

ANDREW BOWDEN

Desire in Paul's Undisputed Epistles

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

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Andrew Bowden

Desire in Paul's Undisputed Epistles

Semantic Observations on the Use of
epithymeō, ho epithymētēs, and epithymía
in Roman Imperial Texts

Mohr Siebeck

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ISBN 978-3-16-159630-8/eISBN 978-3-16-159631-5

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-159631-5

ISSN 0340-9570/eISSN 2568-7484

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe)

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

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The book was printed on non-aging paper by Laupp & Göbel in Gomaringen, and bound by Buchbinderei Nädele in Nehren.

Printed in Germany.

Acknowledgments

The following text is a modified version of my dissertation, submitted to the Protestant faculty at LMU Munich on April 1, 2019. In the Spring of 2011 when I travelled to Germany to talk with several professors about the possibility of conducting my doctoral studies under them, it quickly became clear that Professor David du Toit would be the ideal *Doktorvater*. When I told him of my interest in conducting a semantic analysis of ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία in Pauline texts, he was shocked that a dissertation had not already been written about this topic. However, after confirming that this was indeed the case, he quickly invited me to Munich to supervise my doctoral studies.

Several people should be thanked for the contributions they made to this dissertation and study. First, I want to thank my parents, Karl and Kathy Bowden, for their unending, godly example of love towards me. They have showed me a glimpse of God's love, from which nothing in all the world can separate us (cf. Rom 8:39). Without their continual support and encouragement, this analysis would have never been attempted. Through their lives, they have exemplified what it means to "love others as you yourself want to be loved" (cf. Matt 22:39; Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8). Thank you, Mom and Dad, for your never-ending love, support, encouragement, and prayers! I also want to thank my mother and father-in law, Ron and Marcia Little, for their support of my studies, for their eagerness to engage my thoughts, for their interest to discuss theological questions, and for their godly example of love. Thank you for your unending support of me, of my studies, and for your ceaseless demonstration of love!

Second, I thank Dr. David Alan Black, who supervised my Th.M. thesis in seminary and taught several of my Greek and New Testament courses during my masters' studies. Thanks to his continual encouragements to his students to pursue doctoral degrees outside of the US as well as his personal experience and fascinating stories of attaining his Th.D. from the University of Basel in Switzerland, I first became interested in pursuing a doctoral degree in Europe.

Third, I thank Professor David du Toit, who supervised my doctoral studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich (hereafter LMU Munich). Thanks to his insightful comments after various presentations of sections of this writing, his thorough reading and meticulous suggestions about how to improve various aspects of this study, his offering me first a *hilfskraft* position, followed

by a research position, and his care and concern during my severe and unexpected illness, I have felt supported and encouraged, and this study has been significantly improved.

I also want to thank Professor Loren Stuckenbruck, who accepted a position at LMU Munich around the time I arrived to study there in August of 2012. Thanks to his interest in this study, his invitations to present at several conferences, and his insightful feedback after presentations of these chapters, this text has been meaningfully enhanced. Additionally, I want to thank him for providing me a position as New Testament research and teaching fellow at LMU Munich. I also want to thank Professor Jörg Frey for his interest in this study, for invitations to present and publish early portions of this study at conferences in Munich and Josefstal, and for his acceptance of this dissertation into WUNT 2.

Next, I want to thank my colleagues at LMU Munich, particularly Nara Kim, James Hamrick, Jacob Cerone, Theron Clay Mock III, and Professor Dr. Torsten Jantsch, for their helpful comments, suggestions, interest, feedback, and questions during presentations of these chapters in various New Testament Colloquiums and Oberseminaren. Thank you for sharpening my thinking in various aspects of this writing and for the friendships that have arisen in the process as well.

A special word of thanks goes out to Theron Clay Mock III and Jacob Cerone – fellow colleagues at the University and personal friends. These gentlemen took the time to proofread each chapter of this study, pointed out unclear aspects of my writing, suggested ways to word phrases differently, offered valuable critiques, made witty comments throughout, and sometimes even offered praise. I am indebted to you for your valuable feedback and want to thank both of you for your hard and diligent work!

