity of manna was and will remain elusive. As the ArtScroll (Stone) translation of the Bible reads (Exod 16:15), when the Israelites saw the manna they said to each other, "It is food" – for they did not know what it was."

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David J. Zucker

IV. Christianity

■ Patristics to Modern Christianity ■ New Christian Movements

A. Patristics to Modern Christianity

Christian reception reflects the different dimensions of the Bible's manna motif, where it is associated with both bread/food (*lechem*; Exod 16; Num 11:6–9) and the word of God (Exod 16:15–16 [MT and LXX]; Deut 8:3 [cf. Matt 4:4]). Appropriating the motif christologically by way of John 6 (vv. 31–35, 41, 48–51) Christians have correlated manna with the Eucharist and the word of God while paying attention to the care of the body connoted by the bread.

In view of 1 Cor 10:3, Eucharistic interpretation has been common to catechesis and artistic devotion (Danielou: 148; Buschhausen: 44–47). Taking manna, "the bread of angels" (Ps 78:25), as itself a sacramental fare, Ambrose and Augustine understood a prefiguring of the holy supper (1963: 20–23; 1988: 269). Typical of Christian hymnody, Aquinas' "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," a sequence for the Feast of Corpus Christi, praises manna as a figure pointing to the Eucharist (v. 22). *The Hidden Manna* can serve as a title for a *Theology of the Eucharist* (O'Connor; cf. Rev 2:17).

Following Philo's identification of manna with the Logos or wisdom of God, which provided for each according to his need (cf. Wis 16:20–21, 25), Origen declared, "Our manna is the Word of God," which preached fulfills all desires of the heart (2009:

9; 1982: 311–15). In addition to "corporeal manna" and the body of the virgin's Son, there is "a spiritual manna, the dew of spiritual wisdom" (Ambrose 1954: 432). Holy Scripture is such sweet provision for enduring the desert of human life (Augustine 1990: 190). Regarding Matt 4:4 and Deut 8:3, Aquinas noted that the inscriptured word of God must be eaten, for it is the food of the soul (1842: 123). For John Donne and Milton manna served as a metaphor for prayer (Tsentourou).

Christians have also sought to reflect God's fundamental interest in equal (cf. 2 Cor 8:13–15) care for human life through bread/food, as evidenced today by Christian humanitarian organizations *Brot für die Welt* (Germany) and Bread for the World (USA).

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Jonathan Mumme

B. New Christian Movements

Since manna is described as "bread from heaven" (John 6:31), the name has been used by many Christians to mean "spiritual food," typically in the form of inspiring thoughts or quotations for private devotional use. *Daily Heavenly Manna for the Household of Faith* (often referred to as "Daily Manna") was published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in 1905, and consisted of a biblical text for each day of the year, with comment by founder-leader Charles Taze Russell, and a reference to a recommended article in *Zion's Watch Tower*. A similar publication appeared in 1921 by James Gilchrist Lawson (1874–1946), a prolific mainstream Christian author and compiler. Entitled *Daily Manna*, it consisted of two Bible verses for each day, interspersed with a verse of a hymn. More recently a somewhat controversial Nigerian pastor, Chris Kwakpovwe, leads an organization called *Our Daily Manna*. It originated with a two-page daily prayer guide for his congregation and their friends, and developed into a larger organization, which publishes *Our Daily Manna* quarterly in paperback form, as well as a children's version. The name Manna continues to be used commercially, mainly – although not exclusively – for retail outlets connected with food. Some of these are secular rather than religious.

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George D. Chrystides

V. Literature

This article focuses on the motif of “manna” in the Metaphysical poetry of 17th-century English Literature, and in two prominent examples of 20th-century German Literature. In 17th-century English Literature “manna” can be found in poems of the Metaphysical poets John Donne (1572–1631) and Andrew Marvell (1621–1678). Donne’s cryptic poem under the expanded heading “The Primrose being at Montgomery Castle, upon the Hill on which it is Situate” (1613) is part of his Love-Lyrics (Robbin: 123–283; Haskin: 180–205). Focusing on a flower symbolizing metaphorically female human beings or even the idea of the feminine, “The Primrose” displays the poet’s concept to grasp the idea of human love by comparing it to the order of nature, to the universe, and to the metaphysical world. “Manna” is mentioned in the first of three rhymed stanzas (lines 1–4):

Upon this primrose hill
Where, if heav’n would distil
A shower of rain, each sev’ral drop might go
To his own primrose, and grow manna so.
(Robbin: 235)

The biblical motif of generating manna by rain or dew (Exod 16:4: “Then the LORD said to Moses: ‘I am going to rain bread from heaven’”; Num 11:9: “When the dew fell on the camp in the night, the manna would fall with it”; all biblical quotes hereafter are from NRSV) is transformed into the poetical image of each individual raindrop creating manna/bread from heaven in each individual primrose/woman. The poem is spoken by a male ‘lyrical ego’ walking on a hill covered with primroses which “Make a terrestrial Galaxy, / As the small stars do in the sky” (lines 6–7; Robbin: 235). Under these star-like flowers/women the speaker is looking “to find a true-love” (line 8; Robbin: 235). Finding a truly beloved woman means for him getting life-giving “manna.”

