



The emergence of suffering self. A study about lists and social structures in the Antiquity

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Abstract

This article adopt the perspective of de Sciences of religion for to show the existence of the literary genre of lists in Antiquity and Palestine during the post-exile, which were used to systematize and legitimize ideologically certain groups or interests religious-cultural. In Antiquity, there are lists of gods, angels, and kings. In this context, we find in late Judaism, upon the return from exile, other prophetic-eschatological lists in which marginal individuals are transformed into political persons. This show a revolutionary change in relation to the Greco-Roman secular context, that is, the emergence in prophetic-apocalyptic texts of lists of marginal subjects that begin to occupy a literary-social space.

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Keywords

Religious studies, poor, marginalized, lists, eschatology.

La emergencia del yo sufriente. Un estudio acerca de listas y estructuras sociales en la Antigüedad

Resumen

En este artículo se asume la perspectiva de las Ciencias de la religión, para mostrar la existencia del género literario de listas en el mundo antiguo y de Palestina durante el post-destierro, empleada para: sistematizar y legitimar ideológicamente determinados grupos o intereses religioso-culturales. En la antigüedad griega y judía, existían listas de dioses, ángeles y reyes. En este contexto encontramos, al regreso del destierro en el judaísmo tardío, listas profético-escatológicas en las cuales individuos marginales se transforman en sujetos políticos. Esto muestra un cambio revolucionario, en relación con el contexto secular greco-romano, esto es, la emergencia en textos profético-apocalípticos de listas de individuos marginales que comienzan a ocupar un espacio literario-social.

Palabras clave

Ciencias de la religión, pobres, marginales, listas, escatología.

1. The Problem

The problem of the socio-political emergence of the poor, sick, deformed, and criminals in Antiquity is related to Matthew 25:31-46 and Luke 7:22-23, since it establishes the issue of the value of the life

and death of peasant, artisans, or the sick in a stratified country of the Ancient world. In this sense, exegesis has neglected the relationship between the the social imaginary of Greco-Roman social context and the meaning of list in the New Testament Writings'.

Joachim Jeremias, in his book *Jerusalem in the time of Jesus*, explains that «the distribution of the whole of Judaism in the time of Jesus, was obedient to the fundamental idea of preserving the purity of blood in the people»¹ adding that «only legitimate source Israelites were the true Israel (...) the promises concerning the end times were worth for the pure core of the people»². He then proceeds to examine three lists of the Mishna in his view of «fundamental importance»: Qidushim IV 1; ToseftaMeg II 7 (223, 23) and Horayot III 4. These three texts coincide in the following order: A) Priests, Levites, Israelites with full rights; B) illegitimate children of priests; proselytes, emancipated slaves; C) bastards, slaves of the temple, son of an unknown father; foundlings. Further, the text of Tosefta Meg adds a last level: Geldings, Tumtám (the individual whose sexual organs are concealed), hermaphrodites. And Jeremias indicates that the three lists

agree only at the beginning (1-3) where the Israelites from legitimate sources are cited. ... The agreement goes a long way. It mainly affects the tripartite division of society according to the origin, a division that is the basis of one of the three forms of the list³.

This reflection of J. Jeremias argues that the citation of lists in Antiquity is not an apologetic or merely rhetorical question but that it shows a *structural* issue, which addresses both the pure origin of a family as well as the synchronous issue of the civil rights that

1 Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalén en tiempos de Jesús* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1985), 284.

2 Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalén en tiempos de Jesús*, 284.

3 Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalén en tiempos de Jesús*, 286; Carlos del Valle, ed., *La Misná* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1997), 628 y 869. The quotation of Qid IV, 1 «ten groups of families left Babylon Levite priests, desecrated Israelites (priestly illicit unions), converts, emancipated bastards guibeonitas of unknown and collected family»; the Hor III, 4 says «the priest precedes the Levite, the priest avoid the Israeli layman, layman avoid the bastard, bastard avoid the jibeonita, the jibeonita avoid the proselyte the proselyte avoid the slave manumitted». The translate in mine.

had the Israelites with full citizenship⁴. Mary Douglas affirm in relation to the list of Lev. 19:19 the ideological basis of this list, but this is valid for other lists. This structure is based ideologically on the divine order of people, animals and things⁵. Therefore, this argument leads us to study other lists, in an attempt to trace elements belonging to *the social imaginary structure and represented socio-political organization*, e.g. that found in the Mishnah in the Treaty of Sanhedrin 10:1-3, in which the fictional-organizing axis is no longer the theme of legitimate origin, at least not exclusively, but the communion of eschatological life in the world to come⁶; it is about people and generations which have no part in the world to come. In these lists, individuals like Ahab, Manasseh, anonymous people will have no part in the future world. This *communion of a world or destiny* is a common feature of multiple lists of Antiquity.

1.1 The lists as a literary genre

To talk about a literary genre characterized as lists means to accept that such lists is not explained by a fortuitous enumeration that gives account of certain occasional elements. Nor are we referring to «formulas», but texts that: 1) show a recurrent isotopy; 2) belong to a worldview or social imaginary; and 3) seek to sanctify, legitimize or justify a practice of a particular group. Therefore, we shall say that the lists studied here establish certain social imaginary with specific pragmatic functions. That said, we will not consider magical or military lists⁷ in our reflection. Certainly, the above mentioned pragmatic function could initially be characterized as a

4 Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalén en tiempos de Jesús*, 310.

5 Cf. Mary Douglas, *Pureza e perigo* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2012), 70.

6 Cf. David Flusser, «The eschatological Temple», in *Judaism of the Second Temple period. Qumran and Apocalypticism, Vol. 1*, ed. David Flusser (Gran Rapid: W.E. Publishing Company, 2007), 207-208. Umberto Eco, *A Vertigem das listas* (Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo: Publish Record, 2010), 15-18. Eco called «call this representative form of lists, cast or catalog», 17. The cast ... would be typical of primitive cultures that still have an inaccurate picture of the universe and are limited to align their many properties that are able to name, but without attempting to establish a hierarchical relationship between them. The translated is mine.

7 One use of such lists is found in Omero, *Iliade*, intr. y trad. Maria Grazia Ciani, comm. Elisa Avezú (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990), book II, 71.

systematization of: names, places, characters, objects, groups, gifts, etc. This systematization constitutes a *communion of a world or destiny* of a particular group, organized by means of a fictional axis that we must address in our reflections.

