FRANTIŠEK ÁBEL

The Psalms of Solomon and the Messianic Ethics of Paul

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František Ábel, born 1964; 2006 PhD; 2006–12 assistant professor at the New Testament Department of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava; 2007–11 assistant dean of academic affairs; since 2013 associate professor.

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Preface

Since the time of my post-graduate study, I have been increasingly aware that the way to better know and understand the traditions of early Christianity is primarily through the comprehensive exploration of the Jewish religious and cultural traditions of the Second Temple Era with all of their complexities. The same is true for comprehending the content and meaning of Paul's preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ with all of its specifics. The corpus of Paul's writings as a whole is a unique example of the encounter of two different worlds, two distinct cultural and religious traditions – the Jewish and the mostly Western Gentile. Despite their distinctiveness, these traditions correlate in various aspects, which are observable most readily in the corpus of Paul's letters. Therefore, by the closer analysis of Paul's announcement we must also take into consideration the multicultural society of the Greco-Roman world, which inevitably influenced the modes of thinking and writing of this Hellenistic Jew, Paul of Tarsus, who was himself a typical part of that society. Besides these facts, it is very important to bear in mind the main goals of Paul's mission as a whole. For Paul his mission among the Gentiles was the very fulfilling of Israel's role, and because of this view, God's purpose in the world became an integral part of theological dialogue within Paul's own religious tradition, including his own immediate, local milieu. However, it seems that in the period following Paul's death this dialogue never matured and was permanently interrupted by dominant forces within the nascent traditions of rabbinic Judaism and patristic Christianity. Due to this development, the door was left open to the increasing influence of foreign philosophical, religious, and cultural ideologies on the primitive Jewish-Christian tradition. And so we must ask how we can rightly and properly understand all that is connected with Paul's theological thinking, his proclamation of his mission among the Gentiles, and of course how all that relates to post-biblical Judaism.

I later became acquainted with recent trends in Pauline studies, such as "the new perspective on Paul" and "Paul and Empire." I was increasingly persuaded that reading Paul's writings through the lens of distinct contemporary forms of thinking and living typical for the western part of the contemporary ancient world – and then particular periods of Middle Ages until

the Enlightenment and the modern era – is the best example of correlating a foreign pattern of thinking with Paul's own. It is especially noticeable in the field of Pauline theology, such as scholarship on the doctrine of justification, the Last Judgment, the relationship between the Law and God's justice and mercy, as well as the basic elements of Jewish religious traditions with their emphases on God's covenant with Israel. It is therefore the task of recent scholarship on Paul and early Christianity to return to this core of Paul's theological thinking and try to understand better and more comprehensively the main emphases of his mission – including the actual content and intent of his preached message – especially in light of the complexities of Second Temple Judaism.

This book is the continuation of other research I have done in the field of Paul's theology over the last three years, especially the project titled *Corpus Paulinum as Interreligious Dialogue Paradigm in Multicultural Society* from 2010–11. There were two motivating factors in the decision to take on this particular survey. The first was Chris VanLandingham's monograph *Judgment and Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006), which uses the *Psalms of Solomon* to argue that Paul's "teaching about justification by faith," especially its central part (*locus classicus*) in Rom 3:21–26, is primarily based on the eschatological practice of preparing devout believers for the coming Day of Messiah. He considers this question in the context of *Pss. Sol.* 18:5: "I suggest this idea, which is expressed so often in Jewish texts, is the background for understanding Paul's statements in Rom 3:21–26" (*Judgment and Justification*, 139, including n. 249). The second motivation for me was Douglas A. Campbell's work *The Deliverance of God: An Apocalyptic Rereading of Justification in Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009). Campbell argues that for a true understanding of Paul's message, irrelevant and outside ideas should not be introduced into the discussion. Theologically incorrect interpretations are the result of allowing modern religious-philosophical interpretations of the period to influence our reading of Paul. These interpretations have more in common with modern political traditions than with the orthodox theology of Palestinian Judaism and the more open theology of first-century Hellenistic Judaism.

This project defends the great importance of the exploration of all aspects of Paul's proclamation in applying the context of the Jewish literature written during Greek and early Roman periods – meaning fourth century BCE to around the second century CE – to Paul's own writings. Within this broad cultural corpus, as well as in Paul's writings themselves, the frequent idea of eschatological concepts arises, particularly the concept of the coming of the Messiah and the Last Judgment. Similarly in the case of the *Psalms of Solomon*, the Last Judgment is the main topic of this pseud-

epigraphon. By closer analysis and exploration of particular parts of this work, especially chapters 17–18, we can see that only this deuterocanonical writing could form a considerable extent of background for the formation and development of Paul's messianic ethics, including his teaching about justification, the center of his proclamation. This type of influence is relevant despite the fact that scholars are still debating whether Paul was actually familiar with this particular writing – the *Psalms of Solomon*. All of this will be the subject of our survey in the coming chapters.

