

Images of the Human Being

Edited by
COSMIN PRICOP
KARL-WILHELM NIEBUHR
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*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*
521

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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Images of the Human Being

Eighth International East-West Symposium
of New Testament Scholars,
Caraiman Monastery, May 26 to 31, 2019

edited by

Cosmin Pricop, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr,
and Tobias Nicklas

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-160637-3 / eISBN 978-3-16-160638-0
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-160638-0

ISSN 0512-1604 / eISSN 2568-7476
(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

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The book was typeset by epline in Bodelshausen, printed by Stückle Druck in Ettenheim on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Preface

The Eighth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars took place on May 25–31, 2019, in the Caraiman Monastery at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains in Romania. The scholarly program of the conference was devoted to the topic of biblical anthropology. The symposium carried forward the long-term project of the Eastern Europe Liaison Committee (EELC) of *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS) by bringing together biblical scholars from Eastern Orthodox and Western Protestant or Roman-Catholic traditions. It was attended by 66 participants from some 20 countries, about half of them with an orthodox church background. At its opening the conference received a message from His Holiness Patriarch Daniel Ciobotea, the primate of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which was read to the participants by His Eminence Bishop Varlaam of Ploiesti.

As was the case in all earlier EELC symposia, the basic idea of this conference has been to promote discussion and dialogue between exegetes from different confessional and sometimes also cultural backgrounds. A particular concern of the Caraiman symposium was to broaden the circle of participants by including younger scholars from Eastern Europe as active contributors either by giving papers to the seminar sessions or by engaging in the seminar discussions. The organizers were extremely pleased about the remarkable number of ten highly qualified women participating in the conference.

On the scholarly program of the conference, the introduction to this volume, written by our kind and extremely hospitable colleague Cosmin Pricop from Bucharest University, will give all necessary information. Worth mentioning here, however, is the social program of the symposium. It included daily morning and evening prayers held in the chapel of the monastery and led by participants of different confessional traditions, a half day excursion to the famous Peleş Castle, the palace of the first Romanian King Charles I in the late 19th century, and two social evenings to better get acquainted to each other and to learn more about the traditions and challenges of biblical scholarship in the different home countries of the participants.

In the name of all participants, we wish to express our thanks to our hosts in Romania, that is, the representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Church and in particular the Abbot, the brothers, and the staff of the Caraiman monastery. We continuously experienced the spiritual power of the place and its community as well as the overwhelming hospitality of all its members. The patriarchy of the Romanian Orthodox generously carried half of the costs of the conference.

The other half was covered by several of our sponsors. We wish to express our gratitude for their generous financial support, in particular to the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland*, the German Catholic foundation *Renovabis*, and the research center “Beyond Canon” at the University of Regensburg. It should also be mentioned that a great number of participants were ready to cover their travel costs themselves.

For the publication of this volume, we once again are indebted to Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey, the main editor of the prestigious series “Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament” at Mohr Siebeck, to accept our conference volume for this series. Our thanks also go to the staff of the above-mentioned publishing house. For the difficult process of correcting and processing the texts we express our gratitude to Andrea Allen, to the team of the Centre for Advanced Studies “Beyond Canon” (in particular to Charlotte von Schelling), as well as to Friederike Kunath and Franz Tóth in Zurich.

Jena, October 2023

Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr for the editors

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Introduction

Cosmin Pricop

The present volume brings together the contributions of the Eighth International Symposium of the *Eastern European Liaison Committee* (EELC) of the *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (SNTS), held on May 26–31, 2019 at the Social-Pastoral Centre “Holy Cross” of Caraiman Monastery (Bușteni, Romania). The Symposium was hosted by the Romanian Patriarchate (Department for Theological Education) and the Faculty for Orthodox Theology of the University of Bucharest. This is the third time that this Symposium has been held in Romania. The inaugural meeting took place at the Neamț Monastery in 1998, and the fourth such meeting was held at the Sâmbăta de Sus Monastery in 2007. The Symposium was attended by more than 60 participants from 17 countries. About 40 participants represented Eastern European countries.

The topic of the eighth Symposium was “Images and Stories of the Human Being according to the New Testament and Church Tradition.” As has been customary over the years within this framework, the broader theme was divided into several sub-themes. Each sub-theme received treatment in a complementary manner with a main paper that expressed the Eastern perspective and another main paper that expressed the Western perspective. The sub-themes, and the authors who addressed them, were:

- Anthropology in the Old Testament, Hellenistic Judaism, and Ancient Christianity: Carl Holladay (Atlanta, USA), Alexandru Mihăilă (Bucharest, Romania), and Tobias Nicklas (Regensburg, Germany).
- Anthropology in the Synoptic Gospels: Daniel Ayuch (Balamand, Lebanon) and Joel Marcus (Durham, USA).
- Anthropology in the Gospel of John: Nadine Ueberschaer (Tübingen, Germany) and Predrag Dragutinović (Belgrade, Serbia).
- Anthropology in the Pauline writings: Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr (Jena, Germany) and Christos Karakolis (Athens, Greece).
- Related theological themes developed by New Testament Anthropology – Women and Gender in the New Testament: William Loader (Perth, Australia) and Korinna Zamfir (Cluj-Napoca, Romania).

The section dedicated to “Anthropology in the Old Testament, Hellenistic Judaism, and Ancient Christianity” intends to outline the general background of the topic as it can be traced in the Old Testament, Hellenistic Judaism, and

Ancient Christianity. It consists of three contributions, each of which focuses on anthropology in the three contexts mentioned above. Accordingly, Alexandru Mihăilă focuses primarily on the Old Testament, Carl Holladay on Hellenistic Judaism, and Tobias Nicklas on Ancient Christianity.