1.2 Objective

Judith Perkins⁸ studied the fiction of Greek novels as applied to Christian apocryphal acts. We aim to study the genre of prophetic-eschatological lists that begin to appear on the return from exile. We will do so from the perspective of Religious Studies, specifically the study of pagan texts or biblical citations of certain groups or historical figures during the period of late Judaism and the change of era, in an attempt to characterize elements of *the structure and social context to which they belong*.

Sections two and three are of preparatory nature to the sections that follow. In the second section, we show lists of gods, angels and kings, which share the purpose of *inserting the group's history in the time of myth*, by which the divine origin of the group or individual is legitimized. In the third section, we discuss certain political-social lists that show the socio-political place of slaves, peasants, the lame, or the blind in the ancient world. This group begins to appear as an emerging voice in Jewish literature upon the return from exile, which shows a revolutionary cultural change in relation to the Greco-Roman and Palestinian secular context. Possibly due to the emergence of prophetic-apocalyptic lists in eschatological texts where marginal individuals such as slaves or the poor of various trades begin to occupy a literary-social space; these are individuals who historically are anonymous, «rogues without any historical-political role». This feature is extended and amplified in later sections, where we describe lists in Qumran texts and New Testament texts. In light of this study, we will propose that these utopian-eschatological lists represent the historical-eschatological emergence of the poor, lame, and blind in the history of mankind.

8 Cf. Judith Perkins, *Suffering Self. Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 1-15.

2. Lists in the ancient world

2.1 Lists of Gods and Kings

W. H. Ph. Romer holds that in ancient times, the authors tried to systematize all the gods and kings by forming a hierarchy of divine families⁹; Romer calls these «genealogies or lists». For Romer, «these lists of gods (...) date from ca. 2600 BC (...) can be considered as the oldest product of theological scholarship»¹⁰. He continues: «Sumerian religious views reflect the views of the various strata of the population. Which correspond to farmers (sedentary) (...) corresponding to the hunters and shepherds»¹¹. We find these lists of gods in a Greek story, in Hesiod's *Theogony* 120¹² :

From Chaos came forth Erebus and black Night; but of Night were born Aether and Day, [125] whom she conceived and bore from union in love with Erebus. And Earth first bore starry Heaven, equal to herself, to cover her on every side, and to be an ever-sure abiding-place for the blessed gods...But afterwards she lay with Heaven and bore deep-swirling Oceanus, Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus, [135] Theia and Rhea, Themis and Mnemosyne and gold-crowned Phoebe and lovely

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- 9 Cf. Hermann Hilprecht, *The Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts* (Philadelphia: Department of Archeology University of Pennsylvania, 1906). The first fragment of the King lists was found in the year 1900 by the scholar Hermann Hilprecht in ancient Nippur and was published in 1906. At least 18 exemplars of Sumerian King lists (2017-1794 B.C.) are known, which give the name of kings, and the number of years. The Sumerian king list: c.2.1.1: «After the flood had swept over, and the kingship had descended from heaven, the kingship was in Kiš. In Kiš, Ĝušur became king; he ruled for 1200 years.... Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven and consolidated all the foreign countries, became king; he ruled for (1500)», *The Ancient of Aliens*, "Annunaki: 433,000 Years of Rule", accessed. June 22, 2016, <http://www.theancientaliens.com/433000-years-of-annunaki-rule>.
- 10 Willem H. Ph. Romer, «La religión de la Antigua Mesopotamia», in *Historia religionum. Manual de historia de las religiones. V.1. Religiones del pasado*, eds. C. J. Bleeker; G. Windengren (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1973), 130-131.
- 11 Willem H. Ph. Romer, «La religión de la Antigua Mesopotamia», 131.
- 12 Cf. Linn Clapham, «Mythopoeic Antecedents of the Biblical World-View and their Transformation in Early Israelite Thought», in *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God*, ed. F. Moore Cross (New York: Doubleday Company, 1976), 112; Fritz Graf, *Il mito in Grecia*, (Roma: Editori Laterza 2011), 92-108.

Tethys. After them was born Cronos the wily, youngest and most terrible of her children, and he hated his lusty sire¹³.

Frank M. Croos has made a useful distinction between two types of lists: the first type are the theogonies, which speak of the birth and succession of the ancient gods, and the second type are the cosmologies, which deal with the young or active gods, that is, the great gods of worship¹⁴. The older generation of gods deals with substances, structures and components of the universe. The «ancient gods» are part of an animistic view of the cosmos, where gods and divine beings are the causes of cosmic and human disease¹⁵. The last list establishes a causal relationship between the gods and the sicknesses suffered by man; this reflects the synchrony of these lists: «Eris bore the painful fatigue, forgetfulness, hunger and pain that cause tears».

In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, (110-200) we find «the myth of the races». According to Vernant, in this story «the succession of races in time reproduces a permanent hierarchical order of the universe»¹⁶. J. P. Vernant continues: «to the mythical thought, every genealogy is both explicit structure; and there is no other way to explain a structure presenting it in the form of genealogical narrative»¹⁷. As in these writings, the Iron Age is described in apocalyptic terms by Hesiod¹⁸. Romer and Vernant argue that from ancient times there already was a pragmatic relationship between *lists of gods and races*

13 Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 120, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

14 Cf. Frank Moore Croos, «The "Olden Gods" in Ancient Near Eastern Creation Myths», in, *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God*, 329.

15 Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 210-230.

16 Jean Pierre Vernant, *Mito y pensamiento en la Grecia antigua* (Barcelona: Ariel filosofía, 1993) 25.

17 Jean Pierre Vernant, *Mito y pensamiento en la Grecia antigua*, 21-28. This type of list is widely documented in Semitic texts which divide history into periods, e.g. Dan 2: 31-45; 9: 24; or weeks (1 Enoch 93: 1-17).