Despite the numerous people that have contributed to this analysis, I owe the biggest debt of gratitude to my wife and friend, Hannah Joy Bowden, to whom I dedicate this text. She has worked at my side throughout this project even before we arrived in Germany. Despite not knowing the German language when we arrived, she willingly moved to Munich and quickly became fluent in German. She has not only been employed during our stay in Germany but has also taken on the majority of household chores so that I could focus more attention on my writing. When I was diagnosed with cancer in 2015, she did not waver from my side despite having to take on added responsibilities. She truly exhibits daily, continual, unending love – *ἀγάπη* – the kind of love Paul describes in Gal 5:14 and Rom 13:8, the love that cares for others as much as for oneself. Thank you, Babe, for your tireless support and encouragement!

Munich, July 2020

Andrew Bowden

Preface

This study – analyzing Paul’s use of ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία in his undisputed epistles in light of semantic observations of these lexemes in the Roman Empire – arises from the lack of a book-length study on the use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Roman Empire, at least as far as I am aware. After introducing studies on ἐπιθυμία κτλ published since Friedrich Büchsel’s important yet relatively brief analysis of these terms in *TWNT* in 1938 (cf. ch. 1), I apply John Lyons’s theory of semantic analysis to the use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Roman imperial texts, proposing a thesis concerning the *sense relations*, *references*, and *denotations* of these lexemes in Roman imperial texts (cf. ch. 2). Before looking at Paul’s use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in his undisputed epistles (cf. chs. 9–10), I test this thesis by examining the use of these lexemes in Dio Chrysostom (cf. ch. 3), Epictetus (cf. ch. 4), Lucian of Samosata’s text *The Tyrannicide* (cf. ch. 5), the Cynic epistles (cf. ch. 6), Second Temple Jewish texts (cf. ch. 7), and then summarize these observations (cf. ch. 8). In ch. 11 I draw conclusions, examining how these semantic observations on the uses of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Roman Empire illumine Paul’s use of these lexemes in his undisputed epistles.

I hope to accomplish two goals by means of this study. First, I seek to contribute to New Testament lexicography by explaining the semantic structures of ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία in the Roman Empire. If my analysis helps lexicographers better understand the quasi-synonyms, antonyms, super- and subordinate lexemes, thereby shedding light on both the word- and semantic fields of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Roman imperial texts, as well as lexemes that commonly stood alongside ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in these texts, I will consider this study a great success. Second, I hope to make an exegetical contribution to Pauline studies by (1) indicating that Paul made use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in very similar ways to other Greek speakers in his society, regardless of what philosophy or religion they came from. To shed light on Paul’s use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, it will therefore be necessary to examine recurring themes and motifs that Greek speakers living during the Roman Empire associated with ἐπιθυμέω κτλ. Are there lexemes that share a similar meaning to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ? Are there lexemes that share an opposite meaning with these lexemes? Was ἐπιθυμέω κτλ always understood in a negative light, or could the lexemes also have positive connotations? What were common objects of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ? How did one go about obtaining these? Was ἐπιθυμέω κτλ often associated with

certain metaphors during the Roman Empire? If so, which ones? By examining the use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Roman imperial texts, I hope to illumine Paul's use of these lexemes.

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Abbreviations

Unless otherwise noted, all biblical translations in this text are my own. References to and citations from the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden/Cambridge: Brill/Eerdmans, 2000). Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the Pseudepigrapha are taken from James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985). When citing Hellenistic and Roman imperial texts, I refer to the translator when adapting his or her work.¹

Abbreviations follow the style guidelines set forth by Billie Jean Collins et al., eds., in *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014) (hereafter SBL 2).

References to particular sections in this book usually start with the number of the chapter. For example, when one is referred to 1.3.1, one should turn to chapter 1 and look for section 3.1.

¹ Cf. chs. 2–5 and 7–8, where I adapt the translations found in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, various dates) and in ch. 6, where I adapt the translations found in Stanly K. Stowers, ed., *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition*, SBL SBS 12 (Atlanta: SBL, 1977; repr. Atlanta: SBL, 2006).

