

RICHARD H. BELL

The Irrevocable Call of God

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament*

184

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament

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Richard H. Bell

The Irrevocable Call of God

An Inquiry into Paul's Theology of Israel

Mohr Siebeck

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Printed in Germany.

To my good friend Jennie

In gratitude

Preface

My thoughts on Paul's view of Israel have changed dramatically over the years in two respects. When I studied theology at Wycliffe Hall in Oxford, the "new perspective" on Paul was starting to dominate British scholarship and like many others I adopted this new approach. There was a certain excitement in arguing that the traditional Lutheran approach to Paul was mistaken. We could now set the record straight: Judaism was not a religion of works-righteousness and neither was Paul criticizing Judaism for being such. I was particularly attracted to the work of N.T. Wright (now Bishop of Durham) who argued that Paul's criticism of Judaism was not for works-righteousness but for "national righteousness", i.e. trying to confine God's grace to herself and not sharing it with the Gentiles. As I started my curacy in the Diocese of London I studied Romans in detail and decided that one of the best ways to understand this great epistle was to preach through it. I am very grateful to the people of St Margaret's Edgware for listening attentively and giving helpful responses (a salutary reminder that there are many dedicated and enthusiastic theologians in our Church congregations). I applied the new perspective to Romans and when I reached Romans 9.29 took a holiday. It was to be a theological holiday. I spent some time in Bonn reading German protestant work on Paul, then travelled further through Germany eventually reaching the charming town of Tübingen where I had arranged to meet Professors Hofius and Stuhlmacher. Meeting them and reading their work (and that of Professor Martin Hengel) was to change the direction of my theological thinking. When I returned to England and to Romans (at Romans 9.30!) I found myself taking a more traditional "Lutheran" approach and I (and the congregation) discovered that my sermons were beginning to make much more sense of the text. (My consolation about those earlier "new perspective" sermons is that I happen to have a "high" view of preaching, i.e. even if the exegesis of the text is not right, God can nevertheless speak to his people.)

The second way in which I have changed my mind regards the issue of Israel as the people of God. In my days as a Physics undergraduate when I started reading the bible in earnest for the first time, I slowly built up the

picture in my mind that the Church was the “new Israel” and since the Jews had rejected the gospel they were no longer the people of God. When it came to middle eastern politics I remember arguing with Jewish friends that the theological status of Jews was irrelevant to the situation in the middle east. The promises had all been revoked. It was with some irritation that I heard some Christians affirm that the Jews were still the “people of God”. Again, if I may refer back to my sermons on Romans, I remember vigorously preaching a “substitution model” when I came to Romans 2.25-29. However, when I later did detailed study on Romans I changed my mind. I consider it a great mercy that in God’s providence I have put my ideas into print *after* changing my mind!

When my curacy came to an end I spent four years in Tübingen on my doctorate on Romans 9-11. During that time I had the privilege of having Professor Stuhlmacher as my “Doktorvater” and the joy of attending the lectures of Professor Hofius on Romans, and various seminars and Oberseminars of Professor Hengel. I would like once more to record my gratitude to these New Testament scholars who demonstrated that study of the New Testament can be both wissenschaftlich and of service to the Church.

In this present work on Paul and Israel many aspects of Pauline theology enter the discussion. At certain points in the work I felt that a whole monograph should be devoted to the issue at hand. But I have attempted to bring together various aspects of Pauline theology as they relate to the Israel question and hope that my synthesis will be of value to both New Testament and systematic theologians. I have been working on this book on and off for the last six years. The final form of the work has emerged as I taught “Paul and Israel” to third year theology students at the University of Nottingham. I have taught it to five different groups of students and I wish to thank them for their interest in the subject and for their searching questions. Dr Matthew Howey, one of my former PhD students, attended these lectures and I thank him for correcting an earlier form of the manuscript. Peter Watts, who gained both BA and MA degrees in theology at the University of Nottingham, corrected the final versions and made helpful comments on the content. He then undertook the mammoth task of creating the indices using Nota Bene 7.0. I thank him for his dedication to this task especially since in the final stages he was also working as a school academic tutor and had to work on the indices at evenings and weekends. It has been a great privilege to work with Peter. He is a man of many talents: theologian, IT expert, trumpeter and a virtuoso on the computer keyboard.

Dr James Crossley and Dr Stephen Travis read the section on Jesus and Israel and made helpful comments. I am especially grateful to Professor Friedrich Avemarie for reading through most of chapter 3 and offering his valuable critical comments. I also thank Mr Ed Ball and Professor Maurice Casey, colleagues in Old Testament and New Testament respectively in the department of theology. It has been a great pleasure to work with them and I thank them for many informal chats. Some of the material from chapter 5 was presented to the New Testament seminar group at the University of Durham shortly before I submitted the manuscript to the publisher. I am grateful for the perceptive comments made by members of that esteemed group. In the light of some of these comments, I have, at one or two points, made some last minute changes.

The approach of this work is primarily theological. Historical questions are addressed in as much as they throw light on the theological issues. The work involves a fair amount of exegesis, but where issues have been treated in detail in my works *Provoked to Jealousy* or *No one seeks for God*, a summary of the exegesis found there is given. But in some cases I offer a fairly detailed treatment. Although at one or two points I have made slightly different exegetical judgements to those found in my earlier works, there is no significant change in my position. But at certain points I have sharpened my arguments and related the exegesis to new theological problems and literature.