18 «The father will not agree with his children, nor the children with their father, nor guest with his host, nor comrade with comrade; nor will brother be dear to brother as aforesaid. [185] Men will dishonor their parents as they grow quickly old, and will carp at them, chiding them with bitter words, hard-hearted they, not knowing the fear of the gods. They will not repay their aged parents the cost of their nurture, for might shall be their right: and one man will sack another's city. [190] There will be no favor for the man who keeps his oath or for the just or for the good; but rather men will praise the evil-doer and his violent dealing. Strength will be right, and reverence will cease to be; and the wicked will hurt the worthy man, speaking false words against him, and will swear an oath upon them». Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 180-194, accessed June 12, 2016, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

as a stratification of certain groups that explain not only the historical development but introduce into each period the experience of each group, according to the specific occupations, functions or experiences of groups and individuals. These mythical isotopies between Greek and Semitic lists express a transcultural perspective that manifests structured patterns of social integration and exclusion in Antiquity.

2.2 Political and cultural lists

We want to focus on political-cultural civil lists, in which we detect the same pragmatic structure, without considering those lists of military character; the former are characterized primarily because they show individuals socially segregated by other groups. Furthermore, these lists show, in some cases, for the reason for the segregation is the comprehension of natural differences and function of the people, animals, and things¹⁹.

2.2.1 Lists of marginalized social groups

In Antiquity, there are lists that enumerate marginal individuals, among others in Egypt, Greece and Israel. For example, Herodotus enumerates a list of marginal *groups or estates*²⁰ or deformed individuals:

The Egyptians are divided into seven classes: priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots. There are this many classes, each named after its occupation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following districts²¹.

Herodotus emphasizes the difference between the first two groups, priests and warriors, and the rest of the list. Regarding the warriors, he twice repeats: «None of these has learned any common trade; they are free to follow the profession of arms alone [and] These too may practice no trade but war, which is their hereditary

19 Cf. Marry Douglas, *Pureza e perigo*, 70.

20 Cf. Moses Finley, *La economía de la sociedad griega* (México: FCE, 1973), 67-99.

21 Herodotus, *History II*, 164, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>.

calling»²²; but to this he adds that the warriors are granted a number of privileges along with the priests²³. The reason for this social structure is given in a later text that establishes the relationship between the social structure of the Greek and Egyptian World. According to Herodotus' text, it is a custom that occurs among various peoples of the Ancient World:

Now whether this, too, the Greeks have learned from the Egyptians, I cannot confidently judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries, those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honored²⁴

The terminology used is significant because the term *gennaiójos* means «typical of a race, well-born, free, noble, of pure race» and *cei,rwn* means the lowest, the worst, most evil, the weakest, of lower class; the *ceirwnaxia* is the manual labor, occupation. If we believe in Herodotus's report, «nearly all foreign countries, those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work»²⁵. In these texts we can speak of an imaginary function of enumeration, since enumeration functions as a fictional axis, given by the antagonism between, on one hand, noble occupations and the devotion to weapons and, on the other hand, ignoble occupations trades or manual occupations²⁶. We do not have data from all the places mentioned by Herodotus, but in relation to the Egyptian-Hellenic cultural links we have the stories of Plato and Aristotle. In the *Republic, Book IV*, Plato shows a tripartite division of society divided into rulers, military and «employees»²⁷. In the third group, Plato lists various types of workers, noting that to each

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22 Cf. Herodotus, *History II*, 166. Cf. Herodotus, *Le Historie II*, trans. Fulvio Barberis (Milano: Garzanti editore, 1999), 168

23 Cf. Herodotus, *History II*, 166.

24 Herodotus, *History II*, 167.

25 Herodotus, *History II*, 167.

26 Cf. Ricardo Martínez Lacy, «Una nueva interpretación de la antigüedad clásica», *Revistas Unam* 8 (1990): 111-156; accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.revistas.unam>.

27 Cf. Platón, *La República* (Madrid: Gredos, 2003). Libro IV, 428e; 430; II, 371d-e.

nature corresponds an occupation²⁸: carpenters, blacksmiths, artisans, shepherds, builders, etc. Plato adds: «Nature has not made shoemakers and blacksmiths; such occupations degrade to the exercise: vile mercenaries, *nameless wretches, who are excluded by reason of their status, from political rights*»²⁹. Similarly, Aristotle states that

For slaves also are not in one of the classes mentioned, nor are freedmen. For it is true that not all the persons indispensable for the existence of a state are to be deemed citizens, since even the sons of citizens are not citizens in the same sense as the adults: the latter are citizens in the full sense, the former only by presumption¹—they are citizens, but incomplete ones. In ancient times in fact the artisan class in some states consisted of slaves or aliens, owing to which the great mass of artisans are so even now³⁰.

Therefore, according to Aristotle, «and the best-ordered state will not make an artisan a citizen»³¹, and in *Politics*, Aristotle gives the following list³², which describes the social structure of the Greek polis:

Yet among barbarians the female and the slave have the same rank; and the cause of this is that barbarians have no class of natural rulers, but with them the conjugal partnership is a partnership of female slave and male slave. Hence the saying of the poets -«This meet that Greeks should rulebarbarians-» implying that barbarian and slave are the same in nature. From these two partnerships then is first composed the household, and Hesiod was right when he wrote «First and foremost a house and a wife and an ox for the ploughing» for the ox serves instead of a servant for the poor.

This social structure reflects a Greek imaginary of society, which appears in Aristotle's lists. Man is a political animal: «therefore it is clear that the city-state is a natural growth, and that man is by nature

28 Cf. Platón, *La República II*, 374e.

29 Platón, *La República V*; Jean Pierre Vernant, *Mito y pensamiento en la Grecia antigua*, 248; Ángel Muñoz G., «Esclavitud: Presencia de Aristóteles en la polis colonial», *Revista de Filosofía* 1, Vol. 55 (2007): 7-33.

30 Cf. Aristotle, *Politic*, 1258, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>; cf. Aristóteles, *Política*, trans. Manuel García Valdés (Madrid: Gredos, 1988), 1278a 6-8.