As the title of his essay suggests, Alexandru Mihăilă discusses anthropology based on the key concept of “heart” as it appears in various Old Testament writings. Metaphors related to the heart, documented in these texts, implies “the existence of a *forma mentis*, commonly understandable and recognizable, which enables readers to grasp the meaning of the heart imagery.”¹ Among the many uses of the “heart”-metaphor in the Old Testament Mihăilă focusses on the meaning of the “heart” as “inner man.” According to his observations, the biblical writers “imagined the function of the heart as if it were a little human being found inside the real man, an inner man, and even applied to this inner man [...] realities inspired by the community identity from exilic and post-exilic period.”² Besides the fact that the heart “speaks” or “says” something (אמר), “cries” (צעק), “walks” or “goes” (הלך), is made glad (שמח piel), could “be strengthened” or “refreshed” (סעד), it could also be circumcised (ומלתם את ערלת לבבכם – Deut 10:16; 30:6). Mihăilă understands the circumcised heart as a theological concept referring to an “inner transformation, in line with the commandments of the covenant”³ and explains it as a marker of the new post-exilic community in the land of Israel, for which it is no longer adequate to preserve only the ancient rite of physical circumcision that marked the exilic conscience. Traces of this theological concept are followed further by Mihăilă in Philo, Qumran, and the New Testament (especially in the Pauline literature).

Carl Holladay approaches anthropology within the context of Hellenistic Judaism. Like Mihăilă, Holladay identifies a suggestive key-concept for the topic, around which he builds his argumentation. The concept proposed by Holladay is “Moral Agency,” by which the author understands “the capacity of human beings to engage in moral decision-making.”⁴ Furthermore Holladay focuses his analysis on one key author of the Hellenistic Judaism, namely Philo of Alexandria. Starting with a discussion of the variety of anthropological conceptions encountered in Philo’s writings, Holladay underlines the complexity of Philo’s discourse on the composition of the human being, which oscillates between the simple, bipartite anthropology (σῶμα, ψυχή) and more complex construals of the human personality, such as ἔξις, φύσις, ψυχή, and διάνοια/νοῦς. Similarly, the “moral agency” of human beings, as depicted by Philo, tends to be in tension with free will, with which they have been endowed, and providence or determinism. Holladay illustrates this tension by comparing two Philonic

¹ In this volume, p. 7.

² Ibid.

³ P. 9.

⁴ In this volume, p. 22.

specialists, H. A. Wolfson and D. Winston, and by highlighting the strengths of their arguments. While Wolfson shares the view that Philo sees the human will as an autonomous entity, analogous to God's own free will, Winston argues that Philo's view of the human will is characterized by relative free will.

Tobias Nicklas in his contribution "The Latin Apocalypse of Paul: Ideas and Images of Humanity" provides a connection with the extracanonical literature. After the introductory section which pleads for the necessity of integrating extracanonical texts into the discussion of topics from canonical writings, Nicklas focuses his analysis on three aspects of anthropology as they appear in the *Apocalypse of Paul*: (a) "condition of humanity as parts of God's creation"⁵; (b) "death and the soul's post-mortem destiny"⁶; and (c) "otherworldly destinies of souls in an intermediary state between death and bodily resurrection at the end of time."⁷ Nicklas discusses the insights of his analysis from the perspective of similar possible concepts found in the Pauline canonical texts, and this comparative view reveals interesting theological overtones, determined by the new life-contexts of Christian communities.

The second section of the volume, dedicated to "Anthropology in the Synoptic Gospels," is covered by two contributions: one by Joel Marcus which addresses the three Synoptic perspectives and another by Daniel Ayuch which focuses on the Luke's Gospel and Acts.

Like Carl Holladay's essay on anthropology in Hellenistic Judaism, specifically in the writings of Philo of Alexandria, Joel Marcus also narrows the general subject of anthropology to the concept of "Moral Agency." To identify possible references to "Moral Agency" in the Synoptic Gospels, Marcus uses a grid developed by Carol Newsom regarding the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Jewish texts, itself derived from Ethnopsychology (Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock). "This grid plots the locus of control (external vs. internal) on the vertical axis, and the nature of control (self in control vs. self under control) on the horizontal axis."⁸ Four models of "Moral Agency" can therefore be detected in the above-mentioned texts: (a) moral agency is affirmed; (b) moral agency is internally impaired; (c) moral agency is externally impaired; (d) moral agency is denied. Although the Synoptic Gospels do not elaborate a systematically worked out anthropology (as Philo, John, and Paul), Marcus states that their anthropology remains implied. Reading the Synoptics from this perspective leads Marcus to the insight that the pessimistic outlook and the characteristically dark view of human nature in Mark are "basically"⁹ taken up by Matthew and Luke. However, they soften the pessimistic tone by enhancing "the element of human choice in

⁵ In this volume, p. 43.

⁶ In this volume, p. 43.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ In this volume, p. 63.

⁹ In this volume, p. 78.

this apocalyptic drama”¹⁰ (Matthew) and by flirting “with the Stoic notion of a divine spark indwelling every person, just waiting to be blown into flame by an additional blast of *pneuma*”¹¹ (Luke).

Daniel Ayuch, in his contribution, approaches anthropology on the basis of the concept of *Homo peregrinator*, which he contrasts with the concept of *Homo sedentarius*. By *Homo peregrinator* Ayuch understands the human being who lives a “non-sedentary life-style, promoting an alternative behaviour to what was generally adopted in the well-structured Roman empire of those times.”¹² The author also attributes a theological meaning to *Homo peregrinator*, since the human being described as such “is the recipient of a new message and at the same time the carrier of that message for all the communities of the earth.”¹³ After a survey of the Old Testament, through which he identifies key figures to whom the title of *Homo peregrinator* can be attributed (Abraham, Enoch, Noah, the people of Israel), Ayuch turns his attention to Luke’s Gospel highlighting especially the movement of Jesus and his disciples. According to Ayuch, this dynamic with religious and missionary implications could be detected also in the later stages of the history of Jesus’ followers, documented in Acts (the formation of the first community in Jerusalem and the vision of Paul in Troas).

The two contributions devoted to “Anthropology in the Gospel of John” approach the topic in different ways, namely Nadine Ueberschaer in a predominantly exegetical manner and Predrag Dragutinovic in a mostly hermeneutical manner.