Chapters 9 and 10 are an attempt to relate Pauline theology to some current theological problems. To do this is of course a risk. But when I have spoken to non-theologians about this project on Paul and Israel, I have often been asked about controversial issues such as the holocaust, the promise of the land of Israel and mission to Jews (in the sense of evangelism). One of the great privileges of working in a University is the opportunity to seek for truth. It is surely part of the social responsibility of someone working in a University to engage in this quest. To address questions such as the holocaust and the land is a risk; but I hope readers will agree with me that it is a risk worth taking.

I would like to thank Professors Hengel, Hofius and Frey for accepting this work in the WUNT series. I am also grateful to the staff of Mohr Siebeck for their customary efficiency. They have patiently dealt with all sorts of delays for which the author alone is responsible.

I thank the University of Nottingham for the semester of study leave in 2001 in which I was able to do intensive work on the book. In particular I

thank colleagues who kindly took over my administrative responsibilities at that time. I also thank those who have acted as head of department during the writing of this book, Professors Alan Ford, Hugh Goddard and Maurice Casey. They have all encouraged a happy atmosphere in which to work.

I thank my sons, Jack and Cameron. They have helped me in more ways than they realise. In addition to simply being there, they have demonstrated extraordinary patience. They have allowed me to work on this book at evenings and weekends and spent many hours with me at the University. I thank them in particular for help in photocopying and sorting out piles of paper. They, like me, can now give a sigh of relief: "Vollendet das ewige Werk"! This book is dedicated to Jennie, my friend, who has helped me in so many ways. She has spent many hours with Jack and Cameron and without her help I could not have set up the study at home where, over the last two and a half years, the book was completed. I also thank her parents, Pat and Keith Tinsdeall, for their kindness and help in so many practical ways. This will never be forgotten.

Finally I want to say a big thank you to my mother, now in her mid-eighties. She is a remarkable person and is an inspiration to so many. Just before the book was completed she managed to get through a painful operation and demonstrated yet again her determination to live life to the full.

Shavuoth, 2005
Nottingham

Richard H. Bell

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Abbreviations

1. Biblical books

The abbreviations used for books of the OT, NT and Apocrypha will be readily understood.

2. Pseudepigrapha and Early Christian Writings

2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch
1 En.	1 Enoch
4 Ezr.	4 Ezra
Jub.	Jubilees
Apoc. Moses	Apocalypse of Moses
LAB	Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Test. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
Test. Jud.	Testament of Judah
Test. Reub.	Testament of Reuben
Test. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
Test. Ben.	Testament of Benjamin
Test. Job	Testament of Job
Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas
1 Clem.	1 Clement

3. Dead Sea Scrolls

CD	Damascus Document
1QH	Hymns of Thanksgiving
1QpHab	Peshier Habakkuk
1QS	Community Rule
4QFlor	Florilegium
4QMMT	Some of the Precepts of the Law
4QpNah	Peshier Nahum
4QTest	Testimonia

4. Tractates of the Mishnah, Tosephta, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim

For the Mishnah, Tosephta, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmudim the letters m., t., b. and y. are placed before the tractate respectively.

Abod. Zar.	Abodah Zarah
ARN	Aboth Rabbi Nathan
Bab. Bat.	Baba Bathra
Bab. Met.	Baba Metzia
Ber.	Berakoth
Ket.	Ketuboth
Kid.	Kiddushin
Mak.	Makkoth
Men.	Menahoth
Pes.	Pesahim
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Shab.	Shabbath
Sot.	Sotah
Yad.	Yadaim
Yeb.	Yebamoth

5. Midrashim

Gen. R.	Midrash Genesis Rabbah
Ex. R.	Midrash Exodus Rabbah
Lev. R.	Midrash Leviticus Rabbah
Num. R.	Midrash Numbers Rabbah
Mek. Ex.	Mekhilta Exodus
Mek. R. Sim.	Mekhilta R. Simeon ben Yoḥai
Sifre Dt.	Sifre Deuteronomy
Sifre Num.	Sifre Numbers
Midr. Ps.	Midrash on the Psalms
Leq. t.	Leqach tob
Pes. R.	Pesikta Rabbati

6. Reference Works

ABD	D.N. Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , 6 vols, New York: Doubleday 1992
ANEP	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</i> , Princeton: Princeton University Press ² 1969, (¹ 1954)
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase (ed.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 1972ff.

- BA W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter ⁶1988 (bearbeitet von K. und B. Aland)
- BAG W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, and F.W. Gingrich, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1961
- BCFT G.C.D. Howley, F.F. Bruce, and H.L. Ellison (ed.), *A Bible Commentary for Today*, London/Glasgow: Pickering & Inglis 1979
- BDB F. Brown, S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1978 (repr.)
- BDF F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, translated and revised by R.W. Funk, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press 1961
- CCHS B. Orchard et al. (ed.), *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, London: Thomas Nelson 1953
- DOTTE W.A. Van Gemeren (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*, 5 vols, Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1997
- Denzinger H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (ed. P. Hünermann), Freiburg: Herder 1991
- EB(C) T.K. Cheyne - J. Sutherland Black (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 4 vols, London: A. & C. Black 1899-1903
- EM T. Gaisford (ed.), *Etymologicum Magnum*, Oxford: OUP 1848.
- EDNT H. Balz - G. Schneider (ed), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, 3 vols, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans 1990-93
- EJud *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House 1978 (repr.), (¹1971-72)
- GK E. Kautzsch (ed.), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* ET, Oxford: Clarendon Press ²1910 (revised by A.E. Cowley)
- HAW W. Otto (ed.), *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* (begründet von I. v. Müller, fortgesetzt von R. v. Pöhlmann), München: C.H. Beck ⁶1924
- HDB J. Hastings (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1898-1904
- HGR J. Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* revised by F.C. Grant and H.H. Rowley, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark ²1963
- HWP J. Ritter and K. Gründer (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philologie*, Basel: Schwabe & Co. 1971ff
- IB G.A. Buttrick (ed.), *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols, New York/Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press 1952-57
- IDB G.A. Buttrick (ed.), *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols, New York/Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press 1962

