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**‘APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES’
THE ORIGINS OF PAULINE PNEUMATOLOGY**

by
Finny Philip

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Thesis submitted in the Department of Theology in fulfilment of the requirement of the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham
June 2003

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Thesis Abstract

'APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES' THE ORIGINS OF PAULINE PNEUMATOLOGY

The research sets out to inquire into Paul's initial thoughts on the Holy Spirit. Paul's convictions, that he was called to be an apostle to the Gentiles and that God has given the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah obedience, are foundational for any enquiry on the subject. The key questions are: Did Paul expect a bestowal of the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah obedience when he went into Gentile mission? And, how can we account for Paul's conviction that God has poured out the Spirit upon the Gentiles?

Central to our argument is Paul's conviction that God has graciously endowed the gift of the Spirit upon his Gentile converts, an understanding that is rooted primarily in his own conversion/call experience and secondarily in his experience with and as a missionary of the Hellenistic community in Antioch. By investigating the range of expectations of the Spirit that were present in Hebrew scripture and in the wider Jewish literature, the study found that such a concept is rare, and that it is usually the covenant community to which the promise of the Spirit is given. Further, Paul's own pre-Christian convictions about the Spirit, which particularly evolved from his own self-perception as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church, display a continuity between his own thought patterns and those of Second Temple Judaism.

Paul's Damascus experience was an experience of the Spirit. His experience of the 'glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Cor.3.1-4.6) provided him with the belief that there is now a new relationship with God, which is possible through the sphere of the Spirit. In addition, Paul was influenced by the Hellenists, whose theological beliefs included a perception of the church as the eschatological Temple where the Spirit of God is the manifest presence of God. It is in these notions that one may trace the origins of Paul's thoughts on the Holy Spirit.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJPS	<i>Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Hasse (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> (Berlin, 1972-)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
BAFCS	B.W. Winter (ed.), <i>The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting</i> (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993-1996)
BAGD	W. Bauer, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , ET and ed. W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1979 ²)
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentary
BO	<i>Berit Olam</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DPL</i>	Hawthorne, G.F., et.al. (eds.), <i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> (Leicester: IVP, 1993)
<i>DNTB</i>	C.A. Evans and S.E. Porter (eds.), <i>Dictionary of New Testament Background</i> (Leicester: IVP, 2000)
<i>EDNT</i>	Balz, H., G. Schneider, <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (3 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990-1993)
<i>EDSS</i>	L.H. Schiffman & J.C. VanderKam (eds.), <i>Encyclopaedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> (2 vols.; New York; Oxford: OUP, 2000)
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ExpT</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>GTJ</i>	<i>Grace Theological Journal</i>
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament

<i>HR</i>	<i>Hekhalot Rabbati</i>
HTKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IB	The Interpreter's Bible
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>
<i>Int.</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBTh	Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie
<i>JE</i>	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JPSA</i>	<i>Jewish Publication Society of America</i>
JPTSS	Journal of Pentecostal Theology Supplement Series
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Judische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Old Testament</i>
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek- English Lexicon</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966 ⁹)
LUÅ	Lunds Universitets Årsskrift
LVTA	<i>Librorum Veteris Testamenti Apocryphorum Philologica</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MM	J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan, <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament</i> , (London: Hodder, 1930)
NIB	The New Interpreter's Bible
NIBC	New International Biblical Series
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
<i>NIDNTT</i>	C. Brown, (ed.), <i>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</i> (3 vols.; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1975)
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	W.A. VanGemeren (ed.), <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> (5 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997)
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NJBC</i>	R.E. Brown <i>et al.</i> (eds.) <i>New Jerome Biblical Commentary</i> (Bangalore: Theological Publication of India, 1990)
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Supplements to <i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>NRT</i>	<i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i>
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus

NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	J.H. Charlesworth (ed.) <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (2 vols.; London: Darton/Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RGG ³	K. Gallig (ed.), <i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> (Tübingen, 1957-1965 ³)
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SE	<i>Studia Evangelica</i> , (=TU)
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SJTOP	Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPA	Studia Philonica Annual
SPM	Studia Philonica Monographs
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
STDJ	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
StPB	<i>Studia Post-Biblica</i>
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TB	Theologische Bibliothek
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (ET 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976)
TDOT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (ET Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-)
THAT	E. Jenni, C. Westermann (eds), <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1971-1976)
ThBei	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
ThWAT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Stuttgart, 1970-)
TLOT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (ET 3 vols.; Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson, 1997)
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TynB	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VE	<i>Vox Evangelica</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTS	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZB	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

PART I
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This research is an attempt to understand Paul's early thinking (as a Christian) on the Holy Spirit, with an interest in clarifying the origins of Paul's thought by setting it in the light of his Jewish background, experience and Gentile mission.

Of the New Testament writers Paul most deserves the title 'the theologian of the Spirit'. This is not just because the term $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ has a prominence in Paul's writings which far exceeds its place in both Old Testament literature¹ and the rest of the New Testament,² but also because of the profound theological implication that the term has in relation to Pauline theology and mission.

The theology of the Spirit in Pauline writings has been a matter of interest in recent New Testament scholarship.³ A major concern in the previous as well as the present climate of research has been to trace the origins and development of Pauline pneumatology. Although the question of the origins of Paul's pneumatology is a

¹ In relative numerical terms, $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ refers to the Spirit of God an estimated 90 times in the MT, and $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ does so 100 times in LXX.

² The Gospels and Acts together make 86 and the rest of the New Testament 26 times. In contrast $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ refers to God's Spirit 112 to 115 times (depending on the exegesis of some passages) in the corpus of Pauline letters. See W.F. Moulton and A.S. Geden, *A Concordance of the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1978) 819-825; C.H. Bachmann and W.A. Slaby, *Computer Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1985) 1563-1566.

³ Specific treatments on the subject in recent years are by – J.S. Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Assen: van Gorcum 1973); F.W. Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien Zur paulinischen Pneumatologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); G.D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence. The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994). General treatments on the subject are by J.D.G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (London: SCM Press, 1970); idem, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1975); idem, *The Christ and the Spirit Vol.2* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); G.T. Montague, *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 1976); E. Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power: The Uniformity and Diversity of the Concept of the Holy Spirit in the New Testament', *Int* 6 (1952) 259-278; idem, ' $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ ', *TDNT* 6: 389-455; idem, *The Holy Spirit* (trans. R.H. and Ilse Fuller; London: SCM Press, 1980); R.P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts* (JSNTSS 54; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts Then and Now* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996).



long-standing one,⁴ there is no consensus among scholars on the issue. Previous researchers investigated the issue in terms of the similarities and distinctive features that Paul draws from the understanding of the Spirit in Jewish-Hellenistic backgrounds. Especially, the uniqueness of Paul's pneumatology is explained by the differences that he shows in comparison to the understandings of the Holy Spirit found in primitive Christianity (*Urgemeinde*),⁵ in the Old Testament,⁶ and in Jewish and Hellenistic backgrounds.⁷

Part of the difficulty in the diversity of opinion among Pauline pneumatologists is that Paul did not write his letters as theological treatises. Each is rather his response to a particular situation that arose within the different Christian communities he worked with and situations in his missionary work. Further, compared with other New Testament writers, Paul creatively relates the Spirit to so many themes that it becomes more difficult to distinguish what is central from what is peripheral to his understanding of πνεῦμα.⁸

However, concerning the origins of Paul's thoughts on the Holy Spirit, the main difficulty in my opinion is that interpreters have actually lost touch with much of the early conceptual framework that undergirds Paul's discussion.⁹ A significant factor in Paul's early conceptual and convictional framework on the Holy Spirit is his call as 'an apostle to the Gentiles' (Gal. 1.15, 16; Rom. 1.5, 13; 15.16-19; cf. Acts 9.15; 22.21; 26.17) and the perception that God has poured out 'His Spirit' upon the Gentiles apart from the Law (1 Thess. 1.4-6, 9-10; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5 cf. 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 1 Cor. 6.11). Without understanding these initial thoughts and experience of Paul it is impossible to second-guess the origins or development of Paul's pneumatology. In other words, the lack of a thorough investigation of Paul's early thinking as a Christian on the Spirit is not merely an inadvertent omission of previous Pauline scholarship, but rather suggests that scholars assumed that Paul's

⁴ Since B. Weiss, (*Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des neuen Testaments* [Berlin: Hertz, 1873] 216) who laid the groundwork for noting the distinctiveness of Paul's pneumatology as against the pre-Pauline Christian community.

⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*.

⁶ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 1994; H. Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit, The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (trans. R.A. Harrisville and P.A. Quanbeck; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

⁷ O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology, Vol.1* (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1891); Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power', 259-278; idem, *TDNT* 6:389-455; Menzies, *Development*; M.E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament* (Heythrop Monographs 1; London: Heythrop College, 1976).

⁸ Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 103.

⁹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, is an exception.

early pneumatology had only a peripheral significance for the understanding of his overall teaching on πνεῦμα. This assumption of a merely peripheral significance is quite clear in the following review of scholarship.

1. 2. A Review of Scholarship

The following study is a historical survey of the current state of research,¹⁰ particularly concentrating on the studies that are important¹¹ in relation to the questions on the origins/development of Pauline teaching on the Spirit. The scholars reviewed below have dealt with issues surrounding the origins of Pauline pneumatology in a variety of ways.

1.2.1. O. Pfleiderer

The modern investigation of the origins of Pauline Pneumatology began with the liberal consensus of the nineteenth century, that expounded the concept of the Spirit in terms of Hegelian categories of spirit/mind.¹² It was Pfleiderer who set the theological agenda for the idealist view by explaining that the divine Spirit provides a new content and motivation for human spirits so that the conflict between man and God ceases for the Christian.¹³

Pfleiderer's interpretation of Pauline pneumatology is representative of the 19th century tendency to view the New Testament, and Paul in particular, in the context of

¹⁰ See Horn, *Das Angeld*, 13-24; Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1-25.

¹¹ There are books devoted to the Spirit in the New Testament. See H.B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1909); E.F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923); D. Ewert, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (Harrisburg: Herald, 1983). R.B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928); N.Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul* (SJTOP 6; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957) deal exclusively with the subject of the Spirit in Paul's letters and theology. See also the unpublished dissertations by C. Pinnock, 'The Concept of Spirit in the Epistles of Paul', University of Manchester, 1963; W.C. Wright, Jr., 'The Use of Pneuma in the Pauline Corpus with Special Attention to the Relationship between Pneuma and the Risen Christ' (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1977); K. Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus* (Zürich: Evz-Verlag, 1962). On the French side see M.-A. Chevallier, *Esprit de Dieu, Paroles d'Hommes* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux and Niestlé, 1966). But in the present study, only those investigations, which specifically deal with the question of the origins/development of Pauline teaching of the Spirit, will be discussed.

¹² The interpreters of this school came to the view that the human spirit is the God-related principle of self-consciousness within man, which could be directed by the divine spirit towards moral activity in opposition to flesh. For example F.C. Baur, (*Paul: His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine: A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity* [trans., A. Menzies; London: William & Norgate, 1866] 2:139) who read Paul's pneumatology from a christocentric basis argued that Christ, for Paul, is the one who unites all opposites in him. In Christ, those subjective spirits that have the mind of Christ are united to the objective spirit. Pneuma, 'spirit' as opposed to 'flesh', denotes the sphere of the eternal, the absolute as opposed to the finite. Christian self-knowledge, in so far, that is, as Christians have the mind of Christ in them (1 Cor. 2.16), is 'identical' with the spirit of God itself.

¹³ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 1, 2.

the history of early Christianity, especially in its doctrinal development. Accordingly, Pfleiderer studied Paul to provide an answer to his central question, “How are we to conceive the genesis of the Pauline doctrine?” and the subsequent question “whence came this doctrinal system of the apostle Paul with its derivation from that of the more ancient type?”¹⁴

In his answer to the first question, Pfleiderer developed a Pauline pneumatology within the framework of Paul’s doctrine of salvation.¹⁵ By logically thinking out the Jewish idea of atoning death, Paul was led, according to Pfleiderer, to the anti-Jewish conclusion that redemption is for all mankind, and that the law is consequently invalidated.¹⁶ Pfleiderer argues that redemption consists in the influence exercised by the Holy Spirit upon the ‘fleshly creatureliness,’ in consequence of which sin and death are abolished.¹⁷ The beginning of this process, according to Pfleiderer, is to be sought in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹⁸ Through his resurrection, Christ has entered into the sphere of pure spirit (2 Cor. 3.18) and also has become a life giving principle (1 Cor. 15.45) to those who unite themselves with Christ.¹⁹ In accordance with the belief of primitive Christianity, Paul conceived that Christians received $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ at the time of baptism.²⁰ Further, Pfleiderer probes into the question on the effect of the Spirit upon Christians. It was described in idealistic terms as the “*religious moral content*”²¹ that provides direction to a human’s spirit. Thus Paul, according to Pfleiderer, made his doctrine of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ the principle of an entirely new ethical system.²²

In response to his second question Pfleiderer sharply distinguished Paul’s concept of the Spirit from that of the pre-Pauline community. The earliest community, Pfleiderer maintains, did not understand ‘the Spirit’ as conveying salvation, but viewed the Spirit as nothing essentially different from the Old Testament prophetic Spirit of revelation, which manifested itself as a purely supernatural force by

¹⁴ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 215.

¹⁵ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 201.

¹⁶ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 5.

¹⁷ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 193.

¹⁸ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 17.

¹⁹ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 209.

²⁰ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 203.

²¹ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 206.

²² Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 22.

extraordinary miracles – and thus a *donum superadditum*.²³ It was Paul who first expounded the Spirit's work as the inner principle of new creation life.²⁴

Pfleiderer placed the above development of Pauline pneumatology within a duality, which could be described as both 'Christianised Pharisaism'²⁵ and as 'Christianised Hellenism'.²⁶ This duality in Paul's thought resulted from the psychological process of his conversion creating, as it were, a void in his Jewish consciousness.²⁷

Given the fundamental conception of Pfleiderer's presentation of Pauline pneumatology within the doctrine of salvation and the duality of thought pattern, we should not be surprised to learn that Pfleiderer took little notice of Paul's early thoughts on the Spirit.

First, by placing the doctrine of Spirit within the hierarchy of early Christian doctrinal developments Pfleiderer has limited any possibility that was available for him to understand the origins of Paul's thoughts on the Spirit.

Second, the duality on which Pfleiderer worked seems to raise certain doubts about his understanding of Paul. Pfleiderer is not sure whether Paul was influenced directly from Greek or Jewish source. Pfleiderer is doubtless to be understood in the sense that both possibilities have to be taken into account, separately and in combination. He conceives the psychological process within Paul as determined from without, which made Paul to think Judaically with one-half of his mind and Hellenistically with the other, a process that, nevertheless is supposed to be capable of being conceived within a single integral personality.

²³ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 200.

²⁴ Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 203ff.

²⁵ According to Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity: Its Writings and Teaching in their Historical Connections*, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1887), Paul takes over from Pharisaism the belief in the sleep of the dead and their resurrection, coupled as it was with the belief that after judgement there will be a transformation of his world 'freeing it from enslavement to transitoriness' (p.299).

²⁶ Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity*, 175) claims that the Wisdom of Solomon must be recognised as one of the main sources of Paul's theology. Pfleiderer claims that, "We can confidently say that Paul's theology would not have been what it is, if he had not drawn deeply on Greek wisdom as this was made available to him through the Hellenised Judaism of Alexandria." Pfleiderer several times advances the suggestion that Apollos, the Alexandrian may have introduced the Apostle to the Alexandrian Platonism (p.170).

²⁷ According to Pfleiderer, (*Paulinism*, 21) the thought forms, which he has hitherto used, prove incapable of dealing satisfactorily with the implications of his new faith. So the Apostle is driven to have recourse to another system of ideas. He no longer remains indifferent to the ideas that stream in upon him from Jewish Hellenism and Greek thought. In this way there arises a remarkable duality in his thought. Pharisaic and Hellenistic trains of idea form two streams "which in Paulinism meet in one bed without really coalescing."

Third, such an approach of duality has the greatest weakness of ignoring the context to which he wrote the epistles. The issues that resulted from his Gentile mission, particularly the issue of Gentile admission, become irrelevant for Pfleiderer.

Pfleiderer's presuppositions as well as the idealist consensus that had dominated New Testament studies since Baur, were strongly challenged by the study of Gunkel, who from a phenomenological perspective discovered that the Spirit in the early church was understood as a divine wonder working power, which expresses itself in ecstatic experiences.

1.2.2. H. Gunkel

H. Gunkel's first scholarly work, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*, laid the groundwork for a new approach to Paul. Gunkel made a radical attempt to explain Paul's understanding of the Spirit by discerning the ways in which he adopted the popular view of his day. Gunkel asserted that Paul shares "the popular view of the New Testament age," according to which men thought of themselves "in the 'Spirit'... the supernatural power of God which works in man and through man."²⁸ Unlike Pfleiderer, Gunkel's task was not to produce a New Testament doctrine of the Spirit but rather to describe the specific experience of the pneumatic, i.e., "to ascertain the symptoms by which an 'effect' of the Spirit is recognised".²⁹

Consequently, in tracing the pre-Pauline pneumatology Gunkel asks, "what according to the popular view were the marks of individual activities of the Spirit?" Gunkel's answer was glossolalia.³⁰ Along with glossolalia the primitive Christians traced certain types of experience to the Spirit, namely, wisdom (Acts 6.3; 1 Cor. 12.8), prophecy (Acts 11.28; Rom. 11.25-26), and faith (Mk. 13.11; Matt. 10.19; Lk. 12.11,12).³¹ A second popular view was that it was through the mediation of the exalted Lord that Christians receive the Spirit from God (Acts 10.38; 2.33; Titus 3.6; Jn. 20.22; Rev. 1.1).³² All Christians were assumed to be filled with the Spirit, a very different view from ancient Israel as well as Judaism, which recognised possession of the Spirit only on the part of individuals and hoped for a general outpouring.³³

According to Gunkel, the eschatological framework of the early church must be read against a background of the Jewish doctrine that the Spirit had been withdrawn

²⁸ Gunkel, *Influence*, 34, 25.

²⁹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 2.

³⁰ Gunkel, *Influence*, 32.

³¹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 34-38.

³² Gunkel, *Influence*, 40.

³³ Gunkel, *Influence*, 48.

until the eschaton.³⁴ These manifestations were indications of the in-breaking of the Kingdom of God.³⁵

Gunkel placed Pauline pneumatology within these popular notions of the Spirit. He believed that Paul was aware of the ideas concerning πνεῦμα which were prevalent in the churches.

Gunkel contends that Paul agrees with the popular view that sees the evidences for the presence of the kingdom of God in the reception of the divine Spirit and all his activities. For Paul, just as for the primitive Christian community, the understanding of the spiritual gifts as a guarantee of the truth of the gospel has an eschatological apex.³⁶ Paul merely asserts that the Holy Spirit now given to Christians is the content of that promise God once gave Abraham (Gal. 3.14). For Paul the present possession of the Spirit and the future possession of the kingdom are so mutually interrelated that they can be interchanged.

However, Gunkel insisted that there were significant differences in Paul's perspective. First, for Paul the supreme sign of the gift of the Spirit was not limited to mysterious and powerful effects. It entailed the divine purpose of the gift – the edification of the Christian community.³⁷ For this reason Paul, in contrast to the primitive church, held glossolalia in relatively low esteem (1 Cor. 12.8).³⁸ In this regard Paul was the first to emphasise the ethical dimension of the gift of the Spirit.³⁹ He introduces an ethical judgment and valuation of spiritual gifts, which was new to the Christian community.

Second, Paul worked out his pneumatology in contrast to the primitive Christian view, which sharply draws the limits of supernatural and natural. For Paul, however, the miraculous gifts are only a special activity of the same Spirit who is also miraculously at work in all Christians. Paul viewed the Spirit also as the source of Christian life in its totality.⁴⁰ With this idea Paul is farthest removed from the soil from which he sprang, where the Spirit was merely the power that works specific miracles and guarantees even greater ones; for Paul the present possession of the Spirit, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ζωῆς is everything the Christian has for time and eternity.

³⁴ Gunkel, *Influence*, 70.

³⁵ Gunkel, *Influence*, 71-72.

³⁶ Gunkel, *Influence*, 81.

³⁷ Gunkel, *Influence*, 84.

³⁸ Gunkel, *Influence*, 82.

³⁹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 87.

⁴⁰ Gunkel, *Influence*, 96.

Thus for Paul, the Christian life in its entirety was a sign of the presence of the eschatological Kingdom.⁴¹

Gunkel attempts to identify Paul's unique presentation of the Spirit. Gunkel asserted that Paul had neither taken from the Old Testament⁴² nor was influenced by the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, particularly Wisdom.⁴³ Gunkel then asks, "What is the reason for the difference?" He insists that the source of Paul's unique insight into the working of the Spirit was his own personal experience and maintains an essential originality of Paul's teaching. Paul found ready-made the concept of the πνεῦμα as a wonder-working power, but on the basis of his experience, by which the Christian himself appeared to be the greatest miracle, he described the Christian life as an activity of the πνεῦμα in a completely original way.⁴⁴

Gunkel's contribution has been remarkable. For Gunkel Pauline pneumatology emerged from the popular view that was prevalent in the Old Testament, Judaism and primitive Christianity. At the same time he separated the pneumatology of Paul from that of Judaism and the early Christians. He had unquestionably established the importance of the supernatural and experiential dimension in the early Christian pneumatology. Unlike his predecessors Gunkel looks into the influence of the Holy Spirit as conceived by the popular view of the Apostolic age and according to the doctrine of Paul, and is obliged to come to the conclusion that a Greek element in Paul's thought is not to be assumed.

In spite of his remarkable achievements, it should be observed that Gunkel took little notice of Paul's early experience of the Spirit, or of his call and ministry as an apostle among the Gentiles. Essentially, Gunkel proceeded as though Paul developed his understanding from the primitive church's experience of the Holy Spirit.

One needs to be conscious about Gunkel's overemphasis on the popular view of the primitive community. There is a lack of clarity in his usage of the term *Urgemeinde*. What constitutes the *Urgemeinde*? By considering the primitive church as monolithic entity⁴⁵ Gunkel has ignored the diverse strands of understanding concerning the Spirit that were prevalent in the early church. An example would be

⁴¹ Gunkel, *Influence*, 96.

⁴² Gunkel, *Influence*, 92-99.

⁴³ Gunkel, *Influence*, 100-101.

⁴⁴ Gunkel, *Influence*, 102.

⁴⁵ For example, see R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier (*Antioch and Rome; New Testament Cradles of Catholic Christianity* [New York: Paulist Press, 1983]) who argue for diverse theological strands that were prevalent in the early church.

on the question of the anticipation of the Spirit upon the Gentiles (Acts 10.45; 11.15, 18).

For Gunkel, the gifts of the Spirit mentioned in the Pauline letters are for the edification of the community (and not limited to the mysterious power effects). The Spirit as the source of Christian life in its totality does not depend on Old Testament or Hellenistic Jewish influence on Paul, rather on his own personal experience. However, Gunkel is not clear about what exactly is Paul's personal experience. Is it the experience that Paul had while interacting with the churches he ministered to or is it the experience of the Spirit at the time of his conversion (2 Cor. 3.16) or his later pneumatic experiences (1 Cor. 12-14; 2 Cor. 12.1 ff.)?

Key to Gunkel's argument is that the theological significance of the claim of the early church to have the Spirit, must be read against a background of the Jewish doctrine that the Spirit had been withdrawn until the eschaton. Recent studies have questioned such alleged absence of the Holy Spirit during the New Testament era,⁴⁶ which may provide new insights into Paul's own understanding of the Spirit than what Gunkel perceived.

Finally, that the gift of the Spirit was given also to Gentiles was one of the popular views that was recorded by the earliest traditions of the New Testament. This was recognised among the first Christians and acknowledged as the sure indication of God's acceptance (Gal. 3.2-5; 4.6; 5.5; see also Rom. 8.9, 14; Acts 10.44-48; 11.15-18). Gunkel overlooks this important factor in his study of both primitive and Pauline pneumatology.

1.2.3. E. Schweizer

Eduard Schweizer's remarkable discussion on New Testament pneumatology⁴⁷ stands clearly in the tradition of *Religionsgeschichte*, which views Paul and early Christianity as significantly influenced by contemporary religious movements and myths.⁴⁸

Schweizer's attempt to understand Pauline pneumatology begins with the notions of the Spirit in primitive Christianity. According to Schweizer, Matthew and Mark understood the Spirit largely in the OT terms as the power of God, a source of

⁴⁶ J.R. Levison, 'Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel? An Evaluation of the Earliest Jewish Data', *NTS* 43 (1997) 35-57; idem, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (AJGU 29; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁴⁷ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 259-278; idem, *TDNT* 6: 389-455.

⁴⁸ For example, E. Käsemann, 'Geist und Geistesgaben im New Testament', *RGG* II³, 1271-79.

supernatural power for the performance of miracles.⁴⁹ Schweizer points out that Luke is unique in presenting the Holy Spirit in Old Testament and Judaistic terms. Unlike Matthew and Mark, Luke presents Jesus not as an object of the Spirit, but as the Lord of the Spirit.⁵⁰ Luke always portrayed the Spirit as the source of inspired speech, such as glossolalia or preaching.⁵¹ A further development in Luke is his emphasis on the bestowal of the Spirit. Luke however, understands that a new age has dawned; the Spirit had been given to all of God's people.⁵²

Schweizer offers a new dimension to the discussion on Pauline pneumatology. He distinguishes sharply Paul's pneumatology from that of the primitive church. The key to Schweizer's argument is that he distinguishes two different strands of influence on Paul's understanding of the Holy Spirit – the Jewish⁵³ and Hellenistic strands.⁵⁴ According to Schweizer, Paul's pneumatology was largely the result of the Hellenistic context in which Paul found himself, while he tried to get away from this. For this reason Schweizer finds it difficult to disentangle Paul from the above two strands.⁵⁵

For Schweizer the primitive Christian community failed to answer the question of how the imparting of the Spirit was connected with the coming, the life, the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus. The real problem for the early church was the relationship between the message of the Spirit and that of the crucified, risen and coming Lord.⁵⁶

According to Schweizer, the Hellenistic community gave a radical answer to this problem. The possibility of this interpretation arose from the fact that a Hellenist could think of power only in the form of a substance.⁵⁷ Therefore, in the Hellenistic community which understood the Spirit as a heavenly substance, Jesus was the bearer of this heavenly substance, and has brought to man the heavenly world in union with the divine substance. With the possession of the Spirit comes salvation, and possession of the heavenly world. The cross has no place in this conception; and,

⁴⁹ Schweizer, 'The Spirit of Power', 260-264; idem, *TDNT* 6:397, 400-404; idem, *Holy Spirit*, 46 ff. The only difference that Schweizer sees in Matthew and Mark in relation to OT perspective were their emphasis on the presence of the Spirit in Jesus – a unique eschatological figure in whom God himself encounters his community eschatologically.

⁵⁰ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 265; idem, *TDNT* 6: 404.

⁵¹ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 406-407.

⁵² Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 268; idem, *Holy Spirit*, 56ff.

⁵³ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁴ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁵ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁶ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 415.

⁵⁷ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 416.

indeed, the whole incarnation can be understood merely as deception of hostile powers.⁵⁸

Paul is said to have borrowed a good part of these Gnostic concepts in preparing the grounds for his pneumatology. Both the Gnostic and Paul understood the Spirit to be the means by which one is transferred from the earthly world to the heavenly (Rom. 1.3; 2 Cor. 3.17).⁵⁹

But in contrast to the Gnostic, who viewed the Spirit as a heavenly substance inherent in every human being which could be rekindled by the redeemer, Paul maintained that the Spirit is not to be understood as something that belonged to human beings. But it is the presence of the Lord who remains ever the sovereign, and so over against human beings, and ever the Coming One whom humans cannot yet have in their own possession (1 Cor. 15.35-50).⁶⁰ Thus according to Schweizer the matter in Paul is Jewish, but his vocabulary is Hellenist. According to Schweizer Paul adopted the Hellenistic line because for the first time there was presented an opportunity to interpret πνεῦμα as the new existence, and this new existence as relationship to the Redeemer.⁶¹ But Paul corrected all the naturalistic statements and also adopted the line controlled by Old Testament thought. Paul also distinguished himself from Gnostic thought by focusing on the historical necessity of the cross and resurrection and fusing these events together with the bestowal of the Spirit. The cross is central to Paul's pneumatology (1 Cor. 2.6-16).⁶² The cross is seen to be the already accomplished fact, which divides the new creation from the old.⁶³ Thus, with the Gnostic Paul says that it is the Spirit who transfers us out of the old aeon into the new, from the earthly to the heavenly, not through some heavenly substance, but through the recognition of God's saving act on the Cross.⁶⁴ To the early church, Paul says that this Spirit is something entirely apart from man, in no way his property nor something placed at his disposal. This is because in his very essence he points man away from himself to that which has been done for him by God at the cross of Jesus Christ.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 416.

⁵⁹ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 416-418.

⁶⁰ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 419ff.

⁶¹ Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 424.

⁶² Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 425.

⁶³ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 72.

⁶⁴ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 71.

⁶⁵ Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 72.

Schweizer showed how Paul appropriated the Hellenistic conception that reception of the Spirit was equal to salvation itself, and how Paul clarified and corrected this popular view by connecting the Spirit to Christ and balancing it with the Old Testament view of the Spirit as eschatological gift. Schweizer shifted the focus in his treatment of Paul's pneumatology purely from the ethical dimension to the dimension of faith. Thus, the uniqueness of Paul's pneumatology is not to be found in the ethical dimension he added, but rather in his understanding of the Spirit as the power that generates belief.

Schweizer believes that the impetus for Paul to develop an original pneumatology came from his concern to connect to each other the disparate messages of the Spirit and of the crucified, risen and coming κύριος - a correction that was needed for primitive Christianity. A few weaknesses need to be noted.

First, in his attempt to make Paul to correct the failure of primitive Christianity's and Hellenistic Judaism's mistakes, Schweizer develops a Pauline pneumatology that is built on prior Christological and soteriological conclusions which he thought were the theological assumptions of Hellenistic Judaism and Gnosticism. Such reconstruction of Pauline pneumatology limits any possibilities to discuss Paul's own pneumatic experience or the experiences of the congregation with whom he was interacting. Thus what determines Pauline pneumatology is his interactions with primitive church, Hellenistic Judaism and Gnosticism and not his own convictions about an experience of the Spirit.

Second, in the above mentioned methodological interest Schweizer was more cautious of the general religious environment in which Paul wrote his letters and has ignored a major problem which could have been the key to Paul's interpretation of pneumatology, i.e., the Gentile mission and admission.

According to Schweizer, Paul's pneumatology began as a solution to the problem of bringing the event of the cross and the event of the imparting of the Spirit into connection with each another. For Schweizer, the solution to this problem was found by drawing on a gnostic understanding. By anachronistically attributing features exhibited in second-century gnostic material to the Hellenistic world and to the Pauline churches of the first century, Schweizer's edifice of Pauline pneumatology stands debatable.

1.2.4. R.P. Menzies

1.2.4. R.P. Menzies

Robert Menzies' contribution to discussion on Pauline pneumatology comes from his dissertation *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*. Basically, he attempts to reconstruct the development of early Christian pneumatology in the formative period from the church's inception up to the writing of Luke-Acts.⁶⁶

In his quest for the development of early Christian pneumatology, he argues that both Diaspora and Palestinian Judaism before the New Testament always thought of the Spirit as the power of revelation or of inspired speech or as esoteric wisdom.⁶⁷ The gift of the Spirit was thus a *donum superadditum*, not a gift required to live in right relationship with God and attain eternal life.⁶⁸

According to Menzies, Jesus and the earliest church before Luke broadened the functions traditionally ascribed to the Spirit in first-century Judaism and thus presented the Spirit as the power of his preaching and of his mighty works, while for the disciples after Jesus' resurrection, it was the Spirit of prophecy and power given to Christians by which they gave testimony to Jesus. Nowhere in the pre-Pauline tradition does anyone conceive of the Spirit in terms of soteriological necessity.⁶⁹

Similarly, in accordance with the Jewish perspective, Luke consistently portrays the gift of the Spirit as a prophetic endowment which enables its recipient to fulfil a particular task within the community of salvation. According to Menzies Luke not only fails to refer to soteriological aspects of the Spirit's work, but his narrative presupposes a pneumatology which excludes this dimension. Thus according to Menzies the 'charismatic' pneumatology of the primitive church is otherwise essentially the same as the 'prophetic' pneumatology of Luke.

According to Menzies, it was Paul's interaction with the teaching in Wisdom of Solomon 9.9-18 that precipitated a change/development – from a 'prophetic' Spirit to a 'soteriological' Spirit.' In order to prove his case, Menzies tries to establish the conceptual parallels that unite Wis. 9.9-18 with 1 Cor. 2.6-16 and Gal. 4.4-6.⁷⁰ According to Menzies in 1 Cor. 2.6-16, Paul's perspective can be summarised in three categories.⁷¹ The first is anthropology (vv.6-10a; 11-12) i.e., man by nature is

⁶⁶ Menzies, *Development*, 17.

⁶⁷ Menzies, *Development*, 53-111.

⁶⁸ Menzies, *Development*, 76.

⁶⁹ Menzies, *Development*, 303ff.

⁷⁰ Menzies, *Development*, 303 ff.

⁷¹ Menzies, *Development*, 304.

utterly incapable of understanding the wisdom of God. On Menzies' understanding, this represents a sector of Judaism which has become profoundly pessimistic about the possibility of humankind understanding God's will in Torah and so of being able to live by it.⁷² However, Wisdom of Solomon, according to Menzies, brought Paul to recognise that human beings could not understand God's saving wisdom in Christ without the gift of the Spirit. But without such an understanding they are doomed, and so the gift of the Spirit becomes soteriologically necessary.⁷³

The second is pneumatology (vv, 7; 10b-13). The idea is that only by receiving the gift of the Spirit can man comprehend the wisdom of God.⁷⁴ According to Menzies' understanding, the author of Wisdom associates sapiential achievement with the revelation of the Spirit. God must give to each the Spirit who enables such an understanding if they are to be saved at all (Wis. 9.17-18).⁷⁵ The author of Wisdom and Paul portray the Spirit as the functional equivalent of wisdom and of Christ respectively (Rom. 8.3; 1 Cor. 1.24; 30; 8.6).⁷⁶ Thus Wisdom provided the conceptual background for the close connection between Christ and Spirit envisioned by Paul.⁷⁷

The third is soteriology (v.7) where the gift of the Spirit as the transmitter of God's wisdom is redemptive.⁷⁸ Menzies bases his argument on the term σωζω, which appears in Wis. 9.18, and which may refer principally to physical preservation.⁷⁹ He also attributes an eschatological dimension to wisdom's redemptive power as it is given prominence, immortality (6.18), authority over nations (3.7-9), and is a promise to the righteous (3.1-9; 5.1-23).⁸⁰ Therefore by presenting the Spirit as the functional equivalent of Wisdom, the author of Wisdom of Solomon affirms with Paul the soteriological necessity of the pneumatic gift (Wis. 9.17-18, 1 Cor. 2.7).⁸¹ Menzies' treatment of the relation between Gal. 4.4-6 and Wisdom 9.9-18 however, is minimal.⁸²

⁷² Menzies, *Development*, 305.

⁷³ Menzies, *Development*, 307.

⁷⁴ Menzies, *Development*, 308.

⁷⁵ Menzies, *Development*, 308.

⁷⁶ Menzies, *Development*, 309.

⁷⁷ Menzies, *Development*, 309.

⁷⁸ Menzies, *Development*, 309.

⁷⁹ Menzies, *Development*, 310.

⁸⁰ Menzies, *Development*, 310.

⁸¹ Menzies, *Development*, 310.

⁸² Menzies, *Development*, 314.

According to Menzies a further implication of these findings is that this original element of Paul's pneumatology did not influence wider (non-Pauline) sectors of the early church until after the writing of Luke-Acts (AD 70-80).

Menzies concludes that Paul's unique insight into the work of the Spirit was undoubtedly stimulated by his experience on the Damascus road. But it is the wisdom traditions from the Hellenistic Jewish milieu which provided the conceptual framework for his distinctive pneumatology.⁸³ Reflecting upon his own experience in the light of these traditions, Paul came to the realisation that Christ, the embodiment of divine wisdom, is experienced in and through the Spirit. Thus Paul associated Christ with the Spirit as no other Christian before him, and came to view the Spirit as a soteriological agent.

A major problem with Menzies' approach is that he has used what is 'characteristic' of the Spirit to provide a 'rigid' concept of the 'Spirit of prophecy', which allows him to exclude from the domain of the Spirit activities which were earlier regularly attributed to the Spirit in the biblical tradition, such as works of power and religious/ethical renewal.⁸⁴ By claiming Paul's dependency exclusively on the Wisdom of Solomon for his soteriological pneumatology, Menzies underestimates the influence of the biblical Spirit traditions on Paul's thought (for example, Ezek. 11.19; 36.26, 27).

Menzies' treatment of Paul's pneumatology and his alleged dependence on Wisdom of Solomon for a 'soteriological understanding of the Spirit' is a weakness in his argument. Gordon Fee has pointed out quite rightly that the relation is minimal, particularly its literal and conceptual dependency.⁸⁵ While defending the Jewish faith to those that are in danger of apostasy, Pseudo-Solomon encourages his audience to seek the pneumatic-wisdom that is the revelatory presence of God in physical and moral life. However for Paul, in 1 Corinthians 2 the Spirit brings comprehension of God's apocalyptic wisdom revealed at the cross and is influenced by Jewish apocalyptic strand.⁸⁶

According to Menzies, there is only one passage that contains pre-Pauline tradition (Rom. 1.3-4) which is related to Paul's soteriological pneumatology.

⁸³ Menzies, *Development*, 282-283.

⁸⁴ See Turner, (*Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 111) who rightly argues that Menzies' antithesis between the Spirit of Prophecy and the 'soteriological Spirit' is a false one.

⁸⁵ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 912. Fee argues that the linguistic ties of 1 Cor. 2.6.16 are not so much with the Jewish speculative wisdom as with Jewish apocalyptic.

⁸⁶ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 913.

However, he discounts it as the redaction of Paul and not to be linked with the primitive church tradition. Recently, Horn highlighted the importance of pneumatological affirmations such as “God has given us the Spirit” (Rom. 5.5; 11.8; 2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; 1 Thess. 4.8), “You have received the Spirit” (Rom. 8.15; 1 Cor. 2.12; 2 Cor. 11.4; Gal. 3.2, 14) and “the Spirit of God dwells in you” (1 Cor. 3.16; 6.19; Rom. 8.9, 11) probably coming from the pre-Pauline and non-Pauline tradition. Horn’s proposal undermines Menzies’ basic thesis at two levels: (i) The dynamics of the Spirit understanding of the nascent Christianity is more diverse than Menzies thought (ii) and soteriological pneumatology probably even antedate Paul.⁸⁷

Finally, Menzies restricts the anthropological and pneumatological perspectives of pre-Christian Judaism to Wisdom of Solomon. He argues that Paul’s conviction (1 Cor. 2.6-16) about humanity’s inability to comprehend the wisdom of God, the role of the gift of the Spirit in the comprehension of the wisdom of God and its redemptive significance is only seen in Wisdom of Solomon and is rarely found in pre-Christian Judaism.⁸⁸ The problem here is that Menzies does not consider passages like *Jub.* 1.22-23 in his discussion. According to the author of *Jubilees*, Israel received the covenant but had failed to obey its stipulations (*Jub.* 23.16, 19; 15.33-34). As a result great difficulties beset the apostate nation. For the author anticipated that God will create the Holy Spirit within people which will purify Israel and as a consequence, in the ideal future Israel will live up to the covenant by obeying all commandments. The human inability to live up to the demand of God’s commandment and the soteriological necessity of the Spirit in the book of *Jubilees* proves that the notion was more widely prevalent in pre-Christian Judaism than Menzies assumed.⁸⁹

1.2.5. F.W. Horn

F.W. Horn marks a significant milestone in the discussion of the development of early Christian and Pauline pneumatology. His book *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie*⁹⁰ provides an example of an approach which looks at Paul’s theology in terms of an unfolding and contextualised development of his earlier ideas on the Spirit.

⁸⁷ Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 110.

⁸⁸ Menzies, *Development*, 304.

⁸⁹ See discussion on pages 75-77.

⁹⁰ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 1992; idem, ‘Holy Spirit’ in *ABD* 3: 260-280 is the summary of his position.

Horn recognises a tension between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism in their perception about the Spirit. According to him, in Palestinian Judaism the function of the Spirit of God is understood as *Befähigung endzeitlichen Verhaltens*,⁹¹ whereas Hellenistic Judaism understood the Spirit primarily as *die Substanz des neuen Seins*.⁹² Central to his approach is the question how these two different lines of pneumatological statements within Judaism were received in the New Testament.⁹³ He maintains that both in early Christianity and in Paul we find these strands.⁹⁴

Horn traces the development of Paul's thinking about the Spirit from his pre-Christian days. The author traces the roots of primitive Christian pneumatology in the Hellenists and the Hellenistic communities.⁹⁵ By tracing the theology of the Hellenists (Acts 6-7) Horn identifies the combination of motifs, wisdom/spirit/working of miracles (Acts 2.22, 43; 7.36), as expressing the Hellenistic ideal of the Christian pneumatic. According to Horn, Pauline theology is rooted primarily in the Hellenistic community of Antioch (Gal. 1.21; Acts 11.19-20, 13.1).

Horn develops the pneumatology of pre-Pauline and non-Pauline communities by looking into the primary sources of Antiochian pneumatology which are formulae and formulaic statements in the letters of Paul.⁹⁶ For Horn the social settings of these formulae and statements are either the context of proclamation or baptismal catechesis.⁹⁷

In contrast to earlier studies Horn makes further distinctions with the primitive community's theology of the Spirit - the Palestinian Jewish Christian pneumatology and the Hellenistic Jewish Christian pneumatology.⁹⁸ The function of spirit for the Hellenistic Christian community was primarily missiological, especially, mission to

⁹¹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 40.

⁹² Horn, *Das Angeld*, 40-48.

⁹³ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 54-59.

⁹⁴ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 60.

⁹⁵ Horn, *ABD* 3: 268-69.

⁹⁶ They are: "God had given us the spirit"(Acts 5.32; 15.8; Rom. 5.5; 11.8; 2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; 1 Thes.4.8; 2 Tim. 1.7; 1 Jn. 3.24; 4.13). Since Paul uses this in a secondary way Horn assumes that this is pre-Pauline. The main features are, a) the author of the gift is always God, b) the gift is always used in aorist tense (except 1 Thes.4.8, 1 Jn. 4.13) c) the gift of *pneuma* is described with minimal grammatical variation, d) the object is predominantly 'us'. "You have received the spirit"(Jn. 20.22; Acts 2.33; 38; 8.15, 17, 19; 10.47; 19.2; Rom. 8.15; 1 Cor. 2.12; 2 Cor. 11.4; Gal. 3.2, 14; 1 Jn. 2.27), "The spirit of God dwells within you" (1 Cor. 3.16; 6.19; Rom. 8.9; 11; Eph. 2.21; 1 Peter.2.5) and "you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. 6.11). See Horn, *Das Angeld*, 62-65; idem *ABD* 3: 268.

⁹⁷ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 63.

⁹⁸ Horn, *ABD* 3: 268 ff.

the Gentiles.⁹⁹ Along with this understanding they believed in the universal spirit endowment.¹⁰⁰ That is, Hellenists were particularly open to perceive the paranormal phenomena as spirit caused, whereas Palestinian Jewish Christianity was more reluctant to see the states of enthusiasm as manifestation of the spirit. The Judaizing Christians sought to establish a position of authority over the universal community, which undermined its charismatic character. Horn points out that the reasons for this situation are Christological.

For Horn, Paul did not have a fully formed pneumatology when he launched into the mission. Paul's theology of the Spirit is an expansion of the above-mentioned primitive doctrine. Horn argues that Paul's unique understanding of Spirit can be traced in three neat schemata of developments from an early stage to that of a later Paul.

Quite different from other studies on Pauline pneumatology, Horn distinguishes the pneumatology of 1 Thessalonians from that of the later Paul. Horn argues that in this first stage Paul had the fundamental conviction that the endowment of the spirit was an eschatological gift.¹⁰¹ In this stage the Spirit is understood as enabling believers for eschatological conduct; empowering, preaching, producing joy in affliction, and given for the goal of sanctification.¹⁰² For Horn, the concept of spirit in 1 Thessalonians shows strong Old Testament and Jewish influence.

Paul was compelled to rethink his position at each stage in the light of the church situation and the presence of those with whom he disagreed.¹⁰³ Thus a second stage of Pauline pneumatological development came when Paul went to Corinth and encountered a pneumatic enthusiasm where a section of the community (*pneumatikoi*), who spoke in tongues, the language of heaven, saw the Spirit as a gift able to produce magical effects, and related the Spirit to the sacraments.¹⁰⁴ In this phase the Corinthians maintain that they already belong primarily to the heavenly/Spirit world (1 Cor. 4.8), rather than to the world of flesh and blood, through their reception of the Spirit in baptism (1 Cor. 6.11; 12.13).¹⁰⁵ As Gentiles or Hellenists they inevitably understand this gift of the indwelling Spirit as a powerful

⁹⁹ Horn, *ABD* 3: 268 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 89-115.

¹⁰¹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 119.

¹⁰² Horn, *Das Angeld*, 131-33.

¹⁰³ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 160-301.

¹⁰⁴ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 160ff., 201-219.

¹⁰⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 201.

divine substance, a very part of the heavenly world, and so already the full arrival of salvation itself.¹⁰⁶

Against these understandings Paul continued to adhere to his functional view of the Spirit operating through charismata to build up the church.¹⁰⁷ But he also took over in part the view of the enthusiasts in that he accepted baptism as the point of departure for the work of the Spirit in believers; baptism both incorporated them into the church and mediated the Spirit.¹⁰⁸ However, he still adhered to an eschatological view of the Spirit in which it was an *arrabon* or guarantee of what was yet to come.¹⁰⁹ According to Horn, Paul takes over their baptismal theology, but refutes their over-realised eschatology.¹¹⁰ He insists that they are not yet ‘spiritual bodies’ belonging to the heavenly sphere and he sharply relativises glossolalia in terms of gifts which ‘build up’ the historical community on earth (1 Cor. 12-14).¹¹¹ Paul argues that until they become spiritual bodies in the resurrection, it is especially in the physical body that the spiritual life issuing from the baptismal gift is to be manifest. Nor is this baptismal charism to be separated from the Christ-event. Thus Spirit is no mere heavenly substance, but Christ, the life giving Spirit (1 Cor. 15.45) that is received.¹¹² And so to receive the Spirit is to come under Christ’s lordship and power. Thus baptism is the occasion of the bestowal of the Spirit and of the incorporation into the salvific sphere (in Christ). Horn adds that the correlation of Christ and Spirit first occurred in the context of pneumatic enthusiasm.

Horn argues that his third stage consists of 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians and Romans. This is regarded as the most important theological period for Paul’s pneumatology, because controversy fires him to make his most distinctive contributions.¹¹³ The opponents Paul met in Galatia and Philippi forced him to think beyond this point with the result that he began to look on the Spirit as a hypostasis who testified to believers of their salvation in Christ, made present the love of God, bore witness to their sonship and came to their help in their weakness.

Over against Judaising Christians, in 2 Corinthians Paul claims the Spirit is the Spirit of the New Covenant, which displaces the Mosaic covenant.¹¹⁴ Life-giving

¹⁰⁶ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 268ff. idem, *ABD* 3: 272.

¹⁰⁷ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 287-91, idem, *ABD* 3: 272-273.

¹⁰⁸ Horn, *ABD* 3: 273.

¹⁰⁹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 262, 301.

¹¹⁰ Horn, *ABD* 3: 270.

¹¹¹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 287-91; idem, *ABD* 3: 272-273.

¹¹² Horn, *ABD* 3: 270.

¹¹³ Horn, *ABD* 3: 272; idem, *Das Angeld*, 302-383.

¹¹⁴ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 309-13.

Spirit is thus set in antithesis to death-dealing Torah (2 Cor. 3.6). Thus Paul came to accept the view of the Spirit as 'substance', alongside his previous functional view; this accounts for the variations in his statements about the Spirit. Simultaneously, with the above point Horn argues that in Gal. 5.13-6.10 and Rom. 7-8, Paul develops his second great distinctive antithesis between the powers of 'flesh' and 'Spirit'.¹¹⁵ The Law is hereby portrayed as essentially irrelevant. The Law is powerless to overcome the 'sin-flesh' alliance (Rom. 7.13-25). The Spirit can accomplish this (Gal. 5.16, 17, 19-25; 6.8, 9; Rom. 8.1-13) – and so reception of the Spirit becomes both the necessary and the sufficient condition for salvation.¹¹⁶

Horn points out that Paul's conviction that an endowment of the spirit had taken place remained unchanged in all three phases. (1) The proclamation of the gospel is wrought by the Spirit; (2) The gift of the Spirit causes prophecy and (3) the gift of the Spirit causes and demands sanctification.¹¹⁷

Horn concludes that the best way to capture Paul's pneumatology is by understanding his concept of down payment (ἀρραβών 2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; Rom. 8.23). The terminology contains both the future and the present aspect of Paul's Pneumatology and eschatology as the Spirit is not the end-time gift itself but the power that conveys the right of eternal life. This concept brings together the notions of Spirit as function and Spirit as substance; because ἀρραβών is transferred sacramentally (2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5) it provides a material basis for the resurrection body.¹¹⁸

Horn argues that it is impossible to overlook the specific *Das Wirken des Geistes*. For Horn, in the late Pauline theology, especially Romans, the Spirit does not merely functionally initiate individual expression of church life or act substantially as the baptismal gift to the church; rather, the Spirit appears as a hypostatic entity that attests and appropriates to the believer salvation in Christ, God's love and the status of sonship. The Spirit intercedes for the believers before God, helps them in weakness and transforms them towards glory.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 364; idem, *ABD* 3: 273.

¹¹⁶ Horn, *ABD* 3: 273.

¹¹⁷ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 385-89; idem *ABD* 3: 275.

¹¹⁸ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 385-404.

¹¹⁹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 404-428.

Horn has put forth a carefully argued thesis which moves significantly beyond the previous positions and adds new impetus to the discussion. However Horn's case has not been without weakness.¹²⁰

There are significant aspects that are missing in his treatment of early Pauline pneumatology. In Horn's presentation, he seems to undermine the primitive Christian experience as not necessarily real experience but rather as literary inventions of a late communal theology. The importance of the Spirit activities that are evident in early Christian communities' experience, particularly their perception of God's imminence during worship, in the working of miracles and the inspiration of prophecy should be taken seriously as the interpretative framework for Pauline pneumatology. These experiences for the early Christians were evidences of the Spirit present and acting. A much more serious omission is the experience of the first Gentile Christians who received the gifts of the Spirit in relation to their membership in Christian community.

Moreover, he has placed the starting point of Pauline pneumatology in the primitive churches' expectation of the eschatological Spirit and Paul's development on the subject of the contextual conflicts that he faced with his opponents. Horn has treated the development in terms of contextual development. That means the specific issues of his context determined the developments in his pneumatological understanding. What is completely missing is Paul's initial own convictions and conceptual background about the eschatological coming of the Spirit.

While analysing primitive Christian pneumatology, Horn admits that there are no primary sources and that his tradition analysis of the letters is controversial, so there can be no far reaching hypotheses regarding the theology of the pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish Christian community. Horn reconstructs primitive Christian pneumatology from the formulae and formulaic statements within Pauline letters. What Horn has done is a reconstruction based on isolated fragments and catchwords from Paul's letters. He considers the social setting of these as proclamation or catechesis. Such a presupposition may not help us in understanding Pauline pneumatology and its relation to early communities. Moreover, it does not leave much space for further inquiry into the socio-ecclesial context(s) of Pauline communities.

¹²⁰ See Volker Rabens ('The Development of Pauline Pneumatology, A Response to F.W. Horn', *BZ* [1999] 2:161-179) and Max Turner (*Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*) for further criticism.

In sum, Horn's contribution to the question of the development of Pauline pneumatology is remarkable, but he failed to recognise significant factors like Paul's experience and the Gentile mission in his discussion.

1.2.6. G.D. Fee

Gordon Fee has without any question exerted a significant influence on recent discussions concerning the pneumatology of Pauline epistles. Fee's major work *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul*, attempts to analyse and synthesise what Paul says about the Spirit both as a person and as experienced reality within the life of the believers and the believing community.¹²¹ Basically, Fee ignores the question of development or origins of Pauline pneumatology; rather he harmonises Paul's teachings on the Holy Spirit.

Fee believes that Spirit lies at the centre of things for Paul especially as part of the fundamental core of his understanding of the gospel¹²² and his entry point into Christian faith.¹²³ For Paul the reason for that stems from the eschatological framework of his Jewish roots, with its eager waiting for the Spirit as part of the realisation of the messianic age.¹²⁴

The first fundamental aspect of Pauline pneumatology is that of Spirit as an eschatological fulfillment.¹²⁵ According to Fee, the Spirit had played a leading role in Paul's expectation about the end times. He traces two strands of expectation from the Old Testament.¹²⁶ First, the circumcision of the heart in Deut. 30.6, which is promised in Jer. 31.31-34 and God's gift of his Spirit in Ezek. 36.26-27 which provides the key to Paul's understanding of the Spirit.¹²⁷ The second is the renewal of the prophetic gift among God's people, when the outpoured Spirit will, in effect, turn all of God's people into potential prophets (Joel 2.28-29).¹²⁸ Based on the above position Fee distinguishes Paul's eschatological perspectives.¹²⁹ On the one hand, the coming of the Spirit fulfilled these Old Testament promises as the sure evidence that the future had already been set in motion. All of God's people now prophesy (1 Cor.

¹²¹ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 5.

¹²² Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 5.

¹²³ Fee, 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit', in R.N. Longenecker (ed.), *The Road from Damascus, the Impact of Paul's Conversion on His Life, Thought and Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 168.

¹²⁴ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 5.

¹²⁵ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 803–826.

¹²⁶ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 805.

¹²⁷ Fee, 'Paul's Conversion', 168.

¹²⁸ Fee, 'Paul's Conversion', 168.

¹²⁹ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 806.

14.24; 31; 1 Thess. 5.19-22). Likewise, the Spirit has fulfilled the promised new covenant through “circumcision of the heart” (Rom. 2.29; 2 Cor. 3.3) thereby giving life to his people (2 Cor. 3.6; Gal. 5.25). On the other hand, since the final consummation of God’s kingdom had not yet taken place, the “eschatological” Spirit also serves as the sure guarantee of the final glory. Paul’s primary metaphors for the Spirit are down payment (2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; Eph. 1.14), first fruits (Rom. 8.23) and seal (2 Cor. 1.22; Eph. 1.13; 4.30).

The second distinctive for Paul according to Fee is the Spirit as God’s personal presence.¹³⁰ For Paul, the experience of the promised Spirit meant the return of God’s own personal presence to dwell in and among his people. The Spirit marks off God’s people individually and corporately as God’s temple, the place of his personal dwelling on earth. Fee brings together here in terms of fulfillment 1) the theme of the presence of God, which had been expressed in Old Testament times in the tabernacle and the temple;¹³¹ 2) the presence further understood in terms of the Spirit of the Lord (Isa. 63.9-14; Ps. 106.33)¹³² and 3) the promised new covenant of the Spirit from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, wherein the Spirit would indwell God’s people and cause them to live and to follow in his ways.¹³³

According to Fee, Paul, who sees these themes as fulfilled by the gift of the Spirit, also understands the Spirit as God’s personal presence.¹³⁴ The Spirit is therefore “the Holy Spirit of God” and the “Spirit of Jesus Christ” – the way in which God is present with the people. Conceptually, Fee points out that the Spirit was not for Paul some invisible force or power.

For Paul, the Trinity is foundational for the comprehension of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁵ According to Fee there are four foundational realities: a) that God is one and personal; b) that the Spirit is both the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ, and therefore personal; c) that the Spirit and Christ are fully divine; and d) that the Spirit is as distinct from Christ and the Father as they are from each other. These aspects of Paul’s understanding of one God lies behind much that makes his treatment of salvation dynamic and effective. There is no salvation in Christ that is not fully Trinitarian in this sense.¹³⁶ Thus Fee advocates a soteriological Trinitarianism that

¹³⁰ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 827.

¹³¹ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 828.

¹³² Fee, ‘Paul’s Conversion’, 169.

¹³³ Fee, ‘Paul’s Conversion’, 169.

¹³⁴ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 829.

¹³⁵ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 839.

¹³⁶ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 841.

seems to be anachronistic in its emphasis. Paul's understanding of the soteriological dimension of the Spirit is based in this Trinitarian framework. Salvation is God's activity, from beginning to end: God the Father initiated it, in that it belongs to God's eternal purpose (1 Cor. 2.6-9); it has its origin in God and God as its ultimate goal (1 Cor. 8.6); and it was set in motion by God's having sent both the Son and the Spirit (Gal. 4.4-7).

For Fee Paul's statements about the role of the Spirit in salvation are primarily experiential. There are, according to him, several components that make up the complex of Christian conversion. They include hearing of the gospel, faith, various metaphors for conversion like adoption, washing/rebirth/ life-giving, sanctification, the gift of the Spirit, and baptism in water.¹³⁷ The Spirit plays a crucial role in most of the processes – except for baptism in water. Conversion by the Spirit involves a commitment to a life of walking in the Spirit. At the individual level, the life of the Spirit includes “praying in the Spirit” as well as with the mind.

In the final point, Fee argues that for Paul the relationship between the Spirit and the People of God is important.¹³⁸ The goal of God's eschatological salvation is to create a people of His name, who comprise the old covenant people of God, and they are now newly constituted through the death and resurrection of Christ and the gift of the eschatological Spirit. The newly constituted people of God are an eschatological people, who are formed by the Spirit, and live the life of the future in the present as they await the consummation.

In Fee's view, for Paul, the major role of the Spirit is in his being the absolutely essential element of the whole of the Christian life, from beginning to end.¹³⁹ The Spirit empowers ethical living in all of its dimensions – whether individually, within the community, or to the world. Believers in Christ, who are “Spirit people” are variously described as living by the Spirit, walking in the Spirit, being led by the Spirit, bearing the fruit of the Spirit and sowing by the Spirit.¹⁴⁰ Life in the Spirit also includes a believer's present end-time existence – including being empowered by the Spirit to abound in hope, to live in joy, to pray without ceasing, to exercise self-control, to experience a robust conscience, to have insight into God's will and purpose, and to endure in every kind of present hardship and suffering.¹⁴¹ At the

¹³⁷ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 854.

¹³⁸ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 870.

¹³⁹ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 872.

¹⁴⁰ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 876.

¹⁴¹ Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 876.

same time the Spirit's presence, including his charismata, helps to build up the believing community as its members gather together to worship God.

In short, Fee's central thrust in *God's Empowering Presence*, was not to define the distinctive nature of the early and later Pauline pneumatology; rather Fee attempted to harmonise any such distinctions involved in the discussion.

Fee attempts to distinguish two strands viz, the eschatological renewal and universal Spirit endowment as key to Paul's understanding of the Spirit. Fee assumes that Paul anticipated the Spirit upon Gentiles when he went to them in mission. But one of significant issues that the early church had to grapple with was the admission of Gentiles as people of God (Gal. 2.7-9; 3.1-5; cf. Acts 11.15-18; 15.2, 5,8). Had the early church understood the universal anticipation of the Spirit upon Gentiles apart from the Law from the outset? Fee overlooks this issue in his elaboration of Pauline pneumatology.

The other issue is Fee's presuppositions about Paul's "soteriological (economic) Trinitarianism". According to Fee this is evident as early as I Thessalonians. Even though one may recognise aspects of triadic conceptuality of God in Paul's letters, does that justify imputing the full connotations of the doctrine of Trinity? 'Trinity' denotes a highly sophisticated way of conceptualising God which only achieved formulation three centuries later. Did Paul already think in such categories?

1.2.7. Conclusion

A review of the significant contributions of a century of research on Paul's understanding of the Holy Spirit indicates that there is obviously a lacuna in past scholarship in its attempt to understand Pauline pneumatology. The origins and development of Pauline pneumatology have been traced to various sources, particularly to the Hellenistic, Jewish and early Christian traditions. Almost all studies focused on the uniqueness of Paul's pneumatology in comparison to other understandings of the Spirit that were available to Paul among the early Christian communities. What is surprisingly missing in the above studies is the lack of interest in the perspective of Paul's early conceptual framework. While perceiving the importance of the previous scholarly endeavours on the origins of Pauline pneumatology, the present study seeks to investigate two significant aspects, which are not sufficiently dealt with in previous attempts, namely, Paul's conviction as an apostle to the Gentiles and that God has poured out the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from the Law. It is to this that we turn our attention.

1.3. The Quest for the Origins of Paul's Pneumatology

The quest for the origins of Pauline pneumatology begins by locating Paul's primary convictions, which include his commissioning to preach to the Gentiles and that God has given the Spirit to the Gentiles.

1.3.1. Paul - Apostle to the Gentiles

Anyone who is interested in Pauline pneumatology encounters Paul's deep-rooted conviction that he is called to be the apostle to the Gentiles. In his autobiographical reference to the Damascus Christophany, Paul refers to his vocation as being "called (καλέω)... to preach (εὐαγγελίζωμαι) him (God's Son) among the Gentiles" (Gal. 1.15-16).¹⁴² For him the very purpose of God's revelation of Christ is that he should proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles. Thus Paul was - "sent to preach" (πέστειλέν ...εὐαγγελίζεσθαι 1 Cor. 1.17) and "entrusted with a stewardship" (πεπίστευμαι, 1 Cor. 9.17 cf.; 1 Thess. 2.4; Col. 1.25) of the gospel to the Gentiles (Rom. 11.13; cf. 1.5, 13; 15.16-19). Lukan narratives too confirm Paul's emphasis that he saw himself as having a major role in the Gentile mission (Acts 9.15; 22.6, 11, 14; 26.13). The significance of such a conviction so deeply rooted in the beginning of Paul's Christian career is relevant for any attempt to understand the origins of Paul's pneumatology.

1.3.2. Paul and Gentile reception of the Spirit

What is much more important for our discussion is Paul's recognition that Gentiles have received the Spirit. That the Spirit is freely given to the Gentiles is an equally deep-rooted conviction that is found in all his writings (1 Thess. 1.5; Gal. 3.1, 5, 14; 1 Cor. 1.4-9; 6.9-11; 12.13; 2 Cor. 1.21; 3.3, 17; Rom. 5.5; 6.1; 7.6; 8.2, 9, 14, 15). On the one hand Paul gives prominence in his letters to his own experience of the Spirit¹⁴³ during his mission and the experience of his Gentile converts' reception of the Spirit. Paul was convinced that the Spirit was key to his own preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles and the proof of Gentiles being accepted as God's people. Thus in his earliest letters, Paul indicates, especially in his ministry to the Gentiles that the gospel came to them "...in power and in the Holy Spirit and with full

¹⁴² B.R. Gaventa, 'Galatians 1 and 2: Autobiography as Paradigm', *NovT* 28 (1986) 309-26; J.D.G. Dunn, 'A Light to the Gentiles': The Significance of the Damascus Road Christophany for Paul', in *Jesus, Paul and the Law, Studies in Mark and Galatians* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990) 89-107; T.L. Donaldson, *Paul and the Gentiles, Remapping the Apostle's Convictional World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997) 249ff.

¹⁴³ Gunkel, *Influence*, 82; Dunn, (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 201; idem, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 103-172; idem, *Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 426-434.

conviction” (πληροφορία 1 Thess. 1.5); they received the gospel (δέχομαι) “with joy of the Holy Spirit” (1.6). Paul recalls the Galatians to their Christian beginnings by saying, “how did you receive the Spirit?” The gift of the Spirit came together “with the working of miracles”(Gal. 3.5).¹⁴⁴ Paul explains the promise of the Holy Spirit (3.14) as the “blessing of Abraham” into which they as Gentiles had already entered (cf. 3.29).

On the other hand, the gift of the Spirit to Gentiles was both recognised among the first Christians, and acknowledged as the sure indication of God’s acceptance (Gal. 3.2-5; 4.6, 29; 5.5; Rom. 8.9, 14). Thus, “God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts” (Gal. 4.6); the “Holy Spirit has been given to us” (Rom. 5.5); God has “given us the down payment of his Spirit” (2 Cor. 1.22; cf. 5.5); and “we have received the Spirit” (Gal. 3.14; cf. 1 Cor. 2.12) all point towards the idea of Paul’s deep seated awareness of God’s gift of the Spirit upon non-Israelites.

Thus even from his earliest extent of letters¹⁴⁵ it is evident that Paul’s initial thoughts which undergird his discussion of the Holy Spirit included his dual

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Rom. 15.19, ‘by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of God’s Spirit.

¹⁴⁵ It is generally agreed that 1 Thessalonians is the oldest of Paul’s extant letters. See for example, E. Best, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (London: A.C. Black, 1986); F.F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians* (WBC; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1982); J.E. Frame, *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians* (ICC, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912); L. Morris, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991); C.A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians, A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990). A limited number of scholars have suggested a relative chronology of Thessalonian letters which would place the composition of 2 Thessalonians before that of 1 Thessalonians. See T.W. Manson, ‘St. Paul in Greece: The Letters to the Thessalonians’, *BJRL* 35 (1952-53): 428-447; J. Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150*, Vol. 1 (trans. and ed. F.C. Grant; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959); J.C. West, ‘The Order of 1 and 2 Thessalonians’, *JTS* 15 (1914) 66-74. Such a point of view is rejected by modern scholarship, not only on the grounds of chronological arguments, but also because 2 Thessalonians is often regarded as deutero-Pauline. For a summary overview of recent studies in Pauline chronology see R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul’s Life* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); A.J.M. Wedderburn, ‘Keeping up with Recent studies: VIII. Some Recent Pauline Chronologies’, *ExpT* 92 (1981) 103-108.

Scholars also maintain an early date for Galatians. See A.W.F. Blunt, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, Clarendon Bible (Oxford, 1925); G.S. Duncan, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, Moffatt Commentary (London, 1934) xxii ff.; C.S.C. Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* (BNTC; London, 1950); J.G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul’s Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1928) 200ff.; F.F. Bruce, ‘Galatian Problems.2. North or South Galatians?’, *BJRL* 52 (1969-70): 243-66; idem, *Commentary on Galatians* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982) 55, H.D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul’s Letter to the Churches in Galatians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); idem, ‘Paul’, *ABD* 5: 186-201; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul’s Letter to the Galatians* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) 12-17. R.Y.K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953) 28. C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989); S. Mitchell, ‘Galatians’, *ABD* 2: 871; L. Morris, *Galatians: Paul’s Charter of Christian Freedom* (Leicester: IVP, 1996) 20; C. Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien* (AGJU 38; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

convictions that he was called to be an apostle to the Gentiles and that God has given his Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from them first becoming the members of the covenant community. The latter aspect lies at the heart of Pauline pneumatology - a conviction that God has graciously endowed the gift of the Spirit upon his Gentile converts.

1.3.3. Thesis

Our thesis is: Paul's early Christian thinking on the Holy Spirit is built on the belief that God has bestowed the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah observance. This conviction in turn is rooted primarily in his own Damascus experience and secondarily in his experience with and as a missionary of the Hellenistic community in Antioch.

Such a consideration, which arises out of an inquiry into the initial thoughts of Paul on the Holy Spirit, suggests that the whole question of the origins of Pauline pneumatology deserves a more thorough and separate investigation. This brings us to specific aims of the present study.

The main aim of the study is to investigate Paul's conviction about the bestowal of the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah obedience. The more specific objectives are: (i) To identify the nature and extent of such a conviction by raising following questions. Did Paul anticipate an outpouring of the Spirit without the Law? Did Paul expect the Gentiles to receive the Spirit when he went to them in mission? Was he surprised that the Spirit fell on the Gentiles apart from them becoming proselytes? (ii) To provide a plausible rationale for Paul's conviction by addressing the following: How can we account for Paul's conviction that God has poured out the Spirit upon the Gentiles? To what extent did Paul's own self-understanding and his own experience of the Spirit and his interactions with the early Christian communities contribute to his initial thinking on theology of Spirit?

In order to achieve these objectives, the present study will survey, first, the range of expectations of the Spirit upon people that were present in both Hebrew scripture as well as in the Jewish literature which stands as a conceptual background where Paul experienced his call to the Gentiles. Second it will also evaluate Paul's pre-Christian convictions about the Spirit, as they evolved from his own self-perception as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church. And finally, we shall elucidate Paul's own experience, particularly his 'conversion/call' experience and his initial years with the church in Antioch will be discussed.

1. 4. Method and procedure

The study will approach the issue from a historical perspective, and will therefore employ insights from application of the historical-critical method. The historical-critical inquiry will not only enable us to uncover and elucidate the meanings of the relevant texts in discussion but also will assist us with historical inquires wherever needed.

The research will consist of four parts, including this introduction. Part two (chapters two and three) will be devoted to an analysis of pertinent texts that anticipate the outpouring of the Spirit upon people in both Hebrew Scripture and Jewish literature.¹⁴⁶ In chapter two we will examine passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, particularly, passages from exilic and post-exilic period (Ezekiel, Isaiah and Joel). Chapter three is dedicated to an analysis of various interpretative traditions in the post-biblical literature concerning the anticipation of the Spirit in the age to come, particularly upon Gentiles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 4 Ezra, *Psalms of Solomon*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, Dead Sea Scrolls, Philonic and Rabbinic literature).¹⁴⁷ Part 3 (chapters four and five) investigates Paul's own pre-Christian convictions about the Spirit particularly evolving from his own self-perception as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church. In part four (chapters six and seven) we shall argue that Paul's own experience of the Spirit was a major creative factor in his own understanding of the Spirit, particularly the Damascus experience and his early experiences among the Gentile communities, particularly the Hellenists and the church in Antioch. Finally, in chapter eight we shall summarise our findings and draw out the implications for our understanding of Pauline pneumatology.

In order to keep the amount of pertinent literature within reasonable limits, we will confine the arguments to the key issues that are under discussion. Since our knowledge of Paul is limited primarily to a handful of occasional letters, any attempt to investigate his understanding about the Spirit upon Gentiles needs to proceed with

¹⁴⁶ By 'Jewish' we refer to the literature, culture, religion, and the writings produced by the Jews until the second century C.E. However, we will not be using terms like 'Formative Judaism' (J. Neusner, *Formative Judaism: Religious, Historical, and Literary Studies* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983]), 'Early Judaism' in J.H. Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament: Prolegomena for the Study of the Christian Origins* [SNTSMS 54; Cambridge: CUP, 1985] 59), or 'Middle Judaism' (G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 BCE to 200 CE* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991] or 'Normative Judaism' (Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*, 61). Rather the term 'Judaism' is used to refer the systems of culture and religion produced by the Jews from the third century BCE.

¹⁴⁷ Rabbinic texts will be cited occasionally for comparison. Graeco-Roman views will be noted only briefly since Paul's treatment of the particular issue under consideration stems by common consent from Jewish sources.

care and deliberation. The seven letters commonly considered as authentic provide us with evidence concerning our thesis. However, the book of Acts will also be used only after critical judgment has been exercised as to the relation of each instance to Paul's earlier writings.

Finally, such a study of Pauline pneumatology has its place in the mass of pneumatological literature that has been produced over the century. It is hoped that this present study will provide fresh insights on the origins of Paul's pneumatology as well as raise some issues for consideration in the continued effort of understanding and interpreting the rise and development of nascent Christianity.

PART 2
THE CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND FOR
THE ESCHATOLOGICAL BESTOWAL OF THE SPIRIT

Introduction to Part 2

The main objective of part 2 is to survey the range of expectations of the Spirit coming upon 'all' people that were present in the Jewish world of meaning in which Paul socialised, and in which he experienced his call as 'an apostle to the Gentiles'. The reason for this investigation is to discover the extent to which the Jewish expectation of the Spirit upon 'all' prepares for and possibly explains Paul's conviction that God has given his Spirit to the Gentiles *apart from* the Law. Paul's initial thoughts on the Holy Spirit may be best understood against the background of the expectation that in the age to come there would be fresh manifestations of the Spirit upon 'all'; and this idea is particularly seen as an emerging trend in the exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature.

There are numerous passages in the Hebrew Scriptures that are generally considered as referring to a future outpouring of the Spirit. Two strands of thought are predominant — 1) the idea that in the age to come the gift of the Spirit will be bestowed upon a messianic figure (Isa. 11.2; 42.1; 61.1). The post-biblical literature (*1 Enoch* 49.2–3, 61.11–12; 62.2; *Pss.* 17.37; 18.7; 11QMel. 2.18; CD 2.11–13; 1QSb.5.24; cf. 4QpIsa^a 3.10–19) continue to affirm the gift of the Spirit to (a) messiah/anointed figure (s) during the end-time.¹ 2) in the future age the community/nation will be endowed with the gift of the Spirit (Isa. 28.5–6; 32.15; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek. 36.23–31; 37.1–14; 39.29; Joel 3.1–5; Zech. 12.10). However, references to the Spirit in the Second Temple Judaism are diverse and both postulate

¹ Scholars do recognise that before the NT period, both strands were transmitted independently of each other and only in the late NT writings are they combined to state that a spirit-endowed messiah will transmit the Spirit upon the people. See J. Becker, *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* (JSHRZ 3; Gutersloh: Mohn, 1980) 76; Horn, *ABD* 3:265. Among the post-biblical literature only *T. Levi.* 18.11; *T. Jud.* 24.3 refers to the agency of the messiah with the eschatological gift of the Spirit. Since both texts were generally understood as a Christian interpolation we will not be taking this line of thought any further in our discussion. See discussions in Becker (*Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*), H.W. Hollander and M.de Jonge (*The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* [Leiden: Brill, 1985]); H. Ulrichsen (*Die Grundschrift der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift* [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991]). However, E.R. Stuckenbruck ('The Spirit at Pentecost', in C.R. Wetzell (ed.), *Essays of New Testament Christianity* [Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing, 1978] 90–102) provides valuable discussion on the influence of Joel on the passage.

a future anticipation (*Jub.* 1.22–23; cf. *4 Ezra* 6.26) and acknowledge the Spirit's present availability (1QS 3.6–12; 9.3–5; 1QH 8.19–2; 16.11b–12; *Wis.* 1.4–7; 722–25; 9.17–18; Philo *Leg.* 1.31–38; *Her.* 259; *Vir.* 212–219).

Since our interest is limited to the *corporate* anticipation of the Spirit, the enquiry will be directed toward understanding as fully as possible the significance of the anticipation of the Spirit upon 'all', from the exilic era through to contemporary Judaism. Within this line of thought, the task of this section will be to identify and to elaborate relevant data on the corporate anticipation of the Spirit from the extant literature. As a corollary to the above enquiry, Gentiles receiving the Spirit apart from becoming a member of God's community will be of some interest. This precision has ramifications for how the anticipation of the Spirit upon Gentiles during the period under discussion might be construed in relation to Paul's convictions about the Spirit poured out upon Gentiles.

Chapter 2

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL BESTOWAL OF THE SPIRIT UPON PEOPLE IN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

2.1. Introduction

Past scholarly contributions have been significant for the understanding of the concept of the Spirit in Old Testament,¹ but only a few scholars have discussed in detail the eschatological anticipation of the Spirit.²

While approaching the subject of our interest, one comes across a diversity of opinions over in the identification of passages in the Old Testament where we find the expectation of the Spirit in the age to come. For example, Neve, considers passages like Isa. 32.15; 44.3; Ezek. 36.26–27; 39.29; Joel 2.28–29 as indicative of renewal and transformation of YHWH's people in the future,³ while Montague's interests in the growth of the Spirit tradition classifies the relevant passages into various historical periods, viz pre-Exilic prophetic texts (Isa. 28.5–6; 32.15), exile and return (Ezek. 36.23–31; 37.1–14; Isa. 44.3; 59.21) and apocalyptic texts (Joel 3.1–5; Zech. 12.10).⁴

¹ For the major works on the Spirit of God in the Old Testament see P. Volz (*Der Geist Gottes und die Verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im Anschliessenden Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1910); D. Lys, 'Rûach', *le souffle dans l'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); L. Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1972); L.J. Wood, *The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976); M. Dreytza, *Der theologische Gebrauch von RUAḤ im Alten Testament: Eine wort- und satzsemantische Studie* (Basel: Brunnen, 1992). The general concerns in most of these writings are directed towards the origin of the Hebrew idea of God's Spirit, drawing conclusions from different strands identifiable in the spirit tradition in Hebrew as well as ancient Semitic traditions. Other works like, Montague, *Holy Spirit*; J. Rea, *The Holy Spirit in the Bible: All Major Passages About the Spirit* (Florida: Creation House, 1990); W. Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995) surveys the Old Testament passages from various methodological interests. Recently, Wonsuk Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah* (JSOTSS 271, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) has focused his study on the Spirit tradition in the books of the Old Testament.

