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IN PAUL'S LETTERS AND TEMPLE THEOLOGY IN EARLY JEWISH TRADITION

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# **PAUL AND GOD'S TEMPLE**

## **THE METAPHOR OF THE TEMPLE IN PAUL'S LETTERS AND TEMPLE THEOLOGY IN EARLY JEWISH TRADITION**

Presented as a Thesis

for partial fulfillment of the requirements

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at Cincinnati

by Albert Hogeterp

2001

# **PAUL AND GOD'S TEMPLE**

## **THE METAPHOR OF THE TEMPLE IN PAUL'S LETTERS AND TEMPLE THEOLOGY IN EARLY JEWISH TRADITION**

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## INTRODUCTION

In Paul's *Letter to the Corinthians* 3:16-17 we find the following words: "Don't you know that you are God's Temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you? If someone spoils the Temple of God, then God will punish that person by destroying him; for God's Temple is holy, and that Temple you are". What did it mean in Paul's time to equate a religious congregation of converts, from Jews and Gentiles to the Christian faith, with God's Temple? Why does Paul use the metaphor of the Temple of God to address his readers, not only in the quoted passage, but also in two other passages in his *Letters to the Corinthians*? In order to answer such questions, the historical background of the religious culture about which Paul expresses certain ideas needs to be taken into account.

In this study, the historical religious culture of Second Temple Judaism at the receiving end of which Paul stood in expressing certain theocentric concepts will be the focus of our attention for explaining the background of Paul's metaphor of the Temple. The thesis of this study is to demonstrate the relation between Paul's temple imagery and Temple theology in Early Jewish tradition. From the perspective of a coherence in Paul's temple imagery, moral notions related to the metaphor of the Temple can be elucidated and compared with temple theology in Hellenistic Jewish and Palestinian Jewish texts of the Second Temple period. Since the 1990s, many new texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been published and have opened a new perspective on legal and theological issues in the sectarian community of Qumran. Among these issues are also views of the Qumran community on the Temple, which will be the focus of comparative attention in this study.

The thesis of this study will subsequently be elaborated in four chapters. In the first chapter the Jewish background of Paul the apostle and his relation to Hebrew scriptural culture will be analysed. Starting from the picture of the synagogal culture of scriptural reading reflected in Paul's Letters and in the *Acts of the Apostles*, we will propose a hypothesis of influence of Essene theology on Paul and other Christian Jews through religious interaction within Palestinian synagogal culture. Embedded in the larger context of contemporary scriptural culture, ideas about God's Temple in different texts can subsequently be compared.

In chapter two, a picture will be drawn of the historical context of attitudes to the Temple within Second Temple Judaism from the time of the Maccabees. Paul's references to the contemporary Temple service in *Romans* 9:4 and to his mission among the Gentiles as a 'priestly service' of the gospel in *Romans* 15:16, collecting the offering of the Gentiles for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem, can be better understood in a historical context of attitudes to the Temple.

In chapter three, the elaborate temple theology found in the literature of Qumran is taken apart from its place among Jewish sects in their historical development. Issues concerning purity laws and segregation, visions of the Temple, and the eschatological Temple will be discussed subsequently. The *Halakhic Letter*, recently published in 1994, throws new light on the sectarian interpretation of purity laws relating to the sectarian view on the Temple and its service. In certain places of discussion of documents from the literature of Qumran, comparison with concepts found in Paul will be pointed to by way of anticipation.

Shared traditions in temple theology of contemporary Hellenistic Jewish and Palestinian Jewish culture are elucidated in chapter four. Paul's use of the metaphor of the Temple in his *First* and *Second Letter to the Corinthians* will be studied in context to trace concepts related to the temple imagery and specific cases of Paul's drawing on Jewish tradition.

## CHAPTER 1

### PAUL AND THE CONTEMPORARY JEWISH CULTURE OF SCRIPTURAL INTERPRETATION

In this chapter, it will be demonstrated how the literary context of the reading and interpretation of Scripture is informative about shared concepts and ideas in Jewish tradition with regard to Temple theology. First, relevant aspects of Paul's Jewish descent and schooling will be discussed for tracing the background to his being versed in Scripture and for elucidating the presence and influence of Jewish tradition in Paul's Letters. Secondly, our attention will focus on the languages of Scripture on which Paul could draw in the religious culture of his time. Thirdly, it will be argued that the first-century C.E. synagogue was an important place of reading and interpretation of Scripture, through which religious concepts and ideas could be mediated and shared. Fourthly, a more applied study of the diversity of Palestinian synagogues as meeting-places and prayer-houses for Jews from the diaspora and for the Jewish sect of the Essenes<sup>1</sup>, will serve to demonstrate their predominance as places of cultural and religious interaction in the whole of contemporary Jewish culture. Finally, a survey will be given of shared methods of biblical interpretation. On the basis of this literary context, a comparative analysis of concepts underlying temple imagery in Paul and Qumran can subsequently be undertaken in chapter four. The scriptural culture in which the temple theology was rooted through the use of Scripture will, however, be our primary focus in this chapter.

#### 1 PAUL'S PREVIOUS LIFE IN JUDAISM

##### *1. Paul in his Letters and in Acts: Survey of Scholarly Considerations*

From first-hand information of passages in the Pauline Letters – 1 Cor. 15:9; 2 Cor. 11:22; Gal. 1:13-14; Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5-6 – we know certain elements of what Paul himself wanted his readers to know through his Letters about his past life in Judaism before his calling as apostle. Through the monumental study of H-D. Betz on *Galatians*, rhetorical analysis has become established in the exegesis of the Pauline Letters. Thus also the so-called 'autobiographic' accounts or testimonies, among others found in Gal. 1:12-2:21, need to be interpreted in light of ancient rhetoric<sup>2</sup>. True as this may be, rhetorical analysis which takes into account more carefully the setting and the genre of Paul's Letters does not preclude, but could even enhance the possibility to analyse with more critical precision the passages from which elements of biographical information can be derived in relation to Paul's position against his opponents<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Essenes, according to Philo. *Prob.* §§ 81-82, had their own synagogues with a liturgy of reading and expounding Scripture.

<sup>2</sup> H-D. Betz, *Galatians. A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); cf. J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* Black's New Testament Commentary (London: A&C Black Ltd., 1993) 20 referring to Betz and Longenecker about this. In B.J. Malina & J.H. Neyrey, *Portraits of Paul. An Archaeology of Ancient Personality* 34-63 rhetorical analysis is applied to Paul's self-presentation in his Letters as standing in the rhetorical tradition of the 'encomium' giving a model of ancient personality.

<sup>3</sup> The point made by J.T. Sanders and G. Lüdemann concerning the possibility of gaps and biases even in Paul's autobiographical accounts, referred to in the methodological considerations of R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*.

The first-hand information from the Pauline Letters for the biographical reconstruction of the life and work of Paul takes precedence over the account of the *Acts of the Apostles*. However, radical attempts to question any historical value of the accounts about Paul in *Acts*, leave no room for explaining places of agreement between the Pauline Letters and *Acts* and gives no credit to the Lucan assertion of depending on eyewitness and ministers of the word for sources (*Luke* 1:1-4). As Rainer Riesner, in his recent book on Paul's early period, has pointed out on the basis of a survey of scholarly positions concerning the historical framework of *Acts*, the skepticism toward its reliability has not yielded a unified approach towards an alternative framework totally independent from *Acts*<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, Riesner rightly states in his methodological considerations, that the precedence of Paul's first-hand account is "merely about a 'relative' priority of Paul's Letters before the chronological information contained in *Acts*"<sup>5</sup>. John Knox, in his book about a life of Paul, expressed this 'relative' priority of Paul's Letters already with his threefold principle of testing the credibility of information only found in *Acts*. First, the silence in Paul's Letters about it must be insignificant. Secondly, the author of *Acts* cannot be assumed to have had a special interest in framing it on the basis of a surmise. And thirdly, there should not be any competing suggestion<sup>6</sup>. When these three criteria are met, according to Knox, the particular item of information in *Acts* can be considered reliable.

For our purpose of applying of methodological points of consideration to analysis of the passages in the Pauline Letters indicative of the presence and influence of Jewish tradition in Paul's mission, the information from *Acts* will be considered reliable as far as it corroborates Paul's own words and to the extent that it can be demonstrated not to be in tension with Paul's account. This presence of Jewish influence in Paul's theology has been defended by Martin Hengel in his book on the place of the pre-Christian past of the apostle in his Letters, calling it "its latent 'Jewish' character", over against the "one-sided stress on Hellenistic influence" by the history of religions school<sup>7</sup>. A study of precepts from Jewish Law in Paul's Letters has been made by P.J. Tomson<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, the presence and influence of Jewish tradition in Paul's Letters are a well-founded subject in Pauline studies.

## 2. Situating Paul's Prior Schooling in Pharisaism

Before Paul was called to become apostle, his 'former life in Judaism' had been based on schooling in Pharisaic study of the Law. This can be inferred from both Paul's Letters and the *Acts of the Apostles*. The term 'Pharisee' is used in *Philippians* 3:5 and in *Acts* 23:6, while in *Galatians* 1:14 Paul mentions his extreme zeal for "the traditions of my fathers", αἱ πατρικαὶ μου παραδόσεις, traditions which could well be characteristic of Pharisaic

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*Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (transl. D.Scott; Grand Rapids, MI, & Cambridge, U.K., 1998) 29-30 seems to me artificial, as from the standpoint of rhetorical analysis the explanation for 'gaps' and 'biases' could rather be explained in terms of conscious choice of self-presentation and position taking by Paul the apostle.

<sup>4</sup> Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*, 3-28, there 25-28.

<sup>5</sup> Riesner, *op.cit.*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> J. Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (New York & Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950) 34.

<sup>7</sup> M.Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (in collaboration with Roland Deines; London & Philadelphia 1991) xiii and 88 n.5.

<sup>8</sup> P.J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law. Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* (Assen/Maastricht & Minneapolis 1990) Compendia III/1. A study of Jewish Law in the whole spectrum of early Christian communities reflected in the New Testament writings seems to be projected in the forthcoming study of M. Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2001).

study of the Law. For Josephus writes in the thirteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities* about Pharisaic teachings as coming 'from the fathers', expressed by the Greek clauses ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶ πατέρων and κατὰ τὴν πατρώαν παράδοσιν respectively<sup>9</sup>. Thus, it may be inferred that Paul's claim to be 'as to the Law a Pharisee', κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος (*Phil.* 3:5), in his time, meant study of the written Law and exposition in accordance with oral traditions, unwritten laws which had been introduced by the Pharisees.

In the first clause of *Galatians* 1:14, preceding Paul's reference to his previous zeal for the traditions of the fathers, Paul also refers to fellow people who aimed at advancing in Judaism. Paul here relates his advances in Judaism beyond "many of my own age among my people", πολλοὶ συνηλικιώται ἐν τῷ γένει μου. This people, γένος, was for Paul the people of Israel, as the list of *Philippians* 3:5-6, including the phrase ἐκ γένους Ἰσραὴλ, shows. The "many of my own age" involved in advancing in Judaism, probably made these advances, like Paul, by zealing for the traditions of the fathers. In this zeal, Paul claimed to have excelled beyond many of them. The second clause in *Galatians* 1:14 concerning this zeal, emphasized by the comparative adverb περισσotέρως, specifies the first clause explaining in what exactly Paul claims to have advanced in Judaism beyond many of his own age. The "many of my own age", therefore, probably included other students of the Pharisaic study of the Law and, in general, people who tried to live up to the teachings of the Law by scribes and Pharisees.

The place of Paul's Pharisaic study is, however, not specified by Paul himself in his Letters. On the other hand, the speech in *Acts* 22:3-21 attributed to Paul by the Lucan author gives much circumstantial information about this Pharisaic study, situating it in Jerusalem. Scholarly scepticism concerning the detailed information in *Acts* 22:3, mentioning Gamaliel as teacher, entails also scepticism or even denial of Jerusalem as the place of Paul's prior schooling in Pharisaism. Thus, a radical hypothesis of John Knox rather situates Paul's prior schooling in Tarsus and Damascus. Knox's hypothesis discredits the information in *Acts* concerning Paul's former life in Judaism which is bound up with the story of his persecution of the church<sup>10</sup>. He rejects the circumstantial information of *Acts* because of its dependence on Luke's "interest in Christianity as the continuation and fulfillment of authentic Judaism and in the city of Jerusalem as the place where the transition took place"<sup>11</sup>. In this narrative strategy of the author of *Luke-Acts*, according to Knox, a conception of Paul's life as centered in Jerusalem fitted well. Knox goes as far, however, as to term the story of Paul's schooling in Jerusalem the *creation* of Luke's conception, which is the more extreme position than will be maintained here.

It must be granted that the author of *Luke-Acts* had a specific narrative strategy with certain interests in portraying Paul, amounting to apparent internal contradictions and also tensions and contrasts between Luke's version and Paul's own words, which cannot be harmonized<sup>12</sup>. But there is a difference between assuming tendentious adaptation or moulding of the sources by the author to fit his interests, and the idea of *creation* by surmise, that is complete invention, of items of information relating to Paul's life. In what follows, I will

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Josephus, *AJ* XIII §§ 297 and 408 referring to Pharisaic teaching of unwritten laws.

<sup>10</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 33-40, rejecting the Acts story of Paul's persecution and conversion out of hand (p. 36) and calling it the "author's ingenious surmise", a conception to explain for Paul's persecution of the church and conversion in Damascus as a Jerusalemite Jew.

<sup>11</sup> Knox, *op.cit.*, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul, A Critical Life* (Oxford 1996) 54 whose discussion in favour of the credibility of the information of *Acts* focuses negatively on "Knox's attempt to find elements in the letters which contradict Luke" as unsuccessful.

counter Knox's negative position on the three levels of (in)significance of Paul's silence, dependence on the interest of the author of *Luke-Acts* in framing it and competing suggestions which could be pointed to.

## 2.1 Paul's Silence about the Place of his Pharisaic Study

### A. Interpretation of *Galatians* 1:13-24

In his discussion of Paul's Jewish education, arguing for the significance of Paul's silence about Jerusalem as a place of education, Knox writes that Paul's mentioning of it could be expected on various occasions, when Paul refers to his previous life in Judaism. Paul's silence about Jerusalem is for Knox the more significant in connection with the question about the place of Paul's persecuting activity, which in his interpretation of *Galatians* 1:22-23 cannot have been Jerusalem or Judea. In further casting doubt on the information of *Acts* from evidence in *Galatians* 1:11-24, Knox emphasizes that Paul writes about *visits* to Jerusalem, whereas concerning Damascus he writes that he *returned* there, which according to Knox suggests that Damascus was his home<sup>13</sup>. This is, of course, true for the early period of Paul the apostle. Damascus was the place of Paul's conversion, his calling to apostle of the gospel of Christ, and the regions of Syria and Cilicia, in which his birthplace Tarsus was located, were most probably also a home for him in terms of social support for his apostolic commission by Christian congregations there. This can be inferred from *Galatians* 1, verses 17 and 21.

The reason for Paul's silence about Jerusalem in connection with his Jewish education is, in my view, to be explained precisely by his breakaway from his 'former life in Judaism'. Paul had no interest in informing his readers extensively about his Jewish education, who exactly his fellow students and his teacher or teachers would have been. *Galatians* 1:13 may perhaps be read like a grudging cognizance of the fact that his readers in the churches of Galatia have heard about his past life in Judaism as persecutor of the church. He had to mention these things to come to terms with the threat of his opponents who challenged his mission and perhaps also his integrity. But by giving too extensive details about his 'former life in Judaism', Paul would have placed delicate information into the hands of those siding with his opponents. That sort of information could have been turned as arguments of authority against his apostolic mission. For his opponents wanted a gospel preached which was in keeping entirely with Jewish Law (*Gal.* 1:6-9; 5:1-12). The difficult position in which Paul found himself, while denouncing such opponents as 'false brothers' (*Gal.* 2:4; cf. *2 Cor.* 11:5, 12-15, 26), was that he also had to oppose Peter and others with him, who would rather have the converts from the Gentiles live like Jews (*Gal.* 2:11-14).

In the rhetoric of Paul's account of subsequent events in *Galatians* 1:12-2:21 emphasis is laid on the initial agreement between Paul and leading persons of the Christian church, whenever Jerusalem is mentioned. Paul's mention of visits to Jerusalem should, therefore, not be read as a complete account of how often and when for the first time in his whole life, also before his calling as apostle Paul visited Jerusalem for a shorter or prolonged stay. Jerusalem is mentioned in connection with the initial agreement between Paul and other apostles about each other's evangelical mission (cf. *Gal.* 2:1-10). Apart from this agreement, Paul deliberately dissociates from any human subordination in his apostolic commission, as he writes in *Galatians* 1:16-17, "in order that I would preach him among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me". The fact that Jerusalem is mentioned here already, though in a negation of not going

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<sup>13</sup> Knox, *op.cit.*, 36.

there, is in my view important. Jerusalem was on Paul's mind, even before his later visits to meet the apostles in the Jerusalem congregation. Jerusalem was important for Paul. A sense of Jerusalem's significance was continuous from Paul's former life in Judaism to his perspective as apostle of the faith in Christ. For he writes in *Romans* 9:4 that the worship, that is the worship in the Temple, belongs among others to the Israelites, among whom Paul also still counts himself (*Phil.* 3:5; *2 Cor.* 11:22).

It is significant that Paul already had the plan to preach the gospel among the Gentiles but there is no sign of agreement about this with Peter and other apostles at the first visit of Paul the apostle (*Gal.* 1:18-24). Only by the second visit of Paul the apostle, together with Barnabas and Titus, explicit mention is made of agreement on their apostolic mission with James, Peter and John. Apparently on the part of the Jerusalem church it took time to recognize an apostle in the former persecutor of the church, and even then the initial agreement on apostolic mission was broken later on (*Gal.* 2:11f.).

*Galatians* 1:22-23, which in Knox' interpretation excludes both Jerusalem and Judea as place of Paul's former persecuting activity, should in my view be read differently. Paul juxtaposes in *Gal.* 1:18-24 his direct contact with the apostles Peter and James, whom he faced personally, to his not being unknown by sight to the churches in Judea, who only had an impression about Paul from hearsay. With this juxtaposition Paul stresses that only the apostles Peter and James in Jerusalem were from the beginning involved in communications which eventually led to the initial agreement on the apostolic mission.

Paul also juxtaposes the Jerusalem church to the churches in Judea in another passage, *Romans* 15:31. Although in *Romans* 15:31 the churches of Judea and Jerusalem are mentioned side by side – as they were apparently regarded older and normative among the Christians in the diaspora – there is a marked difference in Paul's apprehension of them. He juxtaposes 'unbelievers in Judea', οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, to 'saints in Jerusalem', οἱ ἅγιοι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. This is a very extreme juxtaposition in which the two groups of Christians are perceived by Paul as separated from each other like holy and unholy, believers and disbelievers. The occasion giving rise to this polarized idea of Paul probably had to do with the challenge to Paul's mission on the part of other missionaries who insisted on keeping the Jewish Law for every convert. Among those missionaries were probably also 'unbelievers in Judea', a polemical reference of Paul. Missionaries from Judea were probably among those people who came to Antioch and insisted a life according to Jewish Law also towards converts from the Gentiles (*Gal.* 2:11-14). As Judea and Jerusalem were polarized in Paul's mission of gospel preaching among the Gentiles, it is, therefore, neither self-evident to assume that Judea and Jerusalem would have been one and the same for Paul in his former persecuting activity against the church <sup>14</sup>.

Although Paul was not known by sight to the churches of Judea, this is not said about the church of Jerusalem. Paul only writes that on the occasion of his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, he merely got to see two of the apostles to enquire, ἰστορῆσαι, of Peter first of all (*Gal.* 1:18), probably about fellow Christian views on Paul's mission as apostle. From Paul's statement that of the apostles he saw no one else than Peter and James, it cannot be excluded that he may have talked to other Christians who were not apostles. For *Galatians* 1:22 relates a plurality of those formerly persecuted. His former role of persecutor of the church may not have made it easy for Christians in these early years to forgive and accept him as a fellow brother and apostle. Thus, on the basis of *Galatians* 1:22-23, a Jerusalem-based persecution of the church organized by Paul in his former life in Judaism cannot be excluded.

<sup>14</sup> Contra J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul, A Critical Life*, 54 who, in criticizing Knox' position, rather follows Knox in the assumption that the Holy City and the countryside should be considered together in questioning where Paul's former persecuting activity took place. He, paradoxically, refers to *Rom.* 15:31 as precluding a distinction between Jerusalem and Judea.



### B. Paul's Jewish Background and his Former Persecution of the Church

As Paul's Jewish background is bound up with the story of his former role of persecutor of the church, it is important to focus our attention on whether further specified answers can be given to the question of who were persecuted and how the persecution could be organized. In *Galatians* 1:13 Paul writes that he persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it, a stronger statement than in *Philippians* 3:6 where he summarily writes "as to zeal a persecutor of the church". It should be noted that 'church of God', ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, is in the singular, while in *Galatians* 1:22 Paul writes about the 'churches of Judea' in the plural. The singular could simply stand for nascent Christianity as such, but it could also denote the church of the saints based in Jerusalem. This was the 'church of churches', of whom Paul considered James, Peter and John reputed to be pillars (*Gal.* 2:9). The hearsay which reached the churches of Judea, "he who once persecuted us, is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy" (*Gal.* 1:23), probably concerns formerly persecuted Christians of Jerusalem who had fled and returned. This fact of the conversion of a former persecutor to a supporter and even preacher of the new faith was joyous news also for churches to whom Paul was not known by sight, as they glorified God because of Paul (*Gal.* 1:24).

Paul's motivation as former persecutor of the church, according to *Philippians* 3:6, was his zeal, probably zeal for keeping the Jewish culture in which he had grown up intact, free of what was perceived as outside threat. This zeal was different from a Pharisaic zeal for the traditions of the fathers (*Gal.* 1:14). Pharisees are found disputing with Jesus in the gospels (e.g. *Matt.* 19:3f.; *Luke* 5:17f.), while according to *Luke* 7:36f. a Pharisee invited Jesus to eat with him and according to *John* 3:1f. and 7:50f. the Pharisee Nicodemus had friendly relations with Jesus. The author of *Luke-Acts* even puts words of caution against persecution of the Christians in the mouth of a highly reputed Pharisaic teacher of the Law, Gamaliel (*Acts* 5:34-39). Pharisees were not likely moved to zeal for persecution. In this connection, it is important to point to the apparent internal contradiction in the narrative of *Acts*, which postulates the prudent teacher of the Law, Gamaliel, as the personal teacher, it seems, of Paul, the former persecutor of the church, in *Acts* 22:3<sup>15</sup>. The phrase "at the feet of" Gamaliel may, however, be a figurative expression standing for education in a school named after its most famous teacher<sup>16</sup>.

What specific occasion(s) motivated Paul's persecution of the church in his former life in Judaism? Nothing is said about this in Paul's Letters. The narrative of *Acts*, which presupposes a Jerusalem-based persecution, does however give a certain amount of information about this. The evidence in *Acts* 8:1-3 suggests that Paul's former persecuting activity was concentrated in Jerusalem, from which some people fled to Judea and Samaria, while others stayed. In Luke's tendentious totalizing juxtaposition all would have fled except for the apostles. It is more likely that the Hellenists were mainly the victims of persecution, because the persecution of the church is mentioned in the aftermath of growing conflicts between 'Hebrews', 'Εβραῖοι, and 'Hellenists', 'Ελληνισταί, of whom Stephen was stoned to death (*Acts* 6:1-7:60). Paul called himself a 'Hebrew of Hebrews' in *Philippians* 3:5, and his zeal or persecution of the church may well have been related to this conflict between the

<sup>15</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, *op.cit.*, 53 calls this "Luke's concern to bind Paul as closely as possible to Jerusalem". Cf. F.F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts* NICNT (rev.ed.; Grand Rapids, MI, 1988) 415 interpreting the reference to Gamaliel in *Acts* 22:3 as the name of the head of the school, standing for the 'school of Gamaliel'.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *mAvot* 1:4.

interests of Hebrews and Hellenists<sup>17</sup>. Hellenists brought in the more Hellenizing influence with elements from a Gentile cultural environment. Hellenizing influence from the period of the Maccabees probably gave a negative connotation to Hellenism as leading to increase in the adoption of foreign ways, especially at times of aggravating tensions and conflicts<sup>18</sup>. The mixture of Jewish and Gentile influences, in which incompatible interests collided, gave rise to conflicts which probably moved Paul in his former life in Judaism to zeal for persecution. For that is implied in *Galatians* 1:23 with the words about Paul "now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy". This preaching of the faith addressed Jews and Gentiles (cf. *Rom.* 1:16; *1 Cor.* 1:22-23; *Gal.* 3:28), the very idea which he had condemned and tried to destroy before his calling as apostle.

More is said by Paul about certain zealotist Jews, who would have an active interest in keeping Jewish and Gentile spheres of influence separate. For it can be inferred from *1 Thessalonians* 2:14 that among movements of radical zeal for the cause of the 'Hebrews', certain Jews had an interest in hindering Paul from speaking to the Gentiles to preach the gospel to them. Paul writes about them that they even chased him away (οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ .. ἡμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντες .. κωλύοντες ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν). In connection with the oppressive hindrance by those zealotist Jews, Paul mentions the sufferings of the "churches of God in Christ Jesus which are in Judea". From these churches of Judea and their sufferings Paul may have heard indirectly when he was in Jerusalem having contact with Peter and James. Zealotist Jews operating for the Hebrew cause in an aggressive way could be among the support base for the persecution of the church by Paul in his former life in Judaism. The fact that there were such zealotist Jews vying for aggressive means to reach their goal of theocracy and independence from foreign rule with its Hellenizing influence, is corroborated by the evidence of Flavius Josephus.

According to Josephus' works, priestly circles who were against Gentile and Hellenizing influence on Jewish tradition and movements on the extreme fringes of Pharisaic zeal for the Law could count on a growing amount of ready supporters for action. About the movement on the extreme fringes of the Pharisees, called the 'Fourth Philosophy', Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* writes that its followers apart from their militant zeal for theocracy "agree in all other respects with the opinions of the Pharisees", τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμη τῶν Φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι<sup>19</sup>. This movement with its enormous appeal of novelty formed an uncontrollable challenge to the body politic, ἡ πολιτεία, that is the Jewish Sanhedrin. "planting the seeds of troubles which eventually overtook it"<sup>20</sup>. Thus, by siding with or joining such zealotist Jews in his former life in Judaism, Paul's Pharisaic zeal for the Law could probably turn into zeal for religious persecution of those who brought with them Hellenizing influence. Thus, the last item of the list for 'confidence in the flesh' in *Philippians* 3:5-6 could also be interpreted as a polemical warning to others where zeal for the Law had led Paul to, but above all where extreme zeal would lead Paul's opponents to. With this polemical warning Paul could refer those opponents to the aggressive movement of

<sup>17</sup> Cf. J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 80-81 distinguishing the churches of Judea as "likely to be more traditionally Jewish in their view of the new sect" than the Hellenists.

<sup>18</sup> *2 Macc.* 4:13 ἦν δ' οὕτως ἀκμή τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἄλλοφυλισμοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἰάσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀναγκείαν, relating this 'adoption of foreign ways' to neglect of the traditional cult in the Temple service (v. 14 f.).

<sup>19</sup> *B.J.* II, §§ 409-410; *A.J.* XVIII, §§ 1-10, 23 identifying as leader of the 'fourth philosophy' Judas the Galilean, who is also mentioned in the speech attributed to Gamaliel in *Acts* 5:37. This movement was founded in revolt against Quirinius' census of 6/7 C.E., which according to its followers would lead to 'downright slavery', ἀντικρυς δουλεία (§ 4).

<sup>20</sup> *A.J.* XVIII, § 9 τῶν αὐθις κακῶν κατεληφόντων ῥίζας ἐρυτεύσαντο.

zealotist Jews, given the collective noun of 'Fourth Philosophy' by Josephus. It is also related by Josephus that under the procuratorship of Felix over Judea (52-60 C.E.) terrorist and revolutionary movements arose <sup>21</sup>, a period in which Paul wrote many of his Letters.

Paul's former zeal for religious persecution can thus be explained against the background of aggressive zealotism for the Hebrew cause. Perhaps the point of being blameless in the righteousness under the Law was even a serious argument in the zealotist rhetoric, that in zealing aggressively for the Hebrew cause one would not get blemished under the Law <sup>22</sup>. Through his conversion to the faith in Christ, Paul counted all of this as a loss (*Phil.* 3:7-8), dissociating from his 'former life in Judaism' as an existence with which he could no longer identify. This does, however, not alter the fact that Paul also expresses a sense of belonging to Jewish tradition in his Letters, both explicitly (e.g. in *Rom.* 9:1-5) and in implicit ways.

The question about the support base for persecution of the church brings us also to the question about the place of Paul's persecuting activity. Knox has argued that the link between Jerusalem and Damascus in Paul's persecuting activity is part of Luke's conception of "Christianity as the continuation and fulfillment of authentic Judaism and (of) the city of Jerusalem as the place where the transition took place". Thus Knox finds the transition from starting persecution in Jerusalem to eventual conversion of Paul in Damascus in the narrative of *Acts* problematic. This account of *Acts* can in his view only be the author's ingenious way of filling up a gap. It covers the problematic transition by providing an answer to the question: "how did it happen that he was in Damascus at the time of his conversion?" <sup>23</sup>.

Paul writes in *Galatians* 1:17 that he returned to Damascus after a journey into Arabia. Damascus was the home for the early period of Paul's apostolic mission and the regions of Syria and Cilicia, mentioned side by side in *Galatians* 1:21, were probably known to him from his youth as he had been born in Tarsus of Cilicia. As much as there is a silence in Paul's Letters about Jerusalem as a place for his former persecuting activity, this is also the case for Damascus. From *Galatians* 1:15-17 it can be inferred only that Paul's revelation and calling as apostle to the Gentiles are related to his stay in Damascus. On the other hand, traditions of the fathers, for which he was zealous in his former life in Judaism (*Gal.* 1:14), had been taught to him. From the perspective of source of authority, there is no bigger contrast than the contrast between that which he had been taught and Paul's preaching of the gospel, which, as Paul writes in *Galatians* 1:11-12, is not taught to him by others but comes from divine revelation. Thus, Paul's 'former life in Judaism', related in *Galatians* 1:13-14, is not self-evidently located in Damascus on the basis of reading *Galatians* 1:15-17.

When Damascus is, however, taken to be the exclusive scene of Paul's former persecution of the church, the following questions arise. Would Paul have found a ready support base among zealotist Jews for persecution of the church, operating in the regions of Syria and Cilicia, and the city of Damascus in particular? Did the Christian movement in Syria and Cilicia by then become so predominant, that violent persecution aiming at destruction of the church in those regions would have suppressed the challenge Christians

<sup>21</sup> Josephus, *B.J.* II, §§ 252-260f., naming the terrorists 'Sicarii', σικάρριοι. Cf. *Acts* 21:38 where in the tumult around the arrest of Paul, a question out of concern for the public order is put in the mouth of the Roman tribune. He is found asking whether Paul could be the apparently fugitive Egyptian revolutionary leader of four thousand Sicarii.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the rhetoric of the 'Fourth Philosophy' giving a place to 'necessary bloodshed' for the furthering of their cause, conveyed by Josephus in *A.J.* XVIII, § 5: καὶ τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ ἐπὶ συμπράξει τῶν βουλευμάτων εἰς τὸ κατορθοῦν συμπροθυμεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, ἂν μεγάλων ἐρασταὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ καθιστάμενοι μὴ ἐξαφίονται φόνου τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς.

<sup>23</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 38.

posed to traditional Jewish values in the eyes of zealotist Jews? If, on the other hand, persecution began in Jerusalem Paul would have had time and occasion to join with other zealotist Jews who were against Hellenizing influence, and to urge important leaders of the Christian movement on to dissociate from the Hellenists. Even if one may question the narrative of *Acts* about the early Christian community in Jerusalem as being too idealized or even legendary, that does not alter the fact that the important leaders of the Christian faith, Peter, James and John were to be found in Jerusalem (cf. *Gal.* 1:18-19, 2:1-10).

If it is assumed that the organization of persecutions against the church started as persecution against the Hellenists in Jerusalem, then there may be a reason why Paul would travel to Damascus. According to the narrative of *Acts* the persecution in Jerusalem was effective enough to cause the church to become scattered, and perhaps daunted and disunited for some time. Damascus was a city with a sizeable Jewish community. The reason for Paul in his former role of persecutor, to travel to Damascus would consist in taking precautionary measures against those who threatened to Hellenize Jewish custom there to an impermissible extent in the eyes of zealotist Jews. As Paul had been born in Tarsus, and the regions of Cilicia and Syria were probably familiar to him, he was probably the one to make his way to Damascus in the eyes of zealotist Jews.

The spreading of measures against Hellenizing influence in Jewish communities outside Judea is not such a strange assumption. For it can be inferred from *Galatians* 2:4-14 that the opponents to Paul's later apostolic mission coming from Jerusalem even reached Antioch with their mission against Gentile influence in the Christian church. These opponents apparently had enough influence with their talks to persuade others to try to have converts from the Gentiles live according to Jewish custom or, if that was not possible, to keep Jewish and Gentile converts separate from one another. Antioch was a city located even further to the northern part of Syria than Damascus. Damascus was, however, the place where Paul was called to become apostle of the faith in Christ, when, in Paul's words, "He who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through His grace, was pleased to reveal His Son to me" (*Gal.* 1:15-16).

As it has been argued above that the support base for Paul's former persecution of the church is to be sought among extremist groups of zealotist Jews who would oppose the influence of Hellenism by aggressive means, the apparent inconsistencies in the evidence of *Acts* can be better understood against this background. According to *Acts* 5:26-40f. the apostles of the Jerusalem congregation were detained and qu<sup>er</sup>ried about their missionary activity before the Sanhedrin, the council which would only let them go after the words of caution from Gamaliel. In the wake of persecution against the Jerusalem church after aggravating conflicts between Hebrews and Hellenists, the high-priest in person would have given Paul letters to the synagogues of Damascus by way of commission for persecution, according to *Acts* 9:1-2. But in the speech attributed to Paul in *Acts* 22:3-21, the speaker calls to witness the high-priest and the whole council of elders, τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, for his commission of persecution in Damascus (*Acts* 22:5). In this speech, it is rather from the plurality (παρ' ὧν) of the council of elders, that Paul would have received letters of commission to Damascus.

There are tendentious shifts in this narrative, which could on the one hand point to contemporary anti-Jewish interests of the author of *Luke-Acts*, broadening the involvement in persecution of the church to various Jewish institutions and parties. On the other hand, the growing influence of revolutionary movements, which would eventually overtake the regular Jewish body politic, perhaps provides an explanation for part of the confusing range of apparently involved parties opposed to the Jesus movement. Although the 'council of elders', τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, and the Sanhedrin, τὸ συνέδριον, were different bodies, Jews from

priestly circles could most probably serve on both of them. It is recorded by Josephus in his *Jewish War* that certain priestly circles would eventually join the revolutionaries and plant the seeds of war against the Romans by excluding gifts and sacrifices of foreigners from the Temple cult <sup>24</sup>. Such priestly circles would probably convey more authority to precautionary measures against Hellenists as far as urging and mobilizing Jewish communities outside Judea to action were concerned. But it is very unlikely that the high-priest would have given Paul letters of commission, acting on behalf of the Sanhedrin, as though this Jewish body politic would have the power to enforce measures which would amount to prosecution of the church outside Judea, that is in Damascus. Even as the Sanhedrin's authority in Jerusalem proper is concerned, Luke's version of the arrest and hearing of the apostles (*Acts* 5:17-41) is probably biased, if not containing distortion.

Nevertheless, when it comes to authority in terms of prestige and power of persuasion, the influence of certain priestly circles, which joined the cause of revolutionary movements which vied for the separation of Jewish custom from foreign ways, could probably well reach beyond Judea and Israel. Thus, the combination of a support base among zealotist Jews and prestige bestowed on them by priestly circles joining their cause explains for Paul's extreme zeal for persecution of the church in his former life of Judaism.

### *C. Jerusalem in Galatians 4:21-31*

Although Paul does not explicitly mention Jerusalem in connection with his former life in Judaism in his *Letter to the Galatians*, Jerusalem figures in an allegory in *Galatians* 4:21-31. Even though it is the 'heavenly Jerusalem' (v.26), it points to the significance of Jerusalem for Paul. There is no other city which is thus transfigured in an allegory. Of course the juxtaposition to the earthly Jerusalem (v.25) is first of all a polemic against the influence of Christian Jews who would try to have converts to the Christian faith in Galatia live under the Jewish Law. For this section starts with an exhortation against those who want to be under the Law (οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι - v. 21), whom Paul addresses here in the first place. But Paul's polemic against the earthly Jerusalem could also point to the divide with his 'previous life in Judaism', that is, his previous life under the Law as a Pharisee, with which Paul had broken (*Gal.* 1:13). Paul the apostle is no longer under the Jewish Law, as he writes in *1 Cor.* 9:20, μὴ ὣν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, but under the Law of Christ (*1 Cor.* 9:21). But in his previous life as a Pharisee he would have had opportunities of fellowship in table and discussion with teachers and students of the Law most of all in Jerusalem, for Jerusalem was the place from which the teaching on the 'seat of Moses' radiated at the time <sup>25</sup>.