- IDBSup Supplementary volume to IDB, 1976
- ISBE G.W. Bromiley (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 4 vols, Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans 1979-88.
- Jastrow M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols, New York: Pardes Publishing House 1950
- JE I. Singer (ed.), *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols, London/New York: Funk and Wagnalls 1901-6.
- KBS L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J.J. Stamm, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3 vols, Leiden: E.J. Brill 1967-83
- KP K. Ziegler and W. Sontheimer (ed.), *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, 5 vols, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1979
- LPGL G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961-68
- LSJ H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1985 (revised by H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie with a Supplement 1968)
- LEHC J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie and G. Chamberlain, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Part I, A-I*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992
- LThK¹ M. Buchberger (ed.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 10 vols, Freiburg: Herder 1930-38.
- LThK² J. Höfer and K. Rahner (ed.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 vols, Freiburg: Herder 1957-67
- MTH J.H. Moulton, N. Turner and W.F. Howard, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1978-80 (repr.), (1908-76)
- NIB L.E. Keck et al. (ed.), *The New Interpreter's Bible*, 12 vols, Nashville: Abingdon Press 1994ff.
- NIDNTT C. Brown (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3 vols, Exeter: Paternoster Press 1975-78
- PW *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung von G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus et al., Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmüller Verlag 1894ff., 2. Reihe 1914ff.
- PWSup Supplement to PW, 1903ff.
- RE³ A. Hauck (ed.), *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 22 vols, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung ³1896-1909.
- RGG¹ F.M. Schiele and L. Zscharnack (ed.), *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlich Darstellung*, 5 vols, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) ¹1909-13.

RGG ²	H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack (ed.), <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> , 7 vols, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) ² 1927-32.
RGG ³	K. Galling (ed.), <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft</i> (UTB), 7 vols, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1986 (repr.), (³ 1959)
SVF	Ioannes ab Arnim (ed.), <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> , 4 vols, Stuttgart: In aedibus B.G. Teubner ² 1964 (¹ 1903-24).
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (ed.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> ET, 10 vols, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans 1964-76
THAT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann (ed.), <i>Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> , 2 vols, München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag/Zürich: Theologischer Verlag 1 1971; 2 1976.
ThWNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (ed.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , 10 vols, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1933-78
TRE	G. Krause and G. Müller (ed.), <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> , 27 vols, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 1977-97

7. Sources

ANF	A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A.C. Coxe (ed.). <i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , 10 vols, Peabody: Hendrickson 1994 (repr.), (¹ 1885-1896)
AV	Authorised Version
APOT	R.H. Charles (ed.), <i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English</i> , 2 vols, Oxford: OUP 1977 (repr.), (¹ 1913).
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BSELK	<i>Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche</i> , Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht ¹⁰ 1986
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CIJ	J.B. Frey (ed.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i> , 2 vols, Rom: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana 1 1936; 2 1952
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1893-1934
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
FaCh	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GNT ³	K. Aland, et al. (ed.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> , New York: United Bible Societies ³ 1975
GNT ⁴	K. Aland et al. (ed.), <i>The Greek New Testament</i> , Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft ⁴ 1993.
JB	Jerusalem Bible
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

LW	J. Pelikan and H.T. Lehmann (ed.), <i>Luther's Works</i> , Philadelphia: Fortress Press
MPG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
MPL	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
NA ²⁶	K. Aland et al., (ed.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung ²⁶ 1979
NA ²⁷	K. Aland et al., (ed.), <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung ²⁷ 1993
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NK ²	N. Nestle and G.D. Kilpatrick (ed.), <i>H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ</i> , London: British and Foreign Bible Society ² 1958, (¹ 1954)
NPNF1	P. Schaff (ed.), <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series</i> , 14 vols, Peabody: Hendrickson 1994 (repr.), (¹ 1886-1889).
NPNF2	P. Schaff and H. Wace (ed.), <i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series</i> , 14 vols, Peabody: Hendrickson 1994 (repr.), (¹ 1890-1900).
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OTP	James H. Charlesworth (ed.), <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols, London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1 1983; 2 1985
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	Rabbinische Texte
RV	Revised Version
SC	Sources chrétiennes
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> , Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger
WH	B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort (ed.), <i>The New Testament in the Original Greek</i> , London: Macmillan 1881.
ZB	Die Zürcher Bibel, i.e. <i>Die heilige Schrift des Alten und des Neuen Testaments</i> , Zürich: Verlag der Zürcher Bibel 1987.