² R.T. Koch, *Geist und Messias* (Freiburg: Herder, 1950); idem, *Der Geist Gottes im Alten Testament* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991).

³ See Neve, *Spirit of God*, Chp.4. See other like W.H. Schmidt ('Geist', *TRE* 12 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984] 170–73) classify the anticipation of the eschatological Spirit in terms of 'Wende und Neuschöpfung durch den Geist' (Ezek. 11.19; 18.31; 33.10; 36.26; 37.11; Isa. 29.24; 44.3). Bieder, ('πνεῦμα', *TDNT* 6:370) includes Isa. 32.15; Isa. 44.3; Ezek. 11.19; 36.26; Joel 2.28; Zech. 12.10, as eschatological texts.

⁴ See Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 39–40, 45–60, 85–88. However, for Hildebrandt (*An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God*, 91–103) the passages falls under one classification i.e., restoration of God's people (Isa. 32.15; 44.3; Ezek. 36.27; 37.1–14; 39.29; Joel 2.28–29; Hag. 2.5; Zec.4.6; 6.8).

Among the contemporary scholars on the Spirit in the Old Testament, Koch's work is specifically directed to the concept of 'messiah' and the eschatological role of the רוּחַ upon YHWH's community. While maintaining a development in the Spirit tradition, Koch makes a distinction between the effects of the Spirit *in der messianischen Heilsgemeinschaft* (Isa. 4.2–6; 28.5; 32.15.20; 44.1–5; 59.21; Ezek. 37.1–14) and *in den Mitgliedern der messianischen Heilszeit* (Joel 3.1–5; Ezek. 36.16–38; Jer. 31.31–34). For him the former passages are exilic in origin and refer to the Spirit endowment given to the whole community, whereas the latter texts, especially from the postexilic times, have the gift of the Spirit shifting from the messianic community to its individual members.⁵

Although such classifications are helpful in throwing more light on the text, our primary concern in this chapter is to provide a detailed examination of key texts emerging from the exilic and postexilic periods of Israelite history that deal with the anticipation of the Spirit in the age to come on the whole community, with a specific interest in the extent of Gentile inclusion. Two passages are crucial for our examination — Isa. 44.1–5 and Joel 3.1–5. However, passages like Isa. 32.15–20; Ezek. 36.26–27; 37.1–14; 39.29⁶ will also be examined to provide an understanding of the broader context of the prophetic promise of the Spirit.

As a cautionary note while examining the texts, the term 'eschatology' will be used in a general sense.⁷ The prophetic literature does not offer systematic descriptions of the writers' views of the future, which took a variety of forms. On the one hand, the expectation of the gift of the Spirit is linked to the nationalistic model of eschatology centred on the deliverance and glorification of the nation, while on the other the Spirit is anticipated upon the people of God in the final age. The difficulty is that the prophetic literature tends to discuss individual events or only limited parts of the final

⁵ Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 109–137.

⁶ Since our focus is on passages possibly pointing to the anticipation of Spirit upon Gentiles, we will not be discussing Isa. 28.5–6; 59.21; and Zech. 12.10.

⁷ See discussions in G. Wanke, 'Eschatologie im Alten Testament', in H.D. Preuss (ed.) *Eschatologie im Alten Testament* (Wege der Forschung; Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978). The outpouring of the Spirit in the age to come is generally considered as eschatological phenomena. In its broadest sense, 'eschatological' includes all the events that refer to the age to come. But in its restricted form, the term also refers to future anticipations, particularly to when the events anticipated form part of the historical process. F.F. Bruce's ('Eschatology', in W.A. Elwell [ed.], *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984] 362) clarification of the term 'eschatology' is helpful. According to him, 'Eschatology' may denote the consummation of God's purpose whether it coincides with the end of the world (or of history) or not, whether the consummation is totally final or marks a stage in the unfolding pattern of his purpose. For further discussion see J.P. van der Ploeg, 'Eschatology in the Old Testament' in M.A. Beek (ed.), *Witness of Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 1978) 89–99; J. Lindblom (*Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962] 316).

age, and the chronological sequence between events is frequently not clear.

The task, then, in this chapter is (i) to elucidate the nature of expectations of the Spirit in the key passages; (ii) to identify the recipients of the promise and the Israelite hopes of the outpouring of the Spirit in relation to the Gentiles; and (iii) to explain in the light of the above observations the extent which expectation of the Spirit is used in the subsequent Jewish traditions. Such an investigation will help us to discover the extent to which the Old Testament expectation of the Spirit upon 'all' offers clues to explain Paul's convictions regarding the Spirit.

2.2. The Book of Ezekiel

Among the pre-exilic and exilic canonical prophets,⁸ the writer of the book of Ezekiel stands out for his perceptible usage of the term רוּחַ,⁹ particularly where רוּחַ designates the Spirit of God.¹⁰ Of the various senses in which the word is used, the most relevant to our inquiry is the usage in which Ezekiel's eschatological visions foresee a time when YHWH will *give* (נתן) Ezek. 36.26–27; 37.14) or *pour out* (שפך) Ezek. 39.29) YHWH's רוּחַ upon the whole people.

2.2.1. Ezek. 36.26–27¹¹

In Ezek. 36.26–27, the theme of the promise of the Spirit upon the *בית ישראל* derives from YHWH's concern for his reputation.¹² Israel's defiling conduct caused

⁸ Of the 151 references to רוּחַ in the later prophets Ezekiel has to his credit about one-third. There are 52 references to רוּחַ in the book of Ezekiel, in comparison to 28 in Isaiah, 9 in Deutero-Isaiah and 18 in Jeremiah. The importance of Ezekiel's pneumatology is not to be confined to numerical terms alone; rather, his significance emerges from the creative use of רוּחַ at a time when his pre-exilic and exilic contemporaries conspicuously evaded its usage. Scholars have long since noted that reference to רוּחַ is comparatively rare in pre-exilic prophetic literature. Amos, Zephaniah, Nahum and Jeremiah never mention רוּחַ or link their work with its operation, and neither does Isaiah connect the Spirit with his prophetic activity. Only in Hosea and Micah and possibly Habakkuk are there traces of such a connection. See W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 25–48* (trans. J.D. Martin; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) 42; K.W. Carley, *Ezekiel among the Prophets, A Study of Ezekiel's Place in Prophetic Tradition* (London: SCM Press, 1975) 24.

⁹ Ezekiel employs the term רוּחַ in a wide range of senses throughout the book, with notable concentrations in chs.1–24 and in chs.33–48. The prophet refers to רוּחַ as wind (1.4; 5.2; 10.12; 12.14; 13.3,11,13; 17.10,21; 19.12; 21.26), as breath (Ezek. 37.9, 10), and as a medium of both the seat of cognition and feeling (Ezek. 3.14; 11.5; 13.3; 38.10). See Block, 'Use of *RWH* in the book of Ezekiel', *JETS* 32 (1989) 29.

¹⁰ Since detailed study on the use of רוּחַ as the Spirit of God is available elsewhere, it will not be rehearsed again here. W. Zimmerli, 'רוּחַ in the Book of Ezekiel' in *Ezekiel 2*, 566–568; Block, 'Use of *RWH*', 27–49.

¹¹ Most scholars consider 36.16–38 as a single unit. See L.C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1990); M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 726–740. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*: 245–46) assign 36.23b–38 to the 'school' of Ezekiel.

¹² P. Joyce, *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel* (JSOTSS 51; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 103; Zimmerli's (*Ezekiel 2*, 247–48).

their expulsion from their land and dispersion among the nations (vv.17–19). The גוים interpret the fate of Israel as evidence of the weakness of YHWH, whose name is thereby profaned (vv.20–21). As a result, YHWH was concerned for his שם declaring, ‘It is not for your sake, O house of Israel, that I am about to act, but for the sake of my holy name’ (v.22).¹³ YHWH promises that he will gather (קבץ) the exiles back to their land (v.24); sprinkle (זרק) them with clean water to purify them from impurities (v.25);¹⁴ place (נתן) a new heart and a new spirit in them (v.26) and put (נתן) YHWH’s Spirit within them causing (עשה) obedience to the law (vv.26–27) which is necessary for their permanent dwelling in the land.

2.2.1.1 The Expectation of רוּחַ

Two expressions that are important in relation to the promise — ‘a new spirit (רוּחַ חַדְשָׁה) I will put within you’ (v.26) and ‘I will put *my spirit* (רוּחִי) within you’ (v.27) — require further elaboration.

The reference to רוּחַ with an adjective חַדְשָׁה in v.26 (cf. 11.19, 18.31) is unique to the book of Ezekiel.¹⁵ Such a feature has created considerable discussions among scholarly circles on the nature and function of the רוּחַ, as to whether רוּחַ is theological or anthropological in its meaning. The majority of scholars argue for an anthropological interpretation.¹⁶ Although disagreements exist concerning the distinctions between functions of ‘heart’ and ‘spirit’,¹⁷ recent discussions on רוּחַ חַדְשָׁה indicate a common consensus to treat רוּחַ as synonymous with לֵב.¹⁸

¹³ The phrase also occurs in Ezek. 20.9; 14, 22 & 44; cf. Deut. 30.6; Jer. 31.33. See Greenberg (*Ezekiel 21–48*, 737–738) for further discussion.

¹⁴ The first way in which YHWH would display his holiness would be by sprinkling clean water upon the regathered people; as a result they would be טָהוֹר (clean) from their טִמְאָה (defilement) and גִּלּוּל (idolatry v.25). For Ezekiel the issue is not simply an external ceremonial cleansing accompanying the internal renewal described in vv.26–27, but a wholesale cleansing from sin performed by YHWH, a necessary precondition to normalising the spiritual relationship between YHWH and his people. There is a possible link to Num. 11.18 which refers to ‘consecration’ as a prior action to the coming of the רוּחַ.

¹⁵ In the whole of Hebrew Scriptures it occurs only in Ezekiel 11.19; 18.31 and 36.26. The closest parallel would be וְרוּחַ נְכוֹן חַדֵּשׁ בְּקִרְבִּי (Ps. 51.12).

¹⁶ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 263; idem, *Ezekiel 2*, 249; Joyce, *Divine Initiative*, 109; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 179; G.A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1970) 391–92; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1970) 499.

¹⁷ See H.W. Wolff (*Anthropology of the Old Testament* [trans. Margaret Kohl, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974] 38); Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2: 134 ff. While Block (‘Use of RWH’, 38–39; idem, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 356) raises an objection to the anthropological view, in particular the synonymous interpretation of רוּחַ and לֵב, and considers רוּחַ חַדְשָׁה as YHWH’s spirit. His position rests on the difference in the use of prepositions associated with the verbs נתן – a new heart is *given* לָכֶם (to you) the house of Israel and the new spirit is placed within her (בְּקִרְבָּנָהּ). For Block, (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 356.) this distinction is elaborated in vv.26b–27 where the provision of the new heart involves a removal of the petrified organ and its replacement with a heart of flesh, the source of which is unspecified. While the new spirit is YHWH’s Spirit, which is the source that animates and vivifies its recipients it is probably

The usage of the verb *give* (נתן) stands out in vv.26–27. נתן is often used in the *Heilsorakel* to refer to YHWH's promise of 'offspring' and 'land'.¹⁹ But when juxtaposed with body parts,²⁰ especially with לב, it always has YHWH as its subject and describes what YHWH provides for a person's inner being, whether it be plans to carry out (Neh. 2.12; 7.5) or to a wisdom and ability (Exod. 35.34; 36.2; 2 Chr. 9.23). P. Joyce, whilst correctly noting that the Hebrew noun לב is employed in a wide range of senses,²¹ defines it in the present passage as "the locus of the moral will."²²

unwise to attempt to argue for a theological interpretation for רוח חדשה on the basis of the use of prepositions, since the use of בקרבכם itself is unclear. (1) The second masculine plural pronominal suffix in בקרבכם קרב occurs twelve times in the Old Testament (Num. 11.20; 14.42; Deut. 1.42; Josh. 3.5, 10; 4.6; 18.7; 24.23; Jer. 29.8; Ezek. 11.19; 36.26, 27). Very often, בקרבכם (קרב) refers to an internal body organ, 'within your inward part' (For example, Gen. 25.22; 41.21; 1 Sam. 25.27) or as seat of thought and emotion (See 1 Kgs. 3.28; Isa. 16.11; 49.12; Jer. 4.14; 9.7; Ps. 39.4; 51.12; 55.5; 109.22; Lam. 1.20.). LXX translates בקרבכם as εἰς τὸν ἔσω, which almost all English translations follow "put within you" AV, NRSV etc. But the *Ezekiel Targum* considers בקרבכם in a more anthropological way: "deep inside you" or "in your intestines" thus as a human organ and parallel to the use of 'heart' to represent the locus of moral will. S.H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel, Translated with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987) 41, 102. (2) The diversity in use of preposition might have resulted from the complexity of Ezekiel's presentation. See discussions in Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 245; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 176; Joyce, *Divine Initiative*, 117. (3) Similar usages (לב and בקרבכם) are not however uncommon in the Hebrew Scriptures (See Num. 11.20; 14.42; Deut. 1.42; Josh. 4.6; 18.7; Jer. 29.8). (4) In addition, similar inconsistencies are evident in the passage, especially in the use of verbs. For example, there is neither a parallel nor an analogous use to that of the verb סור in vv.26–27. That is, an equivalent explanation for the 'new heart' as a transformation from a heart of stone to a heart of flesh is not attributed to רוח חדשה. (5) More importantly, if understood theologically (רוח חדשה synonymous with רוחי), an explanation is needed (which Block avoids) regarding the feminine adjective חדשה, which is attributed to רוח. Does Ezekiel apprehend a 'new' Spirit that would be given to the people of YHWH in the future as different from a Spirit that is already operative in Israelite religion/experience?

¹⁸ Joyce, *Divine Initiative*, 110–114.

¹⁹ For example in the patriarchal narratives, Gen. 17.8; 20; 26.4; 48.4 and in Deuteronomy, Deut. 11.14, 15; 18.18; in prophetic literature, Isa. 45.3; 46.13; 49.6; 56.5; 61.8; Jer. 24.7; Ezek. 37.6, 14, 39; 44.14; Joel 3.3.

²⁰ References to other body parts include כתף (shoulder Neh. 9.29; Zech. 7.11), ערף (neck – Exod. 23.27; 2 Sam. 22.41), יד (hand – Gen. 27.17; Deut. 24.1,3; Judg. 7.16), פנים (face – Gen. 30.40; Dan. 9.3).

²¹ It is used of the physical organ (Jer. 4.19), in a metaphorical sense (1 Sam.2.1; Isa. 40.2) and for the rational faculty (1 Kgs. 5.9).

²² לב is predominantly used in Ezekiel within this notion. For example Ezek. 6.9; 14.3; cf. 2.4, 3.7; 6.9; 14.3. The notion of the giving of a לב חדש has parallels elsewhere, particularly in the distinctive combination of the verb נתן and the noun לב. In Jeremiah the motif of heart is used as the place of moral response (Jer. 24.7; 31.33; 32.39; Deut. 6.4–5; 30.6, 10). The moral connotation of 'heart' in these passages is obvious when we see its use with the verbs ירא (fear, 32.39) and ידע (know, 24.7; 31.34). Jeremiah uses *knowledge* as its content of law and it is God's future gift (Jer. 24.7; 31.34). See R.W. Klein, *Israel in Exile, A Theological Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 64–65. Likewise in Deuteronomy לב is the centre of moral will (Deut. 4.29; 6.5; 10.12; 11.13; 13.4; 26.16; 30.2, 6, 10; Josh. 22.5; 23.14; 24.23; 1 Kgs.2.4; 8.48; 2 Kgs. 23.3, 25; Jer. 32.14). In Deuteronomy לבב is used in connection with obedience to YHWH and often with the verb שמע (to hear, to obey Deut. 30.2; cf. Deut. 11.13; 30.17). See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–48*, 737–38; E.W. Nicholson, *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study*

Along with such an observation, it is notable that the Old Testament's assimilation of רוח with anthropological terms, which derives from its juxtaposition with internal human organs,²³ especially לב, is a later phenomenon, particularly evident in the exilic and post exilic literature.²⁴ When רוח is used with לב,²⁵ it means the centre of human volition, and the subsequent discussions typically consist of deliberate actions.²⁶ In Ezek. 36.26, then, רוח is not used so much as a component, but as a new human capacity to respond to YHWH. Thus the expectation of a לב חדש and the רוח חדשה both refer primarily to the YHWH's gift of a renewed capacity to respond intensely to YHWH in obedience in the future.

Scholarly opinion is united in considering רוחי in v.27 as theological — the Spirit of YHWH.²⁷ But there are considerable differences as to the exact experience of YHWH's Spirit coming upon the people in the future. Suggestions to its close relationship with Ps. 51.12–14,²⁸ I Sam.10.6,²⁹ or to the experience of רוח in Ezek. 36.26–27 fall in line with Ezek. 1.5–14, 19–21, 1.28 and 37.1–14.³⁰

References to the first person singular usage — רוחי — as YHWH's Spirit predominantly occur in exilic and post-exilic literature, particularly in the restoration passages (Isa. 42.1; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek. 36.27; 37.14; 39.29; Joel 3.1,2; Hag. 2.5; Zech. 4.6; 6.8).³¹ The usage indicates that the only locus of this concept is YHWH's own speech, specifically prophetic proclamations and descriptions of salvation.³²

The purpose for which the gift of the Spirit is given is defined in 36.26–27 (cf. 11.19–20) as, 'I will *cause* you (עשה) to *walk* (הלך) in my statutes and be careful (שמר)

of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 81–84; L. Boadt, 'Book of Ezekiel', *ABD* 2: 719ff.; Klein, *Theology of Exile*, 66.

²³ Albertz and Westermann, 'רוח', *TLOT* 3: 1208.

²⁴ For example, the correlation of words occurs in Exod. 35.21; Deut. 2.30; Josh. 2.11; 5.1; Job 32.19; Isa. 65.14; Ps. 34.19; 51.9, 17; 78.8; 143.4; Pro.15.13; 17.22; Ezek. 11.19; 18.31; 36.36; Dan. 5.20.

²⁵ In contrast to לב, which from the outset relates to the person, רוח was not originally a component of the individual in the same manner as לב, rather a power that can govern a person not only from inside but also from outside. See, Albertz and Westermann, *TLOT* 3:1209; Johnson, *Vitality*, 76.

²⁶ Albertz and Westermann, *TLOT* 3: 1211.

²⁷ ואת-רוחי in v.27 is a Hapax Legomenon, the only one of its kind in MT. Greenberg (*Ezekiel 21–37*, 730) considers רוחי as 'animating impulse'.

²⁸ Cooke (*Ezekiel*, 392) who attributes oracles of restoration to the redactor of the later exilic period, finds a close relationship in Ezekiel's usage with that of Ps. 51.12–14.

²⁹ See Zimmerli, (*Ezekiel* 2, 249) considers the effect of רוח in Ezek. 36.27 as some thing similar to that of 1 Sam. 10.6 where רוח comes upon the entire group and induces ecstasy. The experience related to Spirit expressed in 1 Sam. 10.6 and Ezek. 1.5–14, 19–21, 28 and 37.1–14 are quite different from that of Ezek. 36.27.

³⁰ See Block ('Use of *RWH*', 35–38; idem, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 356.

³¹ Gen. 6:3 is an exception to this.

³² Albertz and Westermann, *TLOT* 3: 1213.

to *observe* (עָשָׂה) my ordinances'. The emphasis here is that YHWH's Spirit will *cause* (עָשָׂה)³³ the regathered and purified Israel to obey YHWH's statutes. There are no similar passages in the rest of the Old Testament which express this precise expectation of the Spirit.

The experience of the Spirit in Ezekiel may probably be most closely likened to that in First Isaiah.³⁴ In Isa. 11.2 it is the power through which God would lead the messianic figure, who is to guide the people into religious submission and moral obedience (Isa. 11.2; cf. 42.1), and the power given to him in order to be permanently effective.

But in Ezekiel there are differences. Whereas in Isaiah the endowment of the Spirit is upon the messianic figure,³⁵ in Ezekiel it is the regathered Israel³⁶ who is endowed with the Spirit. Further, immediately after the promise of the Spirit comes the assurance that 'you shall be my people, and I will be your God' (Ezek. 36.28).³⁷ In the new covenant, by the infusion of YHWH's Spirit, the ingathered Israel will be enabled to walk in and observe the commandments of YHWH, and as a result the covenant relationship between God and his people will be restored.³⁸

One may also note the fact that Ezekiel's promise of the Spirit has an exclusive nature, in that the gift is given to the covenant community of Israel, and the nations are thus excluded from the promise.³⁹ The gift of YHWH's Spirit upon the house of Israel

³³ The theological usage of the term עָשָׂה indicates YHWH's saving activity in Israel (Gen. 12.2; Exod. 14.13; 15.11; 1 Sam. 11.13). See J. Vollmer, 'עָשָׂה', *THAT* 2: 359–369.

³⁴ Ezekiel's links with Isaiah have been observed by a number of scholars (F. Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926) 23–24; Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 500).

³⁵ It is interesting to note that though more than one-fourth of Ezekiel's prophecies look forward to Israel's glorious tomorrow, overt references to the messianic figure in the book are remarkably few (34.22–23; 37.22–25). Only by inference can the נְשִׂיאַ of chs.40–48 be identified as Davidic, and his role is described in other than royal terms. Surprisingly one will not find a single reference that indicates that he would be endowed with the gift of the Spirit.

³⁶ Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 500.

³⁷ In the Old Testament, this formula frequently occurs in a covenant (בְּרִית) context (Exod. 6.7; Lev. 26.12; Deut. 29.6; Jer. 11.4; 31.33; 32.38). See von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2: 235. The covenantal basis for YHWH's relationship with Israel is evident not only in the prophet's designation of Israel as 'my people' which occurs more than 25 times, but also in numerous citations of and allusions to the covenant formula, "I will be your God and you will be my people" (Ezek. 11.20; 14.11; 34.24, 30–31; 36.28; 37.23).

³⁸ What Jeremiah (31.33) attributes to the infusion of the divine Torah, Ezekiel ascribes to the infusion of the רִוּחַ. In both, the result is the renewal of the covenant relationship.

³⁹ In this passage the term עַם is exclusively reserved for "Israel", while גוֹיִם refers to the other nations. Hebrew has only two lexemes for people גוֹיִם and עַם. There are about 356 occurrences of עַם-יְהוּדָה. The combination of עַם-יְהוּדָה and its reformulation in "my/your people" appear typically in the contexts of deliverance and intercession (cf. Jug.5.11; 13; then in J: Exod. 3.7, 10; 5.1, 23; 7.16, 26; 8.16ff.; 9.1ff.; and 10.3f. The formulae are rather frequent within the prophetic corpus (152 occurrences). More than

needs to be understood in line with the prophet's constant reference to גוים (nations) deriding the עם-יהוה (Ezek. 36.23). Every 'passerby' (כָּל-עוֹבֵר) v.34 = 5.14)⁴⁰ and the surrounding גוים will come to 'know' (יָדַע) that YHWH has executed his promise. There are no overt references to indicate that the nations will join the reconstituted Israel; however, the nations are presented simply as the spectators of YHWH's salvific activity.⁴¹

2.2.2. Ezek. 37.1–14

A second passage⁴² where the prophet envisages a future coming of the Spirit upon YHWH's people is the dramatic vision in 37.1–14.⁴³ Central to the vision is YHWH's promise, where כָּל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל will receive the Spirit, which will enable them to rise from their lost hope to lead a new life in the land of Israel. The assurance of YHWH is directed towards the end that Israel might indeed know that 'I am YHWH'.⁴⁴

2/3 of all instances of עם-יהוה occur in YHWH speeches, speeches in the name of YHWH, or prayers addressed to YHWH. The Covenant formula sets forth the confession that YHWH is Israel's God and Israel is his people. There are a large group of texts including the present text, which use the covenant formula in the context of the exile and the return home (H.D. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology 2* [trans. L.G. Perdue, Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1996, 295ff.]).

⁴⁰ See a parallel usage גוים לעיני גוים in Ezek. 5.8; 20.9, 22, 41; 22.16; 28.25.

⁴¹ The difficulty here is that the text does not mention any concrete consequences that extend beyond this knowledge. See Ezek. 29.6; 36.23, 36; 38.16; 39.23. It is possible to argue that in the final analysis YHWH's activity on Israel's behalf has the purpose of other nations coming to know and acknowledge him as God (Preuss, *Old Testament Theology 2*: 300).

⁴² The play on words, particularly, the eightfold clustering of the noun רוח (vv.5, 6, 8, 9 [x4], 10), fourfold recurrence of the verb היה (vv.5, 6, 9, 10), the threefold use of בוא and the sixfold reference to the noun עצם (vv.4 [x2], 5, 7[x3]) is recognised by previous scholarship. See, Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 399; Block, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 373; idem, 'Use of *RWH*', 38.

⁴³ Scholarly treatments on Ezek. 37.1–14 vary greatly. For example, C. Barth ('Ezechiel 37 als Einheit', in H. Donner *et.al.* (eds.), *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977, 39–52) considers the whole chapter as a single unit. G. Fohrer (*Ezechiel* [HAT 13, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck] 1955) 206) and A. Graffy (*Prophet Confronts His People* [AnBib 104; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1984, 83–86) treat it as diverse units containing: vv.1–10 – the vision, vv.11b–13 – disputation oracle, with "These bones are the whole house of Israel" in v.11a concluding the vision of vv.1–10. They also recognise redactional materials from a later member of the Ezekielian school. Surprisingly Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*,) has refused to accept any redaction in this passage. He considers vv.1–10 and 11–14 as that of image and interpretation. See also C. Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the Old Testament* (trans. K. Crim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991) 133–134; Greenberg, (*Ezekiel 21–37*, 747–48); M.V. Fox, 'The Rhetoric of Ezekiel's Vision of the Valley of Bones', *HUCA* 51 (1980) 1–15.

⁴⁴ The formula occurs 54 times in Ezekiel. Scholars refer its origins in institutional prophecy (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 37–38, Holiness code (H.G. Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel, Ezechiel und seine Tradition* [BZAW 82; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1962] 50ff.), or to the Deuteronomistic history (G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [London: SPCK, 1974] 104; idem, 'Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets', *JBL* 80 [1961] 310).

2.2.2.1 The Expectation of רוח

The phrase “I will put a spirit within you” (v.6)⁴⁵ occurs in Yahweh’s command to the prophet to prophesy רוח (breath of life) over the dry bones. This expectation of רוח in v.6 bears close affinity to the priestly thought in Genesis 2.7,⁴⁶ and this is further evident from the use of רוח together with terms like עצם and חיה. In the Old Testament, עצם is usually used in parallel with the term נפש to denote the common life that is shared by man with other living creatures (Prov. 16.24; Ps. 35.10; Job 7.15).⁴⁷

What stands out in relation to both רוח and עצם is the verb בוא (x 3 in vv.5).⁴⁸ Contrary to the usage of נתן as a gift given by Yahweh, the verb בוא indicates something external that is ‘caused to enter’ into the עצם or called out from the רוחות (winds) in v.9. Yahweh will cause the people who think they are dead to live, and by the word of Ezekiel this will happen through the four winds (Ezek. 37.9).

The metaphor here is primarily of new creation or life for the nation of Israel. The people receive new life and they stand upon their feet as an exceedingly great host.⁴⁹ The emphasis in v.11 that the bones are the כל-בית ישראל indicates a possible link to vv.15–24, where Yahweh promises through the imagery of two sticks that he will עשה (make)⁵⁰ Judah and Israel one nation. The expectation of רוח is in reference to vv.5, 6,

⁴⁵ The occurrence of a very similar phrase in v.6 “I will put רוח within you and you shall live” creates ambiguity in understanding the nature and function of רוח in the passage of our concern and thus requires explanation. The LXX makes a variation –καὶ δώσω πνεῦμά μου εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ζήσεσθε μὲν is most probably added under the influence of 36.27, particularly the use of the verb נתן. Scholars are unanimous in their opinion of the nature of רוח in vv.5, 6 and 9. It is widely acknowledged that רוח referred to in v.6, (cf. 5, 9, 10) is the breath of life. See Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 508–9; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 260–61; Fox, ‘Rhetoric of Ezekiel’s Vision of the Valley of Bones’, 1–15; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 25–37*, 743.

⁴⁶ Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 508–9). While Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 260–61) considers that the usage is borrowed from the priestly thought. He also supports his argument from passages like Ps. 104.29f; Gen. 6.3, 17; 7.15, 22; Num. 16.22; 27.16; Job 10.12; 12.10; 17.1. For a similar position see, Fox, ‘Rhetoric of Ezekiel’s Vision of the Valley of Bones’, 1–15; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 25–37*, 743.

⁴⁷ See Johnson, *Vitality*, 67–69; H. Ringerren, ‘חיה’, *TDOT* 3: 325–344; H.W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (trans. Margaret Kohl; London: SCM Press, 1974) 27, 29, 67.

⁴⁸ בוא is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Old Testament, occurring 2532 times. In the conquest passages, particularly in Deuteronomistic literature, בוא becomes a technical term for land inheritance. Faithfulness and obedience to the covenant stipulations are conditions for successful “entering” and “possessing” (B.T. Arnold, ‘בוא’, *NIDOTTE* 1: 995ff). There are 188 references to בוא in Ezekiel. The verb is used in a wide variety of ways. Occasionally, it is used with רוח in relation to the experience of the prophet (Ezek. 3.24; 11.1; 43.5). It is also used in relation to the promise of returning to the land (Ezek. 11.16; 34.13; cf. 36.24; 37.21; 36.8). See H.D. Preuss, ‘בר’, *TDOT* 2: 20–49; E. Jenni, ‘יום’, *TLOT* 1: 201–204. But בוא is never used in relation to the expectation of the Spirit upon the people (C. Westermann, ‘נפש’, *TLOT* 2: 743–759).

⁴⁹ See Greenburg *Ezekiel 20–48*, 744, 748 for further discussion.

⁵⁰ The verb used here is the most general expression for creation in the Old Testament. W. Foerster, ‘עשה’, *TDNT* 3:1008. The specific verbs יצר - ברא - קנה never replaced the unspecific עשה during

9 as the breath of life, the life–force that is common to all creatures which will recreate כל-בית ישראל as one nation.

Thus the reference to רוח entering into the עצם (bones) needs to be seen as restoration from death in the normal sense. The use of the verb חיה (vv.5, 6, 10) suggests that Yahweh will restore the life of the ‘house of Israel’ by reconstituting them as one nation through the breath of life.⁵¹

The second expression “I will *give/put* (נתן) my spirit (רוח) within you and you shall live v.14) is key to our investigation. Verse 14 occurs in the second part of the vision where the imagery shifts from the valley of dry bones to the graves.⁵² The *Heilswort* comes as a response to the lament of the people, “Our bones are יבש (dried up),⁵³ and our hope is אבדה (lost);⁵⁴ we are גזר (clean cut off v.11).⁵⁵ YHWH proclaims afresh the truth of return to the land, and the gift of YHWH’s Spirit which is further extended by the promise of the people’s lasting settlement therein.

The reference to רוח in this passage is remarkably similar to that of 36.27.⁵⁶ In 37.14 we see that the promise of רוח is placed alongside two key phrases, namely, ‘you shall live’ (וחייתם) and ‘I will place you (ונהנחתי) in your own land’. Both expressions bear resemblance to the usage in Deuteronomy. In the wider Deuteronomistic literature חיים (life) is associated with YHWH (Deut. 8.3; 32.47), and especially with doing YHWH’s commandments (Deut. 4.1; 5.33; 8.1) and with YHWH’s

any period of the Old Testament literature. עשה and יצר are not even used more often than עשה in Deutero–Isaiah and P. No distinction in usage may be identified. Deutero–Isaiah employs עשה, יצר and ברא in parallel but in such a way that עשה indicates God’s creative activity in the most comprehensive sense (Isa. 45.7; 44.24).

⁵¹ Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Book*, 134 ff.

⁵² von Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, [AOAT; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986] 294ff.).

⁵³ The verb יבש “to dry up”, is normally used in the book of Ezekiel in connection with plants (17.9; 10.24; 19.21). The reference to ‘our bones are יבש’ occurs often in the language of praise (Ps. 35.10) and in lament (Ps. 31.11). The closest parallel to Ezek. 37.11 is found in Prov. 17.22.

⁵⁴ The loss of hope was described in the same words as in Ezek. 19.5 (cf. Ps. 9.19; Prov. 10.28; Job 813; 14.19).

⁵⁵ See parallel usage in Lam. 3.54 (נגזרת). גזר can depict the imagery of one who is dead and buried as in Isa. 53.8–9. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 261–62. It also expresses the anguish of being abandoned by God and man as we see in Ps. 31.23, 88.4–5; cf. Lam. 3.5ff. (Greenburg, *Ezekiel 20–37*, 745). Or it can also point to the image of cutting of flowers and grass (Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 295).

⁵⁶ D. Baltzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterocesaja* (BZAW 121; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971) 101–108; Gruffy, *A Prophet Confronts his People*, 83–84; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 187; idem, ‘Structure, Tradition and Redaction in Ezekiel’s Death Valley Vision’, P.R. Davies and D.J.A. Clines (eds.), *Among the Prophets, Language, Image and Structure in the Prophetic Writings* (JSOTSS 144; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 127–142; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*, 257; Joyce, *Divine Initiative*, 92–94.

blessings (Deut. 30.15–20).⁵⁷ A closer resemblance to the present passage can be found in Deut. 16.20, where *ירשת את-הארץ* and *חיה* (inherit the land) are associated with the precondition of *צדק* (justice).

It is important to note that most instances of the notion appear in the exilic and postexilic literature. Interestingly, it is not found in any of the prophets except Ezekiel. Nevertheless, it is found in wisdom literature where *חיים* is used in reference to the instruction of the teacher;⁵⁸ this has no parallels in the book of Ezekiel.

Further similarities to the Deuteronomistic notion are found in Ezek. 20.11, 13, 21; 33.15 (cf. 20.25) where the prophet links YHWH's commandments and *חיה*. But in deuteronomic theology the gift of land and blessing is conditional upon Israel's repentance.⁵⁹ What is significantly new in Ezekiel is the notion of *רוח* and its relation to *חיים*. YHWH's *רוח* will enable Israel to *נח* (settle) in their own land (v.29).⁶⁰ Consistently with the earlier notion (36.27),⁶¹ and particularly by relating *רוח* to *חיים*, the prophet continues to emphasise the consequence of the promise of the Spirit; which is to enable the regathered *כל-בית ישראל* to follow YHWH's ordinances and statutes and thus bring about the renewed occupation of the land.⁶²

Here again it is the *עמי* (37.12, 13), *כל-בית ישראל* (37.11), the covenant community (v.13) who are recipients of both *רוח* (v.6) and *רוחי* (v.14).⁶³ The prophet anticipates that in the future the life-giving Spirit of YHWH will infuse life into *כל-בית ישראל* (which includes both the scattered populations of the former northern kingdom of Israel and of Judah, and those who remain at Jerusalem — 11.15; 32.21f.)

⁵⁷ See Deut. 4.1; 5.33; 6.2; 8.1, 3; 11.8f., 21; 16.20; 22.7; and 25.15.; cf. Lev. 18.5. See von Rad, 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic language of the Psalms', in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken; London: Oliver & Boyd, 1966) 243–266. See also Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*: 396ff.

⁵⁸ Prov. 3.1f., 22; 4.4, 10, 13, 22f.; 6.23; 7.2; 8.35; 9.6,11; 10.17 and 15.24. For a contrast see statements about the path to death in Prov. 2.19; 5.6; 8.36; 15.10 and 19.16.

⁵⁹ Klein, *Israel in Exile*, 41 ff.

⁶⁰ Barth, 'Ezechiel 37 als Einheit', 39–52.

⁶¹ The prophet recapitulates the entire range of YHWH's restorative act (37.23–25) See reference to purging of Israel (= 36.25) and dwelling in their ancestral land (= 36.28).

⁶² Scholars have noted a redactional hand in 36.27 and 37.1–14; 27. See the 'virtual quotation' from 36.27 in v.14 and the parallel echo of 36.27b in 37.24b point to this factor. See Allen, 'Structure, Tradition and Redaction', 140.

⁶³ *Contra* to Allen's position ('Structure, Tradition and Redaction', 140), which is that Yahweh would bring about the obedience of 36.27b, namely via a Davidic king who would impose order among God's people, uniting southern and northern elements with his royal staff or sceptre. Unlike the messianic figures who are endowed with the Spirit of God, there are no references indicating the Spirit endowment upon the future Davidic ruler Messiah (34.23–24; 37.15–15–28 cf.1722–24). In the present passage YHWH's sovereignty is emphasised in the restoration process.

and reconstitute them as one nation. YHWH will also give them his Spirit, which will cause them to live (חיה) in the land permanently.

2.2.3. Ezekiel 39.29⁶⁴

The expectation of an end time outpouring of the Spirit is found again in Ezek. 39.29. Here YHWH promises that he will “restore the fortunes of Jacob” (v.25),⁶⁵ this once again emerges from YHWH’s concern for his own reputation (v.25), and its ultimate purpose is “they shall know (וידעו) I am YHWH” (v.28).

2.2.3.1 The Expectation of רוח

Unlike the earlier usage (Ezek. 36.27; 37.14), Ezek. 39.29 employs a different expression, שפך (to pour out) for the expectations of the רוח.⁶⁶ Interestingly, the combination of the noun רוח and the verb שפך occurs once only in the book of Ezekiel.

A number of scholars have linked the expectation of the רוח in 39.29 with that of 36.27,⁶⁷ while others have found 39.29 more consonant with Joel 3.1ff.⁶⁸ and Isa. 44.1–5.⁶⁹ Contextual considerations are significant for recognising the nature of the expectation of רוח in 39.29. Two expressions are important for our inquiry, namely, “I will pour out” (שפכתי) and “I will not hide (ולא-אסתיר) my face (פני) any more.”

⁶⁴ Scholars tend to attribute the basic core to Ezekiel and the subsequent layers to his school (Allen, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 204). G. Fohrer (*Studien zur Alttestamentliche Prophetie 1949–1965* (BZAW 99; Berlin: A.Töpelmann, 1967, 204–17) does not deal with this text, and deletes vv.23–29 without discussion, considers it as a gloss, apparently from several hands (p.218). Block (‘Gog and the Pouring Out of the Spirit: Reflections in Ezekiel XXXIX 21–29’, *VT* 37 [1987] 266–70) argues that the final unit serves to integrate the Gog unit with the message of chap.33–37. We will be following Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 521; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 289–9 who interpret vv.25–29 as the conclusion of chs.34–37.

⁶⁵ See parallel usages in 16.28 (with reference to Israel) and 29.14 (with reference to Egypt). In this passage the reference is to the house of Israel.

⁶⁶ There is a textual variation in the LXX. Instead of πνεῦμα LXX has τὸν θυμὸν μου (my wrath). J. Lust (*Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation* [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986] 52–53) argues that MT represents a deliberate change in the text at a time when ch.39 was still followed by ch.37 (as in Papy. 967). Against Lust, Block (*Ezekiel 25–48*, 479.) argues that LXX represents a harmonisation with Ezekiel’s stereotypical phrase שפך חמה (to pour out wrath). See also Allen *Ezekiel 20–48*, 202. The Targum supports MT.

⁶⁷ Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 423. Eichrodt (*Ezekiel*, 529, idem. *Theology of the Old Testament 2*, 57–60) and Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2*, 320–321), while considering vv.25–29 as a retrospect to chs. 34–37, argue that the Spirit in 39.29 serves as a guarantee of Israel being continuing objects of divine favour and of the sealing of the future unbroken fellowship by the outpouring of the divine Spirit upon the house of Israel in the final irrevocable union of YHWH with his people. Such an argument is supported by Allen (*Ezekiel 20–48*, 208–209).

⁶⁸ See Block, ‘Gog and the Pouring Out of the Spirit: Reflections in Ezekiel XXXIX 21–29’, *VT* 37 (1987) 266–70; idem, *Ezekiel 25–48*, 488.

⁶⁹ Block, ‘Gog and the Pouring Out’, 268.

In the Old Testament, the verb שָׁפַךְ is used with various nuances.⁷⁰ In the prophetic writings, though, the verb is predominantly used to speak of YHWH's outpouring of anger and wrath in judgement.⁷¹ Although Ezekiel too uses the verb with diverse nuances,⁷² the most noticeable usage is in relation to YHWH's wrath. For example, Ezek. 7.8; 9.8; 20.8; 13, 21, 33, 34; 30.15; 36.18; and 21.36, 22.31 use the phrase שָׁפַךְ חַמָּה . In the present passage, Ezekiel changes what was for him a stereotypical threat of judgement — “I will pour out (שָׁפַךְ) my wrath” (חַמָּה) — into YHWH's restorative activity — “I will pour out (שָׁפַךְ) my spirit (רוּחִי)”.

Such a reversal is further evident in the use of the phrase, “I will not hide (וְלֹא־אֶסְתַּיֵּר) my face (פָּנָי) any more.” The notion of YHWH “hiding his face” occurs predominantly in exilic and postexilic biblical material.⁷³ In the prophetic books these collocations are part of an over-all context, which describes God's hiding as a justified response to Israel's disobedience.⁷⁴ Prophets spoke about YHWH “hiding his face” in their threats of judgement (Isa. 5.25; 9.11; 10.4; 30.28; Jer. 4.4, 26; 6.11; 7.20; 21.12; 23.19; 25.37; Zeph. 1.14ff.).

This hiding of the divine face, which occurs only here in the book of Ezekiel (39.23, 24, 29), implies a break in communication that in this context is the opposite of covenant intimacy (v.22, 28).⁷⁵ Judah's defeat and exile is explained in terms of YHWH's hiding his face (vv.23–24, 29). It relates to God's punishment of sin and especially to his judgement (cf. Isa. 54.8; 64.6; Jer. 33.5; Mic. 3.4). The exilic

⁷⁰ Several times it appears in contexts where eating blood is forbidden (Deut. 12.16; 15.23; Lev. 17.13); or in the context of bloodshed or murder (Num. 35.33; Gen. 37.22; 1 Sam. 25.31; 2 Sam. 3.27–29; 20.10; 1 Chr. 22.8; 28.3). It is also used for pouring out of blood at the altar in a cultic setting (Exod. 29.12; Lev. 7, 4, 18). The verb is also metaphorically used to indicate the pouring out of heart or soul to the Lord in earnest prayers (1 Sam. 1.15; Ps. 22.14; 42.45; 142.2; Lam. 2.11).

⁷¹ Presumably this explains why LXX has $\tau\omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (my wrath).

⁷² Ezek. 16.36; 20.28, 33; 23.8.

⁷³ The majority of occurrences are in Psalms and the prophetic books. The original source of this expression is the seeking of YHWH's face (countenance) in the cultic place. See S. Wagner, ‘סִתַּר’ *ThWAT* 5: 967–977. Positive experiences and connotations, “to cause the face to shine” are also mentioned in Ps. 4.7; 31.17; 67.2; 8.4, 8, 20; 119.135; and Dan. 9.17. See Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 319–20; Block, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 483; S.E. Balentine, *The Hiding of the Face of God in the Old Testament* (New York: OUP, 1983) 65–76.

⁷⁴ Divine abandonment is a prominent motif in Ezekiel's temple vision, given verbal expression by the people themselves when they rationalise their treacherous behaviour with the excuse, “YHWH does not see us; YHWH has abandoned his land” (8.12; 9.9).

⁷⁵ The expression “to set face against” has special significance in Ezekiel (6.2; 13.17; 15.7; 21.7; 25.2, 21; 29.2; 35.2; 38.2). See I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967) 126n, 4. For other use of the phrase see Jer. 21.10; 44.11; and Ps. 34.17 cf. Lev. 17.10; 20.3, 6; 26.17; 20.5. It is interesting to note that except for Job 13.14 and 34.29, in every occurrence of this idiom in the Old Testament this response is explicitly or implicitly portrayed as God's reaction to covenant betrayal. R.E. Friedman, ‘The Biblical Expression *mastir panim*’, *HAR* 1 (1977) 4; Balentine, *Hiding of the Face of God*, 22–28.

promises in Ezek. 39.29 or Isa. 54.8, for instance, speak of the opposite, namely, that YHWH does not intend any more to conceal his face. YHWH will no longer be then a “hidden God” (Isa. 45.15).

By relating *רוח* to the expressions, “I will pour out” (*שפך*) and “I will not hide (ולא־אסתיר) my face (*פני*) any more”, the prophet emphasises YHWH’s permanent restoration.⁷⁶ This is fundamentally based on YHWH’s concern for his reputation, with the purpose of Israel and the nations being to make known the sovereignty of YHWH. YHWH’s sovereignty is seen in his regathering with the affirmation that “I will leave none of them remaining (ולא־אותר) among the nations any more”. The pouring out of the Spirit in this passage serves as a demonstration or sign of YHWH’s sovereignty — a point that is consistently made in Ezek. 36.27 and 37.14.

In sum, for Ezekiel the regathered house of Israel will in the future receive YHWH’s *רוח*. The *רוח* they will receive will transform them internally, enable them to obey the statutes of YHWH, and empower them to settle and live in the land; and it will be a permanent possession of the people of Israel as a sign of YHWH’s covenantal intimacy.

2.2.4. The Recipients

It is clear from the text that *Heilsworte* (Ezek. 36.10; 37.11; 39.25) are addressed to the כל־בית ישראל (the whole house of Israel). However, it is important to recognise that Ezekiel, who is addressing a situation in גלה (the community in exile)⁷⁷ when referring to כל־בית ישראל, is inextricably linking it with the nation of Israel, which consists primarily of the descendants of the ancestor Jacob/Israel (28.25; 37.25; 39.25, cf. 33.24).

In the book of Ezekiel the favourite designation for his addressee is בית ישראל (“house of Israel”) and occasionally בני ישראל (‘sons of Israel’).⁷⁸ Although the nation had been divided into two kingdoms in the 10th century, and ten of the twelve tribes had been swallowed up in the neo-Assyrian empire in the 8th century, Ezekiel uses the designation ‘Israel’⁷⁹ for all who are left of that nation, currently represented primarily by the state of Judah and the exilic community in Babylon.⁸⁰ This is clearly evident in

⁷⁶ This is supported by the conjunction אשר which attributes the permanence of a new relationship by the pouring out of the Spirit upon the house of Israel. See Block, ‘Gog and the Pouring Out’, 268.

⁷⁷ See Preuss, *Old Testament Theology* 2.92; H. McKeating, *Ezekiel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 22–23.

⁷⁸ The phrase בית ישראל occurs 83 times in the book of Ezekiel. Interestingly the phrase בני ישראל – sons of Israel” occurs only 11 times in Ezekiel, but is otherwise common usage in Old Testament.

⁷⁹ See D.I. Block, ‘“Israel” – “Sons of Israel”’: A Study in Hebrew Eponymic Usage’, *SR* 13 (1984) 301–26.

⁸⁰ See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 759.

Ezek. 37.15 and 37.32 which looks forward to a single Israel, under 'one king/shepherd'.

The emerging picture then is that Ezekiel expected a spiritual rejuvenation of *כל־בית ישראל*, particularly with the gift of the Spirit when the nation will be restored to YHWH and prosper in the land of Canaan. What is not surprising is the fact that in the light of his surveys of Israel's history (chs.16, 20), Ezekiel is able to look beyond the present judgement to a new day for YHWH's people. Ezekiel's restoration oracles seem to predict literal events;⁸¹ he undoubtedly envisages a real return of Israel to their hereditary homeland of Israel; the coming of the Spirit; the appointment of a Davidic Messiah; and a protracted period of peace and prosperity for the nation, though his vision remains narrowly nationalistic.⁸² What Ezekiel affirms is YHWH's guarantee — "I am YHWH;⁸³ I have spoken;⁸⁴ I will perform."⁸⁵ However, we have to be aware of the fact that Ezekiel provides no clear chronology of the future occurrences.⁸⁶

2.3. THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

Consistent with the general notions of the *רוח* in the prophetic literature, the book of Isaiah, that most complex of the prophetic books,⁸⁷ uses the term in a wide variety of senses. The meaning ranges from a common use of *רוח* as wind or breath to a higher theological notion of the *רוח יהוה*.⁸⁸ There are a number of texts in the book of Isaiah

⁸¹ YHWH will regather the scattered people out of the countries to which they had been dispersed (11.16–17a; 20.41; 34.11–13a, 16; 36.24a; 37.21a.); YHWH will bring them back to their hereditary homeland, which has been cleansed of its defilement (11.17b–18; 20.24; 34.13b–15; 36.24b; 37.21b); YHWH will bless Israel with unprecedented prosperity and guarantee the security of the nation in their own land (34.25–29; 36.29–30; 37.26; 38.1–39.29); YHWH will restore the dynasty of his servant David as an agent of well-being and a symbol of unity for the nation (34.23–24; 37.22–25); YHWH will establish permanent residence in their midst and reorder the worship of the nation (37.26b–28; 40.1–48.35).

⁸² Ezekiel shows this parochialism by making a clear distinction between YHWH's people (*עם־יהוה*) and the *גוים* (nations), used 90 times in the Book of Ezekiel.

⁸³ See 16.62; 20.42; 28.24; 29.21; 34.27; 36.23; 39.7.

⁸⁴ See 23.34; 26.5; 28.10; 39.5; 39.8.

⁸⁵ See 12.25; 28; 29.18; 43.11.

⁸⁶ Although from ch.34 to ch.48 his prophecies of hope become increasingly abstract. However, the vision with the dry bones which function symbolically for Israel, the Gog–Magog oracle (38–39), and the final temple vision are quite ideological. It is not difficult to envision the regathering and revitalisation of the nation as described in chs. 34 and 36.16–38 and the main elements should be taken seriously. See Block, *Ezekiel 1–24*,

⁸⁷ For a survey of recent contributions to the issue, see Marvin E. Tate, 'The Book of Isaiah in Recent Study', in J.W.D. Watts & P.R. House (eds.), *Forming Prophetic Literature, Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 22–56; J.J. Schmitt, *Isaiah and his Interpreters* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986); J. Vermeylen, 'L'Unité de livre d'Isaïe', in J. Vermeylen (ed.), *The Book of Isaiah* (BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989); M.A. Sweeney, 'The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research', *Currents in Research* 1 (1993) 141–162.

⁸⁸ The term *רוח* occurs fifty-one times in the book of Isaiah. See for the meaning of *רוח* as a designation for wind (Isa. 7.2; 11.15; 17.13; 25.4; 27.8; 41.16, 29; 41.16, 29; 57.13; 59.19; 64.5), 'breath of life' or

where the eschatological bestowal of the רוח is mentioned (Isa. 11.1–2; 28.5–6; 32.15; 42.1; 44.3; 59.29; 61.1).⁸⁹ However, our interest lies in the texts (32.15; 44.3; 59.29) that foresee a time when YHWH will יצק or ערה (pour or empty out) YHWH's רוח upon the people.

2.3.1. Isa. 32.9–20⁹⁰

The prophet's expectation of the רוח upon people occurs within the context of a *Heilsorakel*.⁹¹ Chapter 32 begins with a prediction of a coming king,⁹² but the section follows immediately after vv.9–14 where the prophet delivers an oracle of judgement against the ungodly women of Jerusalem. But the judgement is reversed with the promise of salvation where the prophet along with his community expects an idealised future that will be not realised until יערה עלינו רוח.

2.3.1.1. The Expectation of רוח

This passage is quite unique in the Hebrew Scriptures, in that the prophet does not use the traditional Spirit–anticipatory vocabulary. The customary feature, the reference to YHWH's Spirit as רוחי, is missing (cf. Isa. 42.1; Ezek. 36.26; 37.14; 39.29; Joel 3.1), and instead the expression רוח ממרום (the Spirit from on high) is used. Unlike other parallel uses of רוח where the 1st person singular suffix is used to indicate the locus of

'breath' (11.4; 30.28; 38.16; 42.5). For anthropological use see 26.9; 29.24; 54.6; 57.15. It is interesting to note that, unlike Ezekiel, the book of Isaiah does not speak of the function of the רוח in prophetic inspiration.

⁸⁹ See Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 1991; Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 1999 for detailed discussion.

⁹⁰ Opinions concerning its origin vary between pre–exilic and post–exilic times. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968⁵) 207, assigns it to the early period of Isaiah's ministry. For those who argue for a post–exilic age see Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39, A Commentary* (trans. R.A. Wilson; London: SCM Press, 1980) 332; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja 2: Kapitel 24–39* (Zürich: Zwingli Vlg., 1962) 126–27; J. Barton, *Isaiah 1–39* (OTG, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995, 98). Others take a median position by arguing for an exilic dating, which we will be following in our discussion. See Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 80–81 following E.W. Conrad, *Reading Isaiah* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 180 and K.P. Darr, *Isaiah's Vision and the Family of God* (Louisville, KY.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994) 234.

⁹¹ There is diversity of opinion concerning the division of units. See Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 207; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39* (BKAT 10: 3; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982) 1273; J.W.D. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985) 263; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 328.

⁹² Isa. 32.1 speaks of the king who reigns in righteousness. Opinions vary among scholars about the specificity of this historical figure. See for e.g. C.R. Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny. The Development of the Book of Isaiah. A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991] 79–80) who argues for Hezekiah's conduct during the Assyrian assault; or R.E. Clement, (*Isaiah 1–39* [NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980] 259) who refers to the idealised picture of Josiah; or others like R.B.Y. Scott, *The Book of Isaiah (IB)*, New York: Nashville, 1956) 149–381; Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 371ff.; and Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 320 ff., who ascribe the section to a post–exilic Wisdom writer who has outlined a picture of good government to contrast with the leaders of Isaiah's time. The difficulty is we cannot determine precisely if this material is keyed toward any specific historical figure at all.

this concept as YHWH's speech, in this passage it is specifically a prophetic proclamation of his expectation of salvation.

Of particular relevance to our discussion, however, is the use of the phrase **רוח ממרום** as a designation for the Spirit of YHWH. It is interesting to note that this expression is not at all common in Hebrew Scriptures; the only parallel is found in Wis. 9.17.

The book of Isaiah uses **מרום** to mean 'high place' in the absolute sense, heaven.⁹³ Nevertheless, the term is prominently used in the Deuteronomistic and prophetic literature and is generally referred to 'heaven', which is often designated the dwelling place of God (2 Sam. 22.17; Jer. 25.30; Isa. 33.5; 38.14; 57.15; Mic. 6.6; cf. Ps. 93.4; 144.7).⁹⁴

The emphasis on YHWH dwelling on high is a late Deuteronomistic phenomenon,⁹⁵ where heaven was stressed as the place of YHWH and the location of his throne (1 Kng. 8.30, 39, 43, 49, cf. 1 Chr. 6.21, 30, 33, 39). It is interesting to note that in these passages the presence of YHWH believed to be found in Jerusalem and the temple is no longer to be conceived too directly and too narrowly;⁹⁶ rather these Deuteronomistic texts suggest that YHWH is both located in the temple and also omnipresent.⁹⁷ There is an increasing emphasis placed in exilic and postexilic times upon the transcendent aspect of the divine nature.⁹⁸ The idea that YHWH was not tied to his sanctuary was demonstrated by the experience and the overcoming of the exile.⁹⁹ There are two interesting possibilities here: (1) Since YHWH dwells in heaven his Spirit too dwells

⁹³ **מרום** is used 16 times in the book of Isaiah, of which 6 references are related to heaven as the dwelling place of God (24.4, 18, 21; 32.15; 40.26; 57.15).

⁹⁴ Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 333.

⁹⁵ M. Weinfeld, 'כבוד', *TDOT* 7: 22–38; T.N.D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (ConBOT 18; Lund: Gleerup, 1982) 80–115.

⁹⁶ See B. Janowski, 'Ich will in eurer Mitte wohnen: Struktur und Genese der exilischen Schekina-Theologie', in P. Hanson, *et al.* (eds.), *Der eine Gott der beiden Testamente (JBTh 2)*; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1987) 165–193 (178).

⁹⁷ According to Solomon's dedication speech in 1 Kgs 8.12ff., the temple is now the dwelling of YHWH, and the verbs **ישב** and **שכן** are used reciprocally to speak about this divine dwelling. The temple and Zion are perhaps seen in the same way (Amos 1.2; Ezek. 37.6f and Zech. 2.14). However, when Isaiah receives his call in the Jerusalem temple, he does not see YHWH himself there; rather YHWH dwells and remains unseen in the heavens. (Isa. 6.1ff.; Ps. 9.12; 132.13f.; Isa. 8.18; Joel 4.17). See further discussions in J.T. Strong, 'God's *Kābôd*: The Presence of Yahweh in the Book of Ezekiel', in M.S. Odell & J.T. Strong (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel. Theological and Anthropological Perspectives* (SBLSS 9; Atlanta: SBL, 2000) 69–95.

⁹⁸ R.E. Clement, *God and Temple. The Idea of the Divine Presence in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965) 126.

⁹⁹ Pruess, *Old Testament Theology*, 1: 170.

there.¹⁰⁰ This led to the possibility of speaking of the רוּחַ of YHWH as the ‘Spirit from on high’.¹⁰¹ (2) The prophet’s emphasis that with the coming of the Spirit there will be משפט (justice), צדקה (righteousness), שלום (peace), שקט (quietness) and בטח (security 32.15–20), which indicates a possible explanation for the virtual absence of allusions to ‘the spirit’ in pre-exilic canonical prophecy.¹⁰² The use of ecstatic techniques and demonstration of spiritual possession by prophets with no true concern for Israel’s well being (Mic. 3.5; Jer. 23) led the canonical prophet to turn from appeals to ‘the spirit’ as the source of inspiration. Here the prophet may possibly be referring to the well-being only YHWH’s ‘Spirit from on high’ can bring.

The verb used here is neither שפך (cf. Ezek. 39.29) nor יצק (cf. Isa. 44.3) nor נתן (cf. Ezek. 11.19f, 36.26f), but ערה (poured out/emptied out) which is used for the first time in Isaiah.¹⁰³ Here the Spirit is ‘poured out’ (*ausgegossen*)¹⁰⁴ after YHWH’s judgement, turning the desert into a fertile field. A similar use of the term is in Deutero-Isaiah where the messianic figure has ערה (poured out) his life unto death (Isa. 53.12).¹⁰⁵ A common redactional element or theological factor that links both passages is that the messianic figure or the Spirit pour out only after Israel is bared in judgement. In 20.3 God had commanded Isaiah to go about barefoot and naked as a sign of judgement; and in 32.11 the prophet warns the women to strip and make themselves naked in the light of YHWH’s wrath, which will leave the land waste until the Spirit is “poured out” in abundance. This outpouring brings about a reversal of the present condition, a spiritual renewal that is, indeed, revolutionary, the very opposite of the condition described.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ See J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1912) 261, 267, for further discussion.

¹⁰¹ However, this does not reflect the late Rabbinic belief that the Spirit had largely been withdrawn from Israel because of sin until the end. Examples like Wis. 1.4–5; Philo, *Deus*. 2; *Gig.* 47, 53 suggest its usage from an earlier period. The exile which on one hand had led to the belief that God’s presence had departed from the temple (since God was greater than any building), also pointed to the real experience that God was to be found wherever people sought him with a whole heart (Clement, *God and Temple*, 132–133).

¹⁰² This is generally explained by reference to the so-called ‘false prophets’ (Mowinckel, ‘The “Spirit” and “Word”’, 199ff.).

¹⁰³ The verb occurs 16 times in the Old Testament. It means to make bare or pour out, both non-figuratively and figuratively (B.V. Seevers, ‘ערר’, *DITTOT* 3: 529). In Isaiah there are only 4 reference to the meaning ‘lay bare’ is used in 3.17; 22.6 while ‘pour out’ is used in 32.15 and 53.12. See Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 40; Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 81.

¹⁰⁴ The Greek term χεω is generally used for ‘pouring out’ in LXX (Ezek. 39.29 and Joel 2.28). But in 32.15 the term ἐρχσμου is used. The water image is missing from the LXX.

¹⁰⁵ Or exposed his soul unto death; he voluntarily laid it bare, even to death’. See E.J. Young *The Book of Isaiah* (NICOT 2; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 399.

¹⁰⁶ Young, *The Book of Isaiah* 2: 399.

Scholars unanimously agree that the reference here is to YHWH's Spirit,¹⁰⁷ and the pouring out of the Spirit is seen as the sign of the beginning of the new age.¹⁰⁸ However, diversity of opinion is maintained concerning the functional operation of the רוּחַ in this passage. The role of the Spirit is described as making the entire world fruitful and productive¹⁰⁹ or as similar to the messianic forecasts (32.1)¹¹⁰ or refers to the power for new life for the people of God.¹¹¹

Although there is an element of new life that is evident in the text, the Old Testament concept of blessing is particularly suggestive in this passage. The expectation of the Spirit is given in a context of reversal, a reversal in the situation from a strong denunciation of complacent women who will shudder and beat their breast when the vintage fails and the land of עַמִּי (my people) yields only קַרְנֵי (thorns) and שְׂמִירָה (briers 32.14),¹¹² to fertile earth that produces abundantly.

In contrast to the announcement of doom;¹¹³ however, Isa 32.15–20 describes the new future of Jerusalem when the spirit of YHWH will be poured out upon people. Then people will receive agricultural blessing: מִדְּבָר (wilderness) will become כְּרָמִל (fruitful field)¹¹⁴, which will then become יַעַר (forest). מִשְׁפָּט (justice) will dwell in מִדְּבָר. צְדָקָה (righteousness) will abide in כְּרָמִל.¹¹⁵ As a result there will be שְׁלוֹמִים (peace), שְׁקֵט (quietness) and בְּטָחָה (security 30.15). Justice will be established in the land and the inhabitants of the city will live in “peaceful houses, tranquil dwellings”. This reversal of Jerusalem's fortune is based clearly on YHWH's sovereignty.

We cannot, however, overlook the fact that in their reversal motif the passages in 32.15–20 bear their closest resemblance to the blessing and curse tradition.¹¹⁶ In the

¹⁰⁷ See W.A.M. Beuken, *Isaiah II* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters, 2000) 233, who interprets רוּחַ as wind.

¹⁰⁸ Clement, *Isaiah 1–39*, 263; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 333; Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 112–115; A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (Leicester: IVP, 1993) 260; Wildberg, *Jesaja 28–39*, 1277.

¹⁰⁹ Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 416–17

¹¹⁰ Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 260; Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 112–115; J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1–39* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986) 588.

¹¹¹ See discussions in Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles*, 61; Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39*, 1276; Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 334–335; Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 81.

¹¹² For similar usage see Isa. 5.6; cf. 7.23–25; 27.4.

¹¹³ D.R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964) 44–58.

¹¹⁴ All commentators translate כְּרָמִל as fruitful fields. But LXX maintains Χερμελ. Wildberger, *Jesaja 28–39*, 1273, thinks the Massoretes thought of the mountain near Haifa. Watts, (*Isaiah 1–33*, 416) does not agree with this proposal. The word כְּרָמִל is commonly used to indicate fertility or a fertile place (Jer. 2.7; 4.26).

¹¹⁵ See H. Ringgren and B. Johnson, ‘צְדָקָה’, *ThWAT* 6 cols. 898 – 924.

¹¹⁶ H.W. Wolff, ‘The Transcendent Nature of Covenant Curse Reversals’, in A. Gileadi (ed.) *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration, Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988) 319.

promise of the Spirit, where we find an assurance from YHWH in which he calls Israel 'my people', a phrase diagnostic of covenant contexts.¹²²

2.3.1.2. *The Recipients*

The identities of the potential recipients are to be seen from the previous section (vv.9–14). The didactic opening formula (v.9)¹²³ with its 'summons to lament' (v.11f) is addressed to the complacent women, who are enjoined to mourn for the coming destruction of fields and house of the קרייה עליזה ("joyous city" v.13). The accusation, clear though made indirectly, is expressed in the words descriptive of the women (שאננות v.9 and בטחות v.11) and the reference to קרייה עליזה ("joyous city" v.13).¹²⁴ The climax of the announcement is in v.14; clearly, the prophet has Jerusalem in mind. For he prophesies that "the palace will be forsaken, the populous city deserted; the hill and watchtower will become dens forever, a joy of wild asses, a pasture of flocks." It is reasonably certain from v.14 that the women addressed in the passage were living in Jerusalem and the expression עמי in v.13 indirectly points to the fact that they belong to the people of YHWH. The structure of the saying indicates that its focus is on Jerusalem,¹²⁵ a scene possibly after the destruction of 587 B.C.E.¹²⁶

With the above background in mind, in the immediate context the recipients referred to as 'us' are possibly a group of women. However, in v.18 there is evidence that the scope of the recipients is extended to עמי (my people) as a whole. It is difficult, then, to determine the actual recipients of the gifts of the רוח, as Isaiah chs.1–39 use various terms and phrases to refer to YHWH's people.¹²⁷ The term עמי most commonly refers to those who dwell in Zion, or Jerusalem, or Judah (10.24; cf. 1.3; 3.12; 5.13; 26.20). The text supports the view that only a community that has

¹²² See Exod. 6.7; Lev. 26.12; Deut. 29.6; Jer. 11.4; 31.33; 32.38.

¹²³ Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 326–327.

¹²⁴ See Isa. 60.15; 62.5ff; 65.18.

¹²⁵ G. Stansell, *Micah and Isaiah, A Form and Tradition Historical Comparison* (SBLDS 85; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988, 62; idem 'Isaiah 32: Creative Redaction in the Isaian Traditions', in K. Richards (ed.), *SBLSP 1983* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 1–12.

¹²⁶ It is possible to argue that the present passage reflects a conscious post-587 B.C.E. redactional shaping meant to foreshadow themes which emerge in full force in chs. 40–55 and 56–66. For e.g. The Assyrian foe of Isaiah's day (10:5–11) is viewed as a type for which the later Babylonian destroyer serves as antitype (23:13). The assault of 701 B.C.E. (1:1–9) foreshadows the destruction of 587 B.C.E. (6:13), just as the return of the destroyed N kingdom (721 B.C.E.) anticipates the full restoration of Israel following the Exile (11:10–16). See discussions in R.E. Clements, 'The Prophecies of Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E.', *VT* 30 (1980) 421–36 and M. Sweeney *Isaiah 1–4 and the Post-Exilic Understanding of the Isaianic Tradition* (BZAW 171; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988).

¹²⁷ For example, בני ישראל (sons of Israel e.g. 17.3, 9; 27.6); בתי ישראל (houses of Israel – e.g. 8.16); בית ישראל (house of Israel – e.g. 5.7); איש יהודה (man of Judah – e.g. 5.7); נדחי ישראל (out cast of Israel e.g. 11.12); ונפצות יהודה (dispersed ones of Judah – e.g. 11.12); בית יעקב (house of Jacob – e.g. 2.5).

experienced and then lived through the judgement expects the gifts of the רוח and sees in itself the nucleus of the new beginning after exile. The possibility here is that of a שאר ישראל (remnant Israel — 10.20). In Isa. 28.5–6, a leader is promised for the remnant, to whom is given a spirit of justice. With this leader and warriors to whom God will grant might, the remnant community will enjoy the eschatological promise of restoration which includes the return of exiles (cf. 32.1).

It is possible to conclude that a remnant community that experienced judgement are the ones who long for the Spirit. The prophet and the community expect that once the Spirit is poured out from heavens their physical environment will be reversed both in terms of natural fertility and spiritual renewal.

2.3.2. Isa. 44.1–5¹²⁸

After an oracle reviewing Israel's unfaithfulness (43.22–28) the prophet proclaims YHWH's faithfulness (44.1–5).¹²⁹ In 43.22–28 YHWH presents the case: “your father first sinned” and “your mediators transgressed” as the reason for YHWH's turning Israel over to exile (v.28).¹³⁰ To make a sharp contrast to the harsh realities of YHWH's abandonment, the *Heilsorakel* in 44.1–5 begins with the conjunction ועתה (but now),¹³¹ after which YHWH promises that יעזר (He will help you) by pouring out רוחי upon זרעך (your descendants), and that ‘I will bless (ברכתי) your offspring (צאצאיך)’.

2.3.2.1. The Expectation of רוח

Unlike the traditional *Heilsorakel* vocabulary used for the coming of Spirit, viz. שפך (Joel 3.1), נתן (Ezek. 36.27) and ערה (Isa. 32.15), יצק (pour out) is used here.¹³² However, the traditional imagery of the Spirit being poured out like water/oil is maintained.¹³³ The objects of יצק are זרעך (your descendants) and צאצאי (your

¹²⁸ There are no major differences of opinion among the scholars concerning the demarcation of the pericope (vv.1–5). Scholars like Watts, *Isaiah 34–66* and Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 340–342; C.Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1969) and Jan L.Koole (*Isaiah III* [HCOT; Kampen, Netherlands: Pharos Publishing House, 1997] treat 43.22 – 44.5 as a distinct whole. Earlier exegetes like Fohrer, (*Das Buch Jesaja*) regards v.2b as secondary. Such an attempt to abbreviate the passage is least improbable.

¹²⁹ Westermann, *Prophetic Oracles*, 35.

¹³⁰ G.A.F. Knight, *Deutero-Isaiah, A Theological Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1965) 106–110.

¹³¹ R.F. Melugin (*The Formation of Isaiah 40–55* [BZAW 141; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976] 116), observes that past and future are contrasted, however, when 43.22–8 and 44.1–5 are placed side by side. The participle ועתה (44.1) makes the connection between these two texts, expressing the relationship between past and future.

¹³² יצק is used only once in Isaiah. Commonly used in the cultic settings, for e.g. to pour out blood (of sacrifice– Lev. 2.1, 6 etc.); to pour out oil in anointing (1 Sam. 10.1) or pour out water as in 1 Kgs 18.38.

¹³³ The Greek translation (LXX) loses the water imagery by using τίθημι.

offspring),¹³⁴ and this is the first time that רוח is brought together with זרעך and צאצאיך in the whole of Old Testament.

There is diversity of opinion concerning the nature and role of רוח in the present passage. Opinions range from considering רוח יהוה (v.3b) as the prophetic Spirit of the eschatological era (cf. Isa. 11.2; Joel 3.1–2), to supposing it to refer to the Spirit's role of restoring Israel's priesthood;¹³⁵ but the text would not support any such deductions. Most scholars contend that the creation language reinforces the life-giving effect of the Spirit.¹³⁶ This is supported by its occurrence in parallel with water,¹³⁷ which in the Old Testament is the source of refreshing, regeneration and vitality. The Spirit expresses the divine power which creates life in human and nature as Gen. 2.7; Isa. 32.15 and Ps. 104.3; this is the only meaning which can make it parallel to ברכה which is used in its original sense of vitality or power which bestows fertility.¹³⁸

The promise of רוח is delineated in vv.2b–5 in two distinct yet related metaphors, viz, the outpouring of waters upon the dry land and Israel's revitalised growth as willows by the waterside (vv.4–5). The focus of transformation is upon the revival of the people of Jacob/Israel/Jeshurun. The image of water in the dry land is a prominent metaphor in Isaiah (Isa. 12.3; 30.25; 32.2, 25; 33.21; 35.6; 41.18; 43.20; 51.3; 55.1; 66.12) and generally used in the context of YHWH's salvation,¹³⁹ while צמא (a thirsty one)¹⁴⁰ and יבשה (a dry place) refer to the barrenness of Israel in exile.¹⁴¹ Here, the

¹³⁴ These word pairs are used in Isa. 48.19; 61.9; 65.23 always in the context of YHWH's promise.

¹³⁵ A. Wilson, *The Nations in Deutero-Isaiah: A Study on Composition and Structure* (Lewiston, NY.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986) 85.

¹³⁶ C.R. North, *The Second Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 133; Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 135–36; Skinner *Isaiah XL–LXVI*, 51–52; Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 121; A. Schoors, *I Am God Your Saviour, A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in IS.XL–LV* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 79.

¹³⁷ North, *Second Isaiah*, 131.

¹³⁸ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 135–36.

¹³⁹ Koole, *Isaiah*, 360, is sceptical about the metaphorical interpretation. So also N.K. Gottwald, *A Light to the Nations, An Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959) 406.

¹⁴⁰ See the variation in the usage: MT 'For I will pour water on a thirsty, and streams on a dry place; LXX: 'For I will give water to the thirsty that walk in the dry land.' Targum: 'For just as waters are provided on the land of a thirsty place, and flow on the dry ground'. צמא can certainly be said of people's yearning for God, Ps. 42.3; 63.2 (C. Propp, *Water in the Wilderness: A Biblical Motif and Its Mythological Background* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987).

¹⁴¹ Most scholars argue for a metaphorical interpretation. See J.D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40–66* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965) 110; North, *The Second Isaiah*, 133; J.N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah 40–66* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 166; Schoors, *I Am God Your Saviour*, 79–80. "Thirsty" apparently does not refer to the lands, as the parallelism might lead one to believe. If that were true, it should be feminine to agree with יבשה (dry land). Instead as a masc. form צמא functions as a noun referring to persons (as it does uniquely in the book 21.14; 29.8; 32.6; 55.1). The person thirsting for God also appears in Ps. 143.6. While this is still a figurative usage, it indicates that the focus is spiritual, not solely physical.

outpouring of water on the thirsty land is not just a *zweiter Exodus aus Babylon*,¹⁴² rather it is God's coming (40.3–5) to transform Israel as the eschatological consummation at the end of the age.¹⁴³

The nature of רוח as vitality and power that bestows fertility is explained further in the results of the outpouring. First, v.4 obviously means the increase of the people of YHWH in number, since the antecedent *they* (וַצִּמְחוּ — 'they shall spring up' v.4) is only the descendants and offspring in v.3, and thus does not refer to vegetation but to people. One should see this against the background of the destruction of Israel as a people in 43.28. Perhaps North is right to surmise that the exiles were unwilling to start families in view of the uncertainty of the future.¹⁴⁴ It is possible to argue that the image of 'dry' and 'thirsty' may reflect the decrease in numerical strength and a promise of increase through the power of the Spirit. In its context this interpretation is supported by a) the picture of the growing grass and the willows by the stream,¹⁴⁵ and b) predications in the messenger formula, (v.2a) that as Israel's 'Maker-Former-Helper', YHWH will continue his work of salvation and will not allow his people to perish. Through רוח יהוה Israel has new chances of life and through YHWH's blessing Israel will become a great people.

Deutero-Isaiah's presentation of the function of רוח is unique in its relation to 'my blessing on your offspring', a point which has not yet been taken sufficiently seriously by scholars.¹⁴⁶ The effect of the Spirit in relation to the blessing of descendants finds its closest resemblance in the promises to the patriarchs in the Old Testament (Gen. 12.3; 22.17; 28.14).¹⁴⁷ The promise to bless the nations through Abraham's descendants is rare outside the patriarchal narratives,¹⁴⁸ and occurs only in Deutero-Isaiah (44.3; 54.3). It is also interesting to note that the root בָּרַךְ does not occur at all in pre-exilic texts. Only from Deutero-Isaiah onwards does this term describe God's future activity.¹⁴⁹ This is because the promise of numerous increase and of Israel

¹⁴² In 32.15 the reference is to the restoration from Babylon, while in 44.1–5 a more general renewal of the people and their life.

¹⁴³ Smart, *History and Theology*, 110.

¹⁴⁴ North, *Second Isaiah*, 131ff., in the light of Jer. 29.6.

¹⁴⁵ Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 86.

¹⁴⁶ Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 121, mentions this in passing. See also Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 86.

¹⁴⁷ It is generally acknowledged that Deutero-Isaiah uses patriarchal tradition frequently (41.8; 51.1; 49.5–6, 8, 19, 20ff; 54.3). See J.V. Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975); H.W. Wolff, 'Kerygma of the Yahwist', in W. Brueggemann *et al.* (eds.), *Vitality of OT Tradition* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1982) 47–49.

¹⁴⁸ See discussions in J.R. Wisdom, *Blessing for the Nations and the Curse of the Law, Paul's citation of Genesis and Deuteronomy in Gal. 3.8–10* (WUNT 2/133; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2001) 36–42.