To discuss anthropology in the Gospel of John, which, in her view, is based on and intrinsically linked to soteriology, Nadine Ueberschaer exegetically analyzes a suggestive text in this regard: the resurrection of Lazarus (John 11). She understands the Lazarus narrative in light of Jesus’s death and resurrection, and structures it in five units, each of them relevant to and stressing different aspects of the Johannine anthropology: (a) John 11:25–26 – “the necessity of Jesus’s Cross and Resurrection for the Human Being”¹⁴; (b) John 11:7–16 – “learning with Thomas how to die with Jesus”¹⁵; (c) John 11:17–37 – “learning with Martha and Mary how to understand Jesus’s Life and Life giving as a present-day soteriological gift”¹⁶; (d) John 11:38–43 – “learning with Lazarus to pass from death to life”¹⁷; (e) “learning with the three brothers and sisters about the ethical behavior of believers”¹⁸. At the conclusion of her exegesis, Ueberschaer

¹⁰ In this volume, p. 70.

¹¹ P. 73.

¹² In this volume, p. 86.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ In this volume, p. 104.

¹⁵ P. 107.

¹⁶ P. 109.

¹⁷ P. 111.

¹⁸ P. 114.

claims that in the Gospel of John the human being must be born of water and the spirit from above and must become a new creation to surpass the spiritual death caused by sinfulness.

In his more theoretically oriented contribution, Predrag Dragutinovic understands the Gospel of John as a story of life and death and provides some insights in it from the viewpoint of the anthropology of storytelling. After distinguishing between four major divisions of concentration inside the anthropological quest (biological anthropology, archaeology, sociocultural anthropology, linguistic anthropology), Dragutinovic brings into focus the so-called theological anthropology, being convinced that “the biblical studies of the New Testament can add another important aspect to the efforts of understanding what humanity is all about, even in present-day discourses.”¹⁹ Although the theological anthropology of John’s Gospel could be approached both systematically and synchronically, mainly because the Gospel “is marked by the tension between a narrative and a speculative theology”²⁰, Dragutinovic positions himself on the side of linguistic anthropology and its subfield, the anthropology of storytelling. Applying the model developed especially by the sociolinguist William Labov to the Gospel of John, Dragutinovic arrives at the conclusion that “one of the most striking outcomes of the anthropology of storytelling is that humans are storied humans, humans who tell stories, but also humans who are created by stories.”²¹

Both essays dealing with “Anthropology in Pauline literature” focus on two texts from the Pauline letters: 1 Cor 2:15 (Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr) and Phil 1:12–2:18 (Christos Karakolis).

Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr is interested in the analysis of the spiritual human being, as it is expressed within the text of 1 Cor 2:15. After giving a compact overview about interpretations of 1 Cor 1–2 from the perspective of recent western exegesis, Niebuhr discusses further “several of the basic concepts of Lutheran and Reformed hermeneutics that point, more or less overtly, to Paul’s statements in 1 Corinthians 1 and 2,” such as, for example, the *claritas scripturae* or the *testimonium spiritus sancti internum*. The third part of his contribution is dedicated to the exegetical analysis of the fragment 1 Cor 1:1–3:4, in which Niebuhr expresses his conviction, that “the Holy Spirit that entered believers during Paul’s mission and since that time dwells in the church of Corinth as well as in Paul the apostle, offers the means to reconstruct spiritual communion.”²² The hermeneutical implications of the exegetical analysis undertaken previously, which form the last part of Niebuhr’s contribution, point to the fact that Paul “transfers his understanding of the revelatory quality of the gospel

¹⁹ In this volume, p. 128.

²⁰ P. 129.

²¹ P. 143.

²² In this volume, p. 158.

to his audience, his churches”²³ and in this way “the spiritual character of the proclamation of the Gospel, therefore, unites the messenger and the audience, the apostle and his addressees.”²⁴

In turn, the contribution of Christos Karakolis starts from the observation that, “while according to Orthodox theology, saints are those comparatively few Christians who advance to the stage of holiness, according to Paul, saints are all those who by faith enter the realm of God’s righteousness or, in other words, the body of Christ, namely the Church.”²⁵ Consequently, Karakolis asks “whether and to what extent there are already seeds of the relevant Orthodox teaching in Paul’s texts or whether this teaching is an entirely post-Pauline development.”²⁶ To answer these questions, Karakolis aims to determine (a) if Paul presents himself as an ethically superior human being compared to the addressees of his letters, and (b) if Paul thinks of himself as anthropologically different from them. Karakolis achieves this goal through a linguistic analysis of first-person singular pronouns and indicative verbs referring to Paul, and of second-person plural pronouns and imperative verbs related to the recipients of his letters on the basis of Phil 1:12–2:18. Comparing the use of pronouns and verbs referring to Paul with those referring to Paul’s addressees, Karakolis arrives at the insight that “despite the clear difference between Paul and the faithful on the ethical level, at least in the text under consideration, we could not discern any anthropological distinction between them.”²⁷ This means “the Orthodox notion about a substantial anthropological transformation of the saints compared to the ordinary Christ-believers is a post-Pauline development.”²⁸

The final unit of the essay is dedicated to the theological topic “Women and Gender in the New Testament,” which in turn is subsumed to the general theme of “Images of the Human Being.”

Korinna Zamfir offers the first contribution to this theological unit. She approaches the “Discourses on Women and Gender in the Corpus Paulinum” aware of the tension between “a discourse rehearsing gender-stereotypes about women’s inferiority (apparently rooted in the order of creation) and their claimed moral weakness, and [...] a more inclusive ecclesial practice reflected by certain women’s active role in the community.”²⁹ Zamfir explores “specific discourses on women and gender roles in the Pauline Corpus, which reflect their cultural context”³⁰, sharing the opinion that the ancient anthropological discourse (which presents women as inferior human beings who need to be checked by

²³ P. 166.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ In this volume, p. 176.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ P. 189.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ In this volume, p. 197.