I would like to thank Professor Jörg Frey for the encouragement he has given me during the preparation of this work, as well as to the publisher for the opportunity to prepare this work and for accepting it for the WUNT monograph series. I would like to thank especially the staff members who helped me with the technical and practical details of preparing and finalizing the manuscript. And above all, I am indebted to David Benjamin Collins and Romana Ábelová, who read the manuscript and made thorough and intelligent corrections of my English. Without their work the book would not have reached the public.

Contents

List of Abbreviations

The book has followed the abbreviations set out in Patrick H. Alexander et al., ed., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999). The following abbreviations, mostly from the the *Handbook*, have been used:

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992)
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972–)
APOT	*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* Edited by R. H. Charles (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913)
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAGD	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Edited by F. Wilbur Gingrich and Frederick W. Danker (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979)
BDAG	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Edited by W. Bauer, F. W. Danker, W. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies

BL	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BRS	The Biblical Resource Series
BSGRT	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200
CJ	*Concordia Journal*
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CPJ	*Corpus papyrorum judaicorum.* Edited by V. Tcherikover (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957–64)
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CTHP	Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DBSupp	*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBC	*The Expositor's Bible Commentary: With the New International Version of the Holy Bible*. Edited by F. E. Gaebelein (12 vols.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1976–92)
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
Eos	*Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum*
FJCD	Forschungen zum jüdisch-christlichen Dialog
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GELS I	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint.* Part I *(A–I).* Edited by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, G. Chamberlain (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992)
GELS II	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint.* Part II *(K–Ω).* Edited by J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996)
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
GTP	*De gammeltestamentlige Pseudepigrafer.* Edited by E. Hammershaimb et al. (2 vols.; Copenhagen: Gad, 1953–76)
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament

HNTC	Harper's New Testament Commentaries
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by G. A. Buttrick (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962)
Int	*Interpretation*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts Series
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JTSA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*
KJV	King James Version
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon.* Edited by H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. S. Jones (9th ed. with revised supplement; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)
LXX	Septuagint (Greek Old Testament)
NA	*Novum Testamentum Graece.* Edited by B. and K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger (27th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996)
NCB	New Century Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth (2 vols.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2010)
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca*. Edited by J.-P. Migne. Paris: Migne, 1857–66
RE^2	*Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (2nd ed.; edited by J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, and A. Hauck; 18 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1877–88)
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SJC	Studies in Jewish Civilization
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTW	Studies in the New Testament and Its World
StPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SR	*Studies in Religion*
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley (10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76)
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
VD	*Verbum domini*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

Introduction

In Paul's letters, one of the dominant questions is about the relationship between God's mercy and reward/merit towards the human and how these two basic concepts are related to the final destiny of an individual. This relationship is also dominant in the Jewish literature of the post-biblical era[1] (mainly the Book of Daniel, *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, Qumran Scrolls, 2 Maccabees, *Psalms of Solomon*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, *The Testament of Abraham*) with its frequent eschatological references to the coming of the Messiah. Contemporary Jewish eschatological ideas highlighted the Final Judgment as an event that would create a state of holiness and righteousness.

This concept is also present in and forms the content of one popular Jewish pseudepigraphon written in Greek in the second century BCE, the *Psalms of Solomon*, particularly chapters 17–18. Therefore, it is fully justified to ask about the relationship between Paul's proclamation and this genre of literature. It is also justified to look at the basic idea of the preparation of Israel for this event – the Final Judgment – as forming a background for the proper understanding of Paul's messianic theology and ethics, while at the same time clarifying his key theological thoughts, especially his teaching about justification. From this point of view, Paul's teaching about justification should be understood as reflective of God's mercy, while at the same time insisting that faith and deeds are necessary preconditions for salvation. All of these questions will be the object of my examination in the coming chapters of this book. Before starting the work I must lay out some preliminary questions about my approach, usage of terminology, as well as the intent and goals of my survey. First, what exactly do I mean by "semantic role"? Second, why am I choosing these particular writings? And finally, what could all of this contribute to recent specialized debates in Pauline studies?

The multilayered term "semantic role" can have a variety of meanings, especially in the field of linguistics or philosophy. In this book I have in mind primarily its basic meaning based on the sense of the Greek word

[1] This very question is the principal goal of Chris VanLandingham's monograph *Judgment and Justification in Early Judaism and the Apostle Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2006). See VanLandingham, *Judgment & Justification*, 1.