8. Periodicals

AELKZ	Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AJS	American Journal of Sociology
AusBR	Australian Biblical Review
BBR	Bulletin for Biblical Research
Bib	Biblica
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BThZ	Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift

CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CTJ	Calvin Theological Journal
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
ExpT	Expository Times
ETL	Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GPM	Göttinger Predigtmeditationen
HBT	Horizons in Biblical Theology
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IMJ	The Israel Museum Journal
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCH	Journal of Contemporary History
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JPJ	Journal of Progressive Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Jud	Judaica
KantSt	Kant Studien
KuD	Kerygma und Dogma
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
RTR	Reformed Theological Review
SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SPAW.PH	Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SR	Studies in Religion
TE	Theological Educator
ThBei	Theologische Beiträge
ThBl	Theologische Blätter
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Vigilae Christianae
VF	Verkündigung und Forschung
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
WuD	Wort und Dienst
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZNW Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZThK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

9. Series

AB Anchor Bible
 ABRL Anchor Bible Reference Library
 ABPB Aachener Beiträge zu Pastoral- und Bildungsfragen
 ACJD Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog
 AGAJU Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums

 ALGHJ Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
 AnBib Analecta Biblica
 AMNSU Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem Neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Upsala

 ArB Aramaic Bible
 ATD Das Alte Testament Deutsch
 AThANT Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
 AzTh Arbeiten zur Theologie
 BETHL Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum Lovaniensium
 BEvTh Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
 BFCTh Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
 BHTh Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
 BIS Biblical Interpretation Series
 BJS Brown Judaic Studies
 BKAT Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
 BKT Bibliothek klassischer Texte
 BMANT Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
 BNTC Black's New Testament Commentaries
 BS Biblical Seminar
 BüSH Bücherei der Salzburger Hochschulwochen
 BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 CB Century Bible
 CBC Cambridge Bible Commentary
 CCWJCW Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200BC to AD200

 CGTC Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
 CB.NT Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
 CNT Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
 CNTC Calvin's New Testament Commentaries
 ConNeo Coniectanea Neotestamentica
 CRINT Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
 CSCT Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
 CSHJ Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
 CThM Calwer Theologische Monographien

EHS.Th	Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23: Theologie
EKGB	Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns
EKK	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ET	Erlanger Taschenbücher
Étbib	Études bibliques
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GL	German Library
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament: NTD Ergänzungsreihe
HzAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HzNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HThKNTSup	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Supplementbände
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUTH	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
KzAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KEK	Meyers kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
KzNT	Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
LD	Lectio Divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LDSS	Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LJC	Library of Jewish Classics
LL	Lutterworth Library
LLJC	Littman Library of Jewish Civilization
MMTM	Makers of the Modern Theological Mind
MNTC	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
MRvB.BÖA	Monographische Reihe von 'Benedictina': Biblisch-ökumenische Abteilung
MThS	Marburger theologische Studien
MTL	Marshall's Theological Library
NBST	Neukirchener Beiträge zur Systematischen Theologie
NCB	New Century Bible
NCIB	New Clarendon Bible
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NLC	New London Commentary
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology

NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTL	New Testament Library
NTR	New Testament Readings
OBS	Oxford Bible Series
OCT	Outstanding Christian Thinkers
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
PAB	Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge
P.SBG	Prophezei: Schweizerisches Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QD	Quaestiones Disputatae
RNT	Regensburger Neues Testament
SAS	Studien des apologetischen Seminars
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SD	Studies and Documents
SIJD	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJC	Studies in Judaism and Christianity
SJLA	Studies in Judaism and Late Antiquity
SLJC	The Schiff Library of Jewish Classics
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTU	Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt
SPIB	Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici
SPS	Sacra Pagina Series
SSS	Semitic Study Series
StDel	Studia Delitzschiana
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTW	Studies of the New Testament and Its World
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
ThBü	Theologische Bücherei
ThExH	Theologische Existenz heute
ThHK	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThSt	Theologische Studien
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentaries
TPINTC	Trinity Press International New Testament Commentaries
TeolSt	Teologiske Studier
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
TTL	Theological Translation Library
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWB	Third Way Books

UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaic Series
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare

Chapter 1

Paul: A Hebrew of Hebrews

1. Paul's Birth, Upbringing and Education

Paul was born around the beginning of the Christian era¹ in Tarsus. Although we only know the place of his birth from Acts (9.11; 21.39; 22.3; cf. 9.30; 11.25), it is corroborated by Gal. 1.21. Here Paul says that after his visit to Jerusalem (three years after his conversion) he went into “the regions of Syria and Cilicia”. One could interpret this as Paul's returning to the city of his birth since Tarsus was at this time administered by the governor of Syria, Syria-Cilicia forming a double province. For although Cilicia was made a province (with Tarsus as capital) after Pompey's victory over the pirates in 67 BC, it was later divided with the rich plainland of eastern Cilicia (Cilicia Pedias, Cilicia Campestris, “Plain Cilicia”) united with Syria; on the other hand western Cilicia (Cilicia Tracheia, “Rough Cilicia”), a wild and mountainous region, was allotted to client kings. The double province existed from around 25 BC (when eastern Cilicia was joined to Syria) until 72 AD. In that year the last of the client kings of western Cilicia abdicated

¹ His birth date is estimated from Acts 7.58, where Paul is described as a “young man” (νεανίας) and Phlm 9, where Paul describes himself as an “old man” (πρεσβύτερος) (the context I believe favours a reference to his age rather than his being an ambassador). According to *BA* νεανίας can refer to someone between the ages of 24 and 40. Philemon was most probably written from Ephesus in the period 53-55 AD (cf. P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an Philemon* (EKK 18), Zürich/Braunschweig: Benziger Verlag/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag ³1989, (¹1975), p. 21; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon* (Hermeneia) ET, Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1971, p. 188). According to J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life*, Oxford/New York: OUP 1997, p. 4, “for Paul's contemporaries, any male in his late fifties or early sixties would have been considered ‘elderly’”. R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* ET, Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Wm B. Eerdmans 1998, p. 214, points out that if Paul were born around the turn of the century, it would fit well with his father's acquisition of the *civitas Romana*.