¹⁴⁹ Isa. 44.3; 51.2; Ezek. 34.26; Joel 2.14.

becoming a ברכה can only properly be understood against the background of hope in the exilic period.¹⁵⁰

A further result of the outpouring of the spirit is closely interlinked with the descriptions in v.5.¹⁵¹ Commentators are divided over the nature of the speakers described here.¹⁵² A number of scholars suggest that the reference is to the people of Israel,¹⁵³ while others say that the reference is to enthusiasm among the exiles to resist the forces of assimilation, such as using Babylonian names, and to belong instead wholly to YHWH.¹⁵⁴ The difficulty arises from the context, because it is improper for any Israelite born to reaffirm himself as Jacob, or to add the name Israel to his own.¹⁵⁵

Perhaps not surprisingly, it must be stressed that the majority of commentators hold that non-Israelites are referred to in this verse. Whybray and Elliger see a reference here to those who, having seen the coming glory of Israel, will join the people of YHWH (reference is made to Isa. 56.3, 6–8).¹⁵⁶ The speaker must be representative of non-Israelites who witness the work of the life-giving spirit within Israel, and are so convinced by the absoluteness of YHWH that they turn to him.¹⁵⁷ This is consistent with the broader context of 43.22–44.5, where the creed of the former heathens and their accession to Israel form a counterpoint to the taunts of 43.28. 42.1–19 has already

¹⁵⁰ P. Acroyd, *Exile and Restoration* (London: SCM Press, 1968) 136–137.

¹⁵¹ “This one will say, I am the LORD’s,’ another will call himself by the name of Jacob, and another will write on his hand, The LORD’s’, and surname himself by the name of Israel.”

¹⁵² For detailed discussion on text critical issues see Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, 140; Koole, *Isaiah*, 364–365.

¹⁵³ W. Grimm and K. Dittert (*Deuterijosaja: Deutung – Wirkung – Gegenwart* [Stuttgart: Calwer Bibelkommentare, 1990] 220–221) argue that the reference is to the Israelites. But these are not supported by the references in 44.5; cf. 43.22–28. A. Laato, (*Servant of Yahweh*, 101–102) suggests a return of disloyal Israel to join the loyal and true Israel which will return to Judah. See also N.H. Snaith, ‘Isaiah 40–66: A Study of the Teaching of the Second Isaiah and its Consequences’, in *Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah* (VT Sup 14; Leiden: Brill, 1967) 184.

¹⁵⁴ Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, 144. See also Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 342.

¹⁵⁵ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 135–37.

¹⁵⁶ Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 95; K. Elliger, *Deuterijosaja* (BKAT 11.1; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1978), 275–282, 364–370. J. Muilenburg, (‘Isaiah, Chapters 40–66, Introduction’, *IB* 5, 503) adds, “On one hand, the foregoing context would seem to suggest that the reference is to Israelites (vv.1–2); on the other, the return of disloyal Jews would not be nearly so much of a wonder as the conversion of aliens.” Stuhlmüller (*Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah*, 130–131) listing the reasons given for identifying those mentioned in this verse with Gentiles, adds that an Israelite in turning from the way of sin to the way of the Lord does not say that now he can begin to call himself Jacob and Israel. Elsewhere Deutero-Isaiah points out that even in their worst apostasy, YHWH never rejected his people as his own. He adds that it would be normal for a newly-converted Gentile, upon his full acceptance within the Israelite community, to exclaim that he is the Lord’s and is named after Jacob and Israel. Recently, Ma, (*Until the Spirit Comes*, 87) has supported this argument.

¹⁵⁷ Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 138; Skinner, *Isaiah XL – LXVI*, 52–53; North, *Second Isaiah*, 134; Muilenburg, ‘Isaiah, Chapters 40–66’, 503; C. Stuhlmüller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib 43; Rome: Biblical institute press, 1970) 129n.448 and 130–31, identifies the speaker with Gentile proselytes to whom an invitation is extended to come to Jerusalem and worship in the temple.

talked about salvation for the world; and anyway it is not at all strange, historically speaking, that this pericope should talk about proselytes, for non-Israelites had traditionally been incorporated in the national community.¹⁵⁸

The thought of foreigners joining the returning exiles is not especially characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah; but equally, neither is the idea of their belonging specifically to the people known as Israel notably absent from his work (14.1; 44.5; 45.14; 49.7; 55.5). It is significant for us to recognise that for Deutero-Isaiah the exiles shall be led home to Zion, in an act of redemption that the nations themselves shall see, and that will attract and lead them to the knowledge of YHWH.¹⁵⁹ Since the nations were included within the activity of YHWH's salvation, Israel becomes YHWH's witness to them (Isa. 43.10; 44.8; 55.4); Israel and the chosen servant of God are the "light to the nations" (Isa. 42.6; 49.5f.; cf. 51.4).¹⁶⁰ This indicates that YHWH's activity on behalf of his people will possess an outward-looking power of attraction (cf. Isa. 60.1–3), that works particularly via the outpouring of the Spirit and by blessing the descendants (Isa. 55.4f.) to demonstrate the truth of YHWH before the rest of the world.¹⁶¹

When investigating the effects of the Spirit upon Israel, we have argued that there would be a natural increase in the prosperity of the descendants and an increase in and spread of worshippers of YHWH due to the accession to the community of non-Israelites.

2.3.2.2. *The Recipients*

Deutero-Isaiah's favourite designations for his primary audience of YHWH's promise of *רוח* are *יעקב עבדי* (Jacob my servant) and *ישראל בחרתי* (Israel, my chosen one).¹⁶² The prophet is consistent in tracing Israel's ethnic origins back to the

¹⁵⁸ Elliger, *Deuterjesaja*, 239.

¹⁵⁹ While Deutero-Isaiah was able to feature the election of Israel by YHWH (Isa. 41.8f.; 43.10; and 44.1f) as no other prophets did, he also was the one who at the same time expresses a positive view of the nations. See Isa. 41.17–20; 45.4–6; and 49.26; cf. 45.14–17, 18.25.

¹⁶⁰ It is important to recognise that "light to the nations" was not to be understood as an active call to mission (A. Wilson, *The Nations in Deutero-Isaiah* [Lewiston, N.Y. and Queenston, Ontario, 1986]).

¹⁶¹ Deutero-Isaiah's indication that the Gentile share in salvation is based on their response to God's saving vindication of Israel, and especially the gift of the Spirit in the eschatological future, may be the reason why the passages that refer to the 'eschatological pilgrimage of nations' (Isa. 2.2; 18.7; 60.1–22; 66.18–21; *Zec.* 2.11; 8.20) do directly relate the Spirit to Gentile salvation.

¹⁶² See for e.g. *בחרתי* (my chosen) is a designation that is used of all Israel in 43.20; 45.4; 65.9, 15, 22 cf. 1 Chr. 16.13; Ps. 105.6, 43; 106.5 (Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 311). See also H. Seebass, "Erwählung" I: Altes Testament', *TRE* 10, 1982, 182–189. In looking at the theological distribution of the specifically theological usage of this word, one notes that it receives particular emphasis in Deuteronomy (twenty nine times), Deutero-Isaiah (seven times), and Psalms (nine times). In the present passages *יעקב* is replaced by the name *ישראל* (v.2b). See Deut. 32.15; 33.5,26; Sir. 37.25. Interestingly, LXX translates *ישראל* as *ὁ ἡγαπημένος Ἰσραηλ*.

patriarchs, and particularly to Jacob,¹⁶³ who functions simply as a correlative of Israel. The repetitions of formulaic designations for Jacob and Israel are numerous in the book,¹⁶⁴ and Deutero–Isaiah applies the name Jacob/Israel variously to the exiles of Judah in Babylon and to the remnant in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵

However, according to 44.3 the recipients of the outpouring of Spirit are זרעך (your descendants) and צאצאיך (your offspring). The present promise speaks of a restoration beyond judgement where YHWH is inaugurating a new action in history in relation to his people.¹⁶⁶ One possibility is to see this in the light of Job 21.8 which mentions of the wicked, that “their children are established in their presence and their offspring before their eyes”. This may suggest that the expectation of the Spirit is in the immediate future when the Israelites will return to their land (cf. Lev. 22.13, 1 Sam. 1.2.), and that the prophets’ predictions of the Spirit in the future may be described as the end of the offspring of the wicked. Another possibility is to see the promise as a distant possibility. Deutero–Isaiah’s emphasis on descendants and offspring also seems to suggest some future historical reality.

One cannot ignore the repeated use of זה (this one). Scholars are of diverse opinions concerning the term; a few exegetes argue that its focus on individuals means that only a few will be involved,¹⁶⁷ while others argue that the threefold repetition means that many will come.¹⁶⁸ It appears that the point is, in fact, twofold: the author is clearly talking about individuals, persons who of free choice and pure intent step forward to give themselves consciously to the God of Israel, the God of the covenant. This is evident from ליהוה אני, which speaks of putting oneself at YHWH’s disposal and of recognising oneself to be his own possession.¹⁶⁹ As noted earlier, זה (this one) represents non–Israelites. However, one cannot be certain whether זה (this one) is a recipient of the Spirit; but although the passage is unclear about whether or not the Gentile will receive the Spirit, the inclusion of Gentile proselytes into the covenant as a

¹⁶³ The patriarchs are named about 23 times: Abraham once; Isaac never; Jacob twenty two times.

¹⁶⁴ Expressions like יעקב עבדי (Jacob my servant 44.1, 2; 45.4), יעקב אשר בחרתיך (Jacob whom I have chosen); זרע יעקב (offspring of Jacob); בית יעקב (house of Jacob); את־שבטי יעקב (Tribe of Jacob); or ישראל בחרתי (Israel, my chosen one – 41.8; 44.1; 45.4; 49.7); בית ישראל (house of Israel); שאר ישראל (remnants of Israel); מתי ישראל (men of Israel 41.14); כל־זרע ישראל (all the offspring of Israel 45.25); כל־שארית בית ישראל (all the remnant of the house of Israel 46.3) are significant for the prophet.

¹⁶⁵ כל־שארית בית ישראל (all the remnant of the house of Israel 46.3) is of significance here.

¹⁶⁶ E.W. Heaton, *The Hebrew Kingdoms* (Oxford: OUP, 1968) 59.

¹⁶⁷ For example, Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, 95.

¹⁶⁸ J.L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah* (AB; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968) 64.

¹⁶⁹ For example, terms like למלך designate ownership to the king (1 Kgs. 20.41; Ezek. 9.4). North, *Second Isaiah*, 133.

result of the outpouring of the Spirit on Israel itself is phenomenal. For Deutero–Isaiah this is possible through the reappropriation of Abrahamic blessing.

To conclude, the coming of the new age is attributed to the ‘outpouring’ of the ‘Spirit from above’ (32.15) where the prophet and his community in Jerusalem hope for an imminent realisation of this long-awaited day of restoration. The recipients will experience YHWH’s reversal of fortunes, agricultural abundance, physical and emotional security, and moral restoration. In 44.3 the רוח of God will be poured out upon זרעך (your descendants) and upon צאצאֶיךָ (your offspring). As a result the רוח will bring numerical growth to Israel (44.3) which in turn will cause the Gentiles to turn to YHWH. Although the passage is not clear about whether the Gentiles will receive the Spirit, the inclusion of Gentile proselytes into the covenant as result of the outpouring of the Spirit itself is highly significant.

2.4. THE BOOK OF JOEL

Unlike his contemporaries,¹⁷⁰ the author of the book of Joel uses the term רוח only twice,¹⁷¹ uniquely to refer to the Spirit of YHWH (רוחִי × 2 in 3.1–2).¹⁷²

2.4.1. Joel 3.1–2¹⁷³

The present passage is part of a larger unit — Joel 2.18–3.5 — which is generally categorised as the *Gattung* of an announcement of salvation.¹⁷⁴ In 2.18–3.5 the prophet

¹⁷⁰ Scholars like E.J. Young (*An Introduction to the OT* [London: Tyndale Press, 1949] 271ff.) place the book of Joel between 870 and 860 B.C.E. On the other hand scholars like F.R. Stephenson (‘The Date of the Book of Joel’, *VT*, 19 1969, 224–229) advocate a date (after 357 or 336 BC) based on astronomical calculations. B. Duhm (‘Anmerkungen zu den zwölf Propheten’, *ZAW* 31 [1911] 184–88) argued that Joel was the author of the prophecy only as far as 2.17, and that the rest of the book was the work of the apocalypticist, probably during the Maccabaeian period. But there is an increasing number of scholars who believe that the passage does belong to Joel and is probably from the post-exilic period. See H.W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. W. Janzen *et al.*; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984) 4ff.; G.W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem* (VTS 21; Leiden: Brill, 1971) 121; J.L. Crenshaw, *Joel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1995) 21–29; L.C. Allen, *Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976) 25–31; D.A. Hubbard, *Joel & Amos: An Introduction & Commentary* (TOTC; Leicester: IVP, 1989); D.A. Garrett, ‘Structure of Joel’, *JETS* 28 (1985) 289–97.

¹⁷¹ The general notions that are often attributed to רוח among Joel’s contemporaries, namely wind, breath, and human cognition or desire are obviously missing. For example, Joel makes a distinction between רוח and לב. He uses לב to refer to the seat of human will in 2.12, 13, probably pointing toward the postexilic developments on the use of the terms (Johnson, *Vitality*, 76; Albertz and Westermann, ‘רוח’, *TLOT* 3: 1208ff.).

¹⁷² Both these references appear in the second part of the book (2.18–3.21) where YHWH promises restoration for his people.

¹⁷³ Hebrew verse divisions will be used hereafter. The MT of Joel 3.1–5 is English 2.28–32 and the MT of Joel 4.1–21 is English 3.1–21.

¹⁷⁴ Joel 2.18–3.5 is generally considered as a single unit. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 58; G.S. Ogden, ‘Joel 4 and Prophetic Responses to National Lament’, *JSOT* (1983) 26:103; *idem*, *Joel & Malachi: A*

records YHWH's promise of salvation in response to the lament of the people.¹⁷⁵ YHWH will restore the land to fruitfulness (2.19, 21–26), deliver Judah from their enemies (2.20), and assure his people of his presence among them (2.27). The goal of the promise is that His people may know YHWH (2.27).¹⁷⁶ It is at this stage that the Spirit is promised upon all sections of society, followed by cosmic upheavals and salvation for those who call upon the name of the Lord.

2.4.1.1. The Expectation of רוח

Key to our interest is the phrase “I will pour out (שפך) my spirit upon all flesh” (כל-בשר). The conventional linguistic features related to an eschatological outpouring of the Spirit are evident: (1) the first person singular usage רוח as a reference to YHWH's Spirit;¹⁷⁷ (2) The verb שפך (Ezek. 39.29) which is generally used to signify the lavish measure and the extensive scope of YHWH's gift.¹⁷⁸

However, there are scholarly differences in the treatment of the expectation of the *Geistausgießung* in 3.1–5. Bewer believes it to be the experience on the part of everyone (old and young, male and female, high and low) of those ecstatic spiritual states which had always been regarded as caused by a, or by the, Spirit of God.¹⁷⁹ Joel however, hardly expects such a phenomenon (1 Sam. 10.10, 11; 19.20–24) in 3.1–5.¹⁸⁰ Daniel Lys suggests that the promise of the Spirit to Israel is for the purpose of effecting the conversion and salvation of the nations of the world.¹⁸¹ But there is no suggestion of this in 3.1–2, and the broader context explicitly excludes this interpretation. Gowan argues that it refers to the ‘direct access to knowledge of the will of God’ which had always been thought to be a special gift afforded only to few (Exod. 35.31; 1 Sam. 11.6; 16.13 etc.).¹⁸² But in Joel, dreams and visions are not presented as enigmatic ways of knowing God.¹⁸³

Promise of Hope. A Call of Obedience (ITC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987); W.S. Prinsloo, *The Theology of the Book of Joel* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985) 80; D. Stuart, *Hosea – Jonah* (WBC; Waco, Texas: Word Publisher, 1987) 258.

¹⁷⁵ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 58; Allen, *Books of Joel*, 97; Garrett, ‘The Structure of Joel’, 289–97.

¹⁷⁶ See parallels in Ezek. 36.23, 28; 37.6, 14; 39.28.

¹⁷⁷ For example Isa. 42.1; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek. 36.27; 37.14; 39.29; Hag. 2.5; Zech. 4.6; 6.8.

¹⁷⁸ There are three occurrences of the term שפך in the book of Joel (3.1, 2 & b 4.19), twice referring to the pouring out of the רוח.

¹⁷⁹ Bewer, *Obadiah and Joel*, 122.

¹⁸⁰ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 66.

¹⁸¹ Lys, “Ruach” le souffle dans l’Ancien Testament, 247–248.

¹⁸² Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Books*, 184–185.

¹⁸³ We may find such an echo in Num. 12.6–8, where the verb ידע is used along with מראה and חלום, נביא, but this is absent in Joel 3.1–5. According to the Elohist, dreams and visions are the ordinary

Further, when compared with other prophetic writings, the gift of the Spirit in Joel is not explicitly given for obedience to legal statutes (Ezek. 36.26–27) or for a moral transformation. On the contrary, the author makes it clear that the *Geistausgießung* will enable all people to נבא (prophecy) and to receive חלום (dreams) and חזיון (visions).¹⁸⁴ In the Old Testament, prophecy,¹⁸⁵ dreams and visions¹⁸⁶ are means of revelation from God. The corporate gift of prophecy will enable every member of the community to stand ‘among YHWH’s council and [hear] his word at first hand’ (Jer. 23.18).¹⁸⁷ Likewise, dreams are a common means of YHWH’s revelation (Gen. 15.1; 20.3; 28.12; 31.11; 37.5; 40, 6–19; 41.1–36) and are a legitimate form of receiving communication from YHWH among the prophets (Num. 12.6; Deut. 13.1, 3,5).¹⁸⁸ Visions are associated more closely with the activity of the prophets (Jer. 1.11; Dan. 2.7; Ezek. 13.7; Amos 1.1; Zech. 1–6). Here Joel seems to indicate a new prophetic existence,¹⁸⁹ where everyone will stand in a relationship of immediacy with YHWH.¹⁹⁰ Such an intimate relationship is accented by the use of phrases such as, “all those who call upon the name of the Lord” and “survivors whom YHWH calls” in 3.5. For Joel, prophecy, visions and dreams appear to be characteristic of an intimacy with YHWH, made possible by the *Geistausgießung*.

A few scholars have argued that Joel is reflecting Num. 11.29, where the pouring out of the Spirit would make prophets of all of YHWH’s people.¹⁹¹ In Num. 11.29, the narrative points to the fact that the Spirit given in prophetic inspiration was attached to the office of leadership in succession to Moses. Such a picture is not found in Joel, where the context is of YHWH’s restoration of his people.

Many others interpret the present passage (Joel 3.1–5) in line with Ezek. 39.29.¹⁹² Thus Wolff considers that Ezekiel’s interest in connecting the deliverance of Jerusalem

way in which God speaks to the prophets. See Jean-Marie Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* (trans. J.M. Munro, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 94.

¹⁸⁴ It is significant to note that Joel’s vocabulary strays from the usages of classical prophecy and reflects the understanding of apocalyptic writers. J.E. Miller, ‘Dreams and Prophetic Visions’, *Biblica* 71 (1990) 401–404.

¹⁸⁵ The book of Joel contains no mention of נביאים (prophets), an absence shared by Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum.

¹⁸⁶ Very rarely are the terms ‘dreams and visions’ paralleled to one another in the Old Testament. Dan. 2.28 is an exception.

¹⁸⁷ Allen, *Books of Joel*, 99.

¹⁸⁸ Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 128; Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives*, 95; Allen, *Books of Joel*, 99

¹⁸⁹ R. Rendroff, ‘נביא in the Old Testament’ *TDNT* 6: 796–99; Wolff, *Joel & Amos*, 67.

¹⁹⁰ W.A. van Gemeren, ‘The Spirit of Restoration’, *WTJ* 50 (1988) 88.

¹⁹¹ See Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165–66; Koch *Der Geist Gottes*, 128. Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Books*, 185; M.A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Minor Prophets 1* (BO, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2000) 174.

¹⁹² Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67; Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 128; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 164.

from the foreign nations with the pouring out of the spirit finds its parallel in Joel 3.1–2.¹⁹³ Although one may recognise linguistic similarities with Ezekiel 39.29, the Joel text does not fully support Ezekiel's expectation.

What is more probable is a similarity between Joel 3.1–5 and the Spirit tradition in Deutero–Isaiah, particularly 44.1–5. It is well acknowledged that Joel presupposes many Isaianic traditions.¹⁹⁴ Joel (2.18–3.5) resembles the context and the structure of Isa. 44.1–5. (1) In Isa. 44.1–5 YHWH's promise comes to Israel in spite of their unfaithfulness, which was the reason for their exile (judgement). Similarly, in Joel *Geistausgießung* comes as the prophet calls Israel to return (שוב) to YHWH, their God. (2.13). (2) Both texts focus on the transformation of nature (see Isa. 44.3a; Joel 2.19, 22–26).¹⁹⁵ (3) A further parallel is found in the pouring out of the Spirit upon descendants (Isa. 44.3; cf. Zech. 12.10), a tradition that has been elaborated in Joel (Joel 3.1–2). (4) Finally, in Deutero–Isaiah, the immediate result of the promise is YHWH's blessing on offspring (צאצאיך) and belonging to (ליהוה אני) YHWH, 44.5). As noted above, Joel (3.5) stresses the importance of loyalty to YHWH for the deliverance of Zion/Jerusalem, and it is significant to see even the expressions קרא and בשם being used in both Isa. 4.5 and Joel 3.5.

A point of importance, however, is the question of the inauguration of the *Geistausgießung*. Joel 3.1–5 has several indicators which point to the timing of the event. Of particular interest is the use of the conjunctive formula וְהָיָה אַחֲרֵי־כֵן ('and it will come to pass afterwards' v.1)¹⁹⁶ which links an oracle (2.18–2.27) that speaks of a

¹⁹³ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 66. Similarly, Ogden (*Joel & Malachi*, 37) points out that the background for the thought in 2.28–29 would appear to be Ezek. 39.25–29, an oracle in which Ezekiel promises restoration from among the nations and no more shame for Judah, together with the additional promise that Judah will know YHWH their God.

¹⁹⁴ For example, 'For YHWH's day is imminent' Joel 1.15 = Isa. 13.6 (cf. Ezek. 30.3; Ob.15; Zeph. 1.7); 'dawning like destruction from the Destroyer' Joel 1.15 = Isa. 13.6; reversal of an image for paradise Joel 2.3 = Isa. 51.3 (cf. Ezek. 36.35); 'I, YHWH, am your God – there is no other' Joel 2.27 = Isa. 45.5, 6, 18; Joel 3.10 = Isa. 2.4; 'I will gather all nations' Joel 4.2 = Isa. 66.18. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 8ff.; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 27–28 for further discussion.

¹⁹⁵ Although there are numerous passages in the prophetic literature (for example, Jer. 31.12; 12.10–11; Hos. 2.12; 21.23; Ezek. 34.26–27) where we find assurance of new fertility for the land, the outpouring of the Spirit and the transformation of nature are linked only in Isa. 32.15 and 44.3 (H.M. Wolff, 'The Transcendent Nature of Covenant Curse Reversals', in A. Gileadi (ed.), *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration, Essays in Honor of R.K. Harrison* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988) 319ff.).

¹⁹⁶ The phrase is unique in the Old Testament, and its full significance cannot be established beyond doubt (See R.A. Simkins, 'God, History, and the Natural World in the Book of Joel', *CBQ* 55 [1995] 448).

restoration beyond judgement, where YHWH is inaugurating a new action in history in relation to his people,¹⁹⁷ to a divine promise of extraordinary manifestation (3.1–5).

The progressive thought in the *Leitmotif* of יום יהוה¹⁹⁸ provides further directions to the expectation of the Spirit. First, in the book of Joel, the יום יהוה is present as a sign of the nearness of YHWH's judgment (קרוב near; 1.15; 2.11; 4.14)¹⁹⁹ — namely, a plague of locusts described as a mighty army (Joel 1.15; 2.1–11) that affects the nature and history of Israel and the nations. Second, for the prophet, the coming of YHWH's judgment in terms of יום יהוה also stands behind the urgent call for the people of Israel to lament and return (2.11–14). It is after the people's lamentation that YHWH promises salvation, and it is at this progressive point of time that the expression והיה אחרי־כן (‘and it will come to pass afterwards’ v.1) becomes significant. The phrase does not primarily mean the יום יהוה; rather, it serves as a purely temporal formula of linkage which envisions some intermediate period of time in the future and/or possibly the time of the descendants.²⁰⁰ Third, the promise of the Spirit comes as a response to the people's lamentation and repentance. Fourth, for the prophet again the יום יהוה as it relates to Israel becomes a day of escape (Joel 3.4b–5) and further is understood as judgement against the nations (Joel 4.14).²⁰¹ Thus the prophet envisages the *Geistausgießung* as a time between יום יהוה — the judgement that breaks in on the people of Judah to bring repentance (so that they may escape) — and the time of final judgement against the nations.

2.4.1.2. The Recipients

The recipients of the Spirit in this passage are כל־בשר. Joel has elaborated the usual second person plural usage ‘you’²⁰² to specific categories like בניכם (your sons),

¹⁹⁷ For example, YHWH will restore the land to fruitfulness (2.19,21–26), deliver Judah from their enemies (2.20), and assure his people of his presence among them (2.27).

¹⁹⁸ This day is primarily a day of YHWH's action in history, originally for the benefit of his people (Pruess, *Old Testament Theology*, 2: 272ff.). For general discussion on the subject see von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* 2: 119–125; Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1: 462ff.; R.A. Simkins, *Yahweh's Activity in History and Nature in the Book of Joel* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991) 246ff.; A.J. Everson, ‘The Days of Yahweh’, *JBL* 93 (1974) 331; Y. Hoffmann, ‘The Day of the Lord as a Concept and a Term in the Prophetic Literature’, *ZAW* 93 (1981) 37–50; L.R. McQueen, *Joel and the Spirit, The Cry of a Prophetic Hermeneutic* (JPTSS 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 31–34.

¹⁹⁹ Everson, ‘The Days of Yahweh’, 331

²⁰⁰ Here for the prophet it is a time after YHWH restores the land to fruitfulness (2.19,21–26) and delivers Judah from her enemies (2.20).

²⁰¹ The concept of יום יהוה assumes different meanings among the different prophets. See discussions in Pruess, *Old Testament Theology*, 2, 272ff.

²⁰² See Ezek. 36.26ff.; 37.14; 39.29; Isa. 32.15; 44.3; 59.29.

העבדים (your daughters), זקניכם (your old men), בחוריכם (your young men), השפחות (male servants), and השפחות (maid servants) as recipients of the Spirit.²⁰³

Scholars differ concerning the constituency of the beneficiaries of the Spirit. Does כל-בשר have a universal meaning, or is it limited to 'all Israel', or even to Jerusalemites? Earlier scholarship considered the reference to כל-בשר as universal, including all humankind.²⁰⁴ But recent treatments of the subject tend to limit the scope by arguing that כל-בשר is an abbreviation for כל-בית-ישראל, a phrase with a clearly more restrictive nature.²⁰⁵

In the Old Testament, the phrase כל-בשר occurs 40 times²⁰⁶ and is used in two ways: one which refers to 'human beings' in general (Deut. 5.26; Job 12.10; 34.15; Isa. 40.5; 49.26; 66.16, 23, 24;²⁰⁷ Jer. 12.12; 25.34; 45.5; Zech. 2.14) and the other to all living creatures (Gen. 6.17; 9.16f; Job 34.15).²⁰⁸

Yet, when we turn to Joel 3.1 the phrase כל-בשר seems to carry a meaning different from its dominant Old Testament usage. Most scholars come to the conclusion that the entire oracle (Joel 2.18–3–5) is addressed to YHWH's people and the reference to other nations begins only in Joel 4.1.²⁰⁹ A few scholars have argued that בשר refers to 'man in infirmity',²¹⁰ but כל-בשר in the present context does not really give this impression, because רוח is not placed in opposition to בשר.²¹¹ It is more plausible that the phrase indicates inclusiveness across different degrees of kinship within society,²¹² and particularly the relationships within Israelite/Judahite society.

²⁰³ Such elaboration/ inclusiveness might have resulted from postexilic concerns over identity, as to who are the real recipients of the promise. R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period, From the Exile to the Maccabees*, (vol.2; trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1994) 375.

²⁰⁴ J.A. Bewer, *The Book of Twelve Prophets* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1950) 123.

²⁰⁵ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165; Allen, *Books of Joel*, 98; Hubbard, *Joel & Amos*, 69; J.D.W. Watts, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habbakkuk and Zephaniah* (Cambridge: CUP, 1975) 39; Prinsloo, *Theology of Joel*, 90; E. Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I* (NIBC; Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson, 1996) 148.

²⁰⁶ The term occurs 40 times with or without prepositions, excluding those with a definite article or pronominal suffix. See, G. Gerleman, 'בשר', *TLOT* 1: 284.

²⁰⁷ In Deutero-Isaiah כל-בשר is used in the context of salvation, where 'all flesh' will see God's glory, and is invested with worldwide significance (Isaiah 40.5; 49.26; 66.23). In this case there are more possibilities here for universalising interpretations.

²⁰⁸ A.R. Hurst, 'Kol-basar in der priesterlichen Fluterzählung', in *Studies in the Book of Genesis* (OTS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1958) 28–68.

²⁰⁹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67.

²¹⁰ Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 34–35; idem., *Joel and Amos*, 67; Allen, *Books of Joel*, 98.

²¹¹ *Contra* McQueen, *Joel and the Spirit*, 41; Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 129.

²¹² N.W. Porteous, 'Flesh in the OT', *IBD* 2: 276; N.P. Bratsiotis, 'בשר', *TDOT* 2: 313–332.

Such a notion is implied when the phrase כל-בשר is elaborated as sons, daughters, old men, young men, male and female slaves.²¹³ The specific reference to בניכם (your sons) and בנותיכם (your daughters), an all-inclusive category,²¹⁴ clearly points to the fact that the gift of the Spirit will be poured out upon the future generation (cf. 1.2).²¹⁵ The author seems to be familiar with the motif of the ‘Spirit pouring out on the future generation’ that is found in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 44.3) where, as we have said previously, the Spirit is poured out upon the זרעך (descendants) and צאצאיך (offspring).²¹⁶

In addition to this, a further category is represented in the terms זקניכם (your old men) בחוריכם (your young men). These are significant male representatives, older men who have the elevated status of decision-makers²¹⁷ and younger men who fill the military ranks.²¹⁸ This bestowal of the *Geistausgießung* upon ‘old men’ and ‘young men’ clearly suggests a crossing of the age barriers within the society.²¹⁹

The category which is most interesting here is the phrase העבדים (male servants) and השפחות (maid servants).²²⁰ The absence of a possessive pronominal suffix (כם) highlights the fact that the extra categories העבדים and השפחות have different social status outside those already mentioned in the comprehensive expression ‘your sons and daughters’ and ‘your old and young men’.²²¹

In the Old Testament the phrase occurs both in the patriarchal narratives and in the Deuteronomic literature (Gen. 12.16; 20.14; 24.35; 30.43; 32.5; 1 Sam. 8.16; 2 Kgs. 5.26; Eccl. .2.7) where ‘slaves’ social status as “property”²²² is highlighted. It is interesting to note that whereas the majority of those Pentateuchal passages identify the

²¹³ Prinsloo, *Theology of the Book of Joel*, 90.

²¹⁴ Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165.

²¹⁵ In the prophetic literature the combination – בניכם (your sons); בנותיכם (your daughters) generally occurs in the context of YHWH’s judgement. For example, Jer. 5.17; Ezek. 16.20; 23.25; 24.21; Joel 3.8; Amos 7.17.

²¹⁶ Zechariah too refers to the Spirit being poured upon the descendants, but the scope here is limited to residents of Jerusalem (Zech. 12.10).

²¹⁷ LXX uses the term πρεσβύτεροι. See discussions in G. Bornkamm, ‘Πρεσβυς’, *TDNT* 6: 651–61; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165–66.

²¹⁸ Bewer, *Obadiah and Joel*, 122–23; Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165–66.

²¹⁹ Koch, *Der Geist Gottes*, 128.

²²⁰ Joel repeats the phrase אשפוך את-רוחי (I will pour out my spirit), probably to emphasise the extent of the gift of the Spirit, which is highlighted by the use of וגם (and even). See E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 484 ff.

²²¹ F.E. Deist, ‘Parallels and Reinterpretation in the Book of Joel’, in W. Claassen (ed.), *Text and Context, Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F.C. Fensham* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 63–80. The definite article may have functioned in Hebrew as equivalent to the pronominal suffix. See Crenshaw, *Joel*, 166.

²²² D.C. Hymes, ‘Notes on Joel 3.1–5’, *AJPS* 1/1 (1998) 92.

nationality of the ‘male servants’ and ‘maid servants’ as Israelite,²²³ references occur in the prophetic literature where ‘male slaves’ and ‘female slaves’ are foreigners (Isa. 14.2; Jer. 34.11, 16). For example, Isa. 14.2 is significant because it could potentially establish a universal connotation to the phrase we are discussing and possibly develop a case for understanding the כּל־בֶּשֶׂר as having an “all humankind” meaning. Historically, such an interpretation is not impossible, as when the Babylonian captivity ended following the Persian capture of Mesopotamia, and the Jews returned to their homeland, a number of slaves and slave women came with them (Ezra 2.64–65; Neh. 7.66–67).²²⁴ The reference to slaves in Joel 3.2 surely carries with it, therefore, the probability of some Gentiles having been included.

This seems as far as one can honestly move toward an “all flesh perspective”,²²⁵ and it would be a mistake to view this passage as Joel’s manifesto for a wholesale incorporation of Gentiles into YHWH’s covenant through the outpouring of the Spirit. It is interesting to note that out of all ‘the Twelve’, it is Joel who gives the Gentiles the briefest treatment.²²⁶ They are presented as sinful figures worthy of punishment,²²⁷ and charged with mistreating Israel (1.16); indeed, they have scattered the covenant people to the corners of the earth (4.2), divided Israel’s land, and sold Jewish children into prostitution for a drink of wine (4.3); and for these and other transgressions YHWH will punish them (4.6, 16). Thus 3.1 does not argue for a universal, ‘all humankind’ connotation to the phrase כּל־בֶּשֶׂר; instead, the promise of the Spirit is irrespective of gender, age or social standing, but it is contextually limited to the listening audience (possibly the Judahites, probably all Israelites), which *may* include some Gentiles or foreigners in its social composition.

The above argument for the inclusion of Gentiles or foreigners in the Israelite social composition needs to be seen in the light of v.5, ‘calling upon the name of YHWH’.²²⁸ The use of the ethnically neutral phrases כּל אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה יִמְלֹט (all who call upon the name of YHWH will be saved) with its inverse form בְּשָׂרִידִים אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה קָרָא (and among the survivors whom YHWH is calling) are important in this regard.

²²³ For example Deut. 28.68; 2 Chr. 28.10; Esth 7.4.

²²⁴ M.A. Dandameyev, ‘Slavery, Old Testament’, *ABD* 6: 64.

²²⁵ D.E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 75.

²²⁶ Although Joel uses the term גּוֹי (nations) eight times (Hos. x 4; Amos x 3; Obd.x 4; Mic. x 6; Nah. x 2; Hab. x 7; Zeph. x 3; Hag. x 3; Zech. x 19 and Mal. x 4) the treatment on the subject is limited to Joel 4.2–6.

²²⁷ P.R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve* (Sheffield: Almond/JSOT Press, 1990) 212; Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Books*, 181–186.

²²⁸ Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult*, 54.

The identities of the ‘caller’ and ‘those who are called’ are not so obvious in the passage. The phrase *כל אשר* (everyone whom, 3.5a) recalls *כל-בשר* (3.1) and gives the appearance of universalism,²²⁹ but that is corrected by the restrictive specification, *יקרא בשם יהוה ימלט* (those who call upon the name of YHWH).²³⁰ It is highly probable that those who are doing the ‘calling’ once again limit the extent of 3.1’s *כל-בשר*. In almost all cases in the Old Testament the phrase *יקרא בשם יהוה ימלט* represents an Israelite audience or caller. 1 Kgs. 8.43 may be an exception, where *נכר* (foreigners) and *כל-עמי הארץ* (all the peoples of the earth) are included in Solomon’s prayer as those who can ‘call the name of YHWH’.

A majority of scholars have interpreted the phrase “all who call upon the name of YHWH will be saved” in the light of its cultic significance.²³¹ But the present passage attests neither a cultic connotation as in Gen. 4.26; 12.8; 13.4; 21.33; 26.25, nor an expectation of YHWH’s response as in 1 Kgs. 18.24; Zech. 13.9; Ps. 116.4, nor a doxological purpose of proclamation or confession as in Isa. 12.4; Ps. 80.19; 116.13, 17.²³² The phrase is used in 3.5 as a designation of an act that establishes relationship with YHWH (cf. Isa. 44.5),²³³ and that is as a confession of loyalty to YHWH; only an individual who confesses exclusive loyalty to YHWH will escape the terror announced by the signs and portents.²³⁴ Such a notion provides us with the possibility of speaking about a group of recipients wider than simply those who reside in Jerusalem.

Joel’s use of Zion tradition²³⁵ — specifically Zion as the place of security and safety — further supports our argument.²³⁶ Zion/Jerusalem becomes the symbol for

²²⁹ Crenshaw, *Joel*, 169.

²³⁰ The phrase *יקרא בשם יהוה* occurs 17 times as ‘to call on the name of YHWH’ Gen. 4.26; 12.8; 13.4; 21.33; 26.25; 1 Kgs. 18.24; 2 Kgs. 5.11; Isa. 64.6; Jer. 10.25; Joel 3.5; Zeph. 3.9; Zech. 13.9; Ps. 79.6; 80.19; 116.4, 13, 17.

²³¹ B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi, the Divine Messenger* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 264–65.

²³² A.S. van der Woude, ‘שם’, *TLOT* 3: 1359ff.

²³³ C.J. Labuschagne, *TLOT* 3: 1165ff.

²³⁴ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68. The verb *מלט* (shall be delivered) here is significant, in that it often occurs in the prophetic oracles of judgement where YHWH is the subject. The verb indicates survival in the face of grave danger.

²³⁵ Prinsloo, *Theology of the Book of Joel*, 84–87, 126. For a full discussion of the Zion Tradition from various perspectives see, R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament period*, From the beginnings to the end of the Monarchy (London: SCM Press, 1994) 1:105–195; J.D. Levenson, ‘Zion Tradition’, *ABD* 6: 1098–1102; Mettinger, *Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 80–115 B.C. Ollenburger, *Zion, City of the Great King* (JSOTSS 41; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987); M. Weinfeld, ‘Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia’, in R.E. Friedman (ed.), *The Poet and the Historian*, Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 75–115; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* I, 47; J.J.M. Roberts, ‘The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition’, *JBL* 92 (1973) 329–344.

²³⁶ According to Ollenburger, (*Zion the City of the Great King*, 14f) the use of Zion as a symbol of security and refuge is based first of all on the understanding that “YHWH is present there” (Joel 2.27; cf. Ps. 46.7,8; 48.4) concludes that ‘the central theological notion evoked by the symbol of Zion is the

security and necessity for 'trust in YHWH' (3.5). This reciprocal relationship is essential to the covenant. Here it becomes clear that not merely through physical membership in the people of Jerusalem is deliverance guaranteed, but only by the confession of loyalty to YHWH and by being responsive to the new call.²³⁷ It is noteworthy that the outpouring of the Spirit of YHWH is linked with the mention of the site of the coming deliverance as Zion/Jerusalem.

Similarly, the phrase *בשרידים אשר יהיה קרא* (and among the survivor shall be those whom YHWH calls) create further interest. The terms *שרייד* (survivors) and *פליטה* (escapee) are often found in parallelism in other prophetic literature (Ob. 14; Jer. 42.17; 44).²³⁸ Scholars are divided on the use of these terms.²³⁹ Most treatments have opted to read the phrase as a designation for a "true worshipper."²⁴⁰ For Wolff the text does not mean Israelites outside Jerusalem, but that same circle of Jerusalemites and Judahites, which is addressed throughout the rest of the book (Joel 1.2).²⁴¹ Stuart considers them as those who will have managed to live through the destruction and exile of YHWH's judgement.²⁴²

The most probable explanation would be that not only do Jerusalemites escape destruction, but so do other survivors who live outside the city, perhaps even in exile; and that they are referred to here together.²⁴³ The phrase *הנני מעירם* (but now I will stir them up) in 4.7 probably supports the idea of the existence of Diaspora Israel,²⁴⁴ and thus there is sufficient cause to think that *כל-בשר* (3.1) and *כל-אשר* (3.5) both refer to 'all Israel', including even the Diaspora.²⁴⁵ It seems that, Joel makes a point by

kingship of YHWH. Similarly, J.J.M. Roberts ('Zion in the Theology of the Davidic-Solomonic Empire', in T. Ishida [ed.] *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982] 102.) argues that 'another consequence of YHWH's living in Jerusalem is the absolute security his presence provides.

²³⁷ The security that is found here comes through 'a posture of subordination and trust' (Ollenburger, *Zion the City of the Great King*, 157-58).

²³⁸ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 67; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165-66.

²³⁹ These two clauses remind one of Zech. 12.8-9 speaking explicitly of an exclusion of the saved from a circle of those who will perish; Zech. 14.2 refers to 'the rest of the people who shall not be exterminated in the city.'

²⁴⁰ Bewer, *Obadiah and Joel*, 124.

²⁴¹ Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 68; Crenshaw, *Joel*, 165-66.

²⁴² Stuart, *Hosea - Jonah*, 258.

²⁴³ W. Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona* (KAT 13: 2; Gütersloh : G.Mohn, 1971) 74.

²⁴⁴ Crenshaw, *Joel*, 170.

²⁴⁵ H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) 24-26. This aspect is further evident in the linguistic usages. The book of Joel mentions Zion seven times, Jerusalem six times (three times in parallel with Zion) and Judah six times (three times in parallel with Jerusalem). It is interesting to note that in the 'oracles of judgement' (1.1-2.16) the audience is identified as *כל יושבי הארץ* (all the inhabitants of the land 1.14; 2.1). In contrast, *עמי* (2.27, 3.2, 3) *בני יהודה* (3.19);

using the phrases *כל אשר-יקרא בשם יהוה ימלט* and *בשרידים אשר יהוה קרא* to indicate a broader audience which includes not only the *כל יושבי הארץ* (all the inhabitants of the land), but also those who confess the 'name of YHWH'.

Geistausgießung in Joel, then, points to a continuing stream of thought concerning the democratising of the *רוח יהוה* in the postexilic period. For Joel the effects of the *Geistausgießung* are prophecy, visions and dreams, which for him refer to an experience of intimate relationship with YHWH. The similarities with the Deutero-Isaiah tradition, particularly Isa. 44.1–5, further extend the scope of the expectations of the Spirit in Joel. The prophet brings further clarity as to who will receive the Spirit by utilising phrases like *כל-בשר* and *כל-אשר*²⁴⁶ in a unique way to incorporate different social categories that are present in Jerusalem as well as amongst those living outside Jerusalem, and he achieves this unique feature in two ways: a) through the elaboration of 2nd person plural *כִּם* (your) to your sons and daughters, old men and young men, but not to male slaves and female slaves; b) by the use of ethnically neutral phrases like “all who call upon the name of YHWH will be saved” with its inverse form “among the survivors whom YHWH is calling.” This leads us to conclude that the promise of the Spirit is irrespective of gender, age or social standing, but that it is contextually limited to all Israelites, though that may include Gentiles or foreigners, and does indicate those living in Diaspora.

2.5. The Eschatological Bestowal of *רוח* upon People in Hebrew Scriptures

The nature of the exilic and postexilic prophetic expectation was that YHWH would pour out the Spirit upon the covenant community when YHWH restored the nation of Israel from their present situation. The Spirit is depicted as the power of Israel's eschatological transformation. On the one hand it brings covenantal intimacy and fidelity to YHWH commandments, while on the other rejuvenation in the nature and security to the nation of Israel.

Thus, Ezekiel anticipated a spiritual rejuvenation of the house of Israel with the gift of the Spirit. It is a sign of YHWH's regathering of Israel and his covenantal intimacy, and is an agent enabling people to live according to the commandments. The exilic remnant community that Isa. 32.15 represents, anticipated that prior to the coming of the Spirit YHWH would lay bare the people in judgement. The prophet anticipates that

בני ישראל (3.16); *יהודה* (3.1, 6, 8, 18, 19, 20); *ישראל* (2.27; 3.2, 16) appear only in second part of the book, which is the oracle of salvation.

²⁴⁶ For Paul (Rom. 10.13–14), Joel 3.5a is important documentation by which he makes no distinction between Jews and Greeks. He has thereby given a universal interpretation to the 'everyone' (*πᾶς*) of LXX which renders 'all' in 3.5.

with the coming of the Spirit there will be a reversal of fortunes in agricultural abundance, physical and emotional security, and moral condition. For the writer of Isa. 44.1–5, YHWH has begun his activity of salvation, and as a result רוח will bring numerical growth to Israel which will in turn cause the Gentiles to turn to YHWH. For Joel the coming of the new age is attributed to the ‘outpouring’ of the Spirit; only lament and repentance will bring the long-awaited day of restoration, which will be ushered in by the overwhelming presence of the רוח. This signals the turn of Israel’s fortune and as a consequence ‘all flesh’ (in Israel) will prophecy and see visions and dreams, which for Joel refer to an experience of intimate relationship with YHWH.

As to the question of recipients of the Spirit, there are diverse anticipations regarding their nature in the eschatology. The Spirit is poured out on עמי, is possibly to be understood as the members of the remnant restored community. Ezekiel offers a broader perspective in which it is כל-בית ישראל — the descendants of the ancestor Jacob/Israel (28.25; 37.25; 39.25; cf. 33.24) who will receive the Spirit. However, both Deutero-Isaiah and Joel present a brighter picture in relation to the Gentiles. In 44.3 when YHWH pours out His רוח upon זרעך (descendants) and upon צאצאיך (offspring), non-Israelites would join the covenant community. Although the passage is not clear about whether Gentiles would receive the Spirit or not, the inclusion of Gentile proselytes into the covenant as result of the outpouring is itself highly significant. For Joel, the Spirit not only ends all social inequalities, but also increases covenantal intimacy with YHWH, and this will in turn attract a wide variety of people to Mt. Zion, the centre of YHWH’s presence and worship. It is important to observe that it is the general prophetic universalism that welcomed foreigners who join themselves to the Lord within the land of Israel (Isa. 56.3) which provides the basis of such a view.

Chapter 3
ESCHATOLOGICAL BESTOWAL OF THE SPIRIT
UPON GENTILES IN POST BIBLICAL JUDAISM

3.1. Introduction

It is important for the present study to understand as fully as possible the nature of the promise of the Spirit upon Gentiles in the literature of Second Temple Judaism.¹ There are a few documents emerging from the variegated Judaism of the period which refer both to the realised presence and future eschatological anticipation of the Spirit.

Two emerging trends need to be recognised as we endeavour to understand the expectation for universal outpouring of the Spirit during this period. a) The concept of an end-time gift of the Spirit to the people, particularly as the expectations influenced by Ezek. 36.27, Isa. 44.3 and Joel 3.1–5 reappears and is reinterpreted in Jewish literature of the period. b) Though references to an expectation of the Spirit upon Gentiles are minimal, the philosophical/apologetical Jewish literature of this period indicates that the gift of the Spirit is available to all including the Gentiles.

Several important witnesses in this period are silent with respect to the expectation of the Spirit upon Gentiles. In spite of the range of attitudes attributed to the Gentiles, especially their full participation in the eschatological salvation in Tobit,² *1 Enoch*,³ *2 Baruch*,⁴ and *Sibylline Oracles*,⁵ the books are silent in relation to the promise of the Spirit on Gentiles.

The task, then of this chapter is (i) to locate and examine the various references in the post-biblical literature that picked up and reinterpreted the prophetic

¹ It is not the aim of this study to provide a complete survey on the function and nature of Spirit in the literature of this period. Such a survey of the activity of the Spirit may variously be found in Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 1976; A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Menzies, *Development*, 1991; Horn, *Das Angeld*, 1992; C.S. Keener, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts, Divine Purity and Power* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997); Turner, *Power*, 2000; Levison, *Spirit in First Century*, 1997; M. Wenk, *Community-Forming Power, The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts* (JPTS 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); M. Fatehi, *The Spirit's Relation to the Risen Lord in Paul, An Examination of Its Christological Implications* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000); C. Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom, An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT 2/128; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002).

² Tob. 13.11; 14.7.

³ *1 Enoch* 10.21; 90.37-38.

⁴ *2 Baruch* 72-72.

⁵ *Sib.Or.* 3.657-808

expectations of the Spirit upon the people, and to identify any developments, and particularly universalist trends, in comparison with earlier examples of the end-time Spirit traditions; (ii) to identify and elucidate other relevant passages in Second Temple Jewish literature that indicate either anticipation or availability of Spirit upon the Gentiles; (iii) to explain the attitude of expectation of the Spirit upon Gentiles, in the light of the above observations, either as marginal or central to the discussion in this period. The main purpose of these investigations is to determine how the conceptual background of expectation of the Spirit upon Gentiles throws light on Paul's conviction that God has given the Spirit to the Gentiles.

3.2. Prophetic Expectation of the Spirit in the Post biblical literature

The expectation of an end time bestowal of the Spirit on corporate Israel, as noted in the prophetic literature, reappears in several post-biblical texts.⁶

⁶ I have not attempted to investigate on the rabbinic traditions on the subject in any detail, not least, since their relevance for understanding of Paul's Pharisaic view of the matter is at best questionable. Scholars have already noted the influence of passages from Ezekiel and Joel on rabbinic expectations of the Spirit, however (see discussions in Menzies, *Development*, 104–111; Turner, *Power*, 129–132). However, I have noted two passages which may suggest that the rabbis did expect an outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentiles are worth noting. All citations are from David Kantrowitz, *Soncino Talmud, Midrash Rabbah, and Zohar on CD ROM*, (English Translation of Tanach by D. Mandel; Version Judaic Classics IId., Institute for Computers in Jewish Life & Davka Corporation 1991-1998).

First, the *Midrash on Lamentations* 2.8 (= *Lam. R.* 4.14) refers to three passages traditionally attributed to the eschatological bestowal of the Spirit (Ezek. 39.29; Joel 3.1, 2 & Zech. 12.10). According to the text, R. Judah ha Nasi interprets the eschatological outpouring of the Spirit as part of the four שפיכות לטובה ("pourings for good").

"There are four pourings [recorded] for good', as it is said, And I will pour upon the *house of David*, and upon the *inhabitants of Jerusalem*, the spirit of grace and of supplication (Zech. 12.10); And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My spirit upon *all flesh* (Joel 3.1); And also upon the *servants* and upon the *handmaids* in those days will I pour out My spirit (3.2); Nor will I hide My face any more from them; for I have poured out My spirit upon the *house of Israel*, saith the Lord God (Ezek. 39.29)' – *Lam R.* 2.8.

What is surprising is that the text does not clearly state whether the 'pouring out' is based on the function of the Spirit, or on the category of recipient. Since the text maintains a distinction regarding the recipients – a) the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, b) all flesh, c) the servants and handmaids, and d) the house of Israel, it is possible that the rabbis meant that the servants and handmaids were non-Israelites, as is the case in the original context. The discussion on the passage from *Eccl. R.* 2.11 focuses on the recipients of רוחי in Joel 3.2. "I acquired men-servants (העבדים) and maid servants (השפחות): these are the heathen nations, as it is said, and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit (Joel III, 2). In the Messianic future they will become servants of Israel, as it is written in Isaiah, and strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen and your vinedressers (LXI, 5)" – *Eccl. R.* 2.11. The text anticipates that in the Messianic future רוחי will be poured upon men-servants (העבדים) and maid servants (השפחות) – interpreted as the heathen nations. As a result of the Spirit's outpouring the heathen nations will become servants of Israel (עבדים לישראל). Therefore, Joel 3.1–2 is offered as scriptural proof that in the age to come the heathen nations will be part of Israel. However, this passage seems to be exceptional in the rabbinic traditions and not at all representative of their thought in regard to the nations.

3.2.1. The Septuagint

The scripture of the early church,⁷ the Septuagint, continued to maintain the eschatological anticipation of the Spirit bestowed upon people.⁸ As the Hebrew Scriptures did, the LXX associated the divine πνεῦμα with the passages central to our concern.⁹ πνεῦμα is associated with eschatological renewal of YHWH's people and land (LXX Isa. 32.15; 44.3; Ezek. 36.25–27; 37.14; 39.29; Joel 3.2).

The translators also retain the nature of the recipients in the LXX of Ezek. 36.25–27, 37.14, Isa. 44.3–5 and Joel 3.1–5. The future anticipation is also maintained by the selective use of verbs — δώσω (Ezek. 36.27; 37.14); ἐπιθήσω (Isa. 44.3); ἐκχεῶ (Joel 3.1); ἐπέλθῃ (Isa. 32.15).

Second, *S. 'Olam Rab. 15* makes a reference to Holy Spirit and the Gentiles. The text mentions that the Gentiles were given the Holy Spirit before the Torah was given to Israel. "After the Torah had been given to Israel the Holy Spirit was withheld from the nations." See discussions in M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament, Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972) 107. The evidence of these midrashim, however, is late (probably Amoraic) and we cannot depend on such views having been in circulation in the first century C.E.

Similarly, the Targums (especially Targum Jonathan to the Prophets) continue to maintain the exilic and post exilic prophetic notion of an endtime outpouring of the Spirit. The targumists' preference for the use of 'Holy Spirit' and 'Shekinah' notwithstanding, the recipients of the promise of the Spirit are still the house of Israel. See discussions in B.S. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel, The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOTSS 23, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1982); J. Ribera, 'The Image of Israel according to the Targum of Ezekiel', in K.J. Cathcart & M. Maher (eds.), *Targumic and Cognate Studies. Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara* (JSOTSS 230; Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 111–121; P. Schäfer, 'Die Termini "Heiligen Geist", und "Geist der Prophetie"', in *den Targumim und das Verhältnis der Targumim zueinander*, VT 20 (1970) 304–314.

⁷ H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament. I. The History, Literature and Culture of the Hellenistic Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982) 253. However, one must recognise the heterogeneity of the Septuagint, which contains within it translations of various types, early and late, official and private, literal and free, relatively original and significantly revised. See E. Tov, 'Jewish Greek Scriptures', in G.W.E. Nickelsburg *et al.* (eds.), *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 225. It is not surprising that recent research into Paul's use of the OT confirms the importance of the Septuagint – see E.E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Baker, 1981); C.D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: CUP, 1992) 254–55. See also S.E. Porter, *The Criteria for Authenticity in Historical-Jesus Research: Previous Discussion and New Proposals* (JSNTSS 191; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); *idem*, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* (SBG 1; New York: Lang, 1989); M. Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (JSOTSS 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996); J.T. Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

⁸ See E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the O.T.* 2: 1151–1153. See also discussion in Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 1976.

⁹ Thus τὸ πνεῦμά μου (Ezek. 36.27; 37.14; Isa. 44.3; Joel 3.1) for ירוח and πνεῦμα ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ for מרוח מרוח.

However, one needs to note two modifications in LXX Ezek. 39.29 and Isa. 32.15. First, instead of τὸ πνεῦμά μου (following יְהוָה) LXX uses τὸν θυμὸν μου. Thus the reading is, “I have poured out *my wrath* upon the house of Israel”. It is possible that the translators were confused by the recurrent use of verb יָפַשׁ with יְהוָה in previous passages (my wrath — see Ezek. 7.5; 14.10; 21.31; 30.15; 36.18 cf. Jer. 6.11; 14.16; LXX Ps. 141.3). It is highly incongruous to maintain the idea of Yahweh’s wrath being poured out upon the ‘house of Israel’ in the context of Yahweh’s promise of restoration!¹⁰

Second, there is rather more diversity in the LXX’s version of Isa. 32.9–20,¹¹ and the Greek text has a different reading when it comes to the recipients. The anticipated judgement is not translated as being upon any complacent women (MT 32.9) but upon ‘rich women’ (γυναῖκες πλούσιαι) and ‘confident daughters’ (θυγατέρες ἐν ἐλπίδι) (LXX 32.9), in the ‘rich city’ (πλούτων πόλεως) and ‘pleasant houses’ (οἴκους) and ‘villages’ (κῶμαι LXX 32.14). Although the LXX translators retain most of the original meaning concerning judgment, the translator distances himself from promise of the Spirit. The recipients of the Spirit expectation are indicated in the 2nd person plural form — ‘you’ (ὕμᾱς). Similarly עַמִּי (my people) is translated as ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ (his people).¹² LXX indicates a bias towards the ‘pious one’ (εὐσεβής), and Carmel (Καρμῆλω) will be the place where righteousness dwells. In spite of the difficulties in the text, the LXX translators anticipate πνεῦμα upon ‘his people’, and the eschatological aspiration for the Spirit is still maintained; but there are no developments of thought along the lines of Gentile inclusion. In short, the Greek translators maintain the conceptual integrity of the eschatological anticipation of the MT — the Spirit will be poured out only on Israel.

3.2.2. The Pseudepigrapha

3.2.2.1. The Book of Jubilees

The Pseudepigraphal book of *Jubilees*, which dates to the middle of the second century B.C.E.,¹³ conflates various Old Testament passages, particularly those in

¹⁰ Contrary to wrath being poured out, LXX Ezek. 39.29 is consistent with the MT in maintaining Yahweh’s programme of restoration. The Targum of Ezekiel follows MT with the addition of יְהוָה קָרָא.

¹¹ The Targum also maintains a different reading.

¹² Generally there are inconsistencies in LXX regarding the translation of עַמִּי. For e.g., LXX Hos. 11.7; cf. I Sam. 13.8; 2 Sam. 10.13.

¹³ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, ‘The Book of Jubilees’, in *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*. Philadelphia, 73–80; O. Wintermute ‘Jubilees’, in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old*

Ezekiel, in reinterpreting the coming of the Spirit in Israel's future hope (*Jub.* 1.22–23).

The book presents itself as a divine revelation, which was disclosed to Moses on Mt. Sinai. The reference to the Holy Spirit appears in 1.20, where Moses intercedes for his people, and in v.23 where God speaks¹⁴ directly with Moses.

What is interesting is the author's reinterpretation of the past to address the present. In the first instance the Lord predicts Israel's apostasy (vv.7–14) when they live in the land. As a consequence God will hide his face (cf. Ezek. 39.29) and deliver them to their enemies. But God reiterates that only after confession of sin and repentance will a new time dawn (vv.15–18). Moses intercedes for the people (vv.19–21) and asks God to "create an upright spirit" (1.20; cf. Ps. 51.10; 1QS 1.24). And the Lord said to Moses, "...I shall cut off the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants (Deut. 30.6; Ezek. 11.19). And I shall create for them a holy spirit, and I shall purify them (Ezek. 36.25b) so that they will not turn away from following me from that day and forever" (*Jub.* 1.23).

The language here is strikingly similar to that of Ezek. 36.25–27,¹⁵ which also associates a new heart and new spirit, as well as God's own Spirit, with restoration and the keeping of God's commandments by Israel.¹⁶ By conflating a version of Ezekiel's promise of the Spirit with words spoken to Moses the first lawgiver at Sinai, the author drives home an insistent demand for obedience to God's commands¹⁷ in a time of apostasy.¹⁸ His belief is that God will create a new spirit

Testament Pseudepigrapha (2 vols.; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985) 2: 43–44; J.C. VanderKam, 'The Book of *Jubilees*', in M.de. Jonge (ed.), *Outside the Old Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985); idem, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

¹⁴ In the remaining chapters it is an 'angel of the presence' that dictates the contents of the book to the writer. The author gives importance to the angelic activity. For e.g., 1.27; 2.1; 4.21; 12.22; 12.27; 16.16f; 17.11f; 18.10; 41.24. The author's interests in angels are clearly seen in the reinterpretation of the creation story. *Jub.* 2.2 reproduces Gen. 1.1–3 but indicates that the author has understood the word *מלאך* in the sense of a spirit or angel. The text then proceeds to enumerate the sundry types of angels or spirits, angels being among the seven classes of works that God created on the first day. See discussions in VanderKam, 'Biblical Interpretation in I Enoch and *Jubilees*', in J.H. Charlesworth *et.al* (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSS 14, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993) 118–119. However, the book continues to refer to the Spirit of God as the source of revelation in 25.14; 31.12; 40.5.

¹⁵ See Horn, *Das Angeld*, 39, 146; Keener, *Spirit in the Gospels and Acts*, 9; Levison, *Spirit in First Century Judaism*, 252; Turner, *Power*, idem, *Holy Spirit* 115; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 79.

¹⁶ The reference to 'spirit' appears only in 1.20–23 among the other eschatological passages (23.14–31). One should view the author's eschatological teachings in the context of the Law and Israel's future. See G.L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) 47–71, 81–87; Wintermute '*Jubilees*', 46–48.

¹⁷ According to the author, Israel had received the covenant but had failed to obey its stipulations (cf. 23:16, 19; 15:33–34; etc.). Both chps.1 and 23 survey the great difficulties, which will beset the

within his people, which would make possible a proper relationship between God and Israel. The author maintains the original motif — the expectation of the Spirit upon Israel. For the author of *Jubilees*, like Ezekiel, God's restorative activity begins with regathering the people, transforming their hearts, creating a Holy Spirit, and purifying them. As a consequence, in the ideal future Israel will live up to the covenant by obeying all the commandments. God's future dwelling with his people in the temple he creates will be forever (vv.17; 26–28), and he will be their king on Mt.Zion (v.28). Thus the writer develops an emphasis on the role of the Spirit in terms of fidelity to God's commandments.

However, the future anticipation of the Holy Spirit is promised only to Israel, God's chosen first born son (2.19–20). The Gentiles¹⁹ are not part of the author's eschatological perspective and so *Jubilees* provides no answer to our question.

3.2.2.2. 4 Ezra

We find a possible influence of Ezekiel in the late first century Palestinian Jewish apocalyptic writing of *4 Ezra*.²⁰ The book opens with Ezra greatly distressed over the destruction of Zion and the corresponding prosperity of her enemies (*4 Ezra* 3.1–3).²¹ Ezra prays and recounts Israel's history from Adam to the Babylon captivity (3.4–27), by which he shows the Israelites' continual inability to do right, and

apostate nation because it has violated covenant and command. The author writes (23.26) in the ideal age "the children will begin to study the laws, and to seek the commandments, and to return to the path of righteousness."

¹⁸ Most probably reflecting a time period between Judas Maccabeus' war (161 B.C.E) and the breach between the Maccabaeans and the Essenes. See Wintermute 'Jubilees', 44–45.

¹⁹ The author of *Jubilees* is poignant in his attitude toward the Gentiles. Hostility to nations is clearly evident in passages like 10.32; 24.28–33; 29.11; 30.4–6; 34.1–9; 38.1–10. Moreover, other nations are separated from God because he has placed spirits in authority over them to lead them astray (10.1–11). In *Jub.* 22.16 we read, "Separate yourselves from the Gentiles, and do not eat with them, and do not perform deeds like theirs. And do not become associates of theirs, because their deeds are defiled, and all of their ways are contaminated, despicable and abominable."

²⁰ See B.W. Longenecker, *2 Esdras* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 13. For a good summary of the various arguments concerning the dating see J.M. Myers, *II Esdras and I: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB; Garden City: NY.: Doubleday, 1974) 129–31, 299–302; B.M. Metzger, 'The Fourth Book of Ezra: A New Translation and Introduction', *OTP* 1: 516.

²¹ Although the context purports to speak of the fall of Jerusalem in 586/57 B.C.E. (3.2; 6.19; 10.48), most scholars would place the date of composition of *4 Ezra* somewhere around 100 C.E. This understanding comes from the interpretation of the "thirtieth year after the destruction of our city" in 3.1 and the interpretation of the eagle vision in chs.11&12. See Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 301; T.W. Willet, *Eschatology in the Theodicies of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra* (JSPSS 4; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1989) 156.

attributes the failing of Israel to an evil heart.²² ‘Yet you did not take away from them their evil heart, so that your Law might bring forth fruit in them’²³ (3.20). However, the present iniquities will be straightened out in the age to come (6.27–28)²⁴ and the evil heart about which Ezra complained in 3.20 will be changed: ‘The heart of the earth’s inhabitants shall be changed and converted to a different spirit’. Although it is not clear from the context whether the reference to a ‘different spirit’ is to the divine spirit or a new human volition to respond to God, in either case the prophet Ezekiel’s (Ezek. 36.26f.) influence can be deduced.

Interestingly, the author expands the anticipation of the S/spirit to ‘earth’s inhabitants.’²⁵ But in the light of the author’s attitude of God’s gracious faithfulness to ethnic Israel²⁶ in the age to come, especially when Israel is said to be ‘chosen’ by God (4 *Ezra* 6.54) and identified as God’s people ‘whom you have called your first born, only begotten, zealous for you, and most dear’ (6.58), it is difficult to see in this a universal bestowal of the Spirit upon the Gentiles. Other nations are despised as ‘nothing’, compared to ‘spittle’, and are said to be as significant to God as ‘a drop from a bucket’ (6.56).

Building on the traditions of the prophets, for whom the sinfulness of the Jewish people was the reason most often given for their misfortunes, the author of 4 *Ezra* provides hope to his own contemporaries after the fall of Jerusalem – a future hope where God will reward the righteous, and where the major cause of the present distress, the evil heart, will be changed to a different spirit.

²² See A.L. Thompson, (*Responsibility of Evil in the Theodicy of IV Ezra: A Study Illustrating the Significance of Form and Structure for the Meaning of the Book* [SBLDS 29; Moula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977] 332–39) for the *yešer* tradition to the evil heart in 4 *Ezra*.

²³ People’s failure to keep the law is constantly mentioned (3.4–36; 14.28–31). The restoration of the law is central to the author’s instruction in 4 *Ezra*. The law is to be restored in order that all succeeding generations might observe it and ‘find the path’ (14.22 cf. 14.30; 9.31, 37).

²⁴ “For evil shall be blotted out and deceit shall be quenched; faithfulness shall flourish, and corruption shall be overcome, and the truth, which has been so long without fruit, shall be revealed.”

²⁵ Some of the early manuscripts (Latin) lack “earth’s”.

²⁶ Many scholars have argued for a much smaller group than the whole of ethnic Israel. For example see H.C. Kee (“The Man” in Fourth Ezra: Growth of a Tradition’, in K.H. Richards (ed.), *SBLSP 1981* [Chico, CA.: Scholars Press, 1982] 199–208) proposes a small community of Jews who considered themselves to be the faithful remnant of Israel. M.A. Knibb, (‘Apocalyptic and Wisdom in 4 *Ezra*’, *JSJ* 13 (1982) 56–74) imagines a small group of learned men engaged in the study of Jewish scriptures and in interpretative writings. J.A. Overman, (*Matthew’s Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990]) argues for a sectarian community convinced of its own faithfulness and of the unfaithfulness of the rest of the people, especially those in positions of power.

3.2.3. The Qumran Literature

Since, the Qumran community and the wider movement of which it was a part viewed itself as being in many respects in direct continuity with earlier Israel, it is likely that at least some of the community's hopes would fall within a broad definition of the eschatological anticipation of the Spirit. Thus Qumran's reinterpretation of passages like Ezek. 36.25–27,²⁷ Joel 3.2 and probably Isa. 44.3 are significant for our investigation.

A passage of interest is 4Q504 1–2 v.15 – "...you have poured (יִצְקֶהָ) your holy spirit upon us". The preserved fragmentary manuscript from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q504–6)²⁸ is a penitential prayer,²⁹ comprising confessions of past sins and appeals for divine grace. Avoidance of sin and adherence to God's law are predominant throughout this preserved fragment. The petitioner remembers God's covenant faithfulness (iv.4–5), particularly for pouring (יִצְקֶהָ) the Holy Spirit upon the community, so that they can turn their heart to God and to listen to God's voice, as commanded through Moses (4Q504 1–2 v.13). It is highly probable that Isa. 44.3 influenced the composition of this passage, as among prophetic Spirit anticipatory usages the verbal form יִצְקֶהָ is found uniquely in Isa. 44.3.³⁰

Baillet notes that the above scroll is lacking a sectarian bias.³¹ The recipient represents the whole people, which includes all in יִשְׂרָאֵל (v.11; cf. ii.11; iv.9; vi.12).³² The writer most likely belonged to the pre-Essenes, and his composition influenced the Essenes, including the Qumran community³³ who probably

²⁷ The Ezekiel manuscripts (1QEzek; 3QEzek; 4QEzek^{a-c}; 11QEzek; also MasEzek) found in the Cave 11 are poorly preserved and do not contain the passage being discussed.

²⁸ M. Baillet, (Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: 'Les Paroles de Luminaires', *RB* (1961) 68: 195–250; idem, *Qumrân Grotte 4. Vol.3. (4Q482–4Q520)* DJD 7, Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) dates them paleographically to the mid–2d century B.C.E. It contains no specific indications of Qumran ideology, and has been classified by Baillet as "pre-Essene" and as a product of "Hasidean piety" in the Maccabean period. E.G. Chazon ("4QdibHam": Liturgy or Literature?', *Revue de Qumran* 15 [1992] 447–55; idem, 'Is *Divrei Ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?', in D. Dimant *et.al.* [eds.], *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* [Leiden: Brill, 1992] 17) suggests a date of composition in early or middle second century B.C.E. See also P.R. Davies, 'Words of Luminaries', *ABD* 6:971–72.

²⁹ For further discussion see D.K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) 69.

³⁰ See similar usage "...you have favoured us with the Holy Spirit" in 4Q506. 131–132.

³¹ Baillet, 'Un recueil', 249, 250; See also Chazon, ('Sectarian Prayer', 5–8) who suggests a pre-Qumran origin.

³² G. Harvey (*The True Israel. Uses of the Names Jews, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* [Leiden: Brill, 1996] 215) has pointed out that יִשְׂרָאֵל in this fragment excludes foreigners.

³³ Davies, *ABD* 6:971–72.

appropriated Isa. 44.3 as a promise fulfilled in their own community. However the outward facing motif of Isa. 44.3, of the Spirit outpouring as attracting non-Israelites, has been submerged under the author's theme of the Spirit's role in bringing the people's heart into obedience to God's commandments.

For the Qumran community, which perceived itself as the eschatological people of God (4Q504–506; CD 3.13–20; 7.9–8.2; 1QS 5.7–24; 9.3; 1QH 15.15–19),³⁴ the gift of the Spirit is granted to every member upon their entrance into the community (1QH 6.11–13; 7.6–7; 12.11–13; 14.13; 16.11b–12; 13.18–19).³⁵ The Holy Spirit abides on the community and is the possession of all. The Spirit is further sought in 1QS 3.6–12; 9.3–5 so that the faithful may draw near to God and stand eternally in His presence (1QH 16.11b–12). What is noticeable in the usage of the term Spirit is that the community is consistently reminded of the purging and cleansing role of the Holy Spirit. The phrase, 'purify me' (לטהרני) with your holy spirit (ברוח קודשך) in 1QH 8.19–20 is particularly suggestive of Ezek. 36.25–27. The repeated use of טהר in both passages possibly indicates such a connection.³⁶ For the psalmist, such purification by the Spirit will bring him near to God's will, and into God's presence forever (1QH 8.20,22).

The Qumran writings do not tell us anything about the procedure for the conversion of Gentiles.³⁷ Interestingly there are references to הגר (proselytes) who are participants in the "sessions of the camps" (CD 14.4,6;³⁸ cf. 4Q174.1–3.i.4). On the other hand, the *Rule of the community* details the requirements for the various stages in the admission of Jewish outsiders in the communal covenant (1QS 5.8–9; 6.20–21).³⁹ Presumably, and by inference, we may argue that the proselytes, who are purified from all transgressions of law (1QS 5.14), could possibly have entered the community and thus experienced the Spirit. However, even such a possibility would

³⁴ See Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 55; Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah*, 90, 223; Elliot, *Survivors*, 76–95.

³⁵ H.W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 131–39; G. Johnston, "'Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in the Qumran Literature", in H.K. McArthur (ed.), *New Testament Sidelights* (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960) 27–42; Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah*, 79–83; Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 119 ff.; Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 56–60; Menzies, *Development*, 84–86; Turner, *Power*, 127; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 98–111; Bennema, *Power of Saving Wisdom*, 83–92.

³⁶ Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah*, 222; Turner, *Power*, 127–128.

³⁷ CD 12.11 forbids the sale of slaves to Gentiles, because the slaves had entered the covenant of Abraham.

³⁸ See also CD 6.21

³⁹ J.M. Baumgarten, 'Proselytes', *EDSS* 2: 701.

not help in our quest for any anticipation of the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from their becoming members of the covenant.

The influence of Ezek. 36.25–27 is further seen in 1QS 3.13–4.26 which refers to the inauguration of the new age and God's eschatological salvation for the elect. According to 1QS 3.17–19, 25 and 4.16–17, 21–24, God placed within each human being two spirits at creation – the Spirit of truth/light and the spirit of error/darkness.⁴⁰ The eschatological fate of each human being at the time of God's visitation is determined by whichever Spirit is predominant in him (4.24–26).⁴¹ They have been appointed to influence the lives of human beings until the predetermined end of the existence of the spirit of darkness, after which the spirit of truth will reign. This future anticipation is accompanied by and consists of a refinement of the elect by God's spirit. That is, a cleansing (ולטהרו ברוח קודש) and purification (ויז עליי) by the Spirit of truth/holiness (4.21) occurs along the lines of Ezekiel 36.25–27, so that they will understand the knowledge of God and be enabled to live righteous lives (4.20–22).

In sum, the promise of the Spirit upon the entire community is limited to the members of the covenant community, in relation to their joining in the community as the true heirs of promise in the final purification of the elect and in sustaining the covenant relationship with God. This may be simply due to the fact that the dominant concern with the respect to Gentiles is to be separate from them in order to preserve purity, up until their final destruction by the righteous remnant.

⁴⁰ Scholars are divided on the consistency of the pneumatology in the Qumran literature. Kuhn (*Enderwartung*, 131–32) argues that the Qumran scrolls reflect two different pneumatologies – the spirit of truth in 1QS 3–4 is not to be equated with the Holy Spirit of 1QH. P. Wernberg-Møller, ('A Reconsideration of the two Spirits in the *Rule of the Community* (1Qserek III, 13–IV, 26)', *RQ* 3 [1961] 413–41) argues that in 1QS 3.13–4.26 the two spirits are merely human dispositions or impulses planted into every person's heart by God at birth. Menzies, (*Development*, 84–86) adds a developmental dimension to Wernberg-Møller's position by claiming that 1QH represents a later stage than 1QS. But Sekki believes that the two spirits treatise of 1QS 3.13–4.26 are impersonal dispositions within a person given to him at birth, and concludes that those expressions also includes a reference to the divine Spirit (1QS 4.6, 21). He considers this as a development within the Qumran community in which 1QS reflects a later stage than 1QH (*Meaning of Ruah*, chs.8–9). However a large number of scholars argue that the pneumatologies of 1QS and 1QH are coherent, and that the spirit of truth in 1QS is identical to the Holy Spirit of 1QH. The Holy Spirit in 1QH expresses a present eschatology, while the spirit of truth in 1QS refers to a future eschatology. See W. Foerster, ('Der Heilige Geist im Späjudentum', *NTS* 8 (1961–62) 128–132); Turner, *Power*, 128–29; R.W. Kvalvaag, 'The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts', in F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson (eds.) *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (JSOTSS.90; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 159–80.

⁴¹ M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987) 94–98.

3.2.4. Summary

The majority of texts explored above have shown that when the variegated Judaism of the post-biblical era cited Ezekiel, Joel and possibly Isaiah, it either reinterpreted or developed the prophetic anticipation of the Spirit in the age to come. Although the Septuagint, a significant witness from the period, continued to maintain the prophetic anticipation, other contemporary texts stressed the significance of the Spirit in cleansing and purifying the covenant community either in the present age or in a future time. In most of the texts surveyed the Holy Spirit will purify and will enable sectarian Israel to maintain an intimate relationship with God, by the obedience to the law; other texts expected a future coming of the Spirit, which will cause the recipient to obey God and follow His commandments. However, references to Gentiles receiving the Spirit are minimal.⁴² The general silence of the post-biblical literature concerning a universal outpouring of the Spirit, especially upon Gentiles, may indicate that this expectation was but a peripheral element in the hope of first-century Judaism.⁴³

3.3. The Spirit anticipation upon Gentiles in the rest of Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal literature.

Apart from the above prophetic influences on the Second Temple Jewish writings, there are only a few instances in the apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings where we see an anticipation of the Spirit upon people linked to the Gentiles. There are indeed passages such as *2 Macc.7.23*; *14.46*; *Sib.Or.4.46.189* which may refer to eschatological renewal and endowment with the spirit; however, these texts do not refer to the coming of the Holy Spirit upon Gentiles.⁴⁴

Interestingly, two passages in the *Psalms of Solomon* (which comes from Jerusalem Jewish circles during the mid-first century B.C.E.)⁴⁵ indicate a link

⁴² It is only in certain quarters of rabbinic Judaism that we see Joel 3.2 being expounded to show that the Spirit poured out upon the Gentiles will make them part of God's community — an idea possibly developed along the lines of the eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles.