Part I

Introduction to ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία
in Roman Imperial Texts and in the
Undisputed Epistles of Paul

Chapter 1

History of Research on ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Undisputed Pauline Epistles Published over the Past Eighty Years

This text examines Paul's use of ἐπιθυμέω ("to desire"), ἐπιθυμητής ("one who desires"), and ἐπιθυμία ("desire") in his undisputed epistles¹ in light of semantic observations regarding these lexemes in Roman imperial texts.² To be sure, semantic observations regarding ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Roman Empire and in Paul have been proposed, but, to my knowledge, only as relatively short sections in larger dictionaries and lexicons,³ commentaries, and monographs. This topic, as far as I am aware, has never been the focus of a single thesis, which necessitates this study. It is my hope that this semantic analysis of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in specific Roman imperial texts, including the epistles of Paul, will shed new insights into the various relations these lexemes frequently took in the

¹ Cf. Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. I refer to the remaining epistles in the New Testament that claim to have been written by Paul as the disputed Pauline epistles, rather than the pseudepigraphal Pauline epistles, recognizing that some of these may have been composed by Paul. For further discussion of this issue, see footnote 1 of ch. 9.

² The Roman Empire began with the overthrow of the Roman Republic, which culminated with the victory of Julius Caesar's adopted son Octavian over his chief rival for power, Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE (Colin M. Wells, "Roman Empire," *ABD* 5:801–06 [801]). Wells explains that "Antony fled with his ally Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to her capital Alexandria, where the following year both committed suicide" (p. 801). Octavian took on the name Augustus and concentrated power in a single individual. The (Western) Roman Empire lasted until 476 CE, when Emperor Romulus Augustus was deposed by the Germanic King Odoacer in the city of Rome; cf. Joshua J. Mark, "Roman Empire," *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, last modified March 22, 2018, https://www.ancient.eu/Roman_Empire.

³ Cf. esp. Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, 2 vols. (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988); Frederick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature. Third Edition (BDAG)*, based on Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th ed., ed. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann and on previous English editions by William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick William Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) (henceforth BDAG); J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), 3:591–601. For interaction with these dictionaries' entries on ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, see ch. 2.2 of this text.

Roman Empire,⁴ regardless of the philosophy and/or religion the writers came from (cf. e.g., Stoic, Cynic, [Neo-]Platonic, Peripatetic, Epicurean, Jewish, Christian, or a mixture of several). I will seek to demonstrate that Roman imperial authors from various philosophical schools and/or religions who often held different views frequently used ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in a similar manner. Many of them did this, not because they somehow sought to interact with each other, but because they spoke a common language (koine Greek) and therefore shared a common encyclopedic knowledge of the world.⁵

My analysis will proceed as follows: after highlighting the history of research related to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the undisputed epistles of Paul over the past eighty years (ch. 1), I will suggest a theory regarding the semantic use of ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία in Roman imperial texts (ch. 2). Since New Testament scholars frequently overlook these semantic observations related to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Roman Empire when considering the Pauline epistles, I deliberately wait until chs. 9–10 to discuss Paul’s use of these lexemes. Thus, in chs. 3–7 I first consider how various authors from the Roman Empire holding different philosophies and religious views made similar use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ.⁶ After summarizing my findings related to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ (ch. 8), I will apply these semantic observations to Paul’s use of these lexemes (chs. 9–10) and will then draw conclusions (ch. 11).

Before presenting an overview of the history of research on Paul’s use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ since the publication of Friedrich Büchsel’s important yet relatively brief analysis of these lexemes in *TWNT/TDNT*, published in 1938,⁷ a few words of clarification should be made: (1) I will not focus on every scholarly text written about ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Paul and in other Roman imperial texts, since this is becoming increasingly difficult in light of the continued publication of commentaries, journal articles, monographs, and dictionary articles related to these lexemes;⁸ (2) although I will occasionally refer to ancient Greek

⁴ I will go into more detail about semantic relations, including sense relations, in the next chapter.

