'A time of unheard of affliction must precede the coming of the Kingdom. Out of these woes the Messiah will be brought to birth. That was a view prevalent far and wide: in no other wise could the events of the last time be imagined.'

Albert Schweitzer ¹

'Any attempt to sketch out what Jesus expected in the future will have to start from his conviction that his mission was the prelude to the coming of the eschatological times of distress.' ²

Joachim Jeremias

'Just as the tribulation precedes the kingdom, so Jesus is to die and then know resurrection. The parallel is not fortuitous——

Dale Allison ³

'Jesus not only expected the final tribulation to happen imminently, but by the time he reached Jerusalem had also concluded that he would have to face the same tribulation'

James D.G. Dunn

'The 'messianic woes' tradition indicated that this suffering and vindication would be climatic, unique, the one-off moment when Israel's history and world history would turn their great corner at last, when YHWH's kingdom would come and his will be done on earth as it was in heaven. The central symbolic act by which Jesus gave meaning to his approaching death suggests strongly that this moment had come'

N.T. Wright ⁵

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³ Allison, Dale C. _End of the Ages Has Come: Early Interpretation of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus_. Fortress P., U.S., 1985, 139
⁵ Wright, N.T. _Jesus and the Victory of God_. Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1997. 597
Chapter One: Thesis and Methodology

Brant Pitre, in *Jesus, The Tribulation, and the End of Exile (JTEE)*, proposes a view of the Historical Jesus which allows his death, and Jesus’ perception of it, to have soteriological significance. His contribution to scholarship is original as he builds upon, develops and critiques the work of Schweitzer, Allison and Wright. His view of Jesus’ death, which he reaches in his concluding chapter, can be summarised as follows.

Jesus 'spoke of his imminent death and saw it as part of the eschatological tribulation.' However, 'Jesus expectation of suffering and death in the tribulation was not merely eschatological but messianic'. He is the shepherd and Son of Man 'who would meet his fate in the eschatological trial. Jesus understood his death as being followed by bodily resurrection. He 'also spoke and acted as if his death...would have soteriological and eschatological signficance' for 'he deliberately took the sufferings of the tribulation upon himself to atone for the sins of Israel, sins which had led them into exile' and the 'restoration of the twelve tribes in a New Exodus.'

The aim of this paper is to offer an analysis and critique of Pitre's position, paying particular attention to his methodology and his interaction with the biblical text.

6 Pitre, Brant. *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*. 505

7 Pitre, Brant. *JTEE*. 505-506 His view bears similarities with that of N.T. Wright and Scott McKnight. I mention these two as Wright is to be seen as a dialogue partner with Pitre, and McKnight, along with Pitre, are the two most significant books, in recent years, which look at the theory of the atonement and the historical Jesus. The following is a summary of Wright's view of the atonement and the historical Jesus. JVOG Ch 12. See also Chapter 4, Wright, N. T. *The Challenge of Jesus: Rediscovering Who Jesus Was and Is*. InterVarsity Press, 1999.

'Jesus, then, went to Jerusalem not just to preach, but to die'. He understood his death as the 'taking of the messianic woes unto himself'. Jesus thought of himself, in his death, as the Messiah 'the one through whom YHWH, the God of all the world, will save Israel and thereby the world'. In his death the 'true exodus will come about and evil', how 'evil will be defeated' and 'sins be forgiven'. There was more than a desire for 'martyrs glory' but a 'deep sense of vocation' in which his own death would enact what would happen to Israel, at the hands of Rome. The death of Jesus, as the servant and shepherd would 'result in YHWH becoming the king of the whole earth'. The cross, was for Jesus, the 'symbol of victory'.

McKnight has devoted an entire book to atonement and the historical Jesus McKnight, Scot. *Jesus and His Death: Historiography, the Historical Jesus, and Atonement Theory*. Baylor University Press, 2005. 336-339

Jesus thought his 'premature death was part, somehow, of God's providential plan in history', and that his death was 'the fate of a prophet'. His death was 'representative' and was the 'beginning of the eschatological ordeal, an ordeal which is a prerequisite to the 'onset of the kingdom of God.' 'The son of man is his job description' but the 'there is negligible evidence to suggest that he saw his life in the servant of Isaiah.' Jesus understood his death, as the passover victim, as being 'vicarious and protecting'.