⁴³ See D. Hill, *New Testament Prophecy* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1985) 35–36.

⁴⁴ The reference in both passage are to 'the breath of life'.

⁴⁵ See discussions on date K. Atkinson, 'Herod the Great, Sosius and the Siege of Jerusalem (37 B.C.E.) in Psalm of Solomon 17', *NovT* 38 (1996) 313–22; idem, 'Toward a Redating of the Psalms of Solomon: Implications for Understanding the 'Sitz im Leben' of an Unknown Jewish sect', *JSP* 17 (1998) 95–112; J.L. Trafton, 'The *Psalms of Solomon* in Recent Research', *JSP* 12 (1994) 3–19; idem, 'Solomon, Psalms of', *ABD* 6:115–17; J. Tromp, 'The Sinners and the Lawless in Psalm of Solomon 17', *NovT* 35 (1993) 344–61; R.B. Wright, 'Psalms of Solomon (First Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction', *OTP* 2: 639–70.

It has often been assumed that the *Psalms of Solomon* were produced in Pharisaic circles. See Trafton, 'The *Psalms of Solomon* in Recent Research', 3–19; W. Rollins, 'The New Testament and

between the Spirit bestowed upon the future Davidic Messiah and that to be given to Gentiles. In 17.37 and 18.4 the Davidic Messiah (17.4, 21) will be endowed with the Holy Spirit to rule.⁴⁶

According to the psalmist, the end-time is nearer. The Spirit-endowed Messiah will appear and he will drive out the Gentile occupiers, aliens, and sinners (*Pss.* 17:27, 30, 32, 36; 18:5),⁴⁷ gathering together a purified nation which he will lead in righteousness, justice and wisdom (17.23–25). The dispersed of Israel will return to their homeland (17.31; 11; 8.28) and will be settled upon the land according to their tribes (17:28). Jerusalem and the Temple will be re-sanctified (17.30); and ‘nations’ will come from the ends of the earth to see his δόξα (“glory”, 17:31; cf. Isa. 55.5). All the ‘nations’ will ‘reverently stand’ before him (17.34). Then all will be ἄγιοι and ‘their king’ will be “Messiah, Lord”, (17:32). Two aspects need to be noted: a) the inclusion of Gentiles in the future age is a direct result of the Spirit-endowed Messiah’s restoration of Israel (cf. Isa.44.1-5);⁴⁸ and b) the Messiah will impart ‘wisdom and happiness’ upon ‘all’, including members of the nations who ‘reverently stand’ before him (17.34). The exact meaning of this text is difficult to ascertain, since although it points to a positive attitude toward Gentiles, the traditional language about an outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentiles is missing. The author clearly believes that there will be an eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles, not however because the Spirit is poured upon YHWH’s people, but rather through the salvific activity of the Spirit-endowed Davidic messiah.

3.4. The Expectation of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Post-biblical literature

Apart from the above survey of literature two other major writings, Wisdom of Solomon and Philo, owing to their Diaspora setting, offer a universal expectation of the Spirit.⁴⁹ The traditional eschatological anticipation of the Spirit is not a common

Apocalyptic’, *NTS* 17 [1971] 464. Such an idea is now being cautioned in many circles. See Wright, ‘Psalms of Solomon’, *OTP* 2: 640–41; Brock, ‘The Psalms of Solomon’, in H.F.D. Sparks (ed.), *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 649–82.

⁴⁶ The author here reflects the characteristic features of the messianic hope of contemporary Jewish literature (11QMelch 3, 2.18; 4Q284 3, 13; 1QSb 5.24–25; *1 Enoch* 49.3; 62.2). See Turner, *Power*, 132.

⁴⁷ For discussion on Gentiles see Atkinson, ‘Herod the Great’, 313–22; Wright, ‘Psalms of Solomon’, *OTP* 2: 640–41. For “sinner” see Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 400–6.

⁴⁸ J. Klausner (*The Messianic Idea in Israel* [trans. W.F. Stinespring; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1956] 321) considers this passage as referring to end-time subjugation of nations. See also Donaldson, ‘Proselytes or “Righteous Gentiles”?’, 9.

⁴⁹ A few texts in *Joseph and Asenath* (15.14–16; 19.11) suggest a universal expectation of the Spirit. Here Asenath was transformed, as she became a Jewish proselyte. Asenath ate the honeycomb, which was full of the spirit of life, and she was renewed as a person (15.14–16). She was transformed to heavenly beauty (18.6–11) and she received the Spirit of life, wisdom, and truth (19.11). Since dating

theme in these two writings. It is, however, significant to observe for both these authors that the Spirit is a present reality and is available to their contemporaries.

3.4.1. The Apocrypha

3.4.1.1. *Wisdom of Solomon*

Writing in Greek in Alexandria during a period covering the end of the Ptolemaic era (100 B.C.E.) and to the early Roman era (40 C.E.),⁵⁰ the author, ‘a believing and cultured sage’,⁵¹ reflects on Israel’s heritage with the dual aims of encouraging his readers in the face of difficulties (probably persecution⁵²) and defending the Jewish faith against those who are in danger of apostasy.⁵³ Obviously in continuity with the Hebrew tradition, and probably with the aid of Hellenistic philosophy,⁵⁴ *Wisdom of Solomon* offers a certain universal outlook on Israelite faith in a Graeco–Roman world. It is within these interests that our reflections on the author’s expectations of the nature, function and recipients of the pneumatic wisdom are placed.

of *Joseph and Aseneth* is uncertain, we will not be discussing these passages for our purpose. There is a general agreement that the apocryphon dates prior to 115 C.E. See discussions in C. Burchard, ‘*Joseph and Aseneth*’—A New Translation and Introduction’, *OTP* 2:187-188; R.D. Chesnutt, ‘The Social Setting and Purpose of *Joseph and Aseneth*, *JSP* 2 (1988) 21-48; idem, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* (JSPSS 16; Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 80-85.

⁵⁰ See D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (New York: Doubleday, 1979) 20–25; J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem, Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroads, 1983) 182. Those who propose a late composition include C. Larcher, *Le Livre de la Sagesse, ou, Le Sagesse de Salomon* (Vol.1; Paris: Gabalda, 1983) 141–61; D. Dimant, ‘Pseudonymity in the *Wisdom of Solomon*’, in N. Fernández Marcos (ed.), *La Septuaginta en la Investigación Contemporánea* (V Congreso de la IOSCS; Madrid: Instituto “Arias Montona” C.S.I.C., 1985) 243–245. D. Georgi, (*Weisheit Salomos, Uterweisungen in lehrhafter Form, Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit III* [Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980] 394–97) suggests a date at the end of the second century B.C.E.

⁵¹ M. Gilbert, ‘*Wisdom Literature*’, in M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press) 1984, 301ff.

⁵² Generally scholars agree on the question of persecution as one of the issues that the author of *Wisdom of Solomon* struggles with. However, they disagree on the exact historical and political circumstances for the persecution. See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 22-24; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 190–91; S. Cheon, *The Exodus Story in the Wisdom of Solomon: A Study in Biblical Interpretation* (JSPSS 23; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 130.

⁵³ See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 63; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 181–191; L.L. Grabbe, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 94. For alternative views see, J.M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Romae: E. Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1970) 40; J.S. Kloppenborg, ‘*Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom*’, *HTR* 75: 57–84, 1982, 64.

⁵⁴ See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 2; J.J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 178ff.; Garlington, *The Obedience of Faith*, 66; E.J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1985) 129.

Pseudo-Solomon uses the term $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in a variety of ways,⁵⁵ including its reference to the divine $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ (1.4, 7; 7.22–25; 9.17).⁵⁶ However, the author does not show any thought of (i) the divine Spirit as an eschatological Spirit yet to be available to all, or (ii) how God will endow everyone with His Spirit in the age to come. Rather for Pseudo-Solomon the divine $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is now available for everyone irrespective of eschatological considerations. Such a view is possible for the author because he synthesises the divine $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ with Wisdom.

3.4.1.2. *Pneumatic wisdom*⁵⁷

There is indeed a debate over whether Pseudo-Solomon identifies Wisdom with Spirit. At one end of the spectrum there are scholars who argue that ‘Wisdom’ replaces ‘Spirit’,⁵⁸ and on the other there are scholars who draw a distinction between Wisdom and Spirit.⁵⁹ In the present thesis it will be maintained that Pseudo-Solomon does identify Wisdom and Spirit, and portrays both as the internal principle of the human and moral life.⁶⁰ A few points supporting our argument need to be noted.

⁵⁵ The terms occur 20 times in Wisdom of Solomon (1.5; 6, 7; 2.3; 5.3, 11, 23; 7.7, 20, 22, 23; 9.17; 11.20 (x2); 12.1; 13.2; 15.11, 16; 16.14; 17.17). The meaning ranges from common usages like $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ as breath (Wis. 2.3; 5.3, 11.20), wind (Wis. 5.11; 23; 7.20; 13.2; 17.17), the source of physical life (15.11; 16.14) to abstract usages such as “immortal spirit in all things” (12.1; 15.16).

⁵⁶ Most scholars consider the reference of $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in these texts to be to the divine $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$. See Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 20; P.van Imschoot, (‘Sagesse et Esprit dans l’A.T.’, *RB* [1938] 23–49); Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 99; E.G. Clarke, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973) 17; Gilbert, ‘Wisdom Literature’, 311–312; Menzies, *Development*, 61–62.

⁵⁷ The term pneumatic wisdom is used here to refer to Pseudo-Solomon’s interest in identifying Wisdom with Spirit.

⁵⁸ J. Breck, *The Spirit of Truth – The Holy Spirit in Johannine Tradition: Vol.1. The Origins of Johannine Pneumatology* (Crestwood: St.Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1991) 82–92.

⁵⁹ See C. Bennema, *The Power of Saving Wisdom. An Investigation of Spirit and Wisdom in Relation to the Soteriology of the Fourth Gospel* (WUNT 148; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002) 66.

⁶⁰ Van Imschoot, (‘Sagesse et Esprit dans l’A.T.’, 23–49) believes that in identifying $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ with $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ the author developed a tendency already begun in the Old Testament. However, Imschoot maintains that it is not until Wisdom of Solomon that the identification becomes complete, and along with him a majority of scholars identify this closer association, for example, W.O.E. Osterley, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (London: SPCK, 1917) 53; Larcher, *Etudes sur le Livre de la Sagesse* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969) 362–76; G. Verbeke, *L’évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du Stoicism à S. Augustin* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945) 229; J.C. Rylaarsdam, *Revelation in Jewish Wisdom Literature* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1946) 103; Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 64; J.A. Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit: An Investigation of 1 Corinthians 1.18–3.20 Against the Background of Jewish Sapiential Traditions of the Greco-Roman Period* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984) Chs.1.–3; M. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 65; Menzies, *Development*, 62–63; J. Frey, ‘Die paulinische Antithese von “Fleisch” und “Geist” und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition’, *ZNW* 90 (1999) 49.

First, with the references to divine πνεῦμα, the author maintains⁶¹ a close affinity to the Spirit traditions of the Old Testament.⁶² The synonymous use of the terms ὁ θεός, σοφία and πνεῦμα (1.6–7)⁶³ to express the omnipresence and omniscience of the Spirit of God (cf. Ps. 139.7; 4 Ezra 16.62)⁶⁴ is one way in which he does this; and he also emphasises the conventional Jewish thought that the pneumatic wisdom flees away from ‘deceit’, ‘foolish thoughts’ and ‘unrighteousness’. Thus he brings out the nature of pneumatic wisdom as revelatory, particularly as the revelatory presence of God in human and moral life.

Second, in 7.7, as a response to Solomon’s prayer God grants him pneumatic wisdom which enables him to receive understanding to govern justly (7.15, cf. 8.11, 14). It also leads him to have intimate relationship (φιλία) with God (7.14), and to have intellectual knowledge (7.18–19),⁶⁵ moral qualities (7.15f.), and ethical guidance (7.21). Here the author tends to follow the long-standing association

⁶¹ See Winston, (*Wisdom of Solomon*, 104; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 197) for Stoic influence.

⁶² R. Scroggs, (‘PAUL: ΣΟΦΟΣ AND ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ’, NTS 14 [1967] 33–55, [48] points out that the author presents Old Testament traditions with the aid of Stoic philosophy.

⁶³ For scholars who support the reference here as to divine πνεῦμα see Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 20; van Imschoot, ‘Sagesse et Esprit dans l’A.T.’, 37; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 99; E.G. Clarke, *The Wisdom of Solomon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973) 17 and Gilbert, ‘Wisdom Literature’, 311–312; Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 403. For an opposite view see Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 87; J. Reider, *The Book of Wisdom, An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957) 52 and Levison, *Spirit in the First Century Judaism*, 69–70ff do not consider it as divine Spirit. Levison recently construed the words ἅγιον πνεῦμα (Wis. 1.5) to describe the ‘spirit’ as constitutive of human life. For him the other two anthropological components are ψυχή (1.4a) and σῶμα (1.4b). The contrast is made between a holy spirit and a ψυχή (soul) characterised by deceit (1.4a) and a σῶμα (body) enslaved to sin (1.4b), into which σοφία will not enter. Levison considers that ἅγιον πνεῦμα is a human spirit that is pure through the instruction which is characteristic of the wisdom schools. He also assumes that the adjective ἅγιον used non-technically for πνεῦμα followed by genitival adjective, παιδείας, suggesting that the human spirit becomes holy through instruction. It is important to note that, contrary to Philo’s Platonic trichotomy of body, soul and spirit (see Philo, *Opif.* 29, 30; *Leg.* 1.32–33, 37; *Spec.* 4.123; *Congr.* 132–134; *Fug.* 134–37), Pseudo-Solomon does not make any distinction between νοῦς and ψυχή or between ψυχή and πνεῦμα. See Wis. 9.15, 16.14 (Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 87). Further, the concept of Wisdom is introduced in the book in the context of an exhortation to ‘rulers of the earth’ to seek the Lord. The intention of Pseudo-Solomon in 1.4–5 is not to highlight the triad of anthropological components of a human being; rather the emphasis is on the character of the κυρίως/ σοφία/ πνεῦμα.

⁶⁴ πνεῦμα κυρίου is presented as having filled the world (LXX Jer. 23.24), but there is no biblical precedent for the reference to ‘holding things together’. Philo uses the phrase in *Conf.* 136; *Somn.* 1.63–64; *Leg.* 3.6; *Mos.* 2.133.

⁶⁵ See R.E. Murphy, *The Tree of Life, An Exploration of Biblical Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1990) 88.

between the Spirit and wisdom, knowledge and understanding which is related to eschatological figures in the Old Testament.⁶⁶

Third, Pseudo-Solomon shows that Wisdom proceeds from God as a spiritual essence (7.22–25).⁶⁷ As Spirit, Wisdom is of utter purity, acting on all other spirits and penetrating all things (v.24, cf. 1.7), unique, all-powerful, and all-seeing.⁶⁸ The function of this pneumatic wisdom is to renew all things, to indwell in holy people and to bring people into close relationship with God (make them φίλους θεοῦ). The author has integrated the role of the Holy Spirit in terms of renewing and indwelling a righteous people (κοινωνίῳ LXX Ps. 50.12; 104.30).

Fourth, in 9.17, the author presents his own version of Solomon's prayer (9.1–18).⁶⁹ Pseudo-Solomon is fully aware of his own natural human limitations (9.5,6), and calls on God to prepare him with the pneumatic wisdom for his task as ruler of humans. To fulfil this leadership role he needs wisdom to enable him to perceive how to rule God's people and how to build a temple⁷⁰ patterned after God's majestic cosmic sanctuary.⁷¹ Pseudo-Solomon believes that the pneumatic wisdom which is God's "Holy Spirit from on high" endows him to govern God's people justly (9.7), and that it gives him ethical guidance and teaches him what is pleasing (ἀρεστός) to

⁶⁶ See LXX Isa. 11.1 (cf. Isa. 61.1; *1 Enoch* 49.2–3).

⁶⁷ Arguments for Hellenistic influence have been made by most scholars. See, Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 178–183; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 196–199; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 195–196; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 116; Larcher, *Etudes sur le Livre de la Sagesse*, 367–402; T. Finan, 'Hellenistic Humanism in the Book of Wisdom', *ITQ* 27 (1960) 30–48.

⁶⁸ Wisdom is said to be 'of God', for she is an ἀτμίς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως (a breath of the power of God), in a possible development of a thought expressed in MT Job 41.8 (LXX 7). Here the word for "air" in MT is אַיִר; the LXX translates it as πνοή. See LXX Job 41.8; 32.8b; 33.4b; cf. Sir. 24.3. See parallels to Exod. 19.18 as quoted by Philo (*Her.* 251 and *Leg.* 16.13). See A.G. Wright, 'Wisdom', in *Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, rep.1978) 562.

⁶⁹ M. Gilbert uncovered the concentric structure of Solomon's prayer and pointed out the author's creative transformation of the sources from 1 Kings and 2 Chronicles. See M. Gilbert, 'La structure de la prière de Salomon (Sg.9)', *Bib* 51 (1970) 301–31. See also M. Kolarcik, *The Ambiguity of Death in the Book of Wisdom (1–6)* (AnBib 127; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991) 17–18.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, there are many references to the Second Temple (restored by Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel and Joshua ben Jehozadak, Hag. 1.2; 2.2–9; Ezra 3.2) and its activities in the Second Temple Jewish literature. For e.g., *Letter of Aristeas* 83–99; Sir. 45.6–22, 49.15–50.26; Philo, *Spec.* 1.66–67; 1.114, 116; *Som.* 1.215 etc. For further discussion see, C.T.R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple, A Non-Biblical Source Book* (London: Routledge, 1996). See author's special interest in associating πνεῦμα and σοφία when compared to Josephus (*Ant.* 8.43, 45, 47ff) and the *Testament of Solomon* (1.1.7; 2.7b–8 10.1ff; 22.1–23).

⁷¹ See Exod. 25, 9,40; 26.30 for parallel notions. See also *1 Enoch* 14.16–20, 26; 40.28–29; *T. Levi.* 3.4–6, 5.1–2; *2 Bar.* 4.2–6. For Platonic influence of the 'archetypes of things' see, Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 203. Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 218, claims that the idea is from the rabbinic theory of pre-existent sanctuary. However, the author seems to play down the *details* of the Temple building and the consecration of the Temple, which his contemporaries have so much interest in. See Josephus, *Ant.* 8.45 ff. and *T. Sol.* 1.7; 2.7–8; 22.1–23.

God (9.9–10; 13, 18; cf. Sir. 48.16, 22).⁷² Thus, (a) the theophanic language associated with Solomon traditions (1 Kgs. 8 = 2 Chr.1)⁷³ is used to describe the dwelling place and the coming of pneumatic wisdom (9.10),⁷⁴ and has its parallel use in terms of wisdom's role elsewhere (Sir. 24.4); and (b) the language is similar to the text of LXX Isa 32.15 where the Spirit comes from on 'High'.⁷⁵

Fifth, by the association of the πνεῦμα with σοφία the author emphasizes the soteriological activity of pneumatic wisdom in the retelling of the history of Israel.⁷⁶ (i) Wisdom protected Joseph in Egypt and finally brought him honour, as in Gen.41.38 where Pharaoh recognized the presence of divine Spirit in Joseph (Wis. 10.13–14).⁷⁷ (ii) The divine Wisdom delivered the nation from slavery by entering the life of Moses and through him withstanding Pharaoh (Wis. 10.15), just as Isaiah 63 presents God as having put His Spirit in Moses to prepare him to lead the Exodus (Isa. 63.11ff.).⁷⁸ (iii) The writer says that Wisdom guided Israel along the desert route, becoming for them a shelter by day and a flame of fire by night (Wis. 10.17) – a function assigned elsewhere to the Spirit (Isa. 63.14; Hag. 2.5). (iv) Wisdom taught Israel God's providence and election through discipline in the desert by means of a prophet, Moses (Wis. 11.1), who according to the OT was a man of the Spirit of YHWH (Num. 11.25).⁷⁹ The author equates the function and characteristics of the Holy Spirit as presented in the history of Israel with a post-exilic reading of pneumatic wisdom.

⁷² M. Gilbert, 'Volonté de Dieu et don de la Sagesse (Sg 9, 17s.)', *NRT* 93 (1971) 145–66, finds an echo of the prophecies of Ezekiel (36.26ff) on the Spirit's active role in human moral life. See also Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 87.

⁷³ F. Raurell, 'The Religious Meaning of "DOXA"', in M. Gilbert (ed.), *La Sagesse de l' Ancien Testament* (BETL 51; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979) 374. See Mettinger, *Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 80–115.

⁷⁴ ἁγίων οὐρανῶν and ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης – both expressions are known from the LXX (1 Kgs 2.8; Ps. 46.8; Dan. 3.54).

⁷⁵ Isaiah promises the people that God would pour out the Spirit in future from heaven as part of His restoration, while in the present passage the Holy Spirit is poured out as Wisdom upon the ideal king Solomon (R.E. Clement *Wisdom in Theology* [Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1992] 153). Several scholars have observed that Wisdom of Solomon has been influenced by the Book of Isaiah. See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 62–66; M.J. Suggs, 'Wisdom of Solomon 2.10–15: A Homily Based on the Fourth Servant Song', *JBL* 76 (1957) 26–33; P. Enns, *Exodus Retold, Ancient Exegesis of the Departure from Egypt in Wis. 10.15–21 and 19.1–9* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997, 131ff.).

⁷⁶ Enns, *Exodus Retold*, 137.

⁷⁷ See MT Gen. 41.38

⁷⁸ Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 113.

⁷⁹ Larcher, *Etudes sur le Livre de la Sagesse*, 411

By identifying πνεῦμα with σοφία Pseudo-Solomon assimilated the Israelite idea of the Spirit as the source of divine revelation and of a divine guidance to order human life/righteous living, and provided his community in Alexandria and the larger communities around with a new understanding of the Spirit.

Scholars have already noted the impact of association with Spirit upon the idea of wisdom;⁸⁰ but what is more important for the present study is the impact of the wisdom tradition upon the theology of the Spirit. Pseudo-Solomon was successful in highlighting the very essence of the understanding of pneumatic wisdom — that it was universal in its scope, and that its order was revealed both spatially and temporally throughout the experienced world,⁸¹ not merely in the Torah or Temple.⁸² This made the Wisdom of Solomon unique in its contribution to the theology of the Spirit, by extending the perceived locus of the activity of the Spirit beyond the boundaries of Israel.

To sum up, the reference to divine πνεῦμα in Wisdom of Solomon is to a pneumatic wisdom, which falls in line with the traditional Jewish thought on

⁸⁰ Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 116f. remarks, “by interpreting the concept of Divine Wisdom as Spirit, the Wisdom of Solomon rendered inestimable service to the former; and by transferring the functions of the Spirit to Wisdom, by making Wisdom the source of prophecy and by affirming that Divine Wisdom came directly into human consciousness and experience, it assured to Divine Wisdom the same capacity of contemporaneity that was enjoyed by Spirit.” See also, F.W. Dillstone, ‘Wisdom, Word, and Spirit’, *Int.* 2 (1948) 3: 275–28.

⁸¹ Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 110, points out that, enriched by the prophetic stream, wisdom brought to the theology of the Spirit an important relationship to the experiential, the daily living of God’s wisdom.

⁸² The older sapiential literature showed no interest in notions of ‘covenant’ or of a special ‘election of Israel’, either through its royal dynasty or its central sanctuary. Nor is there any attention given to Israel’s occupation of a special ‘land’. The universality of the wisdom carried with it in the fullest measure the conviction that the Lord is a universal God, but with Ben Sira the notion became nationalistic (See Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 18–46). Although for Ben Sira, Wisdom is the first of all the created beings (1.4–10) and has ‘held dominion over every people and nation’ (Sir. 24.6 [10]), she is given only to those who love her, and especially those who obey the law (1.26). Wisdom comes from the mouth of God, was assigned a dwelling place in Israel (24.7) in the tabernacle on Mount Zion (24.8–12, 23). See discussions in D. Winston, ‘Wisdom of Solomon’, *ABD* 6:126; P.W. Shehan, ‘Structures in Poems on Wisdom: Proverb 8 and Sirach 24’, *CBQ* 41 (1979) 365–79; J.T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* (California: Scholars Press, 1983) 25; J. Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism* (OBS, Oxford: OUP, 1983) 140–144; C.T.R. Hayward, ‘Sirach and Wisdom’s Dwelling Place’, S. Barton (ed.), *Where Shall Wisdom Be Found?* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999) 45. For a study of wisdom and law in Ben Sira, Intertestamental literature, Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Apostle Paul, see Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 10–15. See also R. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975); G. Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism: Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 81–99; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 59–62; C.M. Patte, *The Reverse of the Curse. Paul, Wisdom and the Law* (WUNT 2/114; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000) 21–30.

Wisdom and Spirit, and is the revelatory presence of God in human and moral life, renewing ‘all things’, and providing moral and ethical guidance in everyday life.

3.4.1.3. *The Recipients of Pneumatic Wisdom*

Opinions vary concerning the identity of the recipients of pneumatic wisdom in Wisdom of Solomon — to rulers only,⁸³ or to the pious reader of Torah,⁸⁴ or to faithful Jews,⁸⁵ or to everyone.⁸⁶

Those who argue for a particularistic view do so for several reasons. First, the author makes a distinction between ‘ungodly’ and ‘righteous’ (chs.2–5), the ‘ungodly’ referred to here being apostate Jews.⁸⁷ Second, there is a clear focus on Israel (chs.10–19), in which the ‘righteous’ are identified with the faithful Israelites (10.20; 15.1–3; 16.2, 6–7, 20; 18.1) and the ‘wicked’ with Gentiles (12.20, 22–24; 14.22–31; 15.14–15, 18).⁸⁸

With regard to the first argument, we need to observe that there is a deliberate abstention from ethnic labels in the interest of a universal typology of ‘righteous’ and ‘wicked’.⁸⁹ Further, there is nothing in Wisdom of Solomon which identifies ‘Wisdom’ with the law or the Jewish people, and even the Jewish identity of the king seems strangely muted, despite the reference to people and temple (9.7–8). What is more, the biblical heroes in 10.1–21 remain anonymous,⁹⁰ and at no point does the

⁸³ See R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* [Vol.1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963] 518 ff.; Goodrick, *Book of Wisdom*, 85; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 85–87.

⁸⁴ Turner, ‘The Spirit of Prophecy and the Power of Authoritative Preaching in Luke–Acts: A Question of Origins’, *NTS* 38 (1992) 84–85.

⁸⁵ Bennema, *Power of Saving Wisdom*, 70.

⁸⁶ Clarke, *Wisdom*, 4–5, 14–15.

⁸⁷ The text seems to support this, as the ‘ungodly’ are said to have gone against their training, sinned against the law and fallen away from God (2.12; 3.10). Scholars point out that Pseudo-Solomon indicates a tension between loyal and apostate Jews.

⁸⁸ There exists a strong antipathy toward the Egyptians and other Gentiles (3.12; 12.3–11). Consequently, many commentators speak of “undisguised particularism” and find in Wisdom of Solomon that God is “partial to the Jews and inimical to their enemies.” See Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 181–91. Winston has pointed out that even Philo, the most universalistic of all Jewish writers, also entertains a sense of certain nationalistic triumphs. For example, *Leg.* 1.66–97; 2.163; *Mos.* 2.44; *QG.* 2.60. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 45. A. Mendelson, *Philo’s Jewish Identity* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 103–113, points out that even Philo’s argument for the philanthrōpia of Judaism often entails a claim of Jewish superiority. Similar trends have been noticed among other Hellenistic writers (Diogenes *Laertius* 7.33). See discussion in Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in Hellenistic Age*, 218–220.

⁸⁹ See 3.8 where the ‘righteous’ are generalised.

⁹⁰ See, S. Cheon, ‘Anonymity in the Wisdom of Solomon’, *JSP* 18 (1998) 112–119 who argues that the anonymity is to refer to the author’s own community. See also Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 1983, 185; cf. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 76, 119, 158 on the heroes of biblical history as ‘types’ of the saved.

author fault the Gentiles for failing to observe peculiarly Jewish customs. The sins for which the Gentiles are condemned are idolatry and infanticide (Wis. 13.10–14.31, 15.7–19).

It is therefore important to recognise that despite the author's interest in the special relationship between God and Israel, he defines pneumatic wisdom broadly enough to encompass everyone. Three observations emerge from the text.

First, Pseudo-Solomon emphasises that pneumatic wisdom is available to all: 'she is easily observed by those who love her, and is found by those who seek her' (6.12; cf. 1.1–2; 6.21–23). Moreover, she is limited to no single nation but covers the whole world, and orders all things well (8.1). Thus, 'in every generation she enters into holy souls and renders them friends of God and prophets' (7.27), while 'a multitude of wise men is the salvation of the world' (6.24).⁹¹ The Spirit is available to all those who 'seek' and 'pray' (7.7).

Second, although Solomon functions as the ideal of a king and a wise man, he represents a larger audience.⁹² It is evident that Solomon is no different from other human beings: see for example the references to Solomon as mortal, equal to everyone (ἴσος ἅπασιν), and a descendant (γῆγενής) of the first-formed (7.1–6).

Third, unlike the conventional Jewish wisdom instruction directed to בְּנֵי בְנֵי (sons),⁹³ the author primarily addresses the κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν⁹⁴ (1.1), the βασιλεῖς (6.1a; 7.5); the δυνασταί (6.1b; 8.11); and the τύραννοι (6.9, 21, 24). They are encouraged in Wis. 6.9–11 to find pneumatic wisdom and obtain her (6.9–11), the assumption apparently being that the ruler who gains wisdom will rule rightly (6.21–25). This suggests that such rulers – even if Gentiles – who are recipients of the pneumatic wisdom will gain favour in the sight of God.

The majority of scholars would argue for a figurative use indicative of a larger audience.⁹⁵ Reese would take the royal address figuratively, indicating that such

⁹¹ Unlike Ben Sira, the author of Wisdom nowhere explicitly identifies Wisdom with Torah. Aside from a marginal reference in 18:9 to the Passover sacrifice and 9.5 on Temple makes no mention of the sacrificial cult.

⁹² Most scholars consider Solomon as representative of a wider audience. See Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 46; M. Gilbert, 'Wisdom Literature', in M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984) 310; Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 102.

⁹³ See Prov. 1.8, 10, 15; 2.1; 3.1, 11, 21; 4.1, 10, 20; 5.1, 7, 20; 6.1, 3, 20; 7.1, 24; 8.32.

⁹⁴ See parallel usages of Wis. 1.1 in LXX Ps. 2.10; 45.8. See P.W. Skehen, 'Borrowings from the Psalms in the Book of Wisdom', in *Studies in Israelite Poetry and Wisdom* (CBQMS 1; Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1971) 149–50.

⁹⁵ See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 102; Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 402; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 60; Reider, *Book of Wisdom*, 50. For example, M. Kolarcik ('The Book of Wisdom', in

designation is merely a Hellenistic literary convention;⁹⁶ Winston's point is that it is a feature that is characteristic of the tracts on kingship popular at the time.⁹⁷ It is possible to recognise the point that Hellenistic philosophers admonished rulers on morality while recognising their common morality with their subjects.

Similar literary conventions are familiar among the Hebrew biblical writers, of calling for the delivery of solemn messages to the broadest possible audience,⁹⁸ for example, Isa. 1.2; Hos. 5.1; Micah 3.1, 9; Joel 1.2 and Ps. 48.2–3. Of particular interest is the LXX translator's reading of Isa. 51.4. The text departs from its Hebrew original by appealing to οἱ βασιλεῖς where the original has only אֲנֹכִי (my people). It is likely that the LXX translator intends a figurative makeshift of all Israelites into kings. It is feasible that the author uses the same universal appeal employed by the prophets and later by the LXX translator, whether on his own initiative or following a then current tradition, to indicate a larger audience including both Jews and non-Jews of his time.⁹⁹

For the author the gift of pneumatic wisdom has an eschatological dimension too. He anticipates an eschatological judgement at which God will punish and reward people depending on whether they have followed the way of pneumatic wisdom or the way of lawlessness (Wis. 5.1–23). The ungodly may oppress the righteous in this life, but before God's judgment seat the righteous will be exalted and rewarded with immortality (2.21–3.9) whereas the ungodly will be punished. Thus pneumatic wisdom is a soteriological necessity,¹⁰⁰ and is not for some future time, but for now, to prepare those who seek and desire it.

In conclusion, Pseudo-Solomon understands the Spirit in a universal way. This he does by identifying πνεῦμα with σοφία. The author brings in a new dimension to the understanding of Spirit in the Diaspora and the result is that the pneumatic

New Interpreters Bible, [Vol.5; Nashville: Abingdon, 1997] 454) argues that the royal image denotes humanity in general. According to him the reader is being addressed as one who reigns over thoughts and actions, words and deeds. The reader, then, is ultimately one who bears kingly responsibility for both just and unjust actions.

⁹⁶ Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 72–78.

⁹⁷ Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 101.

⁹⁸ Although the prophetic literature does not use the exact phrase (οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν), the following example surmises the point. The most distinctive example of this is the opening of the book of Isaiah 1.2 – “Hear, O ye heavens, and give ears, O earth....”

⁹⁹ See Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 43–46; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 219; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 60–61.

¹⁰⁰ Scholars have already noted that in this passage Wisdom and the Holy Spirit have given a soteriological function. Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma*, 229; Vos, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 64; Menzies, *Development*, 62–63; Turner, *Power*, 125–126.

wisdom is now seen to be available to all those who seek and desire it, quite apart from anything eschatological.

3.4.2. Philo

The writings of Philo of Alexandria¹⁰¹ provide us with further insights into another strand of understanding and expectancy of the Spirit in Second Temple Jewish Literature.

Philo, a prominent member of the Jewish community of Alexandria,¹⁰² probably writing for several different, though perhaps overlapping audiences,¹⁰³ attempts to interpret Jewish beliefs in universal terms in a way that was appropriate to the Hellenistic world¹⁰⁴ in which the Jews of the Diaspora were living.¹⁰⁵ Philo's¹⁰⁶ works¹⁰⁷ could have both apologetic and exegetical functions, involving the presentation of their common Jewish traditions in the social setting of Alexandria,

¹⁰¹ It is generally agreed that Philo's lifetime span the period between 20–15 B.C.E. to 45–50 C.E. See Schürer, *History of Jewish People*, 1: 388–98; Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria', *CRINT* 2: 233–282; D.T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato* (Brill: Leiden, 1986).

¹⁰² See *Prob.* 26; *Prov.* 2.58; *Spec.* 1.314, 2.230; *Cong.* 74–76. Cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 18.259, 18.159–60; *B.J.* 5.205, 19.276–77. See also A. Mendelson, *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982); J. Morris, 'The Jewish Philosopher Philo', in *History of the Jewish People*, vol.3 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987) 815; Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria. An Introduction* (New York: OUP, 1979).

¹⁰³ See S. Sandmel ('Philo Judaeus', *ANRW* 21.1, 3–46), who argues that Philo wrote, for "a Jewish audience". While E.R. Goodenough ('Philo's Exposition of the Law and his *De Vita Mosis*', *HTR* 26 [1933] 117), is of the opinion that they were written to the Gentiles. D.M. Hay ('Philo's view of Himself as Exegete: Inspired, but not Authoritative', *The Studia Philonica Annual* 3 [1991] 40–52), argues for an 'open-ended' readership, while scholars like T. Seland, (*Establishment Violence in Philo and Luke: A Study of Non-conformity to the Torah and Jewish Vigilante Reactions* [Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1995] 75ff); E. Birnbaum (*The Place of Judaism in Philo's thought, Israel, Jew and Proselytes*, [BJS 290; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996] 17–21), support the view that Philo wrote to both Jews and Gentiles.

¹⁰⁴ Scholars do recognise that Philo was influenced by various philosophical traditions of the time. For example, Philo's thought is structured by Platonic dualism. See Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 38ff. For the influence of Stoicism and Pythagoreanism see J. Dillon, *The Middle Platonist: A Study of Platonism 80 B.C. to A.D.220* (London: Duckwork, 1977) 139–183.

¹⁰⁵ See Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Earlier scholarship interpreted Philo on the basis of Greek mysticism. See H. Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist. Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1919), while J. Dillion, *Middle Platonist*, 139–183; D.Winston, ('Judaism and Hellenism: Hidden Tensions in Philo's Thought', *SPA* 2 [1990] 1–19) and B.A.Pearson, 'Philo and Gnosticism', *ANRW* 2.21.1: 341) placed Philo within the context of Middle Platonism. But the growing trend in Philonic scholarship is to see him instead as an exegete of the Laws of Moses. For e.g., P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria, An Exegete for His Time* (SNT 86; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 535–38; Birnbaum, *Place of Judaism in Philo's thought*, 16.

¹⁰⁷ For our purpose we will be adopting Sandmel's (*Philo of Alexandria*, 1979) fourfold classification of Philo's works – The Exposition of Law, The Allegory of Law, Miscellaneous, and Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus. For other classifications, see P. Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria. A Critical and Synthetical Survey of Research since World War II', W. Haase (ed.), *ANRW* 21.1: 117–118; Birnbaum, *Place of Judaism in Philo's thought*, xvii.

and at the same time providing a basis for the struggle for survival as Jews in that society. It is within these contexts that we approach Philo's usage of the term $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$.

In contrast to the usages of his Jewish predecessors, the range of meaning associated with $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in the Philonic literature is extensive and diverse.¹⁰⁸ Most of these references are scattered throughout¹⁰⁹ his expository and allegorical works,¹¹⁰ probably because most of them are wholly scripture bound.¹¹¹ Interestingly, one does not find any of the traditional Spirit–anticipatory passages (Ezek. 36.27; 37.14; 39.29; Isa. 32.15; 44.3; Joel 3.1–5) reinterpreted by Philo.

Scholarly categories are helpful for understanding Philo's use of the term $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$.¹¹² It represents the element of air or wind¹¹³ or an immaterial force,¹¹⁴ and

¹⁰⁸ See A. Laurentin, 'Le Pneuma dans la Doctrine de Philon', *ETL* 27 (1951) 390–436; M.J. Weaver, *Pneuma in Philo of Alexandria* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Notre Dame University, 1973) for a detailed analysis on the semantical range of $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ in the Philonic literature.

¹⁰⁹ Philo uses $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ more than 151 times in his writings. See P. Borgen, K. Fuglseth, R. Skarsten, *The Philo Index, A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 285. It is particularly striking to note that in most of the miscellaneous works (with the exception of *De confusione linguarum*) the term does not appear – *De animalibus*, *De vita contemplativa*, *De Deo*, *Hypothetica*, *De sobrietate*.

¹¹⁰ $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ occurs 78 times in Philo's allegorical works, while the term occurs 62 times in his expositions.

¹¹¹ It is widely acknowledged that Philo used the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. See Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 166; Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 38. Most of the references Philo uses regarding the Spirit are direct quotations from the Greek Pentateuch. For example Gen. 2.7 is repeatedly cited in *Opif.* 134; *Leg.* 1.31; 3.161; *Det.* 80; *Plant.* 19; *Her.* 56; *Somn.* 1.34; *Spec.* 4.123. For further discussion see Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 63ff.; Birnbaum, *Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought*, 17, 23–24. On Philo's use of the Greek Bible, see Y. Amir, 'Philo and the Bible', *SPhilo* 2 (1973) 1–8; idem, 'Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo', in M.J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (CRINT; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1988) 1: 440–444; D. Gooding and V. Nikiprowetzky, 'Philo's Bible in the *De Gigantibus* and *Quod Deus*', in D. Winston and J. Dillion (eds.) *Two Treatise of Philo of Alexandria* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983) 89–125.

¹¹² Opinions on the range of meaning attributed to $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ vary. A. Laurentin, 'Le Pneuma dans la doctrine de Philon', *ETL* 27 (1951) 391–404, insists that Philo's use of $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is a unified, coherent concept. For Laurentin $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ is always $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ θεοῦ. This is because, behind each occurrence of the word lies a reference to its divine origin. The difficulty with Laurentin's position is that he does not take the individual contexts seriously. For Verbeke (*L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 237–51) the term is variously used to refer to one of the four elements, air; to wind and breath; as an immaterial force which links material elements together; rational aspect of the human soul and the prophetic inspiration. It is interesting to observe that the recent Philo index by Borgen (*The Philo Index*, 285) avoids any kind of classifications of the term. This is a stark contrast to earlier indices which make very definite categorisation. See I. Leisegang (*Philonis Alexandrini, Opera QVAE SVPER SVNT, vol.7 Indices Ad Philonis Alexandrini Opera* [Berolini: Walter De Gruyter, 1930] 660–661), who classifies the term $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ into seven categories – *elementum*; *ventus*; *spiritus*; *spiritus corpora permeat*; *est meis*, *ratio anima*, *est inspirationis auctor*, and θεῖον, θεοῦ.

also encompasses both physical and psychological manifestations.¹¹⁵ The term, too, represents rational thought (*Leg.* 1.32–38) and charismatic inspiration (*Gig.* 23).

Interestingly, Philo is not always consistent in maintaining the various distinctions that Verberke and others¹¹⁶ have proposed when using the term πνεῦμα. In his allegories, Philo overlaps the word's anthropological and theological meanings (*Plant.* 23–24 and *Leg.* 1. 36–38). Similarly the anthropological, cosmological and theological distinctions of πνεῦμα are overlooked in *Gig.* 22–23.¹¹⁷

Philo's lack of interest in prophetic eschatology is evident from his very selective use of scriptural citations (*Isa.* 5.7 = *Somn.* 2.172f.; 11.6–9 = *Praem.* 87; *Isa.* 48.22 = *Mut.* 169; *Isa.* 50.4 = *Her.* 25; *Isa.* 54.1 = *Praem.* 158,159; *Jer.* 2.13 = *Fug.* 197–201; 2.34 = *Spec.* 4.7; 3.4 = *Cher.* 49; 15.10 = *Conf.* 44; *Ezek.* 18.8 = *Spec.* 3.32). The overt omission of Spirit anticipatory passages indicates that for Philo the divine πνεῦμα is not something that is to be anticipated for the future; rather, as for Pseudo-Solomon it is a present reality available to him and to his contemporaries.

It is important to note that there are only few passages in the whole of Philonic literature that refer to any eschatological anticipation at all (*Praem.* 164–172). Philo mentions the eschatological redemption of Israel (*Praem.* 164), the deliverance from Gentile oppressors (164), the pilgrimage of exiles to Zion (165) and prosperity in the land (168). There is no reference to Gentiles being part of the restoration by God in the future;¹¹⁸ for Philo, since the Spirit is now already available to 'all' (in its

¹¹³ πνεῦμα is placed in parallel with ἀήρ in *Gig.* 22; *Ebr.* 106; *Cher.* 3, 111; *Sacr.* 97 and *Opif.* 29–30; *Abr.* 160; *Deus.* 35–36. See also *Her.* 242 and *Opif.* 131. It is also the breeze and thus πνεῦμα is both τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν πνευμάτων (a well-tempered breeze in *Opif.* 41), and πνεῦμα πλησίτιον (a violent head-wind in *Agr.* 174 cf. *Abr.* 92). Philo do not always maintain a clear distinction between various usages of πνεῦμα. For example in *Cher.* 111; *Praem.* 41; *Ebr.* 106; *Sacr.* 97 (cf. *Wis.* 5.11).

¹¹⁴ See *Imm.* 35–36; *Her.* 242.

¹¹⁵ Thus πνεῦμα is πνεῦμα ζωῆς in *Leg.* 3.161; *Det.* 80, 81. Thus it is the vital physical principle of all living beings. See similar usages in 2 Enoch 30.8a *Wis.* 15.16 (cf. *Mos.* 1.93; *Immut.* 84; *Gig.* 10), at the same time, the οὐσία (substance) of the soul, the higher and most dominant part, the mind (*Leg.* 1.32–42; *Spec.* 4.123; *Her.* 55–56; *Det.* 83; *QG.* 2.59) of all human beings.

¹¹⁶ See Bieder, 'πνεῦμα', *TDNT* 6: 372; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings. Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (SNTSMS 5; Cambridge: CUP, 1967), 223; Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 54; Menzies, *Development*, 63–67.

¹¹⁷ To enter into these sundry debates would take us beyond the scope of this study. See Isaacs, *Concept of the Spirit*, 26ff. for further discussion

¹¹⁸ Another passage of interest is *Mos.* 2.43–44, which indicates Philo's belief that Gentiles would abandon their 'peculiar ways' and 'turn to honouring' the laws of Jews. But here too we do not find any reference to the Spirit being given to the Gentile in the context of restoration. See discussions in H.A. Wolfson, *Philo, Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (2 vols.; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947) 2: 415–417; T.L. Donaldson, 'Proselytes or

restrictive sense), it is not related to the coming Gentile pilgrimage.

There are a few passages, though, which probably indicate the availability of the Spirit for all including the Gentiles (*Leg.* 1.31–38; *Her.* 56; cf. *Det.* 80; *Her.* 259; *Virt.* 212–219) to which our attention now turns.

3.4.2.1 The πνεῦμα θεῖον given at creation

3.4.2.1.1. The Nature of πνεῦμα

Scholars do agree that Philo refers to a universal πνεῦμα θεῖον,¹¹⁹ which is given to all human beings at creation (*Leg.* 1.31–38; cf. *Opif.* 134–147; *Her.* 56; *Det.* 80).¹²⁰ While allegorising the second account of the creation of man (Gen.2.7), in *Leg.* 1.31–38, Philo¹²¹ portrays God as forming earthly man from the earth, and breathing into him (ἐμφυσᾶω)¹²² the breath of life,¹²³ so making him a living soul. Further, Philo brings into the creation story a bipartite division¹²⁴ of soul, viz. one

'Righteous Gentiles'? The Status of Gentiles in Eschatological Pilgrimage Patterns of Thought', *JSP* 7 (1990) 13–14.

¹¹⁹ The nature of πνεῦμα is manifestly divine (πνεῦμα θεῖον), for it proceeds, and is derived, from God himself (*Leg.* 1.37; *Spec.* 4.123); it is further more, part of the aether (ἀθέριον πνεῦμα) and a divine fragment (*Plant.* 18; *Det.* 90; cf. *Opif.* 146; *Spec.* 4.123).

¹²⁰ See Wolfson, *Philo*, I: 393–413; Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 242; Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist*, 76–102; Laurentin, 'Le Pneuma', 411; Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 336–338; B.A. Pearson, *The Pneumatikos–Psychikos Terminology* (1973) 18–21; Menzies, *Development*, 64; Davis, *Wisdom and Spirit*, 52; Vos, *Traditions Geschichtliche*, 66–67; Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 35; Bieder, *TDNT* 6: 372.

¹²¹ See the discussions in T. Tobin (*The Creation of Man: Philo and the History of Interpretation* [Washington, DC.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1983], 56–132), on Philo's interpretation of Gen. 1.26–27 and 2.7. For Tobin the manifold inconsistencies of Philo's interpretation are to be explained in terms of his loyalty to a long tradition of exegesis that he himself only partially develops and modifies. On the other hand see Runia, *Philo of Alexandria*, 556–58, 334; idem, 'God and Man in Philo of Alexandria', *JThS* 39 [1988] 48–75) who argues for both theological and philosophical aspects to Philo's interpretation.

¹²² ἐμφυσᾶω is used 13 times in Philo's writings while citing LXX Gen. 2.7. See *Opif.* 134, 135; *Leg.* 1.31, 33, 36, 36; 3.161; *Det.* 80; *Her.* 56; *Somn.* 1.34; *Spec.* 4.123; 123; *QG.* 2.59 (cf. 1 Kgs. 17.21; Ezek. 37.9; Wis. 15.11).

¹²³ It is interesting to note that when Philo discusses LXX Gen. 2.7 in *Det.* 80, he refers to πνεῦμα ζωῆς. Elsewhere he refers to it as πνοή ζωῆς (*Plant.* 19; *Somn.* 1.34). Isaacs (*Concept of Spirit*, 35), makes the observation that this is due to the difference Philo makes between the heavenly man of Gen. 1 and the earthly man of Gen. 2. According to Isaacs' interpretation of Philo, only the heavenly man who is the copy of the original possessed πνεῦμα. The material man had only the reasoning power πνοή (*Leg.* 1.42; *Opif.* 144). Thus, Philo uses the πνοή to explain his understanding of the imperfection of the earthly man. But it is difficult to make such distinctions, because in *Opif.* 135 (cf. *QG.* 1.4, 51) Philo speaks of earthly man as being created ἐκ τε γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος Θεοῦ or the equivalent usage πνοήν ζωῆς (breath of life as in *Opif.* 134; *Leg.* 1.31; *Plant.* 19; *Hers.* 56; *Somn.* 1.34 and *Spec.* 4.123)

¹²⁴ See *Her.* 55; *Plant.* 18ff.; *Spec.* 4.123.

rational and good part, and one irrational and evil part (*Leg.* 1.22; 33).¹²⁵ According to Philo, it is into the rational soul that God breathed the divine Spirit, which forms the mind, the highest element of the soul.¹²⁶

To the question of the nature of πνεῦμα as the rational aspect of the soul, Philo argues consistently that it is the divine Spirit which makes the νοῦς rational and capable of knowing God.¹²⁷ Philo identifies πνεῦμα as the force which generates thought (*Plant.* 23–24; *Spec.* 1.6; cf. *Fug.* 182). He asserts that the spirit is breathed into each person at creation to provide the individual with a cognitive, spiritual capacity, a capacity that is actualised in the experience of and encounter with the Spirit of God. The πνεῦμα provides the basis of knowing God, and the means of a relationship with God (*Leg.* 1.33–34, 37–38; cf. *Plant.* 18).

3.4.2.1.2. *The Recipients of the Spirit:*

For Philo the recipients of τὰ ἀγαθὰ (here including πνεῦμα) are all human beings¹²⁸ (*Leg.* 1.34), even those who are not perfect (μὴ τελεῖοι – *Leg.* 1.34).

It is not immediately clear from the text to whom Philo refers as οἱ μὴ τελεῖοι. The phrase μὴ τελεῖοι occurs in various forms in his allegorical works (*Leg.* 2.91; 3.89; 3.212; *Det.* 144, 175; *Plant.* 6, 93, 94; *Sobr.* 13; *Her.* 82; *Somn.* 1.213),¹²⁹ and significant descriptions of the phrase are found in *Det.* 172–175 and *Leg.* 3.89. While describing the characteristics of wise men and worthless men, Philo uses οἱ μὴ τελεῖοι (*Det.* 175) to refer to the imperfect nature of the latter (*Det.* 173 cf.

¹²⁵ See J. Possum, 'Gen. 1.26 and 2.7 in Judaism, Samaritanism, and Gnosticism', *JSJ* 16 (1987): 202–239.

¹²⁶ It is the divinest part of human beings (*Det.* 29), the godlike image (*Opif.* 137), the copy of the divine reason (*Opif.* 136). See other occurrences *Det.* 90; *Plant.* 18ff.; *Her.* 55. In the Old Testament writers do not make any dichotomy between what is breathed and that by which it is breathed. What is designated by נְשָׁמָה (breath of life) is the breath (I Kgs. 17.17; Isa. 2.22; Prov. 20.27; Dan. 10.17), something that, according to Gen. 7.22 the animals also possess. The expressions נִשְׁמָה and נְשָׁמָה are generally used. When God withdraws this breath of life from a person, he or she dies (I Kgs. 17.17ff; Job 27.3; 34.14f; Josh. 11.11; 10.40; 11.14; Deut. 20.16).

¹²⁷ Philo states that God is visible only to the mind (*Cher.* 100–101). See discussions on ψυχή, νοῦς, πνεῦμα in E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist, Paulus und Die Dualistische Weisheit* (WMANT 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968) 114–134

¹²⁸ See parallel usage in *Post.* 160. God's characteristics of goodness are a constant theme in the Old Testament scripture, particularly demonstrated in the giving of rain upon the sea, springs in the desert, waters in barren soil. See Isa. 35.7; 41.18; Ps. 65.10ff; 67.7; 104.10; 107.33; 112.1–4; 144.12–14; 4 *Ezra* 16.60.

¹²⁹ There is not a single reference in LXX where μὴ is used with τελεῖοις. For the use of τελεῖοις see Gen. 6.9; 18.3; 2 Sam. 22.26; 1 Chr. 25.8; Sir. 44.17; 2 Esdr. 2.63. Wis. 6.16 seems to be closer to Philo's presentation. The term is often used in relation to Noah (Gen. 6.9; Sir. 44.17; cf. *Post.* 173; *Fig.* 5; *Deus.* 117, 122; *Abr.* 31; *QG.* 1.97).

Leg. 3.89).¹³⁰ It is highly probable that *μη τελείοι* (*Leg.* 1.34; 3.89) indicates a similar usage and thus includes all human beings, in spite of their moral standing, as recipients of the Spirit.

But for Philo, all may not gain (*ὠφελεω*) from the *ἐμφυσῶν* (in-breathing) of the Spirit (*Leg.* 1.34).¹³¹ In other words, the universal divine Spirit is available to all, but the Spirit's permanence is not guaranteed since it is closely bound with human accountability.¹³² In his allegory *On Giants*, Philo discusses the theme of the abiding of the Spirit, introducing *Gen.6.3* to explain why the Spirit cannot abide¹³³ forever among 'us' *οἱ πολλοῖ* (masses of men).¹³⁴ For him God's spirit dwells particularly in the thought of all humanity, but is unable to abide permanently due to the unworthiness of fleshly life (28–31 cf. 53).¹³⁵ In the present passage (*Gig.* 20) Philo makes it clear that *οἱ πολλοῖ* are the ones who lack reason or soul;¹³⁶ reprobate;¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Similarly, in *Leg.* 3.89 *μηπω τέλειον* is used while allegorising *Gen.* 25.23. Philo discusses the predestination of good persons, particularly in the example of Jacob, who is endowed with *λογικόν* (reason) – in contrast to Esau, who characterises what is base and irrational and thus represents *μη τελείοις*. See also *Det.* 144 where Philo uses *μη τελείος* while discussing 'men whom God rejects as deserters, false to the most sacred ordinances'.

¹³¹ See similar use in *Post.* 143, 181; *Virt.* 226; *Leg.* 60, 247.

¹³² Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 243–44.

¹³³ The abiding of the Spirit is the overall theme of this section. Notice the variation in the usage of the words – *ὄ καταμενεῖ τὸ πνεῦμά μου*, (my Spirit shall not abide – *Gig.* 20). *μένει...καταμένει...ὄκ* (it cannot abide – *Gig.* 28); *πνεῦμα θεῖον μένειν...διαμένειν* (the divine Spirit...cannot abide – *Gig.* 29); *τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα καταμεῖναι* (the divine Spirit ...may not abide – *Gig.* 47); *ὄ καταμένει τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα* (the divine Spirit does not abide – *Gig.* 53).

¹³⁴ See an interesting parallel usage of *Gig.* 22ff in 53 where Philo says that in *οἱ πολλοῖ* who have set before them many ends in life, the divine spirit does not abide, even though it sojourns there for a while. In the Philonic literature *οἱ πολλοῖ* has a negative connotation. Cf. *Ebr.* 25, 26, 65; 74, 75; *Migr.* 90; *Fug.* 30; *Abr.* 103, 200; *Spec.* 3.6; 4.46.

¹³⁵ The idea that the divine Spirit cannot abide forever in persons because they are flesh is a common notion throughout Philo's writings. For e.g., *Her.* 57; *QG.* 1.90; *Gig.* 19, 28–29, 47, 53. For flesh as the 'chief cause' of theological ignorance, see *Gig.* 19, 20, 29–31, 53–55. See Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria*, 109. See Such a division is common not only to the sapiential literature but to most of the Second Temple Jewish literature (*Isa.* 31.3; cf. *Ps.* 78.38; *Sir.* 17.31; 28.5; 39.19; 4 Macc. 7.18) See Frey, 'Die paulinische Antithese von "Fleisch" und "Geist" und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition', 1999.

¹³⁶ According to Philo *οἱ πολλοῖ* will receive "the conception of the best". See *Leg.* 1.24ff.

¹³⁷ For Philo *ἐξαγιστοι* are "those who do not have the strength to grasp and keep a sudden vision of the excellent; and wander away from the life of law and justice." Interestingly Philo uses the term only twice elsewhere in his writings (*Post.* 159; *Leg.* 166). In both instances the term is used to describe Egyptians, as persons who worship animals (*Post.* 159) and those who live in an evil way (*Leg.* 166). In *Sacr.* 69, while describing the timelessness of God's action, Philo contrast Moses with Pharaoh. Here Pharaoh is presented as one who "cannot receive the vision of timeless values because the eyes of the soul...are blinded in him".

and those who choose what is base instead of what is noble.¹³⁸ The usage οἱ πολλοῖ probably echoes οἱ μὴ τελεῖοι as discussed earlier (*Leg.* 1.34).

On the other hand, for Philo the abiding of God's Spirit can only be the privilege of those who lead the tranquil and contemplative life (*Gig.* 47–55).¹³⁹ He who does so then has always the divine πνεῦμα at his side, taking the lead in every journey of righteousness. It requires single-mindedness (*Mos.* 2.265) and a detachment from sensual preoccupation (*Det.* 17; *Gig.* 53; *Deus.* 2).¹⁴⁰

Scholars have described Philo as echoing Stoic thought,¹⁴¹ but Philonic literature does not maintain that type of pantheistic view.¹⁴² M.E. Isaacs has suggested a parallel usage in *4 Macc.* 7.13–14, where the author associates πνεῦμα with reason. Isaacs assumes apologetic motives behind both writings and indicates that they emphasise the supremacy of inspired wisdom over reason in a pagan context.¹⁴³

A preferable option would be to see links to sapiential literature. Contemporary Hellenistic literature associated πνεῦμα and σοφία.¹⁴⁴ God permeates all creation with Wisdom (*Sir.* 24.3–5; *Wis.* 1.9; 7.22; 8.1; cf. *Job* 34.14; *Ps.* 33.6; 104.30; 139.7ff.; *Prov.* 8.22–31; *Judg.* 16.14),¹⁴⁵ yet this divine, cosmic Wisdom is imparted only to those who love God, especially prophets and sages.

Thus for Philo a significant aspect to his universal appeal is that πνεῦμα θεῖον is given at creation to all human beings. He makes his appeal to fellow Jews in the Diaspora concerning the gracious nature of God towards Gentiles on the ground that the Spirit breathed into human reason is the common possession of all human beings.

¹³⁸ See *Sacr.* 69.

¹³⁹ See *Gig.* 53.

¹⁴⁰ In a similar way Philo talks about the loss of virtue in *Leg.* 1.107; *Det.* 48; *Her.* 292; *Somn.* 2.235; cf. *Fug.* 55; *Det.* 70.74; *QE.* 2.38. See D. Zeller, 'Life and Death of the Soul', *SphA* 7 (1995) 21.

¹⁴¹ D. Winston, 'Judaism and Hellenism: Hidden Tensions in Philo's Thought', *SPA* 2 (1990) 1–19. For Stoics πνεῦμα is with λογος and νοῦς. The νοῦς is the highest, most divine trait of God in human beings (*Diog.Laert.* 7.134–36, 138). According to Stoics, the identification of the soul is with Pneuma – the logical divine part running through the body as the world-πνεῦμα runs throughout the universe (*Pint.Comm.not.* 1084d). πνεῦμα both empowers the senses and communicates their information to the 'ruling part' (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) of the soul. The soul may be described as composed of τὸ συμφυὲς ἡμῖν πνεῦμα (*Diog.Laertf.* 156–57). See T.P. Paige, 'Spirit at Corinth: The Corinthian Concept of Spirit and Paul's Response as Seen in I Corinthians', (Unpublished Ph.D diss. University of Sheffield, 1993) 233ff. for detailed discussion.

¹⁴² Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 22

¹⁴³ Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 41.

¹⁴⁴ See *Wis.* 1.4–7, 7.22–25 and 9.17–18; cf. *Job* 32.8.

¹⁴⁵ See discussions in Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 99–118; R.G. Bratcher, 'Biblical Words Describing Man: Breath, Life, Spirit', *BT* 34 (1983): 201–209 (202); D.C. Arichea, Jr., 'Translating Breath and Spirit', *BT* 34 (1983): 209ff.

Consequently God has not left the Gentiles without knowledge of Himself, thus offering a possibility for their “incoming” into the Israelite community.

3.4.2.2. The Gift of Prophecy to Every Worthy Man (*Her.* 259; cf. *Gig.* 22)

Philo’s interest in the universal Spirit is found in one another particularly significant passage – *Her.* 259, according to which, the gift of prophecy is available “to every worthy man” (πάντες οἱ ἀστέῖλοι, cf. *Gig.* 22).¹⁴⁶

3.4.2.2.1. The Nature of the Prophetic Spirit:

In *Her.* 259 Philo highlights the fact that a prophet is a passive instrument through which the πνεῦμα θεῖον speaks. Being a spokesperson, the prophet has no utterance of his own, but all his utterances come from elsewhere, the echoes of another’s voice (ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου).¹⁴⁷ However, Philo makes a clear distinction here between the nature of πνεῦμα as the rational aspect of the soul and as the gift of prophecy or other special charismatic endowments. In *Spec.* 4.49, while describing the ecstatic possession of the prophet Philo mentions that “reason (λογισμός) withdraws” and “surrenders the citadel of the soul to a new visitor”, the θεῖον πνεῦμα which plays upon the vocal organs and dictates words which clearly express its prophetic message.

Scholarly opinions concerning the nature of prophecy in Philo include associations with the rabbinic idea of the *bath qol*,¹⁴⁸ and Greek and Egyptian notions of prophecy.¹⁴⁹ However, Wolfson believes that Philo’s views on prophecy are derived from Scripture and then adjusted to Platonic terminology regarding frenzy.¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that the language employed by Philo in describing the experience is almost entirely derived from a non-Jewish background — for

¹⁴⁶ According to Philo this is endorsed by ‘Holy word’. It is surprising to recognise that Philo’s argument is not supported by a scriptural proof text, which makes the usage both ambiguous and unique in Philo. Generally Philo uses ἱερὸς λόγος; (42 times) to refer to LXX Scriptures. ἱεραὶ βίβλοι is used is also used (*Cher.* 124; *Det.* 161; *Post.* 158; *Ebr.* 208; *Her.* 258; *Abr.* 156, 177, 258; *Mos.* 2.11, 96, 188; *Decal.* 155; *Spec.* 2.151; *Virt.* 201.

¹⁴⁷ See also *Spec.* 1.65; *QG* 3.9; 4.196; *Mos.* 2.188. On the contrary, the wicked may never be the interpreter of God, so that no worthless person is ‘God inspired’ (*Her.* 69).

¹⁴⁸ See Wolfson, *Philo* 2.52; Hill, *New Testament Prophecy*, 33.

¹⁴⁹ See Sandmel, *Philo’s Place in Judaism*, 183. Recently, Winston, while distinguishing the ‘ecstatic’ and ‘hermeneutical’ prophecies argues that Philo’s descriptions of predictive prophecy reveal that he has adopted the more radical form of Greek ecstatic prophecy. For D. Winston (‘Two Types of Mosaic Prophecy According to Philo’, *JSP* 4 [1989] 53), Philo was following the footsteps of his favourite philosopher, Plato (*Phdr.* 244A–245C; *Tim.* 71E; *Ap.* 22C; *Meno.* 99C; *Ion.* 543 C; cf. Plutarch *De def.or.* 431B–438, 414E) in relation to the prophecies of Abraham and Balaam. See also, J.R. Levison, ‘Two Types of Ecstatic Prophecy According to Philo’, *SphA* 6 (1994) 83–89.

¹⁵⁰ Wolfson, *Philo* 2.10ff.

example θεσπίζω (foretell), κατοκωχή (possession), ενθουσιάζω (be inspired), μανία, θεοφόρητος (possessed or inspired by God), υπηχέω (prompt).¹⁵¹ But for Philo, prophecy¹⁵² is the same as the prophecy referred to in the Old Testament (*Mos.* 2.40, 246–252, 259),¹⁵³ where Moses in *Her.* 258–266 is described as ‘possessed’ and ‘prophesying’.¹⁵⁴

Thus the Spirit is the source of charismatic revelation, wisdom and knowledge, and empowering with skills and ability — an idea that is consistent with the rest of Judaism.

3.4.2.2.2. *The Recipients of the Gifts of Prophecy*

References to prophets¹⁵⁵ or to the recipients of the gifts of prophecy¹⁵⁶ are numerous in Philonic literature. The Old Testament heroes like Abraham (*Her.* 250, 265), Moses (*Leg.* 3.43; *Gig.* 57; *Plant.* 118; *Her.* 290; *Fug.* 147), Balaam (*Mos.* 1.277), Samuel (*Somn.* 1.254), Elijah (*Deus.* 136), Isaiah (*Mut.* 169), Jeremiah (*Conf.* 44), and Hosea (*Mut.* 139) are all prophets.¹⁵⁷ Interestingly, even Zipporah (*Mut.* 120)¹⁵⁸ and Hannah (*Somn.* 1.254)¹⁵⁹ are considered to be prophetesses.

¹⁵¹ Hill, *New Testament Prophecy*, 33.

¹⁵² There are eight instances of the type of prophecy that are cited by Philo (See *Leg.* 3.43; *Gig.* 57.2; *Plant.* 118; *Sobr.* 68; *Conf.* 44; *Migr.* 84; *Her.* 70, 250, 265, 290; *Fug.* 147, 186, 197; *Mut.* 110.3, 120, 139, 169; *Somn.* 1.254; *Mos.* 1.277; *Con.* 88; see Wolfson, *Philo*, 2.34–35). A.J. Heschel (*Theology of Ancient Judaism* 2 [London:1965] 161–165, 220–223) cites parallel rabbinic sources for many of these cases and suggests that Palestinian homilists who may have preached in Alexandria probably influenced Philo.

¹⁵³ See also *Decal.* 32.35. For Philo ἔκστασις was an experiential feature of the prophets of the Old Testament (*Her.* 258–266). Further, Philo indicates that the Spirit given to the Seventy Elders (*Gig.* 23; *Fug.* 186) and Bezaleel (*Gig.* 23) were special charismatic endowments. Thus the seventy elders were given ‘spirit of perfect wisdom’ and Bezaleel was filled with ‘the divine spirit, with wisdom, understanding, and knowledge to devise in every work’

¹⁵⁴ J. Laporte, ‘Philo in the Tradition of Biblical Wisdom Literature’, in R.L. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975) 103–41; Verbeke, *L’évolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 252–53.

¹⁵⁵ Borgen (*Philo Index*) lists about 94 references to προφήτης.

¹⁵⁶ The reference to προφητεία occurs only nine times in Philo (*Her.* 259; *Cong.* 132; *Mut.* 126, 203; *Abr.* 98; *Mos.* 2.3, 187; *Spec.* 4.51; *Praem.* 55).

¹⁵⁷ Isaacs (*Concept of Spirit*, 49) argued that Philo confines the references to the gift of prophecy to the prophets of the Old Testament. Unfortunately, Isaacs is unaware of *Somn.* 2.251–252 which refers to Philo’s claim to participate in the Spirit. See Turner, *Power*, 125.

¹⁵⁸ Philo refers to Zipporah as having a prophetic nature. Outside canonical literature there are no references to Zipporah tradition; it appears only in the later Rabbinical Literature (*Exod. R.* 1.32, 33; 5.8; 27.1; *Deut. R.* 6.1). Philo’s Zipporah tradition seems to be unique, particularly in view of her Cushite origins.

¹⁵⁹ The reference to Hannah as ‘prophetess and mother of a prophet’ is found in *Somn.* 1.254. In the canonical and non-canonical literature alike, Hannah was never portrayed as a prophetess. This is also true with the Rabbinical literature.



It is not clear, however, to whom Philo refers to as ἄστειος (worthy/refined). The term is frequently used by him to refer to those who are morally in good standing and who possibly belong to a socially elitist group. In the moral sense of the term, ἄστειος is specifically used for Israelite figures,¹⁶⁰ ‘guardians’ and ‘stewards’ of the ‘teaching of virtue’ (*Det.* 66), ‘people of high birth’ (εὐγενής) and those ‘trained in the practice of philosophy’. In *Prob.* 72 Philo refers to ἄστειότης as existing both in Greece itself and outside Greece and among the Persians and Indians (*Prob.* 73–75).

It is of significant importance to recognise Philo’s use of ἄστειος and προφήτης together in *Her.* 78.¹⁶¹ In his discussion on μάννα Philo allegorises Gen 15.4 in relation to seeing God. While expounding the words ‘come out of’, Philo talks about the mind leaving the body behind. For him, ‘ecstasy’ does literally mean ‘a standing out of’.¹⁶² After mentioning the multitude of common people as the blind race who prefer what is mortal to what is immortal, Philo observes, ‘and it is only ὁ ἄστειος who sees (βλέπει) and therefore they of old were called “prophets”’ (cf. 1 Sam. 9.9).¹⁶³ He also points out that prophets were formerly called ‘seers’ (ὀρῶντες).¹⁶⁴ He who advances ‘outside’ is called not only ‘seer’ but also the ‘seer of God’ (*Her.* 78). *Her.* 78 generalises the usage of ‘prophet’ to refer to the whole nation of Israel as ‘seer of God’ (θεὸν ὀρῶν).¹⁶⁵

Philo’s universal interest is further indicated by his inclusion of wise men as prophets.¹⁶⁶ Even the wise in pagan religions are considered as ‘seeing’. For

¹⁶⁰ Noah (*Leg.* 3.77); Abraham (*Migr.* 130; *Her.* 243; *Mut.* 168; *Somn.* 1.171); Jacob (*Leg.* 3.24, 191); Moses (*Post.* 31; *Mut.* 168, 204; *Congr.* 131) and Enoch (*Deus.* 140).

¹⁶¹ See also *Cong.* 132. While he eulogises the birth of Moses Philo refers to him as ὁ ἄστειος who with ‘wisdom given by divine inspiration’ received ‘the art of legislation’ and προφητεία.

¹⁶² See E. Birnbaum, ‘What Does Philo Mean by “Seeing God”? Some Methodological Considerations’, *SBL* 1995 Seminar Papers, 547; idem, *Place of Judaism in Philo’s Thought*, 87–88 for further discussion.

¹⁶³ For Philo ‘seeing God’ involves ecstasy (*Opif.* 70–71; *Her.* 69–70, 263–265).

¹⁶⁴ Often βλέποντες is used as synonym. See *Deus.* 139; *Migr.* 38; *Her.* 78; *QG.* 4.138.

¹⁶⁵ Similarly in *Abr.* 98 Israel is presented as having the task of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of all humanity (see also *Spec.* 2.163). The link between priesthood and prophet might have been drawn from *Spec.* 4.193, ‘the true priest is necessarily a prophet’. Likewise Philo takes the Jewish community to be God’s special possession in the world, in the sense that a ruler of a kingdom can own it all, yet have his own particular property (*Plant.* 55–60; cf. *Spec.* 4.180–181). If Israel is the nation dearest of all to God, she has also received the task of priesthood and prophecy on behalf of all humanity (*Abr.* 98). Thus Philo interprets the temple prayers and sacrifices as offered on behalf of all the nations (*Spec.* 1.97, 168–69), 190). Birnbaum, (*Place of Judaism in Philo’s Thought*, 181) inform us that Philo does not use the name ‘Israel’ for the real nation either before or during his time.

¹⁶⁶ Philo uses the term σοφός as synonymous with prophet (*Gig.* 5, 22; *Deus.* 1.3). The link between spirit and wise men is made in *Gig.* 22–24.

example, the Persian Magi, who “silently make research into the facts of nature to gain knowledge of the truth, and through ‘vision’ (ἐμφάσεις) clearer than speech give and receive the revelations of divine excellency” (*Prob.* 74); the Athenians, who are “the most sharp-sighted” (ὀξυδερκέστατοι) in mind — ‘for as the pupil is in the eye or reason in the soul, so is Athens in Greece’ (*Prob.* 140); and the philosophers of Greece and foreign lands, who are “the best observers” (θεωροί) of nature and all things in it (*Spec.* 2.45).

Nevertheless, Philo brings in a contrast between recipients of the gift of prophecy, and the non-recipients — the φαῦλοι¹⁶⁷ and μοχθηροί¹⁶⁸ who can never be prophets (*Her.* 52, 259; cf. *Det.* 133). According to Philo, the φαύλος will never become an interpreter of God (ἐρμηνεῖ γενέσθαι θεοῦ).¹⁶⁹ Similarly, μοχθηροί generally refers to those who disobey and oppose the commandments (*Ebr.* 16; *Virt.* 94).

Thus it is reasonable to conclude that for Philo ἀστέϊοι may encompass a philosophically knowledgeable inclusive social élite group who receive special charismatic endowment, similar to that of Old Testament prophets, which enables wisdom, and facilitates knowledge of and fellowship with God.¹⁷⁰ However, Philo excludes the φαῦλοι, probably a moral, ethical or a social entity, from the charismatic gift of prophecy.

Scholars have pointed out that Philo’s usage of παντὶ δὲ ἀστέϊῳ προφητείαν has parallels in Stoic thought.¹⁷¹ According to the Stoics only the σπουδαῖοι

¹⁶⁷ The term occurs mostly in the sapiential literature (LXX). For eg. Job 6.3, 25; 9.23; Prov. 5.3; 13.6; 16.21; 22.8; 29.9; Sir. 20.17; cf. *3 Macc.* 3.22.

¹⁶⁸ Only a few references are found in the Philonic literature (*Ebr.* 16; *Spec.* 4.77; *Virt.* 94; *QG.* 4.211).

¹⁶⁹ For a similar usage see *Det.* 133. Specific examples of φαύλος include Esau (*Sacr.* 18.121), Pharaoh (*Det.* 112), Cain (*Det.* 119) and Lamech (*Post.* 55). Interestingly Philo uses φαύλος together with ‘Egyptians’ many times (*Leg.* 3.13, 37). In *Fug.* 17ff. Philo contrasts φαύλος and ἀστέϊος, where Αἰγύπτιοι are juxtaposed with φαῦλοι. Throughout his allegorical writings, Philo uses Egypt to represent the life tied to the body or to youthful passions (*Cong.* 80ff.; cf. 20–21; *Fug.* 147f.; *Sacr.* 48; *Det.* 95, 104; *Somn.* 2.266; *QG.* 4.177). This seems to indicate Philo’s contempt, rooted in his people’s history, which spills over onto the Egyptians living in Alexandria in his own days. See discussion in D.I. Sly, *Philo’s Alexandria* (London: Routledge, 1996) 21; Mendelson, *Philo’s Jewish Identity*, 116. The term also refer to the moral baseness of ‘sinners’ (*Sacr.* 128), those who are ‘crafty in wickedness’ (*Leg.* 3.2), those who hide themselves from God (*Leg.* 3.28, 48), those who give pre-eminence to body and regard pleasure as the end and aim of life (*Leg.* 3.37, 191; cf. *Leg.* 2.17; *Virt.* 9) and whose action are most vile (*Mut.* 193). Other example include the countless multitude (*Leg.* 3.2) who are ‘unskilled in art’ (*Gig.* 2), ‘without knowledge’ (*Gig.* 2), ‘unjust’ (*Gig.* 2).

¹⁷⁰ See Turner, *Power*, 125.

¹⁷¹ Wolfson, *Philo*, 2, 47.

(Stobaeus, *Eclogae* 2, 114) or *sapientes* (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 2, 63, 129) can be diviners.¹⁷² But there are obvious differences. For the Stoics, prophecy is a natural and necessary process (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1, 352n) and the qualifications required are those which render men fit for the power of divination.¹⁷³

The presence of the Spirit upon worthy men is already found in the Old Testament and runs throughout the Second Temple period (Mic. 3.5–7; Ps. 51.11).¹⁷⁴ It is probable that Philo was following the sapiential tradition, where we find frequent division of humanity into the ‘wise’ and ‘foolish’, or in parallel with this into ‘just’ and ‘unjust’ (e.g. Wis. 1.2–5; 1.6–5.23).

By affirming that the gift of prophecy is available to all οἱ ἀστέῖοι and therefore to his own contemporaries, Philo is at odds with the earlier scholarly notion¹⁷⁵ that the Spirit of prophecy has withdrawn from Israel, to return only in the eschatological future.¹⁷⁶ What is significantly new in Philo is that the charismatic gift of the Spirit of prophecy is no longer limited to a relatively few good wise men within Israel, but is for all οἱ ἀστέῖοι, whose membership is not limited by ethnic boundaries. Philo makes a universalistic assumption with a particularistic connotation. He maintains the distinction between the rational aspect of the soul and the prophetic/charismatic Spirit, and conceives of the Spirit as given to all — but only a few will benefit from it.