⁵ For further details about language speakers sharing an encyclopedic knowledge, see footnote 25 in ch. 2.

⁶ Thus, I will look at the use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, beginning with Dio Chrysostom, primarily in *Oration* 4 (ch. 3), Epictetus, (ch. 4), Lucian of Samosata’s *The Tyrannicide* (ch. 5), the Cynic epistles (ch. 6), and Second Temple Jewish literature (ch. 7). I will briefly introduce these texts and explain my reason for selecting them in chs. 3–7.

⁷ Friedrich Büchsel, “θυμός, κτλ,” *TDNT* 3:168–72.

⁸ Cf. Stanley Porter, who, in an analysis of καταλλάσσω and cognates conducted over 25 years ago, remarked, “Although I have made every effort to use the most important available secondary evidence, I have made no attempt to be exhaustive in my documentation. ... This is especially true of the NT passages, where the information explosion appears to have taken up permanent and overly-productive residence” (*Καταλλάσσω in Ancient Greek Literature, with Reference to the Pauline Writings*, *Estudios de Filología Neotestamentaria* 5 [Cordoba: Ediciones el Almendro, 1994], 18).

inscriptions related to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, this will not be the focus of the current study;⁹ (3) although some readers may find my conclusions regarding the semantic use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in the Roman Empire obvious, these observations have unfortunately been overlooked or sometimes unnoticed by many Pauline scholars, who approach ἐπιθυμέω κτλ from different perspectives and with different purposes; (4) I will not analyze each semantic field related to ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, but will focus on particular lexical items within these fields, namely, on ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία and their relation to other lexemes within these fields (cf. ch. 2).

Having introduced the goals of this study, I now highlight the recent history of research related to ἐπιθυμέω, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμία in the (undisputed) Pauline epistles, beginning with Büchsel's 1938 article related to ἐπιθυμέω and cognates as well as Paul Wilpert's insightful article related to these lexemes, published in *RAC* in 1954.¹⁰ These articles summarize the philosophical and religious backgrounds of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in ancient Greece and examine the possible influence of these backgrounds on Paul's use of the lexemes.

1.1 Friedrich Büchsel and Paul Wilpert on ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Paul and in Relation to other Greco-Roman Philosophies and Religions

Paul's use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ, as we will see in chs. 9–10, is similar in many ways to Neo-Platonic, Stoic, Peripatetic, Epicurean, Cynic, early Judaic, and early Christian use of these lexemes. Therefore, to understand Paul's use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in his undisputed epistles, it will be important to understand how these terms were used both in ancient Greek philosophies and in early Jewish and Christian writings. The entries of Büchsel and Wilpert offer a helpful summary of ἐπιθυμία κτλ in ancient Greece (including Paul's use of these lexemes).¹¹ For Wilpert, ἐπιθυμία originally meant “to direct the senses towards

⁹ Unlike Porter, who sought to explore “all of the uses of the word Καταλλάσσω and its derived cognate verb forms (especially ἀποκαταλλάσσω and ἀντικαταλλάσσω) in ancient Greek literature, from the so-called classical period through the sixth century A.D.” (*Καταλλάσσω*, 14), this task would be nearly impossible for ἐπιθυμία κτλ in ancient Greek or even in Roman imperial Greek, since, among other reasons, ἐπιθυμία shared a sense relation with πάθος in ancient Greek (cf. e.g., Diogenes Laertius, *Lives* 7.113, 116) and was therefore discussed by most authors during the Roman Empire.

¹⁰ Cf. Büchsel, “θυμός,” 3:168–72; Paul Wilpert, “Begierde,” *RAC* 2:63–78.