³⁰ P. 198.

male authority) made its way into canonical writings and “came to shape the life of women, being used to legitimize their exclusion from public roles in the *ekklēsia*.”³¹ Within the Pauline Corpus, Zamfir differentiates between authentic Pauline, deuter-Pauline, and Pastoral Epistles. Her analysis first highlights the fact that in the authentic Pauline epistles women are depicted as “subordinated, yet (almost) equal.”³² In the deuter-Pauline epistles, Zamfir sees signs which may point to the conclusion that women are “subordinated but loved.”³³ Finally, the Pastoral Epistles speak of “domestic, obedient wives and good mothers, not teachers.”³⁴ Although Zamfir thinks that discourses on women should not be too simplistically described as a linear path from an early recognition of their value to their progressive depreciation, she admits “that once the accommodation of sociocultural norms in the ecclesial discourse and the process of institutionalisation gained speed, theological arguments and cultural *topoi* were increasingly used against the engagement of women in the *ekklēsia*.”³⁵

William Loader, the author of the other contribution within the same unit, discusses “the broad topic of marriage and related issues under two main perspectives: sexuality and gender.”³⁶ He begins by expressing his conviction, that “to understand statements made in the New Testament about sex and gender, one needs to read them in the light of their contemporary social context and the traditions which lie behind them, including especially the traditions of Israel.”³⁷ Loader approaches the gender topic by analyzing and comparing women and men in marriage, in households, in leadership, and in community. At the same time, he emphasizes the way in which the Gospels, by depicting Jesus’ acts and words, challenge the male stereotypes and could have the potential one day to overturn the ancient structures of household and leadership. On the other hand, Loader considers the issue of sexuality from the perspective of its regulation through sacred space and time, but also from the point of view of same-sex relations. At the end of his contribution, Loader pleads for integrity “in not explaining away what they [the ancient texts speaking about gender and sexuality] say and courage to take responsibility for discernment of what abides and what must not.”³⁸

The essays based on main papers presented at the conference were complemented, as usual for the other symposia, by an individual contribution about New Testament biblical studies in the host country, Romania, by Stelian Tofană (Cluj-

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ P. 206.

³⁴ P. 209.

³⁵ P. 221.

³⁶ In this volume, p. 229.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ In this volume, p. 245.

Napoca, Romania). Subsequently, the editors decided to create an appendix to the volume, presenting the situation of New Testament studies of the Bible in Romania from several confessional perspectives: Orthodox, Catholic, Reformed, Neo-Protestant.

In addition to the main papers, the topic of the symposium was addressed in three seminars, entitled “Anthropology and Ethics,” “Anthropology and Creation,” and “Anthropology and Eschatology.” For reasons of space, the editors of this volume have selected for publication some of the papers that were presented in the various seminars. Finally, the symposium also held a section on translations of the Bible into Romanian. In this section, Romanian biblical scholars presented the most important translations of the Bible into Romanian, highlighting both their specificity and their influence by other similar efforts in the region and beyond. This was particularly welcome, as 2019 was dedicated in the Romanian Patriarchate to the translators and translations of sacred texts (biblical, patristic, and liturgical). Therefore, the Eighth East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars could also be considered an important contribution of academic theology to the broader agenda of the previously mentioned anniversary within the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Throughout the meeting, the participants had the opportunity to pray together in the morning and in the evening in the large church of Caraiman Monastery. Also, in the afternoon of May 30, an excursion to the Peleş Castle in Sinaia was organized.

The success of such a symposium depends primarily on the academic quality of the presentations, which in this case, as in all others thus far, is excellent. On the other hand, the accomplishment of such an initiative is also determined by a collegial and friendly atmosphere, which in turn feeds into the joy of being together at the meeting. The commendable steps that the EELC took at the outset (organizing symposia and regional conferences, founding biblical libraries, publishing conference volumes, supporting translations of biblical academic literature in the Eastern European area, promoting young scholars, etc.) are constantly accompanied by the desire to build bridges of friendship between individuals. Under the auspices of this friendship, the eighth EELC Symposium took place within the beautiful landscape of Caraiman Monastery at the foot of the Carpathian Mountains.

Of course, the organization of this Symposium would not have been possible without the involvement and support of many people. First, I must mention His Beatitude Daniel, Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, who invited the eighth symposium to be held in Romania, at Caraiman Monastery, and offered, through the Department of Theological Education of the Romanian Patriarchate, substantial support. Both during the preparatory phase, when the EELC board of directors (Prof. Dr. Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, Prof. Dr. Christos Karakolis, and Prof. Dr. Tobias Nicklas) came to Bucharest, and at the beginning

of the symposium, His Eminence Varlaam Ploieşteanul, Auxiliary Bishop of the Romanian Patriarchate and Secretary of the Holy Synod played an important role. He welcomed the delegates in a friendly manner and thereby once again demonstrated the support of the Romanian Orthodox Church for this esteemed academic event. The Very Rev. Prof. Dr. Nicuşor Beldiman, patriarchal counsellor and head of the Department of Theological Education of the Romanian Patriarchate as well as Rev. Constantin Andrei and Mr. Mihai Paraschiv, from the staff of the same department, should also be mentioned here. I have always found the support I needed from both these respected men.

It is obvious that such a symposium would not have been possible without those who took the time and energy to attend, many of whom personally covered their own travel expenses to Romania. Their effort constitutes additional evidence that the EELC Symposia have established themselves as the most significant academic events among New Testament scholars within Eastern Europe. These symposia are a must for anyone in the field of academic biblical studies interested in the dialogue between Eastern and Western New Testament scholars.

Finally, we would also like to thank the Abbot of Caraiman Monastery, Father David Petrovici, who was a welcoming and responsive host to all the requests of the organizers and participants, both in the process of preparing the symposium and during the event itself.