6  Pitre, Brant. *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement*. 505

7  Pitre, Brant. *JTEE*. 505-506
Methodology

After an initial overview in chapter one of the history of scholarship on the subject of the 'tribulation' and the 'end of Exile', Pitre's monologue sets out a two-fold task in which he offers a (i) detailed overview of the concept of tribulation in second temple Judaism, followed by an (ii) interpretation of the Jesus tradition against this tribulation backdrop.

Pitre describes his first objective,

'one of the main objectives of this study will be to trace the development of the eschatological tribulation in early Jewish literature up to and during the time of Jesus, while giving attention to the varieties of expression amid the ancient documents.'

Once this close analysis of 2nd Temple literature has taken place, and conclusions have been drawn, Pitre is able to develop his second objective which,

'as we will see, on the basis of the evidence surveyed herein, the basic thesis of this study is that Jesus did in fact speak and act on the basis of the Jewish expectation of the eschatological tribulation. Moreover, his understanding of the tribulation was inextricably tied to the ancient Jewish hope for the End of Exile.'

Although the bulk of this essay will be dealing and interacting with Pitre's understanding of Jesus and the gospel data it is necessary to spend some time looking at the methodology which is employed in JTEE for this has serious implications as to whether the conclusions he draws are valid. Several aspects of Pitre's historiographical approach cannot be analysed but it is necessary to offer some reflections on (a) his historiographical approach to 2nd Temple Judaism, and (b) his approach to Historical Jesus, and (c) his understanding of the 'return from exile'.

(a) Historiography and Second Temple Judaism

Due to a lack of serious scholarship in this area Pitre is to be applauded for offering a serious study

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8 Pitre JTEE Chapter 1
9 With reluctance I use the word 'concept' as the tribulation is not to be reduced to a free floating idea but takes place in the narrative substructure of the overarching story of Second Temple Judaism.
10 Pitre JTEE Chapter 3
11 Pitre JTEE 7
12 Pitre JTEE 4
13 Pitre's epistemological method will not be studied in this paper. However, it seems that Pitre offers a foundationalist epistemology which builds, brick by brick (logion by logion) to form his overall portrait. This can be contrasted with a coherentist approach. The following journal article by Joel Willits points out the weakness of the foundationalist approach for many contemporary Historical Jesus Scholars. Willits, "Presuppositions and Procedures in the Study of the 'Historical Jesus': Or, Why I Decided Not to be a 'Historical Jesus' Scholar." Journal for the Study of the New Historical Jesus 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 61-108.
which seeks to ‘trace the development and shape of the concept of eschatological tribulation in late Second Temple Judaism.'

E.P Sanders' criticisms against Schweitzer may well have been correct when levelled against Schweitzer's use of sources, but can no longer, in the light of Pitre, be used to criticise some of his conclusions, as Pitre demonstrates, in the words of one reviewer, ‘successfully that the nexus of tribulation, the end of exile, and the coming of Messiah is present within enough strands of Second Temple Jewish literature to establish the plausibility of Jesus himself merging these themes in his own person and work.

Pitre studies and examines texts dated from 200BC to 30AD. These dates are not arbitrary but are time-bound as the ‘chosen time frame is bound on one end by the earliest Jewish apocalypses and on the other by the lifetime of Jesus himself.

These texts, those composed between 200BC to 30AD, seventeen in all, are studied to answer the following questions.

- How is the eschatological tribulation depicted in any given text?
- What is the precise literary context in which the tribulation is described or referred to?
- Is the tribulation in question explicitly messianic?
- What (if any) scriptural basis is provided for the expectation of the tribulation?
- Is there any connection between the eschatological tribulation and the restoration of Israel and the end of Exile?

These texts include Epistle of Enoch, Testament of Moses and several documents from the Dead Sea Scrolls. From these texts, usually an analysis of a section from within the document as a whole, Pitre draws the following conclusions.

1. The tribulation is tied to restoration of Israel and the End of Exile.
2. A righteous remnant arises during the tribulation.