The slavery which zealotist Jews expected from a mixture of Jewish and Gentile interests, having an unconquerable passion for liberty in only recognizing God as their leader and master <sup>26</sup>, is freedom for Paul after his conversion to the faith in Christ. For Paul the aggressive zeal for the Law amounted to slavery. As Paul writes to the Galatians that they should not let themselves be troubled by Christian Jews who would judge them negatively (*Gal.* 5:10), the exhortation of Paul's opponents probably had had an unsettling effect among the Galatians. The contemporary, earthly Jerusalem, which apparently was the power base of authoritative persuasion for Paul's opponents in their preaching the circumcision (cf. *Gal.* 1-12), is identified with slavery in Paul's allegory. Thus, Paul polemically turns the

<sup>24</sup> *B.J.* II, §§ 408-410, in § 409 identifying Eleazar, son of Ananias the high-priest, as the influential person who persuaded other priests not to accept gifts or sacrifices from foreigners anymore.

<sup>25</sup> *Matt.* 23:2 in a polemical reference to οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι; cf. *Mark* 12:38-40.

<sup>26</sup> Josephus, *A.J.* XVIII, §§ 4-5, 23

contemporary Palestinian background of the rise of aggressive zealotism among the so-called 'Fourth Philosophy' against Christian Jews who would try to persuade converts from the Gentiles to live under the Law. In Paul's view, the obligation to keep the whole Law would amount to exclusive justification in the Law which would separate such a person from faith in Christ (*Gal.* 5:2-6).

Jerusalem, nevertheless, continues to have a place in Paul's theology. In *Galatians* 4:26 Paul writes: "but the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother". After a quotation from *Isaiah* 54:1 by way of proof-text, Paul stresses in *Galatians* 4:28 also the patrilineal descent as 'children of promise', κατὰ Ἰσαάκ ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα. With this he returns to the beginning of the allegory in *Galatians* 4:22 about the two sons of Abraham. Even in the allegory of the two sons of Abraham traces can be found of a warning against those who would judge converts from the Gentiles negatively as lawless from the point of view of the Jewish Law. Paul's former life in Judaism which led him to persecution of the church, focusing against Hellenizing influence as we have seen, serves as an implicit example for this warning. For in *Galatians* 4:29 this warning is found echoed in Paul's reading of the biblical story concerning the rivalry between the two sons: "But as at that time he who was born according to the flesh persecuted (ἐδίωκεν) him who was born according to the Spirit". Nowhere in *Genesis* 21, from which Paul quotes verse 10 in *Galatians* 21:10 to underline that not both sons could be heir to Abraham, is any reference or hint to persecution of Isaac by Ishmael, however, to be found. Paul in his allegorical reading refers to the contemporary predicament of two gospels, that of Paul and that of his opponents (cf. *Gal.* 1:6-9), which cannot both be the true gospel.

On two levels Paul's reading of 'persecution' in *Galatians* 4:29, therefore, relates to his exhortation against those who, unsettled by negative judgement, would want to be under the Law. First, Paul's own persecution of the church in his former life in Judaism serves as an implicit example of a loss for the sake of Christ when Hebrews and Hellenists, and for Paul's apostolic mission Jews and Gentiles, were either both to live under the Law or to be kept separated. Paul implicitly refers to his own past road of destruction through his former persecution from which he had been saved by his calling to faith in Christ. As the one 'born according to the flesh' in *Galatians* 4:29, Paul himself had been born a Jew, 'according to the flesh', as he makes extensively clear in *Philippians* 3:5-6, and in his 'former life in Judaism' he persecuted the church, which after his calling as apostle meant for him a church of converts from among both Jews and Gentiles. Paul's calling as apostle of the faith in Christ also had consequences for his idea about his life as 'set apart by God before he had been born' (ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου).

Secondly, Paul's opponents are polemicized against, as it can be inferred from *Galatians* 5:11 that the persecution turned against Paul, who did not preach the circumcision but the stumbling block of the cross. Paul's preaching of the gospel of Christ is according to the Spirit (cf. *Gal.* 5:5), and thus Paul's polemic against his opponents, other Christian Jewish missionaries, is also found in Paul's reading in *Galatians* 4:29 of the biblical story of rivalry between the two sons of Abraham. In the life according to the Spirit, Jerusalem continues to have a spiritual significance in Paul's theology as the 'heavenly Jerusalem'. This is, however, another indication that Jerusalem had been a place of importance already for Paul in his 'former life in Judaism'.

## 2.2 Jerusalem in the Conception of the Author of Luke-Acts

As Paul's silence about the place of his Pharisaic study has been explained mainly on the basis of a close reading of *Galatians*, we will now proceed to the second level of checking the value of Luke's information about Paul's previous Pharisaic education, that is the question of dependence on the interest of the author of *Luke-Acts*. As has been discussed in the foregoing, Knox's negative position rejects the information of *Acts* at this point by assuming it to be dependent on Luke's larger narrative strategy. Knox calls the details connecting the story of the Jerusalem persecution with Paul's eventual conversion in Damascus Luke's 'ingenious surmise' which had to be made in order to cover up the inconsistencies which did not fit with the author's conception.

Luke's conception of Jerusalem as the place where Christianity started may be criticized for giving a too idealized picture of the Jerusalem church, turning it into a legendary, triumphalist story of "continuation and fulfillment of authentic Judaism", and for not doing justice to the plurality of Christian congregations with various Jesus-traditions. But the problem with Knox's negative position consists in the fact that Luke's conception of the Jerusalem church as the predominant starting-point for his account of the spread of Christian faith eventually to Rome cannot be negated as his own creation. Paul even says about the Jerusalem leaders of the church, the apostles Peter, James and John, that they were reputed to be 'pillars', στῦλοι (*Gal.* 2:9), an image which is probably not without connection to Paul's metaphor of the Temple. In his account of traditions of the resurrection in 1 *Corinthians* 15, Paul relates that the risen Christ appeared first of all to Peter and then to the twelve (v. 5). Thus, the original primacy of the Jerusalem church is confirmed by Paul.

With regard to the representation of Paul in the narrative of *Acts* certain internal tendentious shifts in the account of his former persecution have already been pointed out. The account in *Acts* 9:22-30 of Paul's own subsequent danger from murder plots by the Jews of Damascus and the Hellenists in Jerusalem respectively, when he started to preach the faith in Christ as apostle, is probably a biased attempt of Luke to bring Paul's exposure to danger in line with his past as persecutor of the church. In 2 *Corinthians* 11:32 Paul only writes that he had to flee Damascus because the governor under king Aretas sought to seize him. Paul does not write about disputes against the Hellenists when he came to Jerusalem, but he does refer in 1 *Thessalonians* 2:14-15 to certain Jews who hindered him from speaking to the Gentiles and drove him out. Even though it is not explicitly stated by Paul from what place he was driven out, those Jews who did this are mentioned in connection with the sufferings of the churches of Judea. The author of *Acts* may, therefore, have misunderstood or misinterpreted his sources, betraying certain anti-Jewish interests of his narrative strategy, when writing about Paul's early period.

If Luke's portrayal of Paul's prior education in Jerusalem, mentioned in the speech in *Acts* 22:3-21 were to fit in the larger scheme of Christianity as "continuation and fulfillment of authentic Judaism", then why does Paul refer in *Romans* 9:1-5 to so many things belonging to the Israelites? Paul counts himself among the Israelites (cf. 2 *Corinthians* 11:22). Why is it so important for Paul in *Romans* 9:4 to point to, among other things, the glory, ἡ δόξα, of God's presence, the giving of the Law, ἡ νομοθεσία, and the Temple worship, ἡ λατρεία, things which are in Paul's time related to Jerusalem and its Temple service. For also the giving of the Law radiated from Jerusalem through the teachings of the Law by scribes and Pharisees<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the polemical reference in *Matt.* 23:2: ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθισαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι; Josephus, *A.J.* XVII, § 149 concerning certain Jerusalem based scholars circumscribed as 'Ιουδαίων λογιώτατοι καὶ παρ' οὐσιν αὖ ἐξηγῆται τῶν πατρίων νόμων, ἄνδρες καὶ δῆμῳ προσφιλεῖς διὰ παιδείαν τοῦ νεωτέρου. Cf. *A.J.* XVIII, § 15, 17; *B.J.* II, § 411f.

If Jerusalem were only important for Paul because of the Jerusalem church with her highly reputed leaders, he could only have honoured them as saints (cf. *Rom.* 15:31) and left it at that. He would then certainly not have referred to the 'giving of the Law' as something to which he, as an Israelite, would still attach great value. For that would in that case place unnecessary arguments of power into the hands of his opponents who alone would speak with informed authority about teachings of the Law from Jerusalem. But Paul was well-informed about the Law himself, from which he could quote extensively through his previous Pharisaic learning and schooling. What the Law has come to stand for to Paul the apostle, a tutor, παιδαγωγός (*Gal.* 3:24), before faith became mature through revelation, is at the same time meant to undermine the mission of his opponents as immature. Nevertheless, in his *Letter to the Romans* 2:17-20f. Paul writes in his exhortation against Jews who judge Gentiles about the Law as a full-fledged teaching, embodying knowledge and truth. Underlying the words of polemic in his Letters, also something of Paul's own experience with and schooling in the Law through his prior Pharisaic education may be sensed. Luke's conception of Pharisaic study of the Law, expressed in the speech attributed to Paul, in *Acts* 22:3, as zeal for God after the strict manner of the ancestral law, corresponds to Paul's own words in *Galatians* 1:14 and *Philippians* 3:5, and Josephus' description<sup>28</sup>.

The author of *Acts* may have added some tendentious elements of embellishment and the idea of Paul's prior Pharisaic education in Jerusalem may have fitted very well in his narrative strategy. But it cannot be maintained that that basic idea was invented by the author of *Acts*. Only the embellishment of the speech, linking Paul's Jewish background as closely as possible to Jerusalem (cf. *Acts* 22:5), needs to be rejected for its larger dependence on Luke's interest and for not being supported by Paul's own witness. If priestly circles were involved, as has been argued in the foregoing section, their involvement could at most relate to passive support by giving more prestige to precautionary measures against Hellenizing influence advocated by zealotist Jews. By taking a real fact of Paul's previous education in Jerusalem as a starting point and subtly adding ideas and impressions of his own through the literary embellishment of a speech, the author of *Acts* would probably serve his purpose of a convincing narrative strategy better than by inventing the whole idea.

### 2.3 Pharisaic Study in Jerusalem vs. Competing Suggestions

The third and last level which will be discussed here is the question whether there are competing suggestions to Jerusalem as the place of Paul's prior Pharisaic education which could be pointed to. J. Murphy-O'Connor, arguing in favour of Paul's prior schooling in Jerusalem as a Pharisee, has convincingly shown that Paul's birthplace, Tarsus of Cilicia, cannot have had a Pharisaic school of study of the Law at the time<sup>29</sup>. And schools of Rabbinic theology, to which Knox refers Paul's previous education as accessible in any 'well-established Jewish community'<sup>30</sup>, were founded only later, in the Tannaitic era after 70 C.E.

<sup>28</sup> The text of *Acts* 22:3 has κατὰ ἀκριβείαν τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου, ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ. Josephus starts his description of the Pharisees in his *Bellum Judaicum* II, § 162 with the following words: οἱ μετ' ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα. Cf. *A.J.* XIII, § 408.

<sup>29</sup> Paul, *A Critical Life* (Oxford 1996) 52-70, there 53-54. Cf. p. 52 n.1 quoting Strabo, *Geography* 14.5.13. Murphy-O'Connor shows how unlikely it is that schooling in Tarsus, beyond study of rhetoric, would also comprise study of Jewish Law, and the Pharisaic zeal for the ancestral traditions in particular (cf. *Gal.* 1:14).

<sup>30</sup> Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 35-40.



Possible precursors in the Second Temple period, according to a consensus in rabbinic scholarship, were not directly comparable in organization to the rabbinic school system<sup>31</sup>.

Against Knox's alternative, Damascus, arguments from a comparison of evidence with Jerusalem may be added here. While there are many literary references to Pharisaic study of the Law in Jerusalem<sup>32</sup>, there is no literary, historical or epigraphic evidence about a Pharisaic school or Pharisaic study of the Law in Damascus<sup>33</sup>. Although Damascus had a sizeable Jewish community with several synagogues<sup>34</sup>, Jewish education must have been exposed to the Hellenizing influence of a pagan environment to a larger extent than schools with an influx of Hellenistic Jewish influence in Israel proper. Moreover, Josephus' account of Herod's building program, including a theater and a gymnasium granted to Damascus (*BJ* I, §422)<sup>35</sup>, suggests a predominantly Hellenistic environment for the Jewish community settled there. Damascus is mentioned twice by Paul in his Letters (2 *Cor.* 11:32; *Gal.* 1:17), in both cases in the context of his early years of mission after his calling to be apostle of the faith in Christ. The basic idea of the narrative in *Acts* 9:1-30, situating Paul's conversion and eventual acceptance by certain Christian Jews from the Christian congregation in Damascus, would not be in tension with Paul's references to Damascus. Therefore, Damascus is undeniably important for a biography of Paul's early years after his calling as an apostle.

The activity of the Pharisees is always found anchored in the geography of Israel throughout Josephus' works<sup>36</sup>, but never explicitly in connection with the Hellenistic diaspora. The Hellenistic Jewish author Philo of Alexandria does not even mention the Pharisees at all in his many treatises. The Essenes, on the other hand, are described in a comparative framework of religious movements of morality and compared with the sect of the Therapeutae, found around Philo's own city, Alexandria<sup>37</sup>. But also the Roman geographer Pliny the Elder (23-79 C.E.) knew about the Essenes<sup>38</sup>, which is only another indication that the Essenes had a legendary name which was widespread in the Greco-Roman world. The movement of the Pharisees, more intricately associated with the Palestinian Jewish body politic, apparently spoke less to the imagination of Hellenistic Jews who would not stay in

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. H.L. Strack & G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (transl. and ed. by M. Bockmuehl; Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 1992) 8-10.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Murphy-O'Connor's discussion of passages from the gospels, Josephus and rabbinic literature in his chapter, 'A Pharisee in Jerusalem', in *op.cit.*, 52-70.

<sup>33</sup> E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* II (rev.ed. by G. Vermes et al. eds.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1979) pp. 127-130 on 'Damascus', J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (transl. by F.H. and C.H. Cave; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969) 68, rather points to the Syrian Jews' religious orientation to and relations with Jerusalem.

<sup>34</sup> Josephus, *BJ* II, §561 and VII, §368; *Acts* 9:2; cf. *Acts* 9:22 τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Δαμασκῷ, indicative of a settled Jewish community (not immigrants, for that would be μετοικοῦντας).

<sup>35</sup> In Josephus' account of king Herod (37-4 B.C.E.) as benefactor to cities, in *BJ* I, §§ 401-428, Jerusalem is mentioned first of all in regard to his architectural expansion of the Temple with colonnades (§ 401), while Damascus is included among other cities, like Tripolis, Ptolemais and Sidon, which benefited from Herod's prestigious building program of public works, which included Hellenistic institutions.

<sup>36</sup> In direct connection with the rule of Jewish sovereigns and kings over Israel or in a digression within that setting: *BJ* I, §§ 110-112, 571; II, §§ 117-119, 162, 166; *AJ* XIII, §§ 171-173, 288-289, 292-298, 408-410, 415, 423; XV, § 370; XVII, §§ 41, 44, 46. In connection with Roman rule over Israel, *AJ* XVIII, §§ 4, 11-15, 17, 23. In connection with Jerusalem *BJ* II, § 411; *Vita* §§ 10, 12, 21, 191; *AJ* XIII, §§ 401, 405; XV, § 3. Cf. *Vita* § 197 (Galilee).

<sup>37</sup> *Prob.* § 75f.; *Contempl.* §§ 1-2f., 21-22.

<sup>38</sup> *Naturalis historia* 5.73.

Israel for longer periods of time. Moreover, Philo made his own allegorical interpretation of the Law in which ideas of Hellenistic philosophy are echoed. On the other hand, the Pharisees were counted as the most accurate interpreters of the laws in Israel according to Flavius Josephus. Josephus personally studied the Law according to the interpretation and practical application of the Pharisees for many years<sup>39</sup>. As Josephus' knowledge of the Pharisees is related to his own study in Jerusalem, it is the more unlikely that Pharisaic schools of study of the Law could have been numerous beyond Jerusalem and Judea, not to speak about the Hellenistic diaspora.

The only extensive evidence of Pharisaic study of the Law in and Pharisees is that originating from Jerusalem<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, prominent and leading Pharisees, οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων γνώριμοι and οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Φαρισαίων in the *Bellum judaicum* II, § 411 and *Vita* § 21 respectively, were according to Josephus to be found in Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the city where a large concentration of schools for the study and exposition of the Torah existed<sup>41</sup>. On the basis of this survey of circumstantial evidence, the idea of Pharisaic study in Jerusalem conveyed by the author of *Acts* is found corroborated by external sources. The evidence gives a basis of credibility to the idea that Paul's previous Pharisaic study of the Law can be situated in Jerusalem, while Damascus as a location has to be excluded.

## II PAUL AND THE LANGUAGES OF SCRIPTURE IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

Although Paul calls himself a 'Hebrew born of Hebrews' (*Phil.* 3:5; cf. *2 Cor.* 11:22), addressing congregations in the Hellenistic diaspora, he had to write in Greek and also quote Scripture in Greek in order to make himself understandable to his readers. Paul uses words in his Letters, however, which remind us of Hebrew scriptural culture. For example, when he quotes *Isaiah* 1:9 in his *Letter to the Romans* 9:29, the Greek words for 'Lord of hosts', κύριος σαβαώθ, remind us of the Hebrew יהוה צבאות. Even if many of Paul's quotations can be compared in wording with the Septuagintal version of the Bible<sup>42</sup>, σαβαώθ is not an original Greek word, but transliterates the Hebrew. Also proverbial names and expressions like Zion, the root of Jesse, Sodom and Gomorra, and Baal found in Paul's quotations from Scripture (in *Rom.* 9:29.33, 11:4.26, 15:12) are related to Israelite history and prophecy,

<sup>39</sup> *B.J.* II, §162; *Vita* § 12. Cf. *Vita* § 1, 7 in which Josephus writes that his family descent can be traced back to priestly ancestors and that he was born and brought up in Jerusalem. Therefore his 'return to the city', εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον (§ 12), that is Jerusalem as his home cannot be compared to Paul's case, who had been born in Tarsus, in a more Hellenized environment, identifying himself as 'Jew by birth and not a Gentile sinner' (*Gal.* 2:15). Jerusalem was not Paul's home by birth and attained a transformed meaning for Paul after his calling as apostle, while Damascus was home for the congregational support for his apostolic mission.

<sup>40</sup> *Vita* §§ 10, 12, 21, 191; *mYadaim* 4:6; *hBaba Batra* 60 (about Pharisees and food laws related to the Temple cult). Cf. S.Safrai, "Education and the Study of the Torah" in S.Safrai & M.Stern eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions II* (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976) 946-947; J.Jeremias, "Appendix: The Pharisees" in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 247-251f.

<sup>41</sup> For evidence concerning the concentration of Pharisaic schooling in Jerusalem, see Josephus, *Vita* 12, 21, 191, 197-198; S.Safrai, "Education and the Study of the Torah", in S.Safrai & M.Stern eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* Compendia I/2 (Assen/Amsterdam 1976) 945-970, there 946-947 concerning Rabbinic tradition about pre-70 C.E. Jerusalem.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. D.-A. Koch, Part II: "Die Verwendung der Schrift (I): Die Textgrundlage der Schriftzitate des Paulus und Fragen der Zitiertechnik" in idem, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck): Tübingen, 1986) 11-101, there 17, 48-81.

having a Semitic etymology. Names for the Devil, σατανᾶς and Βελιάρ, found in Paul's Letters (1 Cor. 5:5, 7:5; 2 Cor. 2:11, 6:15, 11:14, 12:7) also stem from Hebrew words.

Certain expressions found in Paul could be termed 'Hebraisms'. Thus the expression ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ found among others in 1 Corinthians 1:29 quite literally corresponds to the Hebrew יהוה בעיני, or בעיני אלהים, which is found less frequently in the Hebrew Bible <sup>43</sup>. In 2 Corinthians 1:20, the expression τὸ ἀμὴν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν corresponds in wording to Hebrew doxology, since in Isaiah 65:16 a blessing is prescribed as יתברך באלהי אמן and Jeremiah 10:5 has אמן יהוה. The word ἄρραβών, found in 2 Corinthians 1:22 and 5:5 in relation to the gift of the Spirit, comes from the Hebrew word ערבון, denoting a 'pledge' in Genesis 38:18. The term πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν found in 1 Corinthians 15:45 (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6) borrows from the Hebrew which has one word for ζωοποιεῖν, the hiphil החיה which means 'to preserve alive', 'revive' <sup>44</sup>. In Paul's theology, however, the Greek term by extension means 'life-giving'. In non-Christian Greek, the verb ζωοποιεῖν could mean something totally different, standing for 'producing animals'. The term καιρὸς εὐπρόσδεκτος, which figures in 2 Corinthians 6:2 in connection with the 'day of salvation', could be Paul's rendering of a Hebrew expression, עת רצון, which is found in Psalms 69:14 also referring to salvation coming from God.

A few examples of Aramaic wording are also found in Paul's Letters. Thus, in Romans 8:15 the words ἄββᾶ ὁ πατήρ are mentioned addressing God in a liturgical context of uttering them with a raised voice. The same words are found in Galatians 4:6, also in a liturgical context of exclamation. The transliteration of the Aramaic אבא and the Greek ὁ πατήρ stand side by side, in meaning the same but perhaps attesting to the Judaeo-Greek linguistic orientation of Christian Jews from Syro-Palestinian regions, who would be familiar with Aramaic as a spoken language. Paul further calls Peter consistently by his Aramaic name Κηφᾶς in his Letters (1 Cor. 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, 15:5; Gal. 1:18, 2:), taking for granted that his readers understood whom he meant <sup>45</sup>. In 1 Corinthians 16:22 Paul uses the expression μαράνα θά of Aramaic wording without adding a Greek equivalent at all. The expression can be translated as 'Our Lord, come', from the Aramaic מראנא תה <sup>46</sup>.

The kind of ethical dualism in juxtapositions found in Paul's Letters, most of all in 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1 which is often considered as an 'interpolated paragraph', is probably related to a Semitic background. Apart from 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1, evidence of this type of juxtapositions is found in Romans. In the last verses of his Letter to the Romans, Paul encourages his readers to be 'wise as to what is good and guileless as to what is evil; then the God of peace (ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης) will soon crush Satan (ὁ σατανᾶς) under your feet' (Rom. 16:19-20). This twofold juxtaposition of good vs. evil, the God of peace vs. Satan appears to be rooted in the Semitic background of Hebrew scriptural culture <sup>47</sup>. A generally comparable idea of the juxtaposition of God to the enemies of the religious community,

<sup>43</sup> The Septuagint rather translates the Hebrew expression mostly as ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. Isaiah 57:15 about God reviving the spirit of the humble and reviving the heart of the contrite; cf. 1 Thess. 5:14 echoing Isa. 57:15.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Cor. 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, 15:5; Gal. 1:18, 2:9, 11, 14. Paul does not use any signifying expression, such as τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὃ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον and ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται, which are used to explain an Aramaic expression of Jesus in Matthew 27:46, the Semitic term 'Messiah' in John 1:41 and the Aramaic name of Peter in John 1:42 respectively.

<sup>46</sup> מראנא comes from מרא, meaning 'Lord', with the c.pl. pronominal suffix נא attached to it. The root of תה is אתה, a verb which means 'to come'. אתה can also be found spelled אטא in Jewish Aramaic and Christian-Palestinian according to the Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros of L.Koehler and W.Baumgartner, and the Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature of M. Jastrow.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. e.g. 1 Kgs. 5:18, Psalms 37:27-28f., Amos 5:14-15.

personified as Satan, can be found in the sectarian literature of Qumran. For in the *Thanksgiving Scroll* (1QHodayot a) one passage expresses the idea that upon every adversary, שטן, of the men of the covenant lies the menacing rebuke of God<sup>48</sup>.

The designation 'God of peace' is not as such attested in the Septuagint, but it is related to God's covenant with Israel, expressed through the Priestly Blessing (*Num.* 6:24-26) and in *Psalms* 28 (29):11. Covenant and peace are also found explicitly related in the literature of Qumran, namely in a fragment of a particular manuscript of the War Scroll and in sectarian liturgical prayer texts. In the first text, the words ברית אל שלום [לין] ישראל give expression to God's covenant as peace for Israel, while the words preceding this phrase, מעט לבליעל, seem to be juxtaposed to it<sup>49</sup>. In the latter text, a scroll named 'Daily Prayers', the Hebrew phrase שלום אל עליכה ישראל, that means "the peace of God be upon you, Israel", appears to be found repeated by way of refrain<sup>50</sup>. In Paul's *Letter to the Romans* this idea is found hypostasized in the designation 'the God of peace'. God's peace is addressing Paul's readers, expressed by Paul in the greeting at the beginning of each of his Letters, while the promises of the covenant with God are found applying to converts from both Jews and Gentiles in Paul's theology of Israel (*Rom.* 9-11).

Counter to the idea of Paul's relation to Hebrew scriptural culture, it could be stated that many proverbial names and expressions are also found in the Septuagint. But the thesis of the origins of Paul coming from "einem 'durchschnittlichen' hellenistischen Diasporajudentum" in regard to his quotations from Scripture, as maintained by Dietrich-Alex Koch<sup>51</sup>, does in my view not exclude elements of Hebrew scriptural culture in Paul's Letters through his prior Pharisaic education in Jerusalem. Of course, Paul was born and probably also brought up in a predominantly Hellenized environment. And the necessity to express everything in Greek, as Paul was writing to the churches in the Hellenistic diaspora, makes a case for a relative dependence on the influential Greek translation which the Septuagint was at the time<sup>52</sup>. But the variations in Paul's quotations from Scripture cannot be explained on the basis of a model which makes Paul exclusively dependent on the Septuagintal text-tradition.

In his argumentation for the Septuagint as predominant textual type in Paul's use of Scripture, Koch stresses a total disjunction between Paul's practice and characteristic introductory formulas of citation found in Rabbinic, Jewish-Alexandrian and Qumran exegesis<sup>53</sup>. Some of his arguments for such a total disjunction may be criticized here. Koch's statement that "in den paulinischen Zitateinleitungen nirgends Gott als Sprecher des Schriftwortes begegnet", a literary and theological use which is found in the literature of

<sup>48</sup> 1QH a Col. XXII bottom, 6-15. Ed.pr. E.L.Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/The Hebrew University, 1955). Reference to columns is made here according to the arrangement found in F.García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition I* (1Q1 – 4Q273) (Leiden, etc.: Brill / Grand Rapids, MI & Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 1997).

<sup>49</sup> 4Q491 (4QMa) 4QWar Scroll a Frag. 11, Col. II, 18. Ed.pr. M.Baillet, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VII* Qumran grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) pl. V-VI.

<sup>50</sup> 4Q503 (4QPapPrQuot) 4QDaily Prayers a Frags. 29-32, Col. VIII, 1, 11 and 21. Ed.pr. M.Baillet, *op.cit.*, pls. XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI, XLIII, XLV-XLVIII.

<sup>51</sup> D.-A. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 32.

<sup>52</sup> The influence of the Septuagint in the first century C.E. is attested by Philo in his *De vita Mosis* II, 5 ff., and by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* I, Proem 3, §§ 10-12. About later Greek versions, e.g. those of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, see H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (revised by R.R. Otley; Hendrickson Publishers 1989; originally published by Cambridge U.P., 1914) 29-58.

<sup>53</sup> Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 25-32.

Qumran <sup>54</sup>, is simply untrue. For in 2 *Corinthians* 6:2 God as speaker is implied from the preceding verse and in 2 *Corinthians* 6:16c the phrase καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι introduces a string of scriptural quotations. Further, in 1 *Corinthians* 5:13, before a quotation from *Deuteronomy* 17:7, Paul uses the words "God judges those outside", τοὺς δὲ ἔξω ὁ θεὸς κρίνει. a phrase which indirectly introduces the quotation. In some cases, when a scriptural quotation is introduced by the formula γέγραπται (e.g. *Rom.* 12:19, 1 *Cor.* 14:21). Paul adds after the quoted verse the words λέγει κύριος, words not found in the original verse from Scripture. Apart from scriptural quotation, the idea of God as speaker is found in Paul's Letters in the case of paraphrase of Scripture, for example in 2 *Corinthians* 4:6 with the words ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὁ εἰπών.

Koch further writes that Paul's introductory phrase λέγει ἡ γραφή (e.g. *Rom.* 4:3, 9:17, 10:11, 11:2; *Gal.* 4:30) has no parallel in the literature of Qumran. Paul's phrase, taken together with the 'impersonal' φησί in 1 *Corinthians* 6:16b, is also juxtaposed by Koch to examples from Hellenistic Jewish literature <sup>55</sup>. In Paul's introductory phrase λέγει ἡ γραφή the element of speaking, of oral tradition is found emphasized and could probably be explained as a technical term against the background of Paul's prior Pharisaic education. For the oral traditions of the fathers were central to Pharisaic exposition of Scripture. Therefore, this particular citation formula found in Paul is not comparable to formulas in the more sectarian Qumran exegesis. While Koch argues that the rabbinic formula אמרנו, 'as it is said' found in the Mishnah, has no current Greek equivalent in Paul's Letters, apart from one exception in *Rom.* 9:12b <sup>56</sup>, I would rather compare this with Paul's phrase λέγει ἡ γραφή. Both the Mishnaic and the Pauline introductory citation formulas stress the element of oral tradition.

It is important to note also that the phrase λέγει ἡ γραφή figures less frequently as an introductory citation formula than the phrase (καθὼς) γέγραπται in Paul's Letters <sup>57</sup>. This introductory formula is admittedly compared by Koch to Hebrew introductory formulas in Jewish literature, in particular the literature of Qumran <sup>58</sup>. In my view, the points of comparison with Hebrew introductory formulas are evidence of Paul's relation to Hebrew scriptural culture. Paul's variations in the pluriform use of citation formulas rather attest to his originality as a skilled writer drawing on various literary conventions of citation of Scripture than to a total disjunction with Hebrew conventions of introducing explicit quotations from Scripture, found embodied in Palestinian Jewish literature.

On the basis of Post-Qumran textual theories, Timothy H. Lim has recently pointed to the diversity of textual types in the period before ca. 100 C.E., when canonization of the Hebrew Bible took place, and its impact on the understanding of 'post-biblical exegesis'. These new theories about the diversity of textual types should also affect the approach to Paul's quotations from Scripture. Lim proposes a broad view about Paul's interpretation of Scripture as being well-read in the Hebrew original, one or more Greek translations, and the Aramaic targum, while among his quotations could be Paul's own renderings into Greek <sup>59</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Koch, *op.cit.*, 31.

<sup>55</sup> Koch, *op.cit.*, 32.

<sup>56</sup> Koch, *op.cit.*, 31.

<sup>57</sup> E.g. *Rom.* 1:17, 3:10, 4:17, 8:36, 9:33, 11:8,26; 1 *Cor.* 1:19, 2:9, 3:19; 2 *Cor.* 9:9; *Gal.* 3:10, 4:27.

<sup>58</sup> Koch, *op.cit.*, 28-30. Cf. A classification of introductory formulas in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", originally published in *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960-1961) 297-333.

<sup>59</sup> Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1997) 6, 19-27.

The conceptual openness of this approach gives a better methodological starting-point which also leaves room for analysis of non-Greek elements and ideas in Paul's scriptural quotations and theology. A contrary methodological approach would lead to harmonization of Paul's use of Scripture with the Septuagint as the absolute model, which it was certainly not in the first-century C.E. even for Hellenistic Jews<sup>60</sup>. Nevertheless, the influential place of the Septuagint among Greek versions of the Bible is corroborated in cases of longer verses of which Paul's quotation exactly corresponds to the Septuagint<sup>61</sup>.

On the other hand, Paul's quotations which do not correspond with the Septuagint may vary from a different word order to completely different renderings which cannot be seen as 'variations' from the Septuagint. An example of almost complete correspondence with the Septuagint, except for a slightly different word order, can be found in Paul's quotation of *Exodus* 16:18 in his *Second Letter to the Corinthians* 8:15.

A case of more variation from the Septuagint presents itself when Paul's quotation appears to be a compressed rendering of two biblical verses. Such a case is found in Paul's *Letter to the Corinthians* 3:19, where he quotes from the book of *Job* 5:13 to illustrate his point, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. Paul's quotation runs as follows: ὁ δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ αὐτῶν. In the Masoretic text of *Job* 5:13 the 'wise men' are also the object of God's power to catch them in their 'wisdom'. Paul's Greek rendering, though containing a different verb which conveys approximately the same meaning as the verb καταλαμβάνειν in the Septuagint, probably draws on the previous verse in the Septuagint translation of *Job* 5:12 for his translation of πανουργία. For LXX *Job* 5:12a has: διαλλάσσοντα βουλὰς πανούργων. In quoting *Psalms* 93:11 in *1 Corinthians* 3:20, which otherwise corresponds to the Septuagint, Paul substitutes σοφοί for the original ἄνθρωποι, thus revealing his exegetical drive to combine two scriptural verses as prooftexts to denounce the 'wisdom of the world'.

In other cases, Paul's quotations from Scripture completely differ from the Septuagint and are at times closer to the Hebrew text. Thus in *Romans* 12:19, quoting the first part of *Deuteronomy* 32:35, Paul's quotation, ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, comes closer to the Hebrew וְלִי נֶקֶם וְלִי than the Greek of the Septuagint, which gives a temporal connotation to it: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω. There is also a marked difference between Paul's quotation of *Isaiah* 28:11 in *1 Corinthians* 14:21 and the Septuagintal version of this biblical verse. Paul's reading, ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἐτέρων λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, can be translated as follows: "by those of foreign tongues and by lips of strangers will I speak to this people". The Septuagintal version, however, which has διὰ φαυλισμὸν χειλέων διὰ γλώσσης ἐτέρας, ὅτι λαλήσουσιν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, can be translated thus: "It is through a profane sort of lips through a foreign tongue that they will speak to this people". Paul's Greek rendering appears to be an independent interpretation of the Hebrew הִזָּה אֶל-הָעָם יִדְבֵּר אֶחָד בְּלֶשׁוֹן שָׁפָה וּבְלֶשׁוֹן אֲחֵרָה. These examples may show that the importance of the Septuagint for the study of Paul's use of Scripture is relative. And to deny a place to other textual versions, Greek, Hebrew or Aramaic, informing Paul's polylingual

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Josephus, *A.J.* I, §§ 12-13 writes about the Alexandrian Greek version, that only the portion of the Law was translated and interpreted, while in § 5 Josephus writes that for writing his *Jewish Antiquities* he draws on translation from the Hebrew records, ἅπαντα ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογία καὶ ἡ διάταξις τοῦ πολιτεύμενος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρημηνευμένη γραμμάτων.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. *Psalms* 5:10 & 139:4 quoted in *Romans* 3:13; *Psalms* 31:1-2a quoted in *Romans* 4:7-8; *Psalms* 18:5 quoted in *Romans* 10:18; *Psalms* 68:24 quoted in *Romans* 11:10; *Isaiah* 52:15 quoted in *Romans* 15:21, *Isaiah* 54:1 quoted in *Galatians* 4:27. Perhaps verbatim correspondence with the LXX of longer verses mainly from *Psalms* and *Isaiah* could be explained as part of readings from Scripture in Hellenistic synagogues, which Paul also frequented.

understanding of Scripture is tantamount to negate part of the evidence of Paul's scriptural quotations.

### *Paul's Use of Scripture and Aramaic Targum*

In the Hellenistic and Roman Periods the spoken language of many Jews in the land of Israel was Aramaic<sup>62</sup>. It has already been pointed out in the foregoing that Paul's Letters contain certain Aramaic names and expressions. It could be assumed that Paul's previous schooling as a Pharisee included study of the Bible in Hebrew and translation and discussion in Aramaic. As Pharisees engaged in teaching the Law to the Jewish people, perhaps scribes of their movement<sup>63</sup> were even actively involved in composing Aramaic translations, Targum, of Scripture or certain parts of Scripture. This could be an oral process but perhaps parts of Aramaic Targum were already committed to writing. The large-scale writing down of targumim in the Palestinian Targum tradition may be attributed to rabbinic culture of the Amoraic era (ca. 220-500 C.E.)<sup>64</sup>. Of course in rabbinic traditions of targum, rabbinic exegesis is found elaborated. But earlier traditions, which are related to the beginnings of the Rabbinic movement as a transformation of and expanding on Pharisaic traditions<sup>65</sup>, cannot be excluded. In referring to earlier traditions, a distinction would have to be made between Aramaic translation with elements of interpretation through variant readings and Aramaic targum structured along the lines of typical rabbinic exegesis.

Evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls attests to the practice of Aramaic translations of Scripture among the sectarian Qumran community. Fragments of a 'Targum of Leviticus' (4Q1gLev) and a 'Targum of Job' (4Q1gJob and 11Q1gJob) have been published in 1977 by J.T. Milik<sup>66</sup> and in 1998 by F.García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar and A.S. van der Woude<sup>67</sup>. The *Targum of Leviticus* has been dated palaeographically to the second century B.C.E. by

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. Ch.Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century", in S.Safrai & M.Stern eds., The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions II (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976) Compendia II/2, pp. 1007-1039. In the Septuagint, the term ארמית as language is, interestingly enough consistently translated as Συριστί, indicative of the area of crossroads of language contacts, e.g. in IV Kgs. 18:26, Isa. 36:11, II Esdras 4:8. The dialects of the area of crossroads between Mesopotamia and the Syro-Palestinian coastal regions have been labeled 'Central Aramaic' by Edward M. Cook in his article "A New Perspective on the Language of Onkelos and Jonathan" in D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara eds., The Aramaic Bible. Targums in their Historical Context JSOT.SS 166 (Sheffield 1994) 142-156, there p. 148.