¹¹ I attempt to present Büchsel and Wilpert's views as accurately as possible, even when I hold to an alternate interpretation. Where they translate ἐπιθυμία, ἐπιθυμητής, and ἐπιθυμέω, I prefer to write the Greek rather than provide their translations.

something” and is used in this neutral sense throughout Greek literature.¹² According to Büchsel, ἐπιθυμία and ἐπιθυμέω “denote the direct impulse towards food, sexual satisfaction, etc., and also desire in general.”¹³ Büchsel explains that in Greek philosophy, ἐπιθυμία represented “the waywardness of man in conflict with his rationality.”¹⁴ Wilpert refers to Plato’s definition of ἐπιθυμία as a kind of impulse (ὄρμη, ὄρεξις) and a kind of unreasoned wanting in contrast to reasoned wanting.¹⁵ Plato categorized ἐπιθυμία as one of the three parts of the soul, classified by Aristotle as ὀρεκτικόν, which consisted of βούλησις, θυμός, and ἐπιθυμία. Aristotle and his followers (referred to as the Peripatetics) instructed individuals to direct their wants towards βούλησις rather than towards ἐπιθυμία.¹⁶ Plotinus developed Aristotle’s view by positing that ἐπιθυμία comes from the soul’s attachment to body: the soul naturally inclines towards the good, which is within. Plotinus expanded the Peripatetic view of dealing with ἐπιθυμία: like the Peripatetics, individuals should direct their ὄρεξις towards βούλησις, rather than towards ἐπιθυμία. Their goal should be to kill the emotions (τὰ πάθη),¹⁷ leading to perfect internal rest. Plotinus’s pupil Porphyry went one step further, calling for complete abstinence from sexual-ἐπιθυμία and for extreme control of the natural-ἐπιθυμία.

The Stoics supported Plato’s definition of ἐπιθυμία, saying that this emotion contrasts reasoned willing.¹⁸ Unlike Aristotle, the Stoics do not think that ἐπιθυμία constitutes the movement of a lower part of the soul, but an unreasoned movement of a reasoned soul (ὄρεξις ἄλογος, ἀπειθής λόγῳ). The ancient Stoics in particular focused on removing the ἐπιθυμία. They considered ἐπιθυμία to be a false-judgment which seeks something that seems good. Ancient Stoics classified ἐπιθυμία as one of the four main emotions (τὰ πάθη), alongside “pleasure” (ἡδονή), “sorrow” (λύπη), and “fear” (φόβος).¹⁹ Epictetus, a later Stoic, often referred to ἐπιθυμία, discussed it as one of four categories of emotion, and described the struggle against it.²⁰ The classification of emotions into four categories, which included ἐπιθυμία, was broadly accepted

¹² Cf. Wilpert, “Begierde,” 2:63. I am unsure what the author means by “throughout Greek literature” (“*durch das ganze griech. Schrifttum bezeugt*”). Perhaps he thinks of ancient Greek literature. Space constraints prevent me from considering medieval and modern Greek. Wilpert also notes that Homer did not make use of ἐπιθυμία.

¹³ Cf. Büchsel, “θυμός,” 3:168.

¹⁴ Cf. Büchsel, “θυμός,” 3:169.

¹⁵ Cf. Wilpert, “Begierde,” 2:63.

¹⁶ This paragraph summarizes Wilpert, “Begierde,” 2:64–65.

¹⁷ I prefer to translate τὰ πάθη as “the emotions,” rather than “the passions.” However, when summarizing other scholars who choose to translate this lexeme as “the passions,” I also write “the passions.”

¹⁸ Cf. Wilpert, “Begierde,” 2:63.

¹⁹ More will be said about this in ch. 2.4.1.

²⁰ For more information on Epictetus’s views of ἐπιθυμία κτλ, cf. ch. 4 of this text.

in the philosophical schools of the Roman Empire.²¹ Philo, for example, sided with the Platonists on the one hand, who considered ἐπιθυμία one of the three parts of the soul, and, on the other hand, shared Stoic theory concerning the four main emotions, which included ἐπιθυμία.²² The Cynics, like the Stoics, thought that ἐπιθυμία was unnatural and should be removed. Epicurus, however, discussed the division of ἐπιθυμία into natural and illegitimate desires. According to later Epicurean and Hedonistic philosophers, this ἐπιθυμία-impulse should be satisfied as long as it does not endanger reason.