Bucharest, Summer 2023

Part One:
Main Papers from the Symposium

Section I:
Anthropology in the Old Testament,
Hellenistic Judaism, and Ancient Christianity

A Circumcised Heart: The Anthropological Function of the Heart as the Inner Man

Alexandru Mihăilă

In this contribution, I intend to discuss some aspects regarding the anthropological function of the heart. My starting point is a verse from the Prayer of Manasseh (the twelfth Ode in the Septuagint): “and now I bend my heart’s knee (καὶ νῦν κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας)” (Odes 12:11). The Prayer of Manasseh is well known in the Byzantine liturgy, being read entirely during Lent, as part of the Great Compline (*Apodeipnon*). The peculiar imagery used in this text could be understood either as a *pars pro toto*, denoting the whole person of the supplicant (meaning in effect: “I bend *my* knee”), or, what I set out to defend in this essay, as an example illustrating the anthropological function of the heart. If, symbolically, the heart has knees, then it resembles a little human dwelling inside of a normal person who is visible to the others. In other words, the heart is conceived of as a *homunculus*.

In his 1961 book, *The Semantics of the Biblical Language*, James Barr drew attention to the unsound methodology used by contemporary theologians who adduced linguistic evidence such as etymology and idiomatic expressions in support for their theological views. Twenty years later, in 1983, the Finnish scholar Risto Lauha¹ argued in his PhD thesis that the words “heart” (לב or לבב) and other psycho-physical lexemes like “soul” (נפש) and “spirit” (רוח) function like pronouns as “semantically empty reference words” (*semantisch leere Hinweisworte*), which could be interchanged.² They appeared mostly in the poetic texts as rhetorical figures.³ So, he argues that it is inappropriate to try to build with these terms a peculiar Hebrew way of thinking, an anthropology, or a psychology of the Old Testament. Manfred Dreytza studied the term רוח and reached similar conclusions.⁴

¹ Risto Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine strukturalsemantische Analyse von נפש, לב, and רוח*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 35 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1983).

² *Ibid.*, 235.

³ *Ibid.*, 240.

⁴ Manfred Dreytza, *Der theologische Gebrauch von RUAH im Alten Testament: Eine wort- und satzsemantische Studie* (Giessen: Brunnen Verlag, 1990).

Lauha's thesis received favorable reviews among others from James Barr himself,⁵ who commented: "This is a highly significant work for all future discussions of the nature of Hebrew thought in relation to the linguistic evidence." Barr shares the same conclusion with Lauha:

The evidence shows that the interrelations between these terms simply do not correspond to any intended structure of a Hebrew psychology. The various terms interchange with one another and the same emotional content may be equally registered with or without the standard expressions. The psychophysical lexemes are often, like pronouns, *semantically empty indicators*, which can be used in place of *any* of the constituents in the text ... All this is just what the present reviewer would have expected but was too slow to work out for himself.

I agree that in many cases, the heart has lost its lexical meaning and only came to refer to the human self, as the following texts demonstrate. God said to Pharaoh: "I will send all my plagues to your heart (אֶל-לִבְךָ) and on your servants and your people" (Exod 9:14). Here, the writer could have made the same point by saying: "I will send all my plagues to you" or "to your soul (נפש)," as in Ps 69:19, where the supplicant asks God, "Draw near to my soul (אֶל-נַפְשִׁי)." The second text is Ps 77:7: "I commune with my heart/Let me meditate in myself (עַם-לִבְכִי אֶשְׁיַחֶה)" (Ps 77:7), which is not substantially different from: "Many are saying to my soul (נפש)" (Ps 3:3) or "those who have said to your soul (נפש)" (Isa 51:23).

On the other hand, I think that the challenge arises when there is a difference between the way a person shows themselves outwardly and what one thinks inwardly. Then the heart no longer stands for the person as a whole, but for the hidden thoughts or intentions in contrast to the beguiling speech or deceitful acting. These particularities demonstrate that the heart is not interchangeable with the person or the self but describes only a particular aspect.

As Bernd Janowski explains, "the heart is the organ that keeps the correspondence between inside and outside."⁶ He gives two examples. The first one shows the normal correspondence between the outer facial expression and the inner thought: "The heart (לב) of the wise makes his speech judicious and adds persuasiveness to his lips (שפתים)" (Prov 16:23). On the contrary, in the second example, Prov 26:24–25, there is no such coordination: "Whoever hates disguises himself with his lips (שפתים), but within him (lit. קרב) he stores up deceit. When he speaks (lit. קול) graciously, do not believe him, for there are seven

⁵ James Barr, review of *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine strukturalsemantische Analyse von נפש, לב, and רוח*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 35, by Risto Lauha. *JTS* 38/2 (1987): 459.

⁶ Bernd Janowski, *Das hörende Herz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 19. See also id., *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Grundfragen – Kontexte – Themenfelder* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 148–57; id., "Das Herz – ein Beziehungsorgan: Zum Personenverständnis des Alten Testament," in *Dimensionen der Leiblichkeit: Theologische Zugänge*, ed. id. and Christoph Schwöbel (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2015), 1–45.

abominations in his heart (לב).” In this case, there is a huge separation between the lips (שפתים) or the voice (קול), on the one hand, and the entrails (קרב) or the heart (לב) on the other. The heart no longer stands for the person as a whole, but for a specific part.

But is the heart a well-defined “part” of the human person? Now one has to remember the anthropological system developed by Hans Walter Wolff in 1973 in his capital work, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*. Despite being aware that the terms are frequently interchangeable, Wolff discusses separately the “main anthropological concepts;”⁷ “soul” (נפש), “body” (בשר), “spirit” (רוח), and “heart” (לב or לבב). In an article published in 2009, Andreas Wagner analysed both Wolffs system and the criticism of Lauha and Dreytza, and concluded that the basic anthropological concepts cannot form a complete system, neither dichotomous nor trichotomous, nor can a dualism between body and soul, in the Greek sense, be proven.⁸ In this regard, he supports Lauha’s criticism. But, on the other hand, he argues that these terms show different anthropological aspects, which might shed light on anthropological issues even without forming a system. While Wagner refers primarily to the “soul” (נפש) and the “body” (בשר), he also shows that the “heart” (לב) has some characteristics. For example, it is the *leb* that designates the inside of the man where hidden mysteries are located. *Leb* is also the organ or the place of thought⁹ and as the inner self is the moral centre.¹⁰

The heart is an anthropological term that combine both corporal and spatial aspects with abstract and deeper meaning referring to inner thoughts and emotions. It is not the only one. Jürgen Kegler studied terms such as “womb” (רחם) and “kidneys” (כלית) to notice such intertwining of physical and spiritual

⁷ Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 8th German ed.: *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1973).