3.4.2.3. The Spirit Experience of Abraham the Proselyte

The reference to the reception of the Spirit by Abraham occurs in *Virt.* 212–219, where Philo discusses ‘nobility’ (εὐγένεια) — a virtue rather than good parentage¹⁷⁷ as the key to true nobility. Abraham and Tamar¹⁷⁸ serve as illustrations

¹⁷² Philo uses ἀστέος and σπουδαῖος interchangeably. (See *Prob.* 60; cf. *Leg.* 1.93; 3.189; 3.217; *Post.* 28; *Abr.* 99; *Mos.* 2.147; *Spec.* 3.22; *Prob.* 41, 54, 60, 100; *QG* 3.11b, 21, 4.167, *QE* 2.6). σπουδαῖος is used 141 times. See Borgen, *Philo Index*, 312–13.

¹⁷³ Wolfson, *Philo*, 2.47.

¹⁷⁴ We find a similar idea in the rabbinic writings. For example, the *bath qol* informs the sages who are gathered together at different occasions that Hillel the elder, and Samuel the lesser are worthy of Spirit but cannot receive it because of the evil generation to which they belong. (*t.Sota*.13.2–4; *Song. R.* 8.13; *Sukkah*.28a) See A. Marmorsten, ‘The Holy Spirit in Rabbinic Legend’, in J. Rabinowitz and M.S. Lew (eds.), *Studies in Jewish Theology* (London: OUP, 1950) 126.

¹⁷⁵ See J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* (New York: Charles’s Scribner’s Sons, 1971) 81; C.K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Traditions* (London: SCM Press, 1947) 108–107; Hill, *New Testament Prophecy*, 21.

¹⁷⁶ See Levison, ‘Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel?’, 35–37.

¹⁷⁷ On his discussion of εὐγένεια, Philo emphasises that the possession of gifted and virtuous ancestors does not benefit their children unless these inherit those gifts or follow those virtues. On the one hand Philo describes degenerate sons of good parents. Adam vs Cain (*Virt.* 198–200); Noah vs.

of εὐγένεια since they both come from ignoble backgrounds; and not only do they become virtuous, but they also turn to belief in God. However, what is particularly important for us is the example of Abraham for whom according to Philo, 'virtue'¹⁷⁹ came not through birth but was grasped by the νοῦς through the πνεῦμα.

Scholarly opinions vary in considering the role and function of the πνεῦμα in *Virt.* 212–219. There are those who argue that Abraham's spirit experience transformed him into an effective orator.¹⁸⁰ For others the spirit makes Abraham into a successful *Weisheitslehrer*,¹⁸¹ while for others it made him a mystic.¹⁸² The present

Ham (201–202). The only exception was Abraham and Isaac (206–207). On the other hand, there can be good children of bad or inferior parentage (219).

¹⁷⁸ Philo has been lauding Abraham as the ideal proselyte (*Virt.* 219). Then he adds a section on women proselytes, giving Tamar as the example of a free-born foreign woman and Bilhah and Zilpah as examples of slaves. It is interesting to note that Philo does not call Tamar a proselyte explicitly. See *Leg.* 3.74; *Deus.* 136f.; *Cong.* 124; *Fug.* 149–156; *Mut.* 134; *Somn.* 2.44; *Virt.* 221. Like Dinah, Tamar is completely allegorised (except for one instance). See D. Sly, *Philo's Perception of Women* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 174–76.

¹⁷⁹ Runia (*Philo of Alexandria*, 180ff.) considers the term 'virtue' is used to refer to virtues formulated in the Laws of Moses (*Spec.* 4.132–238; *Leg.* 195–96f; *Praem.* 4–5).

¹⁸⁰ Levison, *Spirit in First Century Judaism*, 95ff. finds a resemblance to a catalogue of the elements, which comprise the orator's delivery in the first century rhetorical handbook, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Skill in rhetoric should be an essential tool of the competent ruler, and was part of his education. In addition, the Graeco-Roman author expected the king to exhibit exemplary virtue. Levison also finds parallels not only for the rhetorical skill – stature, carriage, movement, voice – but also for Abraham's physical presence. Levison's argument cannot be accepted for two reasons. (i) He ignores the larger context of the text. The key to the passage is Philo's discussion about how Abraham, a person of ignoble birth, achieved εὐγένεια. In reviewing Pentateuchal history (*Virt.* 187–227), Philo affirms that a virtuous life is the basis for εὐγένεια. Polytheism is evidence for the absence of nobility (*Virt.* 213). The polytheists can gain nobility by becoming proselytes like Abraham, and joining the Jewish πολιτεία (*Virt.* 212–219). In such a context Levison's argument for Greek rhetorical virtues is not appropriate. It is important to recognise that Philo's discussion on εὐγένεια centres around moral and ethical aspects and not so much around rhetorical skills. In fact, Philo is critical of oratorical skills in *Virt.* 213.

¹⁸¹ C. Noack, *Gottesbewußtsein, Exegetische Studien zur Soteriologie und Mystik bei Philo von Alexandria* (WUNT 2/116; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000) 40–99. For Noack, the Spirit becomes *der Meister der Rhetorik Abrahams*. By the indwelling of the Spirit in the soul, Abraham becomes the competent speaker in a missionary context. But the difficulty with Noack's argument is that, in Philo, Abraham is never presented as a missionary, but rather more as a convert from polytheism. The key factor is not how Abraham mastered rhetoric to convince his audience, but rather how Abraham came to believe in one God and how the Spirit led him in the right path and helped his nobility. Sandmel (*Philo's Place in Judaism*, 104) had already pointed out that the motif of Abraham as a missionary in the rabbinic literature is missing in Philo. He warns the danger of comparing the one Philo with the many rabbis to inhibit any facile generalisation. But one might tentatively suggest that with respect to proselytism, for the rabbis Abraham is a missionary par excellence, while for Philo he is the significant convert. See also Knox, 'Abraham and the Quest for God', *HTR* XXVIII (1939) 55–60.

¹⁸² Sze-kar Wan, 'Abraham and the Promise of the Spirit: Galatians and the Hellenistic-Jewish Mysticism of Philo', *SBL* 1995 Seminar Papers, 7–22. The basis for his argument is linking the present passage with the allegorical interpretation of 'soul progression' in *Gig.* 60–61, with the three stages of development on the spiritual journey towards perfection *Abr.* 70–71; and the experience of the highest form of ἔκστασις designated as 'prophecy' in *Her.* 265. Such an interpretation does not

text is characteristically and uniquely Philonic.¹⁸³ It is important to observe that in every step of Abraham's way,¹⁸⁴ and particularly the events of Abraham's conversion¹⁸⁵ and his subsequent life, the Spirit plays an integral and indispensable role.

3.4.2.3.1. Abraham, a Polytheist

Philo emphasises the fact that Abraham was a Gentile, and a polytheist at that (*Virt.* 212–213). Abraham, most ancient member of the Jewish nation,¹⁸⁶ was a Chaldean¹⁸⁷ by birth; his father was an ἄστρονομικός; and as the son of an ἄστρονομικός,¹⁸⁸ Abraham's past was rooted in the Chaldean belief system. This Philo characteristically summarises as holding on to the things which control the events that befall each man for good or for ill, and believing that there is no originating cause outside what is perceived by the senses.¹⁸⁹

Further, Philo refers to Abraham's background belief as based on a 'polytheistic creed' (*Virt.* 214)¹⁹⁰ and 'the false creed'. He describes these beliefs as the

do justice to the text. By contrast with *Gig.* 60–61; *Abr.* 70–71 and *Her.* 265, in the present passage there is no dehistoricisation of the patriarchal story.

¹⁸³ According to Sandmel (*Philo's Place in Judaism*, 96), the passage is a good example of Philo's merging of the literal and the allegorical interpretation. Abraham leaves Chaldea, Abraham leaves astrology; departure from the literal Chaldea ensures departure from astrology. Recently, many scholars have identified the missionary nature of the text. See Georgi, *Opponents*, 57–60; Wan, 'Abraham and the Promise of the Spirit', 12; Noack, *Gottesbewußtsein*, 36ff. I.

¹⁸⁴ The portrait of Abraham in this text is presented as literal interpretation. It is important to recognise that Abraham is put forward as an exemplary model – a symbol of virtue. See B.L. Mack, *Logos und Sophia, Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* (SUNT 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1973) 76.

¹⁸⁵ For other symbolic interpretations of Abraham's migration, see *Ebr.* 94; *Her.* 287–89; *Somn.* 1.60–62; *Abr.* 60–80. For further discussion see W.L. Knox, 'Abraham and the Quest for God', *HTR* 28 (1935) 55–61.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Somn.* 1.168. The phrase 'the founder of the whole Jewish nation' is used *Mos* 1.7 to describe Abraham.

¹⁸⁷ For Chaldeans as astrologers, see *Gig.* 62; *Mig.* 178, 187; *Her.* 96–97, 277; *Mut.* 16; *Somn.* 1.52, 53; *Abr.* 67, 69, 72, 188; *QG.* 3.1; 4.88. See C.K. Wong, 'Philo's Use of *Chaldaioi*', *SPhA* 4 (1992) 1–14.

¹⁸⁸ Philo condemns the Chaldeans as astronomers with considerable force in *Arb.* 69–70 (cf. *Wis.* 13.2). See E.R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 138; Wolfson, *Philo*, 2: 78 for further discussion. Interestingly, Philo seems to have believed that the stars could foretell (*Mos.* 2.1226; *Leg.* 1.8; *Opif.* 58). In *Cong.* 2 Philo makes Abraham appear to have studied grammar, geometry, astronomy, rhetoric, music, etc. But there is a difference between the ability to foretell and the ability to control. Ascription of ruling power to the stars would be to Philo atheism. See Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism*, 158. Philo seems to break away from Josephus' view that Abraham was a founder or mediator of astrology (*A.J.* 1.1161–1168), and instead of this the assertion is made here and elsewhere in Philo that astrology as such leads away from authentic knowledge of God. See further discussion in Georgi, *Opponents*, 57

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *Abr.* 69ff.; *Decal.* 52–65.

¹⁹⁰ See πολυθέου δόξα in *Opif.* 171 and *QE.* 2.2. See also *QG.* 3.1 for Chaldean doctrine

'knowledge of many' (*Virt.* 213), 'strange laws', and 'monstrous customs' which assign divine honour to 'stones and stocks' and 'lifeless things' (*Virt.* 219).¹⁹¹ Philo considers Abraham's polytheistic acquaintance with the 'many', the 'secondary' and the 'created' as the reason for his total absence of εὐγένεια.¹⁹² The result is an ignorance of 'the One', 'the Primal', 'the Uncreated' and 'the Maker of all'.

3.4.2.3.2. *The Spirit Experience of Abraham and his belief in One God*

Substantive evidence emerges from *Virt.* 212–219 concerning Philo's emphasis on various Spirit experiences of Abraham. The primary reference to the Spirit's activity occurs in *Virt.* 214. According to Philo, Abraham recognises the error of polytheism when he is ἐπιθειάσας¹⁹³ (divinely inspired).¹⁹⁴ The 'divine inspiration' sets Abraham in motion towards nobility¹⁹⁵ whereby he becomes the standard (κανών) of nobility for all proselytes (ἄπασιν ἐπληύταις *Virt.* 219).¹⁹⁶

Abraham's journey is also symbolic in the sense that it becomes a pursuit of 'the One'. Interestingly, even in this symbolic stage the Spirit experience plays an important role. For Philo, Abraham's yearning to know 'the Existent One' (τὸ ὄν) was fanned by the divine oracles (*Virt.* 215).¹⁹⁷ The divine oracles are guiding his steps, and he goes seeking for 'the One' until he receives clearer vision (φαντασία) of his existence and providence. Thus Abraham is properly spoken of as the first to believe (πιστεῦσαι) in God (cf. Gen. 15.6), for he was the first to grasp a firm and unswerving conception that there is one Cause above all (*Virt.* 216). Such

¹⁹¹ Philo's contempt is registered against the worship of lifeless images in *Spec.* 1.21; *Decal.* 66, *Mos.* 2.205; *Cont.* 7; *Spec.* 1.28–29.

¹⁹² According to Philo, (*Spec.* 1.19–20) the heavenly bodies are not gods, but are subordinate rulers. "And if anyone renders the worship due to the Eternal, the Creator, to a created being and one later in time, he must stand recorded as infatuated and guilty of impiety in the highest degree."

¹⁹³ Generally ἐπιθειάσας is used for divine revelation. See *Deus.* 4; *Mig.* 84; *Som.* 2.172; *Mos.* 2.259, 263, 272.

¹⁹⁴ The passage seems to echo Philo's conviction reflected elsewhere about the role of the Spirit in the knowledge and conception of God (See *Leg.* 35, 37, *Gig.* 20).

¹⁹⁵ The journey is understood as both literal and historical, since Abraham does leave his native country, his race, and his paternal home. See Philo's reference to proselytes in *Virt.* 102–4; 180; *Spec.* 1.51; *Spec.* 4.178.).

¹⁹⁶ Philo uses ἐπληύτης as a synonym of προσήλυτος (See *Virt.* 102–104), where he changes προσήλυτος (Heb 7ג) in LXX Lev. 19.33–34a twice to ἐπληύτης. Verbeke, *L'evolution de la doctrine du Pneuma*, 251; P. Borgen, 'Jesus Christ, the Reception of the Spirit, and a Cross-National Community', in *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism*, 260–261; Wenk, *Community-Forming Power*, 91.

¹⁹⁷ See *Det.* 67; *Mut.* 202. Philo makes a close link between prophecy and λόγια. In *Ios.* 95 he speaks about interpreters of dreams as 'prophets' who expound θεῖα λόγια. Similarly, in *Mos.* 1.57 people listened to Moses speaking oracular utterances and he grew ἐνεθουσίος and was transfigured into a prophet (See also *Mos.* 1.57; 2.176, 245, 246; *Spec.* 1.146, 188).

knowledge of God bestows outstanding capabilities, gives a royal character, and compels the surroundings to respectful recognition.¹⁹⁸

It is interesting to observe the response of those among whom Abraham settled. According to Philo, people recognised Abraham as king because of the greatness of his soul, and his spirit was the spirit of a king.¹⁹⁹ The reason is that Abraham sought something, 'another more august', and was inspired.

Further whenever Abraham became possessed (κατασχεθείη), everything about him changed into something better. His physical body was transformed, especially eyes, complexion, stature, carriage, movements, and voice. The θεῖον πνεῦμα made its lodging in his soul and invested his body with singular beauty, his voice with persuasiveness and his hearers with understandings.²⁰⁰ Philo's conclusion on Abraham's experience is that a lone wanderer without relatives or friends was of the highest nobility who craved kinship with God²⁰¹ and ranked among the prophets (218). Thus, he is the κανὼν of nobility for all proselytes²⁰² who have come to settle in a better land, a commonwealth full of 'vitality' and 'life'.

Thus, it is the Spirit experience, which made Abraham into something that he could not become by himself.²⁰³ True nobility resulted from Abraham's decision to believe in One God with the aid of the Spirit. This experience of the first person of whom it can be said that he believed, is normative for all proselytes.

The purpose of Philo's description of Abraham in *Virt.* 212–219 is apologetic.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ See for Abraham's kingship *Gig.* 64–65; cf. LXX Gen. 23.8–9, 13. See F. Calabi, *The Language and the Law of God, Interpretation and Politics in Philo of Alexandria* (Atlanta, GA.: Scholars Press, 1998).

¹⁹⁹ See discussion on Abraham as predestined ruler according to the criteria of the Hellenistic royal ideology (E.R. Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938] 86–120).

²⁰⁰ In *Mos.* 1.57–59 and 2.272, Philo describes a similar bodily transformation in Moses, who under the influence of inspiration looked like a prophet (J.R. Levison, 'Inspiration and the Divine Spirit in the Writings of Philo Judaeus', *JSJ* 26 [1995] 314–315). See also Levison, *Spirit in the First Century Judaism*, 92.

²⁰¹ It is interesting to note that while interpreting Gen. 1.26 and 2.7 in *Opif.* 69ff, 134ff. and *QG.* 2.62 Philo interprets kinship as existing between the highest part of νοῦς and λογος See W.E. Helleman, 'Philo on Deification and Assimilation to God', *SPA* 2 (1990) 64–65.

²⁰² See *Somn.* 1.160; *Mos.* 1.7; *Virt.* 219.

²⁰³ Georgi, *Opponents*, 58, considers the Philonic Abraham as a pneumatic. Sandmel (*Philo's Place in Judaism*), 105 while treating *Virt.* 212ff. fails to recognise the role of the Spirit in the passage.

²⁰⁴ When compared with the picture of Abraham in contemporary literature, Philo's presentation here in this passage seems to be unique. In most of these texts Abraham is exalted as the perfect model of Torah observance, (*Sir.* 44.19; *Jub.* 12.1–14; 15.1, 2; 16.20, 26; 17.17–18; 23.10; 1 Macc. 2.50–52; *T. Levi.* 9.1–14; *T. Benj.* 10.4; *T. Abr.* 17; 2; *Bar.* 57.1–3; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8) his faithfulness at times of testing (*Sir.* 44.19; *Jub.* 17.17–18; 19.8; 1 Macc. 2.25; *Jdt.* 8.25); his circumcision (*Sir.* 44.20; 1 Macc. 2.52 his rejection of idolatry, *Jub.* 12.1–4; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8) and his hospitality (*T. Abr.* 17).

Philo, by describing the genesis of the Jewish people as coinciding with the rejection of star worship and the discovery of monotheism, both embodied in the conversion of Abraham, the possibility is open to all Gentiles trapped in the same astrological web to become believers of the one God. For Philo the designation “Jewish people”, consequently, does not refer simply to his fellow-Jews but to all who hold the right belief of God regardless of ethnicity.²⁰⁵ Gentiles can become “Jewish” by means of adherence to monotheism.²⁰⁶ Philo shows that it was possible to regard the reception and the indwelling of the Spirit as a phenomenon in the life of the Jewish community as the people of God. Moreover, it is the indwelling of the Spirit that makes it possible for proselytes to be part of the people of God.

3.4.2.4 Summary

For Philo, the divine πνεῦμα is not an eschatological entity, but rather a present reality available to him and to his contemporaries.²⁰⁷ By divine grace a person participates in the divine πνεῦμα at creation and it is for him the principle of life as well as of reason. The πνεῦμα is also for Philo a charismatic prophetic spirit, which abides with all οἱ ἄστέροι. In both cases, the permanency of the divine πνεῦμα is not guaranteed for everyone, because of his or her moral status. Thus the nature of reception is an overlapping concept. Through Abraham’s story, Philo presents the model for all proselytes to be open to the indwelling of the Spirit that makes it possible for proselytes to belong to the people of God.

3.5. Conclusion to Part 2

As noted in Chapter 2, the future anticipation of the Spirit upon the people of God emerged as an exilic and postexilic phenomenon. However, two texts (Isa. 44.1–5; Joel 3.1–5), come close to saying Gentiles will be included in the future

Interestingly all receive special attention and elaboration as marks of his perfect righteousness which is depicted within the context of God's election and covenant. Abraham's righteousness is viewed as a cause for blessing to Abraham and his descendants (Sir. 44.21; *T. Abr.* 17, 18). Only in Sir. 44.21 is any hope extended to the Gentiles on the basis of the Abrahamic covenant. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* express universalist hope for the nations (*T. Levi.* 2.11; 4.4; 18.9; *T. Ash.* 7.3; *T. Benj.* 9.2; 10.5, 8–10; *T. Dan.* 6.7; *T. Naph.* 8.3,6). The essential Jewish elements of the covenant and the relation to Abraham to the Mosaic law, are not featured. See Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism*, 75–76; Georgi, *Opponents*, 53. Interestingly, Josephus presents Abraham with virtues which would make him attractive in the Hellenistic world (*Ant.* 1.161–168). The essential Jewish elements of the covenant and the relation to Abraham to the Mosaic law, are not featured. See Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism*, 75–76; Georgi, *Opponents*, 53

²⁰⁵ Georgi, *Opponents*, 56. See also Birnbaum *Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought*, 61–127 for detailed discussion.

²⁰⁶ Georgi, *Opponents*, 58.

²⁰⁷ In *Somn.* 2.251–52 he himself participates in the Spirit experience.

promise of YHWH's Spirit. What is surprising is that in Isa. 44.1–5 and Joel 3.1–5, when God pours out his Spirit upon the people of God, Gentiles will be attracted towards Zion and become part of the soteriological community. However, there are no references which imply that the Gentiles will receive the Spirit in the age to come. The wider belief regarding the eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles presumably influenced such a thought.

Marie Isaacs makes two distinctive observations regarding the period of our discussion. First, Isaacs has argued that the Jewish Diaspora writers 'were not primarily orientated towards eschatological thinking', arguing that the Spirit was more often associated with the past than with the future activity of God.²⁰⁸ Second, she also draws a similar conclusion about the place of the Spirit in the thought of Palestinian Judaism. According to her, the role played by the Spirit in the eschatological thinking of Palestinian Judaism is minor.²⁰⁹

With regard to the first argument, one may agree partially with Isaacs, that Philo was not oriented towards eschatological thinking. However, we have noted a number of passages from Philo (*Her.* 259; *Gig.* 22; 47, 53, 55), which suggest the Spirit was not limited to the past but is available in the present. For Pseudo-Solomon (1.4–7; 7.7; 7.25; 9.18) the present reality of pneumatic wisdom is significant for future salvation. Both Philo and Pseudo-Solomon emphasise the present availability of the Spirit to both Jews and Gentiles. It is important to observe that unlike sectarian Jewish groups in Palestine, the Diaspora writers were engaged in accommodating and reinterpreting Israelite faith in the light of their context, by universalising various aspects of Jewish faith and so presenting it more attractively to their pagan neighbours.

Regarding the second conclusion, eschatological anticipation of the Spirit was not completely absent in the period we are discussing. There existed many and various strands of thought concerning the future bestowal of the Spirit. One consistent thought of the post-biblical sectarian Jewish literature was the explicit reference to the anticipations of the Spirit as in Ezek. 36.26–27, Joel 3.1 and Isa. 44.3. These Spirit anticipatory texts became valid descriptions for the age to come. The experience of the Spirit in the past fell short of the complete fulfillment of these texts, and writers of this period continue to announce God's promise of the Spirit in

²⁰⁸ Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 82. Although Isaacs notes that Philo still thought of the Spirit as 'a permanent principle at work in the present, both in man and in the universe'.

²⁰⁹ Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 84.

the imminent future. They mourn the present situation of lawlessness and desire to see the fulfillment of the bestowal of the Spirit upon their community in the future so that it would purify the covenant community and enable them to follow God's commandments forever.

In Qumran circles eschatological awareness was so high that one can rightly speak about a "realized Spirit eschatology"; the events of the end were perceived to have already begun to happen, particularly when the Spirit promised in Ezekiel, Isaiah and Joel was taken to have been received with their joining of the eschatological community.

It is surprising to see that both in the Hebrew scripture and the post-biblical literature anticipation of Spirit upon the Gentiles is almost non-existent, and that the promise of the Spirit is on the people, only when they become members of the community of God.

PART 3

PAUL'S CONVICTIONAL BACKGROUND REGARDING THE OUTPOURING OF THE SPIRIT AND THE GENTILES

Introduction to Part 3

The previous chapters examined evidence for the expectation of the bestowal of the Spirit upon the Gentiles in the age to come, in both Hebrew Scriptures and post-biblical literature. The majority of texts indicated that such a concept is rare, and that it is only the covenant community to which the promise is clearly given. However, it is argued that at least two texts anticipated that Gentiles would become part of YHWH's covenant community when YHWH pours out the Spirit as part of the restoration of Israel.

In chapter 3 we have traced various interpretative traditions concerning the anticipation of the Spirit in the age to come. The study demonstrated that one strand was prominent in a number of documents, where the writers were negative about their contemporary situation of lawlessness and desired a bestowal of the Spirit upon their community in the future so that the Spirit would purify them and bring them in obedience to God's statutes. However, Qumran literature indicates that God has already poured the Spirit of purification upon the community. It was also pointed out that the apologetic stream of post-biblical Judaism tends to maintain a broader interpretation of the availability of the Spirit.

While placing Paul's understanding of the significance of the promise of the eschatological Spirit against and within these traditions, the objective of this section is to provide a further background, i.e., Paul's pre-Christian convictions about the Spirit, particularly as they evolved from his own self-perception as a Pharisee and persecutor, an aspect that past scholarship has neglected.

Past scholarly treatments of Paul's theology of the Spirit have worked largely without regard to any knowledge of the life of Paul, and wholly without regard to his pre-Christian background as a Pharisee or persecutor. Thus Hermann Gunkel,¹ arguing against the idealistic² and rationalistic³ exegetical approaches to New

¹ Gunkel, *Influence*.

² F.C. Baur, *Paul: His Life and Work. His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine: A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity* (trans. A. Menzies; London; Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1875).

Testament Pneumatology, emphasises that the study of πνεῦμα has to begin by investigating the effects of the Spirit. However, for Gunkel the question of Paul's background experiences, whether Jewish or Hellenistic, 'cannot be decided *a priori*'. For him what is important is Paul's awareness of the ideas concerning the πνεῦμα which were prevalent in the early Christian communities, which then have to be checked as to whether or not Paul approved them; and whether on this basis 'an understanding of his own teaching is to be gained'.⁴ Gunkel ultimately did not explain what questions the pre-Christian Paul might have brought along with him when testing the ideas of πνεῦμα in the *Urgemeinde*.

A more recent example is F.W. Horn who places Paul in a developmental schema.⁵ For Horn, claims of possessing the Spirit are primarily a theoretical conclusion of early Christian theology resulting from the dependence of perception on a mixture of Palestinian and Hellenistic Jewish views of the Spirit. He raises the question 'what was the horizon of *urchristlicher Pneumatologie*?'⁶ and answers it by saying that the early Christian community perceived the resurrection of the dead as a sign of the return of the Spirit. Christ's resurrection led the disciples to believe that the expected Messiah will endow the Spirit upon the elect. Horn further considers Paul's theology of the Spirit as primarily rooted in the Hellenistic community of Antioch, and for him this becomes the matrix for Paul to build his pneumatology.⁷ Thus Paul becomes the next stage in Horn's development scheme.

Clearly, scholars who have attended to the topic of Pauline pneumatology⁸ have not adequately determined how Paul might have come up with his own questions and experience while dealing with the characteristics, role and function of the Holy Spirit in the early church. As a result there is a necessity for clarification of the connections between Paul's biography and his theology of the Spirit.

Can such a clarification on the relationship between Paul's biography and his theology of the Spirit be possible? What can we say about Saul the Pharisee's belief on the Spirit? We cannot know with absolute certainty the answer to these questions since our sources lack sufficient information on the subject (Phil. 3.5; Gal. 1.14). But

³ H.H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch* (Gotha: Friedr. Andr. Perthes, 1878).

⁴ Gunkel, *Influence*, 76.

⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 1992.

⁶ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 89–115.

⁷ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 115.

⁸ Others who show no interest in setting Paul's theology of the Spirit in any kind of biographical context are Schweizer, 'Spirit of Power', 259–278; idem, *TDNT* 6: 389–455; idem, *Holy Spirit*; Fee, *Empowering Presence*.

we can know from Paul's autobiographical statements that he shared a broad range of convictions which reflect features of pre-70 A.D. Pharisaic beliefs⁹ and also of other strands of Second Temple Judaism. Working from such a background we shall seek to answer the above questions from the available sources, particularly Paul's vocabulary and features of Pharisaic belief that we know independently of Paul.

In this section we will attempt to clarify the awareness of the ideas concerning the $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ which emerge from his pre-conversion life. The task is to identify from Paul's autobiographical and Luke's biographical statements his affiliation to the strands of thought available during the time, particularly as a Pharisee in relation to the traditions of the law and as a persecutor of the church. The rationale for utilizing such a possible background is to provide a link between the various strands of expectation of an outpouring of the Spirit in the Hebrew Scriptures, in post-biblical literature, and in Paul himself, which might assist us in elucidating the interrelation between Paul's biography and the origins of his thoughts on the Spirit.

⁹ The complex matters concerning the origin, development, self-designation and character of the Pharisaic movement cannot be taken up in any detail here. The secondary literature is vast: see for example, J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before 70* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1971); idem, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism* (New York: KTAV Publications, 1973); E. Schürer, *The History of Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, rev.edn. 1987) 2.381–203; A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988); J. Kampen, *The Hasideans and the Origins of Pharisaism. A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); D. Goodblatt, 'The Place of the Pharisees in First-century Judaism: The State of the Debate', *JSJ* 20 (1989) 12–30; E.P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah. Five Studies* (London: SCM Press, 1990); idem, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM Press, 1992); S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees. A Composition-critical Study* (Leiden; Brill, 1990); G. Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995).

Chapter 4

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN PAUL, THE PHARISEE AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

4.1. Introduction

The Jewish identity of the Apostle has been increasingly recognised in the last few decades.¹ Consequently, Paul's pre-Christian Jewish identity as a Pharisee has become important to our inquiry especially for understanding the range of attitudes about the Holy Spirit which were familiar to Paul and within which both his pre-Christian life and the Damascus experience took place.

In the light of this recent interest, we must first examine Paul's account of his pre-Christian conviction as a Pharisee – his 'zeal' for the law and traditions and then the implications of such a conviction in relation to his possible views on the Holy Spirit and the Gentiles. While acknowledging the difficulty in getting back to the mind of Saul the Pharisee, our attempt in this section will be to speculate on the likely beliefs of a zealous pre-70 A.D. Pharisee. Within such parameters the juxtaposition of Paul's Pharisaic convictions and the expectation of the Spirit may inform our inquiry into Paul's initial thoughts on the Spirit and help us to narrow down our attempts to understand his pre-Christian insights on the Holy Spirit.

4.2. Pre-Christian Paul, the Pharisee

There is a tension within the scholarly community regarding the autobiographical (Gal. 1.13–14; Phil. 3.5) as well as the biographical (Acts 16.37; 21.39; 22.25; 23.6; 25.11; 26.5) references to Paul's origins in Tarsus, and his affiliation with the Pharisaic movement.

This has resulted from the scholarship of a previous generation which postulated a pure, Torah-centered Judaism for Palestine, and a syncretistic Hellenistic Judaism of

¹ See H.J. Schoeps, *Paul, The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961); W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980); E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism, A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); J.D.G. Dunn, 'The New Perspective on Paul', *BJRL* 65 (1983) 95–122; idem, 'Paul: Apostate or Apostle of Israel?', *ZNW* 89 (1998) 256–71; M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991); idem, *Between Jesus and Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) 78–96; A.F. Segal, *Paul the Convert. The Apostate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); K.W. Niebuhr, *Heidenapostel aus Israel. Die Jüdische Identität des Paulus nach ihrer Darstellung in seinen Briefen* (WUNT 62; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992).

the Diaspora.² However, recent scholarship has warned us about this false dichotomy.³ It is not the intention of this study to revive the old debate about the location of Paul's upbringing, Tarsus⁴ or Jerusalem,⁵ but rather to highlight the fact that such assumptions can lead us to diverse conclusions on Paul's understanding of the Spirit. Importantly, our interest lies in Paul's self-perception as a Pharisee (Phil. 3.5; Gal. 1.14; cf. 2 Cor. 11.22;), and in gaining insights into his expectation of the Spirit in line with the wider perception in the post-biblical period.

4.2.1. *The Tarsus Factor*

The 'History of Religions' school emphasised a Hellenised approach to Paul's perception of the Spirit. The assumption is based on Paul's upbringing in a Hellenistic environment, particularly in Tarsus, and its consequent influence on him and his theology.⁶ Thus R.B. Hoyle states, "Paul came of a family settled in Tarsus which may be taken as typical of Jewish families in the Diaspora subjected to Hellenistic influences."⁷ Further, in his chapter on 'The Influence of Hellenistic Judaism on Paul's view of the Spirit', Hoyle draws conclusions from Stoic and Hellenistic Mystery religion to prove his thesis.⁸

² W. Heitmüller, 'Zum Problem Paulus und Jesus', *ZNW* 13 (1912) 320–37; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos, A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (Nashville: Abington Press, 1970); R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (vol.1; trans. K. Grobel; New York: Scribner's, 1951) 87.

³ M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period* (2 vols.; trans. J. Bowden London: SCM Press, 1974); idem, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians*, 1980; L.H. Feldman, 'How Much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine', *HUCA* 57 (1986) 83–111. In Feldman's view, although Hellenistic elements were extensive, they were essentially superficial and did not profoundly affect the nature of Judaism. Feldman frequently minimizes the evidence of Hengel. See also J.N. Sevenster, *Do you know Greek? How Much Greek could the First Jewish Christians Have Known* (SNT 19; Leiden: Brill, 1968). It is important to recognise that there is no 'either-or' but a complex interaction of influences on many levels. See recent discussions in T. Engberg-Pederson (ed.), *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (Louisville, KY.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).

⁴ For those who argue for Tarsus influence on Paul's life, see W.M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1920); N. Turner (*Turner Grammatical Insights into the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963); C.J. Roetzel, *Paul – The Man and the Myth* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1998) 11–24.

⁵ W.C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth* (Sparsa Collecta I.; Leiden: Brill, 1973, 259–320); Hengel, *Pre Christian Paul*, 18–39.

⁶ Those who have argued for a Hellenistic influence have interpreted the theology of Spirit in Paul along the lines of Stoicism and Mystery Religions. See R. Reitzenstein (*Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen: nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1920), who appears to have been the first to call attention to the Spirit in the Mystery Religions. Other examples include Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*; J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity* (vol.2, London: Macmillan & Co., 1937) 465. For criticism of the above positions see Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 182–200.

⁷ R.B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927) 211–265.

⁸ Hoyle, *Holy Spirit*, 211–265.

It is enticing to bring in cultural and religious–historical affiliations from Tarsus to explain Paul’s pneumatology; nevertheless, it is important to recognise that: a) only Luke gives us any information about Paul’s Tarsus upbringing;⁹ b) it is difficult to argue what could have been so very particular about the mental environment of Paul in Tarsus that it would have influenced his life more than the milieu of any other place (Syria, or Jerusalem);¹⁰ c) we may agree with many scholars that Paul was born in Tarsus,¹¹ but then suppose that he later developed close ties with Jerusalem;¹² that Paul was indeed a Diaspora Jew, and that this accounts for his exposure to Hellenism, but that he grew up as a child in a Hellenistic Jewish house in Jerusalem,¹³ his parents, like other Jewish Diasporians, having returned to their mother country (Acts 23.16).¹⁴

4.2.2. Paul’s Self perception as a Pharisee

While emphasising his Jewishness, Paul refers to himself as a member of the Pharisaic group (Phil. 3.5; cf. Gal. 1.13–14; 2 Cor. 11.22).¹⁵ He explains his credentials in terms of *progressing* (προέκοπτον) in Judaism beyond many of his own age among his people (Gal. 1.14), his *zeal* (ζήλος) for the “traditions of the forefathers” (Gal. 1.14), and his *zeal* (ζήλος again) to persecute the church (Phil. 3.5–6); and as to righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) under law, he claims to have been blameless (Phil. 3.5–6). Luke too supports Paul’s testimony describing him as a Pharisee (Acts 23.6; 26.5) who was brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of the Pharisee Gamaliel (Acts 22.3; cf. 5.34),¹⁶ and as believing in the resurrection of the dead (Acts 23.8). The use of the term

⁹ See Acts 21.39; 22.3; cf. Acts 9.11, 9.30; 11.25.

¹⁰ We recognise that, although Tarsus and its surrounding areas had some influence on Paul, we should be careful not to ascribe to them more influence on his life than Judea and Galilee.

¹¹ van Unnik, ‘Once Again: Tarsus and Jerusalem’, in *Sparsa Collecta I*, 321–327, reaches the conclusion that, “Paul was born in Tarsus, it was in Jerusalem that he received his upbringing in the parental home, just as it was in Jerusalem that he received his later schooling for the rabbinate”. His argument is built on three participial usages (γεγεννημένος, ἀνατεθραμμένος, πεπαιδευμένος).

¹² W.L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: CUP) 124, n.66. Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 38, thinks that Paul was more profoundly influenced by Jerusalem than by Tarsus.

¹³ Especially, Paul’s use of Hellenistic idioms, preference for the Septuagint, his familiarity with Stoicism, and his acquaintance with Hellenistic literary styles. See discussions in J.M. O’Connor, *Paul, A Critical Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 32–51.

¹⁴ K. Haacker, *Paulus. Der Werdegang eines Apostels* (SBS 171; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997) 50–59.

¹⁵ Among the Pauline literature, only in Phil. 3.5 do we find Paul himself claiming an association with Pharisaism. In Gal. 1.14 Paul makes no mention of his Pharisaism. Although 1 Tim. 1.12–17 can be regarded as a statement from Paul, it is located in a letter which a majority of scholars doubt that Paul wrote.

¹⁶ See discussions in Haacker, *Paulus*, 54–55.

ἀκριβεία, 'strictness' (Acts 22.3; 26.5), in Luke's description of a Pharisee is particularly notable.¹⁷

Paul's combination of terminology,¹⁸ — the verb προέκόπτω, the noun form ζῆλος and — the Lukan use of ἀκριβεία, is particularly helpful in elucidating Paul's pre-Christian background.¹⁹

The term προκόπτω (Gal. 1.14 cf. 1 Tim. 4.15), originally a nautical term "to make headway in spite of blows", came to connote in the philosophical and religious writings of the Hellenistic world "the process of moral and spiritual development" in an individual.²⁰ It is used in this way by Josephus of his own "great progress in education" (μεγάλην παιδείας προύκοπτον – *Life* 8; cf. Lk. 2:52; 1QS I.14). The imperfect form προέκοπτον (Gal. 1.14) stresses the idea of a continuing process of moral and spiritual development. Paul uses the term to refer to his progress in Judaism beyond many of his contemporaries.²¹

Although Paul himself does not use the term ἀκριβεία in his letters, it is both a characteristic feature of Pharisaism,²² and an idea clearly suggested by Paul's descriptions of himself in Phil. 3.6 and Gal. 1.13–14. In Josephus, ἀκριβεία is used in relation to Pharisaic dedication and to their most careful exposition of the law (*J.W.* 1.5; 110; 2.8, 162; *Ant.* 17.41; *Life* 38, 191).²³ Similarly, Luke refers to Paul in Acts 22.3 as having been educated κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν at the feet of Gamaliel.

The term ζῆλος is used to describe Paul's 'zeal for God' (Acts 22.3) and 'zeal for the traditions of the fathers' (Gal. 1.14).²⁴ Various interpretations have been put

¹⁷ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 40.

¹⁸ See discussions in Betz, *Galatians*; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (BNTC; London: Black, 1993); E. de W. Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1921); R.Y.K. Fung, *The Epistle to the Galatians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988); R.N. Longenecker, *Galatians* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1990)

¹⁹ J.T. Sanders, 'Paul's "Autobiographical" Statements in Galatians 1–2', *JBL* 85 (1966) 335–43.

²⁰ G. Stählin, 'προκοπή, προκόπτω', *TDNT* 6: 704–707.

²¹ Dunn, *Galatians*, 59–61; idem, 'Pharisees, Sinners, and Jesus', in *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (London: SPCK, 1990) 67; O'Connor, *Paul*, 60–61.

²² A.I. Baumgarten, 'The Name of the Pharisees', *JBL* 102 [1983] 411–428; Dunn, *Galatians*, 59–61; Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 40.

²³ Josephus uses the word ἀκριβεία to refer to the excellence of different things. See *J.W.* 1.2, 6, 9; 6.410; 7.99; *Ant.* 8.21. Josephus also uses ἀκριβεία and related words for other groups. See *Ap.* 2.16. Josephus even applies the term to himself in *Life*.9. See discussion in S.J. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1979) 144.

²⁴ While interpretations vary, the significance of zeal for understanding Paul's background as a Pharisee is recognised by a number of scholars: J. Dupont, 'The Conversion of Paul and Its Influence on His Understanding of Salvation by Faith', W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (eds.), *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 183–185; J.D.G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways* (London: SCM Press, 1991) 120–122; Ulrich Wilckens, 'Zur Entwicklung des Paulinischen Gesetzverständnis',

forward. a) The term is used to describe Paul's membership in a Zealot party.²⁵ b) It relates Paul to an emphasis on Maccabean zeal for the Law, which could inspire the killing of offenders against the Law, who polluted the land.²⁶ c) ζήλος could also denote intense loyalty to the Law, and a defence of it unrelated to violence and killing (cf. 1QS 4.4; 9.23; 1QH 14.14; *T. Ash.* 4.5). In Gal. 1.14 Paul defines the nature of his 'zeal' as not so much political but expressive of loyalty to the 'traditions of the fathers', and particularly to the teachings and practices developed in the Pharisaic traditions of Second Temple Judaism.

There is no doubt that employment of the term in Paul's autobiographical and biographic references indicates his affiliation with the Pharisees.²⁷ However, it is still important to recognise that even if these terms were often Pharisee-specific, they also embraced the wider interests of Judaism in general.

4.3. The Spirit and the Student of Torah

Given, then, that Paul was a Pharisee before he became a Christian, can we deduce from what we know of pre-70 Pharisaic aspects of that understanding of the Spirit which might shed light on Paul's pre-Christian understanding, the language he used to

NTS 28 (1982) 154; K. Haacker, 'Die Berufung des Verfolgers und die Rechtfertigung des Gottlosen', *ThBei* 6 (1975) 1-19; Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 70; idem, *The Zealots, Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 AD* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989) 146-228; T.L. Donaldson 'Zealot and Convert: the Origins of Paul's Christ Torah Antithesis', *CBQ* 51 (1989) 672-674; idem, *Paul*, 285-286.

²⁵ J.B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes and Dissertations* (London: MacMillan, 1896) 81ff., and recently J. Taylor, 'Why did Paul persecute the church?', G.N. Stanton & G.G. Stroumsa (ed.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998) 99-120. This is difficult to prove, though, since no such 'party' existed in his day - see discussions in D.M. Rhoads, *Israel in Revolution 6-74 CE: A Political History Based on the Writings of Josephus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976).

²⁶ The term 'zeal' can be understood on the model of Phinehas, who slew the Israelite and the Midianite woman whom he had brought with him into the congregation of Israel (Num. 25.10-13; cf. Sir. 45.23-24; 1 Macc. 2.54; 4 Macc. 18.12. See other examples: Simeon and Levi (Gen. 34; Jth.9.4; *Jub.* 30.5-20) Elijah (Sir. 48.2; 1 Macc. 2.58) and the Maccabees (1 Macc. 2.19-27, 50, 58; 2 Macc. 4.2; Josephus *Ant.* 12.271), and see also discussions in Hengel, *Zealots*, 1989); W.R. Farmer, *The Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956; M.R. Fairchild, 'Paul's Pre-Christian Zealot Associations: A Re-examination of Gal. 1.14 and Acts 22.3', *NTS* 45 (1999) 514-32; S.A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch. Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* (SNTSMS 114; Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

²⁷ Some scholars (D. Daube, *Civil Disobedience in Antiquity* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972] 84ff.; Neusner, *From Politics to Piety*) have argued that Pharisaism, by the time of Paul, had probably become more pacific and had shed its earlier political interest; while others (L.H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993); M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytising in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); J.C. Paget, ('Jewish Proselytism at the Time of Christian Origins: Chimera or Reality?', *JSNT* 62 [1996] 65-103) refer to them as being highly mission oriented.

describe his pre-Christian zeal and particularly in his expectations regarding the Spirit.²⁸

Regarding the nature of the Spirit anticipation during the period of our concern, Hengel has argued that the charismatic interpretation of Scripture²⁹ was a characteristic of prophecy in the Judaism of the Hellenistic and Roman period. According to him, prophecy during the first century CE had two other characteristics: the eschatological possession of the Spirit,³⁰ and a prophetic interpretation of historical and political events.³¹ For Hengel, the Pharisees experienced the above-mentioned characteristics along with other sectarians, and he refers to passages like *J.W.* 3.352; 399–408 and *jTaan.* 68d, 49f. to exemplify Pharisaic interpretation of scripture; to *Ant.* 17.43ff.; *tPes.* 4.2 to highlight Pharisaic ideas on the possession of Spirit, and to *Ant.* 14.174ff. to point out Pharisaic activity in prophecy.³² It is no doubt probable that various deviant groups did claim Spirit possession or were involved in charismatic interpretations of Scripture, but there is little in any of the above passages to provide any clear indication about the anticipations of the Spirit that might have circulated in Pharisaic circles.³³

A significant passage that informs Paul's self-description in Phil. 3.5–6 and Gal. 1.14 (cf. Acts 22.3) is found in Ben Sira. All three of the key words *προκόπτω*, *ζῆλος* and *ἀκριβεια* occur in the last chapter of the Book of Ben Sira.³⁴ In his autobiographical conclusion (Sir. 51.13–30),³⁵ Ben Sira tells how he kept seeking Wisdom from his youth, resolving to tread her paths without relenting (Sir. 51.13–19).

²⁸ It is important for us to note here that the earlier NT scholarship (Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* [New York: Scribner's, 1971] emphasised the Jewish belief in the NT era about the withdrawal of the Spirit from Israel. Recently, Levison ('Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel?', 35–57) demonstrated that such an argument is based on poorly interpreted consensus which ignores the literary context of *t.Sotah* 13.2–4, which according to him "is an affirmation that with the presence once again of the righteous in the first century A.D., the Holy Spirit could reappear following its temporary withdrawal after the death of the latter prophets." 'Holy Spirit' *DNTB*, 509.

²⁹ Examples include, Dan. 9.2's reinterpretation of Jer. 25.11; 1 Cor. 2.13 (Hengel, *Zealots*, 234–35).

³⁰ Hengel quote the examples from 1QpHab. 2.5; 9.6; CD 4.4; 6.11; 1QSa 1.1 and Acts 2.17ff; 8.15ff.; Rom. 5.5; 8; Gal. 3.2. Josephus speaks of prophetic activity among the Essenes during the period (*Ant.* 13.311–13; 15.373–79; 17.345–48). The experience of Qumran is attested by 1QS 4.2–8, 20.26; 1QH 12.11–12 (Hengel, *Zealots*, 235–36).

³¹ For example, *J.W.* 1.78; 2.112 (Hengel, *Zealots*, 236).

³² Hengel, *Zealots*, 237.

³³ D.E. Aune, ('Charismatic Exegesis in the Early Judaism and Early Christianity', J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* [JSPSS 14; Sheffield; JSOT Press, 1993] 126–150) makes a similar criticism against Hengel's interpretation of Zealot prophecies.

³⁴ Pate, *Reverse of the Curse*, 134.

³⁵ Scholars have doubted the originality of 51.13–28. See A.A. Di Lella, *Conservative and Progressive Theology: Sirach and Wisdom*. *CBQ* 28 (1966) 101–105; P.W. Skehan, 'The Acrostic Poem in Sirach 51:13–30', *HTR* 64 (1971): 387–400. However, one needs to recognise that the poem has several points of contact with the rest of Ben Sira's book, and must at least be regarded as representative of the kind of wisdom circles in which Ben Sira moved (Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 53).

In Sir. 51.17–18 the Torah/Wisdom teacher exclaims that he made *progress* (προκοπή) in wisdom and has been *zealous* (ἐζήλωσα) to follow her. Similarly in v.19 the author portrays himself as one who *pursues* (διηκριβασάμην) Wisdom by strictly following the Mosaic Law.

Building on this, we may be able to find a correlation between pre-Christian Paul and the anticipation of the Spirit. Sir. 39.1–11 provides a lead into our discussion. Ben Sira's self-conscious reflection upon his own scribal calling as the one 'who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High' (Sir. 39.1) indicates the role of the Spirit in the process.

In 38.24–39–11 Ben Sira compares the long periods of time that the γραμματεὺς³⁶ has for meditation (as the one who studies Torah), with the ceaseless demands made on the time of farmers, artisans, smiths and potters (Sir. 38.24–30). Though the latter are not asked to play a part in councils and public assemblies, or to be judges, instructors or rulers, their work is nonetheless essential for the maintenance of the life of the world (vv.31–34). The scribe who devotes himself to studying Torah and combines this with the exploration of other ancient modes of wisdom, searching out truth and illuminating what is obscure, is an adviser to rulers, and enriches his understanding by travel and by diligent prayer and reflection (cf. Sir. 6.18; 8.8).

However, in Sir. 39.5 the author emphasises the need for 'prayer' (προσευχη) and 'supplication' (δεηθήεσται) for the reception of wisdom. He then points toward the role of the Spirit as the 'spirit of understanding' (πνεῦμα συνέσεως) in the experience of the Torah student. Here the author brings in the notion of divine inspiration that comes through the spirit of understanding as sent from God. As a result the scribe "pours forth (ὀμβρέω – lit. rains) the words of Wisdom" (Sir. 39.6; 50.27),³⁷ and "meditates on God's secrets;" he "reveals instruction in his teaching" and "glories in the law of God's covenant" (Sir. 39–7–8).³⁸ A transition happens to the one who

³⁶ See N. Hillyer, 'Scribe', *NIDNTT* 3:477–82; J. Jeremias, 'γραμματεὺς', *TDNT* 1: 740–42; G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927–30) 1:37–47.

³⁷ It is interesting to note that ὀμβρέω is used to explain the outpouring of the sage's wisdom – only when the Spirit of understanding comes upon the student of Torah is he able to pour out wisdom (39.6; 50.27). The traditional prophetic Spirit-anticipatory vocabulary is used (ἐκχεῶ, cf. Joel 3.1–5) in 24.33.

³⁸ Scholars have noted a hierarchy in the anticipation of wisdom upon people. Davis (*Wisdom*, 16–24) argues for three levels or stages of sapiential achievement. First, those who engaged in traditional vocations attain the lowest level of wisdom. Second, a higher degree of wisdom is realised by the scribe who devotes himself to the study and practice of the Torah; and third, the highest level and very culmination of sapiential achievement is obtained when God graciously gives the Spirit. A.R. Brown,

devotes himself to studying the Torah³⁹ of the Most High (Sir. 38.34), the Prophets (Sir. 39.1), and the parables and proverbs in the Writings (Sir. 39.2–3): one who previously has been a seeker after Wisdom now becomes her possessor (Sir. 39.7ff).⁴⁰ For Ben Sira, it is the πνεῦμα συνέσεως that makes the difference.⁴¹

Thus Ben Sira, self-consciously a teacher,⁴² having made progress (προκοπή) and been both 'zealous' (ζήλος) and 'strict' (ἀκριβεια) in his conduct, gained the 'prize possession' of Wisdom/Torah⁴³ and now functions as an intermediary between Wisdom and the people.⁴⁴ The sage now pours out instruction. He encourages and exhorts people to seek (Sir. 4.11,12 – ζητέω), to obey (Sir. 4.15 – υπακούω) and to listen to Wisdom (4.15 – πείθω), particularly through the study of Torah in the teaching of the sage (Sir. 3.1; 6.23; 23.7; 31.22; 39.13; 51.28). The reward is that Wisdom will bring divine blessing and a share in the future when God calls to account the nations of the world (Sir. 4.15).

The idea here is not that in the future the Torah teacher will become an inspired interpreter but that the Spirit of God is providing the abilities of wisdom in the present;

(The Cross and Human Transformation: Paul's Apocalyptic Word in 1 Corinthians [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995] 38–39) contends that the scribe in general is the person in whom the creational endowment of wisdom comes to full fruition, whereas others attain only a limited degree of wisdom. See also J. Liesen, Full of Praise: An Exegetical Study of Sir 39, 12–35 (JSJSS 64; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 64.

³⁹ Wisdom is necessarily linked to the study of the Torah; study, meditation, and observance of Torah lead to wisdom (1.26; 6.37; 15.1; 21.11). See Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 69–79. Davis, *Wisdom*, 10–16.

⁴⁰ For example Exod. 28.3 (Bezaleel); 35.31; Deut. 34.9 (Joshua); Isa. 11.2. (messianic figure). See Rylaarsdam, *Revelation*, 99–118; J. Marböck, in M. Gilbert (ed.), *La Sagesse de L'Ancien Testament* (Leuven: Université, 1979) 308; Davis *Wisdom*, 22–23.

⁴¹ It is interesting to note the parallels between Ben Sira's reference to the calling of the student of Torah and his own autobiography. He seeks (ζητέω 39.1, 3 = 51.14, 21) wisdom in prayer (προσευχή 39.5, 6 = 51.13). His search for wisdom leads him to a way of life and instruction (παιδεία 39.8 = 51.16, 23 cf. 51.26, 28) according to the law (39.1 = 51.16). The sage made progress in Wisdom/Torah and earnestly commits himself to live accordingly. Having 'gained a prize possession' (through the Spirit 39.6) the writer invites others to learn wisdom through his instruction (39.8–11 = 51.23–30).

⁴² See discussion by J. Liesen, 'Strategical Self-References in Ben Sira', in N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen (eds.), *Treasures of Wisdom. Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (BETL 143; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999) 63–74.

⁴³ The identification of Wisdom and Torah is made elsewhere in Sirach, though less forcefully (1.11–30; 6.32–37; 15.1; 19.20; 21.6; 23.27); see G.T. Sheppard, 'Wisdom and Torah: The Interpretation of Deuteronomy Underlying Sirach 24.23', in G.A. Tuttle (ed.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978) 166–76.

⁴⁴ A possible context for this would be a 'house of instruction' (οἶκος παιδείας) – many scholars acknowledge the presence of the institution of *bêt midrash* in Jerusalem during Sirach's time. Collins (*Jewish Wisdom*, 38) has argued that the reference is to the kind of situation in Prov. 1–9, where a school is the context of the relationship between a teacher and some number of students who are not his children. See discussions in J.L. Crenshaw, 'Education in Ancient Israel', *JBL* 105 (1985) 601; E.W. Heaton, *The School Tradition of the Old Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 1994) 1–23.

that is what places the sage above all the other artisans.⁴⁵ This reflects the general trend in Second Temple Judaism concerning the emerging leadership of Torah teachers. It is possible to argue that Paul's autobiographical statements in Philippians and Galatians, and even Luke's biography in Acts, have links to this description of the characteristics and role of a Torah/Wisdom teacher.⁴⁶

4.3.1. *The Spirit and the Interpretation of Torah*

The notion that the Spirit of God will enable the Torah teacher is very much in line with the Second Temple period's awareness that divine enlightenment,⁴⁷ particularly by the Spirit of God, is necessary for the study of Torah; and that someone who was filled with the Spirit really could adequately interpret the words of Holy Scripture which were inspired by God.⁴⁸

The association of the Spirit with the ability to interpret the Scripture⁴⁹ is implied in several texts from the Qumran literature (IQS 8.16⁵⁰; IQH 20.12 = 4Q427 f8ii:8). In the Thanksgiving Hymns of the community, the author presents himself as the persecuted and exiled leader. He regards that the community is totally dependent on his leadership. Although the author recognizes that his leadership is a matter of controversy, he makes claims to authority for the teaching which he had received under divine inspiration,

⁴⁵ J.L. Crenshaw ('The Book of Sirach: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections', *NIB*, 5: 813) connects the usage 'spirit of understanding' (39.6) to that of the Davidic ruler of Isa. 11.2. Such a notion is, however, rather remote from the present passage.

⁴⁶ Though Paul does not, in fact, use the phrase πνεῦμα συνέσεως in his letters, we may discern Ben Sira's influence on Paul in 1 Cor. 2.6ff.. Paul presents the Spirit here as a source for divine wisdom, though he ignores its links with Torah. Paul affirms that 'God has revealed to us through the Spirit', 'things' that were formerly hidden to 'them' have now been revealed to 'us' (cf. Sir. 39.7–8). The relationship of Paul's past life with Ben Sira's description of his own can be traced further in his usage of words like σοφός and γραμματεὺς (Sir. 51.13, and see parallel usage in 1 Cor. 1.20) and παιδευτήs (Sir. 51.23 and see parallel usage in Rom. 2.20). See Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom*, 232–34; Pate, *Reverse of Curse*, 137; Nestle–Aland (NA, 769–74) detects twenty–six allusions of Paul to Ben Sira.

⁴⁷ During the post-biblical era, prayer for divine enlightenment is found in Ps. 119.12, 18–19, 27, 33–35, 73. Torah can only be properly understood if God himself grants divine insight to his people.

⁴⁸ Scholars have described the inspired interpretation of the scripture in terms of 'charismatic exegesis', a term used to describe the type of biblical interpretation practiced in the Qumran community. See W.H. Brownlee, 'Biblical interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls', *BA* 14 (1951) 61; Aune, 'Charismatic Exegesis', 126–150; Hengel, *Zealots*, 239–244.

⁴⁹ Scholars have noted various types of interpretation that were available in Qumran. G. Vermes ('Biblical Proof–Texts in Qumran Literature', *JSS* 34 [1989] 493–508) indicates that there are four categories of interpretations: (1) eschatological actualisation, (2) direct proof, (3) reinforced proof, and (4) proof of historical fulfilment. See also, D. Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature', in M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2.2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984) 504–505; Aune, 'Charismatic Exegesis', 133.

⁵⁰ There are other passages in IQS reflecting the belief that the community's interpretation of Scripture was given by revelation. However, the Holy Spirit is never mentioned in connection with the charismatic interpretation of Scripture (IQS 1.9; 8.15; 9.13).

possibly through the Spirit (IQH 20.12 = 4Q427 f8ii:8).⁵¹ It is important for us to recognise that we are talking about a community whose ‘initiates’, particularly the novices, are obligated to follow Torah, and that the community’s central figure was believed to have received divine inspiration to interpret Scripture.

Similarly in the *pesharim* the author associates himself with the spirit of revelation (cf. 1QpHab 7.1–5; 1QpHab 2.7–9). The Teacher’s inspired insight into the writings of the Old Testament prophets (1QpHab. 7.4) and into eschatological mysteries show him to be the possessor and expounder of God-given insights.

Philo refers to the inspiration of the Spirit in his role as allegorical interpreter. The divine Spirit illumines the mind to enable it to grasp the full wisdom of the scriptural narrative. By the Spirit, the ‘eyes’ of the God-seeker’s understanding are ‘opened’ to the hidden or allegorical meaning within the law (*Plant.* 23.27; cf. *Spec.* 3.1–2, 5–6). In *Som.* 252 Philo claims to hear a voice, a voice from within, which leads him to interpret Torah (cf. *Mos.* 2.264–65).

Later, in rabbinic circles too, such a notion continued to be prevalent. Thus in *Lev. R.* 35.7, R. Aha. said, “He who learns in order to do is worthy to receive the Holy Spirit.” R. Yudan in *Song. R.* 1.8 expounds, “Whosoever openly makes known the words of Torah, he is worthy of the Holy Spirit”.⁵² In the celebrated dictum of R. Phinehas ben Jair, “The Torah leads to watchfulness, watchfulness to strictness, strictness to sinlessness, sinlessness to self-control, self-control to purity, purity to piety, piety to humility, humility to sinfearing, sinfearing to holiness, holiness to the Holy Spirit, and this last to the resurrection of the dead.” (*t. Soṭah* 49b; *Abod. Zar.* 20.b)⁵³

We conclude, then, that in Second Temple Judaism, the notion was prevalent that biblical interpretation involved the Spirit’s inspiration.⁵⁴ The implication of such a

⁵¹ The identity of the Teacher of Righteousness as the author of *Hodayot* is disputed. See discussions in D. Dombkowski Hopkins, ‘The Qumran Community and 1 Q Hodayot: A Reassessment’, *RevQ* 10 (1981) 323–64. However, the nature of these claims suggests that the author of these Hymns could well have been the Teacher of Righteousness who is mentioned in the Damascus Document (CD 1.3-2.1; 5.20-6.11) and the *pesharim* (4Q171 3.15-17).

⁵² On a similar line in the tannaic commentary related to the portions of Exodus 13.17–14.26–31 (*Mek. Bešallah* 7): ‘R. Nehemiah says, ‘Whosoever taketh upon himself one precept in faith is worthy that the Holy Spirit should rest upon him.’ See also *Bek. 64b*: “R. Levi b. Hiyya said: ‘One who on leaving the synagogue goes into the House of Study and studies the Torah is deemed worthy to welcome the Divine Presence’” (cf. *Eccl. R.* 2.11).

⁵³ See discussions in P. Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* (Münich: Kösel-Verlag, 1972) 127–34.

⁵⁴ D. Georgi (*Opponents*, 84, See 181–83 n.59.) has located the matrix of inspired exegesis in the synagogue, where “the medium of Jewish propaganda was the synagogue worship and the exegesis of the law presented there”.

conclusion is that, while Paul might have anticipated the inspiration of the Spirit in his own study of the Torah and his interpretation of the traditions, he probably thought that the Spirit was available only to a selected few. These select recipients would be those involved in teaching Torah, and particularly in acquiring the right interpretation in the light of their own particular beliefs. They would probably have been suspicious of the claims of Spirit inspiration made by other sectarian groups.

4.4. Other Possible influences

We can also argue that Saul the Pharisee would have associated the divine Spirit with its diverse range of effects.⁵⁵ For pre-Christian Paul, the Spirit could be associated with prophecy,⁵⁶ or with creation,⁵⁷ or with wisdom in relation to the expected messianic figure.⁵⁸ For our purpose, two particular strands need to be noted.

4.4.1. The Spirit and Resurrection

In the light of the Pharisaic belief in resurrection of the dead,⁵⁹ and in contrast to the Sadducees who disbelieved in it (Acts 23.8; Josephus *Ant.* 18.16), it is possible to argue that Paul might be familiar with the notion of the Spirit having a part in the raising of the dead.

This idea of God bringing the dead back to life is found in both biblical and post-biblical literature (Deut. 32.39; 1 Sam. 2.6; Wis. 16.13; 4Q521).⁶⁰ In the OT, it is associated with the Spirit only in Ezek. 37.1–14 (cf. LXX Isa. 26.18), though the association continues in Second Temple (2 Macc. 7.22) and Rabbinic Judaism (cf. *t.Sotah* 49b = *Song R.* 1.9; *Midr.Ps.* 104.30; *Lev. R.* 27.9). The second of the Eighteen Benedictions, *Birkat gevurot* concludes with *ברוך...מחיה המתים* (“Blessed...He Who revives the dead”), and *תחיית המתים* (“Resurrection of the dead”) indicates a continuity of thought.⁶¹

⁵⁵ By focusing on the Pharisaic background of Paul, we are not excluding the possibility that Paul was also influenced by other streams of thought on the Spirit in Second Temple Judaism. See Turner, *Power*, 86–104.

⁵⁶ Such a notion is found in the Palestinian Judaism for example, 1QS 8.15–16; *Jub.* 25.14; 31.11; *I Enoch* 91.1; *L.A.B.* 9.10; 20.2–3; 28.6; 31.9; 62.2; 4 Ezra 5.22. (cf. 1 Thess. 5.19–20; 1 Cor. 12.7–11; 2 Thess. 2.5; Rom. 1.2; 11.3; 16.26).

⁵⁷ Gen. 1.2 = 2 Bar. 21.4; 23.5; 4 Ezra 6.39; (cf. 1 Cor. 15.45)

⁵⁸ See 1QSb 5.24–25; 4QpIsa^a; *I Enoch* 49.2–3; Pss. 17.37; *T. Levi.* 18.7, 10–12.

⁵⁹ See Sander, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 147–157; Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung*, 120–21; Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 90.

⁶⁰ It is to be noted that the exact nature of resurrection depicted in these texts is debated, though there is no doubt that the notion was prevalent in the Second Temple Judaism. See discussions in D.S.Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM Press, 1964) 369ff.; Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 89–90.

⁶¹ See discussion in Horn, *Das Angeld*, 90–96; Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung vom heiligen Geist*, 120–21.

A passage of significant interest is 2 Macc. 7.23 (cf. 7.9; 12.44; 14.46).⁶² In 2 Macc. 7.1–42, seven brothers and their mother are martyred because they refuse to obey King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who wants them to transgress the laws of God by eating pork. They give their life voluntarily for God's laws, in the belief that God will give it back to them by raising (ἀναστήσεσθαι) them to life (7.9, 14, 23). Importantly for us, this is to occur through the Spirit of life (7.23).⁶³ The notion of martyriological resurrection seems to be the predominant message in the passage,⁶⁴ as the author is talking about the heavenly vindication of the martyrs (7.9, 23, 37–38), where the 'King of universe' will give back life in the future (7.9) as a reward for their fidelity to God's law.⁶⁵ Since the passage emerges from a milieu where 'zeal' (ζήλος 2 Macc. 4.2) for law is significant, it is possible that Saul the Pharisee would have been familiar with it (Rom. 4.17; 1 Cor. 15.52; 2 Cor. 1.9; 1 Tim. 6.13 cf. Jn. 5.21).⁶⁶

4.4.2. *The Spirit and Purity*

Another strand of thought with which the pre-Christian Paul might have been familiar is the relationship between the Spirit and purity.⁶⁷ It is generally agreed that the Pharisees were a group concerned for the maintenance of purity; their concern was to keep the purity laws either for cultic reasons, in relation to the Temple; or for reasons of personal piety, by applying the laws of ritual purity to their everyday lives; or for socio-political reasons, to purify Israel by summoning her to return to the true ancestral traditions.⁶⁸

⁶² Probably written in first century B.C.E. See J.A. Goldstein *II Maccabees* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983) for provenance and date.

⁶³ G.W.E. Nickelsburg (*Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* [HTS 26; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972] 107) argues that the resurrection is not simply individual vindication, but a restoration of community. See Ezek. 37.5, 9–10 (*Song. R.* 1.9), where the prophet had already envisioned the revivification of the dead as an effect of the gift of the spirit.

⁶⁴ T.E. Pollard, 'Martyrdom and Resurrection in the New Testament', *BJRL* 55 (1972–73) 240–251.

⁶⁵ Interestingly the messiah figure involved in this process is kept to judge the wicked and rescue God's remnant. The resurrection of the righteous to eternal life and the eternal destruction of the wicked are aspects of the eschatology of Psalms that are never directly associated with their messianism, possibly because they are not functions of the retributive judgment against the enemies which is associated with the coming Davidic king (Nickelsburg *Resurrection*, 131–34).

⁶⁶ See discussions in J. Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia, A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 139–157.

⁶⁷ That the Spirit flees away from an unclean environment was a rather common notion: 1 Sam. 16.14; 1 Kgs. 22.24 (2 Chr. 18.23); Ps. 51.11; Mic. 3.5–7; *1 Enoch* 67.10; *Sib.Or.* 4.187–88; cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 6.266; *L.A.B.* 60.1; Philo, *Gig.* 19–29; 47; 53; *QG.* 1.90; *Deus.* 2.

⁶⁸ It is not clear what motivated the Pharisees for their concern for purity. Scholars argue variously for cultic interest (Neusner, *Rabbinic Tradition*, 3.288; idem, *From Politics to Piety*, 83) or to socio-political and cultural reasons (N.T. Wright, *New Testament and People of God*, 186ff; Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', 139).

In the post-biblical literature, purity became a matter of primary concern from the Maccabean crisis onwards (For e.g. 1 Macc. 1.47, 54, 62; *Jub.* 3.8–14; *Pss.* 8.12, 22; 1QS 3.5; CD 5.6–7; 12.9–20; Josephus *Ant.* 3.261; Philo *Spec.* 3.205). As noted in our previous discussion, Second Temple Judaism's anticipation of the Spirit as a purifying Spirit (*Jub.* 1.23; 1QS 3.6–8; 4.18–21; 9.3; 1QH 7.6–7; 14.13–14; 16.15, 19–20) might well have influenced pre-Christian Paul. What is particularly significant here is the role of the Spirit in the purification of the righteous, and in maintaining their intimate relationship with God by obedience to the law. In light of 1 Thess. 4.8, 2 Thess. 2.13, Rom. 15.16, and cf. Rom. 14.14 it is possible to argue that Paul was familiar with this notion.

4.5. Conclusion

In sum, the collocation of the themes and the terms deployed in his autobiographical statements (Gal. 1.13–14; Phil. 3.5–6 cf. Acts 22.3; 26.1ff.) indicates that in his former life Paul was a zealous Pharisee. On the basis of our discussion it is plausible to say that Paul would have known of various strands of thought on the nature and effects of the Spirit that were prevalent in the first CE. At least three strands seem particularly close to home for him. The first is the notion that divine enlightenment, specifically by the Spirit of God, is necessary for the study of Torah and that only someone who was filled with the Spirit could really adequately interpret the words of Holy Scripture, which were inspired by God. The second and third emerge, respectively, from the belief in resurrection and the concern for purity in relation to the Spirit.

What is noticeable in all of the above strands is the Spirit's relationship with the Law, and its role in the maintenance of the covenant community. Thus: (i) the Spirit is available for those who study and practice Torah; (ii) God through the Spirit in resurrection will vindicate those who show fidelity to Torah; and (iii) the Spirit is available for those who maintain purity and obedience to Torah. The likely implication of such a set of convictions is that Saul, the Pharisee, would not have expected Gentiles to receive the Spirit in the age to come.

CHAPTER 5
THE PRE-CHRISTIAN PAUL,
THE PERSECUTOR OF THE CHURCH AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

5.1. Introduction

In the preceding section attention was drawn to the fact that both the letters of Paul and the Book of Acts point towards Paul's past as a Pharisee. Along with Paul's Pharisaic background, a significant aspect of his pre-Christian career was his role as a persecutor of the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ.

While many details in the references to Paul's involvement in Stephen's martyrdom and later his persecution of the church in Acts are disputed, at least two observations are generally allowed: Paul was involved in persecution of the Spirit enthusiastic group surrounding Stephen, and the persecution resulted in the propagation of the Gospel over a wider area (Gal. 1.13, 22; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6; Acts 8.1ff.; 11.19ff.).¹

On the basis of the above assumptions, the rationale behind our enquiry is to place within this broader picture the question: Whatever triggered persecution, does it have a link to the Spirit expectations of Paul? Is there a possibility of relating the context in which Paul's persecution activities took place and to see the significance of the pneumatic activities of the groups surrounding Stephen in that context? The answer to these questions has its limitations: (i) the historical data surrounding Paul's persecution of the church in his letters is minimal and not very self-explanatory, and (ii) there is a need to depend on Lukan information to supplement our data on Paul's past convictions. It is within these limitations that we enquire into the self-perception of Paul, in his former life as a persecutor of the church, and in his expectation on the bestowal of the Spirit which is reflected in this phase of his biography and theology.

¹ See discussions in Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1-29; W. Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia, Die "Hellenisten", Paulus und die Aufnahme der Heiden in das endzeitliche Gottesvolk* (SBS 179; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1999) 26-54. See also H-W. Neudorfer, *Der Stephenuskries in der Forschungsgeschichte seit F.C. Baur* (Gießen: Brunnen, 1983); C.C. Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews. Reappraising Division within the Earliest Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992) 105-106; H. Räisänen, 'The "Hellenists": A Bridge between Jesus and Paul?', in *Jesus, Paul and Torah* (trans. D.E. Orton; JSNTSS 43; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) 149-202.

5.2. Paul the Persecutor

While addressing the communities in Galatia, Corinth, and Philippi, Paul claims that he was a persecutor of the church, as one who wrought much havoc on the church in order to destroy it (Gal. 1.13, 22; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6).² For Luke, Paul was known to be a persecutor of the church; he is introduced at the time of the first persecution (against Stephen) and the “great persecution” (Acts 8.1). Paul is presented as “breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord” (Acts 9.1, cf. 8.1-3; 22.4-5; 26.1ff.). In Acts, Paul persecutes Christians because they belong to “the Way” (Acts 9.2; 22.4);³ he is involved in “opposing the name of Jesus of Nazareth” (Acts 26.9; cf. 22.5, 19-20; 26.10-12).

In spite of Luke’s consistent emphasis and relative knowledge of Paul’s involvement in the persecution of the church, particularly the group surrounding Stephen, skeptical scholarship has denied any such links. Those who deny that the book of Acts is primarily historical, but consider it a heavily redacted document⁴ suggest that Paul’s relationship with Stephen was erroneously inserted by Luke, a case that has been built on the notion of a discontinuity between Paul as seen in his letters and the portrayal of him in Acts.⁵ However, a recently emerging consensus, which affirms both historicity⁶ and continuity,⁷ counters such a disjunction between

² Paul’s own references to his pre-Christian background are inadequate, for they leave considerable voids in our knowledge about the nature, reason(s), victims or even the location of Paul’s involvement in persecution – possibly due the polemical nature of issues addressed in his letters. See discussions in A.J. Hultgren, ‘Paul’s Pre-Christian Persecutions of the Church: Their Purpose, Locale, and Nature’, *JBL* 95 (1976) 97-111; S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul’s Gospel* (WUNT 2/4; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1984) 2-50; C. Burchard, *Der dritzehnte Zeuge. Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukas Darstellung der Frühzeit des Paulus* (FRANT 103; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970) 40-51.

³ See Acts 9.4; 22.7; 26.14, the recurring question, “Saul, Saul why do you persecute me?” supports Luke’s familiarity with the issue.

⁴ Hill (*Hellenists and Hebrews*) attempts to debunk the idea that the Greek speaking Christian Jews in Jerusalem were ideologically distinguishable from their Hebrew counterparts, and dismisses the notion that the persecution in Acts was selective in nature. For a critique on Hill’s position see Pate, *Reverse of Curse*, 429-434.

⁵ See B.W.R. Pearson and S.E. Porter, ‘The Genres of the New Testament’, S.E. Porter (ed.) *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament Tools and Studies* (NTTS 25; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 142-148; E. Richard, *Acts 6.1-8.4: The Author’s Method of Composition* (SBLDS 41; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978). See also E. Haenchen (*The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* [trans. B. Noble et al.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1971] 112-116) and P. Vielhauer (‘On the ‘Paulinism’ of Acts’, in L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (eds.), *Studies in Luke-Acts* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966] 33-50) who argues for a separation between Paul of Acts and the Paul of the letters.

⁶ With respect to the difficult question of Acts’ historical reliability, the position adopted here is that Acts is at least as viable an external source as other writing of the period. On the general reliability of the Acts material, see I.H. Marshall, *Luke, Historian and Theologian* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1970); F.F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990³); W.W. Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles* (BGBE 17; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1975);

the Paul of Acts and the Paul of the letters.⁸ We should at least consider whether any links between Paul and the Stephen group may shed some light on the subject of the present inquiry.

5.2.1. The Common Threads in Paul and Luke

Building on the above possibilities, we proceed to look at the common emphasis that Luke and Paul make concerning Paul's 'former life' as a persecutor.

First, Paul and Luke agree linguistically that Paul was involved in activities that are described by the verbs ἐδίωκον and ἐπόρθουν.⁹ "You have heard, no doubt, of my earlier life in Judaism. I was violently persecuting (ἐδίωκον Gal. 1.13; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6 cf. Gal. 1.23; 1 Tim. 1.13)¹⁰ the church of God and was trying to destroy it" (ἐπόρθουν Gal. 1.13, 23; Acts 9.21). What is interesting is that Luke only ever uses these terms ἐδίωκον¹¹ and ἐπόρθουν¹² in relation to the

Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge*, 28, 169-173; M. Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979) 1-68; C.J. Hemer, *Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1989); R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (trans. D. Stott; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

⁷ See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*; idem, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); Dunn, 'The New Perspective on Paul', 95-122.

⁸ Scholars who recognise Luke's editorial problem over Acts 8.1-3 do not, however, deny its historicity. See for example, Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge*, 48.

⁹ See C. Spicq, *Lexique théologique du Nouveau Testament* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires/Paris: Cerf, 1991) 1275-76.

¹⁰ In classical Greek, the term ἐλάυνω is used for 'persecute', 'drive to extremities'. See *LSJ*, 529.

¹¹ The verb διώκω is the one found in the words of reproach which Jesus addresses to Paul on the road to Damascus (Acts 9.4, 5; 22.7, 8, 26.14, 15). This verb (Lk. 11.49, 21.12, 2 Cor. 4.9; 10-11, 11.24-25; 2 Tim. 3.11-12; Matt. 5.12, 23.30, 35) cannot exclude physical violence. Paul uses the term in relation to (a) persecution of the believers (Rom. 12.14; Gal. 4.29; 6.12); (b) for Paul himself (1 Cor. 4.12; 2 Cor. 4.9; 12.10; Gal. 5.11); Paul was persecuted by Jews, Gentiles and false Christians (2 Cor. 11.26) but it was persecution at the hand of the Jews to which he referred most frequently (Rom. 15.31; 2 Cor. 11.24, 26; Gal. 5.11; 1 Thess. 2.14-16) suggesting that he found this hardest to bear. B.R. Gaventa (*From Darkness to Light: Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1987] 25) downplays the violence intimated by the word διώκω. M.A. Seifrid (*Justification by Faith. The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* [NovTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1992], 155) criticises that viewpoint by pointing out that, elsewhere in Paul, the word involves the ideas of physical harm (Gal. 5.11; 6.12; cf. 6.17) and mistreatment of others (Rom. 12.14; 1 Cor. 4.12; 15.9; 2 Cor. 4.9; Gal. 4.29).