In Marvell’s English lyrics “manna” occurs four times (Guffey: 305). In one of his best-known English poems, titled “On a Drop of Dew” (presumably written after 1642), “manna” is being received under the biblical aspect of dew (Exod 16:13: “and in the morning there was a layer of dew around the camp”; cf. Num 11:9) and its melting in the sun (Exod 16:17: “but when the sun grew hot, it melted”). The poem metaphorically compares the human soul, created by God in heaven, to a physical drop of natural dew, generated in the sky. The naturally proceedings of dew’s distilling, congealing on earth, and evaporating are analogized to the soul’s

supernatural birth, its living in the human world and yearning for returning to God. In the last lines of the poem this circle is explicitly compared to the biblical manna (lines 37–40):

Such did the Manna’s sacred Dew destil;
White, and intire, though congeal’d and chill.
Congeal’d on Earth: but does, dissolving, run
Into the Glories of th’ Almighty Sun.
(Margoliouth: 13)

To “On a Drop of Dew” there is a counterpart among Marvell’s Latin poems under the title “Ros,” which it probably preceded (McQueen: 12).

Like in the English poem the allusion to “manna” is to be found in the last four lines (lines 43–47):

Not otherwise did manna, overflowing with blessed
nourishment,
Lie, a frozen drop, on the desert soil:
A frozen drop on the ground, but drawn by propi-
tious suns,
It returns, purer, to the stars whence it fell.
(McQueen: 17)
(Haud aliter Mensis exundans Manna beatis
Deserto jacuit Stilla gelato solo:
Stilla gelato solo, sed Solibus hausta benignis,
Ad sua quâ cecidit purior Astra redit. [McQueen: 16])

Further evidence of “manna” can be found in the third stanza of the seven-strophic poem “The Gallery” (lines 17–24):

But, on the other side, th’art drawn
Like to Aurora in the Dawn;
When in the East she slumb’ring lyes, And
stretches out her milky Thighs;
While all the morning Quire does sing,
And Manna falls, and Roses spring;
And, at thy Feet, the wooing Doves
Sit perfecting their harmless Loves. (Margoli-
outh: 31; emphasis in the original)

Furthermore, “manna” meets twice in the motif connection with “quails” (cf. Exod 16:13; Num 11:31–32), first in stanza 20 of the twenty-seven strophic poem “Daphnis and Chloe” (lines 77–80),

And I parting should appear
Like the Gourmand *Hebrew* dead,
While with Quails and Manna fed,
He does through the Desert err.
(Margoliouth: 38)

and secondly in stanza 51 of the ninety-seven strophic poem *Upon Appleton House, to my Lord Fairfax* (lines 407–8):

When on another quick She lights,
And cries, he call’d us Israelites;
But now, to make his saying true,
Rails rain for Quails, for Manna Dew
(Margoliouth: 75)

The first example of “manna” in 20th-century German Literature is a famous short novel of Thomas Mann (1875–1955), first published in English under

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the title *Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods Before Me* (trans. G. R. Manck) as the first contribution in the volume *The Ten Commandments. Ten Short Novels of Hitler's War Against the Moral Code* (ed. Armin L. Robinson, 1943). Separately it was published in German under the title *Das Gesetz* (Los Angeles/Stockholm 1944), and in English under the title *The Tables of the Law* (trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter, New York 1944). Divided into twenty chapters *The Tables of the Law* retells the story of Moses as told in Exodus, combined with contents from the Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In chapter 10 the narration of manna is being received (Exod 16:1–35; Num 11:1–9). Briefly, the motif is mentioned again in chapter 11 (see below). Furthermore, it meets in ch. 12 to explain the Israelites' initial weakness in the battle with the Amalekites: "Joshua's people were troubled by thirst and had eaten nothing but manna for many days" (Mann 2001: 762). Thus Mann deviates from the biblical text Exod 17:8–16, where "manna" does not occur.

Mann takes over the biblical terminology ("manna," cf. MT/LXX/NT; "man," cf. MT/LXX; written in the German version as "Manna," "Man"; both translated as "manna" in the English versions). Manna's appearance and taste are quoted almost verbatim from Exodus 16:31 and Numbers 11:7–8. Even the strange, hardly translatable Hebrew word *bedolach* (Vulg: *bdellium*), encountering in Num 11:7, Mann uses for his poetic description of manna (Mann 2001: 758). He also takes up the motif that the manna spoils easily, but that it can be prepared freshly into cakes (cf. Num 11:8). Furthermore, the motif of people's tiredness of manna is being received, although chapter 10 does not explicitly state that the people eat manna for forty years (Exod 16:35). The typical biblical "grumbling" of the people during the decades-long desert walk, related to the manna, is being partly literally quoted from Num 11:5:

We remember the fish we used to eat in Egypt for nothing, the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic; but now our strength is dried up, and there is nothing at all but this manna to look at. – We remember the fish which we got in Egypt for nothing, the squash, the cucumbers, the leeks, the onions, and the garlic. But now our souls are weary, for our eyes see nothing but manna (Mann 2001: 759; for the original German version see Mann, 1990: 834).