"*semainein*" (to signify, interpret, explain, indicate, make known, point out).[2] It means our purpose will be to explore and interpret the meaning and role of this pseudepigraphon by formulating and developing the main aspects of Paul's messianic ethics.[3] Certainly, it also includes a semantic analysis of the main terms, phrases, and clauses of the key parts of his writings. Since our approach is based necessarily on a theological interpretation of the topic, in order to grasp the content and meaning of Paul's writings in the proper way we must account for historical changes in the field of philosophy,[4] and find the best way to understand the meaning of historical events, experiences, and thought processes against their own ideological milieu. With all of this, it is necessary to include the hermeneutical accomplishments of biblical scholarship, the intra- and intertextual approaches to the interpretation of particular parts of the writings, as well as the proponents of narrative critics. All of these are essential aspects of the methodology employed in this work.

On the topic of terminology, a word is in order about "messianic ethics." By this term I have in mind the socio-political and ethical implications of early Christology, including the moral meaning of messianism as it

[2] LSJ, 1592–93.

[3] Using the terminology of linguistics, in this process the *Psalms of Solomon* are the subject (and also agent) and the Apostle Paul the object (or patient). From this point of view, our exploration will be focused primarily on asking to what extent the *Psalms of Solomon* could have the semantic role of agent for the Apostle Paul (patient) by formulating and developing key aspects of his messianic ethics. For a closer look at the meanings of the term "semantic role" in the structural analysis of the texts, as well as in linguistics as a whole, see T. E. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 47–49.

[4] Udo Schnelle confirms the significance of this approach. Schnelle describes theology of the New Testament as meaning-formation (*Sinnbildung*), the process of better and right understanding of the past reality by means of – as the author says – "channeling past events into the worlds of human experience and ascribing significance to them in different ways." Since a theology of the New Testament operates on different temporal planes, we can describe its task as a process of clarifying and explaining the thoughts of the New Testament writings and articulating these thoughts in the context of a contemporary understanding of reality. It means that a theology of the New Testament as a historical discipline must participate in theoretical discussions on the nature and extent of historical knowledge, as well as on its proper understanding in the present. See in more detail U. Schnelle, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. M. E. Boring; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2009), 25. On the term "meaning-formation" as an aspect of historical theory, see J. Rüsen, "Historische Methode und religiöser Sinn," in *Geschichte im Kulturprozeß* (ed. J. Rüsen; Cologne: Böhlau, 2002), 11. On the multilayered term "meaning-formation," see E. List, "Sinn," *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (ed. G. Kercher et al.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1988), 62–71, part 5 (cited by Schnelle, *Theology of the New Testament*, 25–26, including n. 1).

is formulated and considered by the Apostle Paul for the life of the first Christian communities he established during his missionary activities.

If there are still questions about why the *Psalms of Solomon* are important for the elucidation of Paul's message, I offer several further reasons. First of all, the *Psalms of Solomon* are rightfully regarded by scholars as an important early psalm book outside the canonical psalter.[5] This composition was known to many contemporary Jews, mainly in Jerusalem in the century before the Jewish war against Rome. The dating of the work and its importance in the Jewish communities in which Paul operated are in little doubt. During Paul's lifetime, it was still a critical composition that was relevant to important debates in Judaism, mainly the application of the messianic concept to David's descendants. Therefore, the *Psalms of Solomon* were influential for many pious Jews contemporary to Paul, especially for the members of the main Jewish factions (Pharisees, Essenes, Sadducees), as well as for Paul himself. In this light, it becomes less important to prove that Paul personally knew this writing, whether as a whole or only in part. Other reasons are the fact that this work reflects on disorder and confusion during the events connected with the first Roman invasion into Jerusalem in the last pre-Christian century (*Pss. Sol.* 2:26–27), makes mention of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead (*Pss. Sol.* 3:12), and provides the first remarkable account of the detailed expectation of the Jewish Messiah from David's descendants (*Pss. Sol.* 17:21, 32) before Christianity and the New Testament.[6]

Finally, I should make a few comments about the structure of my study. The work will fall into four main chapters. The first chapter deals with Jewish literature of Second Temple Judaism in a general sense, especially the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. In the second chapter, attention is given to the *Psalms of Solomon*, its literary composition, meaning, and influence on the formation of early Jewish messianic concepts. Here, special attention is paid to a concise characterization and analysis of chapters 17 and 18 and to the question of their meaning and influence on Jewish religious factions of that time. Chapter 3 centers on the *Psalms of Solomon* and Paul's message in the context of messianic ethics. The final chapter centers on the influence of the *Psalms of Solomon* on the formation and expressions of the messianic concept and ethics in Paul's message. Special attention is given to Paul's doctrine of justification in the context of the *Psalms of Solomon*,

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[5] See R. B. Wright, ed., *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (JCT 1; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 1.