<sup>63</sup> Josephus, *A.J.* XIII. §297 has νόμιμα τινα παρέδοσαν τοῖς δήμοις οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις. Cf. *A.J.* XVIII. § 15 relating about the Pharisees τοῖς τε δήμοις πιθανώτατοι τυγχάνουσιν, and *B.J.* II, § 162f. Scribes and Pharisees are mentioned side by side throughout *Matthew*, e.g. *Matt.* 5:20, 12:38, 15:1, 23:2, 13f. Concerning scribes as belonging to the Pharisaic movement, see *Mark* 2:16 and *Acts* 23:9 (τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων).

<sup>64</sup> U.Gleßner, *Einleitung in die Targum zum Pentateuch* (J.C.B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, Tübingen, 1995) 101-181, there 103, in a survey of textual witnesses to the Palestinian Targum-Tradition, mentions the publication of a papyrus-fragment dated to the 4th/5th century C.E. by Y. Yahalom in 1978.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. H.L. Strack & G.Stemberger, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (transl. by M.Bockmuehl; Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 1992) 4-5.

<sup>66</sup> J.T. Milik, "II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128-4Q157)" in J.T. Milik & R. de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VI Qumrân Grotte 4, II (4Q128-4Q157) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) pl. XXVII-XXVIII.

<sup>67</sup> F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar & A.S. van der Woude, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII Qumran Cave 11, II (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) pls. IX-XXI. 11Q10 = 11QTargum of Job.

J.T. Milik<sup>68</sup>. The fragments from cave 4 and 11 of the *Targum of Job* have both been dated palaeographically to the middle of the first century C.E. by J.T. Milik and F. García Martínez. E.J.C. Tigchelaar and A.S. van der Woude respectively<sup>69</sup>. This would seem to indicate that the practice of targumic translations of the Pentateuch were standing in an longer tradition than other parts of Scripture.

By analogy, the Pentateuch was the first part of Scripture integrally translated in Greek, as Flavius Josephus writes in the preface to his *Jewish Antiquities*<sup>70</sup>. But also within all of the Targumim to the Hebrew Bible, the Targums of the Pentateuch appear to stand in a longer tradition of accompanying readings of Hebrew Scripture<sup>71</sup>. The Hebrew of the Torah needed to be accompanied by a translation in the more common language of the time, Aramaic. On the other hand, Aramaic even forms an integral part of the later biblical books of *Daniel* and *Ezra*, of which there probably was no equally pressing need to translate them again to the contemporary, spoken Aramaic of the people.

In scholarly discussion of targumic texts found in the literature of Qumran, the use of composing Aramaic Targum to the Pentateuch by way of a regular practice among groups of scribes dating back to the second century B.C.E. at the latest has been argued for by Klaus Beyer<sup>72</sup>. R. le Déaut also includes the *Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar)* in his survey of Qumran witnesses to targumic texts, which he lists as evidence, citing Geza Vermes in this, of "early targumic versions of *Genesis*"<sup>73</sup>. In his edition of *4QTargum of Leviticus*, J.T. Milik has given a synoptic table of comparison to the rendering of *Leviticus* 16:12-15 and 16:18-21 in the Targum Neophyti, Targum Onqelos, Samaritan Targum and Syriac version<sup>74</sup>. In more recent literature, *4QTargum of Leviticus* has been positively compared by Andreas Angerstorfer with the Targum Onqelos in terms of literary style and a 'Sitz im Leben' in the Palestinian synagogal culture of liturgical readings from the Torah<sup>75</sup>. The evidence of Qumran targumic texts does, in any case, strengthen the case of Aramaic translations of Torah being in use in the Palestinian Jewish scriptural culture of the first century C.E.

Aramaic translations with variant readings of Scripture are probably reflected in scriptural quotations by Paul, in cases where the Greek text does not correspond to the Septuagint or other Greek versions. One example can be found in a quotation from *Leviticus* in Paul's *Second Letter to the Corinthians* 6:16c. This quotation forms part of a special collection of scriptural quotations in *2 Corinthians* 6:16c-18, which I will discuss more

<sup>68</sup> Milik, "II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128-4Q157)", in *DJD* VI, p. 86.

<sup>69</sup> Milik, *DJD* VI, p. 90 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar & Van der Woude, *DJD* XXIII, p. 87.

<sup>70</sup> *A.J.* I, § 12 οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκείνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

<sup>71</sup> B. Grossfeld, "Targum Onqelos, Halakha and the Halakhic Midrashim", in D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara eds., *The Aramaic Bible. Targums in their Historical Context* (JSOT Press: Sheffield, 1994) 228-246, there 238 concerning the widespread growth and popularity of the midrashic interpretations of the Torah reflected in the Targum Onqelos, drawing on earlier targumic traditions. Cf. R. le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique. Première partie* (Institut Biblique Pontifical, Rome 1966) 32-51, there 38-39 referring to *mMegillah* 4:4 in discussing synagogal liturgy of readings from the Torah.

<sup>72</sup> K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 278-280, discussing *4QgLev (4Q156)* as oldest witness to the Pentateuch Targum.

<sup>73</sup> R. le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique*, 64-72, there 71-72.

<sup>74</sup> J.T. Milik, *DJD* VI, 87-89.

<sup>75</sup> A. Angerstorfer, "Übersetzungen zu Sprache und Sitz im Leben des Toratargums 4Q Tg Lev (4Q 156), sein Verhältnis zu Targum Onkelos. In memoriam Prof. dr. Werner Stenger (1938-1990)", *Biblische Notizen* 55 (1990) 18-35.



extensively in chapter 4 when dealing with the metaphor of the Temple in the passage of 2 *Corinthians* 6:14-7:1. After the mention of the Temple of the living God as a metaphor for the religious congregation, the quotation of *Leviticus* 26:11f. and other biblical verses follows, introduced by the words "as God said". This quotation runs as follows: ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω. "I will dwell in them and move among them". Although the verb ἐμπεριπατεῖν is in the Septuagint version of *Leviticus* 26:11, translating the Hebrew הִתְהַלַּךְ, the absence of the other verb, ἐνοικεῖν, with which the quotation starts has often been explained as an adaptation in the interest of the exegetical purpose of the writer <sup>76</sup>.

I propose a different explanation for the presence of these two verbs in Paul's 'quotation' of *Leviticus*. In the Massoretic Hebrew text, the verse from *Leviticus* 26:12 runs as follows:

והתהלכתי בתוכם והייתי לכם לאלהים ואתם תהיו לי לעם

This can be translated as "and I will walk among you and I will be your God and you will be my people". The completely preserved Aramaic Pentateuch-Targum, the Targum Onkelos to *Leviticus* <sup>77</sup>, begins the Aramaic version of *Leviticus* 26:12 with the expression שכנתי ביניכון ואשרי, "I will let my Shekhinah dwell among you". Shekhinah is a typical term in rabbinic theology for God's indwelling presence, a term which among other things expresses the exalted holiness of God who cannot be referred to by a verb which would imply too much personification. The Aramaic verse runs as follows:

ואשרי שכנתי ביניכון אהוי לכוך לאלה ואתון תהון קדמי לעם

Underlying the rabbinic expression שכנתי ואשרי could be an earlier tradition which has a variant reading שכנתי instead of the התהלכתי found in the Masoretic text. The verb with which in the Pauline passage the 'quotation' is started, ἐνοικεῖν, is equivalent to this verb שכך, and thus the alternation between the two verbs for 'dwelling' and 'moving among' could be well explained by the divergent readings of this verse of *Leviticus* 26:12 in traditions of a transmitted Hebrew text and Targum readings of Scripture.

The variety of languages in which biblical texts were composed, containing textual variants of the Masoretic Hebrew text, can thus also be found reflected in Paul's quotation of verses from Scripture. Early targumic versions of the Pentateuch in general could be termed proto-targumic texts from the point of view of comparison with Rabbinic Targumim. The availability to Paul of such early targumic versions of the Pentateuch in general, and of *Leviticus* in particular, in synagogal and study contexts cannot be excluded.

### III SYNAGOGAL CULTURE OF SCRIPTURAL READING IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND PAUL'S LETTERS

The reading and interpretation of Scripture took place in a liturgical context in the synagogue and it is attested in the *Acts of the Apostles* that Paul the apostle, among other Christian Jews, came to synagogues in the diaspora to proclaim the word of God <sup>78</sup>. According to *Acts* 17:1-2

<sup>76</sup> Cf. G.Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1971) 178 who rather explains Paul's use of the verb ἐνοικεῖν from a free translation of יהיה משכני עליהם in *Ezekiel* 37:27, part of which is found combined with *Leviticus* 26:12. *Leviticus* 26:11, however, already has משכני בתוכם, and the phrase בתוכם seems to correspond more closely to Paul's use of a scriptural quotation here as proof-text for the Temple as metaphor for the religious community.

<sup>77</sup> Critical text-edition by A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts I The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: E.J.Brill 1959).

<sup>78</sup> *Acts* 13:5 καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων: 13:14f. (verse 13 mentioning a group surrounding Paul, οἱ περὶ Παῦλον; cf. e.g. 1 *Thessalonians*, first in the chronology of authorship of Pauline Letters, mentioning Paul, Silvanus and Timothy side by side at the beginning of the letter, 1:1, referred to also in *Acts* 15:40, 16:1-3; 14:1, 17:1-2f., 18:1-4, 19:8.

Paul went into the synagogue when he came to Thessalonica, "as was his custom", κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός, and during Sabbaths he would argue from the scriptures in conversations with other Jews. In synagogues of the land of Israel Pharisees probably played a prominent role in the liturgy of scriptural readings. Pharisaic attendance at a synagogal service is found in a polemical context in the synoptic gospels (*Matt.* 12:9-14; *Mark* 3:1-6; *Luke* 6:6-11, 14:1-6). It stands to reason to assume that, during his Pharisaic way of life before persecution and conversion to the faith in Christ, Paul would frequent synagogues as a meeting-place and as a place of liturgical reading and exposition of Scripture. Synagogal reading of Scripture, according to *Acts* 13:15, comprised the Law and the Prophets, ἡ ἀνάγνωσις τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. The reading of Scripture mentioned in *Acts* 13:15, reportedly took place in the synagogue of Antioch of Pisidia, in the Hellenistic Diaspora. It may be inferred from certain indications in Paul's Letters that this picture of synagogal reading is not an anachronistic, isolated impression from the time when the author of *Acts* compiled his work, but that it applies to Paul's time.

Paul the apostle based his christological use of Scripture mainly on the prophets (διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις - *Rom.* 1:1-2f.)<sup>79</sup>. Although there is hardly any place in Letters where Paul distinctly mentions the synagogue as an institution, he does refer to synagogal reading of Scripture implicitly in his *Second Letter to the Corinthians* 3:15. Paul refers to the contemporary synagogal readings from the Torah when writing the words "to this day, whenever Moses is read", ἕως σήμερον ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται Μωϋσῆς<sup>80</sup>, a synagogal culture which for Paul is related to what he calls the 'old covenant' (2 *Cor.* 3:14). For this Paul quotes from *Exodus* 34:34, employing the verse as a proof-text in 2 *Corinthians* 3:16. It is important to note that Paul does not force a rupture between the old and the new covenant, as he writes in *Romans* 9:4 about a plurality of covenants (αἱ διαθήκαι) belonging to the Israelites. The liturgical background of scriptural readings from the Law and the Prophets is inherently present in Paul's Letters.

It can be inferred from the picture drawn of synagogal liturgy by the author of *Acts* that following readings from the Law and the Prophets, a sermon or inspired words based on exposition of Scripture was to be held by competent men learned in the study of the scriptures. The words of exhortation and encouragement (παράκλησις), which, according to *Acts* 13:15-16f. were to be spoken by Paul in the hellenistic synagogue, were for Paul rather in the domain of prophesying words concerning Christ Jesus. For in 1 *Corinthians* 14:3, Paul writes that prophesying words are supposed to aim at upbuilding (οἰκοδομή), exhortation (παράκλησις) and encouragement (παραμυθία). In 1 *Corinthians* 14:22 Paul further writes that prophecy, as opposed to tongues, addresses believers rather than unbelievers. Paul also writes about the instruction (διδασκαλία) and encouragement (παράκλησις) from Scripture in his *Letter to the Romans* 15:4: "For whatever was written before, was written for our instruction, in order that by steadfastness and by encouragement of the scriptures we may have hope"<sup>81</sup>. In a Palestinian Jewish context, didactic and homiletical aspects of exposition of Scripture were probably among other things filtered through the teachings of the Pharisees, from which Paul may have borrowed for example in his exhortation against food offered to idols (1 *Cor.* 8:1-13).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. M. Black, "The christological use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", *New Testament Studies* 18 (1971) 1-14, there 6f. about *Isa.* 45:23 serving as basis of Kyrios christology in *Rom.* 14:9f. and *Phil.* 2:7-10.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* IV, §132 about Moses as spokesman of the particular laws of the whole legislation, νομοθεσία (cf. *Rom.* 9:4), that is the Pentateuch; cf. *mYoma* 3:8, 4:2, 6:2 for quotations from the Pentateuch in rabbinic tradition introduced as "the Law of your servant Moses".

<sup>81</sup> ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ διὰ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν.

Paul's gospel preaching, however, did not have an undisputed effect among Jews and Christian Jews. The preaching of another gospel probably even threatened to invalidate Paul's mission as unlawful, not abiding by the Law. This other gospel preached by those itinerant missionaries who are most explicitly denounced as 'false apostles' (2 Cor. 11:13f.) triggered Paul's polemic against conceptions of the Law of those Christian Jewish adversaries. It is because of this polemic, that shared conceptions of Jewish tradition, apart from legitimizing statements over against other Christian Jews, cannot be expected to be presented explicitly as such. As we have seen, however, the influence of Hebrew scriptural culture is present in Paul's Letters.

During the period of his life when he was engaged in Pharisaic study of the Law, which was surrounded by the unwritten laws of the fathers, αἱ πατρικαὶ μου παραδόσεις (Gal. 1:14) <sup>82</sup>. Paul may have been influenced indirectly by traditions and conceptions disseminated through the scriptural culture of Palestinian synagogues. In Acts 6:9 a number of Jerusalemite synagogues of congregations of Jewish people originating from the Hellenistic diaspora is mentioned, among which is also the synagogue of those from Cilicia (ἡ συναγωγή τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας) <sup>83</sup>. This synagogue probably received pilgrims also from Tarsus, which, according to apostolic tradition (Acts 22:3), is the birthplace of Paul.

Expositions of Scripture in Palestinian synagogues could perhaps have conveyed ideas and norms which developed out of debates between the pluriform Jewish movements. This would be more likely than to suppose a segregation of closed movements with a homogeneous system of beliefs and practices. In rabbinic tradition it is said that disciples of the schools of Hillel and Shammai, names of two Jerusalem teachers of the Law around 20 B.C.E., despite their differences in halakha lived with one another in mutual esteem and friendship (*bYebamot* 14a-b). On the basis of the sharing of ideas in conversations and debates, it is possible that ideas from divergent Jewish movements and shared religious conceptions in Jewish tradition can be found underlying certain passages in Paul's Letters. Thus, in case of certain comparable ideas related to the metaphor of the Temple in Paul and Qumran, such a comparison can be contextualized in the Palestinian Jewish scriptural culture of Paul's time.

#### IV PALESTINIAN SYNAGOGUES, ESSENES AND QUMRAN

In Jewish literature of and relating to the later Second Temple period, literary references are made to Palestinian synagogues by Philo, Josephus, and in rabbinic literature. A survey of various synagogues in the Galilee, which are found mentioned in the New Testament, and in Judaea, which includes identifications from recent archaeological finds has been given by Lee I. Levine <sup>84</sup>. In a discussion of Palestinian synagogues I will focus my attention on the influence of Essenes with their own synagogal liturgy on the wider Jewish religious culture. Intersections between Essene 'theology' and the sectarian literature of Qumran will further be referred to in anticipation of a more elaborate discussion in the next chapters concerning

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Josephus, *AJ* XIII, § 297 ἀπερ οὐκ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωυσέος νόμοις; § 408.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (English translation from German original of 1967; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969) 65-66 discussing related passages in Rabbinic literature and archaeological finds which could pertain to the so-called synagogue of the Tarsians, i.e. Cilicians. —

<sup>84</sup> Lee I. Levine, "Pre-70 Judaea" in idem, *The Ancient Synagogue. The First Thousand Years* (Yale University Press: New Haven & London) 42-73 discussing among others Nazareth, Capernaum, Tiberias in the Galilee, Jerusalem, Masada, Herodium, Qumran in Judaea, and Dor, Caesarea and Qiryat Sefer in the coastal and Shephelah regions.

Essene views of the Temple among attitudes to the Temple and the literature of Qumran about the Temple. In this chapter, theological views of the Temple and the presence of God as integral part of the scriptural culture of the time is concerned.

Josephus' account of his personal experiences with the movements of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes through schooling in Jerusalem (*Vita* §§ 7-12) shows a probably not wholly uncommon case of the influence of a composite religious culture on an individual Jew. Josephus even writes that the chief priests (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς) and the leading men of the city (οἱ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτοι) came to get the more accurate information from him about some particular in the statutes, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γινῶναι (*Vita* §9). In this, Josephus was probably among the relatively few of outstanding learning and knowledge of the statutes. But the picture of consultations between Jews of different political and religious professions confirms the idea of versatility in debates between Jewish movements about legal issues and other traditions found in Scripture. By extension, developed theological views through study and debate about scriptural interpretation probably also found their way into the scriptural culture of Palestinian synagogues.

According to Philo, Essenes had their own synagogues, which they called by that name, οἱ καλοῦνται συναγωγαί, and these were regarded as holy places, ἱεροὶ τόποι (*Prob.* § 81). This holiness ascribed to Essene synagogues is telling in view of Essene exclusion from the sacrificial Temple cult (cf. Josephus, *AJ* XVIII, §19). By contrast, in *Acts* 6:13 the Jerusalem Temple is referred to with the words ὁ τόπος ὁ ἅγιος [οὗτος], that is holy place in the *singular*. It could be that for the Essenes the presence of God related to the holiness of the Temple was in a way conferred on their religious community, which was barred from participation in the regular Temple cult with their divergent views on purification rites. The Essene synagogues had a developed liturgy. The reading and exposition of Scripture took place in these synagogues on the sabbath, in which the exposition of things not understood was entrusted to those of especial proficiency, οἱ ἐμπειρότατοι (*Prob.* §82). Philo attributes to the study of Scripture by the Essenes elements of philosophy and allegory, which may be coloured by his comparative Hellenistic perspective.

Josephus, who from his personal background and experience was more familiar with the Palestinian Jewish situation, uses the verb θεολογεῖν (*BJ* II, §158) as a descriptive term of the tenets of the Essenes. Only concluding his digression on the main Jewish sects, αἱρέσεις, does he use the verb φιλοσοφεῖν (*B.J.* II, § 166; cf. *AJ* XVIII, § 25) probably in order to meet the Hellenized viewpoint of his readers. Apart from the soul as a subject of their views, the theological views of the Essenes were undoubtedly also related to Scripture, as Josephus describes in paragraph 159 of the second book of his *Jewish War* the study of Scripture as a heavy component of Essene schooling.

It may be inferred from passages about the Essenes in Philo and Josephus and certain texts in the literature of Qumran, that there were interrelations between Essene groups and the Qumran community, and intersections between theological views of Essenes and Qumranites. While Josephus speaks of two orders of Essenes (*BJ* II, §§ 120-159 and §§ 160-161), the differing accounts of Josephus and Philo concerning their settlement in large numbers in every town (*BJ* II, §124) or in villages (*Prob.* §76)<sup>85</sup> respectively may be due to the complicated situation of different orders within the Essene movement. This complicated situation may well be found reflected in the description in the *Damascus Document* of those living in camps 'according to the rule of the land', כסרך הארץ (*CD-A* Col. VII, l. 6f.), the 'assembly', הקהל (*CD-A* Col. VII, l. 17) and the 'whole congregation', כל העדה (*CD-A* Col.

<sup>85</sup> According to *AJ* XVIII, §§ 19 & 22, however, for making a living the Essenes were dependent on agricultural work, γεωργία, while city-dwellers' occupations could also be in industries, commerce or politics.

VII, 1. 20) <sup>86</sup>. The Qumran community rather lived according to the 'rule for the men of the community', סרך לאנשי היחיד (*IQS* Col. V, 1.1), whose precepts were to be guarded by the Community council, עצת היחיד (*IQS* Col. VI, 11. 13-16f.). The divergence of rules mentioned in the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community* respectively can be seen as evidence of the Qumran community's secluded self-definition over against the stratified Jewish culture of Israel.

In the comparison of the Essenes, as described by Philo and Josephus, with the Qumran community, for tracing possible intersections, it is important to note that the synagogue was also a place of worship for the sectarian Qumran community. For in the Dead Sea Scrolls, explicit reference is made to the institution of the synagogue, namely the בית השתחוות, 'house of prostration' in Column XI, 22 of the *Damascus Document*, which according to the recent study of Annette Steudel should be connected with the בית קודש in Colum XII, 1 <sup>87</sup>. This idea of the synagogue as a 'holy house' would correspond well with Philo's reference to the synagogues of the Essenes as holy places (*Prob.* §81). Liturgical texts among the literature of Qumran, such as prayer texts (e.g. *IQFestival Prayers* and *IQDaily Prayers*) further attest to developed forms of worship probably existing in a sectarian synagogal context.

Notwithstanding the closed sectarian character of the Qumran community with hierarchical grades of membership <sup>88</sup>, theological views concerning the presence of God in the religious community may have been developed not so much in seclusion but rather in exchange with and counterposition to the Essenes who lived in settlements throughout the land of Israel. In their portrayals of Palestinian religious culture, Philo and Josephus both write about the enormous impact of Essene thought and practice across sectarian boundary lines. For Philo calls this sect interchangeably a 'congregation of Essenes or holy ones' to whose moral goodness other people are the lesser <sup>89</sup>. Philo's presentation of the theology of the Essenes concerning the existence of God and the creation of the universe, in his treatise *Quod omnis probus liber sit* §80, is filtered through his Hellenized perspective of a tripartite philosophical system of logic, physics and ethics. Nevertheless, in emphasizing that the Essenes were concerned only with ethics, Philo writes that these ethics were based on the 'laws of their fathers', χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις. In other words the ethics of the Essenes were grounded in Jewish scriptural culture. Josephus writes in the *Bellum Judaicum*, book two, paragraph 158, that the views of the Essenes bring about an irresistible appeal to those who have once become acquainted through experience with their wisdom", σοφία which is given substance through the Essenes' act of developing theology, θεολογεῖν.

As there was an Essene quarter in Jerusalem <sup>90</sup>, participation of Essenes in debates about the interpretation of Scripture may have taken place. Certain theological views of the Essenes concerning the Temple may have entered the discourse of other interpreters of Scripture enriching the scriptural culture of Jerusalemite synagogues in adapted or altered forms. The theology of the Essenes was part of the religious culture of shared traditions at the

<sup>86</sup> Cf. one instance in the *War Scroll* (*IQM*), where a congregation is specified as the congregation of Jerusalem, העדה ירושלם (Col. III, 1. 11).

<sup>87</sup> A. Steudel, "The Houses of Prostration CD XI, 21 – XII, 1 – Duplicates of the Temple (1)", *Revue de Qumran* 16:1 (1993) 49-68. Cf. Lee I. Levine, "Synagogues", in L.H. Schiffman & James C. VanderKam eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls II* (Oxford University Press 2000) 905-908.

<sup>88</sup> *IQS* columns V-VI; cf. Josephus' description of grades of Essenes in *BJ* II, §150.

<sup>89</sup> Philo, *Prob.* §91, concerning ὁ λεχθείς τῶν Ἑσσαιῶν ἢ ἁσίων ὁμιλος, πάντες δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καλοκαγαθίας γενόμενοι.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. R. Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem. Neue Funde und Quellen* (Verlag Giessen, Basel 1998).

receiving end of which Paul probably stood during his Pharisaic education before he was called to become an apostle. An important way along which theological views concerning the Temple and the presence of God could reach Paul in his previous life in Judaism, influencing indirectly his view on the congregation of God as God's Temple in 1 and 2 *Corinthians*, was the scriptural culture of Palestinian synagogues.

## V SHARED METHODS OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

### *Midrash, Peshet and the New Testament: Survey of Scholarship*

In the domain of comparative analysis of the use of Scripture, forms of citation and biblical interpretation (testimonia, midrash, peshet) have received much attention in scholarly hypotheses and theories<sup>91</sup>. The discovery of and subsequent scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls has confirmed the pre-existence of Midrash as an exegetical technique and literary genre in pre-70 C.E. sectarian Judaism, before Rabbinic Midrash<sup>92</sup>. Rabbinic Midrash has its own classification<sup>93</sup> and characteristics in its development from oral traditions and study of Scripture within Rabbinic schools, the *בתי המדרש* and *ישיבות*. In the literature of Qumran, however, the genre of Eschatological Midrashim (4Q174, 4Q177, 4Q182 – also named 4QmidrEschat a-c) is found. Midrash as a term for the exegesis rather than the exegetical genre is also found in legal texts, for instance in IQS Col. VIII, l. 15 and 4QDe Frag. 7, Col. II, l. 15, where the study and interpretation of the Law is referred to. In this, *מדרש* as exegesis of composite texts of biblical verses (testimonies) can be distinguished from *פירוש*, exact interpretation of separate biblical books<sup>94</sup>, and *פסר*, commentary.

In his article on 'Midrash Peshet in the Pauline Letters', Timothy H. Lim has described the methodological difference between Midrash and Peshet as interweaving exegesis of biblical lemma and commentary and formal separation of biblical lemma and commentary respectively, to the effect that in midrashic exegesis there seems to be more room for exegetical adaptation or modification<sup>95</sup>. In his monograph, comparing Pauline

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Joseph A. Fitzmyer's articles "The Use of explicit Old Testament quotations in Qumran Literature and in The New Testament" and "'4Qtestimonia' and the New Testament" originally published in *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960-61) 297-333 and *Texts and Studies* 18 (1957) 513-537 respectively; E.E. Ellis, "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations" in E.E. Ellis & M. Wilcox eds., *Neotestamentica et Semitica. Studies in Honour of Matthew Black* (Edinburgh 1969) 61-69; more recently, Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford 1997) and George J. Brooke, "Shared intertextual interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament", in M. Stone et al. eds., *Biblical perspectives: early use and interpretation of the Bible in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: proceedings of the first international symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* STDJ 28 (Leiden etc. Brill) 35-57.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. e.g. E.E. Ellis, "Short Studies. A Note on Pauline Hermeneutics", *New Testament Studies* 11 (1955-56) 127-133, the above quoted article of E.E. Ellis and M. Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament"; George J. Brooke, "Qumran Peshet: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre", *Revue de Qumran* 10 (1981) 483-503 has argued for a clear distinction between midrash and peshet which adds to a differentiated use of the term peshet in biblical studies and comparative midrash.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. H.L. Strack & G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (English translation, 2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 237-240 giving a subdivision in Halakhic and Haggadic, Exegetical and Homiletical Midrashim.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. the relation between *פירוש* and *פרושים*, as expressed by Josephus' description of the Pharisees in *BJ* II, §162: οἱ μὲν ἀκριβεῶς ἀποσύνδεσιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα. Cf. *Acts* 22:3.

<sup>95</sup> Timothy H. Lim, "Midrash Peshet in the Pauline Letters", in Stanley E. Porter & Craig A. Evans eds., *The Scrolls and the Scriptures. Qumran Fifty Years After* (Sheffield 1997) 280-292, there 282f.

biblical interpretation with Pesherite exegesis. Lim further goes into the issue of textual divergence being part and parcel of 'post-biblical exegeses', which otherwise, from the viewpoint of a fixed canon, would one-sidedly be taken for the exegete's modification<sup>96</sup>. The plurality of text-types on which Paul could draw, as he was proficient in Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew<sup>97</sup>, is therefore of importance in order to reassess the extent to which Paul's use of Scripture can actually be termed exegetical modification.

## PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The Letters of Paul have a relative priority over the information of *Acts* as regards Paul's previous life in Judaism. The situating of Paul's former education according to Pharisaic tradition in Jerusalem is corroborated on the three levels of interpretation of Paul's silence about it, the conception of the author of *Luke-Acts* and the absence of convincing, competing suggestions.

The intersecting scriptural culture of Palestinian synagogues formed an important way through which shared traditions of biblical interpretation and theological views on the Temple could influence Paul, formerly educated according to Pharisaic tradition. Notwithstanding his polemic against the Law of Christian Jewish missionaries, who threatened to invalidate Paul's apostolic mission, positive connotations relating to Jewish tradition and implicit conceptions surrounding Paul's temple imagery can be discerned in Paul's Letters.

In the comparative analysis of biblical interpretation, the midrashic exegesis and pesherite exegesis of Qumran literature have been compared in scholarly literature with Pauline exegesis, bringing to the fore the issue of textual divergence vs. exegetical modification of the text. Collations of verses from Scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls have further reinvigorated interest in the 'testimony book hypothesis'.

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<sup>96</sup> See on this the first two chapters, "Holy Scripture and Post-Biblical Exegeses" and "Post-Qumran Perspectives on Exegesis" of Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters*, 3-28.

<sup>97</sup> *Op.cit.*, 26-27; cf. *Acts* 21:40, 22:2, 26:14 and 2 *Cor.* 11:22, *Phil.* 3:5 – supposing a link between 'Εβραϊς διόλεκτος and 'Εβραϊος; cf. *Rom.* 8:15, 1 *Cor.* 16:22, *Gal.* 4:6 for Aramaic words and phrases.

## CHAPTER 2

### ATTITUDES TO THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM FROM THE MACCABEES TO PAUL'S TIME

When Paul refers to the worship belonging to the Israelites in *Romans* 9:4 and to the Temple of God as a metaphor in his *First* and *Second Letter to the Corinthians* (1 *Cor.* 3:16, 6:19; 2 *Cor.* 6:16), these passages need to be understood in the historical context of the end of the Second Temple Period. Analysis of this historical context of attitudes to the Temple and its service can elucidate the background of Temple theology and the presence of God in contemporary Jewish culture. A better understanding of the historical background of Paul's time may help answering certain questions raised by the theological ideas expressed through the metaphor of the Temple and related cultic terminology in three of the Pauline *Hauptbriefe*.

In light of recent publications of literature from Qumran in the 1990s, it is now possible to bring new evidence into the discussion of attitudes of Jewish movements to the Temple. The discussion of such texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls will here be part of discussion of the larger spectrum of Jewish views on the Temple cult of Jerusalem. The subject of the standpoint of the Qumran community towards the Temple will be dealt with more extensively in chapter 3. In mapping the larger spectrum of Jewish movements with their historically grown attitudes to the Temple service the question of the place of Temple theology and metaphorical ideas related to the Temple in first-century C.E. Judaism may be answered. Issues like offerings of the Gentiles and notions of holiness and purity pertaining to Paul's discourse can be brought out in sharp relief through this historical analysis.

#### I THE PALESTINIAN JEWISH SECTS AND THE TEMPLE IN JOSEPHUS' HELLENISTIC JEWISH WORK

In his apologetic treatise *Against Apion*, the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus wrote about the Temple rites and statutes of Judaism in general, in defence against accusations among others concerning the Jerusalem Temple cult<sup>1</sup>. The impression of unity in Jewish religious culture arising from the apologetic picture may be misleading, as the divergences between Jewish sects also relating to the Temple cult are kept in the background. Only in one place does Josephus write about the inner-Jewish rupture about rites of purification between Essenes and other Jewish movements, that is the eighteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities* (*A.J.* XVIII, §19). Also Josephus' harmonious description of the 'one temple for the one God' in the second book of his treatise *Against Apion*, paragraph 193, leaves the existence of rival temples, for example the Jewish temple at Heliopolis in Egypt described in his other works, out of the picture. Also in Josephus' representation of the Palestinian Jewish sects of the later Second Temple period, the apologetic element of conveying their tenets in language of Hellenistic culture, even comparing some of them with particular Greek philosophical schools, needs to be taken into account.

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<sup>1</sup> *C.Ap.* II, § 7 τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέμικται περὶ τῆς ἀγιοτείας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων κατηγορία. The first and second categories of Josephus' apologetic against distortions and accusations, related in § 6, concern the account of the departure of the Israelites (τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων) from Egypt and charges against the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria.



## 1. Josephus' Account of three traditional Jewish sects

The diversity of Jewish sects in Israel is attested in Josephus' chronology of his *Jewish Antiquities* XIII, §§171-173 for the first time in the period of Jonathan's leadership (161-143/142 B.C.E.) at the time of renewed alliances with the Romans and the Spartans (*AJ* XIII, §§ 163-170. The differences between the Jewish sects most probably pertained to matters which were both human and divine, that is philosophical and theological. For in the first instance, Josephus writes in his *Jewish Antiquities* about the rise of different Jewish sects because of dissension in human affairs, *περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων* (*AJ*, XIII, § 171). These human affairs concern the place attributed to Fate and fortune, responsibility and destiny in human life in the philosophy of Pharisees, Essenes and Sadducees (*AJ*, XIII, § 172-173). Perhaps the dissension about human affairs was also related in a way to the political context of power and alliance with foreign nations, which would explain for Josephus' insertion of a digression about these Jewish sects after his account of diplomatic renewal of alliances.

At the end of his more elaborate account in the second book of the *Jewish War*, paragraphs 119-166, Josephus also implies dissension about theological matters in his description of the three main sects. For in his juxtaposition of the ideas of Pharisees and Sadducees, he refers not only to what according to the respective sects can be attributed to Fate, εἰμαρμένη, but also to God, Θεῷ (*BJ* II, §§ 162-165). In this, the Pharisees took the more stringent position as "most accurate interpreters of the laws"<sup>2</sup>, while the Sadducees took the minimalist position (*BJ* II, §§ 162-165). The Pharisaic interpretation of the laws included the unwritten laws handed down by the forefathers, which were not recognized by the Sadducees next to the written laws of Moses (*AJ*, XIII, § 297)<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. The 'Fourth Philosophy'

Direct discussion of dissensions concerning the Temple cult of Jerusalem is missing from the above mentioned digressions of Josephus on these three Jewish sects. In one digression in the eighteenth book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, paragraphs 9-25, Josephus adds a so-called 'fourth school of philosophy' to the spectrum of the three more established Jewish sects<sup>4</sup>. This 'Fourth Philosophy' was perceived by Josephus as a dangerous movement, who attributes to them innovation and change of ancestral traditions (ἡ τῶν πατρίων καίνισις καὶ μεταβολή). According to Josephus, the 'Fourth Philosophy', started at the time of Quirinius' census ca. 6 C.E., would bring about the factions and uprisings of revolutionaries, νεωτερίζοντες, who would cause the ruin of the Temple worship (*AJ* XVIII, § 8-10).

It is important to note that in condemning this 'Fourth Philosophy', Josephus probably appealed to conventional suspicion of innovative and strange elements in religious movements, which was the case especially in Rome where a plurality of foreign cults were

<sup>2</sup> οἱ μετ' ἀκριβείας δοκοῦντες ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα; text and translation from H.St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus in nine volumes* II *The Jewish War, Books I-III* (LCL; Harvard University Press 1967) 384-385.

<sup>3</sup> The teachings of unwritten laws by Pharisees are variously described by Josephus in the following ways: νόμιμα τινα παρέδωσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἐκ πατέρων διαδοχῆς and τὰ [νόμιμα] δ' ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πατέρων in *AJ*, XIII, § 297, and τῶν νομίμων [...] ὧν εἰσήνεγκαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κατὰ τὴν πατρώαν παράδοσιν in *AJ*, XIII, § 408.

<sup>4</sup> About this 'fourth school of philosophy' started by Judas the Galilean and Saddok, a Pharisee, at the time of Quirinius' Census (*AJ*, XVIII, §§ 1-4; 6 C.E.) and eventually led by Judas, see *AJ*, XVIII, §§ 4, 9-10, 23-25; cf. *Acts* 5:37; *mYad*. 4:8

found and at times suppressed <sup>5</sup>. Thus, over against the alien character of the 'Fourth Philosophy' (ἡ τετάρτη φιλοσοφία ἐπίστατος: *AJ* XVIII, §9), Josephus stresses the antiquity in relation to ancestral tradition of the three main Jewish sects of the Essenes, Sadducees and Pharisees in paragraph 11 of the same digression in his *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII <sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, the movement called by the collective noun 'Fourth Philosophy' attracted an abundance of followers according to Josephus (*AJ* XVIII, §9). By the time the Jewish war against the Romans broke out, certain priestly circles had started to join the cause of the revolutionary party for theocracy entailing independence from Roman rule, by rejecting every gift and sacrifice from foreigners, including sacrifices offered on behalf of the Romans and the Roman emperor <sup>7</sup>. The aggressive movement called the 'Fourth Philosophy', bringing about slaughter of fellow citizens (φόνος πολιτικός) and propelling 'necessary bloodshed' (ὁ φόνος ὁ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς) <sup>8</sup>, was on the extremist side of the spectrum of views on the Temple.