and the region was joined to eastern Cilicia to form a province under Vespasian.² Therefore for the whole of Paul's lifetime, the area of Cilicia in which Tarsus stood was part of this double province of Syria-Cilicia. Tarsus, standing in this plainland, was just ten miles from the coast and situated on the river Cydnus. Lying to the north were the Taurus mountain range and the Cilician Gates (just 30 miles away). The major trade route from Syria to central Asia minor ran across Cilicia Pedias and through these gates. In addition to being near this major trade route, Tarsus was an intellectual centre, being the home of great men such as the Stoic philosopher Athenodorus, the teacher of Augustus. In every respect Tarsus was indeed "no mean city" (Acts 21.39).

At some point Paul moved to Jerusalem. The key text is Acts 22.3, which appears at the beginning of Paul's speech given to the Jerusalem crowds shortly after he had been arrested. The translation as given in the RSV is:

² See, e.g., F.F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit*, Exeter: Paternoster 1977, p. 33. Such a view whereby the union of Cilicia with Syria is placed under Augustus (advanced by Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588) and T. Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, ²1883, p. 173) is criticised by E.J. Bickerman, "Syria and Cilicia", *AJP* 68 (1947) 356 (353-62). Bickermann argues that "Cilicia Campestris was added to Syria sometime between A.D. 18 and 35 and separated from the latter before the spring of 55, probably at the end of 54" (359). See also "The Date of Fourth Maccabees" in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History I* (AGJU 9.1), Leiden: E.J. Brill 1986, 279-80 (275-81). Bickermann appeals to Tacitus, *Annales* 2.58 (referring to events of 18 AD) and *Annales* 13.8 (events of early 55 AD) to suggest that at these times there was an independent Cilicia. Hence he limits the double province to the period 20-54 AD. He has been rightly criticized by M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien: Die unbekanntten Jahre des Apostels* (WUNT 108), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1998, p. 42. They suggest that the Tacitus texts do not point to an independent Cilicia. See also E.M.B. Green, "Syria and Cilicia—A Note", *ExpT* 71 (1959-60) 52-53, who suggests that τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας refers to one district and believes it is significant that κ' 33 and a few other MSS omit the second article. C.J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. by C.H. Gempf) (WUNT 49), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1989, p. 172, considers whether the chronology of the double province has relevance for Acts 23.34 (dated sometime in the period 57-59 AD).

I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God as you all are [to] this day.³

This translation is based on taking the structure of the verse as follows:

1 Ἐγὼ εἶμι	ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος
2 γεγεννημένος	ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας
3 ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ	ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ
4 πεπαιδευμένος	κατὰ ἀκριβειαν τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου
5 ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ	καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον

Such a structure is supported by du Toit,⁴ who gives a number of stylistic reasons for accepting this.⁵ However, as du Toit points out, most modern text editions⁶ and commentators put the *caesura* before παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ.⁷ One such structure could then be the following:⁸

1	Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος
2	γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας
3	ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ
4	παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκριβειαν τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου
5	ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ
6	καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον

³ C. Burchard, “Fußnoten zum neutestamentlichen Griechisch”, *ZNW* 61 (1970) 169 n. 65 (157-71), points out that “σήμερον betont nicht den Zeitpunkt im Gegensatz gegen ein Gestern oder Morgen, denn das gibt keinen Sinn”. He suggests rather “bis auf den heutigen Tag” and compares Joseph and Asenath 4.7: ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀνὴρ θεοσεβῆς καὶ σώφρων καὶ παρθένος ὡς σὺ σήμερον.

⁴ See A.B. du Toit, “A Tale of Two Cities: ‘Tarsus or Jerusalem’ Revisited”, *NTS* 46 (2000) 384 (375-402).

⁵ Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 384, points out that in such a structure lines 2-4 begin with a perfect participle and that it is characteristic of Luke’s style to have an accumulation of circumstantial participles where the participle “almost invariably appears in the first part of each phrase”.

⁶ *GNT*³, *GNT*⁴, *NA*²⁶, *NA*²⁷, *NK*².

⁷ Contrast *WH* who take ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ as a unit.

⁸ This could be a chiasmic structure. Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 383, points to the problems in viewing this as a consciously intended chiasmus.

- 1 I am a Jew,
 2 born at Tarsus in Cilicia,
 3 but brought up in this city,
 4 educated at the feet of Gamaliel according to the strict manner of the law of our
 fathers,
 5 being zealous for God
 6 as you all are to this day.

Such a structure is reflected in the translations and commentaries of Stählin,⁹ Wikenhauser,¹⁰ Haenchen,¹¹ Bruce,¹² Schneider,¹³ Pesch,¹⁴ Roloff,¹⁵ Lüdemann¹⁶ and Barrett.¹⁷ Du Toit finds such a structure unsatisfactory mainly because placing *παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ* at the beginning of line 4 “disturbs the rhythmic flow of the Greek” and makes the line “very long and cumbersome”.¹⁸ But I wonder whether such a structure is so problematic. Although line 4 may be long, it may be that *κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου* should be taken with *ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ* as suggested by Burchard¹⁹ and Marshall.²⁰ This would then give:

⁹ G. Stählin, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 31968, (11936), p. 281.