[6] As James H. Charlesworth points out: "the composition contains perhaps the *locus classicus* for belief in a Davidic Messiah and it antedates by a few decades the Palestinian Jesus Movement." See J. H. Charlesworth, foreword to *The Psalms of Solomon* (ed. R. B. Wright), vii.

particularly chapters 17 and 18. The analysis and interpretation of the texts dealing with the messianic concept and ethics in the *Psalms of Solomon* and in Paul's authentic letters helps us understand more clearly the core of this doctrine, its basis and meaning. A synthesis of these discoveries follows these chapters, with a summary of the results and final contentions.

All of what follows is focused on key parts of Paul's theological thinking in the context of the Second Temple era and its complexities, trying to understand better and more comprehensively not only the mechanics of Paul's message but also the contemporary Jewish landscape as it was influenced by the decisive events of its social-cultural and political surroundings.

Chapter 1

The Jewish Deuterocanonical Literature in the Context of Second Temple Judaism

Seemingly tertiary questions of Jewish deuterocanonical literature[1] and the writings of Early Judaism[2] come to the fore when we want to achieve a more complex and comprehensive knowledge, as well as a deeper understanding, of Paul's message. One of the most important reasons for this is the fact that the systematic and comprehensive study of this corpus of literature makes it possible, on the one hand, for us to better recognize patterns within Second Temple Judaism with all of its specifics and complexities, and on the other hand, helps us recognize the distorted image, more or less, of contemporary Judaism, including partially or grossly mistaken readings of Paul in recent centuries.[3] Therefore, we have even more to take

[1] Concerning this term, I mean the Jewish writings mainly from the period 200 BCE to 100 CE, which in the Roman Catholic milieu are called "apocrypha" and in the protestant milieu often "Old Testament pseudepigrapha," despite the extent of some Christian additions. This corpus of Jewish literature provides essential evidence of Jewish thought during the Second Temple period (approximately 400 BCE to about second century CE). See M. E. Stone, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha" (n. p.; cited 14 April 2015; online:www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/apocrypha.html).

[2] In regard to Early Judaism, the main focus is on Jewish literature written during the Greek and early Roman periods. This means fourth century BCE to about second century CE. Concerning the religion of Judaism, our interest focuses on the Second Temple era, meaning the period between the construction of the second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 515 BCE and its destruction by the Romans in 70 CE. With regard to the corpus of Paul's letters, the evidence will be limited to those whose authorship is confirmed by the majority of contemporary scholars.

[3] This approach is a characteristic feature of the "new perspective" on Paul which is, as described by D. A. Carson in his Introduction to the first volume in a two-volume set of an essay collection about Paul's view of the law and justification, titled *Justification and Variegated Nomism.* Vol. 1: *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and M. A. Seifrid; WUNT 2.140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 1: "[A] bundle of interpretive approaches to Paul, some of which are mere differences in emphasis and others of which compete rather antagonistically. Taken together, however, they belong to the 'new perspective' in that they share certain things in common, not least a more-or-less common reading of the documents of Second Temple Judaism, and a conviction that earlier readings of Paul, not least from the Protestant camp, and especially from the German Lutheran camp, with lines going back to the Reformation, are at least partly mistaken, and perhaps profoundly mistaken." To

into consideration the many sources from this period, and these sources can more or less answer all of these questions.[4]

Naturally, if we speak about Judaism in the Second Temple era as a point of departure from Paul's theological thinking, we inevitably realize the weighty facts of common knowledge derived from contemporary Hellenistic philosophy.[5] The phenomenon of Hellenism was basically the result of the power of the sociocultural traditions of the many nations and ethnic groups within the region, from the territorial boundaries of India in the East to the ancient Hellas in the West, and altered in a substantial way the very understanding of the national, cultural, and religious identities of these communities. Therefore, the entire civilized area of the contemporary Mediterranean, including the Jewish nation, was dragged into the swirl of events around a new pluralistic milieu, which among other things, brought the growing influence of the diverse religious, philosophical, and cultural traditions of the Greek world into the daily life of Jewishness not only in Palestine but especially in the Jewish diaspora.[6] The encounter of Jewishness (Judaism) with Hellenism is in many respects one of the most originative clashes in the history of Western culture and brought a lot of stimuli into the subsequent development of Western thought and culture.[7] Hence,

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the covenantal nomism see in more detail E. P. Sanders, "Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism," *HTR* 66 (1973): 455–78; idem, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977). On the topic of the New Perspective on Paul, see: J. D. G. Dunn, "The New Perspective on Paul," *BJRL* 65 (1983): 95–122; idem, *The New Perspective on Paul* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), especially chapter 1: "The New Perspective: Whence, What and Whither?," 1–97.