### 3. Essenes and the Temple

In Josephus' digression about the Jewish sects in the eighteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities* some information can be gleaned about the boundary lines dividing the sects in relation to their respective attitudes to the Temple cult. These dividing boundary lines are, however, conveyed in terse language. In the much debated passage in paragraph 19 on the Essenes being barred from partaking in the regular sacrificial cult in the Temple (τὸ κοινὸν τεμένισμα) <sup>9</sup>, the motivating factor for their exclusion was their conflicting perspective on the performance of rites of purification and sacrifice. Their exclusion from the regular sacrificial cult as a community without Temple did, however, not preclude rituals of sanctification of the Essene settlements from taking place. Josephus' long digression in his second book of the *Jewish War* contains a passage about the Essene rite of purification which seems to suggest that the sanctification from the regular cult-place, τὸ κοινὸν τεμένισμα, was transferred to the Essene refectory. Josephus writes that Essenes, after having purified themselves, would come to the refectory 'as to some sacred shrine', καθάπερ εἰς ἅγιον τι τέμενος (*BJ* II, § 129).

The Essene exclusion from the regular sacrificial cult in the Temple because of their divergent performance of purification rites was, of course, related to the interpretation of purity laws. The Essenes probably based their different performance of rites of purification on their own characteristic interpretation of the purity laws in the Torah. It can be inferred from a passage about the Essenes in Josephus' *Jewish War*, that this link between the reading of the holy books and the performance of divergent forms of purification is obvious. Thus, in paragraph 159 of the the second book of the *Jewish War* certain Essenes are found "busied in holy books, various forms of purification and sayings of the prophets from their early childhood". βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καὶ διαφόροις ἄγνεῖαις καὶ προφητῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the suppression of Egyptians and Jewish rites in Rome under Tiberius as 'alien rites', *externas caerimonias*, and expulsion of (Christian) Jews from Rome under Claudius related by Suetonius in his *Tiberius* XXXVI and *Divus Claudius* XXV. Concerning Rome as haven to Josephus' labour as author of his voluminous work, see *Cap.* I, § 50f. In the same book he goes on at length to persuade his readers about the antiquity of both the Jewish religious tradition and the use of keeping chronicles of antiquity among non-Greek peoples.

<sup>6</sup> *AJ* XVIII, § 11: Ἰουδαίους φιλοσοφίας τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων.

<sup>7</sup> *AJ* XVIII, §§ 23-24; *BJ* II, §§ 408-409f.

<sup>8</sup> *AJ* XVIII, § 5 and 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. recently A.I. Baumgarten, "Josephus on Essene Sacrifice", *Journal of Jewish Studies* XLV/27 (1994) 169-183 with more bibliography there on the complicated problem of explaining Essene sacrifice in a situation of their being excluded from the regular Temple cult.

ἐμπαιδοτριβούμενοι. It is striking that in the digression in the eighteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus uses the same words to express the divergence in rites of purification: θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν διαφορότητι ἁγνείων<sup>10</sup>. Contrary to the long digression in the second book of his *Jewish War*, Josephus leaves the study of Scripture among the Essenes out of the picture in the shorter digression in the eighteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*.

Purity laws are found in abundance in the books of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* and in this connection it is significant that among the precepts of the Torah mentioned in the *Halakhic Letter* many precepts concern the purity of offerings in the Temple<sup>11</sup>. The authority of the Qumran sectarian exhortation about precepts is represented by the quotation of verses from these biblical books as proof-text<sup>12</sup>. Thus, not only from Josephus' description of the Essenes but also from a sectarian writing of the Qumran community, it can be inferred that profound dividing lines concerning the regular Temple cult in view of the interpretation and observance of purity laws separated the Essenes and the sectarian Qumran community from the other Jewish sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

#### 4. Temple worship of Pharisees and Sadducees

Returning to the *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, paragraphs 9-25, the paragraphs preceding the above mentioned passage on the Essenes (§ 19) contain a description of the Pharisees as those determining through their exposition the liturgy of prayer and worship, ὅποσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε ... καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως (§ 15). This liturgy, which is further described in relation to the Sadducean unwilling concession to it<sup>13</sup>, most probably concerned the Temple service in part at least.

Distinguished Pharisees are mentioned together with notables and chief priests defending the ancestral tradition of accepting sacrifices of foreigners over against an extremist party who would have those sacrifices rejected<sup>14</sup>. The context of this passage in Josephus' second book of the *Bellum Judaicum* concerns the events leading up to the Jewish war (66-70 C.E.), starting with confrontations between a pro-Roman establishment and a revolutionary party, οἱ νεωτερίζοντες, joined by priests (*BJ*, II, § 410). Nevertheless, an older and broader discussion of the position of gifts and sacrifices from foreigners, Gentiles (*BJ*, II, § 409) or their worship (*BJ*, II, § 414) most probably underlies these confrontations.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *BJ*, II, §§ 136, 142 referring to the holy books of the Essenes as τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν συντάγματα and τὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία respectively; text taken from volumes II (1927) by H.St.J.Thackeray and IX (1965) by L.H. Feldman of *Josephus in nine volumes* (Loeb Classical Library). Italics are mine.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. *4QMMT* B, 5-8 (the sin-offering, על מנחת זבח חטאת), 9-13 (the cereal-offering, על מנחת זבח חטאת), 36-38 (the ritual state of sacrificial animals), 55-58 (liquid streams, על המוצק); cf. literal references to purity regulations next to laws and precepts in B, 52, and the purity of the Temple in B, 54. Reconstructed text from E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat ma'ase ha-Torah* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert X; Oxford 1994).

<sup>12</sup> For כְּתוּב as quotation-formula in *4QMMT*, also found in some of the cases referred to above, see G.J. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in *4QMMT*", in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez & J. Kampen eds., *Legal texts and legal issues: proceedings of the second meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*, Cambridge 1995; published in honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten (Brill: Leiden etc. 1997) 1-20.

<sup>13</sup> *AJ*, XVIII, § 17 ὅποτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρχὰς παρέλθοιεν, ἀκουσίως μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνάγκας, προσχωροῦσι δ' οὖν οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος λέγει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄλλως ἀνεκτοῦς γενέσθαι τοῖς πλῆθεσιν. Text from Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus in nine volumes IX Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX* (LCL; Harvard UP 1965) p.14.

<sup>14</sup> *BJ* II, §§ 408-417.

## 5. The Rhetoric of Josephus' Digressions on Jewish sects

From these passages in Josephus, more divergence and conflicts between the Jewish sects, αἰρέσεις, in regard to the Temple cult can be inferred than Josephus' more harmonious presentation of "one Temple for the one God" in his apologetic treatise *Against Apion* would suggest<sup>15</sup>. Josephus had an agenda in presenting the Jewish sects in his main digressions as philosophical schools, recognizable for his historical readers living in a Hellenized Roman world and comparable for them with schools of Hellenistic philosophy<sup>16</sup>. Josephus occasionally even compares certain Jewish sects explicitly with schools of Hellenistic philosophy. Thus he compares the Essenes with the Pythagoreans in the fifteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, paragraph 371, and the Pharisees with the Stoic school in his autobiographical *Vita*, paragraph 12<sup>17</sup>. This makes the passing references by Josephus to dividing lines among the Jewish sects, in view of divergent interpretations of purity laws and attitudes to Gentile influence in the Temple service, the more remarkable.

Passages in Josephus' work with passing references to issues of interpretation of purity laws need to be scrutinized more carefully for a better understanding of the dividing lines between the Palestinian Jewish sects. Further analysis of these passages in Josephus' writings will follow in the discussion of issues bearing on Paul's Temple theology. But the attitudes of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes toward the Temple as described by Josephus can only be properly understood, when a historical survey has been given of their rise and origins. There is a scholarly consensus about the idea that the rise of these separate sects in their developed form as schools with their own doctrines and interpretations of religious law, including purity laws, can be traced back to the first half of the second century B.C.E., the era of the Maccabean revolt against foreign dominion by Hellenistic rulers<sup>18</sup>.

## II THE TEMPLE CULT IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD AND THE RISE OF JEWISH SECTS

In the course of Josephus' survey of the differences between Pharisees and Sadducees, an important point is the introduction by the Pharisees of ancestral traditions, unwritten laws, which were rejected by the Sadducees as they had not been recorded in the Laws of Moses (*AJ* XIII, §297). According to early Rabbinic literature the conflicts between Pharisees and Sadducees often concerned purity laws, that is, regulations determining ritual cleanness and uncleanness<sup>19</sup>. In one passage of the Mishnah, tractate *Parah* 3:7, a terse polemic against the

<sup>15</sup> *C. Ap.* II, § 193: Εἰς ναὸς ἑνὸς θεοῦ. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.*, I, § 67 where a similar expression of the idea of 'monolatrelia' is found: ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἑστὶν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἱερὸν ἔν εἶναι μόνον. Inconsistent or at least paradoxical in Josephus' presentation of 'monolatrelia' seems to be the way he refers to the temples of Shechem, Garizim and Heliopolis as having been built 'resembling' (παρὰπλήσιον - *AJ*, XIII, § 63), 'after the model of' (εἰκασθέντα - *AJ*, XIII, §§ 255-256) or 'similar to' (πρὸς - *AJ*, XIII, § 285) the Temple of Jerusalem.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *BJ*, II, § 166 concluding his digression on the followers of the sects, αἰρετισταί, of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes (§ 119) as concerning "the Jewish philosophical schools", περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ φιλοσοφούντων. Also at end of the digression in *AJ* XVIII, §§ 9-25, Josephus concludes with the words: καὶ φιλοσοφεῖται μὲν Ἰουδαίοις τοσάδε.

<sup>17</sup> For the reception and influence of Hellenistic philosophy in general and Stoic philosophy in particular in Roman circles, see e.g. A.A. Long, "Hellenistic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition", in idem, *Hellenistic Philosophy. Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (2nd ed.; Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986) 232-237.

<sup>18</sup> E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)* II (rev.ed.; Edinburgh 1979) 388, 585-586. See, more recently, A.I. Baumgarten, *The flourishing of Jewish sects in the Maccabean era: an interpretation* (Brill: Leiden etc. 1997) 18-25.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *mYad.* 4:6, 7; *mPar.* 3:7.

Sadducees, about the application of purity regulations concerning the burning of the Red Heifer, conveys the heated debate which also surrounded various aspects of the purity laws of the Temple cult. As some of the precepts of the Law in the *Halakhic Letter* also concern the purity of the Red Heifer as a sin-offering<sup>20</sup>, conflicting views on purity laws regulating the Temple service were among the reasons for the breakaway of the Qumran community from the regular Jewish Temple cult.

The perspective of the Pharisees on certain issues of ritual purity, referred to in early Rabbinic literature<sup>21</sup>, most probably was part and parcel of the ancestral traditions mentioned by Josephus describing the tenets of the Pharisees. For the Pharisees, as we have discussed above, had an important voice in determining the rites of prayer and worship for the people (*AJ* XVIII, §15). Although the submission of the Sadducees to formulas of the Pharisees relates to office (*ἀρχή*), apparently within the Jewish body-politic, debates about purity regulations of the Temple cult proper were probably not restricted to priestly classes but extended to the Jewish body-politic, the sanhedrin presided by the high-priest<sup>22</sup>. Interpretation of the Torah also concerned interpretation of purity regulations. The interrelation between scriptural interpretation and views on purity laws determined by scriptural interpretation is an important point in studying the historically grown difference of Jewish sects in their attitudes to the Temple cult. In this historical survey of the rise of Jewish sects our attention will focus on the aspects of the debate and conflicts between these sects which concern the Temple and its service.

### *The Temple Cult and Power Politics in the Maccabean Era*

In the first book of *Maccabees*, the beginning of the 'lawlessness', *ἀνομία*, and 'ungodliness', *ἀσεβεία*, is inherently attributed to concessions to Gentile custom in the time of Antiochus IV Euphrones' reign from 175 B.C.E. from the perspective of observance of the Jewish covenant in Israel<sup>23</sup>. In the context of war and military campaigns, the antagonism against foreign rule by a Hellenistic king and division about Gentile influence among the people of Israel, led by Mattathias and his son, Judas Maccabeus as religious and political leaders, undoubtedly sharpened and deepened. By the time of Jonathan's leadership (161-143/142 B.C.E.), the Israelites had established and consolidated their autonomy through power politics and diplomacy. It is in this period of time, that the existence of the different schools of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes is related by Josephus as a matter of fact in his digression in the thirteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, paragraphs 171-173<sup>24</sup>.

Politics were involved in the sacrifices (*θυσίαι*) and votive offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) presented by foreign rulers to the Temple of Jerusalem throughout the Second Temple

<sup>20</sup> *4QMMTB* 13-17 פרת החטאת טהרת.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. *mHag.* 2:7; *mToh.* 4:12; *mYad.* 4:6-7.

<sup>22</sup> For detailed discussion of the sources about this matter, see E. Schürer, "The Composition of the Sanhedrin", in idem, *The History of the Jewish People in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* II (New English version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar & M. Black; T&T Clark: Edinburgh 1979) 210-218.

<sup>23</sup> *1 Macc.* 1:10-15 f., there II 'Εν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ υἱοὶ παράνομοι. Cf. *1 Macc.* 3:3-9, 15, 20; 6:21 mentioning τινες τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ.

<sup>24</sup> §171 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τρεῖς αἵρέσεις τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἦσαν (...) This indication of time cannot be without significance for the dating of the rise of the Jewish sects. For also Josephus' words about these three sects, Ἰουδαίοις φιλοσοφίαι τρεῖς ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου τῶν πατρίων, in *AJ*, XVIII, § 11 are indicative of the antiquity of the roots in ancestral tradition of these three Jewish sects.

Period <sup>25</sup>, the offering of which was regulated by Jewish custom <sup>26</sup>. Sacrifices were also offered on behalf of foreign rulers <sup>27</sup>, but in the case of a burnt offering for a Hellenistic warlord like Nicanor, described in the 1 *Maccabees* 7:33f., the war between Hellenistic rule and the the Maccabees apparently made such a symbolical offering a vanity. The politics of good relations with the Gentiles would give rise to antagonisms within the religious and political establishment of Judaea in different factions in times of oppression by Gentiles and abandonment of the Jewish Law. The outrage about the wickedness of foreign oppression which decreed the abandonment of Jewish tradition seems to be echoed in *Psalms* 94:20: "Can the throne of destruction, framing misfortunes by statute, be allied with thee?" <sup>28</sup>. This 'throne of destruction' could symbolically stand for oppressive Hellenistic rulers, who were fought off by the Maccabees.

Under the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.E.) the Hellenizing influence was imposed by defilement and desecration of the Temple, and a decree of violence against many people observing the Jewish Law (1 *Macc.* 1:20-64). The revolt of the Maccabees against this oppression resulted in military victory and the rededication of the Temple, which 'removed the reproach of the Gentiles', ὁ ὀνειδισμὸς ἐθνῶν (1 *Macc.* 4:58). Songs and hymns were accompanying the rededication of the altar in the Temple, which was celebrated for eight days by the people and led by the priests according to 1 *Maccabees* 4:42-58. The offerings at the occasion of this rededication consisted of burnt offerings, ὀλοκαυτώματα, and a sacrifice of deliverance and praise, θυσία σωτηρίου καὶ αἰνέσεως (1 *Macc.* 4:56). Comparably, in the law for the Nazirite in *Numbers* 6:13-14f. a burnt offering (ὀλοκαύτωσις in the LXX) and a peace offering (σωτήριον) are found among the sacrifices offered after the completion of the time of separation. Further, in *Leviticus* 7:11-15f. the law of sacrifice of peace offerings is specified as in the case of a peace offering for thanksgiving in *Leviticus* 7:13, called ἡ θυσία αἰνέσεως σωτηρίου in the Septuagint. It is important to note that also in the Qumran sectarian imagination of an eschatological Temple, also 'works of thanksgiving', מעשי תודה, were to be offered in it <sup>29</sup>.

Under the reign of king Demetrius I Soter (162-150 B.C.E.), however, certain parties in Israel joined with the Gentiles and the high-priesthood itself became an object of political strife <sup>30</sup>. Under these circumstances of strife for religious and political power by Hellenizing parties, with their factionalism the interference of foreign power was brought in. These factions, led by Alcimus, who was aiming at the high-priesthood, are represented from the

<sup>25</sup> E.g. *AJ* XI, § 7 (contributions on behalf of the Persian king Cyrus); *AJ* XI, §§ 32-336 (Alexander the Great); *C.Ap.* II, § 48 (Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-222 B.C.E.)); II *Macc.* 3:2-3 (Seleucus, king of Asia and other kings); *AJ* XIII, §§ 242-243 (Antiochus VII Sidetes (139-129 B.C.E.)); *AJ* XVI, § 14 (Marcus Agrippa); *AJ* XVIII, § 122 (Vitellius, 37 C.E.). Cf. "Gentile Participation in Worship at Jerusalem" in Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ*, vol. II, pp. 309-313.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *AJ* XI, § 336 sacrifice to God "κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑφήγησιν" and in *C.Ap.* II, § 48 ὡς ἡμῖν νόμιμόν ἐστιν.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Letter of Aristeus*, 45; I *Macc.* 7:33.

<sup>28</sup> MT has: הוֹת יֵצֵר עַל-לִיחָק כִּסֵּא הַיְחָבֵרֶךְ. LXX has: μὴ συμπροσέσται σοι θρόνος ἀνομίας, ὁ πλάσσειν κόπον ἐπὶ προστάγματι; Cf. I *Maccabees* 1:60, 2:18,23 where the term πρόσταγμα is also found in connection with the violence and sacrilege ensuing from Antiochus IV Epiphanes' decree of abandonment of the customs of subjected peoples, while in I *Macc.* 1:11 those who advocated a covenant with the Gentiles are called lawless.

<sup>29</sup> *4QFlorilegium* = *4QMidrEschat a.b.* Frag. 1, Col. 1, 21, 2, lines 6-7. Ed.pr. J.M. Allegro & A.A. Anderson, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V Qumran Cave 4. I (4Q158-4Q186)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 53-57, pls. XIX-XX.

<sup>30</sup> I *Macc.* 7:1.5.9.12-23 about Alcimus' political strife for and treacherous gain of the high-priesthood.

Maccabean perspective as 'all lawless and impious men from of Israel', πάντες ἄνομοι καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ (1 *Macc.* 7:5). At this point, a diplomatic delegation was formed by Judas Maccabeus and sent to Rome for an alliance and friendship with this rising power (1 *Macc.* 8:17). The motive for this diplomacy is stated in a very pronounced way in the Greek of 1 *Maccabees* 8:18: τοῦ ἄραι τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι εἶδον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταδουλουμένους τὸν Ἰσραὴλ δουλείᾳ, which can be translated as follows, "to remove the yoke from themselves, because they saw that kingdom of the Greeks was reducing Israel to complete slavery". The direct military threat of destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem from the side of king Demetrius' general Nicanor was ward off by the Maccabees who defeated Nicanor in battle (1 *Macc.* 7:33-50). Nevertheless, after the death of Judas Maccabeus (161 B.C.E.) renewed oppression by Seleucid power and internal pro-Seleucid factions threatened to overshadow Israel's autonomy<sup>31</sup>.

Under the leadership of Jonathan who took Judas' place (1 *Macc.* 9:28-31), the deserters were beaten by military force and purged from Israel by judgment<sup>32</sup>. Jonathan made Jerusalem his residence and was elected high-priest by king Alexander Balas ca. 152 B.C.E.<sup>33</sup>. In the subsequent course of events a delicate balance was struck between diplomacy and warfare, as Hellenistic rulers opposed one another in political intrigues and military campaigns. The Maccabean policy protected the services of the Temple from direct external threats of destruction or desecration. A balance of power apparently was Jonathan's aim. His diplomatic efforts included a renewal of the alliance with Rome, but, mistaking a treacherous war plot for diplomatic alliance, Jonathan perished together with many of his soldiers<sup>34</sup>. Also under Jonathan's successor, Simon the son of Mattathias, the enemies of Israel's autonomy had to be fought off for the protection of the Temple and the Law<sup>35</sup>. Simon was elected high-priest (ἀρχιερεὺς), military commander (στρατηγός) and etnarch (ἐθνάρχης), by the people and the priests (1 *Macc.* 14:41-42, 46-47). Thus priestly, military and political functions were combined in his hands. Under his leadership (ca. 143-135 B.C.E.) the policy of renewed alliance with Rome was continued.

The reality of continuous diplomatic and military warfare to shake off the yoke of the "kingdom of the Greeks", ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, is also alluded to in sectarian historiography found in the margins of Qumran commentary on Scripture. For in *Pesher Nahum* the names of Antiochus and Demetrius among the "kings of Yavan", that is Greece, are referred to in the following context<sup>36</sup>:

[ פשרו על דמי ] סוס מלך יון אשר בקש לבוא ירושלים בעצת דורשי החלקות  
[ ולוא בוא כי לוא נתן אל את ירושלים ] ביד מלכי יון מאנתיכוס עד עמוד מושלי כתיים

<sup>31</sup> 1 *Macc.* 9:23-27f., there 23 Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν Ἰουδοῦ ἐξεκυψαν οἱ ἄνομοι ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀνέτειλαν πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀδικίαν. Cf. Josephus' *Antiquities* XIII, § 2-3 relating the same events in similar terms of godless people among the Jews deserting (αὐτομολεῖν) to the enemy.

<sup>32</sup> 1 *Macc.* 9:73; *AJ* XIII, § 34.

<sup>33</sup> 1 *Macc.* 10:1-21; *AJ* XIII, §§ 39-46, 119 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Βάλας ἐπιλεγόμενος.

<sup>34</sup> 1 *Macc.* 12:1-53, 13:20-24, 14:16f.; *AJ* XIII, §§ 163-170, 187-193, 203-209.

<sup>35</sup> 1 *Macc.* 13:3-6, 14:29 describing as goal of military efforts the preservation of the Temple and the Law, ὅπως σταθῇ τὰ ἅγια αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νόμος; cf. *AJ* XIII, §§ 198-200, where the protection of the observance of the laws and the Temple is also found accentuated in the speech of Simon with the words τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ὑμῶν and τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπόρθητον μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαφυλάξων (§§ 199-200).

<sup>36</sup> *4QpNah* (= *4Q169*) Frags. 3+4, Col. 1, lines 2-3. Ed.pr. J.M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4. I* (4Q158-4Q186) (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V; Oxford 1969). Cf. use of חלקות in *Isa.* 30:10; *Pss.* 12:3-4; *Dan.* 11:32.

"[Its interpretation concerns Demetrius, king of Yavan, who sought to enter Jerusalem on the advice of those who care for flatteries, [but he did not enter for God had not given Jerusalem] in the hand of the kings of Yavan from Antiochus up to the appearance of the commanders of the Kittim".

The terms Yavan (יוון) and Kittim (כת(י)ים) are found in the so-called biblical "table of the nations" in *Genesis* 10 (there vv. 2 and 4), and in this context served as ethnic designations for Greece and Rome respectively <sup>37</sup>. The fact that these names are mentioned in a midrash peshar on *Nahum* 2:12 in a column which also contains a polemical reference to the "priests of Jerusalem" (v.11), is significant. The references may serve as chronological markers for reconstructing (at least one side of) the conflicts among the Palestinian Jewish sects with regard to the Temple cult.

In another Qumran commentary, the *Pesher to Habakkuk*, the "last priests of Jerusalem" are foretold to amass wealth unlawfully through plundering the nations and to be plundered in turn by the rest of the nations, that is the army of the Kittim (*1QpHab* IX, 3-7). The "Wicked Priest", הכוהן הרשע, is in this same Pesher charged with repulsive acts, מעשי תועבות, and having defiled the Temple of God (ויטמא את מקדש אל) <sup>38</sup>. As can be inferred from the *Pesher to Habakkuk*, the sectarian community was led by the Teacher of Righteousness into her breakaway from the regular Temple cult because of the corruption of the high-priesthood by the 'Wicked Priest'.

In the editio princeps of the *Halakhic Letter* (*4QMMT*), a hypothesis has been put forward by the editors dating the changes which gave rise to the breakaway of the Qumran community to the period of 160-152 B.C.E., just before Jonathan's election to the high-priesthood <sup>39</sup>. According to this hypothesis, the deposition of the "Teacher of Righteousness" as high-priest took place in this period. In Columns IX and XI of the *Pesher to Habakkuk* references to the 'Wicked Priest' as having been delivered into the hands of the enemies to disgrace him and as one whose disgrace exceeded his glory <sup>40</sup>, could point to an identification of the 'Wicked Priest' with a historical person who combined the offices of high-priest and military commander in his hands, but in the end was disgraced in captivity. Be this as it may, the sectarian historiography in the margins of the Qumran pesharim convey chronological markers of situations of conflict and escalation with regard to Jerusalem and its Temple cult from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who is probably alluded to in the above quoted passage from *4QNahum Pesher*.

The polemical language used against the 'Wicked Priest' in the *Pesher to Habakkuk* conveys a standpoint of hindsight, from the perspective of the breakaway of the Qumran community from the Jewish movements which were committed to the Jerusalem Temple cult. The Qumran polemic against the 'Wicked Priest' and his followers is found phrased in terms which were probably derived from the exhortations in the books of the prophets. Thus, in Column XI of the *Pesher to Habakkuk* a polemical phrase concerning the Wicked Priest, as

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Josephus' *Antiquities*, I, §§ 124 (ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰουάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι) and 127-128, which relates the "Kittim" - while deriving it from an archaic name for Cyprus - to "all islands and the greater part of the coastlands" (νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλατται). See further E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135)* I (rev.ed.; Edinburgh 1973) 241 n.30: "Today there is quasi-unanimity in identifying the victorious Kittim of Qumran literature with the Romans"

<sup>38</sup> *1QpHab* Col. XII, 7-9.

<sup>39</sup> E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (MMT)* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert X; Oxford 1994) 117-120.

<sup>40</sup> *1QpHab* Col. IX, 9-12; Col. XI, 12-14.



being 'uncircumcised in the foreskin of his heart', probably borrows from the language of exhortation found among other texts in *Jeremiah* 9:25-26 and *Ezekiel* 44:7.9<sup>41</sup>. This polemical phrase would even be found among the stock vocabulary of polemic against the contemporary priestly establishment of the Temple cult uttered by Hellenists among the Christian Jews (e.g. *Acts* 7:44-51). Paul, in his polemic against other Christian Jewish missionaries, transformed the original prophetic language of exhortation in a spiritual understanding of Jewish identity as "circumcision of the heart", περιτομή καρδίας (*Rom.* 2:28-29). In the context of Qumran polemic against the corruption of the 'Wicked Priest' and his followers, the meaning of the polemical phrase is, however, given a direction of excessiveness, transgression, by the addition of the phrase that the Wicked Priest 'has walked on the ways of saturation', וילך בדרכי הרויה (*1QpHab* Col. XI, 13-14). Perhaps the saturation related to lust for power and unlawful appropriation of the high-priestly office from the Qumran sectarian perspective.

### III THE DIVIDE BETWEEN THE JEWISH SECTS IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

While the existence of the sects of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes is attested by Josephus at the time of Jonathan's leadership, opposition against Maccabean rule emerged from the side of the Pharisees when John Hyrcanus was high-priest (135-104 B.C.E.). And controversies between Pharisees and Sadducees were kindled because of Hyrcanus' abrogation of the unwritten laws introduced by the Pharisees, but rejected by the Sadducees<sup>42</sup>. Josephus also relates in this connection, that the envy against Hyrcanus was more generally present among the Jews, but most of all among the Pharisees for Hyrcanus is described as showing himself an apostate disciple to them<sup>43</sup>.

The fact that the Essenes are mentioned cursorily by Josephus at the end of this section on the Pharisaic-Sadducean controversy in his *Jewish Antiquities* XIII, paragraphs 288-298, referring the reader to his digression in the second book of the *Jewish War*, could be indicative of the definite separation of the Essenes from the main Jewish body politic and the regular Temple cult by that time. According to Josephus' digression in the eighteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, the Essenes lived in congregations with their own priests because of their divergent views on purity laws. Their withdrawal from full participation in the Temple cult did however not preclude the sending of votive offerings by the Essenes to the Temple of Jerusalem<sup>44</sup>.

In the decades before John Hyrcanus' leadership, the initial general support of Maccabean rule by law-abiding Jews probably became less unified over time when the external threats to Jewish ancestral traditions had been fought off and the concentration of priestly, military and political functions in the hands of rulers over Israel became open to criticism. The aforementioned enmity between the 'Teacher of Righteousness' and the 'Wicked Priest' in the *Pesher to Habakkuk* is at least indicative of the conflicts among priestly circles concerning views on the legitimate succession in the high-priestly office. These conflicts gave rise to the breakaway of a movement from the priestly classes which would eventually establish itself as the Qumran community.

<sup>41</sup> *1QpHab* Col. XI, 12-13 כִּי לֹא מִל אֶת עֹרֶלֶת לִבּוֹ. Cf. *Habakkuk* 2:19-20 where the lifeless state of adornments of gold and silver appears to be juxtaposed to the presence of God in his holy Temple, implying a juxtaposition between temptations to idolatry and true worship of God.

<sup>42</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 288-298.

<sup>43</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 288, 296

<sup>44</sup> *AJ* XVIII, §§ 18-19, 22 (ἱερεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσῃ σίτου τε καὶ βρωμάτων); *BJ* II, § 124.

Following a relative consensus about the Essene hypothesis, the breakaway of the Qumran movement from the regular Temple cult under the Maccabean high-priesthood is often dated to the middle of the second century B.C.E.<sup>45</sup> The Qumran movement originally formed part of the larger movement of Essenes, but led by the Teacher of Righteousness it went into a more radical seclusion in the desert as "place of banishment"<sup>46</sup>. The banishment of the Qumran community as a group around a deposed high-priest would explain their more radical seclusion than the larger movement of Essenes, as the movement of the Teacher of Righteousness probably posed the more serious challenge to the new priestly establishment of the Jerusalem Temple cult. The eschatology of two Messiahs, of Aaron and of Israel, found in the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community* is probably not without relation to a sectarian reaction against the reality of the day, in which priestly leadership and military leadership were combined in the hands of the Maccabean rulers<sup>47</sup>.

While the Essene and Qumran sectarian breakaway from the Temple cult was a sectarian reaction against mainstream Judaism, it is telling for the division about priestly leadership that an incident of protest against Hyrcanus' high-priesthood caused Hyrcanus to abrogate the Pharisaic regulations. Although Hyrcanus quieted the opposition against his high-priesthood<sup>48</sup>, the legitimacy of the inheritance of the high-priestly office by Jewish rulers was more openly questioned after Hyrcanus' rule. Certain parties probably took offence at the claim to hereditary possession of the high-priestly office by the Hasmonean royal dynasty founded by Aristobulus I (104-103 B.C.E.). They expressed their indignation in a more flagrant way against Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.E.), declaring him unfit to hold the high-priestly office and to sacrifice<sup>49</sup>. This time the outbreak of sedition, στάσις, was not limited to an incident, but was carried on by the people revolting against Jannaeus<sup>50</sup>. The revolt was suppressed with much bloodshed and eight hundred of the Jews were crucified while their wives and children were slaughtered, causing the opponents to remain in exile during Alexander Jannaeus' lifetime<sup>51</sup>.

The hatred against Jannaeus' regime was widespread among the Pharisees and they probably were the dominant party providing breeding ground for opposition against Jannaeus. For Josephus attributes to Jannaeus the consideration that the cause for the revolt among the

<sup>45</sup> See for example E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ II*, 555-590 and J.C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Michigan & London 1994) 71-98 for the presentation of evidence for identification of the Qumran community as the more sectarian, secluded wing of the larger movement of the Essenes. For recent challenges to the Essene hypothesis and critical re-assessment of the evidence, see e.g. L. Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes. A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence* (Tübingen 1997) and G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Michigan 1998). Cf. G. Vermes, "Identification of the Community" and "The History of the Community", in idem, *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (SCM Press: London 1999) 114-144.

<sup>46</sup> *IQpHab* Col. XI, 4-6 concerning the Teacher of Righteousness, מורה הצדק, who was persecuted by the Wicked Priest, הכוהן הרשע, in his place of banishment.

<sup>47</sup> E.g. *CD-A* XII, 23-XIII, 1, 21; XIV, 19; *CD-B* XX, 1; *IQS* IX, 11 mentioning אהרן וישראל משיח(י). Further, while in *CD-A* Col. XIV, 3-6 the priests are enlisted as ranking first among all people in the assembly and according to *IQS* V, 2 the priests are entrusted with the keeping of the covenant, in *CD-A* Col. XIV, 6f. the priest at the head of the Many appears to be endowed with more authority than the Inspector over the camps (לכל המחנות המבקר אשר, XIV, 8-9).

<sup>48</sup> *AJ* XIII, § 299 Ὑρκανὸς δὲ παύσας τὴν στάσιν.

<sup>49</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 291-292 (concerning the offence against Hyrcanus); *AJ* XIII, § 372 προσεξελοιδόρησαν δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξ αἰχμαλώτων γεγονότα καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ θύειν ἀνάξιον.

<sup>50</sup> *AJ* XIII, § 372 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν στασιασάντων (ἐπ' ἀνέστη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθνος).

<sup>51</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 373, 376, 379-383.

Jewish people against his rule consisted in his hostility to the Pharisees, who had been affronted by him<sup>52</sup>. It was most probably due to the pressure of the Pharisees that after the death of Alexander Jannaeus the high-priesthood and the government of the country were not anymore united in the hands of a Hasmonean ruler. Under the rule of queen Alexandra (76-67 B.C.E.), the Pharisees were given free reign to do as they liked in all matters<sup>53</sup>. And the traditions and regulations of the Pharisees, having been abrogated by John Hyrcanus I, were restored (*AJ* XIII, § 408). After Alexandra's death, the strife for power between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, aided by Antipater, resulted in civil war. The attack against the Temple of Jerusalem in the course of this civil war brings out the violent extent of the internal division in which the Temple service was implicated<sup>54</sup>.

The march of Pompey to Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E., resulting in the capture of the city and the slaughter of the faction sympathizing with Aristobulus II, and among them Jews who were in the Temple<sup>55</sup>, marked the end of the Hellenistic Period and the beginning of Roman hegemony over Israel. Although the Temple services were continued, the sanctuary was profaned by Pompey<sup>56</sup>. Roman hegemony was accompanied by the loss of freedom and political compromise which gave the royal power into the hands of commoners instead of high-priests by birth<sup>57</sup>. Against the historical background of growing Roman hegemony with its subsequent economic exploitation, the revolutionary movement of the 'Fourth Philosophy' split off from the Pharisees<sup>58</sup>. The worldly compromise by the Jewish body politic with the power of the Romans was probably perceived by this revolutionary movement as corrupting the theocratic idea of the Judean kingdom.

The predicament of corruption and exploitation by a contemporary power seems to be reflected in a different way by Paul, who writes in his *Letter to the Galatians* about an "era of wickedness", an expression which is also found in the eschatological perspective of the Qumran community, namely in the the *Pesher to Habakkuk*<sup>59</sup>. In light of the wisdom of God, Paul further denounces the wisdom of the worldly rulers of the time, ἡ σοφία τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (1 *Cor.* 2:6.8). It can be inferred from these passing references to worldly rulers that for Paul there was a tension between the concerns of those worldly rulers and the Spirit of God which builds up the congregation of God.

Before turning to a more extensive discussion of attitudes to the Temple cult in the Roman period and of issues pertaining to Paul's metaphor of the Temple, a general outline of attitudes among diaspora Jews towards the Temple in the Hellenistic and Roman periods will be given here. For the historical readers of Paul's Letters were living in the Hellenistic diaspora. A more specific treatment of relations between diaspora Jews and Jerusalem will be

<sup>52</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 400-402, there 402 αὐτόν τε προσκροῦσαι τῷ ἔθνει διὰ τούτους ἔλεγεν ὕβρισθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>53</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 407-408 Hyrcanus being appointed high-priest and Aristobulus II becoming king after Alexandra's death (XIV, §§ 4-7). In the same sentence of Hyrcanus' appointment to the high-priesthood the phrase καὶ πάντα τοῖς Φαρισαίοις ἐπιτρέπει ποιεῖν is found.

<sup>54</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 8-28.

<sup>55</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 54-71, there 66-67.

<sup>56</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 71-72 παρενομήθη δὲ οὐ μικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἄβαστόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀόρατον· παρῆλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνοις τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν.

<sup>57</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 77-78 ἡ βασιλεία πρότερον τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἀρχιερεῦσιν διδομένη, τιμὴ δημοτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο.

<sup>58</sup> *AJ* XVIII, §§ 3-10, 23.

<sup>59</sup> *Gal.* 1:4 ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ; *1QpHab* Col. V, 7-8 נעשרה קרב

deferred to chapter 4, where aspects of Jewish tradition and Corinth are analysed as part of the historical setting of the Corinthian congregation.

#### IV RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HELLENISTIC DIASPORA AND JERUSALEM

In the Hellenistic period a large Jewish population in the diaspora had become settled in Egypt and most of all in Alexandria. Their adoption of the language of the Hellenized culture had become so widespread, that the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, which came to be known as the Septuagint. Although this Alexandrian Greek version was influential in the Greek-speaking Diaspora, the Hellenistic Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who refers to the it in the proem of his *Jewish Antiquities*, writes that his own work, including Biblical Antiquities is first of all based on the "Hebrew records"<sup>60</sup>.