¹⁰ A. Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (RNT 5), Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet 41961, (11956), p. 244.

¹¹ E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 71977, (11956), p. 595.

¹² F.F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (NICNT), Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans 21988, (11954), p. 414.

¹³ G. Schneider, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HTHKNT 5), 2 vols, Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder 1 1980; 2 1982, 2:316, 320.

¹⁴ R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (EKK 5), 2 vols, Zürich/Einsiedeln/Köln: Benziger Verlag/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1986, 2:228, 233.

¹⁵ J. Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1981, pp. 318, 322.

¹⁶ G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts* ET, London: SCM 1989, p. 238. However, in *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* ET, London: SCM 1984, p. 39 n. 72, he doubts whether the author is giving reliable historical information.

¹⁷ C.K. Barrett, *The Acts of the Apostles* (ICC), 2 vols, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1994-98, 2:1029.

¹⁸ Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 383.

¹⁹ C. Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge: Traditions- und kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukas' Darstellung der Frühzeit des Paulus* (FRLANT 103), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1970, p. 32; “Fußnoten”, 168-69.

²⁰ I.H. Marshall, *The Acts of the Apostles* (TNTC), Leicester: IVP 1980, p. 354, who,

- 1 Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος
- 2 γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας
- 3 ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ
- 4 παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ πεπαιδευμένος
- 5 κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῷου νόμου ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ θεοῦ
- 6 καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον

Such a structure also brings out a clearer internal chiasmus in lines 3-4:

- 3 ἀνατεθραμμένος
δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ
- 4 παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ
πεπαιδευμένος

Further, by placing παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ before the participle πεπαιδευμένος, emphasis is placed on the fact that Paul was educated by one of the most prestigious Pharisees of the time.²¹ This education was most probably his education as a Pharisee.²² It has been suggested that the reference is more to his “Erziehung zum Gentleman”²³ which could include

referring to Acts 21.20; Rom. 10.2; Gal. 1.14; Phil. 3.6 writes that “religious zeal was expressed in meticulous observance of the law”. See also K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury, in F.J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake (ed.), *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. IV*, London: Macmillan 1933, p. 279.

²¹ R.C.H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles*, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House 1961 (repr.), (1934), p. 902, writes: “by no less a person than Gamaliel was Paul educated”.

²² See W.C. van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul’s Youth”, in *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W.C. van Unnik (Part One)* (NovTSup 29), Leiden: E.J. Brill 1973, 259-320. Cf. also G. Schneider, παιδεύω, *EWNT* 3:4 (3-4), who understands the verb in Acts 22.3 as “trained”. Although the idea of ordination to be a Rabbi comes in the period after 70 AD (see M. Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers* (SNTW) ET, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1981, p. 44 n. 22), the scribal beth-hamidrash (see οἶκος παιδείας in Sir. 51.23) had existed for some time (see Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 28). On the use of the term “Rabbi”, see R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer: Eine Untersuchung zum Ursprung der Evangelien-Überlieferung* (WUNT 2.7), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) ³1988, (1981), pp. 266-74.

²³ Burchard, *Der dreizehnte Zeuge*, p. 32.

early education.²⁴ If this were to be the case, problems concerning chronology could arise.²⁵

I therefore believe that the triadic structure points to Paul being “born” (γεγεννημένος) in Tarsus, but “brought up” (ἀνατεθραμμένος) in Jerusalem and “educated” (πεπαιδευμένος) at the feet of Gamaliel. But how old was Paul when he moved to Jerusalem? W.C. van Unnik argued that the move from Tarsus to Jerusalem “took place quite early in Paul’s life, apparently before he could peep round the corner of the door and certainly before he went roaming on the streets”.²⁶ Crucial to his argument is that ἀνατρέφειν (“to bring up”) is quite different to παιδεύειν (“to educate”). ἀνατρέφειν “takes place in the parental home, and in it mother and father play the leading part”.²⁷ He concludes that in Acts 22.3, “ἀνατεθραμμένος can refer only to Paul’s upbringing in the home of his parents from the earliest years of his childhood until he was of school age; πεπαιδευμένος refers to the instruction which he received in accordance with Eastern custom ‘at the feet of’

²⁴ See K. Haacker, “Werdegang des Apostels Paulus”, *ANRW* 2.26.2 (1995) 857 (815-938), who argues that παιδεύειν/παιδεία refers to “eine höhere Allgemeinbildung und keine spezielle Berufsausbildung”. He suggests that Gamaliel could have run a sort of boarding-school for children of pious families (as his grandson Gamaliel II had done) (859 n. 203). Such an idea is obviously rather speculative. I see no problem in using παιδεύειν/παιδεία for his education as a Pharisee. As van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem”, demonstrated, the root can be used for specialist training (see, for example, the use of ἐκπαιδεύειν for instruction in Roman law in Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyric on Origen* 62).

²⁵ If Paul were born in say 5 AD (a relatively late estimate) and if Gamaliel began teaching in Jerusalem in 25 AD (the estimate of P. Billerbeck (with H.L. Strack), *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols, München: C.H. Beck’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1-3 ³1961; 4 ²1956, 2:636, followed, e.g., by J. Gnilka, *Paulus von Tarsus. Zeuge und Apostel* (HThKNTSup 6), Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder 1996, p. 28), then the earliest age at which Paul could study under Gamaliel would be 20. The only way the chronology could work is if one took Oepke’s scheme that Paul was born 10 AD at the earliest (A. Oepke, “Probleme der vorchristlichen Zeit des Paulus”, in K.H. Rengstorf (ed.), *Das Paulusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung* (WdF 24), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1982, 445 (410-46)) and Gamaliel was active 20-50 AD (441).