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14 JTEE 2 On reading Chapter 2 JTEE one is reminded of the survey which was conducted by Sanders, E. P. Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion. Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 1977, A previous attempt at clarifying 2nd temple Judaic views on the tribulation was recently put forward by Dale Allison who, prior to Pitre, offered the most systematic and well argued treatment of eschatological tribulation devoting a chapter to the ‘Great Tribulation in Jewish Literature'. See Allison, Dale C. End of the Ages Has Come: Early Interpretation of the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus. Fortress P.,U.S, 1985. Chapter 2

15 ‘What is wrong with Schweitzer's reconstruction is immediately clear:....his hypothesis does not arise naturally from the study of the texts but seems to be imposed upon them, and the dogma which he ascribes to Jesus may not even in fact even be thoroughly grounded in the contemporary Jewish expectation. The expectation of sufferings before the Messiah comes, for example, which is absolutely critical to Schweitzer's hypothesis, may not precede the two wars with Rome, and numerous other elements of his eschatological scheme may be queried.’ Sanders, E. P. Jesus and Judaism. London: SCM Press, 1985, 23,


17 Pitre JTEE 23

18 The full list is 1 Enoch 93:1-10;91:11-17, 1 Enoch 91-107, The Book of Daniel, The Book of Dreams, The book of Jubilees, The Third Sibylline Oracle, the Psalms of Solomon, The Testament of Moses, 1QH, 4Q171, 4Q174 & 4Q177, 1QS, CD, 1 QM, 4Q246, 1 Enoch 37-71
3. The righteous suffer and/or die during the tribulation. This sometimes includes the suffering and/or death of a messianic figure.

4. The tribulation is tied to the coming of the Messiah, sometimes referred to as the 'Son of Man'

5. There is a tribulation precedes the final judgement.

6. The tribulation is depicted as the eschatological climax of Israel's exilic sufferings, often through the imagery of the Deuteronomic covenant curses.

7. The tribulation has two stages (1) the preliminary stage, and (2) the Great tribulation.

8. The tribulation precedes the coming of the eschatological kingdom

9. An eschatological tyrant, opponent, or Anti-Messiah arises during the tribulation.

10. Typological images from the Old Testament are used to depict the tribulation

11. The tribulation is tied to the ingathering and/or conversion of the Gentiles.

12. The tribulation has some kind of atoning or redemptive function.

13. The Jerusalem Temple is defiled and/or destroyed during the tribulation.

14. The tribulation precedes the resurrection of the dead and/or a new creation

A number of questions are raised by Pitre's methodology at this point.

1) Pitre, in limiting his study to texts produced between 200BC and 30AD, fails, except in the case of the book Daniel, to include an analysis of the Hebrew Bible/Septuagint in his study. His inclusion of Daniel is in keeping as he agrees with the majority view that the book is a 'pseudepigraphon written during the time of the Seleucid King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (ca 157-163BC). He does draw on other Old Testament books extensively when he gets onto his exegesis but he does not include them in this initial survey. In one sense we can understand that he wants to look at later texts to show the development of tribulation ideas in second temple Judaism, yet we have limited knowledge of the influence and reception history of texts such as Testament of Moses and the Dead Sea Scrolls. To be on more solid ground regarding the beliefs on the tribulation in 'common' or 'mainstream' late Second Temple Judaism we would be arguably be better placed in seeking support from the Hebrew Bible/Septuagint. By this I mean that, although the canon was not necessarily fixed —there are no hard and fast lines delimiting God's words.—, it is not possible to make a historical reconstruction of 'tribulation' beliefs with second temple Judaism.

19 Pitre JTEE 127-129
20 Ibid 41 fn. 1 this hold true for his overview of second temple themes but in his interaction with the Jesus Tradition he makes links and notices allusions/echoes with the Old Testament.
21 JTEE 52
22 'Many Jews and not a few early Christians perceived God's word in the words of the Apocrypha. During the time of Jesus, there was no closed and clearly defined canon of sacred writings.' James Charlesworth in the Forward to Desilva, David Arthur. Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance. Baker Academic, 2002.
without exploring the rich resources of the law and the prophets.