At the time of the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus IV Epiphanes, when the Temple of Jerusalem was desecrated, one of the chief priests of Jerusalem, Onias, fled into exile to Alexandria in Egypt where he obtained permission from king Ptolemy Philometor to build the temple of Heliopolis for the worship of God<sup>61</sup>. According to Josephus this "temple to the Most High God", ναὸς τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ, was built in likeness to the Temple of Jerusalem. Certain Levites and priests were appointed to its service and its building would bring a prophecy of Isaiah to fulfillment. On the other hand, Josephus also casts doubt on Onias' motives for building this temple in Egypt<sup>62</sup>, calling the building of this temple a "sin and transgression against the Law", ἡ ἀμαρτία καὶ ἡ τοῦ νόμου παράβασις (*AJ* XIII, § 69). In Early Rabbinic Literature, a statement is also found denouncing the legitimacy of the service of the temple built by Onias: "[If he said,] 'I pledge myself to offer a Whole-offering', he must offer it in the Temple. And if he offered it in House of Onias he has not fulfilled his obligation"<sup>63</sup>. Most Alexandrian Jews were probably loyal to the Temple of Jerusalem as the Temple of God. For according to Josephus, a quarrel in Alexandria between Jews and Samaritans concerning the question of which temple had been built according to the laws of Moses was decided in favour of the Jerusalem Temple<sup>64</sup>. A stronger argument for the unbroken relations between Alexandrian Jews and Jerusalem, and more in general between Diaspora Jews and Jerusalem, are the descriptions of pilgrimage, envoys and offerings by the Alexandrian Jewish writer Philo<sup>65</sup>.

In this brief outline of some aspects of Diaspora relations with the Jerusalem and the Temple worship, an important issue concerns symbolism related to the Temple service in the Alexandrian diaspora contemporary to Philo, some decades before Paul's missionary journeys. In Philo's treatise *On the Contemplative Life*, a group of devoted Jewish worshippers of God, called θεραπευταί and θεραπευτρίδες, are described living near Alexandria<sup>66</sup>. Philo writes about them and indicates that their way of life in abstinence from

<sup>60</sup> *AJ* I, § 5 (ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρημενευμένην γραμμάτων), 10-13.

<sup>61</sup> *BJ* VII, §§ 423-432; *AJ* XIII, §§ 62-73.

<sup>62</sup> According to *AJ* XIII, § 62-63 the desire of eternal fame and glory for himself; according to *BJ* VII, § 431 the will to rival the Jews at Jerusalem, bearing in mind the outrage of his exile against them.

<sup>63</sup> *mMen.* 13:10; translation from H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford 1933) 512-513.

<sup>64</sup> *AJ* XIII, §§ 74-79.

<sup>65</sup> *Spec. Leg.* I, § 67-70; *Legat.* §§ 156, 278, 312-313, 315.

<sup>66</sup> *Contempl.* 2, 21-22. See most recently the article of Joan E. Taylor and Philip R. Davies, "The So-Called Therapeutae of *De Vita Contemplativa*: Identity and Character", *Harvard Theological Review* 91:1 (1998) 3-24 for a disidentification of the "Therapeutae" as a branch of Essenes, analysis of the general term against the

wine is comparable to the state of priests when sacrificing <sup>67</sup>. More important is the symbolism expressed in the supper of the "Therapeutae", which shows reverence for the "holy table enshrined in the sacred vestibule of the temple" and allows for a comparison between the superiors and the priests who receive the purest and simplest food, τὰ ἀπλούστατα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατα, as a reward for their ministry <sup>68</sup>. The pre-existing cultic symbolism in the diaspora probably has a bearing on the Christian missionary movement. According to the *Acts of the Apostles* there was a synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem and one of Paul's fellow missionaries, Apollos, was a native of Alexandria <sup>69</sup>. Symbolical comparison with priestly functions was a part of the religious culture in the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora in Egypt.

In *Acts* 2:9-11 the enumeration of pilgrims from various regions in the Hellenistic as well as Eastern Diaspora, who were present in Jerusalem at the occasion of the 'feast of weeks' or Pentecost, attests to the strong relations between Diaspora Jews and the Temple worship of Israel. This is also clear from the enumeration in *Acts* 6:9 of synagogues, named after the geographical background of the diaspora Jews who were hosted in Jerusalem. The Jewish embassy to emperor Caligula (37-41 C.E.) with the mission to avert Roman rulers from setting up an image of the emperor in the Temple of Jerusalem, described in Philo's treatise *Legatio ad Caium*, attests to the importance felt among diaspora Jews to ward off Roman desecration of the Jerusalem Temple.

## V ATTITUDES TO THE JERUSALEM TEMPLE UNDER ROMAN RULE

Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, which constituted the beginning of Roman hegemony, had entailed the slaughter of Jews in the Temple and the profaning of the holy of holies in the Jerusalem Temple. As Judaea was subjected to Rome by Pompey's military campaign in 63 B.C.E., Jerusalem was also made tributary to the Romans (*AJ* XIV, § 74). An ensuing revolt was crushed by Roman forces (*AJ* XIV, §§ 92-97). In the decades afterwards, Roman policy toward Judaea and Jerusalem vacillated between exploitation through tribute and outright cases of plunder. Under Crassus' governorship (54-53 B.C.E.) the treasures of the Temple of Jerusalem, gathered from the wealth of contributions of Jews in Israel and the Diaspora, were plundered <sup>70</sup>. In Caesar's decrees concerning Jerusalem, the Jewish traditions like the sabbatical year were taken into consideration in the Roman system of tribute and tax <sup>71</sup>.

Under the kingship of Herod (37-4 B.C.E.), foreign practices were introduced in Jerusalem, which disturbed the Jews for whom it was an impiety "to change their established ways for foreign practices". Josephus writes about this violation of the ancestral customs, especially the introduction of images, as setting the precedent for neglect of piety among the masses <sup>72</sup>. Although the pagan ornaments and images were removed by Herod, it formed the precedent for the introduction of pagan images. For under Pontius Pilate's procuratorship

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background of Greco-Roman literature and epigraphy and in the context of the superstructure of Philo's comparative exposition of virtue.

<sup>67</sup> *Contempl.* § 74 νηφάλια γὰρ ὡς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θύειν.

<sup>68</sup> *Contempl.* §§ 81-82. Translation from F.H. Colson, *Philo in ten volumes (and two supplementary volumes)* IX (Harvard UP 1941) 165.

<sup>69</sup> *Acts* 6:9; 18:24; 1 *Cor.* 1:12, 3:4-6.22, 4:6, 16:12.

<sup>70</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 105-111f.

<sup>71</sup> *AJ* XIV, §§ 200-210.

<sup>72</sup> *AJ* XV, §§ 267-277, there 275 ἀσεβὲς δὲ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξαλλάττειν τοὺς ἔθισμούς.

images would again be introduced in Jerusalem (*AJ* XVIII, §§ 55-59). In the eighteenth year of his reign, ca. 20-19 B.C.E., Herod undertook the enormous work of expanding the Temple of Jerusalem, which was emphatically presented as an act of piety by a king who had lost much goodwill among various Jewish factions by letting pagan customs overshadow the ancestral customs (*AJ* XV, § 365)<sup>73</sup>. It was this Temple which the Christian Jews of the first community in Jerusalem knew. In the porticoes of this Temple they assembled to proclaim Jesus' resurrection from the dead<sup>74</sup>.

In recent literature dealing with archaeological finds in Jerusalem, a connection has been made between the Essene quarter of Jerusalem and the first Christian community in terms of their neighbourhood, but also suggesting contacts and influence<sup>75</sup>. Josephus writes about his own education in Jerusalem in his *Vita* §§ 7-12, that he engaged in courses of the three Jewish sects "to gain personal experience of the several sects", τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἰρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν. Christian Jews in the time of Jesus were not isolated from the surrounding religious culture. In connection with the contemporary Jewish background of the Christian Jewish perspective on the holiness of the religious community reflected in Paul's metaphor of the Temple, it is important to note the Essene concept of holiness as described by Philo. In his treatise *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* § 75 he writes about them: κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν — οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τύπῳ διαλέκτου Ἑλληνικῆς — παρώνυμοι ὁσιότητος, ἐπειδὴ κὰν τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γέγονοσιν, οὐ ζῶα καταθύοντες, ἀλλ' ἱεροπρεπεῖς τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας κατασκευάζειν ἀξιοῦντες - "Their name which is, I think, a variation, though the form of the Greek is inexact, of ὁσιότης (holiness), is given them, because they have shown themselves especially devout in the service of God, not by offering sacrifices of animals, but by resolving to sanctify their minds"<sup>76</sup>. The emphasis on the sanctification of the mind attributed to the Essenes reveals the existence of a more widespread notion of moral purity and sanctification next to ritual purity within Second Temple Judaism.

Symbolical references to the contemporary context of the Temple service are found in Paul's *Letter to the Romans* in relation to the collection for the poor among the saints in Jerusalem and the issue of the acceptability of the offering of the Gentiles. Paul deems this offering sanctified by the Holy Spirit in *Romans* 15:16, and it is significant that Paul associates his apostolic mission to the Gentiles with a "priestly service of the gospel of God". The association with priestly service provokes the idea of offerings of and on behalf of the Gentiles in the Temple of Jerusalem. The idea of offerings from the Gentiles would not have been an affront to the Temple within the Pharisaic tradition of Paul's time. For even on the eve of the Jewish war in 66 C.E., the way in which "priestly experts" (οἱ ἐμπειροὶ τῶν πατρίων ἱερεῖς) of the Pharisaic-Sadducean establishment presented the ancestral traditions emphasized the acceptability of sacrifices of the Gentiles<sup>77</sup>. According to the narrative of *Acts*, the rumour that Paul's gospel entailed the abrogation of the Law in the

<sup>73</sup> *AJ* XV, §§ 380-425, containing a speech of Herod in §§ 382-387. The Jerusalem Temple which Herod reconstructed, is designated in § 380 as τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>74</sup> *Acts* 2:46, 3:11, 4:1-4, 5:12; cf. C.K. Barrett, "Attitudes to the Temple in Acts", in W. Horbury ed., *Templum Amicitiae. Essays on the Second Temple presented to Ernst Bammel* (Sheffield 1991) 345-367.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. B. Pixner, "Jesus and his community: between Essenes and Pharisees", in J.H. Charlesworth ed., *Hillel and Jesus: why comparisons are important* (Minneapolis 1997) 193-224; idem, "Jerusalem's Essene Gateway: Where the Community Lived in Jesus' Time", *Biblical Archaeology Review* 23 (1997) 22-31, 64, 66; R. Riesner, *Essener und Urgemeinde in Jerusalem. Neue Funde und Quellen* (Verlag Giessen; Basel 1998).

<sup>76</sup> Text and translation from F.H. Colson, *Philo in ten volumes (and two supplementary volumes)* IX (Harvard UP 1941) 54-55.

<sup>77</sup> *BJ* II, § 417. See further C. Roth, "The Debate on the Loyal Sacrifices, A.D. 66", *Harvard Theological Review* 53 (1960) 93-97.

diaspora would rather have caused the opposition of law-abiding Christian Jews in Jerusalem against Paul <sup>78</sup>. The issue of the Gentile offering was, however, important in the good relations between the "holy ones in Jerusalem" and the congregations in Christ in the Diaspora (*Rom.* 15:25-27).

#### PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of a historical survey, our attention has been focused on the question how the dividing lines among the Jewish sects, whose existence is attested from the middle of the second century B.C.E. by Josephus, relate to their respective attitudes to the Jerusalem Temple cult. As Josephus' description of the Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees is in most cases contained in digressions apart from his chronological account of events, the picture of this historically grown spectrum of attitudes to the Temple remains fragmentary.

The issues of moral purity, polemic against the contemporary Temple cult and priestly leadership, and the status of Gentile offerings, which play a part in contemporary Jewish attitudes to the Temple, are an important part of the historical background to Paul's use of the Temple as a metaphor and related cultic terminology. Paul's theological concept of the Temple of God is rooted in a religious culture, in which ritual and moral purity found their traditional expression in the rites and services of the Jerusalem Temple cult, to which Paul refers in *Romans* 9:4.

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<sup>78</sup> *Acts* 21:18-22f.; cf. *Gal.* 2:1-14.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE LITERATURE OF QUMRAN ABOUT THE TEMPLE

In this chapter a thematically arranged presentation of documents in the literature of Qumran will be given in a more detailed discussion of certain issues found in the sectarian library which are related to the Temple. First, certain legal texts related to the early development and history of the Qumran community will be dealt with. Secondly, the architectural descriptions of a visionary Temple in the *Temple Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem Scroll* are the subject of brief discussion. Thirdly, the sectarian perspective implicating the Qumran community in the idea of an eschatological Temple, which also conveys metaphorical levels of thinking about the Temple, will be elucidated. Finally, after having mapped the place of Temple theology in the literature of Qumran, issues of intertextuality will be discussed, that is, the use of Scripture in certain passages with prooftexts.

#### I PURITY LAWS AND SEPARATION FROM THE TEMPLE CULT

##### 1. *The Halakhic Letter*

Following the much anticipated publication of the *Halakhic Letter* in 1994 by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell<sup>1</sup>, which is given the Hebrew title *מקצת מעשי התורה*, 'some of the works of the Torah', studies have been devoted to the bearing of this document on legal issues in the literature of Qumran, in the Hebrew Bible, in Rabbinic tradition, but also in relation to New Testament studies, with the correspondence to Paul's expression *ἐκ γὰρ νόμου*<sup>2</sup>. The reconstructed edition of six main manuscripts (4Q394-4Q399 or 4QMMT *a-f*) is arranged in a text with units numbered A, B and C. Text-unit A relates to calendar issues of religious festivals, while text-units B and C form the main body of the letter about the sectarian interpretation of some of the works of the Law.

The addressees of the *Halakhic Letter* are informed that the sectarian community, on whose behalf the letter is written, has segregated from the multitude of the people, *מרוב העם*, on account of abomination, *התועבה*, related in the context of violence and fornication, *החמס והזנות*, ruining places (C, 5-7). *Deuteronomy* 7:26 is quoted in C, 6 concerning the prohibition to bring an abomination in one's house, which in this biblical context stands for bringing carved idols into one's house (cf. *Deut.* 7:25). In the following line, C 8, the segregation of the sectarian community is further emphasized with a phrase which summarily gives the object of segregation: *מהתערב בדברים האלה ומלבוא עמהם* [לגב אלה], "from mingling in these affairs, and from associating with them in these things"<sup>3</sup>. The sectarian community urges the addressees to understand the book of Moses, the books of the prophets and David and the annals of each generation (C, 10-11), which are called to witness as scriptural authority for the sectarian viewpoint which is the point concerning which the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran", *Israel Museum Journal* 4 (1985) 9-12. Ed.pr. E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert X Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat ma'ase ha-Torah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> The articles in J.Kampen, M.J. Bernstein eds., *Reading 4QMMT. New perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Text and translation from F.García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition* II (4Q274-11Q31) (Brill: Leiden, etc. / Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, U.K., 2000) 800-801.



addressees need to be persuaded. This viewpoint also explicitly relates to the issue of the purity of the Temple, טהרת המקדש (B. 54) and the exhortation 'to venerate the Temple', להיות יראים ממקדש (B. 49), relates to the sectarian view on purity laws regulating the Temple service.

In this sectarian interpretation of ritual purity laws, each issue is introduced with the phrase 'concerning', על. Thus, subsequently discussed issues like the offering of the wheat of the Gentiles, תרומת דגן הגויים (B. 3), the sacrifice of the sin-offering, זבח החטאת (B. 5), the sacrifice of the Gentiles זבח הגויים (B. 8), the cereal-offering of the sacrifice of the peace-offerings, מנחת זבח השלמים (B. 9), the purity of the heifer of the sin-offering, טהרת פרת החטאת (B. 13), and so on, evoke the elaborate system of purification rites of the Temple service. Among these issues of ritual purity, sacrifice by Gentiles appears to be polemicized against in B. 11-12. The reconstructed text of text-unit B has a negative sectarian regulation against the wheat offering of the Gentiles mentioned in the foregoing, B. 7-8:

[ואין לאכול] מדיגן [הג]ויים [ואין] לבוא למקדש, "and not to eat from the wheat of the Gentiles and not to bring it to the Temple". The issue of intermarriage of priests with others than those specified among levitical instructions for priests (*Lev. 21:1-24*) is most polemically countered in B. 79-82 as defilement through fornications, זנות, in which part of the priests and the people, מקצת הכהנים והעם, would be involved<sup>4</sup>.

The rhetoric of persuasion in the *Halakhic Letter* is expressed, among others, through phrases of position and appeal. 'we think that', אנחנו אומרים ש, found in B. 54-55 and 64-65, and 'you know that', אתם יודעים, found in B. 80 and C. 7. This last phrase would be comparable to the Greek οὐδεὶς ἀδελφῶν. Another expression of the sectarian position, אנחנו חושבים ש, 'we think that' is found in B. 29 and 36. The appeal to the knowledge and conscience of the addressees is further expressed through the request to remember David as an exemplary figure in C. 25f., זכור [את] דודי שהוא איש חסדים, and the exhortation to reflect on the described matters, הבן בכל אלה, in C. 28. The appeal to the addressees is accompanied by the recognition of the fact, that they are prudent and have knowledge of the Law, עמך ערמה ומדע תורה (C. 28). Finally, the addressees are assured that finding truth in some of the sectarian words (במצאך מקצת דברינו כן) and acting accordingly for their own good and that of Israel will be 'reckoned to them as justice', נחשבה לך לצדקה (C. 31). This expression of justification is rooted in Scripture, found among others in *Genesis 15:6* relating to Abraham. The Greek version of this expression, quoted frequently in Paul's Letters (*Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6*), is ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. The expected joy in agreement with the sectarian viewpoint and the justification in acting accordingly is juxtaposed to wicked scheming and the counsel of Belial, מחשבת רעה ועצת בליעל, from which the addressees should keep far off (C. 29).

## 2. The Damascus Document

The failure of the Qumran sectarian movement to get other influential parties concerned with the dispute on their side was probably followed by violent conflicts marking the break point for the seclusion of the Qumran community in the desert<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, this seclusion and 'segregation from the majority of the people' did not mean a breakaway in terms of complete isolation from the way of the land of Israel. For the existence of certain interrelations can be inferred, first of all, from the inclusion in the literature of Qumran of the *Damascus Document*

<sup>4</sup> *4QMMT* B 80-82, in *4Q396* Col. IV, 8-11. Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1, § 101-104 concerning the special law (*Deut. 23:18*) for the priesthood to abstain from every contact or exchange with harlots.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *4QMMT* C 7-8; *1QpHab* Col. XI, 4-6 alluding to a persecution of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', מורה הצדק, up to the 'place of his exile', אבית גלותו.

with its community rules for related movements in Israel, probably groups of Essenes. The *Damascus Document* was first found among Genizah manuscripts of Cairo, of which fragments were published by Solomon Schechter in 1910<sup>6</sup>. In the 1990s, a new phase in scholarship on the *Damascus Document* started with renewed textual study on the basis of Qumran evidence and the publication of fragments from Cave 4 in 1996 by J.M. Baumgarten<sup>7</sup>. In recent studies, the analysis of laws in the *Damascus Document* in relation to the use of Scripture concerning biblical law has received more scholarly attention<sup>8</sup>.

In column XIX of *Damascus Document b*, a differentiation is found between the 'rule of the land', סרך הארץ, and the 'rule of the Law', סרך התורה<sup>9</sup>. The rule of the land is described as being in accordance with the custom of the law (מנהג התורה) on account of its antiquity (אשר היה מקדם). The rule of the Law stands in relation to the regulation of the teachings<sup>10</sup>. This differentiation, followed by exhortation against contempt of commandments and statutes in referring this to the end-time of God's punishment of the wicked (XIX, 5-6), is indicative of sectarian segregation. In a more radical way than this differentiation, the juxtaposition between the 'house of the law', בית התורה, and the 'house of Peleg', or 'house of disunion', בית פלג, which can be inferred from column XX of *Damascus Document b*, lines 12-25, appears to indicate the segregation of the Qumran community. In relation to the 'house of Peleg', defilement of the Temple and return to the way of the people in some things is mentioned<sup>11</sup>. It is significant that in the same column the exhortation to listen to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness, קול מורה צדק, is found in conjunction with the appeal not to reject the 'just regulations', חקי הצדק (XX, 32-33). These juxtapositions mark the segregation of the Qumran community from the priestly classes. The 'house of Peleg' could stand for the priestly establishment which most violently repressed the movement led by the Teacher of Righteousness, whose persecution is referred to in the *Pesher to Habakkuk* (1QpHab XI, 4-6).

The defilement of the Temple is also mentioned in Column IV of *Damascus Document a* in a sectarian interpretation of *Isaiah* 24:17 as the three 'nets of Belial' (IV, 12-19), after a description of the establishment of God's covenant with the forefathers (הראשונים) to atone for their iniquities, לכפר על עונותיהם (IV, 9-10). This covenant of atonement for iniquities was regulated by the priestly service in the Temple (cf. III, 21 – IV, 4). But this priestly covenant was defiled in the sectarian viewpoint through the defilement of the Temple, טמא המקדש (CD-A IV, 18). In Column XX of *Damascus Document b* mention is made of a 'new covenant', ברית החדשה, as a trustworthy arrangement, which was established in the land of Damascus<sup>12</sup>. This Qumran perspective of a new covenant of atonement also relates to the sectarian view on the Temple.

<sup>6</sup> For a survey of scholarship following the publication of fragments in 1910 up to the 1970s, see Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant. An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* JSOTSS, 25 (Sheffield 1982) 3-47.

<sup>7</sup> E. Qimron & M. Broshi eds., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem 1992); J.M. Baumgarten, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (Walter de Gruyter: Berlin & New York, 1995). Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document. Sources, Traditions, and Redaction* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> CD-B XIX, 2-4. Cf. CD-A VII-VIII.

<sup>10</sup> כמשפט יסורים in CD-A VII, 8 and כמשפט יסודים in CD-B XIX, 4. About this variation among other divergences, see Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20*, 153-156.

<sup>11</sup> CD-B XX, 23-24 מעטים בדברים ויטמאו את המקדש וישבו עוד אל דרך העם בדברים.

<sup>12</sup> CD-B XX, 12 ואמנה אשר קימו בארץ דמשק והוא ברית החדשה.

## II VISIONS OF THE TEMPLE

### 1. The Temple Scroll

One of the best preserved scrolls among the finds in the eleven caves of Qumran is the Temple Scroll with sixty-six columns. *11QTemple a* was published in three volumes by Yigael Yadin in 1977, while in 1996 a 'critical edition with extensive reconstructions' by Elisha Qimron and the publication in 1998 of *11QTemple b* by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude followed<sup>13</sup>.

What has been preserved of *11QTemple a*, starts with Column II, which contains exhortations against idolatry by means of covenants with nations adjoining Israel and taking over effigies of idols, reminding one of the decalogue of the covenant in *Exodus* 20 with the words *אל קנא הוא* [אלוהיכה] in line 12. In the subsequent columns a visionary description is given of the architecture of the Temple, with details of size and measures. From Column XIII to Column XXIX detailed descriptions are given about offerings and sacrifices to be offered on the altar of the Temple. Columns XXX to XLII deal with questions of architecture of the interior of the Temple and its gates. In columns XLII to LIII purity regulations and regulations concerning religious festivals are discussed. In columns LIV to LXVI, legal issues, including false prophesy, cases with witnesses, laws relating to the Israelite kingdom and the right of the first-born, are discussed.

At various places in *11QTemple a* - XXIX, 7; XLV, 12-14; XLVI, 3-4.10-12; XLVII, 17-18; LI, 7-8 – the idea of God's dwelling in the midst of the people of Israel in the Temple is given expression. Relating to God's dwelling among the people of Israel is the prohibition to profane or defile the Temple (XXXV, 7-8; XLVII, 17-18). In Column LIX, 13 the expression of God's covenant with Israel, *והייתי להמה לאלוהים והמה יהיו לי לעם*, has a basis in Scripture corresponding almost exactly with the Masoretic text of *Ezekiel* 37:27. Thus, in the Temple Scroll, which contains a description of the architecture of the Temple, the theology of God's presence is found expressed explicitly at various occasions.

### 2. The New Jerusalem Scroll

Detailed descriptions of the architecture of the Temple are also found in the *New Jerusalem Scroll*, reconstructed by Michael Chyutin from fragments of various caves, among which are *2Q24*, *4Q554*, *4Q555*, *5Q15* and *11Q18*<sup>14</sup>. In this scroll, next to architectural description also certain sacrificial items are mentioned, like thank-offerings and Passover sacrifices, *תודות ופסחים*, in Fragments 16, Column II – 17, Column 1, lines 1-2 of *11Q18*, and the qualification of a 'pleasant offering', *קורבן רעוא*, in Fragment 4, line 2 of *2Q24*. The holiness of the Temple is further found emphasized in fragment 19, line 3 of *11Q18*: *קדוש הוא היכלא ויקרא רבא* "holy is the Temple, and great is the dignity".

<sup>13</sup> Y.Yadin, *Megillat ham-miqdash – The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Shrine of the Book, Hebrew 1977, rev.ed. in English 1983). E.Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* Bibliography by F. García Martínez (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Ben Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1996) Judean Desert Studies. "11Q20 (11QT b) *11QTemple b*" in F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, A.S. van der Woude, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 357-409, pls. XLI-XLVII.

<sup>14</sup> M.Chyutin, *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran. A Comprehensive Reconstruction* JSPsSS 25 (Sheffield 1997) 147-162 for plates of the Qumran fragments and bibliography. Cf. pp. 10-12 comparing the literary style of the description of the Temple architecture with *Gen.* 6:14-17, *Exodus* 25-27, 1 *Kgs.* 6-7, 2 *Chron.* 3-4, and *Ezekiel*.

### III THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEMPLE

#### 1. The Eschatological Midrash

The document published by J.M. Allegro under the original title *4QFlorilegium*<sup>15</sup>, concerning the collection of scriptural verses found in it, most explicitly relates the Qumran sectarian idea of an eschatological Temple. Because of the method of biblical interpretation applied in this text, it has also been named *Eschatological Midrash*<sup>16</sup>. The implication of the Qumran community in the idea of the eschatological Temple has been studied in an article of D. Dimant<sup>17</sup>. Recently, the hermeneutical interrelation between traditions about Eden and Adam and the מקדש אדם in Fragment 1, Column 1, 21, 2, line 6 of the *Eschatological Midrash* has been elucidated by M.O. Wise and G.J. Brooke<sup>18</sup>.

The idea of the eschatological Temple, expressed in lines 1-5, as a place where God's holy ones are and into which no unholy person will enter, stands in contrast to the past in which the temple of Israel was pulled down 'on account of their sins', בחטאתמה (lines 5-6). The idea of the eschatological Temple is hermeneutically related to the 'branch of David', צמח דוד, which arises with the Interpreter of the Law in the last days (lines 11-12). For in lines 1-2, 2 Samuel 7:10 is quoted and interpreted as referring to the house established in the last days for him, that is the eschatological Temple, while in lines 10-11 a quotation from 2 Samuel 7:12-14 is interpreted as referring to the messianic 'branch of David'. The mention of the 'branch of David' as arising with the Interpreter of the Law in the end-time seems to be an implicit reminder of Qumran messianism found in other texts, in which two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel figure in the end-time (cf. *IQS* IX, 11; *CD-A* XIV, 19).

The quotation of 2 Samuel 7:11, וְ[הַנִּיחִי] תִּי לָכָה מִכֹּל אוֹיְבֶיכָה, "and I will give you rest from all your enemies", in line 7, functions as the key link between the interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:10 as the eschatological Temple and of 2 Samuel 7:12-14 as the 'branch of David' arising with the Interpreter of the Law in the end-time. For the interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:11 identifies the community of Qumran with those who will be given rest, that is, from the wicked plans of the 'sons of Belial' to make the 'sons of light' fall by tempting them to sin and error (lines 7-9). A case of intertextuality can also be found in line 9, where the phrase לֹא־יִשְׁתָּקֵץ אֶת־פְּשָׁעוֹ לְבַלְעֵל בְּמִשְׁגַּת אֶת־מָה, "in order that they will be trapped by Belial on account of their guilty mistake", relates to the nets of Belial in the *Damascus Document*, which has: מִצֹּדוֹת בְּלִיעַל (..) אֲשֶׁר הוּא תִפֶּשׂ בָּהֶם בִּישְׂרָאֵל (*CD-A*, 15-16).

Over against the ravaging of the Temple in the past by foreigners, זָרִים, on account of Israel's sins stands the eternal rule of God linked with the idea of the eschatological Temple in the sectarian perspective (lines 5-6).

<sup>15</sup> 4Q174 (4QFlor) *4QFlorilegium* in J.M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V Qumran Cave 4. I (4Q158-4Q186)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 53-57, pls. XIX-XX.

<sup>16</sup> George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran. 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* JSOTSS 29 (Sheffield 1985) 80-174 identifying and analysing the text as a Midrash on the basis of a Form-Critical Study. Cf. the textual study of Annette Steudel, *Der Midrash zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat a,b), Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgehistorische Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ('Florilegium') und 4Q177 ('Catena A') repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> D. Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple" in A. Caquot et al. eds., *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à V. Nikiprovetzky* (Leuven-Paris: Peeters, 1986) 165-189.

<sup>18</sup> M.O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam", *Revue de Qumran* 15/57-58 (1991) 103-132; G.J. Brooke, "Miqdash Adam, Eden, and the Qumran Community", in Beate Ego et al. eds., *Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple. Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* WUNT 118 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999) 285-301.

## 2. The Rule of the Community

Among the seven original scrolls of the most early finds brought to light in 1948, was the so-called 'Manual of Discipline' which, together with the Isaiah scroll, the commentary on Habakkuk and the Genesis Apocryphon, was bought by the metropolitan of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem. The 'Manual of Discipline' was published by M. Burrows in 1951<sup>19</sup>, but in later scholarship renamed as the *Rule of the Community*. In contrast with the *Damascus Document* which also relates rules for other communities in Israel, the *Rule of the Community* contains sectarian regulations mainly applying to the Qumran community, among which details about the organization of this community are found.

The *Rule of the Community* relates the theological idea of a holy community, "God's community", יחד אל, which is also called a "community of truth", יחד אמת, in which people associate with one another by "holy council", בעצת קודש (IQS II, 22-25). In relation to this holy community, the Holy Spirit, רוח קדושה, the Spirit of the true counsel of God, רוח עצת אמת אל, is said to be with the community (IQS III, 6-7). The idea of the eschatological Temple implicating the Qumran community is also found in the *Rule of the Community*. In Column VIII, 5-6 mention is made of the founding of an "everlasting planting-place, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron",

למטעת עולם בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש קודשים לאהרון  
This eschatological Temple will serve to 'atone for the land and to render the wicked their retribution' (VIII, lines 6-7). From a comparative perspective, it is important to note that images of planting and building are used interchangeably here to evoke the idea of the eschatological Temple. A repetition of the alternation between these images is found in Column XI, line 8. The alternation between such images is also figuring in the passage of Paul's *First Letter to the Corinthians* 3:9-17, which introduces the metaphor of the Temple. The use of evocative images by way of anticipation relates directly to the metaphor of the Temple as we will further discuss in the next chapter. In the next Column IX of the *Rule of the Community* conditions are laid down for the setting apart of a "holy house for Aaron", בית קודש לאהרון, by the men of the Community "to form a most holy community", קודשים קודש, in the end-time (IQS IX, 5-6). Thus, the eschatological Temple is related to the authority of the sons of Aaron, to the priestly circles in the *Rule of the Community*.

## IV TEMPLE THEOLOGY AND SCRIPTURE

The developed temple theology of the Qumran community is expressed through the hermeneutics of scriptural interpretation, of which a case of midrashic combination of verses from different biblical books is found in the above discussed *Eschatological Midrash*. A leading thread in this text is the interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:10-14 in view of Qumran sectarian ideas of an eschatological Temple, supported by the proof-text of Exodus 15:17-18 which is set between the interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:10 and 2 Samuel 7:11.

In the *Halakhic Letter* the use of Scripture is in the interest of legal issues of ritual purity. Of collections of laws and covenantal promises found in Scripture, among which is the so-called 'Holiness Code' in *Leviticus* chapters 17-27, many legal issues pertain to the priestly service of the worship of God, but also to the holiness of the religious congregation in a wider sense. To certain of these priestly regulations reference had been made in the Qumran

<sup>19</sup> M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

sectarian dispute with other Jewish movements in the *Halakhic Letter*, which quotes passages mainly from *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*<sup>20</sup>.

On different levels of interest, the Qumran sectarian use of Scripture relates to the Temple. The purity of the Temple as an issue in the *Halakhic Letter* is found juxtaposed to the defilement of the Temple in other documents marking a later phase in the development of the Qumran community. The defilement of the Temple, mentioned in the *Damascus Document* Column IV, 12-19 among the 'nets of Belial', is related to the sectarian reading of a passage from the prophetic book of *Isaiah* 24:17.

## PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

In the survey given in this chapter of important documents in the literature of Qumran for the sectarian perspective on the Temple, a development can be discerned from segregation, because of conflicts about the interpretation of purity laws, to an elaborate temple theology comprising eschatological views. The temple theology of the literature of Qumran implicates the sectarian community in the idea of the eschatological Temple. Thus, there is a metaphorical level to this temple theology. The use of Scripture in the case of legal issues of purity laws relates directly to ritual purity, while in the case of the eschatological perspective in Qumran texts, scriptural interpretation adds to the metaphorical level of views on the Temple.

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<sup>20</sup> 4QMMT B 1 giving "some of our regulations", מקצת דברינו, based on the Qumran interpretation of Scripture. Cf. George J. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT", in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen eds., Legal texts and legal issues: proceedings of the second meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995; published in honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten (Leiden etc. Brill 1997) 1-20.

## CHAPTER 4

### GOD'S TEMPLE IN 1 AND 2 CORINTHIANS AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF JEWISH TRADITION

#### I TOWARD A NEW DIRECTION IN UNDERSTANDING PAUL'S TEMPLE IMAGERY

In the analysis of Paul's metaphor of the Temple of God much scholarly discussion has focused its attention on the key passages 1 *Corinthians* 3:16-17, 6:19 and 2 *Corinthians* 6:16<sup>1</sup>. Of these passages, the latter within the textual unit of 2 *Cor.* 6:14-7:1, for its distinctive features and close affinities with concepts in the literature of Qumran, has received much scholarly attention in its own right<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the paraenetic section against the immorality of the body in 1 *Cor.* 6:12-20 is often treated separately, isolated from the theme of Paul's temple imagery<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, it is significant that the metaphor of the Temple is used by Paul both in the context of the collective body of the religious community and that of the body of the individual. And in the Pauline 'body theology' in 1 *Cor.* 12:12-31, the body and its members are used as a figure for the needed cohesiveness of relations between the individual members of the congregation of the God, which is called the body of Christ. Thus, the relationship between individual and community is expressed through the figure of the body, that is, the body of Christ (1 *Cor.* 12:27), while the bodies of individuals are called members of Christ in 1 *Cor.* 6:15. The unity of the congregation in body and spirit which Paul emphasizes in 1 *Cor.* 12:13 further supports an interpretation of Paul's metaphor of the Temple as incorporating both the collective body of the community and the body of the individual in a coherent moral perspective. In this chapter I want to demonstrate how the theological concepts underlying Paul's exhortations<sup>4</sup>, which are worked out through this metaphor, are informed by Paul's Jewish background and address the situation in the Corinthian congregation. The moral perspective of Paul's theological concepts involved in the temple imagery can be traced by subsequently analyzing the constituent parts of the metaphor of the Temple and the related use of cultic terminology. Thus, also other passages with cultic terminology, such as 1 *Cor.* 9:13, 10:18 and 2 *Cor.* 5:1, are not to be read as isolated cases but in coherence with the world of thought of Paul's temple imagery.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. B.Gärtner, The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament. A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament (Cambridge UP 1965) pp.49-60, 141-142; R.J.McKelvey, The New Temple. The Church in the New Testament (Oxford UP 1969) 92-107; G. Klinzing, Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament (Göttingen 1971) 167-184; E.Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic Language in Qumran and in the NT", Catholic Biblical Quarterly 38 (1976) 159-177, there 171-173; M. Newton, The concept of purity at Qumran and in the letters of Paul (Cambridge UP 1985) 53-58; more recently, C. Böttrich, "'Ihr seid der Tempel Gottes'. Tempelmetaphorik und Gemeinde bei Paulus", in B.Ego et al. eds., Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple (Tübingen 1999) 411-425.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. J.A. Fitzmyer, "Qumran and the interpolated paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1" originally published in CBO 23 (1961) 271-280; J.Gnilka, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1 in the light of the Qumran texts and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", in J. Murphy-O'Connor, Paul and Qumran (Chicago 1968).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Gärtner, The Temple and the Community, 141 n.2: "(...) Many scholars have isolated this text from the idea of the community as a temple, relating it instead to the Hellenistic background"; R.Kirchhoff, Die Sünde gegen den eigenen Leib. Studien zu πόρνη und πορνεία in 1 Kor 6,12-20 und dem sozio-kulturellen Kontext der paulinischen Adressaten (Göttingen 1994).

<sup>4</sup> See C.K. Barrett's introduction to his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London 1968) 17 emphasizing that behind the practical advice given by Paul to his readers "theological principles" can be detected.