²⁶ Van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem”, 301.

²⁷ Van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem”, 286.

Gamaliel”.²⁸ Since schooling started at the age of six to seven,²⁹ his ἀνατροφή must have taken place before he was seven and therefore necessitated a move to Jerusalem at a very young age.

Such an argument has been challenged by du Toit. He questions van Unnik’s understanding of the participles ἀνατεθραμμένος and πεπαιδευμένος. He concludes his survey of the use of τροφή and cognates by saying that although conventionally it focused on the initial stage of upbringing at home, it could also overlap with παιδεία or the whole upbringing process.³⁰ Preferring the first structure referred to above, he argues that ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ forms a unit. Since Gamaliel was involved in his “upbringing” (ἀνατεθραμμένος), Paul did not have to move to Jerusalem at such an early age.

Du Toit then goes further. He argues that in terms of accumulative probabilities, “the bulk of information tilts the scale decidedly in favour of Tarsus as the place where he learned to speak Greek, grew up into the Greek Bible, appropriated the basics of Greek style and rhetoric and acquired a rudimentary knowledge of popular Greek philosophy”.³¹ This argument *could* be correct but I believe it is *unlikely* to be so. First of all, there are, as I have suggested, good arguments for taking πεπαιδευμένος with παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ. Secondly, the participles ἀνατεθραμμένος and πεπαιδευμένος could well be distinguishing the processes of “bringing up” and “teaching”. However, I accept that some sort of elementary schooling could be included in the use of ἀνατεθραμμένος in Acts 22.3.³² Thirdly,

²⁸ Van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem”, 295.

²⁹ See H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* ET, London: Sheed and Ward 1956, pp. 102, 142-43 regarding Greek education. Regarding Jewish education, M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) ²1973, (1969), p. 151, points out that according to the tradition of Rab, the school age was also set at six to seven years.

³⁰ Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 379, points out that τρέφω and related terms were “originally and conventionally used for the pre-school stage” (see, e.g., Philo, *Spec. leg.* 2.229). But he gives a number of examples where τρέφω κτλ can overlap with παιδεία or even replace or include it.

³¹ Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 401.

³² On Lk. 4.16, Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer*, pp. 242, writes: “Der Ausdruck (ἀνα)τρέφειν schließt keineswegs aus, daß Jesus in seinem Heimatort eine gründliche Elementarschulbildung erhielt”. Riesner, like du Toit, “Two Cities”, gives cases where the verb can be used for education which does not take place in the home. See, however, the comments of F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas: 1. Teilband Lk 1,1-*

all the signs are that Paul had Aramaic/Hebrew as a mother tongue (Phil. 3.5; 2 Cor. 11.22) and that Greek philosophy had little *direct* influence on Paul,³³ suggesting that he may well have moved to Jerusalem at a young age. Du Toit *is* correct to write that “Acts 22.3 does not require a conclusion that the historical Paul grew up from his earliest years as a thoroughbred, exclusively Aramaic speaking Jerusalem Jew.”³⁴ However, not even van Unnik seems to go this far for he does not claim Paul was “exclusively Aramaic speaking”.³⁵ Rather he writes that “Aramaic was his earliest and principal tongue”.³⁶ And although I believe Paul did move to Jerusalem relatively early in his life, I would certainly not wish to say that Paul was an “exclusively Aramaic speaking Jerusalem Jew”. It is true that Paul has a good command of Greek. But Greek could have been used by Paul in Jerusalem.³⁷ Although Hengel’s views on the hellenization of Palestine³⁸ have been ques-

9.50 (EKK 3.1), Zürich: Benziger Verlag/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1989, p. 210 n. 13: “In einem biographischen Kontext bedeutet τρέφω, wie auch ἀνατρέφω, nicht einfach ‘ein Kind ernähren’ und auch nicht nur ‘ein Kind aufziehen’, diese Verben bezeichnen vielmehr den Zeitabschnitt der Kindheit, den das Kind zu Hause verbringt, wo es von seiner Mutter und seinem Vater ernährt und zunächst einmal aufgezogen wird”. In Acts 7.21, the verb ἀνατρέφω would most naturally refer to the upbringing of Moses, here in the home of his adoptive mother, Pharaoh’s daughter.

³³ This is not to deny, of course, that later in Paul’s missionary work among Gentiles he engaged directly with educated non-Jews.

³⁴ Du Toit, “Two Cities”, 401.

³⁵ An exception here is R.A. Martin, *Studies in the Life and Ministry of the Early Paul and Related Issues*, Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: Mellen Biblical Press 1993, who claims that it was only after his conversion that the strict Pharisee Paul learnt Greek (see for example *Studies*, pp. 15-16; 30-31; 86-102).

³⁶ Van Unnik, “Tarsus or Jerusalem”, 304.

³⁷ Acts 6.9 mentions that Jerusalem had a synagogue of freedmen which included Cilicians. Riesner, *Early Period*, pp. 153-54, following the lead of H.J. Cadbury, *The Book of Acts in History*, London: A. & C. Black 1955, p. 73, suggests Luke assumed Paul was a member of this synagogue.