¹² The term is not uncommon in Second temple Jewish literature. In *4 Macc.* 4.23 it designates the procedures of Antiochus IV Epiphanes against the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Similarly in *4 Macc.* 11.4 (cf. 17:24; 18:4) the account of the martyrdom of seven brothers by Antiochus IV (cf. *2 Macc.* 7) uses the word in the sense of physical violence perpetrated on the faithful. The term is also used for the action of war. See Bar. 1.1 (destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar); *Sib.Or.* 3.510, 636, 639 (devastation by Hellas); *Sib.Or.* 3.666 (destruction of the Jerusalem temple). Interestingly Josephus uses πορθεῖν (exterminate/destroy) in parallel with λυμαίνεσθαι to refer to the plundering of the villages and cities of Idumaea by Simon bar Giora (*J.W.* 4.534). The term 'destroy' (λυμαίνεσθαι/ἐλυμάνετο) occurs in Acts 8.3 for the activity of persecution of Paul.

persecution of Stephen and the life and activity of Paul (Acts 7.52, 9.4; 9.5; 22.4; 22.7,8; 26.11, 14, 15). Further, when compared with other New Testament writers, Paul and Luke dominate the usages of these terms.¹³ Such a commonality can only underline Luke's familiarity with Paul's persecution, and possibly his relationship with the group around Stephen.

Second, in Paul's retrospective view (Gal. 1.23), he reports that in Judea a statement was being circulated concerning him after his conversion that "he who once persecuted us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy". The term "the faith" here clearly means the Christian message.¹⁴ It had become characteristic of the new movement to which he now belonged.¹⁵ It was this 'faith', presumably as that which most threatened 'Judaism', which had aroused his persecuting zeal.

The implication is that 'faith' in the preaching of the early Christians, possibly the group around Stephen at least, had already come to be perceived by a zealous Jew like Paul as a significant threat to the traditional identity makers of Judaism. Sources from which we might infer the likelihood of such an opposition to 'faith' would include their message of faith in the 'Righteous One' (ὁ δίκαιός)¹⁶ on the one hand (Acts 6.14; 7.52 cf. 26.9), and criticism of the Torah (Acts 6.13, 14)¹⁷ and/or temple (Acts 6.13; 7.48–50)¹⁸ on the other.

See discussion in Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge*, 40, 42; Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 274f; Niebuhr, *Heidenapostel aus Israel*, 35ff., 60f; Riesner, *Paul's Early Period*, 64; Haacker, *Paulus*, 79ff.

¹³ The term διώκω occurs 10 times in Paul and 9 times in Acts. In Matthew it occurs 5 times. πορθεω, however, occurs only in Acts and Galatians.

¹⁴ Hultgren, 'Paul's Pre-Christian Persecutions', 102, See R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 6: 213. E. Bammel ('Galater 1:23', *ZNW* 59 [1968] 108–12) sees this as a quotation from the Judean churches themselves, and so one of the oldest Christian statements.

¹⁵ It is necessary to point out that Paul also uses πίστις in Galatians in an absolute sense in 3:23, 25 to mean the content of the Christian gospel and in 6:10 as part of a descriptive phrase for Christians. (See 2 Cor. 1.19; 4.5; Phil. 1.15; Gal. 1.16, proclaiming Messiah [Acts 8.4]).

¹⁶ A designation for Jesus that was current among early Christians. See discussions in J.J. Scott, 'Stephen's Defense and the World Mission of the People of God', *JETS* 21 (1978) 131–141.

¹⁷ For example, J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* (New York: Macmillan, 1943); Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 76; J.C. Becker, *Paul the Apostle, The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980) 143–44. P. Stuhlmacher ('Das Ende des Gesetzes'. Über Ursprung und Ansatz der paulinischen Theologie, in: ders., *Versöhnung, Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit*, 1981, 166–191; C. Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus als Ursprung seiner Theologie* (WMANT 58; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985) 90, 96f., 115, 23; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 24ff.

¹⁸ See Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 70; Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1–29, idem, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 68–69; Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 44–50; P. Stuhlmacher, *Paul: Rabbi and Apostle* (trans. L.W. Denef; Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1984) 14–15; Bornkamm, *Paul*, 14; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 44–54.

Third, both Paul and Luke agree that Paul's persecuting activity was directed against ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ.¹⁹ However, the brevity in the description about the location and the objects of the persecution in Paul (Gal. 1.13, Phil. 3.6; 1 Cor. 15.9) and again in Luke (Acts 8.1)²⁰ have led to diverse scholarly suggestions.

(i) Paul's persecution was confined to Damascus and the objects of his persecution were Gentile Christians.²¹ However, it has to be noted that there is no geographical connotation in Gal. 1.13-17 to indicate that the place of Paul's persecution of the church (vv.13-14) is to be identified with Damascus.²²

(ii) Others argue that the ἐκκλησία that Paul persecuted was comprised equally of both Hellenist and Hebrew Christians.²³ The argument is built on the fact that ἐκκλησία in Paul's testimony statements (Gal. 1.13, 23; Phil. 3.6; 1 Cor. 15.9) reflects his post-conversion perspective in which the community of faith as a whole is intended, not merely one segment.²⁴ The difficulty with this position is that it assumes that the early Christian community was monolithic in its nature and downplays any differences in particular, in that it disregards the Lukan description of the conflict between the Hellenists and the Hebrews (Acts 6.1ff.). Further, critical scholarship has yet to come up with any more viable explanation for Acts 11.19 than Luke's presentation of the events.

(iii) A number of scholars equate the ἐκκλησία that Paul persecuted the group surrounding Stephen as indicated by Acts.²⁵ Hengel and others have put forth the

¹⁹ See M.E. Thrall, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994) 1: 89-93.

²⁰ Luke is specific about the locale of the persecution, which is Jerusalem (Acts 8.1f.).

²¹ See also Becker, *Paul* 40.; Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 35-36; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 297-298; Bornkamm, *Paul*, 15. G. Strecker, ('Befreiung und Rechtfertigung', in J. Friedrich, *et.al.* [eds.] *Rechtfertigung* [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1976] 479-508) makes his case on the basis of population estimation and argues that Paul's activity did not take place in Jerusalem. But see J. Wilkinson, ('The Ancient Jerusalem: Its Water Supply and Population, *PEQ* 106 (1974) 33-51; cf. S. Safrai and M. Stern, *The Jewish People in the First Century* [CRINT 2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976] 683-84) for an alternative estimation.

²² See discussions in Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, 156.

²³ See Hultgren, 'Paul's Pre-Christian Persecution of the Church', Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, 156.

²⁴ According to Seifrid (*Justification by Faith*, 157-61), Galatians 1.23 refers to a group besides just Greek speaking Jewish Christians in Jerusalem; it includes other Jewish Christians in the Holy City and in Judea as the object of Paul's persecution as well.

²⁵ The general consensus is that the persecution of early Christianity was not a universal and categorical phenomenon but was focused more selectively on specific segments and individual cases. For treatments of the topic, see D.R.A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967) 1-79, 2-3; P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (SNTSMS 10; Cambridge: CUP, 1969) 43-47; S.T. Katz, 'Issues in the Separation of Judaism and Christianity after 70.C.E.: A Reconsideration', *JBL* 103 (1984) 43-76; Hengel,

view that this was the group Paul persecuted; not the church as a whole, but only the Greek-speaking Jewish ἐκκλησία²⁶ in Jerusalem who might be the first to believe that it was they who were the true people of God.

Such a notion is supported by the use of the term ἐκκλησία in both Paul (Gal. 1.13; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6)²⁷ and Luke (Acts 8.1). In the LXX ἐκκλησία²⁸ frequently was a translation for the Hebrew לְהִקָּבֵץ, which reflects the common designation of Israel as the לְהִקָּבֵץ, the congregation of YHWH (Num. 16.3; 20.4; Deut. 23.1-8; 1 Chr. 28.8).²⁹

It is highly probable that the term ἐκκλησία originated with the Hellenists. There are two possible reasons for this suggestion:

(i) It is possible to argue that the Hellenists who were formerly part of contemporary Diaspora Judaism used ἐκκλησία as a self-designation for their new gatherings. They would have avoided the use of συναγωγή, since synagogue was the house of Torah and thus symbolic of the Torah based religion against which they had reacted.³⁰

(ii) Alternatively, the Hellenist view, particularly their rejection of the Temple as the focal point of God's presence and ἐκκλησία as the newly reconstituted congregation of Israel, could provide sufficient reasons for Paul to persecute this selective group.³¹ It is plausible that the Hellenist circles understood the ἐκκλησία as the new temple, the reconstituted congregation of YHWH in the Spirit (Acts 6.13;

Between Jesus and Paul, 1-29, idem, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 68-69; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 44-50; Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 70.

²⁶ Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1-29; idem, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 68-69. See the historical surveys in Neudorfer, *Der Stephanuskreis*, 12-57.

²⁷ Paul uses the term ἐκκλησία in his letters predominantly in a local sense. However, in his reference to the persecution of Christians Paul always uses ἐκκλησία qualified by τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal. 1.13; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.6).

²⁸ For a non-religious usage see (1 Sam. 17.47; 2 Chr. 28.14; Ps. 26[LXX 25].5). Josephus uses ἐκκλησία frequently (some forty-eight times, of which eighteen are LXX quotations), always of a gathering. These vary in character; for example, religious, political and spontaneous assemblies are mentioned (Josephus *Ant.* 4.8.45; *J.W.* 1.33.4; 1.33.8). Philo employs the term some thirty times, all but five of which are in quotations from the LXX.

²⁹ However, LXX translators did not always maintain consistency in the translation of לְהִקָּבֵץ. For example, Num. 16.3 refers to συναγωγή; Deut. 23.1-8 uses ἐκκλησία κυρίου. Interestingly the Hebrew term קָהָל is a term for Israelite community which is *never* translated as ἐκκλησία. See discussions in I.H. Marshall, 'New Wine in Old Wine-Skins: The Biblical Use of the Word 'Ekklesia'', *ExpT* 84 (1973) 359-64.

³⁰ W. Schrage, "'Ekklesia' und 'Synagogue': Zum Ursprung des urchristlichen Kirchenbegriffs", *ZTK* 60 (1963) 178-202.

³¹ For further discussion see, Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 44-54; Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 60-71.

7.44-50; 1 Cor. 3.16-17; 6.19; 2 Cor. 6.16; cf. Acts 15.10ff; Eph. 2.21).³² Luke's emphasis on the fullness (πλήρης) of Spirit among the group surrounding Stephen (Acts 6.3, 5, 8; 7.55; 8.6, 13, 39; 11.24; 13.9; 52) strengthens this assumption. Thus, it would seem legitimate to hold the view that both Paul and Luke saw the persecuted ἐκκλησία as being in continuity with Israel³³ as the people of God, here represented by the Hellenists.³⁴

The point that emerges here is that Paul persecuted the church which he actually encountered, and that there could be Greek speaking Diaspora Jews with whom he had some kind of interaction or relationship. Their message might have motivated Paul's zeal and a deep-seated concern that the group surrounding Stephen was seriously undermining the Jewish faith and identity.³⁵

Though there are differences of emphasis and focus in Luke's presentation of Paul's persecution, the evidence of commonality in Paul and Luke provides us with enough support to proceed in our discussion. The differences are not so glaring as to lead to the kind of redactional conclusions posited by scholars.³⁶ Whether we posit epistolary dependence or sources from Luke's personal knowledge of Paul, there is sufficient reason for us to suggest that the link between Paul and Stephen was not just a redactional creation of Luke, but that an earlier tradition was available for Luke in relation to Paul's persecution activities.³⁷ With that plausibility we can take more seriously Luke's detailed narrative of Paul's role in the persecution of the church, beginning with him in the Stephen episode as a 'young man' (νεανίας) responsible for guarding the coats of the witnesses (7.58).

5.2.2 *The Synagogue(s) in Jerusalem - the Point of contact for Paul and Stephen*

It is important for our purpose to hold together Paul's Pharisaic background and his persecution activities, as always maintained by Paul in his letters (Gal. 1.13-14; 1 Cor. 15.9; Phil. 3.5-6). Paul's involvement in the Pharisaic-scribal milieu of the first century CE would not contradict the picture that Luke presents concerning Stephen.

³² Horn, *ABD* 3:268.

³³ See Dunn, 'Paul: Apostate or Apostle of Israel?', 261.

³⁴ See discussion in Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 33-44.

³⁵ However, this position is not uncontested. See Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, 157.

³⁶ The contradictions are built on Luke's side of the presentation, particularly in claiming the lack of integrity between Acts 6.11-14 and 7.2-53. This is normally used as a point to undermine Paul's involvement in Stephen episode. See Richard, *Author's Method*, 222, 287.

³⁷ Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 4; J. Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1981¹⁷) 114.

In Luke's presentation, Stephen³⁸ was a Hellenist (Acts 6.8-8.4; 9.1-2; 11.19-30; 12.25-13.3ff),³⁹ who belonged to the Greek-speaking Jewish group, settled in Jerusalem. They were part of the synagogue community in Jerusalem, and were converted to the new Christian faith.⁴⁰ In Jerusalem they formed a congregation of their own for linguistic and perhaps theological reasons, which separated them from the 'Hebrew' Christians.⁴¹ They were possibly led by a group of 'Seven' (Acts 6.5) including Stephen, who was killed because of his pneumatic activity and preaching among the Diaspora Jews. Paul may have been involved in the martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 7.58).

According to Luke, Stephen's initial activities began in and around a synagogue in Jerusalem, called the synagogue of Freedman (Acts 6.9)⁴² and comprising

³⁸ Στεφάνος is a common enough name in the Greek-speaking world. See P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford: OUP, 1987). The only reference (Ant. 18.20) that we find is Josephus' mention of a slave of the Emperor Claudius called Stephanus; it is rarely found in Palestine. Neudorfer, ('The Speech of Stephen', 292) argues that Stephen might have come from Alexandria. There are different opinions concerning the background of Stephen – a Samaritan (A. Sprio, 'Stephen's Samaritan Background' in J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1967) 285-300.) or an Essene (C.H.H. Scobie, 'The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity', *NTS* 19 [1972-73] 391-400).

³⁹ See discussions in C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994, 1998); Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*; Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1983; J.D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry in the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SCM Press, 1977); Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, 1968; R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1982); Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*; S.G. Wilson, *The Gentile and The Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1973); P.F. Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lukan Theology* (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: CUP, 1987); G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1989); Brown, *Antioch and Rome*; R.E. Brown, 'Not Jewish Christianity and Gentile Christianity but types of Jewish/Gentile Christianity', *CBQ* 45 (1983) 74-79.

⁴⁰ See Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 206, 208, 210, 214-15. See discussions on Hellenists as bridge between Jesus and Paul in N. Walter, 'Paul and the Early Christian Jesus Tradition', in A.J.M. Wedderburn (ed.), *Paul and Jesus: Collected Essays* (JSNTSS 37; 1989) 51-80.

⁴¹ According to G. Theissen ('Hellenisten und Hebräer (Apg, 6.1-6). Gab es eine Spaltung der Urgemeinde?', in H. Cancik et al. (eds.), *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion* [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996] 323-343, 324f.) there are three explanations for the conflict: theological causes (Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*), linguistic causes (Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*), social reasons (N. Walter, 'Apostelgeschichte 6,1 und die Anfänge der Urgemeinde in Jerusalem', in W. Kraus & F. Wilk [eds.], *Praeparatio Evangelica. Studien zur Umwelts, Exegese und Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* [WUNT 98; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997, 187-211]). Theissen does not perceive a splitting of the early church into two groups, but rather argues for different theological currents being operative in the early church.

⁴² The present passage could allude to as many as five separate synagogues, one for each group. See Schürer, *History of Jewish People*, 2.57; Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* 62-66; Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 156. Those who support a single synagogue view include H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961) 47; R. Riesner, 'Synagogues in Jerusalem', in R. Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Settings* (BAFCS 4; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 204-5.

Cyrenians, Alexandrians, and others from Cilicia and Asia.⁴³ The synagogue(s) in Jerusalem could possibly have been the point of contact and of friction between Stephen and Paul. The following factors are important for such an assumption.

First, Luke recognises an extensive Jewish Diaspora presence in Jerusalem,⁴⁴ from Cyrenian, Alexandrian, Cilician and Asian communities,⁴⁵ and this we find confirmed by both literary⁴⁶ and archaeological evidences.⁴⁷

Second, there were synagogues in Jerusalem,⁴⁸ at least in an institutional form, catering to the needs of the Diaspora communities.⁴⁹ In spite of some scepticism⁵⁰ about the presence of synagogues in first century C.E. Palestine, a majority of scholars⁵¹ agree that Luke was generally well informed about the topography of Jerusalem, and so in all probability the allusions to synagogues are not just a

⁴³ It is interesting to note that the synagogue bore the Latin name *Libertinis* instead of the Greek ἄπελευθεροίς, and so it seems likely that its members descended from the Jews who had been captured and enslaved by the Roman general Pompey in 63.B.C.E. (cf. Philo *Leg.* 155). M.J. Olson, 'Freedmen, Synagogue of the', *ABD* 2.855.

⁴⁴ On the Diaspora presence in Jerusalem, see Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 58-71.

⁴⁵ Regarding Asia, Acts speaks of an Ephesian who lived in the city (Acts 21.29).

⁴⁶ That Jews of Cyrene frequented Jerusalem is attested in Mark and Luke as well as Acts (Mk.15.21; Lk.23.26; Acts 2.10; 11.20). Paul is referred to as hailing from Cilicia, and his sister's son also may have lived in Jerusalem (Acts 23.16).

⁴⁷ Greek-speaking Jews were living in Jerusalem as early as the reign of the 2nd Ptolemy (260-258 BCE). See evidence from Zenon papyri in M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of Roman Empire* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). See discussions in Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?*, 146.

⁴⁸ In this thesis we will not enter into the discussion of the origins of the synagogues. However, there are at least three leading proposals: (1) synagogues originated with the Pharisees in the early Maccabean period (See Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.82; J. Gutmann, 'Synagogue Origins: theories and facts', *Ancient synagogues* [BJS 22; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981] 4; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [trans. S. Applebaum; New York: Atheneum, 1979] 124-125). (2) Synagogues as such did not exist at all in Palestine during the Second Temple period, (Solomon Zeitlin, 'The Origin of the Synagogue', in J. Gutmann [ed.] *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture* [New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1975, 14-26; H.C. Kee, 'The Transformation of the Synagogue After 70 C.E.: Its Import for Early Christianity', *NTS* 36 [1990] 11-24; R.A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* [Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1995] 224-226). (3) Synagogues were introduced into Palestine by Diaspora Jews near the turn of the era. (D.D. Binder, *Into the Temple Courts, the Place of the Synagogues in the Second Temple Period*, [SBLDS 169; Atlanta: Scholars Press: 1999]; L.I. Levine [ed.], *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981]; Riesner: 'Synagogues in Jerusalem', 179-211).

⁴⁹ Sanders, *Judaism Practice and Belief*, 198-202.

⁵⁰ Kee ('The Transformation of the Synagogue After 70 C.E.', 11-24; idem, 'Early Christianity in Galilee: Reassessing the Evidence from the Gospels', L.I. Levine [ed.], *Galilee in Late Antiquity* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992] 3-22.).

⁵¹ A significant number of scholars view the synagogue as widespread by the first century C.E., both in the Diaspora and in the land of Israel. See S. Safrai, 'The Synagogue' in S. Safrai and M. Stern (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century* (CRINT 1.2; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976) 908-44; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2:423-54; L.I. Levine (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981).

misguided belief, but an accurate depiction of the pre-70 period. Further, Luke's account does not contradict other literary evidence (Mk. 12.38-40; Matt. 23.6/Lk. 20.47 = Q; Philo, *Prob.* 81; *Prov.* 64).⁵² Thus the literary and epigraphical references to Palestinian synagogues indicate that Stephen and possibly Paul could have been part of a synagogue or synagogues in Jerusalem, which catered to the needs of pilgrims from abroad.⁵³ Two corollary arguments are to be noted.

First, that the synagogues of this period served as gathering places for the reading and exposition of scripture needs hardly to be defended.⁵⁴ The literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence all support this feature.⁵⁵ Reading from the Torah and prophets was part of a synagogue's functions.⁵⁶ Further, a leader (Philo, *Hypoth.* 7.11-14) or other member of the congregation (Mk. 6.1-5; Acts 17.1-9) would interpret the scriptures by employing various midrashic techniques.⁵⁷

Second, there is little to recommend the view that the synagogues served as a Pharisaic institution during the Second Temple period.⁵⁸ The earlier sources on the Pharisees mention nothing in particular about them in relationship to synagogues (*J.W.* 2.8, 166; *Ant.* 18.3, 12-15). It was not uncommon for Pharisees to frequent

⁵² Philo mentions the Essene συναγωγῶν (plural) in *B.J.* 1.78-80), 5.145; *Ant.* 13.311, 15.371-379).

⁵³ See Fleisher, 'Synagogues Before 70 C.E.', 32; E.P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah* (London: SCM Press, 1990) 341.

⁵⁴ Levine, 'The Nature and Origin of the Palestinian Synagogue Reconsidered', 411; D. Urman, 'The House of Assembly and the House of Study – Are They One And The Same?', D. Urman *et.al.*, *Ancient Synagogues, Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (StPB 47; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 1:232-255.

⁵⁵ The Theodotus inscription found in Jerusalem supports the argument: *ωκοδομησε την συναγωγ[η]ν εις ανα[γ]νωσ[ι]ν νομου και εις [δι]δαχην εντολων.* See Urman, 'The House of Assembly and the House of Study – Are They One And The Same?', 232-255.

⁵⁶ For example, *CIJ* 2.1404; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.43-45, *Ap.* 2.175; Philo, *Somn.* 2.123-129; Lk. 4.16-30; 2 Macc.15.9; 4 Macc. 18.10; Jn. 1.45; Matt. 5.17, 7.12, 11.13 [Lk. 16.16 = Q] Lk. 4.16-21 22.40). The discovery of the Ezekiel scroll, a fragment of Sira, *Jubilees* and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* indicate that passages from these writings may also have been read in the Palestinian synagogues. See Y. Yadin, 'The Excavation of Masada 1963/64', *Israel Exploration Journal* 15 (1965): 81-82. Reading of Scripture as a custom arose on the Sabbath as an assembly time for instruction in the Law (See Neh. 8.9). In front of the Temple (1 Esdr. 9.38; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.209-210), Scriptures should be read and studied on the Sabbath (Josephus, *Ap.* 2.175; Philo, *Opif.* 128; Acts 15.21). See Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 399 ff.

⁵⁷ For detailed study of these techniques see P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (Leiden: Brill, 1965); W.R. Stegner, 'The Ancient Jewish Synagogue Homily', D. Aune (ed.), *Greco-Roman Literature and the New Testament: Selected Forms and Genres* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) 51-69.

⁵⁸ In past scholarship, the synagogue is seen to have been an institution taken over and dominated by the Pharisees, even if not founded by them. See R.T. Herford, *The Pharisees* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1924) 88-103; L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of their Faith* (Philadelphia: JPSA, 1938) 568-69. Such a position stems from an uncritical reading of the rabbinic literature and the Gospels of Matthew and John (Matt. 23.2; Jn. 9.1-34, 12.42).

the synagogues of the period of our discussion, but they did not dominate them then as they began to do after the fall of Jerusalem.⁵⁹

Building on this synagogue culture, Paul, as a pre-Christian Pharisee, would have been part of the synagogues in Jerusalem. On the basis of his background as a 'zealous' Pharisee, in keeping and studying the Torah as well as scribal traditions, it is possible to assume that Paul could possibly have been a Torah interpreter in these synagogues.⁶⁰ Such an assumption is supported by Paul's own familiarity with the synagogue milieu in his letters. (i) The term ἀνάγνωσις in 2 Cor. 3.14 indicates his awareness of the public reading of Torah (cf. Acts 13:15).⁶¹ (ii) Similarly, Paul's acquaintance with rabbinic interpretative techniques is well recognised (Rom. 5.12-21; 2 Cor. 3.1-4.6 cf. Rom. 3.21).⁶² As a Torah teacher Saul could have recognised an obligation on his part to interpret Torah for Greek-speaking Jews.⁶³ Thus one can assume that Paul was a qualified Torah interpreter in the synagogue(s) of Jerusalem.⁶⁴ It is in this context that we can place Stephen's pneumatic activity.

⁵⁹ See Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 399.

⁶⁰ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 27, 57; Pate, *Reverse of the Curse*, 132-33; Riesner, 'Synagogues in Jerusalem', 206.

⁶¹ B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity* (ASNU 22; Lund: Gleerup, 1961) 67-70.

⁶² See H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (New York: JPSA, 1959) 94; M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (New York: Bloch Publishing co., 1986⁴) 130-136; R.N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975) 34.

⁶³ See Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 58. However, we are not limiting Paul's teaching activity only to the Greek-Speaking Jewish synagogues of Jerusalem, since his concerns Pharisee may also include ritual purity among Jews in Jerusalem.

⁶⁴ Donaldson (*Paul*, 270; 278ff.). See also Bornkamm, *Paul*, 12; Schoeps, *Paul*, 64 219; D.R.A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967) 12) argued that the pre-Christian Paul took an active part in the instruction of Gentile proselytes. He infers that Paul had at one time 'preached circumcision' (Gal. 5.11) as his proselytising activity in his pre-Christian life. Such a proposal should be discounted for the following reasons: (i) in its context, Paul argues against the Judaizers, who insisted that Gentile converts should be circumcised. Paul uses the term (περιτομή) simply as a way of referring back to his previous life as a Jew (Dunn, *Galatians*, 278-279). (ii) The argument that Paul engaged in evangelistic activity among the Gentiles prior to his conversion runs counter to the evidence of Second Temple Judaism. (See discussions in S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991]; M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion. Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994]). A plausible argument is that Paul could have shared the concern of the author of *Jubilees* (15.25-34) that the Jews of the Diaspora should retain their pride in their nationhood and refrain from concealing the obvious effects of circumcision (ἐπισπάομαι – 1 Cor. 7.18 – see J. Aston, *The Religion of Paul the Apostle* [New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000] 97). Furthermore, it is not far fetched to say that the Pharisees' efforts to gain adherents among other Jews could possibly have been an interest for Paul too (cf. Matt. 23.15; Josephus *Ant.* 20.44-46). Other than these suggestions, we do not have any evidence to demonstrate Paul's involvement among the Gentiles in his pre-Christian career, and we can probably say that Paul prior

5.3. Stephen's Pneumatic Activities⁶⁵

Central to the Lukan portrayal of Stephen is his activity as a Christian pneumatic (Acts 6.3, 5, 8; 7.55) in and around the synagogues of Jerusalem. However, it has to be admitted that the past scholarship has not given any great importance to Stephen's pneumatic experiences,⁶⁶ particularly in relation to the initial opposition towards Stephen or to accusations that are brought against him or even to his martyrdom. Two preliminary issues need to be highlighted before turning to the pneumatic experiences of Stephen.

First, in most contemporary discussions on Stephen it is assumed that it was his teaching/preaching that resulted in his martyrdom and Paul's involvement and later in a selective persecution of the church. Such a focus has resulted from the complex relation that exists between the accusations in Acts 6.11-14⁶⁷ and the speech in Acts 7.2-53. Thus, both the scholars who find a link between the opponents' accusations and Stephen's speech⁶⁸ and those who deny any such links,⁶⁹ generally agree that it was Stephen's teaching/preaching (7.2-53) that led to his martyrdom.⁷⁰ A sample of opinions that have dominated the discussions as to the reasons for Paul's involvement in Stephen's martyrdom is as follows: (1) the Law criticism of the Stephen circle;⁷¹ (2) the confession of a crucified Christ;⁷² (3) the enthusiasm of the early church, which led to political problems over fears

to his conversion was active in ensuring Torah fidelity among others Jews or proselytes, and not among Gentiles as such.

⁶⁵ The composite nature of Stephen's story needs to be recognised (Acts 6.8-7.59). Scholars often note the influence of the synoptic trial narrative upon the composition of Acts 6.11-14 (M. Simon, *St. Stephen and the Hellenists in the Primitive Church* [London: Longmans, 1958] 20-26; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:335ff.). They also understand the omission of certain elements from the trial of Jesus and their inclusion within the Stephen story as the work of Luke (J. Bihler, 'Der Stephanusgeschichte [Apg 6,8-15 und 7,54-8.2]', *BZ* 3 [1959] 252-70) or, expanding the investigation to the entire narrative, regard the present composition as fashioned upon the synoptic materials about Jesus and traditional sources concerning Paul (J.H. Wilson, 'Luke's Role as a Theologian and Historian in Acts 6.1-8.3' [Ph.D diss., Emory University, 1962] 41-100).

⁶⁶ Recent monographs (W.H. Shepherd, *The Narrative Function of the Holy Spirit as a Character in Luke-Acts* [SBLDS 147; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994]; J. Hur, *A Dynamic Reading of Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998]; R. Stronstad, *The Prophethood of All Believers: A Study in Luke's Charismatic Theology* [JPTSS 16; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999]) discuss the Spirit experiences of Stephen from various points of view.

⁶⁷ J. Kilgallen, 'The Stephen speech: A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7.2-53', (AnBib 67; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976) 31-32; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 272-74.

⁶⁸ Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 126-128.

⁶⁹ Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, 54ff.

⁷⁰ Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 18ff.

⁷¹ Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 44-48.

⁷² Strecker, 'Befreiung und Rechtfertigung', 479-508.

regarding the relationship between Jews and Romans;⁷³ (4) the temple and the cult criticism of the Hellenists;⁷⁴ or (5) some combination of these motives.⁷⁵ What are significantly underestimated in these discussions are Stephen's pneumatological experiences, in that they might have contributed to a certain tension among his opponents, especially Paul.

A second issue of relevance to our discussion is whether the Spirit references within the Stephen narrative are in fact Lukan. Luke portrays Stephen as a Christian pneumatic (Acts 6: 3, 5, 8, 10; 7.55), a factor that has been played down in past scholarly treatments.⁷⁶ It is often assumed that the Spirit references within the Stephen narrative are products of Luke's editorial interest,⁷⁷ either to maintain Stephen's apostolic credentials⁷⁸ or to heighten the martyrological motives.⁷⁹ The argument is that the rise of conflict is described in a stereotyped Lukan language - 'many signs and wonders among the people' (v.8; 5.12, cf. 4.30). Such a position does not do justice to the activities of other Hellenists like Philip, who evidently enjoyed similar pneumatic experiences (Acts 8.6,7, 13, 29, 39).

One should not dismiss the high concentration of Spirit references in the Stephen episode as merely redactional. According to Luke, Stephen was a man "full (πλήρης) of faith and Holy Spirit"; his arguments/teachings were with wisdom and the Spirit; as a Spirit-filled interpreter Stephen accused his audience of "opposing the Holy Spirit" (Acts 7.51); and finally through the Holy Spirit Stephen is granted a vision of heaven (Acts 7.55-56). A similar concentration of Spirit texts is found in Luke's description of Jesus' ministry in the power of the Spirit (Lk. 3.22; 4.1, 14; 18; 10.21; cf. 5.17).

In Luke, those who are favoured with God's dynamic presence are said to be either "filled with" (πίμπλημι - Lk. 1.15; 1.41; 1.67; Acts 2.4; 4.8; 4.31; 9.17)⁸⁰ or

⁷³ For P. Fredriksen, *From Jesus to Christ. The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (London: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁷⁴ Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (WUNT 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1983) 254-55, J.D.G. Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and Law. Studies in Mark and Galatians* (London: SPCK, 1990) 16.

⁷⁵ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1: 318-330; Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 73 ff.

⁷⁶ G. Stanton, 'Stephen in Lukan Perspective', E.A. Livingstone (eds.) *Studia Biblica 1978, III Papers on Paul and Other New Testament Authors* (JSNTSS 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1980) 355; J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1998) 356.; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:318-330.

⁷⁷ Räisänen, 'The 'Hellenists'', 172.

⁷⁸ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:379-388.

⁷⁹ Räisänen, 'The 'Hellenists'', 172ff.

⁸⁰ In non-pneumatic usage the term πίμπλημι describes being filled with 'awe & wonder', (Lk. 5.26; Acts 3.10), 'anger' (Lk. 4.28; 6.11; Acts 5.17; 13.45) and 'confusion' (Acts 19.29).

“full of” (πλήρης Acts 6.3, 5; 7.55; 11.24; 13.9; 52) the Spirit. For Luke, the experience of being ‘filled (πίμπλημι) with the Spirit’ includes: joy (Lk. 1.15, 44), prophetic exhortation (Lk. 1.67), inspired speaking, including speaking in tongues (Acts 2.4; 4.8, 31), and reception of the Spirit (Acts 9.17). Such references describe experiences of either Jews or Jewish Christians in general.

However, the term “full” (πλήρης)⁸¹ of the Spirit is used in relation to ‘great wonders and signs’ (Acts 6.8); ‘wisdom and authority’ to speak (Acts 6.10; 11.23; cf. 13.46; Lk. 4.32, 36), ‘vision of Jesus’ (Acts 7.55) and ‘joy’ (Acts 13.52). Two aspects need to be noted. (i) It is interesting to note that almost all the uses of the term in Luke occur either in the context of synagogue preaching/ministry (Acts 6.3, 5; 7.55 and 11.24) or placed immediately before a synagogue preaching/ministry (cf. Lk.4.14-15; cf.4.1). (ii) With the exception of Jesus, the term occurs only in relation to Diaspora Jewish Christians or their activities among the Gentile Christians (who were referred to as μαθηταί - Acts 6.8, 10; 13.52).⁸² A plausible deduction is that the usage was distinctive of a source, perhaps the Antioch source.⁸³

5.3.1. Stephen the Christian Pneumatic

Stephen is depicted as “full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom” (Acts 6.3).⁸⁴ Luke thus places Stephen along with other pneumatics (Acts 6.3, 5, 8; 7.55; cf. Lk. 4.1; Acts 11.24), particularly in Hellenist circles. Stephen’s pneumatic experiences include, miracle, spirit inspired wisdom, inspired speech, and heavenly vision.

5.3.1.1. Signs and Wonders

According to Luke, the result of Stephen being ‘full of grace and power’ was that he performed ‘great wonders and signs’ (Acts 6.8b cf. 5.12). Luke does not describe what the sign and wonders were that Stephen performed ἐν τῷ λαῷ.

⁸¹ The usage may depend on Wis. 1.7, πνεῦμα κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην (“the Spirit of the Lord has filled the universe”). The words πλησθήσεται πνεύματος are found in LXX of Prov. 15.4, but in an entirely different sense, having nothing to do with God’s Spirit. The other similar usage is found in Sir. 24.25, where the Torah fills men with wisdom.

⁸² πλήρης with the genitive occurs ten times in Luke’s writings (Lk. 4.1 and 5.12); elsewhere in the New Testament only in Jn. 1.14. The verb πίμπλησθαι is used elsewhere only in Matt. 27.48 with the genitive; in Luke the combination occurs often (Acts 4.8,31).

⁸³ See J. Dupont, *The Sources of Acts: The Present Position* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964) 35-36, 62-72 for an introduction to the history of the Antioch source.

⁸⁴ J.A. Fitzmyer, ‘The Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts’, in J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Unity of Luke-Acts* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999) 165-183. See discussion in J.B. Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed*, 130-148.

These may have included various exorcisms and healings (cf. Acts 8.7).⁸⁵ It is highly probable that the ‘signs and wonders’ which Stephen performed created either interest or concern ἐν τῷ λαῷ, and particularly among the Hellenist communities.

One reason for friction might have resulted from the Hellenist attitude to the Temple and its cult. At least in certain circles the Temple was still a locus of miracles. The propagandists for the Maccabean party insisted that the temple, even after its desecration and repurification, was still sacred, that a sacred fire still burned on its altar, that the voice of God could still be heard in its inner precincts, and that it was still the site of miracles (2 Macc.1.10-2.18; cf. Josephus *Ant.* 13.10; cf. *t.Sotah* 36a; *Yoma*.21a). Supporters of the Herodian temple also told miracle stories: Josephus *Ant.* 15.11.7 (paralleled by *Ta’anit* 23a) lists ten aspects of temple life which were considered ‘miraculous’. If that is the case then it is probable that the crowd who listened to Stephen, especially the men from the synagogue of the Freedmen who had a special interest in the Jerusalem temple⁸⁶ might have raised their eyebrows regarding the implications of Stephen’s performance.⁸⁷ Since we don’t have enough information, this may be a possible explanation for their dispute with Stephen.

5.3.1.2. Stephen and Charismatic wisdom

Luke presents Stephen as a person gifted with charismatic wisdom. Once again the text does not provide us with enough information regarding the nature of Stephen’s wisdom. What is evident is that the disciples in Jerusalem chose Stephen to be one of the seven because he was full of Holy Spirit and of wisdom. This may possibly indicate not just inspired speaking,⁸⁸ but also ability for leadership and teaching.⁸⁹ The charismatic wisdom of Stephen is further demonstrated in the argument (συζητέω)⁹⁰ of the men from the synagogue of Freedmen, who were

⁸⁵ See Rengstroff, ‘σημεῖον’, *TDNT*, 7: 200-269.

⁸⁶ To be near the Temple was the reason they returned to Jerusalem. See discussions in Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* 17.

⁸⁷ It is interesting to note that had Peter’s performance of miracles taken place within the precincts of the temple (Acts 3.2ff; Acts 5.12), it might not have created problems, because of the sacredness attached to the temple.

⁸⁸ J.B. Sheldon, *Mighty in Word and Deed, The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts* (Eugene OR: Wipf and Stock, 2000) 138.

⁸⁹ See Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit* (London: SCM Press, 1975) 176.

⁹⁰ The term συζητέω is used to express forceful differences of opinion without necessarily having a presumed goal of seeking a solution (Mk. 9.14; Acts 28.29; cf. 18.15; Jn. 3.25). Mark uses the term in relation to Pharisaic and scribal arguments. See Mk. 8.11; 9.10; 14, 16; 12.28. Luke uses it in relation to disciples (Lk. 22.23; 24.15), in Acts in relation to the Hellenists (Acts 6.9; 9.29).

unable to cope with the wisdom and the Spirit with which he was speaking (Acts 6.10).⁹¹

The association of the Spirit and wisdom is not infrequent in Israelite and early Jewish literature (Exod. 31.3-4; cf. 35.31-32; Deut. 34.9; Isa. 11.2; *Pss.* 17.37; *I Enoch* 49.2-3; Wis. 1.6, 7.7, 22, 23; 9.17). Apart from this longstanding association, it is difficult to ascertain which of the above-mentioned aspects explains Stephen's Spirit experience.

However, what is plausible is to place Stephen's charismatic wisdom experience in the context of the συζητεῖν (enquiry/dispute)⁹² of Diaspora Jews. It is probable that the synagogue-oriented contenders were familiar with Torah reading, interpretation and active participation in the process of interpreting the scripture.⁹³

In such a context Stephen's charismatic wisdom becomes evident to his contenders as that of a teacher of Torah as explained by Ben Sira. Ben Sira expected that the pious scholar might find himself 'filled with the Spirit of understanding' in and through his diligent study of the law (Sir. 39.6). As a result he would pour forth words of wisdom and 'mediate God's secrets', revealing instruction in his teaching, (Sir 39.7-8). However, the text does not provide us with enough clues on the issue.

What is plausible is that if Stephen's opponents thought in these terms, then Stephen's message would have become a challenge to any Torah teacher of the day,

⁹¹ Lk. 21.15.

⁹² In Greek rhetoric ἀπόδειξις was a technical word for a compelling conclusion to be drawn from a reasoned argument (Plato *Tim* 40 E; *4 Macc.* 3.19 cf. *3 Macc.* 4.20). In the Graeco-Roman world rhetorical skill required diligent training. See, for example, Crassus, who in Cicero's *De Oratore* 1.115 stresses the priority of natural ability and admits that training will improve it. In contrast, Philo (*Vir.* 212ff) attributes Abraham's rhetorical skill and physical transformation not to training but to possession by God's Spirit, which entered his virtuous soul. In the Jewish tradition of speech the object is to persuade through divine authority rather than by modes of natural proof. For Paul the compelling proof of his message was not in his rhetoric but in the demonstration of Spirit and of power (1 Cor. 2.4) an aspect for which Paul might have been indebted to the Hellenists.

⁹³ Various sources indicate that members of the congregation were not passive participants in this process. The exchanges in the synagogues were presented as being quite animated and often heated. Thus Acts presents Paul as constantly "arguing" (διαλέγομαι) in the synagogues (Acts 17.2, 17.17, 18.4; 18.19, 19.8; 20.7, 9; 24.12, 24.25) and states that Apollos "spoke boldly" (παρρησιάζομαι) before the congregation in Ephesus (Acts 18.26). Within these accounts, sometimes members of the congregation argued back (Acts 18.6); at other times they expressed their approval (Acts 17.11) or disapproval (Mk. 6.2-3). Occasionally they became enraged and cast the speaker out (Lk. 4.28-29). It is clear from contemporary literature that the process of interpreting scripture was a community affair. In his descriptions, Philo refers to the members of the congregation participating in the discussion (*Hypoth.* 7.13; *Somn.* 2.127).

including Paul, who was conceivably part of the hostile crowd. In that case, people like Paul might have questions regarding the credibility of Stephen's experience and teachings. What is significant with Stephen's Spirit experience is that it is not limited to a Spirit of wisdom, but includes also, according to Luke, power, signs and wonders. Here then the issue is between a qualified scribe and a non-qualified pneumatic interpreter. Paul could have strongly resisted any challenge raised by Stephen and the Hellenists (Gal. 1.1; 2 Cor. 11.5; 12.11f.; 1 Thess. 2.3-6).⁹⁴ This could have caused considerable friction.

5.3.1.3. Stephen's Charismatic Preaching and Vision

According to Luke, Stephen's defence⁹⁵ before the Sanhedrin was inspired by the Spirit (Acts 6.8; 7.55)⁹⁶ – a Spirit inspired retelling⁹⁷ of Israelite history.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ In a Pharisaic-scribal milieu, any success by other teachers might have threatened their hoped-for monopoly. The natural response would have been to challenge what Stephen was saying, particularly in areas where they sensed vulnerability.

⁹⁵ Stephen's speech poses a whole series of difficult problems (Conzelmann, *Acts*, 57). Exegetes often point out the difficulty in the relationship between Acts chapters 6 and 7 (Dillon, *New Jerome Bible Commentary*, 742). Opinions vary from Luke's complete dependence on a tradition (Simon, *St. Stephen*) to him composing the account from scratch (Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 167. Hahn, *Mission*, 382 ff). Scholars come to the above conclusion from a tradition-redaction method (Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1971; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1; T.L. Donaldson, 'Moses Typology and the Sectarian Nature of Early Christian Anti-Judaism: a Study on Acts 7', *JSNT* 12 [1981] 27-52; Conzelmann, *Acts*) and literary criticism (Kilgallen, *Stephen Speech*, 121-163; Richard, *Acts 6.1-8.4*, 238; E. Richard, 'The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7', *JBL* 98 [1979] 255-256).

As a result, scholars using these methods disagree with one another about sources and linguistic features, and because of this few agree as to the meaning of what Luke eventually put together. Thus, some say out that Luke has taken over a 'history sermon' *en bloc* and tailored it for his purposes with additions (Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 289; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1: 324ff.). Other commentators are even prepared to dismiss the speech as entirely Lukan redaction, believing that the account makes better sense without it (Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 20; Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 90). They conclude that Stephen's speech is a defense of his position (F.F. Bruce, *Men and Movements in the Primitive Church, Studies in the Early Non-Pauline Christianity* [Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1979] 52ff.), a model of early Christian apologetic to Hellenistic Judaism, (Kilgallen, *Stephen's Speech*, 87-95) a (non-Pauline) Hellenistic Jewish Christian view of the Bible, or history (Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1:336 ff.).

Many sources have been proposed for Stephen's speech: a) Alexandrian Hellenism (L.W. Barnard, 'Saint Stephen and Early Alexandrian Christianity', *NTS* 7 [1960-61] 31-45); b) an Aramaic source (C.C. Torey, *The Composition and Date of Acts* [HTS 1; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, London: OUP, 1916]; c) an Alexandrian source (B.W. Bacon, 'Stephen Speech: Its Argument and Doctrinal Relationship' in *Biblical and Semitic Studies: Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901] 211-76; H.W. Neudofer, 'The Speech of Stephen', in I.H. Marshall and D. Peterson [ed.], *Witness to the Gospel. The Theology of Acts* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998] 275-294); d) an Essene source (O. Cullmann, 'The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity', *JBL* 74 [1955] 213-26); e) a Samaritan Source (Scobie, 'The Origins and Development of Samaritan Christianity', 390-414; or f) an Antiochene source (Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 4).

Luke portrays Stephen's pneumatic credentials in his speech, which is prefaced by the twofold description of Stephen as "full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6.3) and "full of faith and of the Holy Spirit" (6.8) and concludes with Stephen's ecstatic climax (θεωρεῖν) in the Spirit (7.56).

According to Luke, Stephen was self-conscious about his role as a Spirit-inspired preacher. This is evident from the following observations. (i) His Spirit-inspired speech retells the Israelite history prior to the building of the Temple. (ii) His Spirit-inspired criticism of the Temple as 'made with hands' (χειροποίητος), emphasises the lack of restriction of the presence of God in Israelite history either as to land or as to building, and cites references most critical of abuses of the Temple cult (1 Kgs. 19.10, 14; Isa. 1.12-17; Jer. 7.1-34; cf. 4 Ezra 1.32-37). (iii) His inspired accusation that the Council's members were 'always resisting the Holy Spirit' has parallel usages in Hebrew scripture. The 'stiff-necked' (cf. LXX Exod. 33.3, 5; 34.9; Deut. 9.6, 13.), the 'uncircumcised in heart' (Lev. 26.41; Deut. 10.16; Jer. 4.4; 9.26; Ezek. 44.7, 9), and those 'resisting the Holy Spirit' (Num. 27.14; LXX Isa. 63.10; Lk. 12.10; Acts 3.23; 5.1-11) continue and climax the ongoing history of their fathers who persecuted the prophets (1 Kgs. 19.10, 14; Neh. 9.26; Jer. 26.20-24).⁹⁹

⁹⁶ In the period of our concern, Pharisees were certainly members of the Sanhedrin, and Paul, as a Pharisee, would have been present at times. See CD 10.6-10; IQSa 1.6-16 (Schürer, *History*, 2.210).

⁹⁷ Max Turner's classification 'charismatic expository address' is helpful here. Turner makes a distinction between a) charismatic revelation, b) charismatic infusion of wisdom, c) prophetic speech, and d) charismatic expository address. Stephen's speech can be classified as a 'charismatic expository address'. He has further pointed out that the Spirit is not explicitly portrayed as the power of charismatic expository address or 'preaching' in Judaism. He has convincingly argued that Luke did not get his view from Judaism; but rather that the Spirit was widely regarded as the power of authoritative preaching in Hellenistic-Jewish Christian circles (1 Thess. 1.5; 1 Cor. 2.4; 2 Cor. 11.4; Rom. 15.19; cf. Jn. 3.34; 6.62-63; 14-14; Heb. 2.4; 1 Peter 1.12). This would further enhance our argument that Luke depended on reliable sources for the Stephen episode and its possible links with Paul's persecution. See discussion in idem, 'The Spirit of Prophecy and the Power of Authoritative Preaching in Luke-Acts: A Question of Origins', *NTS* 38 (1992) 75; idem, *Power from on High*, 95.

⁹⁸ It starts with the patriarchs (Acts 7.1-17), Moses and the time in Egypt (vv.20-36) and in the desert (vv.37-44). It touches upon the time of Joshua (v.45) and of David (v.45), Solomon (v.47) and the prophets (v.52); but then immediately moves to Jesus (v.52) and his rejection. God's self-revelation to the patriarchs (εὐδένω.7.2, 30, 35, 44, 55), promise and fulfilment (7.5, 17), an emphasis on God's presence outside the Temple (47-50) and the consistent rejection of God's message and the prophets (51-51) are the major themes of Stephen's speech. See discussion in Neudorfer, 'The Speech of Stephen', 281ff; Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*, 65ff; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 44-54.

⁹⁹ It is important to note a parallel usage in Luke, the blasphemy against the Spirit in Lk.12.10-11. See discussions in Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 407; Lampe, 'The Holy Spirit', 190-191; Menzies, *Development*, 193.

Finally, Stephen “full of the Holy Spirit” (7.55) is granted a vision of heaven (7.55-56). Stephen shares the privilege of prophets and visionaries and not least that of Moses himself, in that he sees the glory of God (Exod. 33.18-22; Isa. 6.1-4; Ezek. 1.28), here the ‘Son of man at the right hand of God’ (7.55-56). The above pneumatic experience of Stephen had an impact on the Greek speaking Jewish contenders including Paul (7.54, 57). The implication of Stephen’s Spirit inspired retelling of Israelite history probably created further friction, particularly on Paul’s convictions of the Spirit in relation to interpreting Torah, traditions of the ancestors (Acts 6.11, 13, 14) and his convictions about the Temple.

5.4. Stephen’s Spirit Activity and Paul

It is important for us to recognise Stephen’s Spirit activities and their impact on Paul. A few observations need to be made here.

First, Stephen’s Spirit experiences might have caused friction, in terms of Paul’s assumptions about the Holy Spirit. Paul’s own understanding as a Spirit bearer would probably have come into question, particularly in his study and practice of Torah and traditions, and this may have inflamed Paul’s desire to be involved in persecution.

Second, the combination of the motifs of wisdom, spirit, and signs and wonders in Stephen’s pneumatic experience expresses the Hellenist Christians’ pneumatic ideals.¹⁰⁰ These notions are reflected in Paul’s earliest letters. For him miracles were performed and were empowered by the Spirit and associated with his preaching (1 Thess. 1.5; 1 Cor. 2.1-5; 6.19 (cf. Rom. 15.19; 1 Cor. 1.22; 2 Cor. 12.12).

Third, as noted above, Stephen’s inspired criticism of the Temple as ‘made by hand’ (χειροποιήτος) seems to indicate that within Hellenist circles, the Church was already spoken of as the new temple, a reconstituted congregation of Israel in the Spirit (Acts 6.13; 7.44-50). Paul subsequent conviction concerning this is evident in 1 Cor. 3.16-17; 6.19; 2 Cor. 6.16 (cf. Eph. 2.21).

5.5 Conclusion:

What emerges from our discussion on Paul’s ‘former life’ as a persecutor of the church is that the aspects that triggered persecution in relation to the Stephen circles do have links to the Spirit understanding of Paul. This is shown by building on the

¹⁰⁰ Horn, *ABD* 3: 268-69.

likelihood that Luke was familiar with Paul's persecution activities, particularly his involvement with Stephen's martyrdom. The synagogues in Jerusalem were possibly the point of contact between Stephen and Paul. Stephen's pneumatic activities, which included signs and wonders, charismatic wisdom, inspired preaching and vision, might have created friction among the Jewish Diasporians in Jerusalem, who were familiar with the activities and interpretations expected of a qualified teacher of the Torah, like Paul. Stephen's activities, which included both teaching and pneumatic activities, incited Paul to become involved in active persecution of the church.

The Pre-Christian Paul's Convictional Background - Conclusion to Part 3

In Part 3 we have attempted to uncover Paul's pre-Christian convictions on the Spirit, particularly evolving from his own self-perception as a Pharisee in relation to the traditions of the law and as a persecutor of the church, within the conceptual background that was current in the first century.

As a Pharisee, Paul presumably knew various strands on the nature and effects of the Spirit that were prevalent in the first C.E. We have argued that Paul's pre-Christian convictions were probably particularly close to three strands of thoughts on the Spirit. These include the availability of the Spirit to those who 'zealously' study and practice Torah and maintain purity in obedience to Torah. Further, Paul may also have been familiar with the idea that God will vindicate in resurrection through the Spirit those who show fidelity to the Torah in the present. These strands fit well with Paul's own self-description as the one who was ζηλός for the Law and the ancestral traditions.

As a Persecutor of ἐκκλησία, Paul's self perception throws further light on the immediate concerns of the anticipation of the Spirit. We argued that it was the synagogue that provided the context for Stephen's pneumatic activity, which may well have resulted in friction between Paul and Stephen. Paul might have been surprised at Stephen's pneumatic activities, including, signs and wonders, wisdom, inspired preaching and visions. These pneumatic phenomena could well have challenged Paul's pre-Christian understanding of the Spirit, particularly his role as a Torah interpreter, and this may have led him to become involved in the persecution of the church.

To the question whether Paul expected bestowal of Spirit upon the Gentiles, there is nothing we can possibly draw from Paul's Pharisaic background or persecuting activity. It is probable that Paul's immediate concerns were not future oriented; rather his background suggests a present concern, particularly on the role of the Spirit in maintaining the covenant community's practice and obedience to the law. Even the anticipation of the Spirit in the resurrection depended on one's present fidelity to the law. Most of these inferences are inevitably speculative, but it remains intriguing that such belief regarding the Spirit may have been part of his pneumatology. The key point for us, however, is that his subsequent conviction that the Spirit had been bestowed on Gentiles (without them becoming proselytes) cannot be traced back to his pre-Christian, Pharisaic past with any significant degree of probability.

Part 4

PAUL AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

Introduction to Part 4

In the previous sections of our study, we have examined the pre-Christian Paul's expectation of an outpouring of the Spirit from a conceptual and convictional point of view. In the conceptual background, evident in both biblical and post-biblical literature, we have argued that, the promise of the Spirit in the age to come is given only to the covenant community, particularly with an increasing trend in terms of understanding the Spirit as enabling obedience to the law, in the present as well as in the future. That is to say, we have seen that neither the Hebrew Bible nor post-biblical Jewish literature allow us to infer that Paul's conceptual world included a perspective that would expect outpouring of the Spirit apart from Law or apart from membership of the covenant community.

Such a finding is further strengthened by our study on the convictions of the pre-Christian Paul himself. We have demonstrated that various strands might have influenced Paul's past life as a Pharisee and a persecutor. We have argued that Paul as a Pharisee may well have been inclined to the idea that the Spirit plays a key role in the study and practice of the Torah. Purity and fidelity to the Torah in observance and practice in the present world will lead to a final vindication from God. We have also noted that such a strong conviction might have led to Paul's involvement in the persecution of the group around Stephen.

This brings us to the key concern of our thesis, which is, how can we account for Paul's Christian conviction that God has poured out the Spirit upon the Gentiles? Or when did Paul begin to believe that Gentiles are eligible for the Spirit of God, apart from the Law? Or a broader question, how did Paul or the early church come to recognise that the Gentiles stood equal with them in their status for the reception of the Spirit? For our purpose the issue is looked at from two levels.

First, the importance Paul gives to the Damascus event, particularly his call as an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1.13; Phil. 3.4-11; 1 Cor. 15.8-10) is an essential point (1 Thess. 1.5f; Gal. 3.1-5; cf. 1 Cor. 2.4f.)¹ of interest for our study. Second, it is also crucial for us to grasp the early churches, particularly the Hellenist Christians and the group around Peter and James' understanding of the bestowal of the Spirit upon the

¹ Elsewhere in Rom. 1.16; 2 Cor. 4.4-6; cf. 3.16; Rom. 15.18; Eph. 6.17; Acts 10.44-48; 11.15-18, 15.8.

Gentiles as valid for their full incorporation to the new community (Gal. 2.7-10; Acts 15.1-29).

Thus the task of this section is (i) to examine Paul's Damascus experience, particularly in relation to his call as an apostle to the Gentiles and its relationship to the understanding of the Spirit, (ii) to investigate the early church's convictions concerning the Spirit particularly in the period prior to the Jerusalem conference, which obviously includes the period in Paul's life between his conversion and his association with the church in Antioch; this will (iii) then help us to identify a possible answer for our enquiry on Paul's initial thoughts on the Spirit.

Chapter 6

PAUL'S CONVERSION/CALL AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

6.1 Introduction

The Damascus event¹ for Paul was an experience of the Spirit.² What is disturbing for the present research is Paul's silence on the role of the Holy Spirit in his autobiographical statements, particularly when he refers to his conversion/call experience. Passages like Gal. 1.13; Phil. 3.4-11; 1 Cor. 15.8-10, which are generally considered, as referring to his 'past'³ do not attach any direct significance to the experience of the Spirit.

Such a dilemma is further evident from Luke's information regarding Paul's Spirit experience at Damascus in the Book of Acts. For example, it is only in Acts 9.17 that we find a subsidiary reference to the Holy Spirit when Luke describes Paul's meeting with Ananias in Damascus.⁴ Surprisingly, Luke's later references to Paul's conversion story

¹ For general works dealing with Paul's conversion/call, see P.H. Menoud, 'Revelation and Tradition: The Influence of Paul's Conversion on His Theology', *Int* 7 (1953) 131-141; H.G. Wood 'The Conversion of St. Paul: Its Nature, Antecedents and Consequences', *NTS* 4 (1955) 276-82; Haacker, *Paulus*; G. Bornkamm, 'The Revelation of Christ to Paul on the Damascus Road and Paul's Doctrine of Justification', in R. Banks (ed.), *Reconciliation and Hope* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 90-113; J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* (trans. F. Clarke; London: SCM Press, 1959); K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); J.G. Gager, 'Some Notes on Paul's Conversion', *NTS* 27 (1981) 697-703; G. Lohfink, *The Conversion of St. Paul: Narrative and History in Acts* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1976); Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*; Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus*; C. Tuckett, 'Deuteronomy 21.23 and Paul's Conversion', in A. Vanhoye (ed.) *L'Apôtre Paul: Personnalité, style, et conception du ministère* (BETL 73; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986) 345-50; Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*; H. Räisänen, 'Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law', *NTS* 33 (1987) 404-19; Dunn, 'A Light to the Gentiles', 89-107; Seifrid, *Justification by Faith*, 136-46; Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*; A.F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University, 1990); Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 82-104.

² See Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 104-114; Fee, 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit', 166-183; M.M.B. Turner, 'The Significance of Spirit Endowment for Paul', *Vox Evangelica* 9 (1975) 58-69.

³ For example see discussions in Haacker, *Paulus*, 13-14; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 93-104.

⁴ In this passage Ananias lays hands on Paul, and tells him that the Lord Jesus, who had appeared to him, had commanded him come to Paul, so that he could regain his sight and be filled with the Holy Spirit. The difficulty here is that the reception of the Spirit is linked in a parallel grammatical fashion with Paul's receiving his sight. See Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 112, who sees a tension between Acts 9.17 and 18. See also, J.B. Polhill, *Acts* (NAC 26; Nashville: Broadman, 1992) 238; Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1: 457-458; Turner, *Power*; S.E. Porter, 'Paul and the Holy Spirit in Acts', in *The Paul of Acts, Essays in Literary Criticism, Rhetoric, and Theology* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1999) 71-72.

in Acts 22.3-21 and 26.9-23⁵ do not acknowledge the role of the Spirit in his conversion experience.

However, such parsimonious documentation of the Spirit in relation to the Damascus experience need not undermine the significance of the subject for our enquiry. The reason for this silence on the Spirit may be that our information about Paul's Damascus event is rather scanty,⁶ and that references to it are conditioned by contextual emphases⁷ or rhetorically organised composition.⁸

What is explicit in his letters is Paul's emphasis on the experience of the Spirit at the beginning of all Christian conversion – by implication, both his converts' and his own. Recently, Gordon D. Fee has pointed out the importance of looking at the Pauline texts, where he reminds his converts of their conversion, and in which he invariably refers to the role played in it by the Spirit.⁹ Passages like 1 Thess. 1.4-6; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5; cf. 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 6.11; 2 Cor. 1.21¹⁰ support such an argument. A significantly important passage that may provide valuable information about Paul's Damascus experience is 2 Cor. 3.1-4.6, where Paul refers to his own experience of the

⁵ On the three accounts, see C.W. Hendrick, 'Paul's Conversion/Call: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Reports in Acts', *JBL* 100 (1981) 415-432. Hendrick explained the variations found in the three accounts of Saul's conversion/call on the basis of source-analysis. However, D. Marguerat ('Saul's Conversion (Acts 9, 22, 26) and the Multiplication of Narrative in Acts' in C.M. Tuckett (ed.), *Luke's Literary Achievement: Collected Essays* (JSNTSS 116; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995) 127-155.) has argued for 'functional redundancy', which produces 'expansion', 'truncation', 'change of order', 'grammatical transformation' and 'substitution'. As a result these accounts do not indicate contradictions ignored by Luke but represent a significant literary strategy designed by Luke. What is striking in the three accounts, whether they represent variations within the source or functional redundancy is that the Holy Spirit does not have any role!

⁶ See Fee, 'Paul's Conversion as Key to His Understanding of the Spirit', 166-67.

⁷ The texts (Gal. 1.13; Phil. 3.4-11; 1 Cor. 15.8-10) are throughout, although in different ways, interlaced with controversies, polemics and apologetics, and they have both main and secondary functions to fulfil. In such a context, reference to Paul's experience of the Spirit would not have served any particular purpose within the argument.

⁸ See discussions in Marguerat, 'Saul's Conversion', 127-155.

⁹ See, Fee, 'Paul's Conversion', 166-183. According to Fee, the passages in which Paul does this are of two kinds: one, the "passages where the Spirit is mentioned in a presuppositional manner" (1 Cor. 2. 4-5; 6.11; 1 Thess. 1.5-6, 9-10; 2 Thess. 2.13-14), and two, "the passages where the Spirit is highlighted as being crucial to the argument" (2 Cor. 3.3; Gal. 3.1-5). He also highlights numerous "confessional" texts in which, while affirming the saving event, Paul indicates himself together with his readers as recipients of the Holy Spirit, including Gal. 3.13-14; 4.4-7; Rom. 8.15-16; 2 Cor. 1.21-22; and Rom. 5.1-5 (p. 177-81). See also J.D.G. Dunn, *Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998) 419-425.

¹⁰ For example, the Spirit experience is basic to his reminding the Thessalonians about the reality of their conversion (1.4-6, 9-10). In 2 Thess. 2.13-14 Paul specifies the beginning of his converts' Christian life in terms of the reception of the Spirit. While admonishing the Galatians (Gal. 3.1-5 cf. 4.4-7) Paul very clearly points to the experienced reality of the Spirit at their conversion. In 1 Cor. 2.4-5 too, the experience of the Spirit at the time of their conversion is presupposed. Further, in 1 Cor. 6.11 where Paul reminds the believers that their salvation comes "in the name of our Lord Jesus," it is also effected in their lives "by the Spirit of our God".

Spirit at Damascus. These indirect references to the Spirit experiences at conversion provide us with sufficient grounds to further our enquiry.¹¹

The above-mentioned assumption (that is, that the Pauline letters take for granted the underlying significance of the experience of the Spirit at all conversions) leads us to presume that he himself experienced the Spirit at Damascus.

The objective of this chapter is to place Paul's Damascus event in relation to the experience of the Spirit. In order to achieve this purpose, we must, first, examine Paul's conversion, from his former life as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church (Gal. 1.13; Phil. 3.4-11; 1 Cor. 15.8-10) to his life in Christ (Gal. 1.10-24; 2.16; 3.26, 27; Phil. 3.2-11; 2 Cor. 5.17; Rom. 5.10; 6.3; 8.1,2; 15.16). Second, Paul's explicit statements of the purpose of his call to be an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1.15, 16; Rom. 1.5, 13; 15.16-19; Acts 9.15), particularly as the one who was sent to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, should inform our enquiry on his conviction that God has poured out his Spirit upon the Gentiles (1 Thess. 1.4-6; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5 cf. 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 6.11; 2 Cor. 1.21).

Before attempting to assess what effect Paul's conversion had on his thinking about the Holy Spirit, we need to discover what the existing scholarly orientations are in understanding Paul's Spirit experience? How would past scholarship perceive the relationship between the Spirit and the Damascus experience? And how does contemporary scholarship view the impact of the Spirit at Damascus on Paul's theology of the Spirit?

6.2. Scholarship, Spirit and the Damascus experience of Paul

In spite of Paul's emphasis on the subject and the consistency of the general treatment of the Spirit experience at conversion in his writings, past scholarly investigations have conspicuously disregarded the importance of the topic. Two presuppositions might have contributed to this. Firstly, several assume that Paul's few references to his Damascus experience are contextually determined and have little to do with the content of his gospel or his theology.¹² Secondly, even the opposite supposition,

¹¹ See Fee, *Empowering Presence*, for detailed exegesis of the passages.

¹² Earlier interpreters simply passed over the Damascus experience altogether. For example Bornkamm ('Revelation of Christ', 90-103) justifies his dismissal of the Damascus experience because he believes that Paul spoke of his conversion "surprisingly seldom." He (*Paul* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1971] 16-25 [22]) sees Galatians 1.11-17 and Phil. 3.2-11 as the only two places where Paul refers to the Damascus experience, and Paul does so only to defend his "call" to be a preacher of the gospel and never in an attempt to lay claim to a "revelatio specialissima." Other interpreters like, Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterien-Religionen*; A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (London: Adam

that Paul's experience at Damascus is *vital* to the understanding of the content of his gospel and theology,¹³ subordinated the discussion of Paul's Spirit experience to other theological motifs.

6.2.1. *The Damascus experience as Irrelevant:*

The contention that references to Paul's experience at Damascus were contextually determined and have little to do with the content of his gospel or his theology reflect a larger trend in Pauline scholarship – namely to read Paul's life and thought against a presupposed Hellenistic and/or Jewish grid.¹⁴

To suffice an example, recently, F.W. Horn offered sophisticated version of the above position where he investigates the horizon of early Christian pneumatology by scrutinising the pre-Pauline formulas, motifs and traditions in their relation to the historical origins of early Christianity, and how Paul's theology of the Spirit is rooted in this.¹⁵ Horn suggests that Palestinian Judaism conceived the Spirit of God as a power enabling end-time conduct, whereas Hellenistic Judaism understood the Spirit primarily as the substance of the new beings.¹⁶

Horn's investigation assumes an influence of the Hellenistic notion of πνεῦμα as substance and the Jewish notion of πνεῦμα as function in the Pauline letters.¹⁷ One would expect Horn to investigate the Hellenistic notion of πνεῦμα as a substance for a new being in relation to Paul's own Damascus experience. However, Horn's methodological inhibition stops him from enquiring into every notion of early Christian experience of the Holy Spirit.¹⁸ For him, those experiences are either later creations of

and Charles Black, 1953²); Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 1977); Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1948) also have downplayed Damascus experience for understanding Paul's theology.

¹³ J.G. Machen, *the Origin of Paul's Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1928) 58-68; Menoud, 'Revelation and Tradition', 131-41; J. Jeremias, 'The Key to Pauline Theology', *ExpT* 76 (1964) 27-30; M.E. Thrall, 'The Origin of Pauline Christology', in W.W. Gasque and R.P. Martin (eds.) *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970) 304-16; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 1-31; Dunn, 'A Light to the Gentiles', 89-107; idem, *Romans 1-8* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1988) xli-xlii.

¹⁴ Pfeleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, 170, 175, 299; Schweizer, *TDNT* 6: 389-455.

¹⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 1992; *ABD* 3:260-280.

¹⁶ Horn *Das Angeld*, 25, 54-59.

¹⁷ Horn (*Das Angeld*, 60) is eager to highlight the fact that these concepts are found in Paul's letters. Thus (a) *funktionalen* (Gal. 5.22; 1 Cor. 12.11; 14, 2; 1 Thess. 1.5f); (b) *substanzhaften* (1 Cor. 3.16; 6.19; Rom. 8.9; 1Thess. 4.8); (c) *stofflichen* (1 Cor. 10.4; 12.13; Acts 2.3; 1 Cor. 15.43; 2 Cor. 3.8; Rom. 5.5; 2 Cor. 1.21); (d) *hypostatichen* (Rom. 5.5; 8.26f); (e) *normativen* (1 Cor. 4.21; Rom. 8.4; 15.30; Gal. 5.25; 6.1); *anthropologischen* (1 Cor. 16.18; Rom. 1.9; 6.20).

¹⁸ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 61ff, 77-90, 113f, 201-06.

the editors of the New Testament sources, or they are completely exceptional.¹⁹ Thus the Damascus experience does not offer any substantial material for Horn's discussion.

By focusing solely upon Paul's background, be it Jewish or Hellenist, one should not neglect the formative power of Paul's Damascus experience in its influence on Paul's theology and mission.

6.2.2. *Damascus Experience as relevant*

Most of the recent works on Paul consider the significance of the Damascus experience in relation to the content of his gospel or his theology. But, in spite of the recent importance given to Paul's experience of conversion, the treatment of the Spirit experience of Paul at Damascus by interpreters is somewhat surprising.

A dominant line of thought among those who consider the importance of the Damascus experience for Paul's theology is the assumption that Paul had undergone a radical transformation in his theology immediately as a result of conversion – what he opposed before is what he came to embrace subsequently and immediately.

In this scheme, one approach is that Paul persecuted the earliest Christians for claiming that the crucified Jesus was the expected Messiah who inaugurated 'the Age to Come'. Consequently the Christological fact of Jesus' Messiahship is the first thing that his Damascus road experience brought home to him.²⁰ Others suggest that even before Paul's conversion the Hellenists had posed the alternatives: salvation through Christ as against salvation through the law. This was why Saul the Pharisee persecuted them so fiercely out of zeal for the law (Phil. 3.6). Paul's conversion therefore was conversion to this understanding of salvation.²¹

Yet others have emphasised that Damascus revealed the divine intention (Rom. 1.5) to incorporate the Gentiles into the people of God by faith and to claim Paul for a world mission.²² Interpreters have also highlighted the fact that Damascus revealed Jesus as the

¹⁹ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 214-19. *Contra* C. Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment* (WUNT 2/75; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995).

²⁰ Menoud, 'Revelation and Tradition', 131-141.

²¹ Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus*, 90, 96f., 115, 23; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 24ff.

²² Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 1977; Dunn, 'A Light to the Gentiles', 89-107. For Sanders (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 441-442; idem, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, 5, 47) at Damascus Paul experienced two fundamental convictions: (i) salvation for all including Gentiles; (ii) His own call to the Gentiles. He recognises that these convictions are not the self-evident corollaries to belief in the resurrected Jesus. However, pre-Christian Paul experienced dissatisfaction about the expulsion of Gentiles. But Paul came to understand his mission as fulfilment of the expected eschatological ingathering of the Gentiles.

Lord of glory, whose radiance intimated the very presence of God and the eschatological glory to come.²³

Interestingly none of the above-mentioned interpretations provide any tangible discussion on the role of the Spirit experience²⁴ at Damascus. The Spirit experience becomes subsidiary to the variegated interests in soteriology, Christology, missiology or doxology.

A clear example of such *proxime accessit* is presented in Kim's recent arguments on the flesh-Spirit and law-Spirit antithesis in Paul.²⁵ For Kim the 'overwhelming experience' of the Spirit at Damascus is seen within the two dialectical elements of Paul's Damascus revelation: (i) Paul's realisation that Jesus crucified under the curse of the law is the risen Lord exalted by God, and (ii) his zeal for the law turning out to be sin. According to him, the flesh-Spirit and law-Spirit antithesis developed out of Paul's reflection on Ezek. 36-37 in the light of his Spirit experience at his conversion/call. Paul's conversion/call reinforced the negative side of the law.²⁶ Thus for Kim, (a) the impact of the Spirit experience on the Damascus road was for Paul to see the fundamental problem of the law,²⁷ thus reducing Paul's pneumatology within the constraints of Christological and soteriological conclusions. b) By using the Damascus experience to express Paul's 'full blown' theology of the Spirit, Kim confuses the event with its interpretation. Nobody knows in Kim's scheme of thought what happened to Paul in relation to his experience of the Spirit, because he functionally ignores any development in Paul.²⁸

²³ Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 1981; Segal, *Paul the Convert*; C.C. Newman, *Paul's Glory-Christology. Tradition and Rhetoric* (SNT 69; Leiden: Brill, 1992).

²⁴ It is discussed only as a subsidiary to other theological interests. For example, Hengel and Schwemer (*Paul*, 41) makes the point that decisive shifts in the earliest community were connected with revelations, visions, dreams and other 'prophetic-ecstatic' experiences were a consequence of its possession of the Spirit, and were regarded as an eschatological fulfilment of Joel 3.1-5. The problem here is that Hengel does not go beyond such a suggestion.

²⁵ S. Kim *Paul and the New Perspective. Second Thoughts on the Origins of Paul's Gospel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

²⁶ For Kim, in the light of Paul's Spirit experience, he could now see that his Pharisaic zeal for the law was really a blind zeal (2 Cor. 3.16-18; 4.6), a 'heart of stone' (Ezek. 11.19; 36.26) and a man of the flesh. He then began to see the problem of his fellow Jews in the light of his own experience (Rom. 9.31; 10.2).

²⁷ Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 157-164.

²⁸ Horn (*Das Angeld*, 309-13; 364; *ABD*, 3:272ff.) who believes that Paul came to develop his Spirit-law and Spirit-flesh antitheses only in his struggle against his Jewish Christian opponents. See Dunn, ('A Light to the Gentiles', 98ff.) for his critique of Kim's claims about the *immediate* impact of the Damascus road Christophany on Paul's theology. See also Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 82ff.

Scholars who have worked their case on the basis of the Lukan account (Acts 9.17)²⁹ have focused on a different question where the significance of the debate was over determining the position of Acts on when and why the Holy Spirit is given, either at the time of conversion or at some subsequent time.³⁰ There are those who argue that the Spirit is given subsequent to conversion and 'salvation';³¹ while others advocate a conversion-initiation pattern in which conversional repentance/faith is crystallised in baptism, and the Spirit is received in connection with the whole process.³² Such discussions have not contributed to the understanding of Paul's experience of the Spirit at Damascus, but rather exposed interpreters' prior conclusions on the subject.

Thus scholars have appropriated Paul's Spirit experience at Damascus in very different ways. The options include: ignoring the Spirit experience at Damascus in favour of Hellenistic or Jewish backgrounds; transforming the Damascus experience into a complete religious experience which serves as a catalyst for Paul's theology, and on the way reducing the experience of the Spirit to a footnote to other variegated theological interests; or making it serve a clear apologetic agenda in justifying a particular way in which the Spirit operates in the Damascus experience of Paul.

However, a broader perspective on the Damascus experience does offer a way forward. The significant number of references in Paul to the general experience of the Spirit at conversion (1 Thess. 1.4-6, 9-10; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5; cf. 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 1 Cor. 6.11; 2 Cor. 3.1-4.6) directs us to re-evaluate the assumptions regarding the Spirit experience in Paul's own conversion. Such a re-evaluation recognises Paul's background, not seen in isolation from the Damascus event, but rather going hand in hand with his Spirit experience at Damascus. Likewise, Paul's Spirit experience at Damascus should not be drowned in the undertow of various other theological interests,

²⁹ The mention of the Holy Spirit in this account is not taken up for extended discussion by many commentators. For example, Conzelmann, *Acts* and Maddox, *Purpose of Luke-Acts*, have completely ignored the Holy Spirit in this passage.

³⁰ See L.S. Thorton, *Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery* (Westminster: Dacre, 1954); G.W.H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers* (London: SPCK, 1967); G.R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973) 93-125.

³¹ See R. Stronstad, *The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984); idem, *Prophethood of All Believers*, 102-124; H. Ervin, *Conversion-Initiation and the Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984); Menzies, *Development*, 260-263; Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed*; J.M. Penney, *The Missionary Emphasis of Lukan Pneumatology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

³² See Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, especially Chs.4-9; G.T. Montague, 'Pentecostal Fire: Spirit Baptism in Luke-Acts', in K. McDonnell and G.T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991, 22-41; Turner, *Power*, 375-378.

but rather stands key to both his conversion and his later reflection on pneumatological matters.

6.3. The Holy Spirit in the Damascus Experience of Paul

It is generally agreed that Paul's conversion/call³³ took place when he was on his way to Damascus in the course of his persecuting activities (Gal. 1.17; cf. 9.3; 22.6; 26.12).³⁴ What is significant for us is that both Pauline and Lukan accounts are unequivocal in their presentation that a Christophany took place as part of a visionary and revelatory experience(s).³⁵ Two necessary elements of the experience are to be emphasised: (a) the visual and (b) the auditory aspects of the encounter.