[4] The point is especially the corpus of pseudepigrapha. There is ample evidence mainly in 2 Maccabees, *The Book of Jubilees*, *The Testament of Abraham*, *1 Enoch* (especially chapters 1–5, 92–105), 1QS (especially cols. 3–4, 10–11), 1QH[a], *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, *The Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo. To the detailed characteristics of the particular writings see VanLandingham, *Judgment and Justification*, 66–174; T. L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (To 135 CE)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 77–215.

[5] The term "Hellenism," derived from the word *Hellene*, the mythical son of Deucalion and Pyrrha from Greek mythology, was used by the well-known German historian of the nineteenth century Johann Gustaf Droysen for the designation of this unique period of antiquity (his best known work is in three volumes *Geschichte des Hellenismus* 1836–43). Cited by P. Pokorný, *Řecké dědictví v Orientu (Helénismus v Egyptě a Sýrii)* (Prague: Oikoumene, 1993), 30. On the topic of Hellenism see also P. Green, *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Age* (London: Orion Books, 2007); M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[6] See T. L. Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 1–13.

[7] In regard to the topic of Jewish identity and heritage in the context of Hellenism and its variedness, see especially: J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; BRS; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans,

the Jewish literature of this period is an important source of accurate and comprehensive knowledge of all the many inclinations and thoughts of the primary religious groups and factions of the ancient Roman world, especially in connection with decisive theological concepts, for example, messianic ideology and its consequences for the life of particular Jewish communities. The corpus of Hellenistic Jewish writings is a reflection of the appraisal and understanding of the ways in which God acts in the world through history, as well as in the present time, via particular groups or factions. Furthermore, various writings in this corpus demonstrate the social, cultural, and religious qualifications that were shaping, in a decisive way, the life and thinking of those groups or factions. It is therefore legitimate to consider Paul as both a Jew and a Pharisee, including his message as a whole, to be a product of this great and important phenomenon – the process of forming the decisive and influential schools of thought in the Hellenized Jewish religious traditions of this period.

With regard to Paul and his radical change in stance on the interpretation of fundamental theological thoughts, thoughts having great importance for the future of human life, we need to realize that his thinking and doing was primarily motivated by Judaism – his native religious tradition.[8] In every given period, this tradition has presented a broad and varied complex of teachings and ideas, the basis of which was formed during a five-hundred-year period. The Jewish religious tradition can be comprehended primarily from the literary sources that came into existence during the intertestamental period (approximately 400 BCE to 200 CE). Naturally, Paul has never been fully isolated from the cultural and religious influences of the Hellenistic surroundings. However, he himself maintained many specific convictions from the very core of Judaism, including a very close attachment to the law (Torah), where tradition resulted from the interpretation of particular parts of the law and directly shaped the daily life of Jewish communities.

2000); E. S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1998); S. J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1999). All of these works constitute the source of core ideas in this chapter.

[8] By "Judaism" I understand the ethnic-religious culture of the Jewish nation that was formed successively in the period following the Babylonian captivity (sixth century BCE), based on the faith and ethical regulations of the Hebrew Bible and traditions having become a common heritage of Jewish religious groups and factions, as well as the deeper strata of the Jewish nation in the Second Temple era. For standard definitions of "Judaism" and related terms (*Ioudaios*, *Iudaeus*, Judaean, Jew) see: Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, 69–106; W. Gutbrod, "Ἰουδαῖος, κ.τ.λ.," *TDNT* 3:375–83.

From this point of view, the other primary question that arises is how to understand the Jewishness of the Second Temple period to which Paul the Apostle belonged. Despite the fact that Paul polemicizes against Jewish particularism, he still remains part of the unique covenantal relationship of God with his people.[9] And so another question arises of how to understand the key theological concepts of Judaism in that period, as well as the terminology that Paul used in the formulation of the key theological themes of his message. Besides Paul's home religious tradition, there was another important factor that influenced his thinking in substantial ways – the multicultural society of the Greco-Roman world. It is not easy to distinguish, with absolute certainty, what in Paul's message comes strictly from his own Jewish religious tradition – and if so, where are the clear boundaries between the generally accepted and more orthodox notions and concepts of Palestinian Jewishness and varied, less orthodox notions and thoughts of the Hellenistic Jewishness – and then also what proceeds from the Hellenistic religious-philosophical school of thoughts, which are in many respects mutually influenced by a preponderant syncretism in the region. Paul says about himself that, in relation to the law, he was a Pharisee (Phil 3:5), but his writing style contains clear traces of a certain mysticism. It is also very difficult to analyze and interpret the relationship of Pharisaism to the mysticism of those times, but this question cannot be avoided because mysticism forms an integral part of Paul's way of thinking and voicing.[10] All of this is interrelated with how Paul uses Greek terminology in his letters. Moreover, in his letters, Paul tried to resolve the particular questions and problems that appeared in the communal life of various Christian communities he knew. Those questions and problems were not only Paul's