31 Aristotle, *Politic* 1252b. Ernest Barker, *Teoría Política Griega* (Brasilia: Editora Universidade de Brasilia, 1978), 5

32 Cf. Aristotle, *Politic* 1252b.

a political animal, and a man that is by nature and not merely by fortune citiless is either low in the scale of humanity or above it like the clanless, lawless, hearthless»³³. Plutarch tells us the same imaginary in Rome «determined to divide the entire body of the people [...] He distributed them, accordingly, by arts and trades, into musicians, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leatherworkers, carriers, braziers, and potters»³⁴. We find the same imaginaries isotopies in the text of the *Republic* and the *Politics*. The first is the stratification of «barbarian, woman and slave» as belonging to a nature different from the Greek. Between the two groups, Aristotle states that the Greek is a «being destined to rule» by nature. The second imaginary isotopy refers to an accepted union between different social strata. «Really does not fit between them other union than slave with slave»³⁵, an issue that we also find in *Quid IV: 1*:

The group of families of priests, Levites and Israelites can marry each other. The group of Israelites profaned, Levites emancipated, converts can marry each other. The group of converts, emancipated, bastards, guibeonitas of unknown and collected family can also marry each other.

The imaginary isotopies between the list from Herodotus and those mentioned by Plato and Aristotle show that these enumerations include both an attitude as well as a stratified social structure of socially segregated groups. The passage from Plato we mentioned is remarkable because of the consequence of this segregation: «miserable nameless, who are excluded by reason of their status, political rights»³⁶. Because of their state, these individuals lack from «political rights». These texts are written in the third person, but never in the first person, since slaves and workers are semi-voice, mute, etc. In turn, the threefold structure not only expresses a casual and idle list, but reflects a synchronous-pragmatic structure (social imaginary), typical in many Ancient cultures, as mentioned by Herodotus, and

33 Cf. Aristotle, *Politic*, 1253a 2-4.

34 Cf. Plutach, *Parallel Lives*, *Numa* xvii, 2, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>.

35 Cf. Platón, *La República* iii, 415 a-c.

36 Cf. Platón, *La República* v.

similar to the one mentioned by J. Jeremias in relation to Israel. These lists express a stratification of Greek society similar to the aforementioned Quid IV, 1, they also show the legitimation of the rule by philosophers, priests and warriors³⁷. This list shows that the different social status depends of the sacral function in the diversity of trades performed by each group, justified by the difference in nature that mediates between the group of Greeks and the group of barbarians, women and slaves, thus maintaining the blood relationships that are to prevail between the different strata of society.

2.2.2 Lists of the emergence of slaves

In the lists mentioned earlier individuals segregated are significant to understand the social structure of ancient societies, and when compared with those found in the Semitic World upon the return from Exile and in the New Testament period. The isotopies between Greek and Semitic lists express in our view a fundamental synchronic aspect: the segregator character of the society in the Old World. This fundamental segregator character is evident, besides the aforementioned lists in the *Republic* and *Politics*, other one is found in Herodotus' *Histories*: «None of the warrior caste followed him, only shopkeepers, craftsmen and peddlers»³⁸. A similar list is found in Egypt; Diodorus Siculus says about the slaves working in the mines:

You can not look at those unhappy, they can not even clean their bodies and cover their nakedness, without grieve for their tragic fate. For there is no room any leniency or regard for the sick, the feeble, the elders and women too. Forced to blows, all must continue to work until death puts an end to their torments and misery³⁹.

In *The Book of the Dead* we find a list with a more religious connotation that may well be classified as a social imaginary of marginal people or eschatological list: «I gave bread to the hungry, water to

37 Cf. Gerd Theissen, *A Theory of Primitive Christian Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1999), 101.

38 Cf. Herodotus, *History II*, 141; Jacob Buckhardt, *Historia de la cultura griega*. Tomo II (Barcelona: Editorial Iberia, 1964), 304; Martin Hengel, *Earliest Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 155-156.

39 Diodor von Sicilien, «Historische Bibliothek», lib. 3, cap. 13, 260, take out of Hosea Jaffe, *del tribalismo al socialismo* (México: Siglo XXI, 1976), 83.

the thirsty, clothing the naked, a boat to whom lacked one a boat (...) Save me because»⁴⁰. This list is similar to another found in Ap. Soph 7: 4-6 and TestJoseph 1: 4-7. The latter text says:

A cistern *I fell*, but the Almighty took me. *I was sold* as a slave, but the Lord delivered me. *I was taken* into captivity, but his powerful hand helped me. *I felt* burdened by hunger, but the Lord fed me. *I was alone*, but God comforted me; *I was sick*, but the Almighty visited me *I was lying in prison*, but The Saviour took pity on me, *in chains I was*, but he broke me *I was surrounded by slander*, but he defended me. *I was condemned* by the Egyptians, but he saved me *from envy* of my fellow servants, but he praised me⁴¹.

The imaginary isotopies in these texts group to a broad spectrum of marginal individuals based on their *status*⁴²: they belong to groups without political rights. Some groups are characterized as «unfortunate», «miserable», «rogue» and integrate the sick, feeble, elderly, women, children, homosexuals, prisoners, hungry, lonely, imprisoned, slandered and condemned; other groups are mentioned because of their skill: slaves, shopkeepers, artisans, hawkers, cowherds, swineherds, merchants, interpreters, and pilots: these two groups will be classified as *πτωχός* and *πένης* respectively⁴³. In addition, it is interesting to study the imaginary isotopies between the text of Gen 37-50 and Test Joseph 1:1-7. The protagonist speaks in the first person in the text of Test Joseph 1:1-7, but not in Gen 37. In Test Joseph, the protagonist narrates his sufferings in the first person. «I fell... I was sold... I was born... I was overwhelmed... I was just... I was sick... I was imprisoned...». This intertextuality shows that the emergence of the suffering self; the slave, oppressed, sick, imprisoned are established as someone who narrates their sufferings before the Lord/Yahweh, as do the stories of the passion of the righteous. This list represent social imaginary of the groups of poor, blinds, and

40 Mircea Eliade, *Historia de las creencias religiosas*. Tomo 1. (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1978) 128.

41 Martin de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*. Edited according to Cambridge University Library ms Ff I.24 fol. 203a-261b with short notes, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1970, 67-68. The translation is mine.

42 Job 31,13-40; Ap. Soph 6, 3-7.

43 Cf. Moses Finley, *La economía de la sociedad griega*, 74.

lames are framed in a cultural transformation of the Middle East. In the words of J. Perkins, «in the Hellenistic period and the early period or the Roman Empire the suffering body became the site of a concern of cultural significance and this gave rise to the creation of a new subjectivity -the self as suffering»⁴⁴.