⁸ Andreas Wagner, *Menschenverständnis und Gottesverständnis im Alten Testament. Gesammelte Aufsätze 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁰ Thomas Krüger, “Das ‘Herz’ in der alttestamentlichen Anthropologie,” in *Anthropologische Aufbrüche: Alttestamentliche und interdisziplinäre Zugänge zur historischen Anthropologie*, ed. Andreas Wagner, FRLANT 232 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 103–18, here: 109; cf. id., *Das menschliche Herz und die Weisung Gottes: Studien zur alttestamentlichen Anthropologie und Ethik*, ATHANT 96 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2009); id., “Das menschliche Herz und die Weisung Gottes. Elemente einer Diskussion über Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Tora-Rezeption im Alten Testaments,” in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld. Ein Symposium aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags von Odil Hannes Steck*, eds. Reinhard G. Kratz and Thomas Krüger, OBO 153 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 65–92. See also Konrad Hilpert, “Die Macht des Herzens: Interferenzen von Organbenennung, Ortsangabe und Sinnbildlichkeit,” *MThZ* 65 (2014): 37–54; Mark S. Smith, “The Heart and Innards in Israelite Emotional Expressions: Notes from Anthropology and Psychobiology,” *JBL* 117 (1998): 427–36; Motosuke Ogushi, “Ist nur das Herz die Mitte des Menschen?,” in *Was ist der Mensch ...? Beiträge zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Hans Walter Wolff zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. Frank Crüsemann, Christof Hardmeier, and Rainer Kessler (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1992), 42–7.

elements.¹¹ The following contexts apply to the heart, but not to the “soul” (נפש) and “spirit” (רוח).

Thus, the heart can be seen as a vessel or chest where the words of God are gathered. Of someone who obeys the words of God it is said that the words are (היה) at (על) his heart (Deut 6:6). People are urged: put (שים) God’s words to (ב) your heart (Job 22:22), “receive (לקח) (the words) in (ב) your heart” (Ezek 3:10), or “keep (שמר) them (the words) in the midst (בתוך) of the heart” (Prov 4:21). “I brought back (שוב) (hiphil) the word as it was in (עם) my heart” (Josh 14:7). Bring back (שוב) (hiphil) to (אל) or in the Samaritan Pentateuch (על) the heart the words of God (Deut 4:39; cf. 30:1) just as Moses made a wooden chest and put (שים) the tables of the Law in (ב) the chest (Deut 10:5). Moses took (לקח) and put (שים) the testimony in (אל) the ark (Exod 40:20).

On the other hand, the heart can be seen as a writing material.¹² The high priest Aharon bears (נשא) the names of the children of Israel in the *choshen* upon (על) his heart (Exod 28:29) or, in another text, bears the decisions for the children of Israel in (על) his heart (Exod 28:30). Other texts speak of the heart’s tablets: “steadfast love and faithfulness ... write (כתב) them on the tablet of your heart (על-לִיֹּהֵ לְבָבְךָ)” (Prov 3:3; cf. 7:3); “The sin of Judah is written (כתב) ... engraved (חרש) on the tablet of their heart (על-לִיֹּהֵ לְבָבֵם)” (Jer 17:1); implicitly in: “I will put my law within them, and I will write (כתב) it on their hearts (ועל-לְבָבֵם וְעַל-לְבָבֵם)” (Jer 31:33). The heart is also compared to a garment, which man is called to tear instead of the usual garments: “rend (קרע) your hearts and not your garments” (Joel 2:13).

The heart appears to be associated with the relief of the land, with its height, depth, and width: “his heart was elevated (גבה)” (2 Chr 17:6); “the inward parts of a man and his heart are deep (עמק)” (Ps 64:7). In particular, the concept of a broad place that suggests peace and prosperity shows that in these cases the heart is associated with the earth or the country: the heart will be enlarged (רחב), i.e., will exult (Isa 60:5). Particularly interesting are two texts: “Blessed are those ... in whose heart are the highways/pilgrim ways (מסלות) to Zion” (Ps 84:6); “let your heart be a highway (למסלה) (lit. put your heart as a highway)”¹³ (Jer 31:21). In these cases, *pace* Gunkel,¹⁴ the heart seems to be a virtual map for the righteous

¹¹ Jürgen Kegler, “Beobachtungen zur Körpererfahrung in der hebräischen Bibel,” in *Was ist der Mensch ...? Beiträge zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Hans Walter Wolff zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. Frank Crüsemann, Christof Hardmeier, and Rainer Kessler (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1992), 28–41. For a survey, see Dörte Bester, *Körperbilder in den Psalmen: Studien zu Psalm 22 und verwandten Texten*, FAT 2/24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 15–8.

¹² Adrian Schenker, “Die Tafel des Herzens,” *Vierteljahresschrift für Heilpädagogik und ihre Nachbargebiete* 48 (1979): 236–50.

¹³ Commonly translated: “consider well the highway” (ESV), “turn your attention to the highway” (NABRE), “make a mental note of telltale signs marking the way back” (NET). But turning the heart itself to a highway is also a possible translation.

¹⁴ Hermann Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, HAT II/2, 6th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

with a spiritual path leading to the center: the temple of Jerusalem. For such people their whole life is a pilgrimage to God.¹⁵

All these metaphors of the heart would be meaningless if the texts were not built upon a common assumption about the heart, imagined in a sort of physical way as a vessel or a chest, a tablet for writing, a garment or a landscape. Although this identification is not explicitly made, readers are expected to operate with this presupposition for the heart metaphors to make sense. We must therefore posit the existence of a *forma mentis*, commonly understandable and recognisable, which enables readers to grasp the meaning of the heart imagery.

I have just presented some of contexts in which the heart could be found in the Hebrew Bible, highlighting various aspects of man. But of all the most interesting I find the function of the inner man of the heart.