Mann increases the motif of manna weariness by transferring the danger that Moses will be stoned (in Exod 17:4 associated with people's grumbling over thirst) to their grumbling over manna. So Mann's Moses asks God: "What shall I do with the people? They no longer want their manna. You will see, soon they shall stone me" (Mann 2001: 759).

Significantly, Mann does not use the biblical metaphor "bread from heaven" for manna (Exod 16:4; Neh 9:15; Pss 78:24; 105:40; Wis 16:20; cf. John 6:31). Instead he creates the word "Manna-

Flechte" ("manna-lichen") and calls it in chapter 11 explicitly "Bodenflechte" (Mann 1990: 835) which could be translated with "earth-lichen" (George R. Manck and Helen T. Lowe-Porter leave the word connection untranslated, reproducing it simply with the simplex *lichen*; see Mann 1945: 20; 2001: 760). From the author's own notes to his narrative, it is clear that he, of course, reflects the biblical tradition of "Manna-fall" (Makoschey: 60). But that he does not speak of "bread from heaven" or "falling manna" shows his intention not to tell the story of the manna as a supernaturalistic miracle, caused and initiated by God, but rather as a natural fact (albeit a "wonderful" one). Mann's manna does not rain from heaven, but grows on the ground. That corresponds to the observation, that God's instruction and promise (that manna should be collected every day for daily needs only; that twice of much be collected on the sixth day, so that on the seventh day the day of rest, the Sabbath, could be kept [cf. Exod 16:4–5, 22–26, 29–30]) remain totally unmentioned. In difference to the biblical manna Mann's manna is neither an object of divine revelation nor acts it as a divine test for the people's obedience to God (cf. Exod 16:4, 28).

The second example of 20th-century German Literature is the poem *Travel (Reisen)* of Gottfried Benn (1886–1956), written in June 1950, first published in *Die Neue Zeitung. Frankfurter Ausgabe*. Nr. 304/305, 23. Dezember 1950. The four-strophic poem is about the yearning of the ego for fulfillment of meaning. It is part of the Benn-typical "Ich-Gedichte," see especially *Das späte Ich / The Late Ego / The Belated I*, 1922 (Benn 1987: 198–203, 274–75), *Ein Wort / A Word*, 1941 (Benn 1987: 220–21), *Verlorenes Ich / Forsaken I / Lost Identity*, 1943 (Benn 1987: 224–27, 279–80). The poem *Travel* expresses the view that travelling to the promising metropolises of the world does not lead to essential self-experience. Only staying with yourself is able to do so. "Manna," meeting once only in Benn's Lyrics (Lyons/Inglist: 286), is used in the second stanza in the word connection "eternal manna." It is a cipher for the hoped-for wonders to be found in a famous city like Zurich or Havana. The first stanza is:

Zurich you think for example
Must be a place more profound
Where wonders and wisdom are always
A part of the daily round?

The second stanza continues to ask:

You think that out of Havana,
White and hibiscus red,
Must break forth eternal manna
For you in your desert of lead?
(Benn 1987: 247)

The original German version of the second stanza, alluding to Israel's forty years in the desert, speaks of "Wüstennot" (verbatim: "misery of the desert");

for other translations see Benn 1987: 283 [waste land] and 284 [your plight]), meaning the inner emptiness, the inner outraged being of the ego that longs for “manna” in the sense of an inner richness and spiritual wealth. Just as little as Zurich, Paris, Venice, Amsterdam, or even New York (cf. allusions to these cities in the third stanza), Havana can give such “manna” to satisfy the hunger of meaning with an everlasting experience of soul’s profoundness and life’s authenticity. Preserving the “self-sufficient me” (Benn 1987: 283), of which the fourth stanza speaks, and finding a calm mental state, is the only true “manna” – not falling down from heaven, but growing in the individual I.

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Christina Hoegen-Rohls

VI. Visual Arts

The essential biblical starting points for the manna miracle are Exod 16:4–35 and Num 11:6–9. The manna theme is referenced again in Pss 77 (78):24 and 104 (105):40. A typological interpretation can already be found in John 6:48, where the manna is compared to Christ as the heavenly bread. The Church Fathers, for the most part, follow this interpretation.

Symeon of Thessalonica (Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς Λειτουργίας, ch. 91), however, contradicts this point of view. The new bread is leavened bread, based on the two natures doctrine, and is not unleavened bread as in the HB/OT. In addition, John of Damascus (Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν Κοίμησιν 1.8) calls Mary the bearer of the “sweetest and heavenly manna,” and

Durandus (*Rationale* 1.3.25) makes reference to the manna urn during his discussion on the containers of the host. These theological presuppositions are also determinative factors for pictorial art. The manna miracle seldom appears alone, but is often combined, for example, with the miracle of the quail.