3. Lists in the semitic world

3.1 Lists in post-Exile

During the post-Exile, upon return from captivity we observe a process of Greek and Mesopotamian influences in Israel, which explains that it is no longer the Patriarchs nor the whole people who are the subject of the promises, but that certain groups within Israel are «the rest», «the elected»⁴⁵. It is impossible not to emphasize the importance of the introduction of new eschatological subjects because, it is a literary emergence that reflects a new socio-religious sensitivity never seen before with the characteristics of Jewish prophetic literature. These prophetic lists have the pragmatic function of highlighting a social conflict which not only refers to Palestine but transcends national boundaries and touches on the socio-political structures of the ancient world⁴⁶, while at the same time, they postulate a common destiny for all those secularly marginalized groups. Indeed, one of *the synchronous functions of these post-exilic lists is to legitimize* certain groups, excluding others. J. Jeremias⁴⁷

44 Judith Perkins, *Suffering Self. Pain and Narrative Representation in the Early Christian Era*, 7.

45 During the pre-exile period, we can distinguish different types of list: a) The patriarchs are *the elected*, and therefore *social individuals with proper names (elders, sterile or outlaws) of the divine promises*, since they transform their clans, by the call of God, into actors of a history of salvation according to the divine promise; this election is reflected e.g. in lists that mention Ex 3:6; b) We also find other *ethical-legal inclusive lists*, examples are found in Lev 21: 14;21:17-24; Deut 16: 11-12 ;c) We find another type of *genealogical list* interested in *discussing purity of origin*, which lists the Israelites who participate in final events, such as slavery in Egypt, or who initiate a new era such as the liberation, the return from exile, etc e.g. in Gen 46: 8; d) Finally, we find lists of *prophetic reformist* texts, similar to the inclusive lists, e.g. Jer 7: 6; However, other texts break with this reformist perspective and radicalize their approach, formulating *utopian-eschatological lists* elaborated mostly during the Persian period, e.g. in Jdt 9: 11; Isa 29:18-19; Isa 35:5-6; 42:7.

46 Cf. Klaus Wengst, *Humility. Solidarity to the Humiliated* (London: SCM Press Munich, 1987), 21.

47 Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalén en tiempos de Jesús*, 289.

notes the importance of two texts in the post-exilic period, 1 Cro 9:1s and Esd 2:6s, which mention the exclusion of those who are unable to prove their origin from lists. Nonetheless, there is also an influence that repeats and legitimizes the *status quo* of Greek culture in Israel; these are lists in which we find the model of society advocated in the Greek world, e.g. Sirach 38: 24-26.

Leisure gives the scribe the chance to acquire wisdom; a man with few commitments can grow wise. 25 How can the ploughman become wise, whose sole ambition is to wield the goad, driving his oxen, engrossed in their work, his conversation limited to bullocks, 26 his thoughts absorbed in the furrows he traces and his long evenings spent in fattening heifers?⁴⁸.

Considering that in antiquity the scribe is usually associated with priesthood, these lists clearly legitimize the segregation between the occupation of scribe, priest and popular occupations.

3.2 Utopian-eschatological lists

Similarly to the texts mentioned by J. Jeremias, prophetic lists of anonymous individuals emerge during this period, which claim legitimacy not in the past but in an utopian vision of the promise made by God to his people. We find these lists in Psalms 82: 3-4 and 146: 6-10; Isa 29: 18s; 35: 5s; 42: 7.18; 61: 1-2. These texts are characterized by a series of figures who are recipients of the eschaton announced by the prophetic writing. Lists in prophetic texts such as Isa 61:1 and 29:18-19 show a literary-programmatic nature and presuppose a social inversion of perspective in relation to the assessment of poverty and wealth in Israel. The list that appears in Isa 29: 18-19 reflects an apocalyptic mentality:

That day the deaf will hear the words of the book and, delivered from shadow and darkness, the eyes of the blind will see. 19 The lowly will find ever more joy in Yahweh and the poorest of people will delight in the Holy One of Israel

This saying in Isa 29:18-19 reflects a utopian-eschatological inversion peculiar to post-exile prophecies, which describe the signs

48 José Angel Ubieta, dir., *The New Jerusalem Bible* (Bilbao: DDB, 1998). The Texts follows BibleWorks program.

of the eschaton and establish a maximum metaphorical tension with respect to other Greek-Roman lists and the lists present in pre-exilic text such as Lev 21:17-24. The original meaning of the text of Isa 61:1 is contextualized in relation to the return and the task of national reconstruction; the Third Isaiah strives to announce to people the utopian images of the eschaton. Considering the Greco-Roman context, these lists must necessarily be understood in a metaphorical or ideal sense rather than in a literal sense.

3.3 Apocalyptic lists

In apocalyptic literature exists multiple «lists of revealed things»⁴⁹, in which lists of signs and cosmic enigmas, and lists of recipients of salvation are mentioned, e.g. in 1 Enoch 41, 1-7; 43:1-2; 60: 11-22; 2 Enoch 23:1; 40:1-13. According to John Collins it is a matter of «cosmological secrets», «all things in heaven and on earth and sea, the course and location of all the elements, the season of the year, the course and mutation days, and the commands and teachings (2 Enoch 23:1)»⁵⁰. A long list found in the book iv Esdras 5, 1-12:

Hear concerning the signs! behold, the days are coming and in those days men shall be amazed at very great wonders and the truth faith shall hide from uprightness. If God will permit, you will see wonders.

49 J. Ashton, «Riddles and Mysteries», in Fortna, Tom R. Thatcher, *Jesus in Johanne Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 2001), 331-340; M. Stone, «Lists of Things Revealed in the Apocalyptic Literature» in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God*.