For instance Pitre offers an insightful understanding of tribulation themes in the Testament of Moses. This work, undoubtedly, is useful for understanding the mindset/worldview of its author and initial readers. However, we simply do not know how widely read this text was, and whether its opinions were accepted by Judaism at large. Or to look at another text, we may say that Pitre's study of the War Scroll found at Qumran shows us the views of 'tribulation themes' from this community, but this view cannot then be placed on Common Judaism, for the relationship between a sectarian group and those outside of it is complex, showing both similarities and differences. However, if tribulation themes, although developed in late second temple literature, are found in the law and the prophets we can be more confident that the theme of tribulation may have been common theological currency in the 'average' second temple worldview. Pitre impressively has shown us the route which could be followed, but a thorough study of Law, and most definitely the prophets, would be useful.

In my own study I have found that the curses of Deuteronomy may provide a seedbed from which later apocalyptic and tribulation themes can grow, and that once in the prophets the theme of tribulation, in one guise or another, is present. For instance the book of Malachi, dated to the fourth or fifth century BC, which I will return to in discussion of the Lord's prayer, offers a prophetic look to the arrival of the 'day of the Lord'. Of interest to us is the fact that this text is 'post-exilic', perhaps a contemporary to Nehemiah, and looks to a day, because of the unfaithfulness of God's people, of reckoning and tribulation—“For behold, the day is coming, burning like an oven, when all the arrogant and tall evildoers will be stubble. The day that is coming shall set them ablaze, says the Lord of hosts, so that it will leave them neither root nor branch. “


'Allison does not take into consideration the Old Testament, especially Isaiah 24-27, Zechariah and Daniel24...In failing to do this, Allison overlooks the key issue regarding the tribulation.25

It is this criticism of Pate and Kennard which can be levelled against Pitre's work. 26

Pate and Kennard may offer us a further insight into the concept of tribulation in the first century, but their discussion is brief and they ask different questions of the texts than Pitre. They are concerned to show whether atonement is mimetic or vicarious in the texts, whereas Pitre uses the 'return from exile' hermeneutic. To take this discussion further, for those in support of Pitre's basic thesis, a full analysis of the 'law and the prophets' for tribulation themes is both necessary and urgent. As will be shown in the discussion of the Lord's prayer, this study could enhance our understanding of key gospel texts.

2) Pitre has correctly brought out themes of tribulation in second temple literature but we may note that, although this does not undermine his approach, some texts which may refer to the tribulation have not been included in his study. For instance Wisdom of Solomon 3:5-6 and 19:22 have been read, by Pate and Kennard, as 'reorientating of the eschatological idea that the godly will undergo the Messianic Woes at the end of time to a Hellenistic setting.'27 Pitre does not discuss them, yet their potential for a 'tribulation' theme is obvious.

But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, And no torment shall touch them. 2 In the eyes of fools they seemed to die; And their departure was accounted to be their hurt, 3 And their going from us to be their ruin: But they are in peace. 4 For though in the sight of men they be punished, Their hope is full of immortality; 5 And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive great good; Because God tested them, and found them worthy of himself. 6 As gold in the furnace he proved them, And as a whole burnt offering he accepted them. 7 And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth,

24 Pitre does offer some discussion of the book of Daniel but only because he assigns it a late date
26 Also of interest to us from Pate and Kennard is their discussion of 2 and 4 Maccabees, books which Pitre fails to include in his study, which can be read successfully, in my opinion, against a tribulation backdrop. See 42-51
And like sparks among stubble they shall run to and fro.
8 They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples;
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.
9 They that trust on him shall understand truth,
And the faithful shall abide with him in love;
Because grace and mercy are to his chosen,
And he will graciously visit his holy ones. (Wisdom 3 1-9)

3) Pitre has demonstrated that an 'expectation of messianic tribulation can be found in a
diverse range of various genres of Jewish literature from the period.' However, we must be
careful, as Pitre is, not to overstate our case. Although Pitre has found tribulation themes across a
range of literature we are not in the position to state whether this was a theme with
'normative'/'mainstream' Judaism, nor, if it is a theme, how prominent it was. Did the average Jew
await, worry and pray about the tribulation? Did Jesus await the tribulation? Such questions cannot
be easily answered, although we may, on the basis of Pitre's work, say that it is appropriate to
construct a 'tribulation' hypothesis, which seeks verification from the gospel data. Pitre does not
adopt this holistic approach but focusses more on an atomistic foundationalist method.