In the analysis of the metaphor of the Temple in 1 *Corinthians* 3:16-17, where the explicit use of temple imagery is introduced by Paul, the anticipatory use of the image of θεοῦ οἰκοδομή in 1 *Cor.* 3:9 has been noted <sup>5</sup>, but on the other hand explained away by G.D. Fee as 'rhetorical device', as a mode of illustrating Paul's point through the use of common images <sup>6</sup>. Fee's commentary on 1 *Cor.* 3:16-17, although admitting the rich background to the temple imagery and naming two sources for understanding Paul's metaphor of God's Temple, that is, Jewish eschatological hopes and a Jesus-tradition, appears to be inconsistent in criticizing the assumption of eschatological overtones. And in Fee's hypercritical discussion of Gärtner's book in which it is alleged that the latter puts "too much weight on the language of what seems rather to be a rhetorical device in this letter", right to the extent that there is a lack of more explicit argumentation by Gärtner for the validity of parallels with Qumran, a similar minimizing approach is discernible <sup>7</sup>. My own analysis of Paul's temple imagery will be opposed to such a minimizing approach which reduces evocative images embedded in a text, in which some images are further elaborated, to a rhetorical device for one occasion and isolates the significance of Paul's metaphor of the Temple from its context in the letter.

Although much work on tracing possible sources of, or parallels in Jewish tradition for Paul's image of the Temple of God, ναὸς θεοῦ, has been done by Gärtner, Klinzing, Fee, Lang and De Lacey <sup>8</sup>, the concept of the 'Spirit of God' is less often involved in the discussion. The background of Jewish tradition to the idea of the community as Temple of God is usually linked with the concept of the indwelling presence of God in the Old Testament, intertestamental literature and literature of Qumran <sup>9</sup>. Gärtner, in his discussion of 1 *Cor.* 3:16-17 and 2 *Cor.* 6:14-7:1 <sup>10</sup>, focuses his attention on the 'presence', 'dwelling' and 'dwelling place' of God, comparing it with the Rabbinic term *Shekhinah* – a noun from the Hebrew verb שכַּח, parallel to the Greek (ἐν)οικεῖν in Paul – the use of which in the pre-70 period is difficult if not impossible to prove. Following Gärtner in this, M. Newton makes a similar uncritical use of the term *Shekhinah* in the discussion of these two passages <sup>11</sup>. In the commentaries of G.D. Fee and F. Lang the discussion of the temple imagery is separate from the discussion of Paul's concept of the Spirit of God. Further, Lang notes a development of 'spiritualizing' transference of the Old Testament concept of the dwelling of God's name in the Temple, but fails to adduce examples from intertestamental literature <sup>12</sup>. The gift of God's indwelling Spirit is linked with the Messianic age and Christ by Newton and McKelvey respectively in their interpretation of 1 *Cor.* 3:16-17, but this immediate linking with Paul's

<sup>5</sup> C.K. Barrett, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* 86 f.; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids 1987) 133-134; F. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther* (Göttingen & Zürich 1986) 51-55; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community*, 57-58; C. Böttrich, "Ihr seid der Tempel Gottes", 415.

<sup>6</sup> Fee, *op.cit.*, 133 n.19 criticizing Conzelmann and Riesenfeld for giving too much weight to the possible influence of Jewish background in Paul's use of the images of gardening and building, but on this cf. D.R. de Lacey, "οἰτινὲς ἔστε ὑμεῖς: The Function of a Metaphor in St. Paul", in W. Horbury ed., *Templum Amicitiae. Essays on the Second Temple presented to Ernst Bammel* (Sheffield 1991) 402 n.42 adducing more abundant examples from the Septuagint and from Philo of the juxtaposition of gardening to building.

<sup>7</sup> Fee, *op.cit.*, 146-147, 146 n.4.

<sup>8</sup> Gärtner, *op.cit.*, 56-60; Klinzing, *op.cit.*, 168-172; Fee, *op.cit.*, 147; Lang, *op.cit.*, 51-55; De Lacey, "οἰτινὲς ἔστε ὑμεῖς", 391-409; cf. Barrett, *op.cit.*, 90.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Y. Congar, *Le mystère du Temple* (Paris 1958); Gärtner, *op.cit.*, 49-60; Newton, *op.cit.*, 54-55.

<sup>10</sup> Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community*, 49-60.

<sup>11</sup> Newton, *The concept of purity*, 54-55.

<sup>12</sup> Fee, *op.cit.*, 146-147f., and Lang, *op.cit.*, 55-56.



christology leaves a comparison with the concepts of the 'Spirit of God' and the 'Holy Spirit' in Jewish tradition out of the picture<sup>13</sup>.

R.J. McKelvey has noted the 'traditional theocentric orientation of the temple concept' in this passage and in 2 Cor. 6:16f., a concept employed by Paul in his concern with the unity and sanctity of the Corinthian congregation, and the unifying role of the Spirit<sup>14</sup>. This observation of McKelvey, however, also points to the inconsistency in scholarly analysis of splitting up 1 Cor. 3:16 into a part which is exclusively theocentric and a part which is christological. Although the gift of the Spirit can be said to be 'contingent upon the work of Christ' by McKelvey (e.g. in 1 Cor 12:3 and 15:58), the immediate context of 1 Cor. 3:13-15 mentioning the testing of individual work is different. For in my interpretation of 1 Cor. 3:13-15, the work of each individually, ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον, in 1 Cor. 3:13-15, will be tested for building up (1 Cor. 3:14) or for being in tension with the common good, τὸ συμφέρον (1 Cor. 12:7). Thus, the Spirit of God is not mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 3:16 in relation to faith in Jesus Christ or the work of Christ, but in the context of an exhortation against the Corinthians' quarreling and boasting about their belonging to different missionaries in 1 Cor. 3, an issue which is introduced in 1 Cor. 1:11-17. The testing of the individual work in 1 Cor. 3:13-15, in my view, relates to the main issue of exhortation against dissensions within the congregation. The foundation of the building of God, Jesus Christ, is mentioned to remind the Corinthians about Paul's previous preaching of the gospel among them (1 Cor. 3:10-11). It is only on the basis of the christological foundation and through the process of becoming spiritual men (cf. 1 Cor. 3:1-3) that the church can be built up, but the testing of the work and the Spirit of God are mentioned in this passage in line with the main issue of unity and harmony of the congregation instead of quarreling and strife.

Therefore, the unifying role of the concept of the Temple and the Holy Spirit should be taken together in the interpretation of 1 Cor. 3:16f. as the constituent parts of Paul's metaphor. Accordingly, an analysis of sources of Jewish tradition for Paul's temple imagery in 1 Cor. 3:16-17 only makes full sense if the phrase "God's Spirit dwells in you", τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν is read in conjunction with the phrase "you are God's Temple". As these phrases are complementary to each other in one rhetorical question (1 Cor. 3:16), the whole verse determines the direction and nature of the metaphor used by Paul here and only in that coherence a background search can be substantiated in a more fruitful way.

Before turning to the analysis of Paul's temple imagery in the specific passages in 1 and 2 Corinthians, it is necessary to get a sense of the possible relations and familiarity of the Corinthian readers with Jewish tradition at large from the internal evidence of Paul's letters and the external evidence of Acts 18, Hellenistic Jewish literature and archaeological finds. With this survey in mind it will then be possible to analyze how Paul's use of Temple imagery and related cultic terminology addresses the Corinthian situation.

<sup>13</sup> Newton, *op.cit.*, 54-56; McKelvey, *op.cit.*, 98-107, there 100, stressing "a vast difference between Paul's understanding of the idea [of God's indwelling] and that of Qumran". I disagree with McKelvey's argument that the image of the foundation in 1 Cor. 3:10ff. prepared for the 'idea of Christ as the cornerstone of the new temple at Eph. 2:20ff.', because the ideas of Jesus Christ as the foundation in 1 Cor. 3:11 and the apostles and prophets as the foundation in Eph. 2:20 appear to give expression to different perspectives in time of missionary activity and growth of Christian congregations. The idea of Christ as the cornerstone could also have been influenced by other apostolic traditions (cf. e.g. Matt. 21:42; Acts 4:8-12).

<sup>14</sup> McKelvey, *op.cit.*, 100-107.

## II JEWISH TRADITION AND CORINTH

### 1. The Corinthian congregation among Jews and Gentiles

The diversity of the religious cultures of Judaism and Hellenism in Corinth was a fact to live with for Paul and the Corinthians as he writes in 1 Cor. 10:32: "Do not give offence to either the Jews or the Greeks or the congregation of God". But Paul also speaks in a broader context than the immediate setting of the Christian congregation in Corinth about the diversity of religious culture between Judaism and Hellenism in terms of a search for signs, σημεῖα, and for wisdom, σοφία, respectively at the beginning of his first letter to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 1:22f.). The presence of Jewish influence in the Corinthian congregation did not only come from baptized converts to the faith in Christ, including Jews and Greeks, slaves and free men (1 Cor. 12:13) but also from itinerant Christian Jews like Apollos (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:4-6; 16:12 cf. Acts 18:24-19:1), Cephas (1 Cor. 1:12), Barnabas (1 Cor. 9:6), Aquila and Prisca (1 Cor. 16:19; cf. Acts 18:2), Timothy (1 Cor. 4:17, 16:10; 2 Cor. 1:1.19; cf. Acts 16:1-3) and Silvanus (2 Cor. 1:19; cf. Acts 15:22.32, 16:25).

Although Paul does not refer to the presence of Jewish institutions like a synagogue in Corinth in any direct or explicit way, there is external evidence about a Jewish community in ancient Corinth in Philo's treatise *De Legatione ad Gaium* 281, where Corinth is mentioned among the Jewish settlements, ἀποικίαι, in 'Europe', that is the mainland of Greece. From Acts 18:4 it can be inferred that Corinth had a synagogue, συναγωγή, where also Christian Jews came, although in the Second Temple Period this institution was mainly known in the diaspora as προσευχή, 'prayerhouse' (e.g. Flacc. 45, 47; )<sup>15</sup>. It cannot be excluded that one liturgical context of prayer for the Jewish part of the converts to the faith in Christ still was the synagogue of Corinth in Paul's time. For in 1 Cor. 7:5, the place for devoting themselves to prayer (προσευχή) could by agreement for some period of time be different from the place where the whole church assembled<sup>16</sup>. From epigraphical finds in Corinth two inscriptions relate to the existence of a synagogue, one containing the words [συν]αγωγή 'Εβρ[αίων]<sup>17</sup>, the other the words διδάσ[καλος] καὶ ἀρχ[ισυνάγωγ]ος τῆς συναγωγῆς<sup>18</sup>.

The Gentile part of the converts to Christianity was also influenced by the presence of this Jewish community, the message of Christian Jewish missionaries and Jewish elements in Paul's instructions. Much of this Jewish influence on the Christian congregation can be inferred directly from Paul's Letters to the Corinthians. Although Paul tells the Corinthians

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the Palestinian Jewish tradition in which the Temple of Jerusalem was called a house of prayer, οἶκος προσευχῆς: 1 Macc. 7:37; also referred to in the New Testament: Matt. 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46. This tradition was rooted in Scripture: 1 Kgs. 8:29-30; Isa. 56:7.

<sup>16</sup> Note the use of the same verb συνέρχομαι in the variant reading (P46 and P 614) of 1 Cor. 7:5 and in 1 Cor. 11:17-18.20 for the assembling of the church.

<sup>17</sup> P.J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (1st ed. 1936; New York 1975) I Europe No. 718 dating the inscription between 100 B.C.E. and 200 C.E.; Cf. S.Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer* (Hildesheim 1966) pp. 242-243 no. 92 and G.Foerster, "Remains of a Synagogue at Corinth", in Lee I. Levine ed., *Ancient Synagogues revealed* (Jerusalem 1981) 185 who dates the inscription much later, linking it with the find of a capital to a half-column with three menorot, the menorah being a common motif in Jewish iconography; E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ* III.1 (rev.ed.; Edinburgh 1986) 65-66. The late dating of the inscription to the 4th-5th century C.E. is also found in J.Murphy-O'Connor's article on 'Corinth' in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* I (New York [etc.]: Doubleday, 1992) 1138.

<sup>18</sup> *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XXIX (1979) No. 300; *Bulletin Épigraphique* XCIII (1980) No. 230 putting the brackets in different places, but reconstructing the same text. Cf. SEG XXXVII (1987) 264 where the establishment of a Jewish context for this inscription is disputed by G.H.R. Horsley. Cf. T.Rajak & D.Noy, "Archisynagogoi: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue", *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993) 75-93.

also not to give offense to Greeks (1 Cor 10:32), who worshipped a variety of deities in more traditional Greek cults and later introduced Egyptian cults<sup>19</sup>, on the other hand, he exhorts them to shun immorality, πορνεία (1 Cor. 6:18-20) and worship of idols, εἰδωλολατρία (1 Cor. 10:14). Both exhortations are rooted in biblical law contained in the Pentateuch, for in Deut. 23:17(18)-18(19) the 'daughters and sons of Israel' are instructed not to be immoral and neither to give in to immorality, while the exhortation against idolatry is related to the commandment against making idols in Exodus 20:4<sup>20</sup>. As the issues of Pauline exhortation against πορνεία and εἰδωλολατρία are connected with Paul's temple imagery, I will discuss them more in detail in the last section of this chapter in relation to the moral issues involved in Paul's use of temple imagery.

Paul writes about his mission of gospel preaching in 1 Cor. 9:19-23, as one addressing four groups: Jews, those under the law, those outside the law, and the weak. 'Those under the law' (οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον), most probably constituted a broader category<sup>21</sup> which did not only refer to Jews by birth, but could also include both proselytes<sup>22</sup> and godfearers<sup>23</sup>. For his preaching to 'those outside the law' (ἄνομοι), most probably converts from the Gentiles<sup>24</sup>, Paul does, however, stress what his bottom line is: μὴ ὦν ἄνομος θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ (1 Cor. 9:21). The law of Christ for Paul apparently included the observance of certain precepts and the ten commandments from Jewish law, stated explicitly in 1 Cor. 7:19c (τήρησις ἐντολῶν θεοῦ)<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, in Romans 7:8-13 the term ἐντολή in the singular, standing for commandment, is found in apposition to the Law, which is redefined by Paul as spiritual (Rom. 7:14) and juxtaposed as the law of God to the law of sin (Rom. 7:25). The fourth group addressed by Paul, that of the weak, is more difficult to determine, as Paul refers to weakness on the one hand in a moral sense (1 Cor. 8: 7.9-13) and on the other in a social sense, as he juxtaposes the weak with worldly wisdom, power and noble birth at the beginning of his letter (1 Cor. 1:26-29). But a significant part of the addressed groups of Corinthians in 1 Cor. 9:19-23 can be said to have lived according to Jewish tradition or been exposed to it by other Christian Jews. This is even more clear from one passage in the *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, in which Paul in comparing himself with other apostles 'who are beyond all doubt' (2 Cor. 11:5) includes the point of his Jewish descent – Hebrew, Israelite and descendant of Abraham – in the interest of his own legitimation as apostle (2 Cor. 11:22).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Murphy-O'Connor, 'Corinth', in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1138 and idem, *St. Paul's Corinth: texts and archaeology* (1997).

<sup>20</sup> For the worship of idols expressed by εἰδωλον and λατρεύειν, see e.g. LXX IV Kgs. 17:12, 21:21; Dan. 3:12.18. Cf. Philo's exegesis of the commandment against making idols in *Spec. Leg.* I, §§ 25-29, relating 'idols' to the introduction of 'new gods' (θεοὺς καινοὺς .. εἰσαγαγόντες; § 28)

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Gal.* 4:21 οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι referring to those Galatians, not Jewish by birth (cf. *Gal.* 4:8-9), who were influenced by the preaching of a different gospel (*Gal.* 1:6-8) by other Christian Jews.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, 51 for use of the term προσήλυτος in the sense of newly-joined convert to the Jewish community. This term in the Septuagint translates the Hebrew נָכְרִי (e.g. in *Exod.* 23:9; *Deut.* 24:19-21) and rather stands for 'sojourning stranger', 'incomer', which Philo renders by the term ἐπηλύτης in *Spec. Leg.* IV, 177.

<sup>23</sup> σεβόμενοι (cf. e.g. *Acts* 17:17) or θεοσεβεῖς (cf. e.g. in the late evidence of the Jewish inscription of Aphrodisias, Face a, lines 19-20, published in Reynolds & Tannenbaum, *Jews and Godfearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge 1987) 5).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Rom.* 2:14 where the state of not having the law, τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, is referred to in apposition to the Gentiles, τὰ ἔθνη.

<sup>25</sup> In the Septuagint the term ἐντολή/ἐντολαί is found in conjunction with νόμος in *Exod.* 24:12, and in *Deut.* 6:1-2 after the reiteration and elaboration in *Deut.* 5:6-21 of the Decalogue (*Exod.* 20:1-17). For the keeping (τηρεῖν) of the commandments of God in relation to the 'law of Christ' in Jesus-traditions in the gospels, see e.g. *Matt.* 19:17; *John* 14:15.21, 15:10.

## 2. The Jewish religious calendar

Paul refers in some ways to the Jewish religious calendar in his Letters to the Corinthians. He mentions, explicitly, two of the Pilgrim Festivals<sup>26</sup>, which were redefined in the context of Christian celebration, Passover and Pentecost. Nevertheless, the terms πάσχα, paschal lamb – closely related to the Hebrew פסח which also stands both for Passover festival and for Passover sacrifice or meal – and ἄζυμος, unleavened bread, which are used in a metaphorical way in 1 Cor. 5:6-8, stem from the celebration of the Jewish and Christian Jewish Passover<sup>27</sup>. The other Pilgrim Festival, Pentecost (πεντηκοστή), is referred to by Paul as a simple indication of time in 1 Cor. 16:8, concerning the length of his stay in Ephesus. This Greek name is also attested in 2 Maccabees 12:32, linked with the fiftieth day, ἡμέρα πεντηκοστή, seven weeks after the other festival by Philo (e.g. *Spec. Leg.* I 176f.), that is Passover, and is known as the 'feast of weeks', ἑορτὴ ἑβδομάδων in the Septuagint.

Finally, still another element of calendar is involved in 1 Cor. 16:2, in which Paul suggests a fixed time for storing something for the collection: 'each first day of the week', κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου ἑκάστος. Philo writes in his second treatise *On the Special Laws*, that σάββατον was the term used by the Hebrews 'in their native tongue' (πατρίῳ γλώττῃ), whereas the Greeks would call it ἑβδομάς<sup>28</sup>. Although the Hebraizing term for a seven-day week points to the Jewish religious calendar, the notion of the seven-day weekly cycle per se was also known in the Babylonian calendar and through astrology<sup>29</sup>. But Paul's use of the term for week, σαββάτον, derived from the Hebrew Sabbath, could not have been meaningful if Paul had addressed people living in a totally pagan environment.

In these cases of Paul's references to the first day of the week, Passover and Pentecost, Paul's way of addressing the Corinthians further points to an environment in which at least a certain (external) familiarity with the Jewish religious calendar was presupposed. This religious calendar also gave expression to the relations between Israel and the Diaspora, and particularly between Jerusalem and the Diaspora, as the Pilgrim Festivals were ideally the

<sup>26</sup> In Jewish Liturgy known as שלש רגלים from *Exod.* 23:14; cf. J. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy. A Comprehensive History* (transl. Raymond P. Scheindlin; JPS/JTSA 1993) 111-117. Pilgrimage from the diaspora to Jewish festivals in general (ἑκάστη ἑορτή) in the Second Temple Period is attested in Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, 68-69.

<sup>27</sup> In the Septuagint ἄζυμος translates the Hebrew מצה, and in *Lev.* 23:5-6 the feast of unleavened bread to the Lord, ἑορτὴ τῶν ἄζυμων τῷ κυρίῳ, is said to come one day after the Lord's passover, πάσχα τῷ κυρίῳ; cf. *Exod.* 23:14-17; 34:18-24; *Deut.* 16:1-17. For New Testament references to Passover together with the feast of unleavened bread, see e.g. *Matt.* 26:17; *Mark* 14:1,12; *Luke* 22:1,7; *Acts* 12:3, 20:6.; cf. further *John* 11:55; 12:12,20. In Paul's metaphorical language in 1 Cor. 5:6-8 the verb ἑορτάζειν also stands for celebrating a religious festival.

<sup>28</sup> *Spec. Leg.* II, § 194; cf. §§ 41, 86. Concerning the fourth commandment to remember the sabbath day, it is important to note that in the Septuagint version of *Exodus* 20:8 the phrase τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων is used, while in Josephus' summary of the Decalogue the term τὰς ἑβδομάδας (*AJ* III, § 91) is used, as Josephus wrote in Rome having the whole Greek-speaking world in mind (*AJ* I, § 5).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. F. Rochberg-Halton, "Calendars. Ancient Near East", in D.N. Freedman et al. eds., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* I A-C (Doubleday: New York etc. 1992) 810-814. Philo in *Spec. Leg.* II, § 57-58 refers to the seven day weekly cycle, ἑβδομάς, in the context of empirical observations and astrology, distinguishing this from the 'higher point of view' of Moses. For discussion about the seven day weekly cycle, the *hebdomadales*, in the Roman calendar and the influence of astrology, see J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome. The People and the City at the Height of the Empire* (reprint; Penguin Books: Harmondsworth etc. 1985) 161-162; M.R. Salzman, "Introduction: Antecedents and Interpretations", in idem, *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (University of California Press: Berkeley etc. 1990) 3-22, there 11-13.

occasion for faith in unity among Jews gathered together in the sacrificial cult of the Temple from the nations in the Diaspora<sup>30</sup>.

### 3. *The Use of Scripture in 1 & 2 Corinthians*

The citation of Scripture as the 'law' (1 *Cor.* 14:21) or 'law of Moses' (1 *Cor.* 9:9) also attests to the importance of Jewish tradition as a frame of reference not only for Paul but apparently also for the Corinthian congregation, while in 2 *Corinthians* the polemic against the 'old covenant' and the Israelites (2 *Cor.* 3)<sup>31</sup> is taken up by Paul in the wake of opposition to his mission by other apostles preaching a different gospel and another Jesus (2 *Cor.* 2:10-11; 11:4-5, 12-15).

In many places in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians, as also in his other Letters, direct quotations of verses from Scripture are introduced by the bare quotation formula γέγραπται<sup>32</sup>. This is the case in 1 *Corinthians* 1:19, 31, 2:9, 3:19-20, 10:7, 15:45 and 2 *Corinthians* 8:15, 9:9. In other cases different words introduce the citation of Scripture, like ἐγράφη in 1 *Cor.* 9:10, ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος in 1 *Cor.* 15:54, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον in 2 *Cor.* 4:13. In certain instances in 1 and 2 *Corinthians* not the written word but the act of speaking, telling about the perspective of a living religious tradition in past and present, is emphasized: φησὶν in 1 *Cor.* 6:16, λέγει γάρ in 2 *Cor.* 6:2, and καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι in 2 *Cor.* 6:16. In some cases the citation of Scripture goes without an introductory formula (1 *Cor.* 2:16, 5:13, 10:26, 15:25, 27, 32; 2 *Cor.* 3:16, 10:17, 13:1). In one case words from Scripture are put in the mouth of an unbeliever or outsider, τις ἄπιστος ἢ ἰδιώτης, having come to belief (1 *Cor.* 14:24-25). Many of Paul's explicit quotations of Scripture in his Letters to the Corinthians are from *Isaiah*, *Psalms*, *Deuteronomy* and to a lesser extent from *Genesis* and *Exodus*.

As Paul reiterates one citation from *Jeremiah* 9:22, 23, first quoted in 1 *Cor.* 1:31, in 2 *Cor.* 10:17, and his rhetorical questions introduced by οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι (e.g. 1 *Cor.* 3:16, 6:2-3, 9:15-16) seem to serve to remind the Corinthian reader of Paul's previous teachings, the Corinthian readers had most probably been familiarized with the christological interpretation of Scripture in Paul's previous preaching of the gospel among them. It was Paul's abrogation of the written law and reinterpretation of the law as spiritual (cf. 2 *Cor.* 3:6f.), in which Paul distanced himself from other Christian Jewish missionaries, whom he called 'false apostles' (2 *Cor.* 11:13) in his bitter antagonism against them (2 *Cor.* 11:12-23f.). Thus, Paul's use of Scripture is another case of the influence of Jewish tradition in Corinth even in the context of bitter polemic against other Christian Jewish missionaries, who apparently disputed the apostleship of Paul, who had brought the gospel of Christ first to Corinth (2 *Cor.* 10:14).

### 4. *Corinth in the Diaspora and Relations with Israel*

In the passages referring to the Corinthians' place among other Christian congregations we can finally get a glimpse of the relations of Christian congregations in the diaspora with Israel, the saints in Jerusalem. For writing about the collection to be sent to Jerusalem, Paul

<sup>30</sup> Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, §§ 67-70, there 70 πίστιν ὁμονοίας. Cf. *Acts* 2:1-11 f.

<sup>31</sup> Note Paul's use of the words υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ in 2 *Cor.* 3:7, 13 - which looks like a Hebraism, translating בני ישראל - rather than Ἰσραηλῖται (in 2 *Cor.* 11:22); this use of a Hebraizing term could be in polemic against Christian Jewish apostles preaching a gospel in accordance with the strict interpretation of the Jewish law, juxtaposed by Paul to the gospel he preached himself as the 'letter' vs. the 'Spirit' (2 *Cor.* 3:6).

<sup>32</sup> For a comparative analysis of introductory formulae for Old Testament quotations in the New Testament and in Qumran Literature, see J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", originally published in *New Testament Studies* 7 (1960-61) 297-333.

advises the Corinthians to follow the example of the contribution of the churches of the Galatians (1 *Cor.* 16:1-3) and praises the household of Stephanas both for being the first converts in Achaia and for serving the saints faithfully (1 *Cor.* 16:15-18). The service of the saints is referred to again by Paul in 2 *Cor.* 8:1-5f. and 9:12-15, telling the Corinthians about the saints' longing and prayer for them. The coming of Corinthians to Paul (1 *Cor.* 16:17), his sending of fellow workers, messengers of the churches (1 *Cor.* 16:10-11; 2 *Cor.* 8:23-24) and the sending of greetings from other congregations (1 *Cor.* 16:19-20) give an impression of the interactions, through which probably also information was conveyed to the Corinthians about the Christian Jews living in Jerusalem, who according to *Acts* used to assemble in the Temple-complex (e.g. *Acts* 5:12,42)<sup>33</sup>. The importance of Jerusalem for diaspora Judaism was enormous, as Jewish communities, counting their dwelling-place for generations as their fatherland, still regarded Jerusalem as their mother city, μητρόπολις, and as the holy city, ιερόπολις, with its "holy Temple of the most high God"<sup>34</sup>.

### III GOD'S INDWELLING SPIRIT IN 1 CORINTHIANS AND JEWISH TRADITION

In 1 *Corinthians* 3:16-17 Paul introduces the metaphor of the Temple of God in his discourse. This metaphor is couched in the language of a rhetorical question expressed by the formulaic phrase οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι. Most of the rhetorical questions beginning with these three words are found in 1 *Corinthians*, which include the relevant passages with temple imagery (1 *Cor.* 3:16; 6:19) and cultic terminology (1 *Cor.* 9:13)<sup>35</sup>. The rhetorical question in 1 *Cor.* 3:16 is instating the weight of the holiness and unity of the growing Christian congregation of God in Corinth, rather than reminding the Corinthians about Paul's previous teachings. Thus it is by virtue of the indwelling of the 'Spirit of God', that the Christian congregation is holy and protected against destructive evil by God's power<sup>36</sup>. In 1 *Corinthians* Paul writes about the 'mind of Christ', νοῦν Χριστοῦ (1 *Cor.* 2:16) and the presence of the Holy Spirit in the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ (1 *Cor.* 12:3). But it is only in 2 *Corinthians*, in the context of Paul's exhortation against the preaching of another Jesus (2 *Cor.* 11:4), that Paul writes about the 'Spirit of the Lord', τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, (2 *Cor.* 3:17) which is rather focusing on Jesus and is less theocentric than the 'Spirit of God'<sup>37</sup>. Although Paul's use of temple imagery in 1 *Corinthians* will mainly concern us in this section, it is important to note the striking change from rhetorical question to positive affirmation when turning from 1 *Corinthians* to 2 *Corinthians* 5:1 (Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι) and 6:16 (ἡμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμεν ζῶντος). Paul's use of the metaphor of God's Temple and its elaborations in cultic terminology in 1 *Corinthians* will be examined in light of contemporary evidence of Palestinian Jewish and Hellenistic Jewish traditions in this section.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. C.K. Barrett, "Attitudes to the Temple in the Acts of the Apostles", in W.Horbury ed., *Templum Amicitiae*, 345-367.

<sup>34</sup> Philo, *Flacc.* 46 - ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. 1 *Cor.* 5:6; 6:2-3,9,15-16; 9:24. W.Strack, *Kultische Terminologie in ekklesiologischen Kontexten in den Briefen des Paulus* (Weinheim 1994) BBB 92, p.246 n.48 refers to Paul's phrasing of rhetorical question as a "diatribische Stilfigure" but seems to overstate his argument of unity in the rhetorical questions beginning with these three words.

<sup>36</sup> See 1 *Cor.* 2:4-5 for the link between πνεῦμα and δύναμις θεοῦ.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Rom.* 8:9 where the same phrase as in 1 *Cor.* 3:16b occurs - πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν - is found, but the term 'Spirit of God' seems to be used there interchangeably with the 'Spirit of Christ'. And the indwelling of the Spirit is rephrased in *Rom.* 8:11 as the Spirit who raised Jesus from the dead, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

### 1. The metaphor of God's Temple in Context: 1 Corinthians 3:9-17

As Paul is breaking new ground with his metaphor of God's Temple for the Christian congregation in 1 Cor. 3:16-17, he prepares the reader with figurative language involving the image of God's building, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή in 1 Cor. 3:9, which is also found in 2 Cor. 5:1 in connection with the Heavenly Temple. Therefore, the metaphor should be analyzed in a larger context and in my view 1 Cor. 3:9-17 can be set apart as a pericope for a number of reasons. First, in 1 Cor. 3:1-8 Paul addresses the Corinthian situation of strife and jealousy concerning the belonging to different apostles by baptism, about which the scene has been set in 1 Cor. 1:10-17, while in 1 Cor. 3:9-17 the focus of Paul's discourse shifts to the question of building up on the foundation of Paul's gospel preaching. The question of building up harmony in the congregation (cf. 1 Cor. 1:10) by imperishable works coming from spiritual gifts (cf. 1 Cor. 1:7, 2:12-14) culminates in the theological idea of the presence of God's Spirit in the Christian congregation of the Corinthians (1 Cor. 3:16). Secondly, the labor, κόπος, mentioned in 1 Cor. 3:8 is that of the fellow workers<sup>38</sup>, the apostles, while the work, ἔργον, mentioned in 1 Cor. 3:13-15 is that of each individual in the Corinthian congregation<sup>39</sup>. Thirdly, 1 Cor. 3:9-17 can be separated from the subsequent verses, 18-23, as the metaphor of God's Temple gives expression to the positive imperative of unity and holiness in the nascent church of Corinth, while after that Paul takes up again his exhortation against worldly wisdom leading to boasting (v. 21a) and dissension (cf. vv.22-23), which he began in 1 Cor. 1:19-21, 25-31; 2:12-13. For the names of the apostles – Paul, Apollos, Cephas – are mentioned again in verse 22, the same names as are stated in 1 Cor. 1:12 in the context of the Corinthians' quarreling out of boasting of belonging to different apostles by baptism.

In the interest of following Paul's elaboration of the metaphor of the Temple and the connection with the indwelling Spirit of God, I quote the larger textual unit 1 Cor. 3:9-17 in Greek<sup>40</sup>:

9 θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί, θεοῦ γεώργιον, θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἐστε. 10 Κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα, ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ. ἕκαστος δὲ βλέπω πῶς ἐποικοδομεῖ. 11 θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. 12 εἰ δέ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λίθους τιμίους, ξύλα, χόρτον, καλάμην, 13 ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον φανερόν γενήσεται, ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὁποῖόν ἐστιν τὸ πῦρ [αὐτὸ] δοκιμάσει. 14 εἴ τις τὸ ἔργον μενεῖ δὲ ἐποικοδόμησεν, μισθὸν λήμψεται· 15 εἴ

<sup>38</sup> The labor, κόπος, often has a positive, normative value in Paul (e.g. 1 Cor. 15:58; 1 Thess. 1:3, 2:9), and the verb κοπιᾶν - found together with συνεργεῖν in 1 Cor. 16:16 - is usually predicative of apostles among whom Paul himself, fellow-workers and servants (e.g. 1 Cor. 4:9-12; 15:10; 1 Thess. 5:12; Rom. 16:6; Gal. 4:11; Phil. 2:16).

<sup>39</sup> Contra Lang, *op.cit.*, 55 who juxtaposes 1 Cor. 3:9-15 with 1 Cor. 3:16-17 as addressing the work of other missionaries and the community as a whole respectively. But an implicit polemic against the work of other missionaries sounds implausible to me, as in v. 9 Paul writes about his place among other missionaries: θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί. The exhortation concerning the work built on the foundation laid by Paul rather addresses the Corinthians themselves in their factionalism and dissensions.

<sup>40</sup> Greek text from Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed.; Stuttgart 1993). For most verses of the pericope no significant variations in the editio maior are found, except for the first part of verse 13, where ο ποιησας τουτο το εργον φανερος γενηται is found as variant reading.

τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός.

16 Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν;  
17 εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει, φθερεῖ τοῦτον ὁ θεός· ὁ γὰρ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἅγιος ἐστίν, οἳτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

In the light of the anticipatory use of θεοῦ οἰκοδομή in 3:9, preparing the reader for the Temple imagery, it is significant that this verb οἰκοδομεῖν is consistently found in the Septuagint in the context of the building of the Temple, variously described as οἶκος κυρίου<sup>41</sup>, οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>42</sup>, ναὸς κυρίου<sup>43</sup> and ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>44</sup>. In Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* the term ναὸς/νεὸς θεοῦ is frequently found as designation for both the First and the Second Temple<sup>45</sup>. When Paul uses the image of 'building of God' in 1 Cor. 3:9, he describes it in terms of a physical structure, architecture (cf. v.10), for which he has laid the foundation through his preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ: θεμέλιον (...) ὃς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (v.11). The concrete images of building and foundation serve to visualize to a certain extent what is not yet discerned by the natural man, ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος, namely the immaterial realm of spiritual gifts (cf. 1 Cor. 2:14).

On the christological foundation laid by Paul not material and perishable works count but the enduring works of spiritual men, who the Christian converts from Corinth still have to become (cf. 1 Cor. 3:1-3). This interpretation of the work, mentioned in vv. 13-15, in connection with verse 12, which goes over materials for construction or decoration, is corroborated by the variant reading of v. 13a, in which τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον refers back to the material works described in the preceding verse. While every man's work is put to the test, a work done out of a spiritual gift for the common good (cf. 1 Cor. 12:7) stands out against the work of which only the material, outward aspect is known, not the motive, the genuineness (cf. 1 Cor. 4:5). In other contexts, without the eschatology, the testing of individual works is mentioned by Paul for the sake of filtering every form of evil away from what is good, τὸ καλόν (1 Thess. 5:21-22) and of avoiding self-deception in boasting (Gal. 6:4). In 1 Cor. 3:12-15, however, it is the genuineness of what is apparent in the individual works, represented by the materials, which seems to be put to the test.

In Philo's treatise *That the Worse Attacks the Better*, §§ 20-21 there is a comparable warning against material works only serving to adorn a temple with "lavish expenditure on externals"<sup>46</sup>, which does not constitute genuine worship or make one pious. After this warning Philo voices what in Jewish tradition, rooted in biblical origins<sup>47</sup>, is understood by proper worship, γνήσιος θεραπεία: γνήσιοι δ' εἰσὶν αἱ [θεραπείαι] ψυχῆς ψιλὴν καὶ μόνην θυσίαν φερούσης ἀλήθειαν - "proper worship is that of a soul bringing truthfulness as its simple and only sacrifice". This tradition of religious worship involving the sincere participation of the soul may have influenced Paul's concept of 'spiritual men' (πνευματικοί

<sup>41</sup> E.g. 1 Kgs. 3:1, 6:1, 8:1, 17; 2 Kgs. 15:35, 21:4; 1 Chron. 22:5; 11 Chron. 2:11, 3:1, 8:1, 27:3; 1 Esdras 2:8, 5:67, 6:21, 23, 26; 11 Esdras 4:1; Hag. 1:2; Zech. 6:12, 15, 8:9

<sup>42</sup> E.g. 1 Chron. 22:2; 11 Chron. 3:3; 11 Esdras 4:3, 5:13, 17, 6:7-8.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. 1 Esdras 5:64, 6:18; Zech. 8:9.

<sup>44</sup> E.g. 1 Esdras 5:52 (53) (, Jdt 5:18).

<sup>45</sup> E.g. AJ VII, 334; VIII, 119, 139; IX, 5, 161, 254; X, 37; XI, 6, 12, 58; XV, 380; XVIII, 261, 280; XX, 228, 236.

<sup>46</sup> Transl. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, *Philo* vol. II (LCL; Harvard UP 1929) 214-217.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Num. 15:39-40 (LXX v.40: (...) ἔσεσθε ἅγιοι τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν; Deut. 6:4-7, there v. 5 indicating that proper worship of God involves all one's heart (καρδίᾳ), soul (ψυχῇ) and strength (δύναμις).