The earliest surviving reproduction of the manna miracle is found in the Kyriaka catacombs in Rome (second half of the 4th cent.). The theme of the redemption of the Israelites has most likely been transferred to the hope of the resurrection of those buried. The portrayal shows two people standing opposite each other with arms stretched towards the center of the picture, their arms covered by a garment, while large dots above and between them indicate falling manna.

Similar to this depiction is the version in the manuscript of the Cosmas Indicopleustes (11th cent., Cod. 1186, fol. 73v) in Saint Catherine’s Monastery at Sinai. In this version, manna falls out of God’s hand while a heavenly arch spans the scene. The Byzantine Octateuchs (e.g., 12th cent., formerly Smyrna, Evangelical School A.1, fol. 84r) vary the theme in a similar manner, such that the manna falls exclusively from the heavens. Similarly, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (ca. 1360, Darmstadt, University and State Library, MS 2505, fol. 29r) depicts manna falling from heaven and falling all around the people there (cf. *Weltchronik* by Rudolf von Ems, 3.V. 14th cent., Fulda University and State Library, Aa88, and ceiling-fresco, refectory, 18th cent., Kloster Lambach). In the Crusader Bible (middle of the 13th cent., Morgan Library and Museum, New York, fol. 9v), the manna falls vertically as white spots like a shower of rain down from a cloud.

In later artistic expressions, a second variant is favored: for example, in the fresco of Jacopo Tintoretto in the San Giorgio Maggiore church in Venice (16th cent.), one can see the Israelites picking up the manna from the ground (cf. Nicolas Poussin, *Hebrews Gathering Manna*, 17th cent., Louvre, Paris). A third variant shows the Israelites with baskets full of manna (*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 14th cent., Abbey Library of Kremsmünster, Cod. Cremifanensis 243, fol. 21v). The *Bible moralisée* (13th cent., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 270b, fol. 50r) illustrates the scene using a combination of these depictions, whereby some people are picking up bread from the ground, while others hold up their jars as Christ spreads around the manna from above.

In some cases, the miracle of manna is also contained within a picture of the miracle of the quail (Stuttgart Psalter, 9th cent., Stuttgart, Württemberg State Library, Cod. bibl., fol. 23, fol. 91v) or in a miniature image (cf. Byzantine Octateuch of Smyrna [see above]). The Byzantine Octateuchs (e.g., *ibid.*,

fol. 85r) depict the moment when Moses summons his brother Aaron to put some manna into a vessel (Exod 16:33). In the Cosmas Indicopleustes (cf. above), the manna miracle is presented along with a reference to the Israelites going through the wilderness.

In addition, the manna miracle is portrayed in small picture cycles; for example, it appears along with the bitter water (Exod 15:24–25) and the striking of the rock (Exod 17:3–6; the Crusader Bible [see above], fol. 9v); or the miracle of the water and the bronze snake (Tintoretto, ceiling, Sala Superiore, Scuola Grande di San Rocco, second half of the 16th cent., Venice). However, the manna miracle can also be missing in extensive pictorial cycles – such as in San Marco in Venice (13th cent. “Moses” Dome). There, in the adjoining dome, only the quail and the water miracle can be seen.

In early Christian times, the use of a specific typology can be identified. On the door of Santa Sabina in Rome (first half of the 5th cent.), the bitter water, the quail, and the manna (in addition to the water miracle) are assigned to miracles of healing, feeding, or Jesus’ miracle at Cana. In San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, the two works of Tintoretto – the Last Supper and the Manna Miracle (1590–92) – are juxtaposed on the sidewalls of the sanctuary. This reveals a Eucharistic reference to the manna theme that also appears in the sacramental chapel of the parish church of Verolanuova (1735–40). There, Tiepolo has compared the manna miracle to the sacrifice of Melchizedek.

Already at the altar of Klosterneuburg (1181), the manna theme is assigned to the Last Supper. Here, we see a figure – probably Aaron – placing a jar filled with manna into an open ark which contains the two tablets of the law and Aaron’s staff (cf. Heb 9:4). Finally, the manna image sometimes illustrates Ps 77 (78), as in the Stuttgart Psalter (see above) as well as in the Chludov-Psalter (after 843, Moscow, Museum of History, Cod. 129, fol. 76r.).

Michael Altrip

VII. Film

Manna has a wide range of symbolic meanings in film.

Depictions of the Exod 16 miracle include *La Vie de Moïse* (prod. Pathé Frères, 1905, FR), Roger Young’s series *Moses* (1996, CZ/UK/FR/IT/DE/ES/US/CA), and Robert Dornhelm’s *The Ten Commandments* (2006, US). In these, manna arrives as the salvation from imminent starvation. As the Israelites thirst and hunger, they criticize Moses’ leadership. When manna appears, the people rise, eating and celebrating while Moses prays in thanksgiving.