[9] The well-known definition of this traditional covenant form, as one particular form of Judaism, is that of E. P. Sanders, who expressed it by the term "covenantal nomism." See in more detail Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 420. On the covenantal nomism see also Dunn, "The New Perspective: Whence, What and Whither?," 5–17; S. Westerholm, "The 'New Perspective' at Twenty-Five," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism*. Vol. 2: *The Paradoxes of Paul* (ed. D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and M. A. Seifrid; WUNT 2.181; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck/Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 2–3.

[10] For the mystical understanding of Paul's theological thinking as the very core of his theology against the traditional forensic approach – especially for the key texts of Paul's corpus (Rom 1–8; Gal 2–3), argued well-known German theologians like G. A. Deissmann, *Paulus: Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1911; 2nd ed. 1925 [ET of 1st German ed. 1912; ET of 2nd German ed. revised and enlarged *St. Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History*; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1926]), and A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (trans. W. Montgomery; New York: Seabury, 1968 [1931]). On the topic of Paul's mysticism see especially A. F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1990).

but have troubled many Christian communities that have imported traditions from Judaism and various forms of paganism. This particular emphasis of Paul's message bears witness not only about the main goal of Paul's mission as a whole – to bring the message of the Gospel to the pagans (to the Gentiles) – but also about the effort of contemporary Judaic thought, especially Hellenistic concepts, to have a positive effect on the broader pagan world of the Roman Empire. Much Jewish literature from that period, some parts of the Scripture, the Septuagint, apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, as well as the writings of Philo and Josephus[11] contain clear traces of the apologetic intentions of Jewish communities living in the Jewish diaspora. Therefore, we can legitimately describe much of this literature as apologetic.[12]

With all that in mind, we must also ask whether this literature can be considered missionary literature – part of Jewish proselytizing propaganda. Some scholars agree with this categorization, but others do not.[13] In any case, the effort to open up various aspects of the religious traditions of Judaism to the broader Greco-Roman world can be justifiably regarded as one of the most important and decisive events in the history of Judaism.

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[11] To the particular genres and the nomenclature of Jewish literature of that period, in the context of Jewish patterns of universalism, see especially Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*.

[12] This important feature is observed by John J. Collins: "The corpus of Jewish literature which has survived from the Diaspora may be viewed in part as a response to the assessments and polemics of the Gentiles." Collins, in this connection, refers also to the argumentation of Erich Gruen (*Heritage and Hellenism*, 292–93) against the view that this literature is reactive. Gruen, as Collins said: "emphasizes the creativity of the Jewish writers and their pride in their traditions. But these are by no means mutually exclusive positions, and it would be very unrealistic to think that the Jewish authors did not take account of Gentile opinion in some way." In Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 14.

[13] For example M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik* (Zurich: Schmidt, 1903); P. Dalbert, *Die Theologie der hellenistisch-jüdischen Missionsliteratur unter Ausschluß von Philo und Josephus* (Hamburg: Reich, 1954); D. Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 83–151. On the other side, Victor Tcherikover in his article "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *EOS* 48 (1956): 169–93, argued against this opinion and stressed the fact that this literature is primarily directed to a Jewish and not a Gentile audience. Collins however, points out that "[t]he whole notion of a Jewish mission has been severely criticized in recent years." See, for example, M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); idem, "Jewish Proselytizing in the First Century," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (ed. J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak; London: Routledge, 1992), 53–78; S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity during the Second Temple Period* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991). See also J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 14, including n. 65, 262–72, and Gruen, introduction to *Heritage and Hellenism*, XX.

The stressing of the universal character of Judaism contained in some Jewish writings of that period[14] is an important common point with Paul's message, even if Paul did it from a rather different starting point.[15] Therefore, many Jewish writings from this period can be considered missionary in nature and characterized as helping to create Jewish patterns of universalism.[16]

Besides all of this, Paul lived in an intensive apocalyptic expectation of the imminent end of the world, with all the consequences associated with such an event. In other words, Paul's theological thinking was motivated primarily by eschatology, which was, as a whole, very popular in the Judaism of the Second Temple period. This means that eschatology was also a rather typical feature in most Jewish deuterocanonical literature.