ἄνθρωποι) vs. 'natural men /men in the flesh' (ψυχικοί / σαρκικοί ἄνθρωποι)<sup>48</sup>. The term ψυχή is used by Paul in 1 *Thess.* 2:8-12 in the context of his preaching to the Thessalonians, encouraging them to lead a life worthy of God (v. 12), while in 1 *Cor.* 8:4 he alludes to *Deuteronomy* 6:4 (the beginning of a pericope on proper worship of God), and further Paul writes about the heart (2 *Cor.* 1:21-22) and the strength (1 *Cor.* 2:4-5) in connection with his preaching of the gospel.

## 2. *The Individual Work and the Community in Paul's Temple Imagery*

The question of genuine Christian worship is an issue behind the testing of each man's work, as the direction of the metaphoric language used by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 3:9-17 leads the reader from the testing of individual works to the undivided communal worship of the congregation of Corinthians. Moreover, in 1 *Cor.* 5:6-8, Paul phrases his exhortation against the Corinthians' boasting in metaphorical language of the celebration of Christian Jewish Passover (paschal lamb, unleavened bread) and juxtaposes the falsehood of mixing the evil of immorality, arrogance and boasting (1 *Cor.* 5:1-2.6)<sup>49</sup> with the ritual of religious celebration to the participation in the ritual with unmixed purity, εὐκρίνεια, and truthfulness, ἀλήθεια (v. 8), in light of Christ's sacrifice as paschal lamb (v. 7). The imperative of purification from vices (ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην - v.7a) is in line with the idea of the community as God's Temple expressed in 1 *Cor.* 3:16-17, as the underlying theological message in 1 *Cor.* 3:9-17 is the building up of communal worship<sup>50</sup> which is spiritual, in that the indwelling Spirit of God is present in the worshippers who as a community are holy to God (cf. vv. 16 and 17). The imperative to be holy to God has a biblical background in LXX *Numbers* 15:40: (...) καὶ ἔσσεσθε ἅγιοι τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν (cf. *Lev.* 20:7).

The ἔργον referred to by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 3:13-15 has been compared by J. Shanor with texts about construction work on pagan temples for which 'wages' were paid as reward (μισθός), providing "the Apostle with material for metaphor"<sup>51</sup>. This way of making use of images from a surrounding pagan world in Corinth could only be one of negative polemic for Paul, as the merit of each work is tested by fire, and the one who does the work may suffer loss, but be saved himself as through this fire (v.15). It is also important to note in this connection, that the term ναός is nowhere used by Paul to designate a sanctuary of a pagan god, whereas further on in 1 *Cor.* 8:10, in the context of exhortation against participation in the pagan ritual of eating idol food, Paul uses the pejorative term 'idol's temple', εἰδωλεῖον.

In 1 *Cor.* 3:1-8, the situation of division among the Corinthians because of their boasting of belonging to different apostles has been addressed by Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians through the use of images of nourishment, planting and watering that the efforts of different apostles rather aimed at harmonious growth, the growth of the Christian faith in the congregation of Corinth (v. 5b). From the perspective of the growth of the Christian faith,

<sup>48</sup> This Pauline distinction must also have its roots in Jewish tradition, as in a comparable way Philo, in his treatise *On the Giants* §§ 28-31, juxtaposes divine spirit (τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα) staying a while in the soul of man, with human flesh (ἡ σὰρξ). Cf. *Det.* 80 where πνεῦμα is defined as ἡ ψυχῆς οὐσία.

<sup>49</sup> ζύμη stands for both leaven and metaphorically for corruption, falsehood, and thus the 'old leaven of malice and evil'. ζύμη παλαιὰ κακίας καὶ πονηρίας (v. 8) refers to the immorality (πορνεία - 5:1), arrogance (φυσίωσις - cf. 5:2) and boasting (καύχημα- 5:6) still present among the Corinthians and the evil committed by some of them is further discussed by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 5:9-13, referring to the 'previous letter', and 1 *Cor.* 6:9-11.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. concerning οἰκοδομή / οἰκοδομεῖν in relation to the communal perspective of the church: 1 *Cor.* 14:3-5.12.26.

<sup>51</sup> J. Shanor, "Paul as Master Builder. Construction Terms in First Corinthians", *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988) 461-471, there 471.

the work which perishes when subjected to the test of fire (1 Cor. 3:15) can be interpreted as a work undertaken without faith, without the presence of the Spirit of God. As Paul has juxtaposed the Spirit of God with the spirit of the world (1 Cor. 2:12), the perishable work in 1 Cor. 3:15, when interpreted as a work undertaken in the spirit of the world, of which the genuineness of motivation (cf. 1 Cor. 4:5) remains to be judged, is an element of implicit condemnation of Gentile unbelief and temptation of falling back into idolatrous practices, which is an issue in 1 Cor. 10:14-22. The term κόσμος also has a negative connotation in 2 Maccabees 8:16-18, in a context of the Maccabees' invoking the power of God over against the Gentiles who had desecrated the Temple and over against "even the whole world".

Although the element of apocalyptic fire in Paul's discourse has been linked by scholars with eschatology and Stoic philosophy<sup>52</sup>, the partly destructive and partly purging effect of the fire as described in 1 Cor. 3:13-15 can best be explained against the background of Jewish tradition with the idea of destructive fire against the evil of associating with godless and idolatrous practices. A biblical reference to apocalyptic fire is found in the book of Amos 4:11, where mention is made of a fire from the midst of which Israel is saved, whereas some outright evildoers or idolaters among them are overthrown. In Sirach 39:29 fire is mentioned among three other things created for 'vengeance', ἐκδίκησις, against evils 'in the time of consummation', ἐν καιρῷ συντελείας (v.28), and thus attests to the pre-existence of the imagery of eschatological fire. In both cases, the context of the destructive fire is God's outrage turning against those who commit sins of ungodly injustice<sup>53</sup>.

From the Dead Sea Scrolls, another example of destructive fire in an eschatological context may be mentioned here, namely in the sectarian interpretation of Habakkuk 2:10-13 in the *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk (1QpHab)*, column X<sup>54</sup>. As in Hab. 2:3 the eschatological setting is established by the mention of a "vision for the appointed time", which "goes forth to the end"<sup>55</sup>, interpreted as the end-time in 1QpHab VII, 5-8, God's judgment "among many nations", בתוך עמים רבים, as the Qumran interpretation of Hab. 2:10 goes, will be accompanied in that end-time by punishment with fire (X, 5). It is significant that the sectarian interpretation of Hab. 2:10-13 turns from the punishment of the individual (X, 4-5) - perhaps being the "Spreader of the Lie", מסיף כזב - to the many (X, 9-11) whose useless work, עבודת שו (11), and acts of deceit, מעשי שקר (12) insulting 'God's chosen' are related to the judgment of fire, למשפטי אש (X, 13). Thus, there is a link between the work perverted by the community of deceit, עדה בשקר (X, 10) and the judgment of fire, and in a comparable way Paul was concerned with keeping the perversion out of the religious community in order not to let it be destroyed by works of unjust people (ἄδικοι; cf. 1 Cor. 6:9f.) inside the congregation.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. W. Strack, *Kultische Terminologie in ekklesiologischen Kontexten in den Briefen des Paulus* Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 92 (Weinheim 1994) 229 and D.R. de Lacey, "οἰτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς: The Function of a Metaphor in St Paul", in W. Horbury ed., *Templum Amicitiae. Essays on the Second Temple presented to Ernst Bammel* JSNTSS 48 (Sheffield 1991) 405 n.53; cf. Fee, op.cit., 142 and Lang, op.cit., 52 referring to Isa. 66:15. The argument of eschatology is corroborated by the fact that 'the Day', ἡ ἡμέρα, mentioned in 1 Cor. 3:13 is identifiable with the 'Day of the Lord', ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, mentioned at the beginning of the letter (1:8).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Amos 4:6.8-11 where at the end of each verse by way of refrain the phrase 'yet you did not return to me' occurs, and the evil of those overturned in v.11 is compared with that of Sodom and Gomorrah, referred to as an outcry of sin against God in Gen. 18:20; in Sir. 39:23-28 the anger and wrath of God turning in the 'time of consummation' against the nations and the evils of sinners is implied.

<sup>54</sup> Ed.pr. M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery I The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: ASOR, 1950).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Amos* 4:6.8-11 where at the end of each verse by way of refrain the phrase 'yet you did not return to me' occurs, and the evil of those overturned in v.11 is compared with that of Sodom and Gomorrah, referred to as an outcry of sin against God in Gen. 18:20; in Sir. 39:23-28 the anger and wrath of God turning in the 'time of consummation' against the nations and the evils of sinners is implied.

The pre-existing imagery of eschatological fire in Jewish tradition is echoed in 1 *Cor.* 3:13-15, although in Paul's use of the imagery the element of vengeance or punishment is kept out of the apocalyptic scene, as the direction of Paul's discourse is toward salvation of the Christian believer. That is, the person's Self or his/her spirit (cf. 1 *Cor.* 5:5) is saved 'as through fire', ὡς διὰ πυρός (v.15), whereas the work may either survive or be destroyed by the fire.

The individual salvation as through fire when a person's work is destroyed on the day of the Lord, the Messianic end-time, stands in contrast with the communal holiness of the Corinthian congregation (vv. 16-17). But this contrast serves the purpose of convincing each person individually of the imperative of keeping separate from various kinds of iniquities about which Paul had already written in his 'previous letter', recapitulated in 1 *Cor.* 5:9-13. For these iniquities desecrate the holiness of the church and that is also why the metaphor of God's Temple further figures in 1 *Cor.* 6:12-20 in connection with the exhortation against immorality. The issue of moral purity from immorality, idolatry and other iniquities cannot be separated from the unity and holiness of the Corinthian congregation through the indwelling of God's Spirit. That is, the point stressed by Paul in his 'previous letter', not to associate with (συναναμίγνυσθαι), nor even to eat (συνεσθῆναι) with people within the congregation, who engage in various kinds of immorality, among which the evil of the idolater (εἰδωλόλατρης), can be demonstrated to underly Paul's use of the metaphor of the congregation as God's Temple in 1 *Cor.* 3:16-17.

As Paul has expressed his concern that there should be unity of mind and judgment among the Corinthians instead of dissensions (1 *Cor.* 1:10), the mention of dissensions can be connected with Paul's subsequent exhortations against boasting out of worldly wisdom of belonging to different apostles (1 *Cor.* 1:12-17; 3:1-8, 18-21), whereas the unity of judgment relates to the judgment against association with immorality within the church (1 *Cor.* 5:12-13)<sup>56</sup>. The weight of this ostracizing judgment which Paul advocates against immoral men within the church is underpinned by his quotation from a legal passage in the Pentateuch in 1 *Cor.* 5:13 (*Deut.* 17:7 & 19:19). It is further implied by the implicit condemnation of those evildoers 'of this world' (τοῦ κόσμου τούτου), who do not have the Christian faith, by means of the judgment with apocalyptic overtones given against the Corinthian believers if they would associate with them: ἐπεὶ ὠφεῖλετε ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελεῖν (v. 10).

The transition from the salvation out of eschatological fire in the case of perishable works to the introduction of the metaphor of the congregation as God's Temple implies a moral perspective of the exclusion of works of immorality and the inclusion of everything which builds up and unifies the church in the Spirit of God to whom Christ belongs (1 *Cor.* 3:23; cf. 1 *Cor.* 12:4-13). This perspective is indeed expressed in 1 *Cor.* 5:9-13 by the juxtaposition of those inside (ἐσω) to those outside (ἐξω) the congregation, in terms of immorality, idolatrous practices and other iniquities. This dualist perspective is better understood against the background of Jewish tradition, distinguishing between holy and profane, impure and pure (*Lev.* 10:10), ritual categories, to which in partial elaboration on *Lev.* 10:11 a moral category was added by Philo: the distinction between lawful and unlawful

<sup>56</sup> Of the phrase ἡτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ (1 *Cor.* 1:10) the unity in mind, ἐν νοῖ is related to the mind of Christ, νοῦς Χριστοῦ, mentioned by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 2:16 which implies that just as the same Christ is preached by the different apostles (cf. 1 *Cor.* 3:5f., 21-23) there should also be a unity in mind in the faith in Christ instead of dissensions about baptism by different apostles. On the other hand, the unity in judgment, ἐν γνώμῃ, further implies an undivided, unwavering opinion – as γνώμη means opinion in 1 *Cor.* 7:25; 2 *Cor.* 8:10, 40 – in specific cases of abuses where resolution is necessary. Thus because the unity of opinion should have a communal basis, it becomes authoritative judgment and is linked with judging, κρίνειν, those associating with iniquities inside the church (1 *Cor.* 5:12-13).

things<sup>57</sup>. Philo refers to this distinction in the context of writing about the regulations for priests in the sacrificial cult of the Temple of Jerusalem. In Jewish tradition on the Temple cult in Jerusalem, the distinction in *Leviticus* 10:10 was given expression by a perspective of different degrees of holiness from the holy of holies in the Temple to the more profane world outside the holy place. Flavius Josephus mentions the fact that in the Temple court there were stelae with inscriptions in Greek and Latin to forbid people from the Gentiles entering the sanctuary (*BJ* V, 194). In the sectarian perspective of the Qumran movement, the purity of the Temple (מקדש - טהרת - *4QMMT* B 54; cf. *11QTa* Col. XLVII, 17) makes a most sharp distinction between those inside the 'holy camp'<sup>58</sup> and 'camps of the holy ones'<sup>59</sup> and those outside<sup>60</sup>. On the formal level of a dualist perspective concerning holiness this distinction in the literature of Qumran is comparable with Paul's juxtaposition between those inside and those outside the community as God's Temple. But Paul's understanding of purity is predominantly moral (cf. *1 Cor.* 1:30; 6:9-11), whereas the purity of the Temple in the *Halakhic Letter* is mainly cultic and ritual. Moral connotations of the defilement of the Temple are, however, found also in later documents of Qumran (e.g. *CD-A* IV, 14-18).

As the transition from the eschatological perspective of the testing of all individual works by fire to the present of the community as God's Temple gives expression to Paul's underlying moral perspective of holiness and unity over against dissension and iniquity, there are points of contact with Jewish tradition concerning the idea of the Temple standing for unity and holiness of the religious community. For in Philo's first book of the *Special Laws* the unity of worshippers of God gathered together from the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora in the Temple, in a spirit of holiness (ὁσιότητι) and honouring God (τιμῇ θεοῦ) is described as follows: "and the sacrifices and libations are the occasion of reciprocity of feeling and constitute the surest pledge that all are of one mind" (εἰς βεβαιωτάτην πίστιν ὁμονοίας)<sup>61</sup>.

### 3. God's Spirit, the Religious Community and the Temple in Jewish Tradition

The idea of God's Spirit dwelling in the Temple among the religious community expressed by Paul in *1 Cor.* 3:16-17 has been compared by B. Gärtner with the *Shekinah* from the Hebrew שכן<sup>62</sup>, with a biblical background in Exodus 25:8 : ועשו לי מקדש ושכנתי בתוכם - "And they shall make a sanctuary for me so that I may dwell among them". The verb שכן rather than the hypostasized *Shekinah* (שכינה), a Rabbinic term of which pre-70 provenance is problematic<sup>63</sup>, provides a case of comparison with the Dead Sea Scrolls. But on the part of Hellenistic Jewish literature, the evidence of Flavius Josephus in this respect has been neglected. Nevertheless,

<sup>57</sup> LXX *Lev.* 10:10-11: διασπεῖσθαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν βεβήλων καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τῶν καθαρῶν. καὶ συμβιβάσεις τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ πάντα τὰ νόμιμα, ἃ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ χειρὸς Μωϋσῆ. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* I, 100 has: εἰς διαστολὴν καὶ διάκρισιν ἁγίων καὶ βεβήλων καὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων καὶ νομίμων καὶ παρανόμων. Note also Philo's addition of the term διάκρισις which, beyond the meaning of separation or distinction already conveyed by διαστολή, also stands for decision, judgment, thus making the moral perspective more explicit.

<sup>58</sup> *4QMMT* (*4Q394* Frags. 3-7 16-17, frag. 8 8-12; *4Q397* Frag. 3 3.5; Frags. 6-13 2-4).

<sup>59</sup> *1QM* Col. III, 4-5.

<sup>60</sup> מוֹחָה לְמִחָה - *4QMMT* (*4Q394* Frags 3-7 col. II 15-19; *4Q397* Frag. 3; cf. *4Q399* col. II, 2).

<sup>61</sup> *Spec. Leg.* I, 70; translation from F.H.Colson, *Philo* VII (LCL: Harvard UP 1937) 138-141. Cf. Josephus' *Against Apion* II, 193.

<sup>62</sup> Gärtner, *op.cit.*, 58.

<sup>63</sup> The Rabbinic term שכינה is in its earliest attestation found in only a few places in the *Mishnah*, namely *M. Aboth* 3:2 and *M. Sanhedrin* 6:5, and these occurrences rather suggest a provenance in Rabbinic theology developed in the schools of the Sages founded after 70 C.E.

both Josephus and Paul had previously been educated as Pharisees. both wrote in an environment of the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora, and in the works of both authors the influence of Stoic philosophy has been traced by scholars <sup>64</sup>.

An important passage for the analysis of the relationship between God's Spirit and the Temple of God in 1 Cor. 3:16-17 is in the eighth book of Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, retelling the biblical story of the dedication of the Temple built by king Solomon, (1 Kgs. 8: cf. II *Chron.* 6) whose dedicatory prayer is rendered in a way which adds significant details. For example, the nearness of God's presence to those sending up prayers and worshipping God, who oversees mankind with a moral influence of guidance, mentioned at the beginning of the dedicatory prayer in *AJ* VIII, 108, is a case of further elaboration on the biblical story by Josephus. Josephus' phrasing of God's presence as seeing and hearing everything (πάντ' ἐφορᾶν καὶ πάντ' ἀκούειν), being most near to all men (πᾶσιν ἔγγιστα εἶναι) and "present with everyone who asks for guidance" <sup>65</sup> is paralleled in Philo's description in his treatise *On the Giants* § 47: πάντα γὰρ πεπληρωκώς ὁ θεὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ὥστε ἐφορῶντος καὶ πλησίον ὄντος (...) – "God, since His fullness is everywhere, is near us, and since His eye beholds us, since He is close beside us (...)" <sup>66</sup>. There is also a parallel in Paul's concept of the ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. 1:29; cf. 2 Cor 4:2; 7:12). These parallels show that apart from Josephus' reliance on sources – other writers, archives, documents etc. – (and on his eye-witness account as far as contemporary events were concerned) as a historian, he most probably also relied on existing traditions in his retelling of the biblical story of Solomon's dedicatory prayer <sup>67</sup>.

The most striking passage for comparison with Paul's theology of God's Spirit dwelling in the religious community as God's Temple, however, can be found in § 114 of *AJ* VIII, in which after Solomon's blessing of the people and his entreaty for an unceasing future prosperity of the kingship the following is said:

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱκετεύω μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀποικίσαι, ὥς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἡμῖν εἶναι δοκῇς. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦτον ὄντων κύτος, οὐχ ὅτι γε οὗτος ὁ τυχὼν ναός, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν τε ἀπόρθητον ἐκ πολεμίων ὥς ἴδιον εἰς ἅπαν καὶ προνοεῖν ὥς οἰκείου κτήματος παρακαλῶ.

"Besides these things I entreat Thee also to send some portion of Thy spirit to dwell in the temple, that Thou mayest seem to us to be on earth as well. For to Thee even the whole vault

<sup>64</sup> Concerning Pharisaic education, see Josephus' *Life*, 12, and *Phil.* 3:5-6; Concerning the use of Stoic concepts and ideas in Josephus' version of Solomon's dedicatory prayer in *AJ* VIII, 106-121, see E.Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Stuttgart 1956) 19 n.2 and J.R.Levison, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden [etc.] Brill, 1997) 132-136. For studies about Stoic influence on Paul, see e.g. M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa", *ZNW* 42 (1949) 69-104 and T.Paige, "Stoicism, eleutheria and community at Corinth", in M.J.Wilkins & T.Paige eds., *Worship, theology and ministry in the early church: essays in honor of Ralph P.Martin* (Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1992) JSNTSS, 87. See also the more recent work of T. Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000).

<sup>65</sup> Translation from H.St.J.Thackeray & R.Marcus, *Josephus in nine volumes* V *Jewish Antiquities, Books V-VIII* (LCL: Harvard UP 1934) 631.

<sup>66</sup> Greek text and translation in F.H. Colson & G.H.Whitaker, *Philo* II (LCL: Harvard UP 1929) 468-469.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. H.W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Scholars Press 1976) Harvard Dissertations in Religion 7, p.29-38 referring to scholarly suggestions and hypotheses of Josephus' reliance on different scriptural texts (MT, LXX, Aramaic targum), certain pseudepigraphical works, Greco-Jewish apologetic literature (e.g. Alexander Polyhistor) and Alexandrian scholastic exegesis, accounting for "transformations, additions and interpretations" (p. 30).

of heaven and all its host is but a small habitation – how much less this poor temple! Nonetheless I pray Thee to guard it for ever from sacking by our enemies, as Thine own temple, and to watch over it as Thine own possession.”<sup>68</sup>

In this paragraph a portion of the Spirit of God, and not the ‘name of God’ (1 Kgs. 8:29; cf. 2 Chron. 6:7-10)<sup>69</sup>, is entreated to dwell in the Temple. Thus Josephus adds to his retelling of the biblical story of king Solomon’s dedicatory prayer after the building of the First Temple a theological idea, which is not found in either the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint, but was probably found in a more or less developed form in Jewish exegetical and pseudepigraphical tradition in the Second Temple period. For in the *Wisdom of Solomon* 9:1-18, a Hellenistic Jewish work from the first century B.C.E., an elaboration on the biblical story of Solomon’s prayer for wisdom (1 Kgs. 3:6-9) is found, which also refers to the building of the Temple, οἰκοδομῆσαι ναόν (*Wis.* 9:8) as God’s instruction for Solomon. This prayer contains an entreaty to God to send his Holy Spirit from on high: βουλήν δέ σου τίς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ σὺ ἔδωκας σοφίαν καὶ ἔπεμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων;<sup>70</sup>. As H. Engel has noted that the mention of the altar “in the city of thy habitation” in 9:8b reminds us of the place where Solomon’s dedicatory prayer was pronounced (1 Kgs. 8:22.54; 2 Chron. 6:12)<sup>71</sup>, the sending of God’s Holy Spirit can most probably be linked not only with wisdom bestowed on mankind but also with the Temple as God’s dwelling-place.

The explicit mention of God’s *Spirit* dwelling in the Temple provided the ground which nourished the use of temple imagery in Paul’s theology. The fact that a portion of God’s spirit is entreated to dwell in the Temple (μοῖράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος), does not diminish the importance of this passage of Josephus for Paul’s temple imagery. In Philo’s treatise *On the Giants* § 22-27, in a discussion of what the ‘spirit of God’ (θεοῦ πνεῦμα) or ‘divine spirit’ (πνεῦμα θεῖον) is, the following is said about receiving a portion of this spirit in the exegesis of a verse from Scripture: “But think not that this taking of the spirit comes to pass as when men cut away a piece and sever it. Rather it is, as when they take fire from fire, for though the fire should kindle a thousand torches, it is still as it was and is diminished not a whit” (§ 25)<sup>72</sup>. Although the imagery of taking fire from fire is Philo’s, the idea expressed here has a common ground in Jewish tradition, as it echoes a theme of prophetic inspiration in Scripture (e.g. *Exod.* 31:3, *Num.* 11:17). But also in 1 *Corinthians* 2:12 the Pauline expression τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ reflects this idea. Further, in the passage where the metaphor of the Temple recurs and which I will discuss in more detail below, 1 *Cor.* 6:19, the expression ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος (..) οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ θεοῦ likewise conveys this idea. Finally, the idea of the apportioning of God’s Spirit is found in 1 *Cor.* 12:11: πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνεργεῖ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα διαιροῦν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ

<sup>68</sup> Greek text from B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera II Antiquitatum Iudaicarum Libri VI-X* (Berlin 1885) 201, and translation from H.St.J. Thackeray & R. Marcus, *Josephus in nine volumes V Jewish Antiquities, Books V-VIII* (LCL: Harvard UP 1934) 632-633.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. the deuteronomic expression of a ‘place where the Lord your God shall make his name dwell’, whether or not referring to the centralization of the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem – e.g. *Deut.* 12:5.11.21.26, 26:2 (המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיכם בו לשכן שמו שם שמה) - MT; ὁ τόπος, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ - LXX).

<sup>70</sup> Greek text from A.Rahlf's, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Duo volumina in uno* (Stuttgart 1979) Volumen II Libri poetici et prophetici, p. 358.

<sup>71</sup> H.Engel, *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Stuttgart 1998) 154; on Stoic influence also in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, cf. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*, 145, referring to *Wis.* 1:7, and also to 7:7 & 9:17, as example of an understanding of wisdom in the “conceptual orbit of a sapiential tradition permeated by Stoicism”.

<sup>72</sup> Translation from F.H. Colson & G.H. Whitaker, *Philo*, II, p.456-457.

καθὼς βούλεται. "All these are inspired by one and the same Spirit, who apportions to each one individually as he wills" <sup>73</sup>. Thus, both the idea of the Spirit of God dwelling in the Temple and that of the individual inspiration by the Holy Spirit are found in Jewish tradition. The idea of the religious community as God's Temple in whom God's Spirit dwells, however, can be put in sharp relief in a comparative analysis between Paul's temple imagery and the literature of Qumran.

#### 4. *The Holy Spirit and the community in Paul and Qumran*

The explicit mention of the 'Spirit of God', although not directly linked with the image of the Temple of God in the literature of Qumran, figures in the *Rule of the Community* in the context of God's dwelling in the congregation, which because of God's gift of holiness through his Holy Spirit <sup>74</sup> is called a 'holy community', יחד קודש (1QS Col. IX, 2). This community views itself as the eschatological Temple in the Endtime (העת, which is short for the biblical עת קץ) by virtue of being perfect of the Way (1QS Col. IX, 3-7, 12-21). The idea of an eschatological Temple is conveyed by, among other things, the identification of the men of the Community with a "foundation of the Holy Spirit in eternal truth", יסוד רוח קודש לאמת עולם, whose atonement for Israel's iniquities substitutes for sacrifices of the Jerusalem cult (1QS Col. IX, 3-5). The ritual of atonement, described in *Leviticus* 16, refers to, among other things, the uncleanness (טמאה), sinful transgressions (פשעיהם לכלי-חטאתם) and iniquities (כל-עוונות) of the people of Israel (Lev. 16:16, 21). In the *Rule of the Community* the additional element of guilt (אשמה) is mentioned in the context of atonement, which can be linked with the later prophetic tradition in the Bible of moral understanding of purity (cf. *Ezek.* 36:22-33).

The priestly setting of this eschatological Temple can be inferred from the mention of a "House of Holiness for Aaron", בית קודש לאהרן, and of the role of the "sons of Aaron", בני אהרן (1QS Col. IX, 6-7 <sup>75</sup>). Also in *4QFlorilegium* possibly mention is made of an eschatological Temple (הבית אשר [יכין] ל[וא] באחרית הימים) - Frg. 1, col. 1, 21, 2, 2) over against the "Temple of Israel" (מקדש [ישראל] - line 6), probably the contemporary Temple of Jerusalem, which according to the sectarian understanding had been defiled (*IQpHab.* VIII, 8-13; XII, 7-9). The idea of the community as Temple in the contemporary period of the Qumran community before the end-time appears to be expressed by the words "Temple of man", מקדש אדם <sup>76</sup>. Although priestly functions are still attributed to the "sons of Aaron" in Qumran, whereas Paul compares a material aspect of the preaching of the gospel by the missionaries with the service of priests in the Temple (1 Cor. 9:13-14), the idea of the community as Temple is also implicitly associated with the presence of God's Holy Spirit in the *Rule of the Community*.

<sup>73</sup> Translation from the Revised Standard Version.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *4Q504* Frags. 1-2, Col. V, 15; *4Q5MS A*, Frg. 2, line 1 – *1QS* Col. 3, line 7.

<sup>75</sup> Ed.pr. M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery II Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, ASOR 1951). Cf. the use of this term in *4QMMT B*, 79; *1Q28a (1Qsa)* I, 15-16, II, 13; *11Q20 (11QTh)* V, 25 to designate the priesthood and priestly tribes. Cf. *1QS* V, 6 mentioning a "sanctuary in Aaron", קודש באהרן, standing here for 'holy place, temple', as בית קודש in *1QS* IX, 6 stands for 'holy house, sanctuary') and a "house of truth", בית האמת, in Israel.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. G.J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran. 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context* (Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1985) 178-193, there 185 concerning the 'sanctuary of men' as stressing "the position of the Qumran community vis-à-vis the Jerusalem temple"; Idem, "Miqdash Adam, Eden and the Qumran Community", in B.Ego et al. eds., *Gemeinde ohne Tempel. Community without Temple*, 285-301.

The Holy Spirit is involved in the accomplishing of the purification of body, בשר, soul, נפש, and spirit, רוח (*IQS* Col. III, 7-9) <sup>77</sup>. In Paul's metaphor of the Temple of God, reformulated in *1 Cor.* 6:19, both body, σῶμα <sup>78</sup>, and spirit, πνεῦμα, are involved. For in *1 Cor.* 6:17 it is implied that the human spirit cleaving to the Lord becomes one spirit with him, while the human body is called the Temple of the Holy Spirit from God (*1 Cor.* 6:19), whose Spirit was first said to dwell in the community (*1 Cor.* 3:16). As the community as Temple is not of the community itself but God's, thus also the bodily purity of the individual members constituting the community belongs to God (cf. *1 Cor.* 6:20). It is significant, in this connection, that the expression "you were bought with a price" (τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε) is not only found in the context of bodily purity (*1 Cor.* 6:20) but also of Christian worship in a moral sense of remaining with God, which should not be thwarted by enslavement to men (*1 Cor.* 7:17-24, there v.23). Although there is no metaphor of the Temple symbolizing the body of the individual in the religious community in the literature of Qumran, the underlying notions of the commitment of both body and soul to purification in receiving the Holy Spirit of God are the same.

The holiness of God's Temple, that is the religious community in worship devoted to God, is given substance by the presence of God's Spirit and destructive evil threatening the religious community is turned by God against the one who wants to realize those evil plans. Paul's use of the Greek term φθείρω in *1 Cor.* 3:17 has been put in the context of the LXX translation of the Hebrew שחת and compared with the lot of the 'men of destruction' in *IQS* IV.12 and IX.16 and 'children of destruction' in *CD* VI.15 by B. Gärtner <sup>79</sup>. But in my view, φθείρω in the Pauline usage in the *Letters to the Corinthians* (*1 Cor.* 15:33; *2 Cor.* 7:2, 11:3) denotes the corrupting effect of wicked intentions rather than the clear-cut vices of heresy and immorality, as Gärtner interprets this usage. Immorality (πορνεία) is condemned as sin against one's own body (*1 Cor.* 6:18), whereas heresy in the sense of dissensions and factionalism (*1 Cor.* 1:10-11, 3:3, 11:17-18f.) is compared by Paul with the behaviour of ordinary men, men of the flesh, σαρκικοί καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον (*1 Cor.* 3:3). But the one who would destroy the Temple of God is not among those who are exhorted by Paul to become spiritual men from having been men of the flesh. The danger of destructive evil is probably rather in the wicked intentions of one who would dissuade the Corinthians about separating themselves from immoral men, bringing vices of the world within the congregation and blurring the lines of good and evil, as in *1 Cor.* 5:13 Paul quotes *Deuteronomy* 17:7 (cf. 19:19): "Drive out the wicked person from among you", ἐξάρατε τὸν πονηρὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν <sup>80</sup>. Thus, also in *1 Cor.* 11:19, probably addressing the wickedness of certain persons concealed in the community, Paul writes about the necessity of factions for clarity about who is genuine among the Corinthians and who is not (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἰρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα [καὶ] οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν).

The wickedness which would destroy the Temple of God can be juxtaposed with reverence and respect for God's Temple. In the literature of Qumran, respect for the Temple is an important issue. Thus in the *Halakhic Letter*, which marks the breakaway of the Qumran

<sup>77</sup> Cf. A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989) SBL Dissertation Series 110, in his section on 'Ruah as God's Spirit', pp.71-93, there p.91-93 including the unusual expression רוח קדושה of *IQS* III, 7 in this category because of God always being the "principle agent of this [moral purification] in the Scrolls".

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Kirchhoff, *Die Sünde gegen den eigenen Leib*, 130-145 in a section about the meaning of σῶμα vs. σάρξ, pointing to man's creation "in his distance from God" and as "made for God" respectively (p.134).

<sup>79</sup> *The Temple and the Community*, 59-60.

<sup>80</sup> Note the change from the 2nd person singular of ἐξάρατε in the LXX into the 2nd person plural to address the Corinthians as a collective, as a unified community.



community, the requirement to "be respectful towards the Temple", <sup>81</sup> להיות יראים ממקדש, is also ranged among the precepts. And in the *Temple Scroll*, column XLVI, lines 11-12, the following ruling is found: אשר אנוכי שוכן בתוכמה וקדשו את מקדשי ויראו ממקדשי - "And they shall sanctify my Temple and they shall be afraid of my Temple, for I dwell in their midst" <sup>82</sup>. In one passage of the *Rule of the Community*, column V, lines 10-19, the men of the Community are prescribed to keep far away – collectively as 'men of holiness' (אנשי הקודש, 1.13) and individually as 'man of holiness' (איש הקודש, 1.18) – from the wickedness of the "men of injustice" (אנשי העול, 1.10). Although their intention of destructive evil is not mentioned explicitly, their wickedness excludes them from the covenant with God and their disrespect for God's word makes all their works impure. God's judgment against the wickedness of these men is expressed in terms of eternal destruction, כלת עולם (1.13), and destroying them from the world, ישמיד מתבל (1.19). This destruction, then, as punishment for the danger of burdening the community with the guilt of iniquities, destroying its holiness, is in my view comparable to the way Paul writes about destruction in 1 Cor. 3:17.

There is also a striking parallel between the prohibition of uniting (יחד) and eating and drinking (לוא יוכל מהונם כול ולוא ישתה) with wicked men in IQS V, 14.16 and Paul's exhortation in 1 Cor. 5:11 not to associate nor even to eat with immoral men. The "worthless works", מעשי הבל, and the worthlessness, הבל, of "all who do not know his covenant" (1. 18-19), that is the wicked men, are comparable with the foolishness (μωρία) or futility (ματαιότης) of the so-called wise men (1 Cor. 3:18-20), the idol (εἰδωλον - e.g. in 1 Cor. 8:4 and 2 Cor. 6:16) and lawlessness (ἀνομία, 2 Cor. 6:14) mentioned by Paul. Opposed to these worthless works is the work of the Lord (ἔργον τοῦ κυρίου) in whom labor is not in vain (κενός - 1 Cor. 15:58), as God's Spirit dwells in the religious community as God's Temple.

#### IV THE EARTHLY TEMPLE AND THE HEAVENLY TEMPLE

As the introduction of the metaphor of God's Temple in 1 Cor. 3:9-17 has been analyzed in the context of 1 Corinthians, the notions of the earthly and heavenly realm implicit in Paul's concept of the Spirit of God need to be explicated in the larger context of both Letters to the Corinthians. For analysis of these notions of the earthly and heavenly realm in relation to Paul's temple imagery in a comparative study with Jewish tradition adds to the survey of the ramifications of the metaphor of God's Temple. And within this framework, I will then focus my attention on the analysis of moral categories of iniquities addressed in Paul's exhortations in the passages with temple imagery and cultic terminology against the background of Jewish tradition.

In 1 Cor. 2:12 the Spirit of God has been juxtaposed by Paul to the spirit of the world and the 'spiritual', τὸ πνευματικόν, in 1 Cor. 15:44-49 is by implication linked with the man from heaven, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, and the image of the heavenly man, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανοῦ. The human state of being spiritual, referred to in a negative context at the beginning of the letter (1 Cor. 2:13-3:1) concerns the whole being, body and soul, for in 1 Cor. 6:12-20 the body is implicated in the metaphor of the Temple, while both in 1 Cor. 3:16 and 1 Cor. 6:19

<sup>81</sup> 4QMMT B,49. Ed.pr. E.Qimron & J.Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat ma'ase ha-Torah* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert X; Oxford 1994). Translation from F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Study Edition* II (4Q274-11Q31) (Brill/Eerdmans 2000) 793, 797.

<sup>82</sup> Hebrew text from E.Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Judean Desert Studies; Beer Sheva – Jerusalem 1996) p.66. Translation from García Martínez & Tigchelaar, *Study Edition* II, 1264-1265.

God's Spirit, the Holy Spirit is said to dwell in the community and the individual in his or her corporality respectively. Paul has juxtaposed the spiritual man to the unspiritual man at the beginning of his *First Letter to the Corinthians*. Accordingly, he unfolds his preaching of the resurrection of Christ in 1 Cor. 15 also in terms of juxtaposing the 'natural' to the spiritual. The natural body, σῶμα ψυχικόν, which is sown and perishes, is set in contrast to the spiritual body, σῶμα πνευματικόν, which is raised (v. 44). And the first Adam as a living being, ψυχὴ ζῶσα, is set in contrast to the life-giving spirit, πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, of the last Adam (v. 45). To this juxtaposition of 'natural' and spiritual, the categories of earth and dust in contrast to heaven, flesh and blood in contrast to the kingdom of God, and perishable in contrast to imperishable, are added by Paul.