Other allusions develop more oblique and ambivalent themes: eating, the ethics of provision, nature vs. technology, and even drugs.

In Gabriel Axel’s *Babettes gæstebud* (1987 *Babette’s Feast*, DK), bread and quail become sacramental for

a pietistic Christian village in Denmark. The community’s life is lackluster until a cook, Babette, re-enlivens the people with a gourmet meal. In addition to bread, Babette’s signature dish is “quail in a sarcophagus.” Wright comments, “Quail being a form of manna and sarcophagus meaning ‘flesh-eater,’ the film alludes to Jesus’ discourse in John [6:31–51], ‘I am the bread of life ... this is the manna that comes down from heaven ... if you do not eat of the flesh of the Son of Man you will not have life’” (Wright: 16).

Two Steven Spielberg films, *Empire of the Sun* (1987, US) and *Schindler’s List* (1993, US), highlight the liberative but selective provision of manna in wartime. In *Empire*, after Japan’s surrender, the young protagonist Jamie is grateful to discover Red Cross food packets falling from the sky. However, as a Japanese boy he’d previously befriended offers him a mango, incoming American troops shoot the child; there will be no manna for him. *Schindler* characterizes its protagonist as a Moses saving his Jewish factory workers from the Holocaust: when Schindler insists, “I want my people,” a Nazi officer retorts “Who are you, Moses?” José Díaz-Cuesta Galán notes that Schindler becomes as God to his workers by feeding them from his own supplies (Díaz-Cuesta Galán: 67). Schindler’s manna is saving but provides for painfully few.

Beyond the Euro-American film scene, the goodness of manna is more ambiguous.

In Ma Sheng-mei’s analysis, Japanese anime dubiously “turns trauma into manna” by idolizing the deadly fallout of the atomic bombs that fell on Japan in 1945 and the subsequent American influence. Filmmakers such as Katsuhiro Otomo, Mamoru Oshii, and Hayao Miyazaki, argues Ma, “alchemize Western modernity, the most traumatizing of which landed in 1945, into a godsend or ‘manna’ fallen from the sky, suppressing the politics of race, or East-West relationships, the politics of gender, or woman-man relationships” (Ma: 97). Manna becomes an opiate, desensitizing Japan to its trauma.

Finally, D. E. Hyde’s film *Manna* (2015, US/BZ) features an indigenous fisherman who lives a solitary but wholesome existence in nature, removed from the cruise ships looming unnaturally on the harbor. Yet manna arrives, packets of a white substance the fisherman finds washed up on his shore: cocaine. The film finishes with a view of his face, uncertain what to make of this gift.

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Stephanie Wong

See also → Bread of Life; → Desert; → Food; → Miracles; → Word of God

Mannerism

- I. Literature
- II. Visual Arts

I. Literature

Akin to George Vasari's *maniera moderna* in art, Mannerist literature is characterized by florid and clever expressions, although "it is hard to find scholarly analogies and comparisons between literature and the other arts that seem entirely secure" (Semler: 41). An early manifestation of Mannerist literary elegance includes Alexander Montgomerie's sonnet to the Trinity, one of his *vers rapportés*, in which he compares the Tetragrammaton with the Christological formula in Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:3. The poet declares, "Iehovah, Alpha, and Omega, All, / Lyk vnto nane, nor nane like vnto Thee, / Vnmovt vha movis the rounds about the Ball" (89).

In English literature, Mannerism is commonly associated with John Donne and other writers loosely grouped together as metaphysical poets, including George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, and Andrew Marvell, although other critics prefer to deal with Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, or William Shakespeare. This nomenclature of "metaphysical poets" derives from Samuel Johnson, who dates their appearance in the early 17th century and acknowledges them for writing with wits and conceits, if not with poetic imagination (13–17). In John Dryden's well-known 1693 lampoon, "[Donne] affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softness of love" (cited in Gardner: xix).

Dryden's caricature may find confirmation in Donne's predilection to sustain the tension of dualism. For instance, in "I ame a little World" (Holy Sonnet 7; Variorum Edition: 14), the metaphysical poet contrasts his devout zeal ("And burne me O God with a fiery Zeale / Of thee, and thy house, which doth in eating heale" (lines 13–14) with sin, lust, and envy (lines 3, 11), which threaten to undo his faith in a manner that recalls Paul's struggle in Rom 8:1–11. One can encounter the juxtaposition of the opposing forces of spirituality in his other Holy Sonnets, in which the poet weaves together "doubts and fears" and "unrest and turmoil unaltered" (Benet: 134). Using paradox to describe his spiritual fluctuation in Holy Sonnet 19 ("Oh, to vex me"), Donne muses, "contraries meet in one: /... So my deuout fitts come and go away" (lines 1, 12; Variorum Edition: 20). In Holy Sonnet 11, "Death bee not proude" (Variorum Edition: 23; see also 10, 16), the poet reflects on the triumph over death, echoing 1 Cor 15:55 and Rev 21:4.