(b) Criteria of Authenticity

From chapter two onwards Pitre seeks to examine the gospel data to see (I) whether tribulation
themes are present, (ii) and then to ascertain the authenticity of the saying or action of the
historical Jesus—He asks, does this part of the Jesus tradition go back to the historical Jesus?. He
approaches this second task by the criteria of authenticity. My discussion of the criteria approach to
historical Jesus research will be brief as I have discussed this in previous papers.

Pitre follows the criteria of authenticity as developed and used by John P. Meier

(1) Multiple Attestation
(2) Coherence

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2004, S. 1:538-539
29 JTEE 128
30 Jon Swales 'Criteria of Authenticity' and 'N.T Wright's Methodology' found at .
http://ordinand.wordpress.com/historical-jesus-method-and-criteria
31 See Meier, John P. *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus: The Roots of the Problem and the Person, Vol.
(3) Embarrassment

(4) Discontinuity

Pitre differs from Meier in his refusal to allow discontinuity with Judaism 'to be a sufficient indicator of the authenticity of a Jesus tradition' and places greater weight on the criterion of coherence than Meier. Coherence is to 'be considered especially weighty when it derives its logical force from the power to explain other authentic traditions'. In addition to Meier, Pitre adds the criterion of 'historical congruence' or 'contextual plausibility'.

The basic principle of this criterion is as follows: to the extent that features of a saying of Jesus 'fit' or are congruent with what is known of the historical setting, especially the context of late Second Temple Judaism, the plausibility that they originated with Jesus is increased.\(^3\)

As I discussed in a previous essay the criteria of authenticity, although appearing by some to be objective, are in themselves problematic. Pitre, himself, alludes to the potential for objectivity in being able to find solid ground when in discussion with other Jesus scholars.

In the absence of such detailed argumentation based on some kind of guiding criteria, scholars will simply continue to disagree with one another regarding various conclusions while the actual reasons for arriving at these conclusions remain either unknown or unarticulated.\(^3\)

However, he does say that it,

'should be admitted that the criteria of historicity are not of course without their problems—especially if they are used woodenly or inconsistently in the absence of well-reasoned argumentation...they are simply arguments from probability and not scientific 'proofs' for the much-sought-after ipissima verba Jesu'.\(^3\)

In contrast to Pitre I reject the statement that the criteria as being 'the best tools we have for and against plausibility' and instead adopt a historiographical approach which can proceed by a method of hypothesis-verification in which verification is sought from all the gospel tradition. The assumption and presupposition being that what we have is from a reliable witness.\(^3\)

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32 JTee 26-29
33 JTee 26
34 JTee 29
35 In this I draw on the hypothesis-verification method of Meyer and Wright which has been discussed in a previous paper. However, for the reliability of the gospel tradition Bauckham's recent proposal may prove to be fruitful,

'It is the contention of this book that, in the period up to the writing of the Gospels, gospel traditions were connected with named and known eyewitnesses, people who had heard the teaching of Jesus from his lips and committed it to memory, people who had witnessed the events of his ministry, death, and resurrection and themselves had formulated the stories about these events that they told. These eyewitnesses did not merely set going a process of oral transmission that soon went its own way without reference to them. They remained throughout their lifetimes the sources and...the authoritative guarantors of the stories they continued to tell.' Bauckham, Richard. Jesus and the Eyewitnesses: The
However, I have sympathy with Pitre in his use of the criterion of 'coherence' and 'historical congruence/contextual plausibility' for these criteria follow a method of historiography which moves away from a foundationalist epistemology to one of coherency. In themselves though, these criteria, do not lead to objective 'proof' as it does not protect the Jesus tradition, or the modern day historian, from the possibility of the creative tendency in the early church—a tendency which could create stories of Jesus which draw on and give echoes of appropriate second temple literature. Historical congruence does not necessarily lead to a historical Jesus, and I suggest that a theory of gospel origins which looks at the reliability/unreliability of witnesses is by far a better route to proceed down.