50 J. Collins, *Daniel. An Introduction to Apocalyptic literature*. v. xx, (Michigan: William Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984), 17. Collins notes that these lists belong to the Wisdom Literature. In the biblical context we are ready in the Psalms 82: 3-4 and 146: 6-10; Isa 29: 18f; 35:5s; 42: 7.18; 61: 1-2; and Luke 7: 22 par Matthew 11: 5, these texts are characterized by form lists of characters. Here are recipients of the eschaton announced by the prophetic writing. Others lists Cf. Ezr 2: 1-2 «These were the people of the province who returned from the captivity of the Exile, those whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had deported to Babylon, and who returned to Jerusalem and Judah, each to his own town»; Ezr 2: 62 «These had looked for their entries in the official genealogies but were not to be found there, and were hence disqualified from the priesthood»; Ezr 8: 1 «These, with their genealogies, were the heads of families who set out from Babylon with me in the reign of King Artaxerxes»; Neh 7:5 «Nehemiah 7:5-7 My God then inspired me to assemble the nobles, the officials and the people for the purpose of taking a census by families. I discovered the genealogical register of those who had returned in the first group, and there I found entered: 6 These are the people of the province who returned from the captivity of the Exile, those whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had deported, and who returned to Jerusalem and Judah, each to his own town. 7 They were the ones who arrived with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigv».

After the third vision, the earth shall be disturbed and suddenly the sun shall appear by night, and the moon by day. And blood shall drip from wood, and speech shall be heard from stone, and peoples shall fight with peoples; and workers of signs shall hold power, and tellers of tales shall be mighty; and at that time, the sea shall often be moved in various places, and there shall be abysses, and atmospheres shall be changed; and the birds of heaven shall change their places and the sea of Sodom shall swarm with fish; and fire shall be sent forth often, and a sign shall be born of women; and men shall fight with another, sons with fathers and fathers with sons, mothers and daughters opposed to one another⁵¹.

The angel enumerates a series of riddles or signs, Ezra asking about its meaning in view of the inability of the visionary claim to know the wisdom of the Most High (v.40). Also 1 Enoch 69: 15-21; We found at Qumran lists of trees used to burn the burnt offering on the altar (1 Enoch 28-30; Test Levi 18:23; Jub 21:12). We also find lists that are intended to explain an astrological system, as well as in 1 Enoch 78: 1-2; 82: 13-15, in the latter it is the names of the cosmic guides that separate the four seasons: «These are the names of the guides fixed separating all four seasons: Meljiel, Helenmelek, Meleyal and Natel»⁵²; this list and the like are intended to articulate an astral system that explains the operation of the seasons, months, weeks and days.

3.4 Function of apocalyptic lists

In the book of 1 Enoch are found several lists of names of angels; they meet both an aethiologic as anthropological role, explaining the causes of diseases such as psychic functioning, and e.g. in 1 Enoch 6.5-8 (69.1-3. 4-12). There are lists of Fallen Angels, angels loyalty to Yahwéh; «these were the names of their leaders: Semyaza was supreme commander». There are also lists of the Holy angels and in 1 Enoch 20: 1-7 (40:9; 3 Enoch 17: 18 and 19-22), the name of the holy angels who watch; which their function, according to Alejandro Diez

51 Michael Stone (ed.), *The Armenian Version of IV Ezra*, (Montana. Scholars Press Missoula, 1979), 65-67.

52 Matthew Black, *Apocalipsis Henoch I. Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970). The translation in mine.

Macho, is to be pastors or leaders of the destinies of nations. They are the representatives in heaven of the kingdoms of the earth⁵³; just as the demons, the angels are organized as a whole, a realm where every angel is the representative of a kingdom of the earth. Just as the demons, the angels are organized as a whole, a realm where every angel is a kingdom of the earth. Besides, they exist lists of impious and righteous, e.g. the names of impious (CD-A v, 18 Jd 1,11) or elected are predetermined from the start, therefore these lists explain the origin of diseases, pests, and poverty in history; and explain the dynamics of the evil in history. The first places, of these lists have a function to answer the issue of theodicy. In second, they show a social compression: the military structure as a model of understanding violence and sin. In connection with the psycho-anthropological function, a good example is TestRuben 2: 1-3.4-8.3:1-8; these lists delivered an explanation of the psychic-anthropological operation.

4. Eschatological lists in Qumran

Various Qumran texts mention lists of astronomical mysteries and names of angels. We also find some texts such as 4Q339 and 4Q340 that mention lists of false prophets and lists of names. We find as well other lists on the segregation or participation of the people in the community. In text such as CD-A col. II: 9.13 «their names were established with precision»⁵⁴, and CD-A, col. IV: 5 «Here is the detailed list of their names, according to their genealogy and the age of its location and the number of their sufferings and years of residence and details their deeds»⁵⁵. The Qumran community believed to be the salvation of the community for the will of God. Texts as 4Q269 7; 4Q272 1, col II-II; 4Q273 4, col. II; and fr. 10 col.

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- 53 Alejandro Diez Macho, *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* IV (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1984), 241, nota 8.
- 54 Misnah, Meg ii: 4. «All are apt to read the roll except for the deaf, stupid or minor»; Misnah, Rosh ha-shana ii, 8 «These are unfit to testify, he who plays dice, the usurer, who drives away the pigeons, traffickers with products sabbatical, and slaves» the translate is mine; too Yom iii, 11; Ker I, 4.5 ii, 1; Mak iii, 1.2; San x, 1.2.34; 1 MQ iii, 1.2.3; Enoch 69:2-3, 69: 4-12; 4Q269 7:4Q272 1, i-ii; 4Q273 4, ii; and fr. 10 col.i, 7 ;11Q19 col. XLv, 12-18; CD XV, 15-17».
- 55 F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition I-II*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1997, 557.

1, 7, show idea of exclusionary salvation of professing members of the sect and negative opinion of those who did not belong to it; in the lists of 11Q20 col. XII, 6-18: «No blind person shall enter it for his entire lifetime, (...) And any man who purifies himself from his discharge shall count seven days for his purification, and he shall wash on the [seventh [da]... And anyone im] pure through contact with a corpse shall (...) And anyone with leprosy or a skin disease shall not enter (...) trader, and the temple 13 [he shall not enter]»⁵⁶ and CD XV: 15-17: «And no-one who is stupid or deranged should enter; and anyone feeble[-minded and insane,] 16 those with eyes too weak t[o see,]the lame [or] one who stumbles, o[r a deaf person,] or an un[der-a]ge boy,none 17 of these should one allow to enter [the congregation, since the holyangels]»⁵⁷. The contrast of these lists with the text of 4Q521 is remarkable and significant. The text 4Q521 is a pre-Qumran text and the ideology is similar to the *Enoch Epistle*. If the Book of Watchers show that elects and righteous are the poor and humbles (1Enoch 2:7; 25:4), the *Enoch Epistle* grows this perspective (104:2). In the *Enoch Epistle* the concept of righteous mentioned in the Book of Watchers (1 Enoch 5.7; 10.17; 25.4) is developed where it is said: «This tree will be given to the righteous and humble». Although Sacchi said: «The elect are for our author the righteous and humble», he does not draw the relevant conclusions and does not consider the appointment of 1Enoch 2.7 «The Chosen (...) they shall inherit the earth», which interprets Psalm 37: 11: «the poor shall inherit the earth»⁵⁸. Nor is it coincidence that during this period there is a series of lists of subjects pursued as well as in the *Enoch Epistle* (1En 104: 2 and TestJudah 25: 4), where the righteous is listed: poor, sick, needy who are promised life, following in this the scheme humiliation-exaltation. This ideological coincidence is not accidental and shows that the «elect (righteous and wise) and