One can also observe a dramatic play on words in the Spanish Mannerist P. Calderón de la Barca,

who depicts Absalom grieving with Tamar who was violated by her half-brother Amnon (2 Sam 13). Absalom grieves with her, when he says, "Mi hacienda está en Efraín / granjas teno en Balhasor / casas fueron de placer, / ya son casas de dolor" (*Los Cabellos de Absalón*, Jornada II, lines 1278–81; Caldeón de la Barca: 77), juxtaposing the places of pleasure (*casas de placer*) with the houses of mourning (*casas de dolor*). B. Gracián shows comparable cleverness in his explanation of the divine appellation: "The holy and adored name of God (*Díos*) says, divided: *DI OS* ('I gave ye'); I gave ye earth and heaven and being; I gave ye my grace, gave ye myself, gave ye all: so that in our Spanish language the Lord took his most holy and august name from giving" (*Obras* 189b; cited in Curtius: 300).

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Jin Hee Han

II. Visual Arts

Mannerism, from the Italian *maniera*, meaning "manner" or "style," emerged as an artistic style (in primarily painting and sculpture) in the later years of the Italian High Renaissance (from about 1520, coinciding with Raphael's death that year) lasting into the late 16th century when the Baroque period began to edge its way in. The style, at first and for many years afterwards dismissed as an aberration of High Renaissance style, originated in Florence and Rome, spreading to northern Italy and from there to much of central and northern Europe. The term was first used around the end of the 18th century to describe 16th-century artists who were inspired by Renaissance masters such as Michelangelo and Raphael. Northern European Mannerism continued into the early 17th century, as an offshoot of the style.

The Mannerist style is often described as a bridge between the idealized naturalism of the Renaissance and the dramatic theatricality of the Baroque. Instead of studying nature directly, Mannerist artists took Hellenistic art as their source. While the period was considered to be one of technical accomplishment and intellectual sophistication, Mannerism is also characterized by elements of the stylized and formulaic. Composition was typically complex and executed in a way that exaggerated the

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qualities of proportion, balance and clarity that had been the guiding lights of Italian Renaissance and hence Christian art. Mannerism pushed these Renaissance ideals almost to breaking point, relishing compositional tension and instability – the works embrace distortion of the human figure, a flattening of pictorial space and intellectual sophistication to address the formal problems of art.

A criticism of this approach was that the obsession with style and technique in figural composition often outweighed the significance of the subject matter. Value was placed in the solving of artistic problems, often characterized by artificiality, a self-conscious cultivation of elegance and technical display, and by a sophisticated indulgence in the bizarre. Figures invariably possess graceful but unusually elongated limbs, small heads and stylized facial features, in elaborate and contrived poses. Color is often unnatural, and there is an emphasis on abnormalities of scale and proportion as well as a taste for the grotesque.

It is important to appreciate the social context in which such Mannerist images were commissioned and produced, in order to understand how such images function. While artists were not isolated from larger cultural, religious, political and historical traditions, and would invariably work closely with biblical interpreters, artistic expression was pushed to the fore, re-imagining biblical stories in the contemporary setting of, for example, Venice, Florence, or Rome.

1. Painting. Certain elements of Mannerism can be seen in the work of Michelangelo (especially his later frescoes in the Sistine Chapel) and some of Raphael's later paintings executed in Rome, notably the *Transfiguration* (1517–20) in the Vatican Museum.

Certain aspects of the formal vocabulary of Mannerism were also anticipated in the work of Andrea del Sarto. In his *Madonna of the Harpies*, now in the Uffizi but painted for a small Franciscan convent church between 1515 and 1517, there is an insistence on the illusionistic effects of figures that in a dark church appeared to early commentators to be actually present over the altar. A lifelike Madonna is flanked by two saints, John the Evangelist and Francis. John Shearman describes this painting as “one of the clearest cases in which it may be seen (or might originally have been seen) that the spectator's position is imaginatively redefined, psychologically and spatially, by his willing engagement with a work of art” (Shearman 1992: 59). In terms of biblical reception, it is this engagement that is the key to an understanding of religious and spectator interaction. What is happening in the painting is predicated upon the responsive presence of the spectator. The aim is for neither a visual nor a psychological barrier, where real space meets picture space. This is an early example of a device that

became fundamental to later illusionism, the transition from the real into the painted as an aid to devotion. When the picture was cleaned in the early 1980s it was possible to see what Vasari had seen when he wrote of a mist of transparent clouds in front of the architecture. As there is no source for the smoke within the picture, this has been received (or interpreted) as incense entering from the actual space of the altar area in front and below. This is recognized as the transmission of cultic identity from the altar to painted space. The intention was that the worshiper be oblivious to such artifice. Whatever the definitive reading of this painting (if there is such a thing), in terms of its reception, we are given a rich spiritual offering in which the Virgin stands triumphant over evil, and in which the spectator is integral to the unity of the work's conception and execution.