1. The Heart as the Inner Man

In Mesopotamia, the heart (*libbu*) and other terms, as the liver (*kabattu*), the stomach (*karšu*), the inner (*qerbu*), represent the inner self of the human person.¹⁶ Similarly, in Egypt the heart (*jb* or *ḥꜥtj*) is considered the centre of the human person with all the thoughts, impulses, and emotions.¹⁷ The Hebrew Bible shares this mental framework with the Ancient Near East, but the biblical writers developed the roles played by the heart towards new aspects of anthropology. They imagined the function of the heart as if it were a little human being found inside the real man, an inner man, and even applied to this inner man, as we will see below, realities inspired by the community identity from exilic and post-exilic period.

The fact that already in the Old Testament the heart might be associated with the inner man is highlighted in recent monographs, for example in Thomas

1986), 371: “Text: ‘gebahnte Strassen sind in ihren Herzen; aber Chausseen kann man beim besten Willen nicht im Herzen tragen!’ Unfortunately, Gunkel is unable to see the metaphor.

¹⁵ Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, HThKAT, 3rd ed. (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 518. For Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 (Dallas: Word, 1990), 353: “V. 6 may very well have a double entendre (in a good sense) on the ‘ways’: the ‘ways’ of pilgrimage and the ‘ways’ of God in a metaphysical sense.”

¹⁶ Ulrike Steinert, *Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien: Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, Cuneiform Monographs 44 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 133.

¹⁷ Hellmut Brunner, *Das hörende Herz: Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens*, OBO 80 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988). See also María I. Toro Rueda, “Das Herz in der ägyptischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Idiomatik und Metaphorik von Ausdrücken mit *jb* und *ḥꜥtj*” (PhD diss., University of Göttingen, 2003), https://ediss.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/11858/00-1735-0000-000D-F260-3/toro_rueda.pdf?sequence=1 (last accessed at: 12.06.2021); Jan Assmann, “Zur Geschichte des Herzens im Alten Ägypten,” in *Die Erfindung des inneren Menschen: Studien zur religiösen Anthropologie*, ed. id. and Theo Sundermeier (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), 81–112.

Stäubli and Silvia Schröer, which considered the heart as a symbol of the inner man.¹⁸ In my contribution, I intend to focus on the concept of an inner man symbolized by the heart. It is particularly interesting that biblical texts speak of human actions that are also done by the heart.

One could say about the heart that it “speaks” or “says” something (אמר): “Come, my heart says, seek his face” (Ps 27:8). The heart can also “cry” (צעק): “Their heart cried to the Lord” (Lam 2:18). Similarly, God admits: “My heart cries out (קִיָּן) for Moab” (Isa 15:5). The heart can “see” (ראה). “I said in my heart: Come now (לִכְהֵנָּה), I will test you in pleasure; see the goodness (וְרֵאָה וְבִטּוֹב)” (Eccl 2:1). These texts would suggest that in some kind of physical or corporal way the heart has a mouth to speak and an eye to see like a human being.

The heart “walks” or “goes” (הלך), as in the case where Elisha reminds Gehazi that he was present in heart or in spirit and witnessed the iniquity of the disciple: “Did not my heart go (הֲלָךְ) when the man turned from his chariot to meet you” (2 Kgs 5:26). In the book of Ezekiel, the heart of the sinners “goes (הֲלָךְ) after their detestable thing” (Ezek 11:21), “goes (הֲלָךְ) after their idols” (Ezek 20:16), “pursues (הֲלָךְ) dishonest gain” (Ezek 33:31) or in Job’s confession: “If ... my heart has gone (הֲלָךְ) after my eyes” (Job 31:7). Trito-Isaiah speaks of “the way of his heart (לְבוֹן בְּדַרְךְ לְבוֹן)” (Isa 57:17), an expression that occurs in the wisdom literature: “Walk in the ways of your heart (בְּדַרְכֵי לְבָבְךָ)” (Eccl 11:9). Conversely, the heart might be associated with the verb “turn back” (סוג niphal): “Our heart has not turned back” (Ps 44:19); or with the verb “fall” (נפל), meaning “to lose heart,” “fail,” “let no man’s heart fail (יִפֹּל)” (1 Sam 17:32). The verbs *HLK*, *SWG* niphal, *NPL* suggest that metaphorically the heart has legs so that it can walk like a human being. Here, we might add the expression “I bend my heart’s knee (καὶ νῦν κλίνω γόνυ καρδιάς)” (Ode 12:11) mentioned at the beginning of this essay.

The heart is made glad (שמח piel) by Lord’s law (Ps 19:9) or by wine (Ps 104:15), in the same manner in which a human person finds reasons to be happy hearing good news: “‘A son is born to you,’ making him very glad (שִׂמְחָה וְשִׂמְחָהוּ)” (Jer 20:15). The heart might be “stubborn and rebellious (סוֹרֵר וּמוֹרֵה)” (Jer 5:23) just as “a stubborn and rebellious (סוֹרֵר וּמוֹרֵה) son” whom should be punished (Deut 21:18).

The heart could “be strengthened” or “refreshed” (סעד) by food: “I bring a morsel of bread, that you may refresh (וְסִעַדְתִּי) your heart” (Gen 18:5); “Strengthen/refresh (סִעַד) your heart with a morsel of bread” (Judg 19:5; similarly, in Judg 19:8); “bread to strengthen man’s heart” (Ps 104:15). The verb *סעד* is commonly applied to a real person: “Come home with me and refresh yourself” (1

¹⁸ Silvia Schröer and Thomas Stäubli, *Die Körpersymbolik der Bibel*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 45–60; Thomas Stäubli and Silvia Schröer, *Menschenbilder der Bibel* (Ostfildern: Patmos Verlag, 2014), 218.