First, Paul consistently refers to his experience in the form of a vision in a wide range of usages: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" (ἐώρακα 1 Cor. 9.1)³⁶; "he appeared to

³³ Scholars have paid extensive attention to two aspects of Paul's Damascus Road encounter, particularly to the significance of the terms 'conversion' and 'call/commission'. For example, K. Stendahl ('The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West', *HTR* 56 [1963] 199-215; *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles and other Essays* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976] 7) has asserted that Paul's experience was not a conversion, but a vocation to apostleship. It is clear, though, that Paul's own estimation of his Damascus experience was that it entailed a radical transformation of his values (Gal. 1.10-24; Phil. 3.2-11). See also Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 11-35. Gaventa (*From Darkness to Light*, 40) prefers to see the Damascus experience as involving radical reorientation or transformation. Segal has demonstrated sociologically that Paul's belief in Jesus as Messiah provided his entrance into a new group, a reconstruction of reality on the apostle's part (*Paul* 72-114, 285-300). Walter ('Paul and the Early Christian Jesus-Tradition', 77) points out that 'as a result of his experience at Damascus...what he had formerly regarded as blasphemous he now recognised to be God's will'. Seifrid (*Justification by Faith*, 137) rightly notes that Paul gives himself and his churches an identity independent of Judaism, one that constituted the consummation of Jewish hope but which included Gentiles as well - Gal. 4.21-31; Rom. 9.23-26; 1 Cor. 10.32. At the same time it is important to recognise that in labelling the Damascus experience as "conversion" we should not minimise its prophetic call/commission character either, especially with Gal. 1.11-17, Jer. 1.5-11; Isa. 6.1-9. See also Dunn, 'A Light to the Gentiles', 89-107; K.O. Sandnes, *Paul - One of the Prophets? A Contribution to the Apostle's Self Understanding* (WUNT 2/43; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991) 58-76.

³⁴ The event took place in or near Damascus, as would seem to be confirmed by ὑπέστρεψα in Gal. 1.17. See Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 114. See also discussions in Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, 35ff.; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 328; Dietzfelbinger, *Die Berufung des Paulus*, 21f.; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 36-38.

³⁵ J.W. Bowker, "Merkabah" Visions and the Visions of Paul', *JSS* 16 (1971) 157-173, 159, 167-169; C.C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982) 375; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroad, 1984) 208, Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law* (Louisville: Westminster Press, 1990) 90. Dunn (*Jesus and Spirit*, 104-109) while discussing the distinctiveness of Paul's conversion experience directs our attention to various scholarly positions on the subject. According to him there are three possible ways of looking at what Paul experienced, viz, mental perception, physical perception and Paul's own conclusion - visionary perception. According to him, Paul understood the appearance of the risen Lord from heaven (in spiritual body) from such 'visions and revelations' and experiences to be prompted by the Spirit from within.

³⁶ See W. Michaelis, 'ὄραω', *TDNT* 5:355-60; W. Marxsen, *The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970) 98-11 for further discussion

me” (ὥφθη κάμοί,³⁷ 1 Cor. 15.8); “a revelation of Jesus Christ”, (ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Gal. 1.12),³⁸ “to reveal his Son in/to me” (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί³⁹ Gal. 1. 16); “beholding the glory of the Lord,” (κατοπτριζόμενοι 2 Cor. 3.18); “has shone in our hearts to give the light (φωτισμὸν) of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ (προσώπῳ [Ἰησοῦ] Χριστοῦ 2 Cor. 4.6). These references are supplemental to the narrative of the vision in Acts, and especially, on the two essential points viz. that Paul saw a great light and that he saw Jesus Christ, they accord with Paul’s allusions (Acts 9.3, 17, 27; 22.6,11, 14; 26.13).⁴⁰

Second, the auditory aspect of Paul’s conversion points to his identification of God’s purpose in the revelation of Christ to him, as being that he should proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles (Gal. 1.15, 16; cf. Rom. 1.5, 13; 15.16-19; Acts 9.15; 22.6,11, 14; 26.13). Although Paul does not mention specifically that he heard his commission from Christ on the Damascus road,⁴¹ various semantic constructions like, “that I might preach him” (ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν Gal. 1.15), “sent to preach” (ἀπέστειλέν

³⁷ The Greek ὥφθη (vv.6, 7, 8, 9: ‘was seen’) is frequently employed in the Bible (LXX) of the appearance of angels or divine beings in dreams or visions (e.g. Gen. 12.7; 35.1; 48:3; Judg. 6.12; 13.3; cf. Matt. 17.3 = Lk. 1.11; 22.43). Numerous times in the LXX where ὥφθη is employed to refer to God’s appearances (For e.g. Gen. 26.24; 35.9; 48.3; 2 Chr. 3.1; 1 Kgs. 3.5 = 2 Chr. 1.7; 1 Kgs 9.2 = 2 Chr. 7.12). See C. Leaney, ‘Theophany, Resurrection and History’, *SE 5 = TU 103* (1968) 101-113. It is interesting to note that several references in LXX indicate that ἡ δόξα κυρίου is the subject of ὥφθη. See Exod. 16.10; Lev. 9.23; Num. 14.10; 16.19; 17.7; 20.6; cf. *1 Enoch* 39.4, 6, 10, 40.1; 52.9; 69.29; 100.4; *4 Ezra* 7.33; 13.32.

³⁸ Scholars have argued for a subjective genitive interpretation, i.e., the gospel as revealed by Christ. See Longenecker, *Galatians*, 32; F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1982) 93. A number of scholars take Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (v.12) as an objective genitive and so understand Jesus Christ as the content of the revelation. The reason is mainly because of v 16a (see also 2:20a) where Paul says that God’s purpose in calling him was “to reveal his Son in me (ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί) so that I might preach him among the Gentiles”. So Burton, *Galatians*, 1921) 41ff; Betz, *Galatia*, 64; Dunn, *Galatians*, 53.

³⁹ There are two main interpretations. (a) The ἐν ἐμοί is revelation as subjective – “within me.” Betz, *Galatians*, 64; Bruce, *Galatians*, 93; Longenecker, *Galatians*, 32. This view appeals to Galatians 2.20 (ἐν ἐμοί Χριστός); 4.6 (εἰς τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν κρᾶζον), and the inward reality of Christian experience there portrayed as support of a similar reading of Gal. 1.16. (b) ἐν ἐμοί is a simple dative with reference to an objective appearance, that is – “to me”. For example, W. Baird, ‘Visions, Revelation, and Ministry’, 656; Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 376; Kim, *Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 55-56; Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 136.

⁴⁰ In these passages the indications are that Luke wishes us to understand that it was a vision that Paul experienced. In Acts 26.19 he reports Paul describing what he has seen as an ὄπτασια (vision).

⁴¹ Paul is unambiguous that neither his conversion nor his vocation to apostleship was the result of human action (Gal. 1:2, 11-12). See Burton, *Galatians*, 37-38 for discussion of the precise meaning of κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. Acts 26.15-18 may indicate that Luke saw no contradiction between direct revelation and human mediation. See Lohfink, *Conversion of St Paul*, 86-87; Gaventa *From Darkness to Light*, 42-92.

...εὐαγγελίζεσθαι 1 Cor. 1.17), “entrusted with a stewardship)” (πεπίστευμαι, 1 Cor. 9.17; Col. 1.25; 1 Thess. 2.4), suggest such a commission. Here again Luke agrees with Paul’s statements (Acts 9.15; 22.22; 26.16). These references to Paul’s Damascus experience consistently indicate that he saw something, a vision, and that he heard something, an audition, by which he received the Gospel. It is here that we need to look into the role of the Holy Spirit.

The details regarding visionary experience, particularly ‘what kind of seeing?’ or ‘what did Paul see?’ need not concern us here. The focus of our enquiry will be on: (i) *how* Paul saw what he saw (the nature of his visionary experience) and (ii) *how* he heard what he heard (the nature of his call experience)? To put it another way, could these experiences be attributed in any measure to the Spirit? By focusing on the issue our ultimate intention is to see how that had affected Paul’s attitude to the Spirit.

6.3.1. *The Nature of Vision in the Damascus Experience*

To further our case we need to see Paul’s visionary experience against the background of the religious and cultural heritage of the time.

6.3.1.1. *Merkavah Mysticism*

There has in recent years been a greater willingness among scholars to stress the importance of the apocalyptic-mystical dimension in Paul’s thought.⁴² Alan F. Segal⁴³

⁴² Davies (*Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 14-15, 37-38; 196-98); Bowker, “‘Merkabah’ Visions’, 157-73; Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 1982; P. Schäfer, ‘New Testament and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and in Merkabah Mysticism’, *JJS* 35 (1984) 19-35; J.E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord* (WUNT 36; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1985) 257-338; idem, *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christianity* (NTOA 30; Freiburg, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1995) 7-39; J.D. Tabor, *Things Unutterable: Paul’s Ascent to Paradise in its Greco-Roman, Judaic and Early Christian Contexts* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986); Segal, *Paul the Covert*, 34-71; idem, ‘Paul’s Thinking about Resurrection in Its Jewish Context’, *NTS* 44 (1998) 400-19; C.R.A. Morray-Jones, ‘Paradise Revisited I, 2 Cor. 12.1-12): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul’s Apostate. Part 1: The Jewish Sources’, *HTR* 86 (1993) 77-217; idem, ‘Paradise Revisited (2 Cor. 12.1-12): The Jewish Mystical Background of Paul’s Apostate. Part 2: Paul’s Heavenly Ascent and its Significance’, *HTR* 86 (1993) 265-92; idem, ‘Paul and the Beginning of Jewish Mysticism’, in J.J. Collins and M. Fishbane (eds.) *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995) 95-121; J.M. Scott, ‘The Triumph of God in 2 Cor. 2.14: Additional evidence of Merkabah Mysticism in Paul’, *NTS* 42 (1996) 260-281; idem, ‘Throne-Chariot Mysticism in Qumran and in Paul’, in C.A. Evans and P.W. Flint (eds.), *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997) 101-19; C.A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (AGJU 62; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁴³ According to Segal, (*Paul the Covert*, 1990) Paul should be understood within the grid of Jewish mystical-apocalypticism. For him the influence of Ezekiel 1, Yahweh’s man-like appearance of כבוד forms the most immediate background for understanding Paul’s conversion. Segal argues that Paul describes his conversion by use of mystical-apocalyptic language. For example ‘form’, ‘image’, ‘light’/ ‘darkness’, ‘glory’ and ‘being in Christ’. According to Segal, the chief angel of God, God’s man-like כבוד appeared to Paul, and Paul through mystical ecstasy was transformed into the image of the resurrected Christ. Paul now offers this process of transformation for all who believes in Christ. However,

and others⁴⁴ have attempted to understand Paul as a visionary who underwent a mystical conversion akin to the experiences found in the Jewish mystical traditions, in particular to that of *merkavah* mysticism. It has been argued that the throne-theophany tradition of Ezekiel 1⁴⁵ in Jewish apocalyptic,⁴⁶ Qumran⁴⁷ and Wisdom literature,⁴⁸ which later developed into the *merkavah* mysticism of rabbinic Judaism, provides important background for Paul's thought, and particularly for his reflection on the Damascus event.⁴⁹ Scholars have demonstrated that such relationships have informed Pauline passages⁵⁰ like 2 Cor. 2.14;⁵¹ 3.18-4-6⁵² and 12.1-10.⁵³

Segal evidently shows a tendency to confuse Paul's actual conversion experience with the story of a later heavenly journey in 2 Cor. 12. See note 53.

⁴⁴ See Kim (*Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 137ff., 252-56; idem, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 165ff.). According to Kim, 'Paul's conception of Christ as the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ (image of God) is rooted in the Damascus event. Paul saw the exalted Christ in glory as the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ on the road to Damascus and inferred that his vision was basically of the same order as those of Ezekiel and other seers whose experiences followed a similar pattern.' Hengel ('"Sit at My Right Hand!" The Enthronement of Christ at the Right Hand of God and Psalm 110.1', in *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995) 119-225) has also focused on the *merkavah* experience of Paul, arguing that the apostle bears witness to an early Christian tradition based on Ps. 110.1, that the crucified Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, was raised and seated "at the right hand" of God, that is enthroned as a co-occupant of God's own "throne of glory" (Jer. 17.12), located in the highest heaven. Hengel suggests that Paul presupposes the *merkavah* throne-chariot at many points in his extant writings (Phil. 2.9; 2 Cor. 5.19; 12.2-4; Rom. 14.10).

⁴⁵ G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1955³) 40-79 argues that *merkavah* mysticism was a development stretching from the first century BCE to the tenth century CE. P.S. Alexander, on the other hand, ('Comparing Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism: An Essay in Method', *JJS* 35 [1984] 1-18 [8,12]) argues that any solid evidence for the existence of *merkavah* mysticism as a distinctive system comes from not earlier than the third century CE.

⁴⁶ For example, it is widely admitted that *I Enoch* especially is patterned after the *merkavah* vision of Ezekiel 1.1-3.15. See discussions in H.S. Kvanvig, 'Henoch und der Menschensohn, Das Verhältnis von Hen 14 zu Dan 7', *SJT* 38 (1984) 101-33.

⁴⁷ The Qumran documents too give evidences for the practice of *merkavah* mysticism in the community. According to 4Q385, "the vision that Ezekiel saw" was the divine מרכבה together with the "four living creatures (4.5-6). See discussions in D. Dimant and J. Strugnell, 'The Merkabah Vision in *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385 4)', *RevQ* 14 (1991) 331-348. One of the highest goals of the Qumran community is to participate in the heavenly angelic liturgy and to see the great throne-chariot of God enter the heavenly Temple (4QS1 39 1.1.16-26; 4QS1 40.24.2-9). See C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 17-18, 19, 53, 64-65, 71-72; idem, 'Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot', *JJS* 38 (1987) 11-30; J. Strugnell, *The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran: 4Q Serek Shirot 'Olat Hashabat* (VTS 7; Leiden: Brill, 1959) 318-45; L.H. Schiffman, 'Merkavah Speculation at Qumran: The 4Q Serek Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat', in J. Reinharz and D. Swetschinski (eds.), *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians: Essays in Jewish Intellectual History in Honor of A. Altmann* (Durham, NCL: Duke University Press, 1982) 15-47 (16); J.J. Kanagaraj, 'Mysticism' in the Gospel of John' *An Inquiry into its Background* (JSNTSS 158; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 89ff.

⁴⁸ Sir.. 49.8.

⁴⁹ See Segal, *Paul the Covert*, 38-71; L.W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988) 118-119; M. Bockmuehl, 'The Form of God' (Phil. 2.6): Variations on a Theme of Jewish Mysticism', *JTS* 48 (1997) 20; S.J. Hafemann, *Paul, Moses and the History of Israel* (WUNT 81; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995).

⁵⁰ G. Scholem, ('The Four Who Entered Paradise and Paul's Ascension to Paradise', *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965²] 14-19), maintained that Paul was indeed familiar with *merkavah* mysticism. He argues that in 2 Cor. 12.2-4,

Common to all the *merkavah* traditions is the glory of God's presence on the heavenly throne, which is inspired by Ezekiel (1.26-28).⁵⁴ It focuses on God as one who is seated on 'the throne of Glory'. In an ecstatic experience the visionary achieves direct and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence, the manner of experience ranging from dream/vision to ecstatic trance, from angelic encounter to descriptions of actual journeys to the heavenly realm.⁵⁵

What is significant for us is that Paul's descriptions indicate that he underwent actual visionary experiences similar to that of the authors and/or preservers of Jewish apocalyptic, Qumran or Wisdom literature. For example, in Gal. 1.5 when Paul describes his conversion experience, he uses the phrase ἡ δόξα (v.5). This seems to be confirmed by Gal. 1.12, 15-17, verses that draw on Paul's encounter with the risen, glorious Christ on the road to Damascus. Verse 16 brings clarity to the concept; ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί - God revealed his son, the glorious, crucified one seated on the divine throne – to Paul (cf. 1 Cor. 2.6-16; 9.1; 15.1-8). Thus, although Paul does not use the term 'mystery' in Galatians, that concept seems to be operative in 1.4-5, 12, 16, especially since the term, ἀποκάλυψις, which he does use, is a technical one that encompasses mystic experience.⁵⁶

Paul's rapture into Paradise or the third Heaven should be understood against the background of the Rabbinic story of the 'four who entered *Paradise*', However, Schäfer ('New Testament and Hekhalot Literature', 19-35) has questioned such an interpretation. See also A. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Four Entered Paradise Revisited', *HTR* 88 (1995) 69-133. It is now generally allowed that in 2 Cor. 12.2-4 Paul was talking about a *merkavah* experience he had had fourteen years previously. C.C. Rowland, ('The Parting of the Ways: The Evidence of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and Mystical Material', in J.D.G. Dunn [ed.], *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways A.D.70-135* [WUNT 66; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992] 213-37, [226]) points out that 'Paul's Trance-vision in the Temple (Acts 22.17)' constitutes first century evidence.

⁵¹ See Scott, 'The Triumph of God', 260-81.

⁵² Those viewing this passage as depicting the glorious chariot-throne of God include Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 59-61. Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 139-145; Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 209-10, 214, 241.

⁵³ Concerning the works comparing 2 Cor. 12.1-10 with Jewish *merkavah* and/or Jewish Hellenistic mystical ascent texts, see discussions in W. Baird, 'Visions, Revelations, and Ministry. Reflections on 2 Cor. 12.1-5 and Gal. 1.11-17', *JBL* 104:4 (1985) 651-52. However, we will be following Dunn's (*Jesus and the Spirit*, 213-214) distinction between Paul's Damascus experience, the revelation of Christ and that of the ecstatic experience in 2 Cor. 12.1-4.

⁵⁴ See I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU 14; Leiden: Brill, 1980) vii. There are two strands in the Jewish mystical tradition. One of these, *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, concerns the work of creation. This strand of the tradition originates in a meditation on the first chapter of Genesis. *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, the second strand, originates in a meditation on the first chapter of Ezekiel (also Isaiah 6 and Dan. 7).

⁵⁵ It is evident that various reports of visions and revelations are grounded in the experience of the authors and/or preservers. For example, *1 Enoch* 14.13, 14, 21; 21.2; 22.4, 7; 36.3).

⁵⁶ See Morray-Jones 'Paradise Revisited', Part.1, 184 who maintains that the vision of God's *kabod*, including the mystical practice of 'heavenly ascents' was inherited from apocalyptic circles, although in

In 2 Cor. 3.18, Paul says that Christians behold τὴν δόξαν κυρίου as in a mirror and are ‘transformed’ (μεταμορφούμεθα) into ‘his image’ (τὴν εἰκόνα).⁵⁷ Paul saw the δόξα of God in the face of Christ” and so perceived Christ as the εἰκὼν of God (2 Cor. 4.4-6). In 2 Cor. 4.6, when Paul says that he preaches that Jesus is Lord and that God “has let this light shine out of darkness into our heart to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ”, he is describing his own conversion and ministry. The use of φῶς (light) and σκότος (darkness) is a common feature in the Jewish mystical tradition.⁵⁸ The semantic line of argument leaves us with the distinct probability that Paul’s experience at Damascus was nothing short of a mystical experience wherein Paul saw Jesus as exalted to the throne of glory.

Although Paul’s language betrays strong Jewish mystical affinity, what is puzzling for our discussion is that in the Second Temple Jewish literature ascensions to God were the prerogative only of the most pure/worthy, made after the adept went through several ritual preparations, including fasting,⁵⁹ cleansing and meditation. Also importantly, angelic mediations were a key to heavenly ascension.

Such preparations include a strict diet, which might account for a particular disposition for receiving visions - in Ezek. 2.8-3.3; 4 Ezra 9.24-25. Other aspects of visionary preparation is a period of intense prayer (4 Ezra 9.25; cf. Dan. 9.3), meditation upon Scripture (Dan. 9.23), and fasting (4 Ezra 5.13; cf. 6.35); 2 Bar 5.7; cf. 20.5, 11; 21.1; 47.2; Dan. 9.3; 10.2-3).⁶⁰

In the Hekhalot writings the throne-vision could be achieved only by ‘one who is worthy’ (HR 15.1). The mystic should prepare himself by undergoing spiritual exercises through fasting and keeping every positive and negative commandment (HR 15.1, 2; 20.4 – *Synopse* 198-99, 228).⁶¹

apocalyptic the vision of God is nowhere regarded as an unqualified goal to be pursued as it is in *merkavah* mysticism.

⁵⁷ See Kim, *Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 137ff.

⁵⁸ See Segal, *Paul the Convert*, 58-71.

⁵⁹ It is interesting to note that the term νηστεύω occur 23 times in the whole of New Testament but not once in the Pauline corpus.

⁶⁰ See also *Apoc.Abr.* 9.7; 12.1.

⁶¹ Those who were ‘worthy’ practised ascent in trance to God’s heavenly throne by reciting hymns and magical formulae, and by invoking the angels. (HR 19-22 = *Synopse* 219-36). In *Hekhalot* writings we find the Jewish mystics underwent a rigorous programme of fasting, ritual immersions and incantations as well as the careful preparation of seals to ensure successful progress through the various heavenly palaces, free of attack from hostile angels, in order to attain the vision of the *merkavah*. According to *Ma’aseh Merkavah*, the *merkavah* mystic should fast for 40 days and his morsel should be eaten with salt only (*Synopse* 560-562). Further the *Hekhalot*, offer detailed instructions concerning the techniques to be practised by the would-be visionary if he wants to be sure of a successful rapture (Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 99).

Such preparations were often followed by angelic mediation.⁶² In most of the Jewish mystical literature angelology is a feature in *merkavah* mystical practice, where angelic mediation is needed to see God's glory.⁶³ The angels possess the 'keys' for heavenly ascent and descent and for contemplating the *merkavah* and hence the revelation of their secret conditions on the *merkavah*. For example 4Q403.1.2-16; *1 Enoch*, (39.3, 4, 5; 71.1, 10-14); *2 Enoch* (1.3-5; cf. 19.1); *Apocalypse of Abraham* (10.3-8); *Testament of Abraham* (A10) and the Hekhalot literature (*Synopse* §§ 103, 161, 184-185).⁶⁴

What is interesting for our enquiry is that none of the sources informing us about Paul's conversion (Gal. 1.13; Phil. 3.4-11; 1 Cor. 15.8-10; cf. Acts 9.10ff; 22.3-2; 26.9-23) indicate any such ritual preparations or angelic consort accompanying Paul in mediation to the throne of Glory. What is also increasingly clear is the comparatively paucity of references to the Spirit in the Jewish mystical experiences.

6.3.1.2. *Merkavah Mysticism and the Spirit*

There are a few references to the role of Spirit in mystical experience. Ezek. 1, which is key to the mystical explications of later Jewish mysticism, indicates the role of Spirit in his vision of Divine Chariot. The prophet is under the control of רוח and in number of instances he is described as being picked up by a רוח and wafted away to another location.⁶⁵ In Ezek. 1 רוח is described as coming from the north, bringing with it a fiery cloud out of which emerges the prophet's inaugural vision of the 'glory of the Lord'.

⁶² It is frequently recognised that far-reaching developments in pneumatological thought took place in the Second Temple period, particularly the increased importance of angels. The angels compensated for God's distance by acting as divine agents, especially as mediators of revelation. See, Elliot, *Survivors*, 394.

⁶³ R. Elijor, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology: The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature', *JSQ* 1 (1993-94) 3-54.

⁶⁴ The Qumran texts (4Q403.1.2-16) show that the community, by contemplating the throne-chariot and heavenly palaces, realised a sense of communion with the angels, who accompany the enthroned Glory of the Lord. In the *Hekhalot* literature it is the angel, who surely leads the seer to Throne of Glory (*Synopse* §§ 103, 161, 184-185, 229-36). Other Jewish literature during the 1 C.E. and early 2 C.E. reflects the interests in angelology in relation to *merkavah* experience. Enoch was carried from the earth by whirlwinds and was set 'into the ultimate ends of the heavens' (*1 Enoch* 39.3), where he saw the faithful Israel dwelling with the holy angels (4, 5) and later he saw God, the Head of days, who existed with numerous angels and archangels (71.1,10-14). However, in *2 Enoch*, Enoch's ascent to heaven took place under the guidance of the two angels who appeared to Enoch in human form (*2 Enoch* 1.3-5; cf.19.1); they led him through seven heavens until he saw God at a distance in the seventh heaven. *The Apocalypse of Abraham* describes (in the present form is Christian, though originally Jewish), how the angel, Jael sent by God to escort him in the ascent to heaven (10.3-8). In the *Testament of Abraham*, it is the archangel Michael who takes him on a chariot of *Cherubim* to heaven (A10). See Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 49, 60, 66-67; Elijor, 'Mysticism, Magic and Angelology', 9.

⁶⁵ In Ezek. 3.12, 14 he is picked up and carried off to the exiles at Tel Abib. In Ezek. 8.3 he is picked up between heaven and earth and borne away to Jerusalem. The additional comment, "in divine visions," (במראות אלהי) suggests that the experience is not to be interpreted literally. The prophet appeared not to have left the room.

Similarly, the temple vision in Ezekiel is framed by the references to the locomotion of the prophet by the Spirit (Ezek. 8.1; 11.24).⁶⁶

In the Qumran texts the Holy Spirit is used synonymously with angels who were part of the heavenly consort where they do not have any function in relation to the mystical experience (4Q403.1.2; cf. 4Q405.20.2-21-22.10). A brief description of the appearance of the throne of Glory and its attendant spirits can be deduced.⁶⁷

However, *1 Enoch* 71 attests a description of how Enoch is 'carried off' in spirit, and guided by hand by the archangel Michael.⁶⁸ Enoch is caught up in a *merkavah* vision, which portrays a multitude of angels standing before the 'glory of the Lord of the Spirit' (*1 Enoch* 40.1-2; cf. Dan. 7.10). It was the Lord of the Spirits who was sitting upon the throne of his glory (*1 Enoch* 62.2). The fluidity between the usages of 'spirit' and 'angels' in the literature cannot help us to argue for the role of the Spirit in the mystical experiences of mystics.⁶⁹ Thus the reference to the relation between the Spirit in the mystical experiences of the visionary is not quite clear.

On the one hand Paul's general emphasis on the role of the Spirit at conversion and on the other his descriptions of his own conversion experience in terms of actual mystical visionary experience pose further questions on the issue. How shall we explain the intricacy that is involved in the question?

As noted above⁷⁰ 2 Corinthians 3.1-4-6 may possibly offer an answer to our question. In this passage Paul refers to his experience of the vision of τὴν δόξαν κυρίου as an experience of the Spirit. To this passage we turn our attention, particularly to 2 Cor. 3.17, 18 and 4.6.

⁶⁶ Of the several figures employed by Ezekiel to describe Yahweh's control over him perhaps the most graphic is the portrayal of the hand of Yahweh coming upon him. Variations of *יד-יהוה עלי* occur repeatedly in the book (Ezek. 1.3; 3.14, 22; 8.1; 33.22; 37.1; 40.1). "Hand" is here used metaphorically of power, the overwhelming force with which God operates (cf. Deut. 4.34; 5.15; 6.21; 1 Kgs. 18.46 Ps. 136.12). In Ezekiel the "hand of Yahweh" gains complete mastery over his movements (Ezek. 3.2; 33.22) and transports him back and forth to distant places (Ezek. 8.1ff.; 37.1; 40.1ff.). For the full discussion of the expression in its ancient Near Eastern context see J.J.M. Roberts, 'The Hand of Yahweh', *VT* 21 (1971) 244-251.

⁶⁷ Scholars have generally recognised the complexity involved in the pneumatology of the scrolls. See A.A. Anderson, 'The Use of *'Ruah'* in 1QS, 1QH and 1QM', 1962, 293-303; Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 117ff; Elliot, *Survivors of Israel*, 400.

⁶⁸ See discussion in I. Boxall, *Revelation: Vision and Insight. An Introduction to the Apocalypse* (London: SPCK, 2002) 35.

⁶⁹ However, it is interesting to note the vision of the throne of God in both Isaiah (ch.6) and Daniel (ch.7) is not linked with the Spirit. But the activity of the Spirit is indicated in Isaiah where he refers to the *רוח* upon the 'anointed' one and in Daniel who is called *רוח אלהי קדש* 4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 12, 14).

⁷⁰ See page 161.

6.3.1.3. Paul's Revelatory Experience and the Spirit (2 Cor. 3.1-4.6)

Paul's clearest reference to his own mystical-revelatory experience at Damascus and the role of the Spirit in this experience occurs in 2 Corinthians 3.1-4-6.⁷¹ Paul builds his argument here in the context of his defence of his apostolic ministry.⁷² The texts indicate that Paul's opponents questioned variously his authority to preach, the content of his preaching and the way in which he conducted himself (2 Cor. 2.16, 17; 3. 4, 5, 6, 12; 4.1, 16; 5.6, 8; cf. 10.1-2). While the identity of Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians is a hotly debated issue,⁷³ there can be little doubt that the content of the arguments was Jewish, that it possibly emerged from Corinth,⁷⁴ and that it at least in this case featured the revelation of God to Moses at Sinai.

The key to Paul's argument is built around Moses' Sinai revelatory experience (LXX Exod. 34.29-35). Paul employs the Sinai experience to contrast the revelation of God's כבוד to Moses (LXX Exod. 19; 24; 33-34) with the revelation of God's δόξα to himself in the Christophany (2 Cor. 3.11, 18; 4.4,6). It is highly probable that the contrast, which emerges in the text between himself and Moses, in terms of the glory of the

⁷¹ Though a careful, thoroughgoing analysis of the background of 2 Corinthians would be of immense value such a detailed analysis lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry. In this study we will be considering 2 Cor. 3.1-4.6 as a single unit. In spite of the vehement debates regarding the unity of 2 Corinthians, no serious critics question the coherence of 2 Cor. 2.14-7.4, with the single exception of 2 Cor. 6.14-7.1. For a survey of literature see M.E. Thrall, 'The Problem of II Cor. vi 14-vii 1 in Some Recent Discussion', *NTS* 24 (1977) 132-148; J. Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Michael Glazier Book, 1998) 7-11; A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1915) 109; E. Richard, 'Polemics, the Old Testament and Theology. A Study of II Cor. III, I-IV, 6', *RB* 88 (1981) 340-367; B. Cohen, 'Note on Letter and Spirit in the New Testament', *HTR* 47 (1954) 197-203; B. Schneider, 'The Meaning of St. Paul's Thesis 'The Letter and the Spirit, *CBQ* 15 (1953) 163-207. H.A. Kent, 'The Glory of Christian Ministry: An Analysis of 2 Corinthians 2.14-4.18', *GTJ* 2 (1980) 171-189.

⁷² Georgi (*Opponents*, 242-45) claims that Paul's main aim is polemical. See discussions in R.P. Martin, 'The Opponents of Paul in 2 Corinthians: An Old Issue Revisited', in G.F. Hawthorne and O. Betz (eds.), *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids/Tübingen: Eerdmans/Mohr-Siebeck, 1987) 280.

⁷³ It is not completely evident who the opponents of Paul were. It has been suggested that the opponents were Judaisers; the same Jewish Christians in Galatia (2 Cor. 11.4-6 with Gal. 1.6-9). A few interpreters claim that the opponents are Jewish Christian Gnostics: their identity is pneumatic in the Gnostic sense (W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth* [trans. J.E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971]); R. Bultmann, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians* (trans. R.A. Harrisville; Minneapolis; Augsburg, 1985). Others consider Paul's opponents to be Hellenistic Jewish Christians. More concretely they would have been itinerant missionaries who preached in Asia Minor and Greece (J.H. Schulz, *Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority* [SNTSMS 26; Cambridge: CUP, 1975] 173; Georgi, *Opponents*, 1-26, 317-18; C.K. Barrett, 'Paul's Opponents in 2 Corinthians', *NTS* 17 [1970/71]: 233-54). Some want to distinguish between "super-apostles" = Jerusalem apostles (11.5 and 12.11) and "false apostles" = early Christian missionaries who referred to the authority of Jerusalem and may have been sent by Jerusalem (11.13) who questioned Paul's legitimacy. See E.E. Ellis, 'Paul and his Opponents' in *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (WUNT 1/18; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1978) 80-115; Martin, 'Opponents', 279-89.

⁷⁴ Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 297.

former and present covenants, is in some way in response to his opponents.⁷⁵ These opponents might have cast doubt on Paul's claim about his visionary experience and as minister of the new covenant of Spirit. For them he was vastly inferior to the glorious figure of the mediator Moses of the Sinai covenant.

By comparing and contrasting the two visionary experiences of δόξα Paul seeks to legitimize his apostolic authority and establishes his superiority by placing his διακονία within the framework of the end time expectation of the Spirit over against the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai.⁷⁶

In 3.5 Paul argues that his apostolic authority and competency (ἱκανότης) comes ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ - a phrase parallel to other references to Paul's Christophany (cf. Rom. 1.1, 5; 12.3; 15.15; 1 Cor. 1.1; 3.10; 9.16-17; 15.9-10; 2 Cor. 5.18; 10.8; 13.10; Gal. 1.11, 15; 2.7-9; Eph. 1.1; Col. 1.1). Paul goes on in 3.6 to state emphatically that it was God who "qualified" him (ἱκάνωσεν).

Paul recognises that Moses' reception of the law was attended and thus legitimised by God's כבוד (2 Cor. 3.7, 9, 11). It was by means of the appearance of God's glory that the covenant was established. Paul counters that his visionary experience too was attended by God's δόξα and thus legitimised his stewardship of the gospel (2 Cor. 3.8, 9, 11, cf. 4.4, 6). The ministry of the new covenant is characterised by the Spirit - the giver of life (v.6). The former revelation lacked Spirit and therefore led to condemnation and death. Paul counters his opponents' position by arguing that their authority, rooted in the revelation of God to Moses that lacked the Spirit, is inferior to his.⁷⁷ Paul writes (2 Cor. 3.10): "Indeed, in this case, what once had glory (τὸ δεδοξασμένον) has come

⁷⁵ Scholarly opinions vary regarding the character of 3.7-18. Georgi (*Opponents*, 270-71) argue that beneath 3.7-18 as it now stands, is an independent literary unit which can be studied for Paul's redactional additions. R.P. Martin, (*2 Corinthians* [WBC; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1986] 58-59) forcefully criticises such a "document" theory and instead views it as a "synagogue sermon" which Paul preached on some previous occasion. J.A. Fitzmyer, ('Glory Reflected on the Face of Christ (2 Cor. 3.7-4.6) and a Palestinian Jewish Motif', *TS* 42 [1981] 630-44) also understands the passage as reflecting a "sermon" rather than a "document". By appealing to the motif of "reflecting glory" in 1QH 4.5-6, 27-29, 1QSb 4.24-28, and 1QS 2.2-4, Fitzmyer confirms the midrashic precedent and historical context for Paul to include such a "sermon" in his letter.

⁷⁶ It is generally assumed that Paul is referring to Ezek. 11.19; 36.26 and Jer. 31.31-43 (LXX chap.38). The antithesis in 2 Cor. 3.3 b and c recalls biblical texts on the eschatological renewal by the Spirit over against the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai. See C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A&C Black, 1973; 109; Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 226; Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 304-306.

⁷⁷ Paul seems to employ the method of arguing 'from the lesser to the greater' *a minore ad maius*, corresponding to the rabbinic Qal-Wachomer method. See C.K. Stockhausen, *Moses' Veil and the Glory of the New Covenant* (AnBib 116; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1989. For general discussion see H.L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (New York: JPSA, 1959) 94; Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 34.

to have no glory (οὐ δεδόξασται) at all, because of the glory that surpasses it (ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης)". Thus Paul claims that his revelatory experience was completely different from the experience which attended Moses' reception of the law, because his experience has the Spirit.⁷⁸

Central to our discussion is the second, relational argument in vv.14-18, which again is built from the same revelatory experience tradition, but with a difference in emphasis. Here Paul is concerned with the results of Moses' action of veiling, and the consequence of the Israelites' response to this veiling in beholding τὴν δόξαν κυρίου.

While defending his own *διάκονια*, Paul turns to the phenomenon of unbelief on the part of the Israelites in the past and of his Jewish contemporaries in the present. The Jewish failure to respond to the Christian gospel in Corinth, and particularly to Paul's preaching of it,⁷⁹ might have been used by the opponents to argue their claim that Paul's *διάκονος* is invalid and inauthentic. Paul counters their position by arguing both that the unbelief of his Jewish contemporaries is foreshadowed in Scripture, in the obduracy of the Israelites in the days of Moses, and also that the Moses-story also foreshadows conversion to belief.

Key to his argument is the experience of Moses' turning to the Lord: whenever Moses turned to the face of the Lord, he lifted his veil.⁸⁰ The radiance of Moses' face had dazzled the Israelites, so he placed a veil over it when he came out to speak.⁸¹ Paul links and develops the 'veil' experience to his contemporary Judaism, in that the veil is

⁷⁸ According to Hafemann, (*Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 20-21; 33-35; 143-47) the opposition between letter and Spirit is based not on the nature of the two covenants, but on the difference in the ministries of the two covenants, which is that the letter is the OT law brings about death because of the absence of the Spirit, while its counterpart is the law obeyed by the power of the Spirit of the new age. Paul maintains that Christians are required to keep the stipulations of the Mosaic law who, through transformed hearts by the Spirit, experience the eschatological fulfilment of the new covenant (Jer. 31.31-34; Ezek. 36.25f.). *Contra* to the views of Kim (*Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 214) and Thielman (*Paul and the Law*, 201-02).

⁷⁹ Chryostom, *PG* 61 col.445 (NPNF XII) 311. See discussion in Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 297.

⁸⁰ Paul's creative use of the original text is very clear. In Exod. 34.24-35 we read, when Moses came down from Sinai with the tablets of the law his face shone, and the Israelites were at first afraid to approach him (v.29-32). When he had given them the commandments he put on a veil (v.33). This he removed when he entered the Tent of Meeting where God spoke with him, and whilst afterwards he communicated God's message to the Israelites (v.34). He then resumed the veil until he went into the tent again (v.35). To prove this Paul consciously alters LXX texts.

⁸¹ Jewish interpreters appear to have accepted this interpretation; at any rate they rarely seem to have felt that the veil required any comment. See *Pes.R.*10.6; and Midrash ha Gadol to Ex. 34.33. See also *Ps.Phil.* A.B.12.1.

what actually prevents the true meaning being understood whenever the Torah is read⁸² in the synagogue.⁸³

Paul argues that this veil remains in operation when ‘the old covenant’ is read (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης - v.14 cf Acts 13.15; 1 Tim. 4.13) and cannot be removed except by Christ. Paul goes on to state emphatically that the veil remains in the reading (ἀναγινώσκηται - v.15) of Moses.

Scholarly consensus indicates that Paul is referring to the written expression (cf. Rom. 10.5, 19)⁸⁴ of the Sinai covenant.⁸⁵ It is highly probable that Paul is drawing his readers’ attention to contemporary synagogue life, where synagogues served as gathering places for the reading and exposition of scripture.⁸⁶

Further, it may be observed that in the world in which Paul received his Jewish education and his Pharisaic vocation, (Gal 1.14; 2 Cor. 11.22; Phil. 3.5; cf. Acts 23.6; 26.5) Scripture was interpreted by men whose principal concern was the Torah. Contemporary Jewish writings indicate that the inspired Torah teacher was the *locus* of present day divine revelation, especially by his exegesis of the Torah. A proper revelation of divine secrets was possible through a qualified and inspired exposition of the Law (39.2ff). In the Qumran circles, the author of the Hymns himself was primarily an inspired interpreter of Scripture (1QH 16.9; 7.23-25; cf. 1QH 4.5-6; 5.11; 7.6f;

⁸² The verb ἀναγινώσκηται simply means ‘read’ in the ordinary sense of the word. There is a variant here. The reading ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναγινώσκηται has the best support (P⁴⁶ & A B C P Ψ 33. 104. 1175 *pc* Or Did). Some witnesses (D F G 0243) omit ἂν, probably resulted from haplography (since the following word begins with AN).

⁸³ It refers to the public reading of Torah (Acts 13:15) where ἀνάγνωσις “reading,” translates the Hebrew קריאה (Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 67–70). Scholars are of diverse opinion concerning ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη. Many think that this expression is equivalent to the Old Testament. See R.V.G. Tasker, *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (TNTC; London: Tyndale Press, 1958) 66.

⁸⁴ Here Moses is seen as writing and uttering the passages from the Pentateuch, which are quoted there, just as here he is the law-giver whose utterances in the whole of the Pentateuch are read in the synagogue.

⁸⁵ Since ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη occurs only here in the whole of New Testament it is possible that it refers to the written expression of the Sinai-covenant, i.e., the Pentateuch. See V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians*, (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1984) 209; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 69. However, L.L. Belleville, (*Reflections of Glory. Paul’s Polemical Use of the Moses-Doxa Tradition in 2 Corinthians 3.1-18* [JSNTSS 52; Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1991] 232) argues that the contrast between καινῆς διαθήκης in v.6 and παλαιᾶς διαθήκης in v.14 suggests that Paul is not thinking in terms of old and new written documents, and the contrast between ‘letter’ and ‘spirit’ does not encourage one to think in terms of the entirety of God’s revelation prior to the advent of Christ. It is important to realise that the verb ‘is read’ is a present subjunctive passive.

⁸⁶ Torah reading was part of the synagogue functions. For example Josephus *Ant.* 4.209-210; 16.43-45; *Ap.* 2.175; Philo, *Somm.* 2.123-129; *Opif.* 128; Lk. 4.16-30; Acts 15.21; cf. Neh. 8.9; 1 Esdr. 9.38). See J. Heinemann, ‘The Triennial Lectionary Cycle’, *JJS* 19 (1968) 41-48; Binder, *Into the Temple Courts*, 399 ff.

1QMic 5; 1QS 11.3-4; 1QpHab. 2.8;).⁸⁷ Like Moses, he had beheld God's marvels and had been granted a much more central role in the uncovering of the 'hidden things' and of the 'mysteries'.⁸⁸

It is possible to argue that Paul was referring to his own pre-Christian activities in the life of a synagogue where he read and expounded the Scripture. In those circles it was natural to attribute the change wrought in Moses, not so much to his close encounter with God, but to his first-hand acquaintance with the divinely-given Law:⁸⁹ it was this that gave him a radiance such that people hardly dared to look at him. Paul may be exposing the myth of 'glory' being associated with the reading and exposition of the Torah in the synagogue, which his opponent were possibly referring to, in the light of his own revelatory experience at Damascus. Paul then goes on to appropriate the Sinaitic revelatory experience to defend his and the Corinthian Christians' conversion experiences. For him, such reading or inspired exposition of the Scripture in itself does not bring conversion to the Lord and thus does not contribute to beholding τὴν δόξαν κυρίου.

Paul brings an interpretative modification to Exod. 34.34⁹⁰ in v.16 by taking a simple statement about Moses, that whenever he turned towards the Lord, the veil was removed, as a valid description of what happens when anyone 'turns' (ἐπιστρέφω) toward the Lord who is also Spirit. As Moses turned to Yahweh so the way of redemption for the contemporary Jew is to turn to the Spirit.⁹¹ Although Paul sees the remedy in following the example of Moses in coming before the Lord, he goes on to state that 'this Lord' to whom the Jew now turns is not Yahweh of old, but rather the Spirit of the new covenant.⁹² The Spirit is the essential characteristic and the transforming power of the new covenant (2 Cor. 3.3, 6). It is the Spirit, as the Lord (Exod. 34.34),⁹³ who removes

⁸⁷ In the *Hodayot* there are repeated mentions of the author receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit (1QH 13.18-19; cf. 1QH 2.18).

⁸⁸ See. *Sota* 9:15: When R. Aqiba died, the glory of the Torah came to an end.... When Rabban Gamaliel the Elder died, the glory of the Torah came to an end, and cleanness and separateness perished.

⁸⁹ This becomes explicit in the Midrash, *Exod. R.* 33.1; 47.5.

⁹⁰ See discussions in E. Wong, "The Lord is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3.17a) *ETL* 61 (1985) 49-53.

⁹¹ J.D.G. Dunn, '2 Corinthians III, 17 – "The Lord is the Spirit",' *JTS* 21 (1970) 309-320.

⁹² Belleville, *Reflections*, 261-267 for a detailed substantiation of this interpretation.

⁹³ Paul's statement that "The Lord is the Spirit" statement has been misused controversially. It is interpreted to show that Paul identifies the Holy Spirit with the Lord Christ. Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*; N.Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957); Kim, *Origin of Paul's Gospel*, 229; Fitzmyer, 'Glory Reflected', 423; S. Sandmel, *The Genius of Paul. A Study in History* (New York: Schocken, 1978) 83. But the contexts do not approve such identification. See discussions in Dunn, '2 Corinthians III, 17'; Turner, *Grammatical Insights*, 127; P. Grech, '2 Cor. 3.17 and the Pauline Doctrine of Conversion to the Holy Spirit', *CBQ* 17 (1955) 420-437; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 213; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 70-71. Belleville, *Reflections*, 255.

‘the veil’ of misunderstanding that blinds Judaism.⁹⁴ The Spirit effects such an end precisely by enabling the revelation of Christ.⁹⁵

Paul speaks about the result of turning to the Spirit – freedom (ἐλευθερία).⁹⁶ A possibility is that Paul is referring to the freedom of experience to ‘behold’ the glory, which was hindered by the reading of the old covenant in the synagogues.⁹⁷ This is now possible through the Lord, the Spirit. Paul is suggesting that, as Moses unveiled his face when he entered the tent to speak with Yahweh, so Christians⁹⁸ have the same direct access to the Lord and this happens through the Spirit.

Having spoken of turning to the Lord when the veil is removed, he now has the freedom to behold the glory of the Lord as in the Spirit all are being transformed into same image, from one degree of glory to another, because this is again effected by the Spirit. Paul builds his argument by using the middle form κατοπτρίζομενοι⁹⁹ which means (2 Cor. 3.18) ‘to behold as in a mirror’.¹⁰⁰ If the κύριου refers to God, and τὴν δόξαν κυρίου to Christ,¹⁰¹ it would look as though the mirror¹⁰² signifies the

⁹⁴ Turner, *Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 118.

⁹⁵ Recently, Hafemann, (*Paul, Moses and the History of Israel*,) argued that one is to expect and depend upon the gift of the Spirit as the power of God which enables one to fulfil the law (197-209). However, the text does not seem to support Hafemann’s argument. Further, in other contexts where the believer’s conformation to Christ (transformation) is mentioned, the process is directly or indirectly connected with the operation of the Spirit (Rom. 8.9-10, 14-17; Gal. 3.27; 4.6; 1 Cor. 12.13).

⁹⁶ Scholars have argued that Paul is thinking of freedom in the sense of παρρησία as minister of the new covenant, or as freedom from slavery to the law of Moses, and from the destiny of sin and death which goes with it. See Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 104; Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 123-4.

⁹⁷ See discussion in Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 55. Thrall (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 275) offers a link with Gal. 4.21-31.

⁹⁸ Most commentators maintain that Paul is referring to all believers (Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma* 55; Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 105; Kim, *Origin of Paul’s Gospel*, 231). Munck, (*Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 60) maintains that Paul is referring to Israel’s true glory at the end of the world, but there is not contextual basis for the shift.

⁹⁹ The verb is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament. The issue is complicated by the factor that κατοπτρίζω does not occur in the LXX or elsewhere in the NT. It is not found in the Septuagint or in Greek writers before the Christian era (Philo. *Leg.* 3.101). The deponent middle sense is most probably transitive: to behold the glory as in a mirror. In Hellenistic Greek the active form of -οπτρίζω (and its compounds) means ‘to show in a mirror’, ‘to produce an image in a mirror’; the passive, ‘to be mirrored’; and the middle, ‘to produce one’s own image in a mirror’; or transitively, ‘to behold oneself in a mirror. See *LSJ*, s.v. The alternative translation ‘reflect as a mirror’ the glory of the Lord is less probable. The argument is build on the fact that, it is with Moses that Christians are compared, and what is emphasise in both Exod. 34.30, 35 and 2 Cor. 3.7 is the splendour of his face, i.e., his reflection of the divine glory. See Fischer, *Corinthians*, 316; F.F. Bruce *1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 193; Belleville, *Reflections*, 281; Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 97.

¹⁰⁰ Wong, “The Lord is the Spirit”, 65; R.P.C. Hanson, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (London: SCM Press, 1962) 43; Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 124; G. Kittel, κατοπτρίζομαι, *TDNT*, 2: 696; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 71.

¹⁰¹ It is sensible to suppose that we have this same reference to the glory of God. There are various opinions concerning the phrase τὴν δόξαν κυρίου. Some maintain that Paul is speaking of the glory of

Spirit (Wis. 7.25-26).¹⁰³ This would fit well with Paul's argument. The final phrase of v.18 καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος supports our argument since καθάπερ ἀπὸ is generally taken to denote agency or cause.¹⁰⁴ Also both texts closely link the concept of the unveiled face with the divine agency. Paul goes beyond the Exodus text (as he does in 17) and interprets this agency in terms of the work of the Spirit, thereby closely tying the Spirit to the life of the Christian. Paul's point is that as the unveiling of the heart of Jews is the work of the Spirit, so also the unveiling and glorifying of the Christian is the Spirit's activity, that is a conversion and transfiguration through the vision of God's glory. Transformation takes place as from the Lord, the Spirit. The agent of transformation, of glory, is the Spirit.¹⁰⁵

In his appeal to the Damascus experience as a revelation of divine δόξα, Paul answers criticisms and launches his defence against his opponents. By rooting his

the risen and ascended Lord (Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 105). Others argue it is the glory of Christ as the pre-Incarnate Wisdom of God (Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 125). Still others suggest that it is the glory of Christ seen in the pages of Scripture (F.T. Fallon, *2 Corinthians* [Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1980] 34). However, it is important to recognise that the term 'glory of the Lord' is a familiar phrase in the LXX as a reference to Yahweh. For example Exod. 16.7, 10; 24.16-17; Lev. 9.6; Num. 14.10, 21; 16.19, 42; 20.6; 2 Chr. 5.14; 7.1-3; Ps. 103.31; 137.5; Isa. 35.2; 40.5; Ezek. 2.1; 3.12, 23; 10.4, 18-19; 11.23; 43.4-5; 44.4; Hab. 2.14.

¹⁰² Opinion varies, however, as to the nature of the mirror in the passage. The mirror is seen signifying the gospel, as concerned with the glory of Christ (4.4). See Lambrecht, *2 Corinthians*, 55; idem., 'Structure and Line of Thought in 2 Cor. 2.14-4.6', in R. Bieringer and J. Lambrecht (eds.), *Studies of 2 Corinthians* (BETL 102; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994) 257-294; idem., 'Transformation in 2 Cor. 3.18', *Bib* 64 (1983) 250; Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 193. Other arguments include: the mirror signifies Christ himself; the concept of reflecting mirror is applied by Paul to the face of the gospel minister; Moses as having beheld God's glory reflected on the stone tablets of the law; the opponents' view of the literal text of Scripture as the mirror of the Spirit. See discussions in Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 290-93; Belleville, *Reflections*, 278ff. Segal (*Paul the Convert*, 323) draws attention to the use of the mirror in (2 Cor. 3.18) as possibly referring to some unexplained technique for achieving ecstasy. Talmudic times (*Reuyoth Yehezkel*) mention that Ezekiel's mystical vision was stimulated by looking into the water of the River Chebar. Even Philo uses the mystical imagery of the mirror to discuss the allegorical exposition of Scripture (See *Cont.Life* 78, see also Georgi, *Opponents*, 272-73).

¹⁰³ A number of scholars have pointed out the relationship between (*Wisdom* 7.25-26) and various descriptions in 2 Corinthians 3.18-4.6. See A. van Roon, 'The Relation between Christ and the Wisdom of God according to Paul', *NovT* 16 (1974) 207-39; 228. Properly speaking καθάπερ it is an adverb with the sense 'accordingly' (see *LSJ*, s.v.). See also Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit', 65. Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 216) construes καθάπερ as a comparative. According to *Wisdom* 7.25-26, wisdom is said to be a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty, a reflection of eternal light, "spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness." The occurrence of the same language of mirror, image and glory in both passages bespeaks Paul's dependence on *Wisdom* 7.25-26. It is probable that the metaphor of the mirror is derived from Wis. 7.26, whereas Wisdom/Spirit here is the mirror. There are verbal correspondences between Wis. 7.25-26 and 2 Cor. 3.18; 4.4, 6; in both there are references to the divine glory and the divine image.

¹⁰⁴ J. Héring, *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock; London: Epworth, 1967) 28; Wong, 'The Lord is the Spirit' 68; Hermann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 56. It is interesting to note that v.18 is parallel to the last clause of Exod. 34.35.

¹⁰⁵ See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 422; L.L. Belleville, 'Paul's Polemic ad Theology of the Spirit in Second Corinthians', *CBQ* 58 (1996) 281-304.

apostolic authority in the Damascus experience, particularly as the beginning of the ministry of the Spirit, Paul both legitimizes his apostolic authority and the content of his preaching, and demonstrates the inadequacy of his opponents. For him the experience of the superior revelation of τὴν δόξαν κυρίου is through the Spirit which is lacking in Moses' revelatory experience of δόξα.

It is significant for us to recognize here that Paul was directly answering a contextual issue – the opponent's criticism of the authenticity of his apostleship. Paul retrospectively uses his own experience at Damascus in the light of the Sinaitic revelatory experience to counter his opponent's arguments. Thus it can be argued that the language of 'turning to the Lord, the Spirit' of Paul's Corinthian converts precisely because it is his own Spirit-inspired preaching that brings about faith in Christ (Gal. 3), and vindicates his ministry in a way that makes letters of recommendation unnecessary. And they see the glory of God in the face of Christ, and are transformed.

However, such a retrospective perspective can also inform us as to the actual experience of the Spirit at Paul's conversion. Two points are to be noted:

First, Paul's reference to τὴν δόξαν κυρίου in 2 Cor. 3.18 is a reference to his Christophanic experience at Damascus. This is supported by its links to 2 Cor. 4.4, 6 where τὴν δόξαν κυρίου is equivalent to τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ in 2 Cor. 4.4 and 'the gospel of the glory of Christ' to 'the glory of God in the face of Christ' in 2 Cor. 4.6.¹⁰⁶ For Paul δόξα and εἰκὼν are similar concepts. In 2 Cor. 4.4 the εἰκὼν of God is Christ. He is thus the glory of the Lord as he is the image of God. In 2 Cor. 4.6, however, the glory, which in 2 Cor. 4.4 is attributed to Christ, is more exactly described as 'the glory of God in the face of Christ'. It is thus highly possible that Paul is thinking of his own experience of conversion in which the risen Christ appeared to him clothed in divine splendour (2 Cor. 4.6 cf. Phil. 3.21).¹⁰⁷

Crucial to our argument is 2 Cor. 3.18 and 4.4, 6, which suggest that he is referring to his own experience of Christophany. Grammatically, the aorist tense of ἔλαμψεῖ points to one specific moment in the past.¹⁰⁸ Linguistic parallels show that the shining of a heavenly light was a characteristic of his experience according to the narratives in Acts (9.3; 22.6; 26.13).¹⁰⁹ It is noticeable that there are linguistic parallels between Acts and 2 Cor. 4.6: the φωτισμός of 2 Cor. 4.6 may be seen as parallel to the φῶς of Acts (9.3; 22.6, 11; 26.13), which is connected with δόξα (Acts 22.11), and words of the λαμπ-

¹⁰⁶ See Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 314 ff. for detailed discussion.

¹⁰⁷ Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, 105.

¹⁰⁸ P.E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980²) 134.

¹⁰⁹ Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 196.

group occur in both contexts (Acts 26.13 twice).¹¹⁰ There is substantial support for the view that Paul alludes to the event of his own conversion and call to apostleship.¹¹¹ By doing so, we are not limiting Paul's 'unique experience' (1 Cor. 15) to 'yet another Spirit-experience' rather it highlights the nature of Damascus road experience which Paul attributes only to the Spirit.¹¹²

Second, the idea of Jewish unbelief and conversion to the Spirit as the agent of transformation is almost unique in Paul. It can probably be argued that Paul is familiar with parallel references in the contemporary Jewish literature on individuals' transformation by the Spirit (1QH 5.11; 7.6f.; 16.9; cf. 1QS 11.3-4; Philo *Mos.* 2.271; *Virt.* 217-218)¹¹³ but not in a way directly similar to that of 2 Cor. 3.17.¹¹⁴

In the light of our discussion on 2 Cor. 3.1-4.6 (cf. 1 Thess. 1.4-6, 9-10; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5; 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 6.11) we are left with the distinct probability that Paul experienced the Spirit at Damascus. In which case it is likely that the Damascus experience shook Paul's pre-Christian Pharisaic convictions about the Spirit. Given Paul's Jewish convictions about the centrality of Torah, especially his role as an interpreter who had first hand acquaintance with the divinely-given Torah, the Christophany event, which he believe happened through the agency of the Spirit could have induced Paul to re-evaluate his past convictions. For him the messianic event in the Spirit provided a new revelation beyond and outside the Torah.

The revelation of Jesus as the exalted Son of God (Gal. 1.15-16) brought a new authority that is superior to his previous convictions about the Torah. Thus, for him the revelation of the gospel, the "law of Christ" (νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ - Gal. 6.2; cf. 1

¹¹⁰ Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 135; Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 317.

¹¹¹ It is possible to argue that the author of Acts may thus reproduce a tradition deriving originally from Paul himself, phrased in the kind of language used in 2 Cor. 4.6. This tradition was understood as referring to the apostle's conversion-vision. It would be this experience to which 2 Cor. 4.6 refers.

¹¹² It is important for us to recognise that Paul believes that the Damascus road experience as something unique (1 Cor.15) and that it has similarities to the appearances to the apostles and other around the first Easter.

¹¹³ For example, in Philo, we see Moses' appearance changed both in outward appearance and mind and filled with the Spirit.

¹¹⁴ The point can also probably be argued in line with interpretative influence in terms of the similarity of 2 Cor. 3.16 to the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan. Although in the original context it was ὁ κύριος whose voice was heard in the Tent of Meeting, in contemporary Jewish literature particularly in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan there are references to the Spirit in passages concerned with Moses' encounter with Yahweh. It was the Spirit's voice that spoke with him, according to the targumic understanding of Num. 7.89 (McNamara, *Palestinian Targum*, 184, 187). If Paul was familiar with this kind of exegetical tradition, he might have understood the Exodus text as containing an allusion to the activity of the Spirit in Moses' own day.

Cor. 9.21) and the “word of the Lord” (λόγῳ κυρίου, 1 Thess. 4.15; 1 Cor. 7.10; 9.14; 11.23; cf. 2 Cor. 12.9) have become the highest authority.¹¹⁵

A corollary to the above conviction is the notion of ‘freedom’ the beholders of the δόξα now have. Since freedom of experience to behold the δόξα was previously hindered by the reading of the Torah, which was accessible only to the qualified scribe, now as Christian believers it is possible through the Lord, the Spirit (2 Cor. 3.17-18 cf. Gal. 2.4; 5.1-5). It is thus a new community that is gathered under the revelation of Jesus in the Spirit.

In sum, Paul’s Damascus experience probably transformed his pre-Christian convictions regarding the role of the Spirit and the significance of an experience of the Spirit.

6.3.2. *The Nature of ‘Call’ in the Damascus experience*

Significant for Paul’s Damascus experience was his conviction that he was called to the Gentiles. That leads us to the second aspect of our enquiry which is *how* Paul heard *what* he heard (the nature of Paul’s calling)? What is important for our discussion is the relationship between and the nature of his conviction as an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1.15-16; 1 Cor. 9.1; 15.8-11; Acts 9.15; 22.15; 26.16-18) and how that should inform our enquiry on his conviction that God has poured out his Spirit upon the Gentiles. There are various possibilities.

6.3.2.1. *A Call like a Merkavah Mystic*

A possibility is to argue with John Bowker who links Paul’s call to that of Ezekiel’s experience.¹¹⁶ By comparing the story of Paul’s conversion with¹¹⁷ ‘the Jewish tradition of four who entered *pardes*,¹¹⁸ Bowker finds common ground in the two traditions to Ezekiel 1.¹¹⁹ He pictures Paul journeying to Damascus and reflecting ‘on the road’, like the four rabbis, on Ezekiel’s vision. Key to his argument is, immediately after the vision (Ezek. 1) the prophet clearly heard the voice of the Spirit speaking to him: ‘Son of man, I send you to the people of Israel’ (2.2-3).¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ As a result Paul could think of two distinct and contrary aspects, of death and life (2 Cor. 3.6), Moses and Christ (2 Cor. 3.7ff.). See discussions in Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery*, 149.

¹¹⁶ G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, 14; Gruenwald, *Merkavah Mysticism*, 86ff.

¹¹⁷ There are four versions of the story available in the rabbinic literature (*ShSR* 1.4; *t.Hag.* 2.3f., *j.Hag.* 77b; *Hag.* 14b). See Rowland (*Open Heaven*, 309-312) for further discussion.

¹¹⁸ In the original version of the story, argues C. Morray-Jones (*Paradise Revisited*, 268), ‘the term *pardes* is used without explanation as a technical term for the Holy of Holies in the highest heaven, where the glory of God resides’.

¹¹⁹ See discussion in Morray-Jones *Paradise Revisited*, 268.

¹²⁰ Bowker, “‘Merkabah’ Visions”, 157-73.

According to Bowker, it is possible that Paul, in the process of *merkavah* contemplation, reflected on the voice of commission to Ezekiel in ch.2, where prophet Ezekiel was sent to the impudent, stubborn and rebellious people (2.3-7). Bowker points out that Paul too was in pursuit of transgressing Jews, but Paul's reflection on Ezek. 2 reversed his attitudes, and the Paul was dramatically convinced in the vision that it was not the Christians who were the rebellious people, but the Jew and therefore the 'word of God' should be for all men.¹²¹ However, such a proposal does not do justice to Paul's convictions on two accounts. (a) Unlike Ezekiel, Paul saw his task as being not primarily to confront Israel with its sin but to convert the Gentiles. (b) Paul's vision was not the chariot of God, but the revelation of the Son of God (Gal. 1.13).

6.3.2.2. *A Call like the Teacher of Righteousness*

An interesting parallel to Paul's calling would be that of Teacher of Righteousness, the leader of the Qumran sect.¹²² It can be argued that if the leader was the author of some of the hymns in *Hodayot* (cf. 1QH 9.29-30) he was called from his mother's womb to obey God commandments. In 1QH^a 7.18, the righteous one is set apart from the womb of his mother to give heed to God's covenant (1QH^a 17.30; cf. 1QS 8.1; 4Q259.3.1; 4Q265f4i.4). Although there are similarities between Paul's use in Galatians and that in Qumran literature, 'the call' here is not followed by a word of commission to the Gentiles – a commission that is unlikely to come from the Qumran sect.

6.3.2.3. *A Call like a Prophet*

An emerging interest among scholars in recent years is to relate Paul's vision/commission to experiences of the Old Testament prophets.¹²³ Here Paul's

¹²¹ Bowker, "'Merkabah' Visions', 172.

¹²² M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns, Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 3; Leiden: Brill, 56); P. Stuhlmacher, *Das Paulinische Evangelium I, Vorgeschichte* (FRLANT 95; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968) 72-73.

¹²³ In the earlier writings there were attempts to compare Paul as a prophet with various forms of Hellenistic religion, especially mystery religions. See discussions in Reitzenstein, (*Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*). However, a full length monograph on the subject of Paul as a prophet by Sandnes, *Paul—One of the Prophets?*) now confirms that Paul's understanding of prophecy and prophets owes far more to the Jewish tradition than to the Graeco-Roman tradition. See also discussions P. Dinter, 'Paul and the Prophet Isaiah', *BTB* 13 (1983) 48-52; J. M. Myers and E.D. Freed, 'Is Paul also Among the Prophets?', *Int.* 20 (1966) 40-53; J.A. Sanders, 'Hermeneutics in True and False Prophecy', in *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 87-105; J.M. Scott, 'Coherence and Contingency: The Function of Scripture in 2 Corinthians 6.14-7.1', in C.A. Evans and J.A. Sanders (eds.), *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel* (JSNTSS 83; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 187-220; P. Stuhlmacher, 'The Pauline Gospel', in P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *The Gospel and the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991) 149-72. Munck (*Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 26) persuasively argued that Paul's reference here is separation from his mother's womb and his commission to "proclaim him" to the Gentiles was deliberately used by Paul, "giving him a place in the history of salvation in line with those Old Testament figures."

discussion of the revelation he received (Gal 1:15) is couched in the language of OT prophetic calls.¹²⁴ In Gal. 1.15 Paul states that he was set apart from his mother's womb (ἐκ κοιλιάς μητρός μου) and that he was called (καλέσας) through God's grace. These are elements in Paul's call that corresponds with the prophetic writings.

The repetition of the key terms cannot be coincidental.¹²⁵ Hence, scholars have demonstrated that the very nature of Paul's conversion invites comparison with the prophets,¹²⁶ particularly Jeremiah and Isaiah.¹²⁷

6.3.2.3.1. A Call like Jeremiah

There are scholars who argue that Paul's call recalls Jeremiah.¹²⁸ Thus Jer. 1.4-5 refers to his being chosen before the prophet was born for a mission to the Gentiles. Jeremiah indicates that the Lord knew him before he was formed in the womb (πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλία) and that the Lord consecrated him before he was born (πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκμήτρας). Linguistically, Jeremiah's call offers similarity to that of Paul. Jeremiah was also called to be a "prophet to the nations" (Jer. 1.5) only in terms of his oracles, specially his word of judgement concerning the nations (Jer. 46-51), and against Egypt (Jer. 46.3-12), Babylon (Jer. 50.1-51.58) and Damascus (Jer. 49.23-27).¹²⁹ However, it is difficult finally to relate such a call narrative to Paul's,

¹²⁴ Recently, Sandnes (*Paul – One of the Prophets?* 59ff.) investigated the common features associated with the call and ministry of the prophet in the Old Testament and post-biblical Judaism and Gal. 1.15-16. He demonstrates that the basic structure, call, election, revelation, commission and definition of target group correspond to the basic structure of the commission texts of the Old Testament prophets. He builds his case from K. Baltzer's (*Die Biographie der Propheten* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1975]) study of *Gattung*, particularly the literary form that is used in Old Testament to depict the call of the prophets. Sandnes employs Baltzer's terminology to link Gal. 1.15-16 to the call narratives: "Einsetzungsbericht" consisting of "Berufungswort", "Einsetzung", "Dienstanweisung" "Zustaendigkeitsbereich".

¹²⁵ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν finds parallel in Jeremiah (Jer. 1.5). See Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 101; Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns*, 56; Stuhlmacher, *Das Paulinische Evangelium*, 72-73.

¹²⁶ What is of most interest to us is the fact that Acts 26.12-18 uses vocabulary from prophetic call narratives. Acts 26.16a (But rise and stand upon your feet) = Ezek. 2.1 (stand upon your feet); Acts 17a (Delivering you from the people and from the Gentiles) = Jer. 1.8 (I am with you to deliver you); Acts 26.17b (to whom I send you) = Jer. 1.7 (to whom I send you).

¹²⁷ R.E. Ciampa, *The Presence and Function of Scripture in Galatians 1 and 2* (WUNT 2/102; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1998) 111-18; Sandnes, *Paul-One of the Prophets?* 61-65. Just as the prophets received revelations and visions of God and/or heaven, particularly in connection with their call to prophetic office (Isa. 1.1; 6.1-13; Ezek. 1.1; 8.4; Obad. 1; Nah. 1.1; Hab. 2.2), so also Paul received revelations and visions (1 Cor. 15.8; 2 Cor. 12.1-4; Gal. 1.12, 16; 2.2; cf. Acts 9.3-9; 22.6-11; 26.13-20). See discussions in C.A. Evans, 'Paul, as a Prophet', *DPL*.

¹²⁸ See K.H. Rengstorf, 'σημείον', *TDNT* 1: 439-440; Myers and Freed, 'Is Paul also Among the Prophets?', 40-53.

¹²⁹ W. McKane, *Jeremiah* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986) 1: 6; R.P. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant, Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM Press, 1981) 30-58.

(i) since his ministry to the Gentile was not of judgement but of hope; (ii) nor provide us sufficient argument for the nature of Paul's Spirit experience in the call.

6.3.2.3.2. A Call like the Servant of YHWH

Scholars find parallels to the servant song of Isa. 49 (= Gal. 1.15),¹³⁰ which begins with the words "The Lord called me from the womb" (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου, LXX 49.1), and ends with the commission to the Gentiles (49.6): "I will give you as a light to the Gentiles" (εἰς φῶς ἔθνῶν). Following observations strengthen our assumption.

First there are other linguistic and thematic parallels between Galatians and Deutero-Isaiah.¹³¹ For example, δοξάζω Gal. 1.24 = Isa. 49.3; the use of κενῶς Gal. 2.2b = Isa. 49.4a.¹³² Further, when writing of his missionary calling elsewhere Paul alludes to the same prophet, always either quoting or alluding to texts from the part of the book of Isaiah that lays most stress on the part the Gentiles are to play in God's plan (Rom. 15.20-21 = Isa. 52.15; cf. 2 Cor. 6.2 = LXX Isa. 49.8).

Second, theologically, the significance of the call of the עֶבֶד in Isaiah is that the עֶבֶד would be the instrument of YHWH's restoration of Israel (49.5-6). Since the nations were included within the activity of YHWH's salvation, Israel and the chosen servant of God are the "light to the nations" (Isa. 42.6; 49.5f.; cf. 51.4), and would bring salvation to the ends of the earth (49.6b), which is not to be understood as an active call to mission. Rather, Israel (44.1-5) and servant of God (42.1; cf. 60.1-3) possess the power of attraction, possibly through the Spirit that works outwardly in an enticing fashion (Isa. 55.4). Thus is it possible to relate Paul's call to that of the 'servant of YHWH' in Deutero-Isaiah.

Through such a line of argument then there is a possible link one can make, in relation to the commissioning of the servant of YHWH and the Spirit endowment upon the servant. Recently, Seyoon Kim has drawn attention to Isa. 42.1 (cf. 61.1-3) and

¹³⁰ Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 101.

¹³¹ Scholars have already noted Paul's acquaintance with Deutero-Isaiah. See 40.13 = Rom. 11.34; 1 Cor. 2.16; 40.26-28 = Rom. 1.20; 43.6 = 2 Cor. 6.18; 43.18-19 = 2 Cor. 5.17; 44.25 = 1 Cor. 1.20; 45.9 = Rom. 9.20; 45.14 = 1 Cor. 14.25; 45.23 = Rom. 14.11; Phil. 2.10-11; 48.13 = Rom. 4.17; 49.4 = Phil. 2.16; 49.8 = 2 Cor. 6.2; 49.10 = Rom. 9.16; 49.13 = 2 Cor. 7.6; 49.18 = Rom. 14.11; 50.8 = Rom. 8.33; 51.1 = Rom. 9.31; 51.5-6 = Rom. 1.17, 3.21; 51.7 = Rom. 2.15; 51.8 = Rom. 1.17; 3.21; 52.4 = 2 Cor. 6.17; 51.5 = Rom. 2.24; 52.7 = Rom. 10.15; 52.11 = 2 Cor. 6.17; 52.15 = Rom. 15.21, 1 Cor. 2.9; 53.1 = Rom. 10.16; 53.3 = Phil. 2.7; 53.5 = Rom. 4.25, 5.1; 53.5-6 = 1 Cor. 15.3; 53.11 = Rom. 5.19, Phil. 2.7; 53.11-12 = Rom. 5.15; 53.12 = Rom. 4.24, 1 Cor. 15.3; 54.1 = Gal. 4.27; 55.10 = 2 Cor. 9.10. See Sandnes, *Paul-One of the Prophets?* 62.

¹³² Luke in Acts picks up some of the same themes: Acts 13.47 = Isa. 49.6 and Acts 26.16-18 with Isa. 46.16.

related Paul's calling to that of 'the servant of YHWH. In Deutero-Isaiah the Lord puts his Spirit upon the Servant, thus empowering him to carry out his mission of delivering God's saving judgement to the Gentiles and thus to be a bearer of light and salvation to them as well as being a covenant to Israel.¹³³

Although Kim overburdens Paul's call with linguistic and theological parallels from Isa. 42,¹³⁴ he offers a helpful link to our discussion on Paul's call to the Gentiles and the Spirit. According to Kim, 2 Cor. 1.21-22 offers an evidence for Paul's understanding of his apostolic commission in terms of God's 'anointment' with the Holy Spirit.¹³⁵ Such an argument is possible.

In 2 Cor. 1, Paul defends his behaviour of not having come to Corinth as he had promised. But at stake still more than his own integrity is his apostleship. He defends himself on the basis of theological principle.¹³⁶

Paul argues that the cancellation of his planned visit to Corinth was not an insincere decision born of "earthly wisdom" (σοφία σαρκικῆ 1.12) or "earthly planning" (σάρκα βουλευόμαι, 1.17). Paul builds his theological argument on two levels. First, Paul argues that God, whose word, he and his colleagues (21a, b, 22) preach, is a faithful God, because God has faithfully fulfilled all His promises in and through his Son Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 1.18-20). Second, Paul's authority as an apostle is based in God's own authority as attested by the outpouring of the Spirit.¹³⁷

In the context of such an argument, Paul speaks of God having "anointed us" and "sealed us" and "given us the down-payment of the Spirit in our hearts." With the use of term χρίσας Paul is possibly referring to his apostolic commission on the Damascus road. The grammatical point suggests that Paul is referring to the initial moment at which he and probably his readers became Christians. The first verb βεβαίωω is in the present tense and the following verbs χριω and σφραγίζω are in aorist tense – indicating a single act in the past.¹³⁸ However, for us the question is whether Paul was

¹³³ Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 107-127

¹³⁴ Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 101-127. For example, εὐδόκησεν (Gal. 1.15) = Isa. 42.1 (with the help of the witness Codex Q); καλέσας and ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (Gal. 1.15-16) = ἐκάλεσα and ἔδωκα (Isa. 42.1, 6); εὐθέως to Arabia (Gal. 16) = 777 and 778 (Isa. 42.1 has a reference to Arabia).

¹³⁵ Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective*, 117-121.

¹³⁶ Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 131-34; G.D. Fee, 'ΧΑΡΙΣ in II Corinthians 1:15: Apostolic Parousia and Paul-Corinth Chronology', *NTS* 24 (1977-78) 533-38.136; Martin, *2 Corinthians*, Thrall, *Second Epistles to the Corinthians*.

¹³⁷ Hafemann, *Paul, Moses and the History of Israel*, 97-98. See also S. Olson, *Confidence Expressions in Paul: Epistolary Conventions and the Purpose of 2 Corinthians* (Ph.D Diss. Yale University, 1976) 136.

¹³⁸ Montague, *Holy Spirit*, 185-86.

referring to his apostolic call or to the conversion experience of all believers in general. The former seems to be the case.

First, the use of ἡμᾶς in v.21 is important for our discussion. On the one hand ἡμᾶς may possibly refer to all believers,¹³⁹ which would include both Paul and his associates. But Paul is specifically making a separation between the usages of ἡμᾶς and ὑμῶν in 1.21a. The ἡμᾶς in 21a refers to Paul, Silvanus and Timothy (ἡμῶν 1.18); and ὑμῶν refers to all believers at Corinthians. In this case Paul is referring to ‘anointing’ (χρίσας) and ‘sealing’ (σφραγίζω)¹⁴⁰ and ‘guarantee’ (ἄρραβων)¹⁴¹ in exclusive terms.¹⁴²

Second, a unique use of χρίσας (anointing) in 2 Cor. 1.21 is helpful for furthering our argument. Scholarly interpretations vary: χρίσας is used as a reference to the baptismal pouring of water and refers to God’s acceptance of the baptised into the eschatological community of saints;¹⁴³ or it refers to the bestowal of the gifts of the Spirit upon believers for ministry;¹⁴⁴ or all believers are consecrated at baptism to kingship, to share in Christ’s reign.¹⁴⁵ However, such interpretations are not really warranted. The verb χρίω is used in the LXX of consecration to high office through

¹³⁹ See J.J. Kline, ‘We, Us and Our in I and II Corinthians’, *NovT* 8 (1966) 176-77; Lampe, *Seal of the Spirit*, 61-62.

¹⁴⁰ The term σφραγίζω (seal) is a commercial reference – to mark property, to prove identity, to provide a legal guarantee or to safeguard against violation. See LXX Est.3.10; 8.8; Dan. 6.18; 12.9; Isa. 29.11; Jer. 32.10; 39.44; Job 9.7; 14.17; 37.7; Wis. 2.5; Tob.7.14. See discussions in G. Fitzer, ‘σφραγίς’, *TDNT* 7: 939-43; R. Schippers, ‘σφραγίς’, *NIDNTT* 3: 497. As religious imagery, it refers to divine ownership and protection. The biblical idea that a protective mark may be set upon the righteous to save them from destruction (Ezek. 9.4-6; cf. Isa. 44.3-5; Rev.7.2-8) is significant (Bousset *Kyrios Christos*, 295-96). In the rabbinic writings the ‘seal’ of circumcision was a sign of the covenant, of membership of God’s people (*Exod. R.* 19 (cf. Rom. 4.11)). The Spirit as the ‘seal’ of God’s ownership is a familiar metaphor in the New Testament (Eph. 1.13; 4.30; Jn. 3.33). In 1 Cor. 9.2 Paul uses the term in relation to the authentication of his apostleship. In the present passage too, Paul’s uses the metaphor of the Spirit as a seal to prove the reliability of his apostleship and thus a reference to his calling. For other Pauline use see Rom. 15.28; Eph. 1.13; 4.30; cf. Rom. 4.11; 1 Cor. 9.2; 2 Tim. 2.19.