56 F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1301.

57 F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 565.

58 Matthew Black, *Apocalipsis Henoch I. Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1970. The translation in mine.

the ungodly (sinners and fools) are respectively identified with the poor (the helpless) and the rich (the powerful)⁵⁹. The righteous are identified in these lists with marginal subjects as Ap.Soph 7:2-11; Job 31:13-23; Matthew 25: 31-46. The righteous is not only the one who protects the fatherless and the widow, but also the one who identifies with suffering as shown in TestJoseph 1: 1-7.

In 4Q521 according to the analysis by H. Kvalbein⁶⁰ there are two series in vv. 5-8; and vv. 12-13; an invitation in vv.3-4 and a commentary in vv. 9,11, as well as three groups of characters. In the first group, vv. 2-6 list people named as v.2 «saints»; v. 4 «you all you seek», «those who expect»; v. 5 «godly»; «fair»; v.6 «poor»; «the loyals»; «pious». In the second group, vv. 7-8 mention a *list of characters* similar to that found in Isaiah 61:1 and 35: 5. Verse 7 lists the pious; v.8 the prisoners, blind, and twisted⁶¹.

7 For honor the pious, on the throne of his eternal kingship,

8 freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening a crooked.

In the third group, v. 12 mentions a *list of eschatological subjects*: injured, dead, poor.

12 For he heals the badly wounded and dead as the living will announce good news to the poor, will fill the...

Verse 12 mentions the «badly injured», «dead» and «poor», alluding directly to Isaiah 61:1 which, as is known, speaks of Yahweh's anointed. Frag 2 col II v. 2. 7 performs a recount based on the text of Isaiah 35:5 and 61:1. Similar lists are found in Isaiah 29: 18s; 35: 5s; 42: 7.18; Psalm 146: 6-10 and Luke 7:21-27 (par 22 Matthew 11: 5). Specifically, vv. 8. 12 employ a list from the passage of Isaiah 61:1, perhaps in confluence with Salm 146: 6-10, to describe *groups who are recipients of eschatological signs*. In these text we find that

59 Gabriele Boccaccini, *Oltre l'ipotesi essenica. Lo scisma tra Qumran e il giudaismo enochico* (Brescia: Paideia, 2003), 239.

60 Helmut Kvalbein, „Die Wunder der Endzeit. Beobachtungen zu 4Q521 und Matth 11, 5p“, ZNW 88 (1997): 111-125.

61 F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1044.

marginal characters are vindicated by means of lists as members of God's ideal people; therefore these lists are understood bearing in mind the pragmatic function revealed in them. These texts evidence a political emergence of the suffering self.

5. Lists of sufferers in christian writings

As we have already noted, in the biblical texts a multitude of suffering individuals become protagonists of history as recipients of God's action and his kingdom, e.g. in Mark 3: 16-19; Matthew 15:30; 25:31-36.

5.1 Multiple utopian-eschatological lists

Texts such as Luke 4: 18; 14:13; 14:21 and Luke 7: 22-23 (Matthew 11: 4-14) show lists of individuals that respond to the prophetic belief in the predestination of the subjects of the eschaton that is developed in apocalyptic movements; but the determinism in the synoptic gospel is not the same as it is shown in texts such as CD-A col. II, 9.13 «their names were established with precision», and CD-A, IV: 5 «Here is the detailed list of their names, according to their genealogy and the age of its location and the number of their sufferings and years of residence and details their deeds»⁶². In different way, in the saying of Luke 7: 22-23 said:

22 Then he gave the messengers their answer, 'Go back and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind see again, the lame walk, those suffering from virulent skin-diseases are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised to life, the good news is proclaimed to the poor; 23 and blessed is anyone who does not find me a cause of falling.

Similarly, the passage in Luke 4:18-19 «18 The spirit of the Lord is on me, for he has anointed me to bring the good news to the afflicted. He has sent me to proclaim liberty to captives, sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, 19 to proclaim a year of favour

62 F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 557.

from the Lord», is built in relation to the list of Isa 61:1-2. In this saying, eschatological subjects are listed according to the wording of two texts from Isaiah: Is 61:1-2 and 35: 5-6. Jacques Dupont, explaining the text of Is 61:1-2, observes that «we find here a list of the beneficiaries of the message of salvation that enumerates the “poor”, the contrite of heart, the deportees, the prisoners, the afflicted and those with depressed spirit»⁶³; in 1QH XVIII, 15, there is only one cast: the poor, those who are crushed in spirit and the afflicted⁶⁴. We also have a lists that enumerates the beneficiaries of the saving atonement in Isa 29: 18-19; 35: 3-6; and Jer 31: 8-9: the weak hands, the unsteady knees, the contrite heart, blind, deaf, lame and mute. The contrast between these lists and the lists belonging to rabbinic Judaism show divergent social imaginary: the latter possess above all a mainly casuistic and exclusive nature. One Tannaita list said «four types of men are compared to a dead man, the lame, the blind, the leper and the widow» (Ned 64b Bar); in Qumran we find several, examples, e.g. 1Q28a col.II,3-8:

No man, defiled by any of the impurities 4 of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and no-one who is defiled by these should be 5 established in his office amongst the congregation: everyone who is defiled in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or 6 in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish 7 visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who cannot keep upright in the midst of the assembly; 8 these shall not enter to take their place among the congregation of the men of renown, for the angels 9 of holiness are among their congregation⁶⁵

Further, 4Q266 fr.8 col. I, 6-9 says, «And no-one stupid 7 [or de]ranged should enter; and anyone feeble-minded and insane, those with eyes to weak to see, 8 and the lame or one who stumbles, or a deaf person, or an under-age boy, none 9 of these shall enter

63 Jacques Dupont, *Le Beatitudini. Il Problema Letterario. La buona Novella* (Roma: Edizione Paoline, 1979), 557. La cita en italiano: «troviamo qui una lista dei beneficiary del mesaggio di salvezza che enumera I “poveri”, I contriti di cuore, I deportati, I prigionieri, gli afflitti e coloro che hanno lo spirit abbattuto».