The study of the corpus of Jewish pseudepigrapha thus becomes an incentive for uncovering a more complex and objective knowledge of Judaism in that period and of Paul's way of thinking and his missionary goals.[17] Following the categorization of the four distinct patterns of universalism made by Terence L. Donaldson primarily the categories of ethical monotheism and eschatological participation will be points of interest in the main part of this book in connection with the *Psalms of Solomon*. But it is first necessary to deal in more detail with various aspects of that period using some particular examples of its literature.

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[14] Primarily: *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, the fragments of Hellenistic Jewish writers Artapanus, Theodotus, Aristobulus, *Letter of Aristeas*, *Sibylline Oracles*, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Psalms of Solomon*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, Pseudo-Phocylides, *Testament of Abraham*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*.

[15] Paul does it from the standpoint of belief in Jesus Christ, and constituting Christology, unlike of Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, where it was the standpoint of God's doing and acting in the world through Israel, with universal redemptive purpose.

[16] This is especially the emphasis of Terence L. Donaldson in his outstanding book *Judaism and the Gentiles*, which deals with the pertinent texts of particular Jewish literatures of the Second Temple Jewish tradition, and on the basis of the analysis synthesizes the findings by identifying four distinct patterns of universalism that arose out of the four broad textual categories – sympathization, conversion, ethical monotheism, eschatological participation. For further explanation of the term "universalism" as used by the author in regard to the world of late antiquity, especially in connection to Jewish "universalism," see Donaldson, introduction to *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 1–13.

[17] For the complexities of the Jewishness and Jewish religious traditions in the Second Temple era including the variedness of the beliefs and opinions on the solving of the particular key questions of the topics, see *Justification and Variegated Nomism*. Vol. 1: *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and M. A. Seifrid).

1. Judaism of the Second Temple Period: A Brief Characterization

First of all, if we want to make a concise but also truly accurate characterization of Judaism in the Second Temple period, we must take into account two basic and decisive points that emerge from the correlation of the religious and national self-definition of Israel. The first is the self-definition of Israel as God's chosen people, selected from among all nations of the world to be a special nation, a "*a priestly kingdom and holy nation*" (Exod 19:6).[18] This bold statement confirms that the national status of Israel is deeply seated in religion, particularly in the belief in only one God.[19] The second point follows naturally from the first. Since the Jewish belief system is monotheistic, it means that God is the creator of the universe, and God's power and sovereignty is exercised over the world as a whole and affects all nations. This is the very basis of the universal understanding of God's creating purpose, which inevitably means that "Jews could not tell their own national story without reference to the other nations, and if perhaps it was possible to narrate the story in such a way that the nations functioned simply as a foil for Israel, the story itself contained at least latent questions about the relationship between these other nations and the God who had created them."[20]

However, this self-understanding was also becoming the basis of tensions between the Jewish and other nations. The Jewish tradition demanded that Israel behave as a holy nation under the exclusive ownership of Yahweh: "*You shall be holy to me; for I the Lord am holy, and I have separated you from the other peoples to be mine*." (Lev 20:26) Gradually, especially in postexilic Judaism, this ideal of holiness came to be understood as a strict separation from the Gentiles, which for many Gentile groups –

[18] Scripture quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version Bible.

[19] Donaldson describes this self-defined exceptionalism: "Despite significant differences in interpretation and outlook, Jews everywhere identified themselves with reference to the biblical narrative, a narrative in which the cosmic and universal is oddly intertwined with the national and particular. On one hand, Jews understood their God to be the one, universal deity, a God who had created the whole world and who continued to exercise sovereignty over the created order and all the nations within it. On the other, Jews believed that this God had chosen them out of all the nations of the world to be a special people, that the will and the ways of this God had been revealed uniquely in Israel's scripture, that the God who had created the cosmos was nevertheless uniquely present in the Jerusalem Temple, and that despite the Jews' temporal misfortunes, eventually Israel would be vindicated and exalted to a position of preeminence over all other nations." In Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 1–2.