The dichotomy of the earthly and the heavenly realm in relation to the Temple is implicit in Paul's reference in 2 Cor. 5:1 to a heavenly abode of God <sup>83</sup>, οἰκίαν ἀχειροποίητον αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, as it is juxtaposed with an 'earthly tent', ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους. The heavenly abode of God, in 2 Cor. 5:2 further circumscribed as τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, is the domain of the resurrection, in which death is swallowed up by life (2 Cor. 5:4). The guarantee for this during the mortal life of mankind is God's gift of the Spirit (2 Cor. 5:5), which forms the link between the earthly and the heavenly realm. In referring to a 'house not made with hands' as the building from God (οἰκοδομὴ ἐκ θεοῦ), which the faithful have, Paul elaborates on an image with which he begun in 1 Cor. 3:9 introducing his metaphor of the Temple. In this context, however, of stressing the transcendence of God's power through the gospel of the glory of Christ (2 Cor. 4:4-7.17) against the affliction <sup>84</sup>, the image of a building of God is worked out in the direction of the heavenly Temple, which, apart from the idea of the community as the Temple of God on earth, focuses on the unseen realm of eternity (cf. 2 Cor. 4:18) and resurrection over against the mortality of man.

The juxtaposition of the heavenly Temple and the earthly Temple is a common theme in Jewish tradition of the Second Temple period. For in the *Special Laws* I, 66-67, Philo makes a distinction between a heavenly Temple, with angels serving as priests, and the earthly Temple with a sacrificial cult serving for thanksgiving for blessings and asking forgiveness for sins <sup>85</sup>. Also in the last part of § 114 of Josephus' eighth book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, quoted in the previous section, the tradition about such a distinction between earthly and heavenly Temple has been preserved <sup>86</sup>. The moral perspective of piety, εὐσέβεια, which Philo had on the earthly Temple cult (*Spec. Leg.* I, 67), most probably voiced a current way of thinking about the Temple cult of Jerusalem in the Hellenistic Jewish diaspora.

The perspective of a liturgy of thanksgiving for blessings and asking forgiveness for sins may have influenced Paul in his use of cultic terminology in 1 Cor. 6:9-11, which describes the purification and justification of the Corinthians from iniquities. Thus, in light of the metaphor of the community as Temple (1 Cor. 3:16-17), the sins of some of the Corinthians (1 Cor. 6:9-10) have been atoned for 'in the name of Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God' in cultic terms (v.11). Moreover, the sequence of verbs used by Paul to

<sup>83</sup> Cf. J.P.M. Sweet, "A House Not Made with Hands", in *Templum Amicitiae*, 368-390 tracing the possible influence of Jesus' Temple saying, recorded in Mark 14:58 in Paul's letters, among which 2 Cor. 5:1.

<sup>84</sup> The affliction, θλίψις, is referred to at the beginning of the Letter, 2 Cor. 1:4.8. Note also the moral emphasis on the persistence of ministry and faith against affliction in the repetition of the phrase οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν (2 Cor. 4:1.16).

<sup>85</sup> *Spec. Leg.* I, 66-67: Τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸν θεοῦ νομίζειν τὸν σύμπαντα χρῆ κόσμον εἶναι (....) τὸ δὲ χειρόκμητον.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. the reference to God's eternal dwelling, οἶκον αἰώνιον, in *AJ* VIII, 107 at the beginning of Solomon's dedicatory prayer.

give expression to the process of atonement for iniquities - ἀπελούσασθε, ἡγιασθήτε, ἐδικαιώθητε - can be demonstrated to have equivalents in the cultic terminology of the Temple cult.

In the Pentateuch, the washing of the body is mentioned as a ritual activity (e.g. *Lev.* 15:7,10,13,16,18,21-22, 16:24,28) to cleanse it from uncleanness, whereas in Isaiah washing is mentioned to remove the evil of one's doings in a context of polemic against ritual corrupted by iniquities: λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε .. (*Isa.* 1:16). In the literature of Qumran, the washing off (כבוס) of impurity is mentioned as a requirement for entering the 'house of prostration', linked with a 'holy house' (*CD-A* XI, 22 – XII,1), which has been identified with the sectarian synagogue<sup>87</sup>, and conveys a substitute liturgy with rites of purification for a community without a Temple.

The process of purifying or sanctifying (ἀγιάζειν) is mentioned in various ways in Scripture in relation to the sacrificial cult and the congregation<sup>88</sup>. In one instance, *Lev.* 20:7-8, the purification is found in a context of laws against various kinds of idolatry, which 'defile the sanctuary and profane God's holy name' (*Lev.* 20:3)<sup>89</sup>. In the Septuagint the end of verse 8 runs as follows: ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ ἀγιάζων ὑμᾶς. In *1 Cor.* 6:9-11, the context for the purification is also that of purging various vices, among which that of idolaters (εἰδωλολάτραι - v.9), away from the congregation of Corinth. Besides, in the Septuagint the verb ἀγιάζειν is used for the dedication of the sanctuary<sup>90</sup> and the noun ἀγίασμα can designate the Temple itself<sup>91</sup>.

The justifying, the last in the sequence of verbs used by Paul in *1 Cor.* 3:11, can also be viewed in the context of Paul's metaphor of God's Temple. The Temple of God, which was in Jerusalem, was not only the place of the sacrificial cult of the Jews. But also the vindication of the righteous, establishing guilt and righteousness, was prescribed by religious law to take place 'before thine altar in this house', that is, the Temple, from the time of the dedication of the First Temple onwards (*1 Kgs.* 8:32; *2 Chron.* 6:23)<sup>92</sup>.

The thanksgiving to God as part of the sacrificial cult in the earthly Temple is reflected in Paul's temple imagery in *1 Cor.* 6:18-20, namely at the end of *1 Cor.* 6:20, after the reformulation in *1 Cor.* 6:19 of the metaphor of the Temple: δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν θεὸν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν. Now, the verb δοξάζειν is used by Paul elsewhere, in *Rom.* 1:21 on the same wave-length with εὐχαριστεῖν. In this connection, the exchange of thanksgiving to God for idolatry (*Rom.* 1:21-23) is also associated by Paul with the impurity of the heart and the

<sup>87</sup> A.Steudel, "The Houses of Prostration, *CD* XI, 21-XII, 1 – Duplicates of the Temple (1)", *Revue de Qumran* 16:1 (1993) 49-68 against the identification of the שַׁדְּחַי בֵּית, mentioned in *CD-A* XII, 1, with the Temple of Jerusalem. In her analysis of the context of *CD* XI,21-XII,1 the מִתְחַנְּנִים בֵּית is identified with the "buildings for cultic prayer-services" of the Essenes themselves.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. *Lev.* 11:44, 16:19; *Deut.* 33:3; *1 Sam.* 16:5; *Joel* 2:15-16 (...) κηρύξατε θεραπείαν, συναγάγετε λαόν, ἀγιάσατε ἐκκλησίαν (!); *Zeph.* 1:7; *Ezek.* 37:28, 44:19, 46:20; cf. *Sir.* 33:12.

<sup>89</sup> MT: שָׁתַּר עֲשָׂתָה לְלִבְּךָ שָׁתַּרמָּתָה נִמְשָׁל; LXX: ἵνα μίανῃ τὰ ἁγία μου καὶ βεβηλώσῃ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἡγιασμένων μοι.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. *1 Kgs.* 9:3,7 - τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον, ὃν ἡγίασα τῷ ὀνόματί μου; *2 Chron.* 7:16,20. Cf. *1 Esd.* 1:47: τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ κυρίου τὸ ἀγιάζόμενον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὺμοις.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. *1 Chron.* 22:19; *2 Chron.* 20:8, 26:18, 30:8; *Ps.* 77 (78):69, 95 (96):6; *Sir.* 36:18(13); *Isa.* 63:18; *1 Macc.* 1:21,36,39,46, 2:7, 3:45, 4:38, 5:1, 6:7,26,51. Cf. less current use of ἀγιαστήριον (e.g. in *Lev.* 12:4).

<sup>92</sup> LXX *1 Kgs.* 8:31-32: (...) κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου σου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ (...) τοῦ δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον δοῦναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ; *2 Chron.* 6:22-23: (...) κατέναντι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ (...) τοῦ δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ. Cf. *Deut.* 19: 17 mentioning priests taking part in judgment in a lawcourt.

dishonoring of the body: "Therefore God gave them up to the desires in their hearts into impurity of the dishonoring of their bodies among themselves" - Διὸ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς (*Rom.* 1:24). Also in 1 *Cor.* 6:18-20 the body is involved in the metaphor of the Temple concerning the proper worship and glorifying of God.

Thus the thanksgiving to God and the atonement for sins figure in 1 *Cor.* 6:9-11.20, in a passage with cultic terminology which could directly or indirectly have been derived from the functions of the earthly Temple cult, such as they are summarily described by Philo. Paul's exhortation against immorality culminates in the rephrasing of the metaphor of the Temple in 1 *Cor.* 6:19, and this immorality, as I will discuss more extensively in the next section, was in Qumran literature linked with the defilement of the Temple (*CD-A* IV, 17-18). Besides, the service of priests in the earthly Temple cult is referred to twice in 1 *Corinthians*, one time in the context of a comparison with Paul's apostleship in the interest of his self-legitimation (1 *Cor.* 9:13), and the other time in a more ambiguous sense of referring to the sacrificial cult as that of the "Israel according to the flesh", τὸν Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα, in the context of his exhortation against idolatry (1 *Cor.* 10:18). The ambiguity of Paul's attitude to the sacrificial cult, in contrast to the authority ascribed by him to priests, can be partly explained by his spiritual concept of the Temple and the disputed status in first-century Judaism<sup>93</sup> of the offering of Gentiles in the Temple of Jerusalem (cf. *Rom.* 15:16).

The heavenly Temple, referred to explicitly in 2 *Cor.* 5:1, is implicit in the θεοῦ οἰκοδομή in 1 *Cor.* 3:9, as also in 2 *Cor.* 5:1 mention is made of the οἰκοδομὴν ἐκ θεοῦ. Depending on the building up (οἰκοδομή, ἐποικοδομεῖν) on the christological foundation (1 *Cor.* 3:11), the heavenly Temple - the realm from which the image of the 'man of heaven' and the spiritual (1 *Cor.* 15:46-50) stem - manifests itself in the congregation through the Spirit of God. The heavenly Temple is therefore also a direction to strive for, just as the Corinthians from being 'men of the flesh' have to become 'spiritual men' (1 *Cor.* 3:1). The concept of the heavenly Temple is also found in the literature of Qumran, in the 'Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice', where it is associated with spiritual beings or angels near to God in divinity and holiness<sup>94</sup> and with a kingdom of spirits who exalt God's glory<sup>95</sup>. The heavenly Temple itself is designated with evocative language such as "the uplifting pillars of the supremely lofty abode", the "splendidly shining firmament of [his] holy sanctuary", and the "tabernacle of superior loftiness"<sup>96</sup>. In this heavenly abode, God Himself is in one place addressed as 'God of divine beings, the king of purity', אל אלים מלך הטוהר (*4Q403* Frg. 1, Col. II, 26)<sup>97</sup>. In one line of the *Sabbath Songs* certain or all of the divine beings, not further

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Josephus, *BJ* II, 412 recording a tradition propounded by certain notables, prominent Pharisees and priests (411) that the offerings of ἄλλοφύλων, other nations, had never been refused by Israel's ancestors. But in the literature of Qumran, the opposite idea of the sacrifice of the Gentiles, זבח הגוים, as desecrating the Temple cult is found as a prohibitive ruling, e.g. *4QMMT* B, 3-5.8-9.

<sup>94</sup> רוחי קודש עולמים, אלוהים חיים, רוחי קודש קודש, רוחות פלא, רוחות אלוהים in *4Q403* Frg. 1, Col. I, 44; Col. II, 7-10.

<sup>95</sup> רוחי קודש עולמים, אלוהים חיים, רוחי קודש קודש, רוחות פלא, רוחות אלוהים in *4Q403*, Frg. 1 Col. II, lines 3-4; cf. Col. I, lines 30-34.

<sup>96</sup> *4Q403* Frg. 1, Col. I, 41-42 & Col. II, 10. Ed. pr. C. Newsom et al., *Qumran Cave 4, VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI; Oxford 1998). Translation from James H. Charlesworth & Carol A. Newsom eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations 4B Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Tübingen/Louisville 1999) 52-55. Cf. their introduction, p. 8 noting, concerning the Heavenly Temple in the *Sabbath Songs*, "the tendency of the text to vacillate between the depiction of the heavenly sanctuary as one and as seven sanctuaries".

<sup>97</sup> Following the translation of Charlesworth & Newsom eds., *op. cit.*, 57. Cf. their introduction, p. 6 about terms and epithets designating God in the *Sabbath Songs*.

identifiable because of the lacunas in the text, are said to be 'eternally pure', טהורי עולמים (4Q403 Frg. 1, Col. 1, 13).

Although the Spirit of God is not explicitly mentioned in this 'angelic liturgy', it can be inferred from one phrase in the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q403 Frg. 1, Col. 1, 31) describing God as "the king of glory who sanctifies by his holiness all his Holy One(s)" <sup>98</sup>, that this glory and sanctification affects the divine nature of the godlike beings, אלוהים (l. 33). In this connection, it is also important to note two singular instances of the term 'spirit' (רוח), one of a 'spirit of holiest holines[s]', רוח קודש קודשין (4Q403 Frg. 1 Col.II, 1) in the context of 'perfect light of knowledge' coming from God <sup>99</sup>, another of a "spirit of holine[ss]", רוח קודש in relation to purity (11Q17, Col. IX, Frgs. 21a-b, 22, 5), subject to God as the 'king of purity' <sup>100</sup>.

Apparently there is no total disjunction between the human world and godlike beings according to one fragment of the *Sabbath Songs*, since those godlike beings are mentioned side by side with human beings (אנשים - l.3) and human assemblies (מוסדי אנשים - l.2) in the praise of God's kingship (4Q400 Frg.2, lines 1-9). In this fragment, the rhetorical questions of how the human priesthood and the human praise in psalms will be regarded in the dwellings of the divine beings and in comparison with their knowledge (l.4-7), attest to a perspective on angelic liturgy, more exalted in degrees of holiness in comparison with its earthly counterpart <sup>101</sup>. Although Paul's references to angels in his Letters to the Corinthians are not pointing to one direction of heavenly beings as more exalted than human beings <sup>102</sup>, in one instance, 1 Cor. 11:10, J.A. Fitzmyer has compared the authority of angels with the presence of angels among the people of the congregation in texts of Qumran <sup>103</sup>. From 1 Cor. 4:9 and 1 Cor. 13:1 it can be inferred that there is not a total disjunction between angels and human beings in Paul's theology. Although Paul's reference to a heavenly Temple in 2 Cor. 5:1 is not in an immediate liturgical setting, a ruling about the liturgy of the congregation in Corinth "on account of the angels" (διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, v.10) in the context of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 implies that angelology apparently played a part for Paul in liturgy. Paul's mention of the transcendent power of God, as related to the realm of eternity and the heavenly Temple (2 Cor. 4:7, 14-5:5), also conveys the idea of exaltation of God's glory, for in 2 Cor. 4:15 the extending of the gospel of Jesus' resurrection among people increases the thanksgiving, εὐχαριστία.

As the concepts of the heavenly Temple and God's kingship are interrelated in the *Sabbath Songs*, the kingdom of divine spirits can in certain respects be compared with Paul's

<sup>98</sup> Translation from Charlesworth & Newsom eds., *op.cit.*, 50-51. The Hebrew verb 'to sanctify' used here is המקדיש (compare Greek ἁγιάζειν).

<sup>99</sup> 4Q403 Frg. 1, Col. I, 45, Col. II, 1-2. Cf. 4Q400 Frg.2, 8 addressing God as the 'God of knowledge', לאלוהי דעת; 4Q402 Frg. 4, lines 2, 6, and 12 (מאלוהי דעת). Cf. C.Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985) 232 calling רוח in the singular discussed here a *nomen qualitatis* comparing it with 4Q405 Frg.23, Col. II, 8. The quality of holiness and knowledge, as inferred above, come from God.

<sup>100</sup> [ש]ן ברוח קודש. F.Garcia Martínez, E.J.C.Tigheelaar & A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11. II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD XXIII; Oxford 1998) 291.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran. A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPsSS 11; Sheffield 1992) 242 concluding about the priestly functions of the angels in the *Sabbath Shirot* that "the heavenly cult is modelled on the earthly one".

<sup>102</sup> E.g. 1 Cor. 6:3 about the eschatological judgment of angels by men; the phrase ὁ σατανᾶς μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός in 2 Cor. 11:14 refers to a fallen angel among the 'false apostles'.

<sup>103</sup> Fitzmyer, "A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor. 11:10", originally published in *New Testament Studies* 4 (1957-58) 48-58; comparing 1 Cor. 11:10 with IQM VII, 4-6 and IQsa II, 3-11.

concept of the kingdom of God, which is also contrasted with human flesh and blood and earthly perishability (1 Cor. 15:50). As flesh and blood are excluded from inheriting the kingdom of God, this kingdom is from heaven since the resurrection of man is linked with the image of the man from heaven (1 Cor. 15:49)<sup>104</sup>. In 1 Cor. 6:9-11 Paul uses ritual terms of purification and atonement, derived from the cultic terminology of the Temple cult in Jerusalem, implicitly equating their iniquities with impurity<sup>105</sup>. The unjust people, ἄδικοι, who persist in committing those iniquities, are excluded from inheriting the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9). On the other hand, the positive things implied in Paul's concept of the kingdom of God comprise righteousness, purity (from iniquities) and the imperishable.

Some of the positive qualities are also found identifying the godlike beings or spirits in relation to God in the heavenly abode described in the *Sabbath Songs*. Righteousness is in 4Q403 Frg. 1, 17-18 related to the 'true knowledge' of God in his majesty as king and further, "those appointed for righteousness" are blessed, whereas "the spirits of righteousness confess his truth" (lines 16, 27 and 38). Purity is found in relation to the description of God as the "king of purity", in the context of exaltation and praise of God's glory (Frg. 1, Column II, 25-26). But in fragment 1, column 1 of 4Q400, purity in the "congregation of all the divine beings" is also found in juxtaposition with transgression, perversion of precepts, that is, with iniquities<sup>106</sup>. The imperishable quality of the kingdom of God is reflected in, among other terms, "king of king[s] for all the eternal assemblies" and "the spirits of eternity"<sup>107</sup>. In this respect, the kingdom of God coming from God's heavenly abode in Paul's *Letters to the Corinthians* is comparable with the kingship of God in the *Sabbath Songs*.

## V PURITY AND DEFILEMENT OF THE TEMPLE IN PAUL AND QUMRAN

In the previous sections I have pointed out the ramifications of Paul's temple imagery in the Letters to the Corinthians in light of Jewish tradition. In this section I want to focus my attention more specifically on the categories of iniquities or impurities in 1 and 2 *Corinthians* which are addressed in Paul's exhortations in conjunction with his temple imagery. In a comparative analysis of texts from the literature of Qumran I will substantiate how the iniquities mentioned by Paul have a Jewish background in the ideas about purity and defilement of the Temple.

In 1 Cor. 5:9-11 certain iniquities are mentioned, which are recapitulated and partly expanded on in 1 Cor. 6:9-10. Of those iniquities one is singled out, namely πορνεία (fornication or prostitution), and discussed extensively by Paul, who uses temple imagery implicating the body in the metaphor of the Temple to make clear to the Corinthians that they should keep far away from it. But also other iniquities mentioned in this list, such as those of μοιχοί (adulterers) and μαλακοί (sexual perverts), are related to the body. The Hebrew term זנות/זנה found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and discussed in more recent literature comparing it

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the Jesus-tradition about the "kingdom of heaven", βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, in *Matthew*, e.g. *Matt.* 13:11,24.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. 1QS Col.III, 4-8 with comparable cultic language, that is purification of iniquities as uncleanness and atonement for sin "by the Holy Spirit of the Community in his (God's) truth" – translation from Charlesworth et al. eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations I Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen/Louisville 1994) 13. Cf. 1QS Col. IV, 21 (לטהרו ברוח קודש) (מכור עלילות רשעה).

<sup>106</sup> Lines 4-6, 13-16. Translation from Charlesworth & Newsom, *Sabbath Songs*, 17.

<sup>107</sup> 4Q403 Frg.1, Col. I, 34-35. Translation from ibidem, 53.

with this passage in 1 *Corinthians* <sup>108</sup>, denotes mainly the Greek πορνεία, fornication, but also unfaithfulness, adultery and more generally lust (cf. use of הונו in 1QS, I, 6). Thus it comprises also the iniquities of the μοιχοί and μαλακοί mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 6:9 <sup>109</sup>.

Concerning the exegesis of 1 Cor. 6:12-20, there appears to be a scholarly consensus about the fact that an analysis against the background of "Hellenistic spiritualization" is no longer tenable <sup>110</sup>. The larger amount of iniquities mentioned in 1 Cor. 6:9-10 is grouped together by Paul under the common denominator of the wickedness of ἄδικοι (v.9), much like the wickedness of the "men of injustice", אנשי העול in 1QS V, 10. The iniquities mentioned by Paul leading him to reformulate his metaphor of the Temple concern both body and spirit. And, in a comparable way, the holiness of the community to God mentioned in 2 Cor. 7:1 excludes every defilement of both body and spirit, ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος. The much debated question about the authenticity and pre-Pauline or anti-Pauline nature of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 <sup>111</sup> will be a subject of discussion further on in this section when dealing with that passage in detail. For the moment suffice it to say, that the presence of 'hapax legomena' <sup>112</sup> is in my view at least not a convincing argument against its authenticity. On the other hand, themes like ναὸς θεοῦ vs. εἶδωλον (2 Cor. 6:16) / εἰδωλολατρία, δικαιοσύνη vs. ἀνομία (2 Cor. 6:14), φῶς vs. σκότος (2 Cor. 6:14), πιστός vs. ἄπιστος (2 Cor. 6:15) / ἀπιστία, πνεῦμα and σὰρξ (2 Cor. 7:1) do occur in 1 *Corinthians* and *Romans* also.

Interestingly enough, the purity of the Temple, which is implied in Paul's metaphor and alluded to by his use of cultic language in 1 Cor. 5:7, 6:11, 7:14 in conjunction with certain iniquities is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls too. While the notion of the purity of the Temple is found in several texts - e.g. in 11QTA XLVII, 17, 4QMMTB, 54 - in one passage of the *Damascus Document* the defilement of the purity of the Temple is found in conjunction with two other iniquities, הונו (fornication) and ההון (wealth or power) <sup>113</sup>. These three iniquities are called the 'three nets of Belial', שלושת מצודות בלעל (CD-A IV, 15) in an interpretation of *Isaiah* 24:17. Beliar, a variant of Belial, is also found in 2 Cor. 6:15 in the passage which seems to recapitulate the metaphor of the community as Temple of God, in 2 Cor. 6:16 called the "Temple of the living God", ναὸς θεοῦ ζῶντος.

<sup>108</sup> See Kirchhoff, *Die Sünde gegen den eigenen Leib*, 22-35. But cf. Gärtner, *op.cit.*, 141 n.2 about 1 Cor. 6:19: "It is not easy to say how the individual Christian can be called a temple in which God dwells with his Spirit. Many scholars have isolated this text from the idea of the community as a temple, relating it instead to the Hellenistic background".

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Kirchhoff, *op.cit.*, 35 pointing out that πορνεία/הונו can also stand for μοιχεία/מפגש.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. G.Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen 1971) 183; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic language", 172.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. J.A.Fitzmyer, "Qumran and the interpolated paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1" originally published in CBO 23 (1961) 271-280; J.Gnilka, "2 Cor 6:14-7:1 in the light of the Qumran texts and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs", in J.Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul and Qumran* (Chicago 1968); Schüssler Fiorenza, "Cultic language", 171; V.P.Furnish, *II Corinthians* The Anchor Bible (New York 1984) 371-383. Cf. Gärtner, *op.cit.*, 49-71, there 49-50 in whose discussion of Pauline passages with temple symbolism the question of the literary status of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 is referred to but not elaborated.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. U.Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (2nd ed.; Göttingen 1996) 101, 106.

<sup>113</sup> CD-A IV, 14-18. Cf. García Martínez & Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, translating ההון as 'wealth', and the textual note on the confusion of הון to be read as הון in J.G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1-8, 19-20* (Walter de Gruyter; Berlin & New York 1995) 108, 116-118 ("a vagueness in distinction between *wavs* and *yods*, a common feature in numerous sectarian DSS, as well as in Hebrew MSS of medieval times", p. 108).

The issue in the pericope of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 is the exhortation against unequal partnership with unbelievers (Μὴ γίνεσθε ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἀπίστοις) <sup>114</sup>. It can be inferred from this exhortation against unbelief, that the purification of body and spirit for holiness in 2 Cor. 7:1 refers implicitly to purification of a profane spirit of the world (cf. 1 Cor. 2:12) and a body, σὰρξ, defiled by the corrupting influence of the iniquities committed in unbelief. The element of repentance, μετάνοια, only occurring in 2 Corinthians, namely in 2 Cor. 7:9-10, seems to be in line with godly grief about a certain injustice (v. 12) done among the Corinthians <sup>115</sup>. The changed situation addressed in 2 Corinthians could account for the reference to purification from every defilement of body and soul, σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, while in Paul's use of temple imagery in 1 Cor. 3:16-17 and 6:19 the underlying notion of the moral purity of God's Temple is conveyed by the indwelling Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, and the term σῶμα for body. The expression of the 'living God' is also found in the literature of Qumran (חַי אֱל- e.g. in 4Q504 Frgs. 1-2, Col. V,15).

As πορνεία is to be shunned as contrary to the holiness of the community and its individual members as God's Temple, thus in the passage from the *Damascus Document* fornication, הונוּת, and the defilement of the Temple, טמא מקדש (CD-A IV, 17-18) are mentioned together as related iniquities. For in CD-A V, 6-11 the defilement of the Temple is further defined as not keeping apart from sexual or blood relations prohibited according to the law (כתורה - 1.7). In this connection, it is important to note that the one concrete case of πορνεία referred to explicitly by Paul in 1 Corinthians concerns blood relations (1 Cor. 5:1). G. Klinzing has pointed to the fixed formula of the defilement of the Temple in the *Damascus Document* and the *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* <sup>116</sup>, which in light of the recently published *Halakhic Letter* is the negative, polemical counterpart of the 'purity of the Temple'.

The third net of Belial, הון standing for wealth or power, seems to be less related to the other two iniquities at first sight, but in the larger context of laws in the *Damascus Document* the acquiring of wealth at the expense of gentiles is associated with blasphemy (CD-A XII, 6-7). And in the *Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* the corrupting effect of wealth on every haughty person in that he cannot be satisfied (VIII, 3-4) is in the midrash applied to the Wicked Priest, הכוהן הרשע, whose robbing and hoarding of wealth during his rule over Israel is further associated with "abominations by every sort of defiling impurity", נדת טמאה, as he betrayed the laws (חוקים) for the sake of wealth (VIII, 10-11). With this context to הון in mind, lines 11-13 of CD-A about the defilement of the holy spirit of people who speak abomination against the statutes of God's covenant, חוקי ברית אל, could implicitly refer to those in power following the Wicked Priest who, corrupted by wealth, blaspheme against those statutes.

In Paul's list of iniquities, 1 Cor. 5:10-11 and 1 Cor. 6:10, the unlawful amassing of wealth is represented by the greedy (πλεονέκται), robbers (ἄρπαγες) and thieves (κλέπται), who as unrighteous people cannot inherit the kingdom of God, whereas in 1 Cor. 15:24 Paul writes about an eschatological kingdom as abolishing every rule, every authority and power,

<sup>114</sup> Apparently the rulings given by Paul for a 'mixed marriage' between believer and unbeliever in 1 Cor. 7:12-16 aimed at a peaceful coupling together by consecration of the unbelieving partner through the believing partner.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 12:21 about the fear of Paul that many will not have repented (μὴ μετανοήσαντων) of the sins in which they were engaged: ἀκαθαρσία, impurity; πορνεία, immorality, fornication or prostitution; and ἀσελγεία, licentiousness.

<sup>116</sup> Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus*, 15 referring to CD-A IV,18; V,6; XX,23; and 1QpHab XII, 8.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford 1972) 226 about תועבה, 'abomination' being a Deuteronomistic concept of impurity.



πάσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν <sup>118</sup> καὶ δύναμιν. Of the three iniquities mentioned in 2 Cor. 12:21 – ἀκαθαρσία, a cultic term; πορνεία, figuring in 1 Cor. 6:18-20; and ἀσελγεία, licentiousness – the last one may parallel the corrupting effect of ἡρ, discussed above. The striking similarity between the ‘nets of Belial’ in the *Damascus Document* and the relation between temple imagery and iniquities in 1 and 2 Corinthians points to another area of common ground in Jewish tradition.

Finally, I will add some explicit arguments to the debate about the literary status of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1, in favour of its Pauline authorship with the redaction of a pre-existing testimonia-collection in 2 Cor. 6:16c-18 <sup>119</sup>. It may be noted that the scriptural testimonia is not introduced by the more usual formula γέγραπται in Paul but by the words καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι, while the verses quoted and altered are followed by the words λέγει κύριος (v.17) and λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ (v.18), whereas κύριος in Paul otherwise refers to Jesus Christ. The cadence and rhythm of the language of the testimonia could perhaps point to a provenance from a liturgical setting. Apart from the scriptural context in Lev. 26:11 of the first verse quoted in 2 Cor. 6:16c to support the statement of the congregation being the Temple of the living God, the combination of the verbs ἐνοικεῖν and ἐμπεριπατεῖν is found in Philo’s treatise *On the Posterity of Cain* 122 being predicative of the λόγος θεῖος. God’s dwelling in the congregation is, of course, also found expressed in 1 Corinthians 3:16: τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν.

As far as the verses introducing the testimonia (2 Cor. 6:14-16b) are concerned, the argument that ‘believer’ (πιστός - 2 Cor. 6:15) would not be a Pauline term <sup>120</sup>, can be countered with reference to 1 Cor. 4:17 in which Paul talks about Timothy as πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ, the Lord being Jesus Christ. And in 1 Cor. 14:22 the juxtaposition of ἄπιστοι with τοῖς πιστεύουσιν is made in a context of discourse about what edifies the church. The fact that the language is more stylized in sets of rhetorical questions before the scriptural testimonia, also needs to be taken into account in the assessment of the literary status of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 as a whole.

The sanctification mentioned in 2 Corinthians 7:1 “in the fear of God”, ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ, is a ritual accompanied by a godly fear. The equivalent expression, “fear of the Lord”, יראת יהוה in the Hebrew Bible, is translated, in the Septuagintal version of *Isaiah* 11:2-3, variously as εὐσέβεια and πνεῦμα φόβου θεοῦ, and linked with the Spirit of God (πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ, LXX; יהוה חרו, MT). Accordingly, the ritual of sanctification mentioned by Paul in 2 Cor. 7:1 is not an unparalleled, one-sided human affair in terms of responsibility and supervision <sup>121</sup>. In terms of the relation of the believers to God in the process of sanctification, Paul’s use of the reflexive καθαρίζειν ἑαυτοὺς could rather be compared with the use of the verb שָׁדַח for sanctification in *IQH a* XIX, 10-11.13. Although the use of the verb ἐπιτελεῖν in 2 Cor. 7:1 in the context of purification would seem anomalous and non-Pauline in the first instance, against the background of Jewish tradition it becomes more understandable. In the context of describing the divergent purification ritual of the Essenes, Josephus uses the same verb (*AJ* XVIII, § 19).

Therefore, I conclude in favour of Pauline redaction of 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1, all the more so because the manuscript evidence of 2 Corinthians, which does not give any indication of

<sup>118</sup> ἐξουσία as ἡρ also standing for both abundance of means (wealth) and power, authority.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians* (The Anchor Bible; Doubleday 1984) 371-383, there 373; J.A. Fitzmyer, “4Qtestimonia and the New Testament”, originally published in *TS* 18 (1957) 513-37, referring to the beginning of the *testimonia* hypothesis postulated by E. Hatch in 1889.

<sup>120</sup> Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 373.

<sup>121</sup> Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 376.

later insertion of this passage between 2 Cor. 6:13 and 7:2, places a burden of proof on those who are against the idea of Pauline redaction. The set of rhetorical questions in 2 Cor. 6:14-16a, preceding the reiteration of the metaphor of the Temple and the testimonia, convey issues in stylized dialectic, which are related to the moral categories of iniquities surrounding Paul's temple imagery in 1 Corinthians. Although the dialectic of Paul's questions juxtaposes δικαιοσύνη, that is the righteousness of God, to ἀνομία, lawlessness, this opposite of righteousness can be related to the iniquities committed by the unjust, ἄδικοι, mentioned in 1 Cor. 6:9f. Idols as opposed to God's Temple (2 Cor. 6:16a) have a point of correspondence in the inclusion among the unjust of the εἰδωλόλατραι in 1 Cor. 6:9f. (cf. 1 Cor. 5:10) and the exhortation against idolatry in 1 Cor. 10:14f. Thus a coherent moral perspective of exhortation against certain iniquities can in my view be discerned behind Paul's use of temple imagery in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

#### PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

For a more coherent understanding of Paul's temple imagery, the concept of God's Temple and the Holy Spirit should be taken together as constituent parts of Paul's metaphor. The theocentric unity in this temple imagery can be compared to temple theology in Jewish tradition.

Various indications of the presence and influence of Jewish tradition in Corinth can be discerned in Paul's Letters addressing the Corinthians. Paul's use of the metaphor of God's Temple also stands in relation to conflicting ideas among Corinthian readers about the Christian Jewish mission, as can be inferred from Paul's reaction against factions in Corinth.

The ramifications of the temple imagery in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians have a place in the wider context of sapiential traditions relating to the concept of God's Spirit and the theology of God's presence in Second Temple Judaism. Expressions of sanctification, found in conjunction with Paul's temple imagery, can be compared with language of purification in relation to the Temple worship.

The Jewish idea of a heavenly counterpart to the earthly Temple is echoed in Paul through his repeated use of the evocative image of a 'building of God', in relation to a 'house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens', in 2 Corinthians 5:1. The realm of angels, occasionally hinted at by Paul, is related to an angelic liturgy in a heavenly Temple in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* of the literature of Qumran.

With regard to the specific issues of the purity of the body and the exhortation against certain vices, related to Paul's use of the metaphor of the Temple, interesting comparisons can be drawn with texts from the literature of Qumran. The specific connections attest to Paul's relationship with traditional values and temple-theological concepts in Palestinian Jewish culture and to an indirect link with the theology of the Essenes.

## CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

In this study, the importance of the background of Temple theology in early Jewish tradition for Paul's metaphor of the Temple in his Letters to the Corinthians has been demonstrated and substantiated in four chapters. These four chapters contain discussions of the following topics: Paul's Jewish background and the literary context of contemporary Jewish scriptural culture, the historical context of attitudes to the Temple from the Maccabees to Paul's time, the sectarian Jewish context of the literature of Qumran about the Temple, and finally, there is an applied study of shared traditions in Temple theology in 1 and 2 *Corinthians*.

Paul's 'previous life in Judaism' relates to his prior Pharisaic education in Jerusalem, which is expressed by the phrase 'as to the Law a Pharisee' (*Phil.* 3:5), while his activism as a former persecutor of the church is to be traced in the context of revolutionary movements of zeal for theocracy in Israel, called by the collective name of the 'Fourth Philosophy' by Flavius Josephus. Paul's former persecution of the church is related to movements of revolutionary zeal, which entailed anti-establishment aggression, and to the conflict between Hebrews and Hellenists, as Paul writes in *Philippians* 3:6, that he had been 'as to zeal persecuting the church'. Although many extensive quotations from *Psalms* and prophetic books found in Paul's Letters correspond exactly to the Septuagint, the evidence of other influential text types echoed in Paul's use of Scripture cannot be negated. Paul's relation to the Semitic background of Hebrew scriptural culture has been elucidated on the basis of a survey of Hebraisms, Aramaisms, juxtapositions, quotations of biblical verses and comparison with the Aramaic Targums. The contemporary synagogal culture of the reading and exposition of Scripture could provide a link with Essene theology.

In the historical survey of attitudes to the Temple, it has been made clear that a critical reading of passages about Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees in Josephus and Philo yields information about the views of the Palestinian Jewish sects on the Temple, apart from his representation of them as philosophies. The sectarian historiography found in the margins of Qumran commentary has been integrated into the historical reconstruction of the breakaway of the Qumran movement and the Essenes from the regular Temple cult. Ideas of sanctification and moral purity and cultic symbolism are found reflected in descriptions of the Essenes and the Therapeutae by Philo.

In the applied study of views on the Temple from the literature of Qumran, a thematically arranged presentation of issues in some major texts, the *Halakhic Letter*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Temple Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem Scroll*, the *Eschatological Midrash*, and the *Community Rule*, has yielded insights into the sectarian view on purity laws relating to the Temple cult, visions of the Temple, and the eschatological Temple. The alternation between images of planting and building in *IQS* VIII, 5-6 and XI, 8 in describing the eschatological view on the Temple is comparable to Paul's alternation between evocative images in 1 *Corinthians* 3:9.

In the comparative study of shared traditions in Temple theology, the metaphor of the Temple in Paul's Letters to the Corinthians is studied in context. Paul's metaphor of the Temple has ramifications in the wider context of sapiential traditions and theology of God's presence in Second Temple Judaism. With regard to the specific issues of the Holy Spirit and the religious community, the exhortation against vices, and bodily purity as related to the purity of the Temple, connections are found between Paul's use of the metaphor of God's Temple and the temple theology in the literature of Qumran.

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