¹⁴¹ The term refers to another commercial and legal term for a payment, which obligates the contracting party to make further payments (cf. Gen. 38:18). See Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 158; Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 293. However, in its common usage as a contract for services, the term ἄρραβων also places responsibility on the one who receives it. Thus the recipient will perform the service under the obligation to fulfil the contract. See A.J. Kerr, ‘APPABΩN’, *JTS* 39 (1988) 92-97. If Paul is defending the reliability of his apostleship then we need to understand ἄρραβων in line with the above notion

¹⁴² See P.L. Hammer, ‘Canon and Theological Variety: A Study in the Pauline Tradition’, *ZNW* 67 (1976) 83-89; Plummer, *Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*; Kim, *Paul ad the New Perspective*, 119-120; contra Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 154.

¹⁴³ E. Dinkler, ‘Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor 1,21f.’, in *Signum Crucis: Augsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur christlichen Archäologie* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1967) 107. See also Lampe, *Seal of the Spirit*, 3-7, 61, 62 143 and recently, Horn, *Das Angeld*, 391. See Dunn, (*Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 131-134) for criticism of this position.

¹⁴⁴ Martin, *2 Corinthians*, 28.

¹⁴⁵ Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 155.

anointing with oil (Exod. 29.7; Lev. 8.12; 1 Kgs. 9.16; 15.1, 17; 16.12) and for the anointing of the Messiah with the Spirit (61.1-3). In the New Testament, apart from its reference to Paul, it is used only in relation to Jesus Christ himself, who is anointed (Lk. 4.18; Acts 4.27; 10.38; Heb. 1.9),¹⁴⁶ with the gift of the Spirit.¹⁴⁷ If Paul is referring to “us” as faithful disciples of Christ then the verb is used here in a restricted sense – to the Christian apostles. By using the term *χρίω* Paul indicates his belief that he shares the vocation and mission of Christ.¹⁴⁸ By affirming his authority in terms of anointing by the Spirit, which is received at Damascus, Paul is proving his reliability and commitment to the Gentile congregation at Corinth.¹⁴⁹

Though the thematic link between Paul’s call and that of the servant of YHWH is clear, the reference to *χρίσας* in 2 Cor. 1.21 offers a linguistic parallel not to the passages in Isa. 42/49, but rather to the messianic text in Isa. 61.1.¹⁵⁰ We may probably conclude that the nature of Paul’s ‘call’ experience indicates that he related his experience to that of the servant of YHWH (Isa. 42.1; 49.1-6), and especially to the role of the Spirit in empowering him as a light to the Gentiles.

In support of this position we may consider Paul’s use of *χάρις* in Gal. 1.15. Paul describes the beginning of his apostolic career as a “setting apart” (*ἀφορίζω*)¹⁵¹ from his mother’s womb (Gal. 1.15) and a calling through God’s grace (*διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ*) for the task of mission to the Gentiles.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Since the terminology is restricted to Luke, it may reflect Jesus tradition found in Pauline churches. See Fee, *1 Corinthians*, 546-47.

¹⁴⁷ See Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 292.

¹⁴⁸ Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 79; L. Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul* (trans. G. Webb and A. Walker [London, 1959] 498).

¹⁴⁹ The above conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that Paul at least on three other occasions cite texts on the servant of YHWH them in explicitly with reference to his own apostolic mission (2 Cor. 6.2; Rom. 15.20-21; cf. 10.15,16).

¹⁵⁰ *Contra* Kim, (*Paul and the New Perspective*, 121) attempts to linguistically link 2 Cor. 1.21-22 with Isa. 42.1 and 61.1.

¹⁵¹ See K.L. Schmidt, ‘ἀφορίζω’, *TDNT* 5:454-55. In the LXX, ἀφορίζω the term refers to (a) the setting aside as holy in contrast to the unholy (e.g. Lev. 20.25) (b) the ‘setting apart’ of the first born (e.g. Exod. 13.12), (c) of offering the first fruits (e.g. Num. 15.20; cf. 4Q423f3: 4), (d) of consecrating the Levites to the divine service on behalf of Israel (e.g. Num. 8.11). In the Rabbinic traditions the phrase is well attested but used in isolation. See *Gen. R.* 63.6; *Num. R.* 10.5, cf. 3.8; *t. Sota*, 11b; 45b; *t. Yoma* 82b-83a; *b. Yoma* 82b. See Acts 13.2 where the Holy Spirit asks the Church to set aside (ἀφορίσατε) Saul and Barnabas for the work of the Spirit has prepared for them (Act 13.2; Rom. 1.5).

¹⁵² Paul may possibly be referring to his recognition of an “effectual dedication that occurred at Damascus in the actual call to apostleship.” See E. Best (‘Acts 13:1-3’, *JTS* 11 [1960] 344-48 [347]) emphasises the parallel in language with Num. 8 and the narrative in which ‘the Levites’ are set apart to a professional ministry to God. See also Meyer, and Freed, ‘Is Paul also Among the Prophets?’ 40-53; Donaldson, *Paul*, 254-55.

The motif of God overcoming the insufficiency of the one called is a typical feature in the prophets' call-narratives in the Old Testament.¹⁵³ For example, in the accounts of Moses (Exod. 3.11), Isaiah (Isa. 6.5), Jeremiah (Jer. 1.6) and Ezekiel (Ezek. 1.28-2.2) being called to deliver YHWH's word, the prophets had to overcome their insufficiency by what is in effect God's covenantal grace.¹⁵⁴ Only subsequent to the overcoming of his insufficiency, was he able of being God's messenger.

Building on the above conclusion, Sandnes has pointed out that the reference to χάρις in Gal. 1.15 is a reference to God's forgiveness of Paul for his prior life as a persecutor of the church. According to him, without God's forgiving grace Paul was completely inadequate to be a preacher of the gospel.¹⁵⁵ Interestingly the text (Gal. 1.15) does not support Sandnes' suggestion, but rather presents χάρις¹⁵⁶ as a dynamic experience "of being grasped and engraced by God".¹⁵⁷ Paul could possibly be referring to his own conviction of an endowment of the Spirit as the sufficiency from God for the Gentile mission.

Such an assumption is strengthened by the use of τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι in Gal. 2.9, when Paul uses the phrase to indicate that the Jerusalem apostles duly recognised his call to the Gentiles (cf. Gal. 3.3).

Further, the same expression τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is used in Rom. 15.15,¹⁵⁸ when Paul summarises his Gentile mission up to the time of his writing to the Romans. He speaks of "what Christ has accomplished (κατεργάσατο)¹⁵⁹ through me to win the obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed, by the power of signs and wonders, by the power of the Holy Spirit,¹⁶⁰ so that from Jerusalem and as far around as Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel" (1 Thess. 1.5;

¹⁵³ See discussions in Hafemann, *Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 39-62; idem, *Suffering and the Ministry in the Spirit: Paul's Defence of his Ministry in 2 Corinthians 2.14-3.3* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990) 138f., 129-131.

¹⁵⁴ Hafemann uses the phrase "sufficiency-in-spite-of-insufficiency-as-a-result-of-the-grace-of God" to describe the call of the above mentioned prophets (*Paul, Moses, and the History of Israel*, 51).

¹⁵⁵ Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 64.

¹⁵⁶ See discussions on χάρις in Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1: 289ff.; Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 202-03; S. Schatzmann, *A Pauline Theology of Charismata* (Peabody, MA.: Hendrikson, 1987)1-11; Conzelmann, *TDNT*, 9:403.

¹⁵⁷ See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, 322.

¹⁵⁸ The reference here is to the whole apostolic ministry (Dunn, *Roman 2*: 859).

¹⁵⁹ See parallel use in 2 Cor. 12.12 - κατεργάσθη

¹⁶⁰ See J. Jervell, 'The Signs of an Apostle: Paul's Miracles', in *The Unknown Paul* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 77-95.

Gal. 3.5; 1 Cor. 2.4; 2 Cor. 12.12).¹⁶¹ A conviction that he is a Spirit-empowered apostle of Christ has its roots in the Damascus experience.

It is significant for us to note the use of ἀφορίζω in Paul's reference to his calling. Scholars have pointed out that the word alludes to Paul's pre-Christian conviction as a Pharisee (שׂרִיִּץ) who had set himself apart for the law.¹⁶² While thinking as a Pharisee Paul realises at Damascus, that it is only in Christ and through the empowerment of the Spirit that he has become truly 'separated' for the Gentile mission.¹⁶³ To conclude, by juxtaposing the terms ἀφορίζω and χάρις in Gal. 1.15, Paul possibly understood his call to the Gentiles as an empowerment for his mission.

6.4. Conclusion

In the present study, we have argued that for Paul the Damascus event included an experience of the Spirit. Paul's letters emphasise the experience of the Spirit at the beginning of all Christian conversions – by implication, in both his converts' and his own (1 Thess. 1.4-6; 2 Thess. 2.13-14; Gal. 3.1-5 cf. 4.4-7; 1 Cor. 2.4-5; 1 Cor. 6.11; 2 Cor. 1.21).

While defending his apostolic authority, Paul provides us with information about his thoughts on the role of the Spirit at his conversion (2 Cor. 3.1-4-6; 2 Cor. 1.21). His argument indicates that in his pursuit of the church in Damascus (Gal. 1.17) he confronted the 'glory' of God in the 'face' of the risen Christ (2 Cor. 3.1-4.6). For him the significant aspect of his conversion experience was the revelation of the 'glory of

¹⁶¹ While defending his convictions Paul uses the phrase τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι to convey the while explains his call to the Gentiles, a call that the Jerusalem apostles duly recognised. What is interesting is the exact phrase τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ is used in Rom. 15.15 to indicate his calling to the Gentiles.

¹⁶² Baumgarten ('The Name of the Pharisees', 411-428; idem, 'The Pharisaic Paradox', *HTR* 80 (1987) 63-77.) noted that an evident claim of the Pharisees was to be the party of ἀκριβεία of scrupulous exactness in their observance of God's laws, has suggested that behind the name "Pharisee" may lie the Hebrew *pārōšīm*, "specifiers" (i.e., of the correct understanding of the divine requirements). In Rom. 1.1 Paul says that he has been set aside (ἀφωρισμένος) for the gospel of God, and thus "serving the gospel of God." See Schmidt (*TDNT* 5: 454) who considers that ἀφωρισμένος is the translation of Hebrew *pārūš* and Aramaic *pārīš* of which Φαρισαῖος is the transcription.

¹⁶³ The picture that emerges from Paul's letters concerning the role of the Spirit in his conversion/call experience is similar to traditions in Acts. What is significant for our purpose is, it is only after the mention of the gift of the Spirit (πλησθῆς πνεύματος ἁγίου) that Paul receives his call as an 'elect instrument' (σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς Acts 9.15, 16) to carry the name before the Gentiles. Further, both authors use the imagery of light and darkness, applying it both to Paul's own blinding and recovery of sight and the light dawning upon the Gentiles (Gal. 1.15-17; Acts 9.1-18; Acts 22.6-16; 26.13-18). It is almost certain that Paul experienced the Spirit during the Damascus event and the nature of the experience is related to his revelation of Jesus as Lord and his commission to the Gentile. Thus, the experience is both a conversion-initiation experience (Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 73-78) as well as an empowering for mission (Menzies, *Development*, 260-63).

God', which he experienced through the Spirit. By specifically referring to the contrast of the fading glory of the 'old covenant' and the obduracy of the 'reading of the Torah' with the new freedom of 'beholding' τὴν δόξαν κυρίου through the Spirit (2 Cor. 3.14-18), Paul indicates a new understanding of the Spirit.

The Damascus experience compelled Paul to move beyond his narrowly defined perception of the Spirit. His likely pre-Christian belief that divine enlightenment, particularly by the Spirit of God, was necessary for the study of Torah and that only someone who was filled with the Spirit could adequately interpret the words of Holy Scripture becomes insignificant in the light of his new understanding of the Spirit. The Damascus experience enabled him to see a superior revelation outside Torah.

Further, for Paul, his experience of the 'glory of God' at Damascus was an entrance into relationship with God that was entrance into life in the sphere of the Spirit. Paul might well have understood this in relation to the nature of the newly constituted covenant community.

For Paul such a revelation in the Spirit may have been significant for his conviction that he was called to preach to the Gentiles. Paul's language of mission, and particularly prophetic/Isaianic servant of YHWH element, reinforces the point that he understood his calling as becoming endowed with the Spirit for the mission to the Gentiles. The Spirit-empowered nature of Paul's calling at Damascus as reflected in his autobiographical references (Gal 1.15-16a) indicates his acquaintance with the prophetic traditions, and also provides him with a conviction he is anointed with the Spirit to preach the gospel to the Gentiles.

Did Paul's Damascus experience offer him the possibility of expecting the outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentiles without Torah observance? One cannot decisively say so. But it is highly probable in the light of our discussion that Paul's experience of Spirit at Damascus would make him open to accepting what he came to believe in his early mission – that the Spirit was indeed coming upon Gentiles apart from the Law (Gal. 3.3).

Chapter 7

THE EARLY CHURCH, THE SPIRIT AND GENTILES

7.1 Introduction

In the previous section we have argued that the Damascus event was for Paul an experience of the Spirit. We have also demonstrated how Paul's Spirit experience may well have changed his prior conclusions on the activity of the Spirit, from an understanding of the Spirit as bringing revelation from within the Torah, to a concept of the Spirit bringing revelation from without and beyond Torah. And that revelation – the revelation of the 'glory' of God in the 'face' of the risen Christ (2 Cor. 3.1–4.6) is now available through the Spirit to all those who turn to the Lord (2 Cor. 3.16).

The schema for this chapter is set by the following. Did Paul go to the Gentiles anticipating that the Spirit would be poured out upon them apart from the Law? A corollary question would be, did the early church look forward to the bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles apart from Torah observation when they began their mission among them? These two questions are significant for understanding the dynamic of the Spirit in the early church and in Paul's mission.

We will start by explaining the second of them, since it helps us to determine in what sense the early church had concluded that God has given the Spirit to the Gentiles, making them part of the eschatological community even as Gentiles. Then we will analyse Paul's understanding in the light of the early churches' conviction regarding Gentile acceptance and the Spirit.

7.2. The Early Church and the Spirit upon the Gentiles¹

So, did the early church expect the coming of the Spirit upon the Gentiles when they began their mission among them? The answer to the question depends upon an

¹ Our interest is not to distinguish the historical and theological differences within early Christianity rather the focus is on the outlook of the early church on their experience of the Spirit and its relevance in the incorporation of the Gentiles into Christian community. For diversity of opinions concerning the understanding of the Spirit in the early church see: M. Goguel (*The Birth of Christianity* [trans. H.C. Snape; New York: Macmillan, 1954] 113–114) who argues that the evolution of primitive Christian pneumatology was a product of the Hellenistic community. E. Käsemann ('Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie', *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970] 2: 82–104) on the other hand regards the Palestinian Jewish Christians as pneumatically determined entity. Recently, Horn, *ABD* 3:268–71) makes out the difference between Palestinian Jewish Christian and Hellenistic Christian pneumatologies.

intriguing incident in the life of the early church – the Jerusalem council (Acts 15; Gal. 2.1–10).²

According to Luke it was Cornelius' experience of the Spirit that was counted as the first (πρῶτος — Acts 15.14) example of the Spirit being poured out upon the Gentiles. Associated with the Cornelius incident is Luke's reference to the consensus in the early church, particularly in the groups surrounding Peter and James, that considered the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Law as valid for their full incorporation into the new community. Paul also uses this conclusion in his argument against his opponents (Gal. 2-3).

7.2.1. *The Jerusalem Council*

There is an increasing trend among scholars toward considering the Jerusalem council as a historical event.³ An overwhelming majority identifies the reference to the Jerusalem council in Acts 15 with Paul's account in Gal. 2.1–10,⁴ and this accord is not just limited to the historicity of the gathering alone but extends also to the authenticity of the arguments deriving from the Jerusalem church itself.⁵

The common scholarly consensus has several features: (i) both Galatians 2.1–10 and Acts 15.1–30 agree in subject matter, and deal with the question of Gentile Christians having to observe circumcision; (ii) both agree on the opponents, who were recognised as Jewish Christian legalists (Gal. 2; Acts 15.1); (iii) both agree over the participants involved: Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, and Peter and James on the other (Gal. 2.1, 9; Acts 15.2); (iv) both accounts reach the same conclusion in favour of a law-free mission to Gentiles (Acts 15.19; Gal. 2.6–7); and (v) significantly for our purpose, both Paul and Luke agree that the Spirit endowment is

² Our concern is not to harmonise the Pauline letters with Acts or to argue for or against the authenticity of Acts or to highlight the issues concerning the interrelation between, Jerusalem council, the Antioch incident, and the Apostolic Decree but to indicate the significance of pneumatological interest involved in the acceptance of Gentiles apart from Law. See discussions in N. Taylor (*Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem. A Study in Relationship and Authority in Earliest Christianity* [JSNTSS 66; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992] 96–97) on the question of the reliability of the Acts and Galatians in relation to the Jerusalem council.

³ See Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 1979; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 131ff.

⁴ See K. Lake, 'The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem', in *Beginnings of Christianity*, 5: 195–212; Betz, *Galatians*, 85; Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', 129–160.

⁵ See Burton, *Galatians*, 117; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 121; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 64; Parker, 'Once More, Acts and Galatians', *JBL* 86 (1967) 181; Holmberg, *Paul and Power* (Lund: Gleerup, 1978) 18; Dunn, 'The Relationship between Paul and Jerusalem according to Galatians 1 and 2', 108–128; R. Lester, 'Galatians 2.1–10 and Acts: An Old Problem Revisited', in N.H. Keathley (ed.), *With Steadfast Purpose* (Waco: Baylor University, 1990) 217–38.

determinative of the full affiliation to the new community of both Jews and Gentiles (Acts 15.5–9; Gal. 3.1–5).⁶

Concerning the subject matter, it can be inferred from both Acts 15 and Gal. 2.1–10 that the question of circumcision of the Gentile Christians and their incorporation into the eschatological community was the crucial problem at the Jerusalem council (Acts 15.1; Gal. 2.3, 4).⁷ However, it is also important for our point of view to observe that it was the obvious manifestation of the Spirit upon the Gentiles which settled the argument on both occasions (Acts 15.8, 9, 12; Gal. 2.6–9, 10; 3.1–5).⁸

⁶ However, we cannot overlook the differences between Gal. 2.1–10 and Acts 15.1–30. (a) According to Galatians Paul's involvement was due to private revelation but in Acts 15.2–3 he is a public representative of the Antioch church, probably because Paul's concern to present himself as independent of the authority of the Jerusalem apostles. (b) The non-mention of a famine relief mission to Jerusalem (Acts 11.29) is probably informed by the same motif; or similarly, perhaps the trip did not assume polemical importance for Paul and his opponents. (c) The Judaizers in Galatia did not mention the decision of the Apostolic Council. Interestingly Paul drew on Apostolic decree in Galatians 2.11–15 – Peter's and Barnabas' actions were inconsistent precisely because they went against the council at Jerusalem. (d) The reported outcomes are very different. Four specific commandments are binding on them (15.19–20). But Luke adds an additional decree requiring observance by the Gentile believers of "abstaining from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what has been strangled and from fornication" (15.29). The major problem with identifying the conferences of Gal. 2.1–10 and Acts 15 is that the so-called Apostolic Decree is incompatible with Paul's account (Gal. 2.6). It is probable that the association of the Apostolic Decree with the Jerusalem conference is anachronistic, and that it was in fact a later formulation; a view that enjoy wide scholarly support. See M. Dibelius, *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. H. Greeven; London: SCM Press, 1956) 96–107; Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 115–117; Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', 160. For discussion on the matter concerning the date and the subject matter of Apostolic decree see discussions in P.J. Achtemeier, *The Quest for Unity in the New Testament Church: A Study in Paul and Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987) 54–55; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 468; A. Weiser, 'Das 'Apostelkonzil' (Apg 15.1–35): Ereignis, Überlieferung, lukanische Deutung', *BZ* 2 (1984) 145–167. It is enough to note simple that the Apostolic decree reflects an attempt on the part of the churches in Antioch and Jerusalem to come to terms with the phenomenon of mixed table-fellowship.

⁷ The policy of accepting non-Jews, who were endowed with the Spirit but not, circumcised, was perhaps the most important decision that the primitive church ever made. The notion reflects the wider connotations of περιτομή which include both the Jewish identity and nationhood (Judg. 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam. 14:6; 17:26, 36; 31:4 [cf. 1 Chr. 10:4]; 2 Sam. 1:20; 2 Macc. 6; *Jub.* 15.25–34cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–258). See discussions in Dunn, *Romans*, 2: 119; F.W. Horn *Der Verzicht auf die Beschneidung im frühen Christentum*, *NTS* 42 (1996) 479–505; S.J.D. Cohen, 'Crossing the Boundary and Becoming a Jew', *HTR* 82 (1989) 13–34 (27); Collins, 'A Symbol of Otherness: Circumcision and Salvation in the First Century', J. Neusner *et.al.* (eds.), *To See Ourselves As Others See Us* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985) 169; P. Borgen, *Philo, John and Paul* (BJS 131; Atlanta: Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987) 262–264.). For discussion on its soteriological significance see G. Vermes, 'Circumcision and Ex IV.24–26, in *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 1961, 178–192; idem, 'Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources', *NTS* 4 (1958) 308–19; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 112–118.

⁸ On the one hand it is important to note that the pneumatological issues surrounding the Cornelius episode and the Jerusalem council have been subsumed under the scholarly concentration on the circumcision issue. See for example, Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antioch*, 76ff. On the other hand, scholarship has focused its attention only on the issue of the nature of the gift of the Spirit granted to believers. Thus (a) Dunn, (*Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 81) and Bruner (*A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and New Testament Witness* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970] 196) have

The emphases on the manifestation of the Spirit on both occasions (Acts 15 [cf. Acts 10; 11]; Gal. 2.1–3.5) are worth noting.⁹ Acts 15.8 refers to “giving (δίδωμι)¹⁰ them (Gentiles) the Holy Spirit”; Acts 10.44 and 11.15 mention that “the Holy Spirit fell (ἐπιπίπτω) on all”; Acts 10.45 indicates “the gift of the Holy Spirit had been poured out (ἐκχέω)¹¹ even on the Gentiles”. Likewise in Gal. 3.2 Paul wrote that the Galatians had received (λαμβάνω)¹² the Spirit and in Gal. 3.5 he refers to God who supplies (ἐπιχορηγέω) the Spirit. With such an overwhelming list of Spirit references on the question under discussion it can be argued that in the early church (and particularly the group around James and the Pharisaic believers) the endowment of the Spirit upon Gentiles caused a dawning recognition that culminated at the Jerusalem council. This aspect comes into clear view in both Paul’s and Luke’s descriptions of the events.

7.2.1.1. *The Key Arguments at the Jerusalem Council*

According to Luke, in the council the speakers present two kinds of argument. First, Peter argues that the miraculous charismatic phenomena (the Spirit coming upon the Gentiles accompanying the conversion of the first [πρῶτος – Acts 15.14] Gentile converts) constituted a declaration by God that Gentiles are acceptable to him *as Gentiles* (15:8–9). Paul and Barnabas support this argument by referring to the work of the Spirit in their Gentile mission (Acts 15.12).

Second, as a complement to Peter, Paul and Barnabas, James interprets both the messianic age, when Davidic rule is restored to Israel, and the Temple, which God will build, as representing the eschatological people of God. God will build the eschatological Temple as the place of his presence on earth, so that all the Gentile nations may seek him; and they will do so, it is implied, apart from becoming Jews (15.15–19).¹³

argued that the gift of the Spirit is the sign for the Gentiles’ conversion–initiation, which is God’s gift of repentance unto life. (b) Stronstad (*The Charismatic Theology of St. Luke* [Peabody: Hendrikson, 1984] 67) and Menzies (*Development*, 267) have contended that the Spirit is the second blessing for the missionary enterprise. See also Turner, *Power*, 387; Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed*, 131–133.

⁹ See Borgen, ‘Jesus Christ, the Reception of the Spirit, and a Cross–National Community’, 220–235.

¹⁰ See Rom. 11.8; 2 Cor. 1.22; 5.5; 1 Thess.4.8; 2 Tim. 1.7; cf. Acts 5.32; 15.8.

¹¹ Rom. 5.5.

¹² Rom. 8.15; 1 Cor. 2.12; 2 Cor. 11.4; Gal. 3.2, 14 cf. Acts 2.33, 38; 8.15, 17,19; 10.47; 19.2.

¹³ Scholars refer either the whole speech with its scriptural quotation, simply to a Lukan composition, (E. Richard, ‘The Divine Purpose: The Jews and the Gentile Mission (Acts 15)’, in P.J. Achtemeier (ed.), [*SBLSP*, Chico, Scholar press, 1980] 267–282) or to Luke as dependent on Hellenistic Christian exegetical tradition, which supplied him with the quotation as a proof text for the Gentile mission. See also Lüdemann, *Early Christianity*, 169–70; J. Dupont, *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. J.R. Keating; New York, Paulist Press, 1979) 139–140; F. Bovon, *Luke the*

Recently, scholars have brought to light the importance of James's comment in Acts 15.14–18.¹⁴ Historically we cannot ascertain whether James actually said this at the council, but it is agreed that the speech does reflect the view of the Jerusalem leadership.¹⁵ With this in mind we would like to proceed in the following directions.

It is important to recognise that the text of Acts 15.16–18 is a conflation of prophetic texts,¹⁶ referring to the building of the eschatological Temple (Hos. 3.4–5; Jer. 12.15–16)¹⁷ and the conversion of nations (Jer. 12.15–16; Zech. 8.22; Isa. 45.20–23) in the messianic age (Amos.9.11).¹⁸ The whole point of juxtaposing these particular texts is to show that the prophets have predicted that in the age to come both the restoration of Davidic rule to Israel and the Temple which God will build are to be identified with the eschatological people of God, so that all the Gentile nations may seek his presence there.

What is especially interesting is that such a conclusion, which is about the eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles in the end time, is used to prove the limits of table-fellowship, particularly concerning unclean foods (Lev. 11.1–23; Deut. 14.3–21; Lev. 17–18) and ritual purity.¹⁹ The discordant themes that emerge from the text — with Peter, Paul and Barnabas on the one hand advancing their Spirit experiences

Theologian: Thirty-three Years of Research (1950–1983) (trans. K. McKinney; Allison Park, Pennsylvania: Pickwick Press, 1987) 98, 101, 107.

¹⁴ See R. Bauckham, 'James and the Gentiles (Acts 15.13–21)', Ben Witherington III, *History Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996) 154–184; idem, 'James and the Jerusalem Church', in R. Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in its Palestinian Setting* (BAFCS 4; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 452ff.; J. Ådna, 'Die Heilige Schrift als Zeuge der Heidenmission. Die Rezeption von Amos 9.11–12 in Apg.15, 16–18', in *Evangelium– Schriftauslegung – Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997) 1–23; Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 76ff.

¹⁵ See Bauckham, 'James and the Gentiles', 182; D.R. Catchpole, 'Paul, James and the Apostolic Decree', *NTS* 23 (1977) 428–44.

¹⁶ It has recently been noted that the text of quotation in Acts 15.16–18 shows that it is far from simply a quotation of the LXX text of Amos 9.11–12. See Kraus, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*, 76–77; Bauckham, 'James and the Gentiles', 156–57; M.A. Braun, 'James' Use of Amos at the Jerusalem Council: Step toward a Possible Solution of the Textual and Theological Problems', *JETS* 20 (1977) 114–117; R. Risener, 'James's Speech, Simeon's Hymn, and Luke's Sources', J.B. Green *et al.* (eds.), *Jesus of Nazareth Lord and Christ, Essays on the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 271.

¹⁷ Dunn, *Acts of*, 203.

¹⁸ It is important to observe: (i) None of the texts that are conflated to argue the case for an eschatological pilgrimage of Gentiles mentions the coming of the Spirit or the activity of the Spirit as a reason for the gathering of Gentiles (Amos 9.11–12; Hos. 3.4–5; Jer. 12.15–16; Zech. 8.22; Isa. 45.20–23 cf. Isa. 44.1–5 and Joel 3.1–5) But all the texts refer to the restoration of Israel in the age to come, which will in turn bring in the Gentiles. (ii) It is not clear from the conflated texts that the Gentiles could not enter God's presence without first becoming Jews (iii) What is surprising is that even the most universal of the Spirit-anticipatory texts (Joel 3.1–5) is not a part of any of the traditions related to the Jerusalem leadership's argument.

¹⁹ See Burton, *Galatians* lix; Betz, *Galatians*, 112; Dunn, 'The Incident at Antioch', 148–163.

among the Gentiles as the reason for their full acceptance, while James on the other declares that God building the Temple means God building his eschatological people — are both used by Luke to present a case for minimal requirements for the entry of Gentiles into Christian community.

Our interest lies in the relation between the Spirit experience of the Gentiles and the reference to God's community as the eschatological Temple.²⁰ Had this been recognised from the inception of the church, or was it a dawning realisation culminating at the Jerusalem council? At its most fundamental, the Lukan account of the Jerusalem council depicts that a certain quarter, at least, of the early church experienced a gradual recognition that the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Gentiles meant their inclusion as Gentiles in the eschatological Temple. This is made obvious by Luke's repeated use of the Cornelius episode.

7.2.1.2. *The Note of Amazement (Acts 10.36–43; cf. 11.4–18; 15.7–11)*

It is worth observing the note of amazement that is recorded in Luke's narration of the coming of the Holy Spirit upon Gentiles,²¹ chiefly within the Pharisaic/circumcision group.

First, Luke reports that the circumcised believers from Joppa were surprised (ἐξίστημι) at the coming of the Spirit upon Gentiles. According to Acts, Peter, guided by the Holy Spirit, preached the gospel about Jesus (10.36–43) to Cornelius and his household.²² Cornelius was a Roman centurion in Caesarea²³ and “a devout

²⁰ Scholars have noted the early's churches understanding of itself as the eschatological Temple. See C.K. Barrett, 'Paul and the "Pillar" Apostles', in J.N. Sevenster and W.C. van Unnik (eds.), *Studia Paulina* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1953) 1–19; Bauckham, 'James and the Jerusalem Church', 441–450. However, the significance of the Spirit experience in the Gentile mission and its resultant conclusion that God is building an eschatological Temple is a neglected area in the scholarship.

²¹ P.F. Esler, 'Glossolalia and the Admission of Gentiles into the Early Christian Community', *BTB* 22 (1992) 136–42.

²² Haenchen (*Acts of the Apostles*, 361) considers the whole account as unhistorical. For him it is unlikely that the Jerusalem church could have accepted Gentiles at such an early date. However, M. Dibelius, ('The Conversion of Cornelius', in H. Greeven (ed.), *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* [New York: Scribner's, 1956] 106–7) proposes that at the core of the story stands reliable tradition concerning the evangelisation of a Gentile named Cornelius by the apostle Peter. See also Esler, *Community and Gospel in Luke–Acts*, 93–97; Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light*, 107–22; J.B. Green, 'Internal Repetition in Luke–Acts: Contemporary Narratology and Lukan Historiography', in B. Witherington III (ed.), *History, Literature and Society in the Book of Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996) 283–99; K. Haacker, 'Dibelius und Cornelius: Ein Beispiel formgeschichtlicher Überlieferungskritik', *BZ* 24 (1980) 234–51; K. Löning, 'Die Korneliustradition', *BZ* 18 (1974) 1–19; L.M. Maloney, 'All That God Had Done with Them': *The Narration of the Works of God in the Early Christian Community as Described in the Acts of the Apostles* (AUS 7, Theology and Religion 91; New York: Peter Lang, 1991) 67–100; R.W. Wall, 'Peter, 'Son' of Jonah: The Conversion of Cornelius in the Context of the Canon', in R.W. Wall and E. Lemcio (eds.), *The New Testament as Canon: A Reader in Canonical*

man who feared God”,²⁴ and represents the kind of person “in every nation” (ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει) acceptable to God (10.35). It was his conversion that occasioned the first dramatic outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon “the Gentiles” (τὰ ἔθνη 10.45).

Luke captures the surprise of circumcised believers from Joppa in terms of ἐξίστημι²⁵ – an expression that is used elsewhere in respect of the falling of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2.7, 12). The believers (πιστοί) are described as ἐκ περιτομῆς. Except in 11.2, the expression is not used elsewhere in Acts. Paul, however, uses the term in Gal. 2.12 and Titus 1.10 (cf. Col. 4.11). The reference is here to a party, contending for the obligation to observe the Jewish Law including circumcision,²⁶ who were seized with amazement when they saw that “the gift of the Holy Spirit has been poured out even on (ὅτι καὶ ἐπι) to the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη)”. Peter’s decisive question is equally built on the amazement of the believers from Joppa: “Can anyone forbid water for baptising these people who have received the Holy Spirit as we also have (ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς)?” (Acts 10.47).

Second in Peter’s retelling of the story²⁷ comes the point that God has granted “to the Gentiles” (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) repentance that leads to life (Acts 11.18).²⁸ Peter

Criticism (JSNTSS 76; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) 129–40; Wilson, *Gentiles and the Gentile Mission*, 171–78; Marshall, *Acts*, 249; Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 230.

²³ Lüdemann, (*Early Christianity*, 126) considers that the reference to Cornelius belonging to the Italian Cohort as historically ‘incorrect’, since the ‘Italian Cohort existed only from 69 C.E. into the second century, and in Syria. However, archaeological evidence demonstrates the presence of such a cohort in Syria before A.D. 69. See discussion in Riesner, *Paul’s Early Period*, 114–115; Hemer, *Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 164.

²⁴ It is still disputed whether there are people called by the technical term οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεὸν or οἱ σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (Acts 10.2,22; 13.16, 26; 43, 50; 16.14; 17.4, 17; 18.7). The traditional view concerning the God-fearers held that there was a late Second Temple Judaism a large number of Gentiles who were attracted to Judaism, but stopped short of conversion and specifically, circumcision. See Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 144–48, 180–81; Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 61–70. Those who argue against this position include Lake, ‘Proselytes and God-fearers’, *Beginnings* 5:85–88; Feldman, *Jews and Gentile in the Ancient World*; M. Wilcox, ‘The ‘God-fearers’ in Acts– A Reconsideration’, *JSNT* 13 (1981) 102–22; A.T. Kraabel, ‘The God-fearers Meet the Beloved Disciple’, B.A. Pearson *et.al.* (eds.), *The Future of Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991) 276–84; idem, ‘Immigrants, Exiles, Expatriates, and Missionaries’, L. Bormann, *et.al.* (eds.), *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World*: (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 71–88. See discussion in P.R. Treblico, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (SNTSMS 69; Cambridge: CUP, 1991) 151–152. According to him, the term is used of godly Jews in the LXX (Exod. 18.21; Job 1.1, 8; 2.3; 4 Macc. 15.28); Josephus (*Ant.* 12.284; 14.308; *Ap.* 2.140); *Joseph and Aseneth* (4.9; 8.5–7; 20.18; 23.9; 28.4; 29.3). The term is also used by pagans of those Gentiles who were considered pious and devout.

²⁵ Acts 8.9,11, 13; 9.21; 12.16; cf. Luke.2.47; 8.56; 24.22. In LXX the form ἐξέστησαν occurs in 1 Sam. 14.15; 16.4; 17.11; 1 Kgs. 1.49; 2 Kgs. 4.13; Job 26.11; Isa. 16.3; 28.7; 33.3; Jer. 9.9; Ezek. 35.2. See discussions in T. Dwyer, *The Motif of Wonder in the Gospel of Mark* (JSNTSS 128; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 76–77.

²⁶ Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1: 529; Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 354

²⁷ R.D. Witherup, ‘Cornelius Over and Over and Over Again: ‘Functional Redundancy’, in the Acts of the Apostles’, *JSNT* 49 (1993) 45–66.

defends before his Jerusalem accusers (who are ἐκ περιτομῆς) the dramatic confirmation of the Spirit (11.15) upon the Gentiles, and invests the coming of the Spirit with an even more unexpected and decisive effect (11.16); and what is important here is the parallel he draws between this outpouring and the original outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. God has given (ἔδωκεν) the gift of the Spirit to the new Christians just as (ὡς καὶ cf. Acts 10.47) he gave it to “us” when we believed (πιστεύσασι 11.17 cf. 2 Thess. 1.10; Mk. 16.17).²⁹ The Jerusalem group was silenced (ἤσυχάζω) and glorified God.³⁰ In Acts 15.5, Peter further narrates the incident to the Pharisaic believers in Jerusalem.³¹ He restates the theme with its theological significance,³² and the audience’s (πάν) response is similarly referred to as ἐστόγησεν (15.12). The sense of amazement in the repeated tradition of Acts indicates that in the Jerusalem church, at least, the circumcision party did not expect a universal endowment of the Spirit, or any outpouring of the Spirit beyond the boundaries of Israel.³³

This leads us to a related question: how did the early church understand the Pentecost event? The following aspects need to be noted in relation to the original Jerusalem community’s experience of the Spirit.³⁴ (i) Even in Luke’s account of Peter’s theological explanation of the coming of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost,³⁵ the universality of the outpouring is limited to the gathered members of the people of

²⁸ Maloney, ‘All that God had Done with Them’, 76.

²⁹ See Turner, *Power*, 380.

³⁰ See L.T. Johnson, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992) 199.

³¹ It is often supposed that James, the brother of the Lord, has close affinities with the Pharisees’ outlook. See M. Hengel, ‘Jacobus der Herrenbruder – der erst ‘Papst’?’, in *Glaube und Eschatologie*, 71–104.

³² See R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke–Acts: A Literary Interpretation* (2 vols.; Minneapolis; Fortress Press, 1986, 1990) 2: 184–85.

³³ Such as view is in line with our earlier discussion on Paul’s Pharisaic background. See pages 115–127.

³⁴ We will not be entering into the various nuance of discussion the Pentecost event. Our interest lies on the question whether at Pentecost the early church expected an outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentile. For discussion on the diverse interest on the subject see, I.H. Marshall, ‘The Significance of Pentecost’, *SJT* 30 (1977) 347–369; A.T. Lincoln, ‘Theology and History in the Interpretation of Luke’s Pentecost’, *ExT* 96 (1984–85) 204–09; Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 38–53; idem, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 135–56; Menzies, *Development*, 205–244; Turner, *Power*, 267–289; Wenk, *Community–Forming Power*, 233–258.

³⁵ Haenchen, (*Acts of the Apostles* 185); R.F. Zehnle, (*Peter’s Pentecost Discourse: Tradition and Lukan Reinterpretation in Peter’s Speeches of Acts 2 and 3* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971) consider Peter’s speech as purely literary creations of Luke. *Contra* C. Gempf, ‘Public Speaking and Published Accounts’, in B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke (eds.), *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting* (Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 1993) 300–303.

God (Acts 2.1–4).³⁶ (ii) The modification/addition of μου in v.18 after δούλους and δούλας, effectively makes those upon whom the Spirit came were God's own servants. The argument here has nothing to do with whether or not the Spirit was given in stages to those who were already in the community; rather, Luke's interest is to report the early community's belief that the πᾶσαν σάρκα of Peter's Joel quotation means, not humankind in general but the covenant community which is now restored under the Messiahship of Jesus.³⁷ It seems possible to conclude that Luke is faithfully following the Hebrew Scriptures (Joel 3.1–5; Isa. 32.15ff; 44.1–5) where the Spirit endowment is promised to the covenant community.

We may probably assume that the occasion of the coming of the Spirit was in itself not a great concern for the Jerusalem leadership, because as good Jews: (a) they considered the event on the day of Pentecost as the coming of the eschatological Spirit upon the restored Israel; and as a corollary, (b) they also might have anticipated that the Gentiles would come and share in salvation, as proselytes and possibly as recipients of the Spirit. This understanding of events would not seriously have threatened their pneumatological expectations; what did introduce a considerable element of shock and surprise was the Gentiles receiving the Spirit as Gentiles.

In sum, according to Luke's presentation, the early church, or rather the circumcision party and particularly the Pharisaic section of the Jerusalem church, did *not* expect the outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentiles.³⁸ For them the outpouring of the Spirit upon Gentiles was a dawning recognition, which probably culminated at the Jerusalem council following the reports from Peter, Paul and Barnabas.

³⁶ Phrases like Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλιταί, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί support our argument. In Acts 2.39 the phrase 'to all that are far off' refers to the Diaspora in mind. The words are found in Isa. 57.19 (Acts 2.39 πᾶσιν τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν; cf. Isa. 57. τοῖς μακρὰν). The same idea is evident in Acts 22.21, where Paul is sent far away (μακρὰν) to the Gentiles. See Zehnle, *Peter's Pentecost Discourse*, 124 who note the use Paul makes use of the term τοῖς μακρὰν in contrast to τοῖς ἐγγύς (Eph. 2.14–17) to depict the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy, preaching peace to both and bringing the Gentiles into the commonwealth of Israel.

³⁷ Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 179. *Contra* Menzies, *Development*, 218–19.

³⁸ See Horn, *ABD* 3:270.

7.2.1.3. *The Common Consensus (Gal. 2.1–10)*³⁹

Paul's account of the events in Gal. 2.1–10 parallels Luke's.⁴⁰ The precise issue at Jerusalem Council⁴¹ and Galatia⁴² were clearly not the same, but Paul uses the deliberations at the Jerusalem council⁴³ to make his case. From Paul's perspective both disputes were fought in defence of the same principle — the equal standing of Jewish and Gentile believers on the basis of the Holy Spirit in the eschatological community.⁴⁴

The significance of the passage will become apparent as consideration is given in turn to the key elements in Paul's narrative: the nature and the intent of the visit (Gal. 2.1–2, 3–5) and the apostolic agreement (Gal. 2.6–10).

Paul's visit to Jerusalem along with Barnabas and the Gentile convert Titus was *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν* (Gal. 2.1–2).⁴⁵ It was not so much a case of seeking belated approval,⁴⁶ or discussing innovations in doctrine and discipline,⁴⁷ but rather “to submit for consideration and opinion without any connotation of religious authority.”⁴⁸ Thus *ἀνατίθημι* in Gal. 2.2 means that Paul had come to Jerusalem to consult with and gain the cooperation of the Jerusalem apostles for the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles (Gal. 2.2b).

³⁹ We will be adopting the South Galatia theory, which does not oppose our equating Galatians 2.1–10 with the Apostolic council of Acts 15. For a helpful summary of the debate over whether the destination of Galatians was North or South Galatia, with convincing evidence for the latter, see Longenecker, *Galatians* lxiii–lxx. See also Bruce, ‘Galatians Problems 2. North or South Galatia’, 243–66; Hemer, *Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*; cts, chp.7; J. Scott, *Paul and the Nations. The Old Testament and Jewish Background of Paul's Mission to the Nations with Special Reference to the destination of Galatians* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1995) and recently Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas*.

⁴⁰ Most scholars tend to prefer Gal. 2.1–10 as more trustworthy than Acts. However, in view of Paul's apologetic purpose evident in the presentation of events it is not necessary to consider it as more authentic tradition than that later incorporated into Acts. See Betz, *Galatians*, 81; Holmberg, *Paul and Power*, 14; F.B. Watson, *Paul, Judaism and the Gentiles* (Cambridge: CUP, 1986) 53–56.

⁴¹ See, Burton, *Galatians* lix; Betz, *Galatians*, 112; Dunn, ‘The Incident at Antioch’, 148ff.

⁴² See Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 45–52; Longenecker, *Galatians*, lxxxviii.

⁴³ For discussions on the non–Pauline traditions in the passage see Betz, *Galatians*, 96–97.

⁴⁴ W. Kraus, *Das Volke Gottes. Zur Grundlegung der Ekklesiologie bei Paulus* (WUNT 85; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1996) 207; Borgen, ‘Jesus Christ, the Reception of the Spirit’, 220–235.

⁴⁵ This much disputed phrase does not merely denotes (i) a revelation specific to this event (Bruce, *Galatians*, 108), (ii) nor Paul's was answering a charge that he had been summoned to be reprimanded (R. Bring, *Commentary on Galatians* [Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961] 76.), (iii) or as the first occasion on which Paul informed the Jerusalem apostles of his revelation on the way to Damascus concerning his circumcision free gospel to the Gentiles (G. Howard, *Paul: Crisis in Galatia. A Study in Early Christian Theology* [SNTSMS 35; Cambridge: CUP, 1979] 38ff.). Rather, the visit was in accordance with the origin and subsequent apostolic outworking of God's disclosure of his Son in him.

⁴⁶ Stulmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium*, 87; Betz, *Galatians*, 86.

⁴⁷ T. Holtz, ‘Die Bedeutung des Apostelkonzils für Paulus’, *NovT* 16 (1974) 139.

⁴⁸ Dunn, ‘The Relationship between Paul and Jerusalem according to Galatians 1 and 2’, 108–128

Paul asserts that he and the Jerusalem apostles arrived at an agreement concerning their respective missionary tasks.⁴⁹ The agreement in terms contributed (προσανατίθημι) nothing to the way Paul viewed the Spirit's activity among the Gentiles, which suggests that far from imposing any requirements upon Paul, the Jerusalem leadership showed considerable theological discernment and conviction in recognising that God's grace (χάρις)⁵⁰ was operative in his Gentile mission⁵¹ in a manner analogous to its outworking through Peter's activities.

That οἱ δοκούντες εἶναί τι came to this conviction is evident in Paul's argument in several ways. (i) The perfect passive verb πεπίστευμαι ("I was entrusted")⁵² is used to describe Jerusalem leadership's recognition of the authenticity of both Paul's mission and Peter's. (ii) The term ἐνεργέω is characteristically used to describe both Paul's Spirit-empowered mission to the Gentiles (Gal. 3.5; 1 Cor. 12.6, 11) and Peter's to the Jews (and Gentiles. Acts 2.14ff.; 3.12ff.; 9.32; 10.1–11.18; 15.7–9).⁵³ (iii) The aorist participle ἰδόντες ("having seen")⁵⁴ is paralleled by the aorist participle γνόντες ("having known") of v.9a, and both participles⁵⁵ combine to give the reason for the Jerusalem leaders' acceptance of Paul and Barnabas in vv.9b–10.⁵⁶ Thus, according to Paul's account of events, it is only at the Jerusalem Council that the leadership in Jerusalem came to recognise (ἰδόντες / γνόντες) that the Spirit was operative in the Gentile mission, making them part of the new community.

⁴⁹ However, it is possible, to lay too much weight on the difference between two kinds of gospels (Burton, *Galatians*, 91f.; Betz, *Galatians*, 49). The genitive construction τῆς ἀκροβυστίας and τῆς περιτομῆς (Rom. 2.26f.; 3.30; cf. Eph. 2.11) are simply genitives of indirect object and thus here and Paul's insistence elsewhere that there is only one gospel, for the point here is not with regard to content but audience and type of outreach (Fung, *Galatians*, 99).

⁵⁰ See page 182. As noted in our previous discussion the use of τὴν χάρις τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, refers not only to Paul's conviction that he is called as an apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. 1.16; Rom. 1.5; 12.3; 15.15; 1 Cor. 3.10; Phil. 1.7; cf. Eph. 3.8) but also that he is empowered by the Spirit (Rom. 15.15).

⁵¹ See D.J. Lull, *The Spirit in Galatia. Paul's Interpretation of PNEUMA as Divine Power* (SBLDS 49; Chico, CA.: Scholars Press, 1980) 41.

⁵² A Pauline expression see, Rom. 3:2; 1 Cor. 9:17; 1 Thess. 2:4; 1 Tim 1:11; Titus 1:3; cf. Gal. 1.15. See Bultmann, 'Πιστεύω', *TDNT* 6: 174–228.

⁵³ See also Heb. 2.4.

⁵⁴ According to Betz (*Galatians*, 96) ἰδόντες denotes theological insight (Gal. 2.14; Matt. 27.3; Acts 12.3).

⁵⁵ See Burton, (*Galatians*, 95) who considers both as synonymous.

⁵⁶ The reciprocal recognition of the outworking of divine grace found in the expression of 'right hand of fellowship', that (Paul and Barnabas) should go to the Gentiles and (the Jerusalem leadership) to the circumcised (Gal. 2.9). See Cummins (*Paul and the crucified Christ in Antioch*, 132) who relates the use to Maccabean framework to interpret the passage and see this as betoken of an official compact involving the giving and receiving of pledges of friendship and/or terms of peace.

That Paul already believed before the Jerusalem Council that the same Spirit operated in his ministry as in Peter's is clear from his account of the manifest presence (ἐνεργέω) of the Spirit among Gentiles in his own work in Gal. 2.8. Even in Gal. 3.1ff., Paul uses the Galatians' original Spirit experience to win his argument against the judaising opponents⁵⁷ there — he does not emphasise the content of the preaching, but its experiential result: the Galatians received the Spirit.

For Paul, the significance of the fact that God supplies the Spirit to non-proselyte Gentiles is to be seen in the light of his pre-Christian assumptions.⁵⁸ (i) The Spirit would not be given to non-Jews and was only to be expected in the context of law observance; and (ii) the expectation that God would not pour out his Spirit in any general way until the dawn of a new age. In line with this latter expectation, and in common with other early Christians, Paul interpreted the experience of the Spirit as the fulfilment of the promise (Gal. 3.14) and the inauguration of the fullness of time (Gal. 4.4–6; cf. Rom. 8.23; Acts 2.15–21). For Paul the eschatological age had started and God had poured out His Spirit upon the Gentiles. This understanding developed even at an early stage of his missionary work, a conviction that was so compelling in terms of proof even the most skeptical accepted it. This conviction that the Spirit had come upon Gentiles apart from the law (Gal. 3.3) not only confirmed Paul's view about his mission, particularly his call as an apostle to the Gentiles, but also gave him the realisation that God was accepting the *Gentiles as Gentiles*.

On the one hand, an account written short time after the Jerusalem council (Paul's), and on the other a somewhat later reference (Luke's account), both confirm the credibility of the tradition concerning the significance of the Spirit experience and the entry of Gentiles into the newly constituted community. Significantly for our purpose, such a conclusion suggests Paul's awareness of the coming of the Spirit upon the Gentiles even at an early stage of his Gentile mission. The question before us then is, how did Paul come to such a belief? It is at this point that we need to recognise the

⁵⁷ For surveys of the Judaising views and other perspectives, see Bruce, 'Galatian Problems', 51-55 (1969-73); J.J. Gunther, *St. Paul's Opponents and Their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings* (NovTSup 35; Leiden: Brill, 1973); Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 45-52. Scholars like Howard (*Paul: Crisis in Galatia*, 1-19) and G. Lyons (*Pauline Autobiography. Towards a New Understanding* (SBLDS 73; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 75-82) argue that Galatians does not give evidence that Paul was being opposed by any group. Rather, it was from Paul's point of view, not theirs, that his gospel was being refuted. However, for our purpose it is important to recognise there are statements scattered throughout Galatians demonstrating the Judaisers did indeed oppose Paul's message (Gal. 1.7; 3.1; 4.17; 5.7, 10, 12; 6.12, 13; cf. 2.3-4). See Sandnes, *Paul – One of the Prophets?*, 50-51. It is probable that Paul's judaising opponents were some way connected with Jerusalem.

⁵⁸ Barclay, *Obeying the Truth*, 84.

role of the Hellenists, whose views on the Holy Spirit were significant in relation to Paul's conviction.

7.3. The Hellenists and the Church in Antioch

Most scholars agree that Law-free mission to the Gentiles is associated with the Hellenists (Acts 11.20).⁵⁹ Then the key question is, did *they* expect the Spirit to be given to the Gentiles? This question needs to be placed within the theological justification for acceptance and integration of the Gentiles into the Christian community.⁶⁰ When did they think this happened, and does that give a clue as to how they perceived the coming of the Spirit?

Scholars are of diverse opinions concerning the reasons for the beginnings of a mission among the Gentiles.

(a) There are those who argue that the rejection of the gospel by the Jews resulted in the turning towards Gentiles.⁶¹ A weakness of this argument is that, though Jesus experienced a similar refusal by his fellow Jews, he did not turn to the Gentiles.

(b) There are others who argue that it was the spiritualisation of Torah in the Diaspora that led the Hellenists into mission to the Gentiles. The Hellenist Christians were radical enough within the spectrum of Judaism to arouse Paul's anger;⁶² one needs to be aware that spiritualised allegorising tendencies were not actually that frequent in Hellenistic Judaism (*4 Macc*; *Let. Aris.*; Philo;⁶³ Josephus).⁶⁴

(c) Paula Fredriksen, however, argues that the law-free mission existed before Paul,⁶⁵ and was started by the Hellenists in the Diaspora synagogues, where she locates the presence of Gentiles. Therefore she rejects the idea that circumcision was the reason for persecution. Her argument is built on the idea that the hostility was

⁵⁹ Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, J.G. Gager, 'Some Notes on Paul's Conversion', *NTS* 27 (1981) 700; Dunn, *Partings of the Ways*; Krauss, *Zwischen Jerusalem und Antiochia*; Hill, *Hellenists and Hebrews*, Horn, *Das Angeld*.

⁶⁰ A detailed discussion on the question what made Hellenists to go into Gentile mission is beyond our scope of enquire. It is only to note that the persecution resulted from their new found belief led them to move into the Gentiles territories.

⁶¹ R. Pesch, *Die Vision des Stephanus* (SBS 12; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GmbH, 1966).

⁶² Räisänen, 'Paul's Conversion and the Development of His View of the Law', 404–419. According to Räisänen the 'spiritualising' tendencies from the Diaspora (Philo. *Mig.* 87–93) are recognised as a possible stimulus for the activities of the Hellenists to involve in law free mission. The Hellenists displayed a liberal attitude toward parts of the law, which they reinterpreted in spiritual or ethical terms.

⁶³ Philo only mildly rebukes the Alexandrian allegorizers (*Mig.* 89–93).

⁶⁴ See Kraus, *Das Volk Gottes*, 89.

⁶⁵ P. Fredriksen, 'Judaism, the Circumcision of Gentiles and Apocalyptic Hope: Another Look at Galatians 1 and 2', *JTS* 42 (1991) 532–64.

aroused as a result of ‘the open dissemination of a Messianic message’ which put the entire Jewish community at risk.⁶⁶ If that were the case, then the Hellenist sector expected the Spirit upon Gentile from the very beginning of their mission.

There are a few problems with Fredriksen’s suggestions. (i) She takes lightly the distinction between God-fearers and the proselytes in the early church.⁶⁷ (ii) She neglects the fact that Paul speaks explicitly about the reasons why he became involved in the persecution (Gal. 1.23f and Phil. 3.4), that is, his zeal for the Law and for the traditions of the ancestors. (iii) She also ignores further reasons for Paul’s persecution activity, to wit the Temple criticism and the self-perception of the Hellenists that they are the new community of God in the Spirit. To this last point we now turn our attention.

In our previous discussion,⁶⁸ we mentioned that the Hellenists’ possession of the Spirit provided them an understanding that they are the new eschatological community (Acts 6.14; 7.1–53).⁶⁹ It is probable that their claim of faith in Jesus as the Messiah and their awareness that they were endowed with the eschatological gift of the Spirit (Acts 6.11; 13; 14; 7.51ff)⁷⁰ might have created some tension among the Jews and consequently led to their selective persecution.⁷¹

We are told that the Hellenists who were scattered following the persecution in Jerusalem travelled as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, and that “they spoke the word to no one except Jews.”⁷² That their proclamation of the gospel was initially

⁶⁶ According to Fredriksen, (*Judaism* 556) the enthusiastic proclamation of a Messiah executed very recently by Rome as a political troublemaker, a *crucified* Messiah, combined with a vision of approaching end preached also to Gentiles was dangerous.

⁶⁷ See footnote 24. Wilcox, ‘The “God-fearer” in Acts – A Reconsideration’, 102–22; Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*; Kraabel, ‘The God-fearers Meet the Beloved Disciple’, 276–84.

⁶⁸ See discussions in pages 133–134;.

⁶⁹ See the notion of church as temple - Gal. 2.9; 1 Cor. 3.16–17; 2 Cor. 6.16 cf. Gal. 2.9; Eph. 2.20–22.

⁷⁰ Hengel (*Between Jesus and Paul*, 22ff.) argue that stimulus for the Stephen party’s Temple/torah critique was the charismatic, eschatological gift of the Spirit.,

⁷¹ E. Larsson (*Die Hellenisten und die Urgemeinde*, *NTS* 33 (1987) 205–25.221–22) disputes claim (Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 28) that the stimulus for the Stephen party’s Temple/Torah critique was the charismatic eschatological gift of the Spirit, because both Hellenists and Hebraist received the same Spirit. However, Larsson underestimates that the two groups, though sharing the same experience of the Spirit could not have arrived at contrasting conclusion (Gal. 3.1–5; cf. Acts 11.1ff; 15.1ff).

⁷² The lack of any casual relation between the conversion of Cornelius in Acts 10.1–11.18 and the beginnings of the Gentile mission at Antioch in 11.19–21 suggests that the former bears an intentional placement on the pages of Acts. The mission to the Gentiles at Antioch traces its link to the scattering of the church as a result of the death of Stephen (cf. 8.1, 4; 11.19), not to the events leading up to the house of Cornelius. Esler (*Community and Gospel in Luke–Acts*, 96) observes how 11.19, with its theme of scattering (οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες), takes up immediately from 8.4 (οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες), thus lacking any sign that ‘the mission to the Gentiles in Antioch is a consequence of the conversion of a Roman centurion by Peter.

directed at the Jews is also entirely plausible, inasmuch as fellow Jews would have been a natural point of departure for their missionary activity. But among them were some men of Cyprus and Cyrene who on coming to Antioch, spoke to Greeks.⁷³ It is probable that the mission to the Gentiles as such had not yet begun.

It was only gradually, and at least at first, to a minority (11.20) that the relevance of the gospel to a Gentile audience became apparent.⁷⁴ These first Gentile converts were among the God-fearers of one or more of the synagogues in Antioch. That there was a significant number of God-fearers in Antioch, attached to the synagogues, is clear from Josephus' statement (*J.W.* 7.32; 45).⁷⁵ Antioch became the focal point of the preaching of the gospel to Gentiles (Acts 11.20–26),⁷⁶ and the gathered community (including Gentiles) in Antioch might have displayed 'gifts of the Spirit' in the context of their worship, thus demonstrating their acceptance by God. It is here then that we need to place the realisation that God has poured out the Spirit upon the Gentiles.

The manifest presence of the Spirit in the proclamation of the Gospel (1 Thess. 1.4–5; Gal. 3.14; Rom. 15.16); accompanied by powerful phenomena (1 Thess. 1.5; Gal. 3.5; Rom. 15.18–19) could have inspired faith among non-proselytes Gentiles. It is probable that the first coming of the Spirit on Gentiles in Antioch could be similar to that of Cornelius incident, where they received the Spirit (ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκέχυται [recalling ἐκχεῖν of Acts 2.17ff, 33; cf. 10.47]), they spoke in tongues and μεγαλυνόντων τὸν θεόν (Acts 10.44–48). The immediate consequence of receiving the Spirit is an ability closely related to the Spirit (Acts 2.3f.) and previously not theirs, and an outburst of praise. The Gentiles' praise of God is ascribed to the agency of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷

We build the above assumption on the fact that the Christian message, whatever its content, was in the understanding of these first believers a message for Jews (Acts

⁷³ Against the reading 'Ἑλληνιστᾶς, see Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 8.

⁷⁴ Räsänen, *The Torah and Christ: Essays in German and English on the Problem of the Law in Early Christianity* (Helsinki: Kirjapaino Raamattutalo, 1986) 248.

⁷⁵ See Dunn, *Jesus, Paul and the Law*, 144–148.

⁷⁶ Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 71–80, 88–91, 99–110; idem, *Between Jesus and Paul*, 1–29, 54–64; idem, *Paul*, 178–310.

⁷⁷ This praise recalls the δεόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντός of the God-fearer Cornelius in Acts 10.2. When μεγαλύνω occurs again with Gentiles in Acts 13.48, it is safe to assume relation to the reception of the Spirit though this is not explicitly mentioned. It is interesting to note that Gentiles lacking the Spirit did not acknowledge and praise God, rather as Luke indicates, they praised people or idol (12.22; 19.34). Barrett (*Acts of the Apostles*, 1: 291) observes that where the Spirit 'is manifestly at work it is plain that there is divine action.

11.19). Insofar as the Gentiles were considered at all, it was probably along the lines of conventional expectation (Isa. 2.1–4; 42.1–9; 49; 55.4–5; 60.1–7; 66.18.23) that they would share at some future date in the blessing of a restored Israel. The idea of the eventual ingathering of the Gentiles, that the end is near, and that the Gentiles would finally see the light and turn to worship the true God could be the reason for the accommodation of Gentiles into the Christian community (Isa. 2.2/Mic. 4.1; Isa. 19.16–25; 25.6; 66.18–24; Zech. 8.23; Ps. 7.31–41). It is possible that the Hellenists regarded the conversion of the Gentiles as an important part of God's plan for the last days.⁷⁸

Thus it is probable that it was the Hellenist section of early Christianity which was first to believe (in Antioch) that God had poured out the Spirit upon Gentiles apart from the Law.⁷⁹ Such a conclusion is built on the assumption that (i) the Hellenists understood the community of Christian believers as the new eschatological Temple, a supposition that is supported by their pneumatic characteristics. (ii) It is possible the Hellenists' understanding of Jesus' saying about the temple in Mk. 11.17,⁸⁰ with its combination of Isa. 56.7 and Jer. 7.11 describing the temple as a universal place of prayer, could explain their open-hearted acceptance of Gentiles.⁸¹

7.4. Paul, the Spirit and the Gentiles

As noted in our previous discussion, Paul's Pharisaic past did not lead him to expect the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Gentiles (a lack of expectation fully shared by the Pharisaic believers [Acts 10.45; 11.2; 15.2, 5] in the early church).

⁷⁸ As we have argued in chapter 2, that the writer of Isa. 44.1–5 believed that the activity of יהוה will cause the Gentiles to turn to יהוה. Likewise, prophet Joel the coming of the new age is attributed to the 'outpouring' of the spirit. The overwhelming presence of the יהוה will signal the turn of Israel's fortune and as a consequence 'all flesh in Israel' will prophecy and see visions and dreams and that will in turn attract the nations towards Israel. The tradition on Joel's prophecy could be a significant influence for the Hellenists.

⁷⁹ Horn, *ABD* 3: 271 makes distinction between Palestinian and Hellenistic Christian communities in their convictions about the Spirit. According to him, Christological differences between them led to the differences in the understanding of the Spirit. But in the light of our discussion it is ecclesiological reasons made the distinction.

⁸⁰ A threat against the temple played an important part in the trial of Jesus (Mk. 14.28; Matt. 26.51 cf. Jn. 2.19). The version in Acts is closest to Mark (Richard, *Author's Method* 289–90). We find in both texts καταλύσω (Mk. 14.58) and καταλύσει (Acts 6.14). The most significant difference between the two is that in Acts, Luke has deleted the final two-thirds of Mark's verse, the part which mentions the rebuilding of a temple ἀχειροποίητος. The term χειροποίητος is frequently used in LXX and refer to an idol or idol house, the product of human hands (Lev. 26.30; Wis. 14.8). The Hellenistic adjective ἀχειροποίητος from Mk. 14.58 seems to have influenced Acts 7.48. See discussions in A. Weiser, *Apostelgeschichte Kap.1-12*, (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1981) 173; Conzelmann, *Acts*, 51; Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 187.

⁸¹ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, 82–83.

However, Paul's Damascus experience possibly contributed to an openness in his expectation of the Spirit upon the Gentiles.⁸²

According to Gal. 1.17–18, immediately after conversion Paul went to Arabia,⁸³ and it is widely argued that Paul began his missionary work there.⁸⁴ Such a view is built on an argument which perceives that Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles from the moment of his conversion.⁸⁵ The evidence either for or against such a mission is minimal; there is, for example, no record of any church in Arabia founded by Paul.⁸⁶ In Gal.1.17 Paul contrast Arabia with Jerusalem. Paul's reference to him not consulting leaders in Jerusalem, instead sought further divine guidance and inspiration in Arabia supports our case.

Gal 1.17 further informs us that he was in Damascus for some time, possibly three years (Gal. 1.18), but Paul gives no information on how he passed his time there.⁸⁷ There are scholars who argue that Paul was involved in a mission to Gentiles during his time in Damascus.⁸⁸ It is possible that Paul preached only to Jews.⁸⁹ In 2 Cor. 11.32 (cf. Acts 9.23-25) Paul refers to the ethnarch of king Aretas was trying arrest him, possibly due to troubles emerging from his Jewish audience. That the Jews launch attacks on Paul seems to be something like a fixed theme in Luke, though it was historically well grounded in Paul's life (2 Cor. 11.24; 26; cf. Gal.4.29; 1 Thess.

⁸² It is possible to expect Paul to have been influenced by the various philosophical stream of Judaism' ideals of the reception of the Spirit. As noted in our discussion (Pages 92-108) on Philo, we have pointed out that Philo regarded the reception and the indwelling of the Spirit as a phenomenon in the life of the Jewish community as the people of God. In *Virt.* 212–219, Philo present Abraham as the prototype of the proselyte who receives the Spirit. In his conversion from astrology and polytheism to One God Abraham received the Spirit. It is possible to argue that it was in the light of Abraham's experience as the prototype proselyte that Paul arrived at the belief that Gentiles could become part of God's new commonwealth, and so receive the indwelling Spirit. However, it is quite strikingly obvious that Paul is not familiar with the Spirit usages of Philonic literature. For example, the term used by Philo for the receiving of the Spirit is *κατάσχεσις*, and in the New Testament only Luke uses the term *κατάσχεσις* (Acts 7.5; 45), and in neither instances is it related to the coming of the Spirit.

We also argued that the author of Wisdom of Solomon considered the pneumatic-wisdom available to all, and particularly to his Hellenistic and Jewish contemporaries. However such an influence could hardly be maintained. See Fee, *Empowering Presence*, 911–913.

⁸³ Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, 84.

⁸⁴ Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium*, 84; Bornkamm, *Paul*, 27; Betz, *Galatians*, 74; Bruce, *Galatians*, 96; Lyons, *Pauline Autobiography*, 159. Scholars are of diverse opinion concerning Paul's presence in Arabia (i) Paul withdrew into the wilderness for the purpose of contemplative preparation for his subsequent work (Burton, *Galatians*, 55–57; Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 289. (ii) Paul intended eremitic life in Arabia as a means to maintain ritual purity in anticipation of the eschaton or for some other purpose. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem*, 69.

⁸⁵ See Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 106-132.

⁸⁶ Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, 289; Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 76.

⁸⁷ See J.A. Fitzmyer, 'A Life of Paul', *NJBC*, 215-22.

⁸⁸ Borkamn, *Paul*, 27. Recently, Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 106-132.

⁸⁹ Watson, *Paul, Judaism and Gentiles*, 29-30.

2.16). Further, in Gal. 1.21 Paul refers to his ministry in the regions of Syria and Cilicia;⁹⁰ again, we do not know exactly what happened.⁹¹

According to Acts 11.25–26 it was on Barnabas’s initiative that Paul left Tarsus to begin to associate himself with the church at Antioch (Acts 13–14), where the mission to the Gentiles had already begun.⁹² It is highly probable that Acts 13.4 represents the commencement of Paul’s apostolic ministry, as the delegate of the Christian community in Antioch, accompanying Barnabas on the outreach of that community.⁹³ Paul undoubtedly perceived his role to the Gentiles in Antioch as one which demonstrated that their salvation signalled the actualisation of those Old Testament prophecies looking forward to the outpouring of the Spirit on Israel, leading to its restoration, and thence to the conversion of the nations.⁹⁴

Horn has rightly pointed out⁹⁵ that Pauline theology of the Spirit is rooted primarily in the Hellenistic communities of Antioch (Gal. 1.21; Acts 11.19–20; 13.1). What is therefore probable is that it is the Hellenists’ understanding of the Spirit, particularly in relation to the Gentiles, exerted a marked influence on Paul’s thought.⁹⁶ As a result of his experience at Antioch and by the time Paul began his mission to the Gentiles it is possible that he anticipated that the Spirit would be poured out upon Gentiles.

⁹⁰ See discussion in Hengel and Schwemer, *Paul*, 151–177.

⁹¹ Although in Rom. 15.19 Paul refers to him being ‘preaching the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem as far around as Illyricum’, it do not disprove our suggestion that in the initial years of Paul mission was limited to the Jews.

⁹² Hengel and Schwemer (*Paul* 91–105) argue that Paul’s and that of the Hellenist Christians’ theology, including his law-free gospel as early as the mission in Damascus. However such a position cannot be maintained in the light of lack evidences.

⁹³ Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem*, 88–95.

⁹⁴ Scott (*Paul and the Nations*) argues that in doing so, Paul saw his mission to the Gentiles as encompassing the territory assigned to Japeth in the Table of the Nations.

⁹⁵ Horn, *Das Angeld*, 154.

⁹⁶ For example, it is clearly evident in the Pauline letters, especially when Paul informs the Corinthian Christians that they are indeed God’s temple: “Do you not know that you (plural) are God’s temple, and God’s Spirit lives in you?” (1 Cor. 3:16; cf. 6:19). This saying establishes that worship is not facilitated by a holy site, building or objects, but by the presence of God’s Spirit. “For it is we who are the circumcision, we who worship by the Spirit of God, who glory in Christ Jesus” (Phil. 3:3). The place of worship is the human heart, cleansed, renewed and accompanied by the Spirit, or the Christian community as the Spirit’s temple (1 Cor. 3:16). Further, this imagery of the Temple cult spills over even into his description of his call to the Gentiles. As noted in our earlier discussion, Paul’s refers to his call to serve God as a priest, striving to bring an offering (προσφορὰ) of the Gentiles that might be acceptable, sanctified (εὐπρόσδεκτος) by the Holy Spirit (Rom. 15.16; Phil. 2.17; 4.18; cf. Rom. 12.1; 16.5; 1 Cor. 16.15). More importantly this will now sit well with the proclamation in Isa. 66.19–20 of God’s glory among the “nations... that have not heard of my fame” as the condition for the Diaspora Jews being “brought as an offering ... to the holy mountain Jerusalem” (Isa. 66.20). Such an understanding might have come from Hellenist Christian circles.

It is here that we need to place Paul's initial thoughts on the Spirit and its relation to the Gentiles - the conceptual framework in which Paul began to believe that Gentiles are part of the eschatological gathering now evidently filled with the Spirit.

7.5 Conclusion

We began our discussion with the Jerusalem council as the point by which the early church had come to the conclusion that God had given the Spirit to the Gentiles, and that they are therefore part of the eschatological community, as Gentiles.

It was the manifest outpouring of the Spirit of God upon Gentiles as Gentiles that played the decisive role in convincing the first leaders of the early church that the Gospel is now available for all, including the Gentiles, apart from the law.

Paul was not the first to see the Spirit coming upon the Gentiles. However, such a conclusion had to be traced to the Hellenistic communities whose theological convictions indicated that the church was the eschatological Temple, with the Spirit of God as the manifest presence of God. Their persecution, which resulted from that belief, led to the Diaspora where in Antioch they became involved in Gentile mission. It was probably in Antioch that the Hellenists first found the manifest outpouring of the Spirit upon the Gentiles. It is only later when Paul joined the church in Antioch that he recognised the coming of the Spirit on the Gentiles.

To the question, "Did Paul anticipate the Spirit when he went out to the Gentiles?" our answer is, "Yes." When he began his mission to the Gentiles he had already come to believe that God had poured out his Spirit upon them in the light of the prophetic promises. However, this recognition did not happen at Damascus, but came later on, in his involvement with the Hellenistic communities of the Diaspora. Thus for Paul, the origin of his initial thoughts on the Spirit lies in a dawning recognition that is rooted primarily in his Damascus experience and commission, and secondarily in his involvement with the church in Antioch.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

We set out to inquire into Paul's initial thoughts on the Holy Spirit. Our hypothesis was that Paul's conviction that God had endowed the Spirit upon the Gentiles apart from Torah observance is rooted primarily in his Damascus experience and secondarily to his time prior to the Jerusalem council.

The Hebrew thought

Our task was to place Paul's thoughts in the context of the range of expectations of the Spirit upon people that were present in both Hebrew scripture and in the wider Jewish literature. The majority of texts indicated that such a concept is rare, and that it is usually only the covenant community to which the promise is seen to be given. However, it is argued that at least two texts anticipated Gentiles would become part of YHWH's covenant community when YHWH pours out the Spirit as part of the restoration of Israel.

The Second Temple Judaism

The various interpretative traditions of Second Temple Judaism anticipated the bestowal of the Spirit in the age to come. This study has demonstrated that one strand was prominent in a number of documents, where the writers expected the Spirit upon their community in the future so that the Spirit would purify them and bring them in obedience to God's statutes. However, some Qumran literature indicates that God has already poured the Spirit of purification upon the community. It is also pointed out that the apologetic stream of post-biblical Judaism tends to maintain a broader interpretation on the availability of the Spirit.

Pre-Christian Paul

In coming to pre-Christian Paul particularly evolving from his own self-perception as a Pharisee and persecutor of the church we found a good deal of continuity between his thought patterns about the Spirit and those of Second Temple Judaism. Paul might have been familiar with the common understanding of the Spirit as enabling prophecy and wisdom and of the Spirit's relationship with creation. What was particularly close to his thought was the Spirit's relationship with Law, and its role in the maintenance of the covenant community, especially as to its availability to those who study and practice Torah, to those who maintain purity and

obedience, and also to those who by showing fidelity to Torah will be rewarded with resurrection. These strands fit well with Paul's own self-description as the one who was ζηλῶς for the Law and the ancestral traditions. It is probable that the pneumatic ideals of Stephen's group challenged Paul's pre-Christian anticipation of the Spirit, particularly in his role as a Torah interpreter, which possibly led him to be involved in the persecution of the church.

Paul's Conviction

Paul's Damascus experience was an experience of the Spirit. For Paul the significant aspect of his conversion experience was the revelation of the 'glory of God', which he experienced through the Spirit.

The Damascus experience prompted Paul to move beyond his narrowly defined perception of the Spirit. His pre-Christian belief that divine enlightenment, by the Spirit of God was necessary for the study of Torah, and that someone who was filled with the Spirit could adequately interpret the words of Holy Scripture becomes insignificant in the light of his new understanding of the Spirit. His perception changed from one in which the Spirit functioned as bringing revelation from within the Torah, to an understanding that the Spirit brings revelation from outside the Torah.

His experience of the 'glory of God' on the Damascus road provided him with the conviction that there was now a new relationship with God which now requires only the entrance into life within the sphere of the Spirit. Paul might have understood this in relation to the nature of the newly constituted covenant community.

His call to the Gentiles is rooted in his Damascus experience. Paul's language of mission and particularly prophetic/Isaianic servant of YHWH elements, strengthen the point that he understood his calling as endowment with the Spirit for the mission to the Gentiles. Further the emphasis on ἀφορίζω and χάρις in his autobiographical passages (Gal 1.15-16a) indicates not only his acquaintance with biblical language, but provides him with a conviction that he is anointed with the Spirit to preach the gospel to the Gentiles.

However we also placed Paul's Damascus experience in the context of the early church. It is clear that he was influenced by the Hellenists, whose theological beliefs included the notion of the church as the eschatological Temple with the Spirit of God as the manifest presence of God. The persecution which led to their dispersion

in the Diaspora resulted in their mission to the Gentiles, where they saw the activity of the Spirit, both in their proclamation of the Gospel as well as in the outpouring of the Spirit on Gentiles. That they could accommodate the non-proselyte Gentile into the Christian community was resulted in the conventional expectation of the pilgrimage of the nations rooted in the Old Testament. Paul, who was part of the mission enterprise of the Antiochene church believed along with other Antiochene Christians that God has accepted the Gentiles apart from law.

Thus we can conclude by saying that when Paul began his Gentile mission he anticipated the Spirit coming upon Gentiles apart from Law. However, this recognition did not happen at Damascus but later in his involvement with the Hellenistic communities in the Diaspora. The origin of Paul's initial thoughts on the Spirit is a dawning recognition that is rooted in his Damascus experience and commission and secondarily in his involvement with the church in Antioch.

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