64 Dupont also mentions Isa 58, 6.7.9-11 y Job 24, 2-11; 29, 12-13.15-17.

65 F. Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103.

the congregation, for the holy angels»⁶⁶. The list in Qumran is eschatological, echoing Lev 21: 17-24. It is a realized eschatology as shown by the expression *for the angels of holiness are among the congregation*; it is an commensality eschatology, the Kingdom of God is already among us! According to James Dunn, the text of Luke 14: 13-21 «When you give a feast, invite the poor, the crippled, the lame and the blind» expresses that: «the closeness of Luke terminology used in the Qumran suggests quite strongly that Jesus gave his exhortation in view of Qumran»⁶⁷. In both cases there is commensality, but in the case of the Qumran list it is a commensality from which the marginal individuals listed therein are excluded, whereas in the Lucan text commensality consists precisely of those who are excluded in the text of Lev 21:17-24 and 1Q28a. The Jesus commensality with the poor and sinners is inserted as requisite for participation in the Kingdom of God, whose eschatological subjects, i.e. the mediators of the Kingdom are enumerated in these lists developed in prophetic-apocalyptic movements: that is, the suffering selves becomes an active and political self.

The use of these lists of eschatological subjects expresses the reality of that utopian formulation. The elects of the new covenant are the excluded and secularly suffering self. The emergence of the Kingdom is a reality in the person of Jesus, so it is not a coincidence that the story of Luke 7: 22-23 adds that «at that time Jesus healed many of diseases, plagues and evil spirits; and to many blind He gave sight» (7: 21). However, the fact that the proclamation of the Gospel is addressed to people such as the blind, lame, lepers, and deaf shows the prophetic conviction that surfaces upon the return from exile; the so-called eschatological inversion is fulfilled when God chooses characters paradoxically disgraced in the ancient world as agents of the eschaton.

66 F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 593.

67 James Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (Gran Rapids-Michigan: W. Eerdmanns Publishing, 2003), 604.

5.2 The list in Matthew 25: 31-46

In the Gospel of Matthew, we may find the following list of eschatological suffering which displays similarities with the list of Ap. Soph 7: 4-6 and Test Joseph 1: 4-7 already mentioned above:

Test Joseph 1: 4-7

A cistern *I fell* , but the Almighty took me. *I was sold* as a slave, but the Lord delivered me. *I was taken* into captivity, but his powerful hand helped me. *I felt* burdened by hunger, but the Lord fed me. *I was alone*, but God comforted me; *I was sick*, but the Almighty visited me . *I lay imprisoned* , but El Salvador took pity on me, *in chains was* , but he broke me. *I was surrounded* slander, but he defended me *condemned* by the Egyptians, but he saved me *from envy* of my fellow servants, but he praised me.

Matthew 25:31-36

31 'When the Son of man comes in his glory, escorted by all the angels, then he will take his seat on his throne of glory....

35 For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you made me welcome, 36 lacking clothes and you clothed me, *sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me.* 37 Then the upright will say to him in reply, «Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you drink? 38 When did we see you a stranger and make you welcome, lacking clothes and clothe you? 39 When did we find you sick or in prison and go to see you?» 40 And the King will answer, «In truth I tell you, in so far as you did this to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it to me».

The two texts coincide in three passages: «For I was hungry and you gave me food. Sick and you visited me; in prison and you

came to me», and Matthew add three others: «I was thirsty and you gave me drink: I was a stranger and you welcomed me, naked and you clothed me». The two lists belong to the paradigm of the passion of the righteous, who speaks in the first person and is exalted post-mortem but who in life bears a condition of suffering and marginality. Unlike the text of TestJoseph 1: 4-7 and other texts of this paradigm, Matthew's text is characterized by surprisingly identifying the suffering self that speaks in the first person as the glorious Son of Man. This list shows that the suffering body has become an epistemological and theological criterion to discriminate the believers in the final judgment, who are ultimately defined by their attitude toward the victims in history. This list is important because it shows that the celestial self, «the Son of Man», is integrated in –and therefore identified with– this list of marginal individuals.

It is important to note that the identification of the human self with a celestial being of a glorious self such as the Son of man is common during this time in both Jewish and Christian texts, e.g. Elijah with John the Baptist; Melchizedek with the Teacher of Righteousness in Qumran, etc. But what is new from this point of view is the mystical identification of the glorious self of God himself with a number of selves belonging to marginalized and suffering individuals. The imaginary may be that the glorious self of the Son of man has a collective corporeality embodied in the victims of history. Thus, it is important to note that Christianity will establish by means of these lists an understanding of God's self as a self that suffers in those who suffer.

6. Final words

These reflections have strived to place the theme of suffering and death of farmers, sick, deformed, and scoundrels in antiquity as the appropriate context for understanding the death of Christ. As we have shown, the reflections by Judith Perkins about the emergence of the suffering self during the second century AD should be traced back to a much earlier and wider historical-cultural process that goes back to

the post-Exile period. The study that we have undertaken, by means of a study of lists, shows evidence a cultural process that is not merely biblical but broader and deeper. It affects large segments of diverse cultures and expresses a social and political emergence of diverse marginalized individuals who lack political rights. The studied lists show that these individuals describe a social and political structure in both the Greco-Roman as well as Jewish world. In this sense, the literary and cultural study we have undertaken has highlighted the correspondence between lists in the Palestinian and Greco-Roman world which had the purpose of pointing to the social emergence for these socially and politically marginalized individuals. All this helps us understand a little better the meaning of the preaching of a Galilean peasant who was crucified in Palestine and who the Christian community confessed as the Messiah and Son of God.

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