³⁸ Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, passim (*Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* ET, 2 vols, London: SCM 1974).

tioned by some³⁹ his major views have been overwhelmingly accepted and there can be no doubt that Jerusalem was considerably hellenized, even though the majority of its inhabitants spoke Aramaic.⁴⁰ Hengel estimated that there were at the minimum 10-20% of the Jerusalem population who had Greek as a mother tongue and working with a population of 80-100,000 gives the minimum number as between 8,000 and 16,000.⁴¹ This is a considerable number. Paul could therefore have a good command of Greek if he did grow up in Jerusalem.

To sum up so far, although I cannot be quite so precise as van Unnik, I believe he is right in putting the move early in Paul's childhood.⁴² But what about his education in Jerusalem? Some have doubted whether Paul had a Jerusalem education; this education is only mentioned in Acts and, it is argued, the author is often unreliable.⁴³ Further G. Strecker believes on the basis of Gal. 1.22 ("And I was still not known by sight by the Churches of Judea") that Paul had never been in Jerusalem before the apostolic council

³⁹ See A. Momigliano, "Review of *Judentum und Hellenismus*, by M. Hengel", *JTS* 21 (1970) 149-53; L.H. Feldman, "Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* in Retrospect", *JBL* 96 (1977) 371-82; F. Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism*", *JJS* 29 (1978) 1-21. For an overview and critique of these responses to Hengel's work, see L.L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols, Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1992, 1:150-53.

⁴⁰ Du Toit refers to a study by D. Fiensy, "The Composition of the Jerusalem Church", in R. Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting vol. 4), Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans/Carlisle: Paternoster, 213-36, to draw out the point that Aramaic was the "main language of Palestinian Jewry" ("Two Cities", 377). Yet the chapter of Fiensy emphasizes the importance of Greek culture in Jerusalem.

⁴¹ M. Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (in collaboration with C. Marksches) ET, London: SCM/Philadelphia: TPI 1989, p. 10.

⁴² M. Hengel, *The Pre-Christian Paul*, London: SCM 1991, p. 39, although not agreeing with van Unnik, nevertheless grants that he "has Luke on his side". Hengel wishes to place the move to Jerusalem later. He points to Paul's command of Greek (p. 35), although this could be consistent with being brought up in Jerusalem, since, as Hengel himself points out, Greek schooling was also available in Jerusalem (p. 39).

⁴³ I will refer to the author of Luke-Acts as "Luke". This does not commit us to Luke, the companion of Paul, being the author, although I believe it is very probable that he was. For a fine discussion of Luke as historian of Paul's journeys (and defence of the view that Luke was the author) see C.-J. Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen: Lukas als Historiker der Paulusreisen* (WUNT 56), Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1991.

(Gal. 2.1ff.), the exception being the very short visit to Peter in Gal. 1.18.⁴⁴ Jerusalem had only a population of 25,000⁴⁵ and if he was “not known by sight” Strecker argues that Paul cannot have been in Jerusalem and suggests that Paul’s education took place in the diaspora.⁴⁶

There are three problems with Strecker’s approach. First, he misuses Gal. 1.22, a matter I will deal with below. Secondly, he assumes that Jerusalem was the sort of place where everyone knew everyone else. This is manifestly not the case even if one were to work with Strecker’s low estimate of a population of 25,000.⁴⁷ In fact recent studies suggest a much bigger population. A minimum of around 60,000 has been suggested at the time of the early Church.⁴⁸ Thirdly, although it is possible that Paul received some of his elementary education in Tarsus in a Jewish Greek school, it is virtually impossible that he received his Pharisaic education in the diaspora. There is no evidence of Pharisaic schools in the diaspora before 70 AD.⁴⁹ It is instructive to consider Alexandria, the second city of the empire and the biggest centre of Jewish learning in the diaspora. Could there have been Pharisaic schools here? There is the following polemic of the Pharisee Abtalion (teacher of Hillel) against Alexandria in the Mishnah, Aboth 1.11:

⁴⁴ G. Strecker, “Befreiung und Rechtfertigung: Zur Stellung der Rechtfertigungslehre in der Theologie des Paulus”, in J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann and P. Stuhlmacher (ed.), *Rechtfertigung: Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1976, 482 n. 10 (479-508).

⁴⁵ Strecker takes this number from J. Jeremias (see *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* ET, Philadelphia: Fortress Press 1969, p. 84).

⁴⁶ Strecker, “Befreiung und Rechtfertigung”, 482 n. 10.

⁴⁷ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, p. 24, refers to J. Wilkinson, “Ancient Jerusalem: Its Water Supply and Population”, *PEQ* 106 (1974) 33-51 and M. Broshi, “La Population de l’ancienne Jérusalem”, *RB* 82 (1975) 5-14. They suggest a population growing from 32,000 in the Hasmonaean period to 80,000 in 66 AD. W. Reinhardt, “The Population Size of Jerusalem and the Numerical Growth of the Jerusalem Church”, in R. Bauckham (ed.), *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting vol. 4), Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans/Carlisle: Paternoster 1995, 263 (237-65), believes that around 30 AD the conceivable lower limit is 60,000 and that the figure may have reached 100-120,000 in the forties.

⁴⁹ See Hengel, *Pre-Christian Paul*, pp. 33-34. Contrast Strecker, “Befreiung”, 482 n. 10, who has argued that there were Pharisaic schools in the Diaspora (see also K. Berger, “Jesus als Pharisäer und frühe Christen als Pharisäer”, *NovT* 30 (1988) 231-62).

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