Although Andrea's style was rooted in High Renaissance ideals, such as the integration of naturally proportioned figures in clearly defined space, his expressive use of vibrant color and varied, complex poses inspired the first generation of Mannerist painters in Florence. Foremost among this group were Andrea's students Jacopo da Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino. These artists broke away from received ideals and evolved an expressive and emotionally agitated style in their religious compositions.

In Rome, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, and Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio (not to be confused with Michelangelo Merisi Caravaggio) had all been followers of Raphael's work in the Vatican and Michelangelo's work in the Sistine Chapel. The Mannerist style emerged in the paintings of these artists as well as in those of Parmigianino. Parmigianino, with his elegant elongation of the human form (see *Madonna with the Long Neck* of 1534 in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence), and the psychological tension of Pontormo's compositions (see his *Deposition* [1525–28], Florence) are prime examples of a mature and confident Mannerist style. Pontormo's pupil Agnolo di Cosimo (called Bronzino) became perhaps the most important Mannerist painter in Florence during this period. Bronzino's *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (ca. 1545), in London's National Gallery, departs from a religious context to show an allegorical depiction in which unchaste love is presided over by Pleasure and abetted by Deceit.

The sophisticated Mannerism that developed in Rome before 1527 was also a primary formative influence on the styles of a number of younger Italian painters active between the 1530s and the 1550s, including Giorgio Vasari, Daniele da Volterra, Francesco Salviati, Domenico Beccafumi, Federico Zuccari, and Pellegrino Tibaldi.

By the mid 16th century, the influence of Mannerism had spread well beyond Florence and Rome. Two important representatives of the movement in

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northern Italy were the already mentioned Parmigianino, active in Parma and Bologna, and the Venetian artist Jacopo Tintoretto. The highly individual styles of these two painters incorporate the elongated figure proportions, twisted poses and compression of space that distinguish Mannerism in central Italy.

Later Italian artists employed by King Francis I made Mannerism the dominant style in France as well. Rosso took the style to France in 1530 and was followed there two years later by Francesco Primaticcio, who evolved a French variant of Mannerism in his paintings at the French royal court at Fontainebleau.

Although the term Mannerism is primarily applied to Italian art, there was also a group of northern European artists, which included Hendrik Goltzius, Bartholomaeus Spranger, and Hans von Aachen, active in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Several of these artists worked from the 1580s onwards at the royal court in Prague.

El Greco (1541–1614), who worked exclusively in Spain after 1577, but in Venice and Rome prior to that, is sometimes associated with Mannerist painting. His compositions convey elevated religious emotion with exaggerated figures in expressive poses and the use of irrational space (i.e. not logically constructed naturalistic space) and an unnatural “acid” palette. However, he was a unique artist in many ways and his art cannot easily be categorized as belonging to a particular school. Therefore, it may be unwise to push the connection with Mannerism too hard.

2. Sculpture. In sculpture the serpentine complexity of Michelangelo’s late sculptures, as epitomized in the sinuous and spiralling form of his *Victory* (1532–34, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence), dominated Mannerist aspirations in sculpture. Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), Bartolommeo Ammannati (1511–1592), and perhaps most importantly Giambologna (1529–1608), became the principal practitioners of Mannerism with their dynamic and complexly-posed statues. Especially notable among Giambologna’s sculptures is *Samson Slaying a Philistine* (1560–62) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inspired by Judges 15:15–17. Other sculptors deserving of mention include Alonso Berruguete, Francesco Primaticcio, Juan de Juni, Jean Goujon, Germain Pilon, Barthelémy Prieur, and Adriaen de Vries, all active in the 16th century.

3. Legacy. Mannerism retained a high level of international popularity until the paintings of Caracci and Caravaggio around 1600 ushered in the ascendancy of the Baroque. Mannerism was for long afterward seen as a decadent and anarchic style that marked the degeneration of High Renaissance artistic endeavor. Appreciation of the style enjoyed a resurgence in the 20th century, however, when the style came to be appreciated for its technical bravura

and elegance. Mannerism’s intensity, its complex and intellectual aestheticism, its experimentation in form and its persistent psychological anxiety, were more appealing to the modern temperament and provided a foundation for modern Expressionist tendencies.

Stephen Miller

See also → Donne, John; → Dryden, John;
→ Michelangelo (Buonarroti); → Pontormo,
Jacopo (Il Pontormo); → Raffaello Sanzio da
Urbino (Raphael)

Marley, Bob

Bob Marley (1945–1981) is the foremost musical representative of Jamaican culture. The Bible was Marley's constant companion, along with his guitar, throughout the stages of his artistic and spiritual paths: from ska (pre-1966) to rock steady (circa 1966–68) to reggae (post-1968); and from pre-Rasta (pre-1966) to Rasta (1966–80) to Ethiopian Orthodox (1980–81). Biblical references span Marley's career from his first recording in 1962, "Judge Not" (Matt 7:1/Luke 6:37), to "Redemption Song" (Gen 49:24), the last track of his final album released before he died of cancer.