[20] Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles*, 2.

especially in Egypt and Rome – led to elevated tensions, hostile propaganda focused on the strangeness of the Jews, and suspicions concerning the Jewish way of life.[21] Some ancient authors, such as the Greek historians and philosophers Hecataeus of Abdera, Theophrastus, Megasthenes, and Clearchus of Soli, wrote on the Jews with an obvious level of respect.[22] This was contrary to prevailing attitudes toward Jewishness in the Hellenistic age, which were rather negative. Judaism was widely viewed as a strange superstition,[23] a fact confirmed by the ancient authors Manetho (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.75–90, 228, 232–250), Agatharchides of Cnidus in Asia Minor (*Ag. Ap.* 1.209–212; *Ant.* 12.1.1 §§ 5–6), Mnaseas (*Ag. Ap.* 2.112–114), Posidonius of Apamea, Apollonius Molon (*Ag. Ap.* 2.79, 147–148), Chaeremon, Lysimachus, Apion (*Ag. Ap.* 1.288–320, 304–311; 2.1–7, 92–96), Cicero, and Horace.[24]

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[21] See J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 12–13. On the tensions between Jews and Gentiles in the postexilic period, see especially J. N. Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World* (NovTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 89–144; J. G. Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 55–66; Y. Yavetz, "Judeophobia in Classical Antiquity: A Different Approach," *JJS* 44 (1993): 1–22; J. Bowker, *The Religious Imagination and the Sense of God* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 31–45.

[22] J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 6.

[23] See in more detail M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1984); M. Stern, "The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (ed. S. Safrai and M. Stern; CRINT 1.2; Assen: Van Gorcum/Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976), 1101–59; Sevenster, *The Roots of Pagan Anti-Semitism in the Ancient World*; J. L. Daniel, "Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic Roman Period," *JBL* 98 (1979): 45–65; Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 55–59; M. Whittaker, *Jews and Christians: Greco-Roman Views* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); M. Goodman, "Apologetics: The Literary Opponents," in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973–87), 3.1:594–609; C. Aziza, "L'Utilisation polémique du récit de l'Exode chez les écrivains alexandrins (IVème siècle av. J.-C.–Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987): 41–65; E. Gabba, "The Growth of Anti-Judaism or the Greek Attitude towards Jews," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Vol. 2: *The Hellenistic Age* (ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 614–56; L. H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 123–76; P. Schäfer, *Judeophobia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 15–118. Stated J. J. by Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 6, n. 26.

[24] See in more detail M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 1:181–85, 382–421; M. Stern, "The Jews in Greek and Latin Literature," 1144–45, 1150–59; Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*, 58–59; V. Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 (1956): 169–93; J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 6–14.

Meanwhile, some of the best-known Jewish apologists, Philo and Josephus, described Judaism as a religion with ancient traditions, with a famous and rich heritage that can benefit all nations of the world. Josephus defended Judaism by pointing out its ancient traditions and attempted to refute, or at least to contradict, the mostly negative Hellenistic views of Judaism (*Against Apion*). Philo highlighted those aspects of Judaism that were most acceptable to cultured Gentiles and Hellenized Jews and tried to interpret Judaism as a type of philosophy by identifying loci in Jewish traditions that overlapped with ancient Greek philosophical traditions and common ideas and opinions resulting from it.[25]

The situation of the Jews in the diaspora was characterized by an effort to reduce tensions between them and the people among whom they lived. Despite such efforts, Judaism remained in many respects a strange and suspicious element of the Hellenistic age, primarily on account of those qualities that distinguish Judaism from the common ideologies of the day: Jewish thought emphasizes Jewish distinctiveness, which is difficult to overcome in a pluralistic age.[26] The idea of "Otherness" is inherent in most Jewish literature from this period. So despite varied opinions on the goal of Jewish literature mentioned above, many writings can be characterized as apologetic – defending Judaism in Hellenistic categories and/or in "missionary" terms – making them essentially propaganda by virtue of their emphasis on the exceptional qualities of Jewish traditions, which would be perceived as proselytizing.[27]

All aspects of this complicated process can be interpreted through two basic attitudes of the era that we see in the lifestyle of diaspora Jews. On the one hand, it was an endeavor of the diaspora Jews to participate in the cultural life and values of the Hellenistic world and by doing so to reform older orthodox traditions of Judaism represented especially by the leading religious factions in Judea (Sadducees and Pharisees). On the other hand, it was an attempt to remain Jewish in regard to the key characteristics of the

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[25] J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 14–15.

[26] S. J. D. Cohen expresses very aptly the specifics of Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness: "Jewishness, the conscious affirmation of the qualities that make Jews Jews, presumes a contrast between Us and Them. The Jews constitute an Us; all the rest of humanity, or, in Jewish language, the nations of the world, the gentiles, constitute a Them. Between Us and Them is a line, a boundary, drawn not in sand or stone but in the mind. The line is no less real for being imaginary, since both Us and Them agree that it exists. Although there is a boundary that separates the two, it is crossable and not always distinct." In Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness*, 341.

[27] To the topic of Jewish apologetics see J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 14–16, including the stated literature.