In the course of this essay we will simply bypass the detailed work which he produces to convince that all his passages are authentic. We may note though that he takes his view to extremes at times. For instance he examines Mark 13 in Chapter 4, and seeks to authenticate the separate parts of the archaeological discourse.

- Mark 13:5-8 authenticated in pages 231-252
- Mark 13:9-13 authenticated in pages 261-291
- Mark 13:14-27 authenticated in pages 348-377

Pitre's scholarship and dedication to the details of the text are not be questioned, but one wonders whether his methodology is the best way of looking at the the tribulation/end of exile themes of the historical Jesus.

**C) Return from Exile**

As previously mentioned, Pitre builds upon and critiques the work of N.T. Wright. In an Excurses at the end of Chapter 1 Pitre,

'makes a fundamental distinction between what I mean by 'the End of Exile,' and the meaning of similar phrases in the work of N.t. Wright'  

It is impossible to overstate the importance of the distinction being made as it allows some of the

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Similarities are also to be found with the oral paradigm being as developed by Bailey and Dunn. Dunn, James D. G. There has been a recent cascade of articles on Dunn/Bauckham. Dunn offers a response, showing points of convergence and divergence between them in a recent journal article. Dunn, James D.G. “Eyewitnesses and the Oral Jesus Tradition.” Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus 6 (March 2008): 85-105.

36 The brilliant essay by Joel Willitts explores, briefly, the role of foundationalism in current Historical Jesus scholars. Willitts, Joel. “Presuppositions and Procedures in the Study of the 'Historical Jesus': Or, Why I Decided Not to be a 'Historical Jesus' Scholar.” Journal for the Study of the New Historical Jesus 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 61-108. In my opinion Willitts takes it to far and historical Jesus research can continue without a foundationalist tendency.

37 JTEE 31
most serious criticisms of N.T. Wright's 'Return from Exile' hypothesis to be on target whilst allowing his general thesis to be pursued in a more nuanced form. Wright's position on the 'return from exile' is that,

'Most Jews of this period [Second Temple period], it seems, would have answered the question 'where are we?' in language which reduced to its simplest form, meant, we are still in exile. They believed that, in all the senses which mattered, Israel's exile was still in progress. Although she had come back from Babylon, the glorious message of the prophets remained unfulfilled, Israel still remained in thrall to foreigners; worse Israel's god had not returned to Zion.39

Pitre understands that Wright is saying three things.

1) 'The Babylonian exile had not ended.'
2) 'The exile no longer refers to the geographical expulsion and captivity of the Jews'
3) 'Wright appears to be simply equating 'the Jews' of the Second Temple Period with all 'Israel'.

For Pitre, Wright has overlooks the significant fact that even during the Second Temple period, the greater portion of Israel remained in Exile.40

For Pitre, Wright has the 'right insight but the wrong exile'.42

For Pitre, Wright has the 'right insight but the wrong exile'.

Pitre offers his own reworking of Wright's above quoted summary of his 'return from exile' position, thus highlighting the similarities and differences of their respective positions.

'Most Jews of this period [the Second Temple period], it seems, would have answered the question 'where are we?' with the response: 'we have returned to the land, but the rest of Israel is still in exile; the lost ten tribes of the northern kingdom have not yet returned.' They believed that, in all senses which mattered, Israel's exile, which had begun with the deportation to Assyria, was still in progress. Although the Judean exiles had come back from Babylon, the rest of Israel had not yet returned from being scattered by the Assyrians; hence, the glorious message of the prophets regarding the ingathering of all twelve tribes remain unfulfilled. The lost ten tribes of Israel still remained scattered among the nations.41

For Pitre, Wright has the 'right insight but the wrong exile'.42

Pitre defends his position by citing numerous biblical and intertestamental texts. The following quote from Josephus illuminate the discussion of second temple hopes and aspirations.,

Wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten

39 NT&POG 268-269 quoted by Pitre with his italics in JTEE 32
40 JTEE 34
41 JTEE 35
42 JTEE 35
tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers.43

As we go through this paper I will frequently use the phrase 'return from exile' but will use it as defined by Pitre, and we will see that this Pitre's suggestion will bear exegetical fruit.