Marley assumed the persona of biblical wisdom teacher as early as November 1966, when he recorded "Freedom Time." In it, he echoes the sentiment of biblical sages (e.g., Ps 34:11; Prov 4:1; 8:32) by addressing his audience as "children." He would continue to do so in songs like "Wisdom" (1970), "Jah Live" (1975), and "We and Dem" (1980). Marley's wisdom stems from his experience and engagement with Scripture. He does not merely quote Scripture in his lyrics, he actively interprets it, as can be seen in the way he adapts the passages he selects.

In "Wisdom," Marley quotes Prov 10:15 (KJV) and appends to it a parallel verse revealing his interpretation. He mirrors the passage's chiasmic structure (wealth, the rich, strong city // destruction, the poor, poverty) with his own variation (destruction, the soul, vanity // wealth, the righteous, holy place), reflecting the interest of the poor. Marley's response to Prov 10:15a is that "the righteous' wealth is in his holy place" (cf. Matt 6:19–20), i.e., material wealth is ephemeral while spiritual wealth is imperishable. His response to Prov 10:15b is a warning to the wealthy: while poverty's effects are reversible, vanity leads to permanent "destruction of the soul." In Marley's interpretation of Prov 10:15, the poor are righteous, not the wealthy. His inverse chiasm turns the passage inside out, drawing forth this meaning exegetically.

In "Johnny Was" (1975), Marley's removal of a word reveals his interpretation. In quoting Paul's "the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life" (Rom 6:23 [KJV]), his omission of the word "eternal" is telling. He does not want the hope of an afterlife or resurrection to detract from the present struggle for existence. He mitigates the "pie-in-the-sky" interpretation that could be used to justify oppression in the neocolonial system. He also mitigates a Rasta interpretation that relates Rom 6:23 to "ever-living life upon earth" (Owens: 135). Marley thus navigates between two extremes: the first sees the afterlife as all-important, discounting the need to enjoy this life here and now, and the second sees this earthly life as all there is and everlasting. What is important to Marley is *life*,

without qualification or possibility for politicization. The interpretation is distinctly Marleyan.

In the last song to be examined here, Marley's biblical interpretation is revealed through his modification of a word. In "Forever Loving Jah" (1980), Marley's response to incessant opposition in life – the stages, rages, and changes that beat people down – is incessant trust in God. He says "only a fool leans upon his own misunderstanding" altering Prov 3:5 (KJV) which states, "Trust in the LORD with all your heart; and lean not unto your own understanding." He uses the word "misunderstanding," because to Marley, putting your trust anywhere else but in God is so foolish that it can only be labeled a "misunderstanding." As with his concern for the poor and life-affirming message shown above, the song inspires hope in his listeners, many of whom may be surprised to learn that close inspection of his music's inner workings reveals sound biblical interpretation.

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Dean MacNeil

See also → North America; → Rastafari Movement; → Ska, Rocksteady, and Reggae

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David Celano
Sales Americas
T +1(617) 688 6081
david.celano@degruyter.com

Europe, Middle East and Africa

Anne O'Riordan
Director Sales EMEA
T +44 (0)289 337 8477
M +44 (0)778 837 6663
anne.riordan@degruyter.com

Germany, Austria, Switzerland

Martina Näkel
Director Sales DACH
T +49 (0)30 260 05 166
M +49 (0)151 1472 9812
martina.naekel@degruyter.com

Asia-Pacific

Tony Ng
Director Sales APAC
T +65 967 739 92
tony.ng@degruyter.com

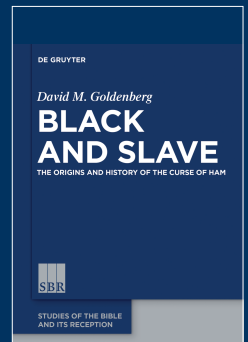
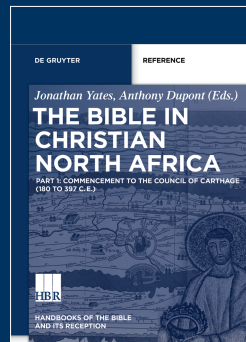
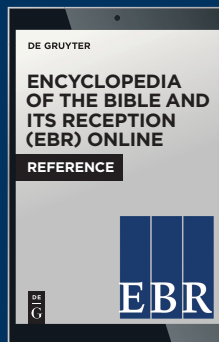
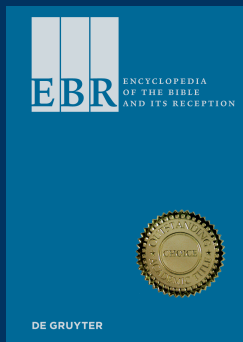
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