Kgs 13:7). The heart could also “grow fat” (שמן):¹⁹ “Make the heart of this people fat (השמן)” (Isa 6:10). In the Septuagint the verb השמן was read as a perfect and not as an imperative: “For this people’s heart has grown fat (ἐπαχύνθη),” this reading being quoted in the New Testament (Matt 13:15; Act 28:27). The same observation could be made about people: “But Jeshurun grew fat (שמן), and kicked; you grew fat (שמן), stout, and sleek; then he forsook God who made him and scoffed at the Rock of his salvation” (Deut 32:15). Growing fat is associated with abundance and luxury, which in turn leads to dissoluteness and sin. But the metaphor goes on, as if the heart had a mouth to eat and might be fattened. I assume that this is an important clue for elaboration of the metaphor beyond the literary level limited to interchanging with personal pronouns (I/myself/my heart).

Associating the heart with the human sexuality is also interesting. The heart could be a “whoring heart (לִבִּים הַזֹּנִים)” (Ezek 6:9), as the people of Israel committed fornication through worshipping other gods than the Lord (Hos 1:2, 4:12–13; Jer 2:20; Exod 34:15–16; Lev 17:7 etc.).²⁰ There is also a surprising feminine aspect of the heart, namely the mention of a menstruating heart (הַיָּהֳרָה לִבָּנָה) (Lam 5:17). The feminine form of the adjective הַיָּהֳרָה denotes a woman with menstrual impurity (Lev 20:18, cf. Lev 15:33; Isa 30:22). The other occurrence in the book of Lamentations refers to Jerusalem, depicted as an abandoned and defiled woman (Lam 1:13). It is noteworthy that a cognate adjective, יָרֵךְ, which occurs three times in the Old Testament, is used only with the term “heart:” “the heart is sick (feeble or weak)” in Isa 1:5, Jer 8:18, and Lam 1:22. But, more surprising in my opinion, is the masculine aspect, the “circumcision” of the heart, to be discussed below, which strengthens my argument that the heart is construed as an inner man.

2. The Circumcision of the Heart

As already stated, the most significant case in which the heart behaves almost physically like a human person is the circumcision of the heart. Obviously, the circumcised heart is a theological concept referring to an inner transformation, in line with the commandments of the covenant. The concept was analysed by several biblical scholars.²¹ In the present order of the biblical canon, the concept

¹⁹ Hans-Georg Wüch, “The Strong and the Fat Heart in the Old Testament: Does God Hearten the Heart?” *Old Testament Essays* 30 (2017): 165–88.

²⁰ Phyllis Bird, “To Play the Harlot’: An Inquiry into an Old Testament Metaphor,” in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel*, ed. Peggy L. Day, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 75–94; Irene E. Riegner, *The Vanishing Hebrew Harlot: The Adventuress of the Hebrew Stem ZNH*, SBL 73 (New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

²¹ John D. Meade, “Circumcision of the Heart in Leviticus and Deuteronomy: Divine Means for Resolving Curse and Bringing Blessing,” *SBIT* 18 (2014): 59–85; Werner E. Lemke,

occurs for the first time in Leviticus, in the so-called “Code of holiness” (*Heiligtums-gesetz*): “Then their uncircumcised (lit. foreskinned) heart will be humbled (יִכְנַע לְבַבְּם הָעֶרְלָה) and they will make amends for their iniquity” (Lev 26:41).

Then, it appears twice in the book of Deuteronomy: “Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart” (וּמְלִתְּם אֶת עֶרְלַת לְבַבְּכֶם) (Deut 10:16); “And the Lord your God will circumcise your heart (וּמֵל ... אֶת-לְבַבְּךָ) and the heart of your offspring, so that you will love the Lord your God” (Deut 30:6). The first text exhorts the Israelites to circumcise their heart, while the second text implies that the people’s inability to do requires God’s intervention: He himself will circumcise the people and in turn they will love him. In Deut 10:16, the Septuagint translated עֶרְלַת לְבַבְּכֶם “the foreskin of your heart” with σκληροκαρδία “hard-heartedness,” a term coined by the Greek translators.²² Unlike its Hebrew Vorlage, the Septuagint contains a wordplay which involves both the noun σκληροκαρδία “hardness of the heart” and the verb σκληρύνω “harden,” with the latter conjuring up the image of a stiff-necked animal. In Deut 30:6, the Septuagint renders Hebrew “will circumcise” with περικαθαριεῖ “will purge,” “cleanse.” A similar equation is found in Lev 19:23, where the Hebrew expression וְעֶרְלֹתָם עֶרְלָתוֹ lit. “regard (its fruit) as uncircumcised” is rendered in Greek περικαθαριεῖτε τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν αὐτοῦ “thoroughly purge/purify its uncleanness.”

The theme is found twice in the book of prophet Jeremiah: (1) “Circumcise yourself to the Lord (הַמֵּלֹךְ לַיהוָה), remove the foreskin of your hearts (וְהִסְרֹם וְהִסְרֹם לְבַבְּכֶם), o men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem” (Jer 4:4).

(2) Behold, the days are coming, declares the Lord, when I will punish all those who are circumcised in the foreskin (כָּל-מוֹל בְּעֶרְלָה): Egypt, Judah, Edom, the sons of Ammon, Moab, and all who dwell in the desert who cut the corners of their hair, for all the nations are uncircumcised (כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם עֶרְלִים), and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised (lit. foreskinned) in heart (עֶרְלֵי-לֵב) (Jer 9:24–25).

In the book of Jeremiah, another organ is presented as uncircumcised, namely the ears (3): “Behold, their ears are uncircumcised” (Jer 6:10). A variation on the same theme is found in Exodus: When commanded to go and ask Pharaoh to release the children of Israel from bondage, Moses demurs, claiming that he has “uncircumcised lips” (Exod 6:12).

“Circumcision of the Heart: The Journey of a Biblical Metaphor,” in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, eds. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 299–320; Timothy W. Berkley, *From a Broken Covenant to Circumcision of the Heart: Pauline Intertextual Exegesis in Romans 2:1–29* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2000); Roger Le Déaut, “Le thème de la circoncision du cœur,” in *Congress Volume, Vienna, 1980*, ed. John A. Emerton (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1980), 178–205.

²² Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 625: the lemma carries an asterisk, signifying that the word was not attested prior to the Septuagint.

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