In ancient Jewish thought, ἐπιθυμία was first seen as neutral and took on moral connotation as defined by its object.²³ The Hebrew Bible condemns unreasoned wanting as a root of unreasoned actions. Thus, the Decalogue forbids ἐπιθυμία for another's wife and property (Exod 20:17; Deut 5:21). As moral thought developed, the emotional ἐπιθυμίαι were condemned as a leading source of disobedience towards God (Num 11; Gen 39; 4 Ezra 3:20; 4:20; 7:48; Sir 15:14; 9:5, cf. *Vit.Ad.* 19). Yet, the ἐπιθυμία of the righteous person was acceptable (Prov 10:24). Büchsel, referring to 4 Macc 2:6 and Rom 7:7 and 13:9, thinks that eventually Jewish thought arrived at the conclusion that ἐπιθυμία "is the chief of all sins. The will of God can be expressed in the single formula: not to desire [οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις]."²⁴ Büchsel's thesis is not held, among

²¹ Plutarch, for example, states, πᾶν μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἀμαρτία κατ' αὐτούς ἐστίν καὶ πᾶς ὁ λυπούμενος ἢ φοβούμενος ἢ ἐπιθυμῶν ἀμαρτάνει ("every emotion according to them is a failure; thus, the one who sorrows or fears or desires fails," *Virt. mor.* 2.449d) (my translation).

²² Cf. Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:168–69.

²³ Cf. Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:168–69; Wilpert, "Begierde," 2:66.

²⁴ Cf. Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:169. This statement by Büchsel continues to be broadly received by New Testament scholars focusing on ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Romans 7. For example, in a respected commentary published in 2007, when explaining Paul's use of the prohibition of desire in Rom 7:7, Robert Jewett echoes Büchsel's statement and concludes: "There is a broad consensus that the citation μὴ ἐπιθυμήσεις ("you shall not covet"), stated here [sc. Rom 7:7] as coming from the law, would have been perceived as an abbreviation of the last of the Ten Commandments" (*Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007], 447). The problem with Jewett's view is that in Rom 7:7 Paul directly cites the Tenth Commandment οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, rather than using the phrase μὴ ἐπιθυμήσεις, as Jewett suggests. These errors in Jewett's analysis of Rom 7:7 have also been noted by J. Gerald Janzen, "Sin and the Deception of Devout Desire: Paul and the Commandment in Romans 7," *Encounter* 70 (2009): 29–61 (30–31). Jewett refers to Büchsel's essay again when he guesses that Paul followed a Hellenistic Jewish tradition, reflected in 4 Macc 2:6, by abbreviating the command using μὴ rather than οὐκ (p. 447; cf. Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:171). Similarly, after observing the translation of the Ten Commandments from Hebrew into Greek and the references to this command by Philo (*Decal.* 51; *Spec.* 4.85), by 4 Macc 2:6, and by Paul in Rom 7:7, Klaus Berger concludes: "Diese zentrale Bedeutung der ἐπιθυμία macht das 10. Gebot für das hellenistische Judentum zu einem Zentralgebot, da mit der 'Begierde' eben auch alle anderen Gebote übertreten sind" (*Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu. Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament, Teil 1: Markus und*

others, by J. Gerald Janzen and by John A. Ziesler.²⁵ Ziesler notes that Paul uses ἐπιθυμία κτλ neutrally or positively in 1 Thess 2:17 or for negative or bad things in general in Rom 6:12; 13:14; Gal 5:16 and 24 and possibly 1 Cor 10:6.²⁶ Ziesler observes that in Gal 5:17, ἐπιθυμέω relates to more than simply sexual desire. In light of this, Ziesler concludes, “There is, therefore, either in Paul or in the NT generally, no case for assuming a solely sexual reference for [the] verb [ἐπιθυμέω] or for [the] noun [ἐπιθυμία], without clear warrant in the context.”²⁷ For various reasons, which will be explained in later chapters, I do

Parallelen, WMANT 40 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972], 346). Apoc. Mos. 19:3, which says ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστὶν κεφαλὴ πάσης ἁμαρτίας (“for desire is the source of every sin”), proves to Berger that Hellenistic Jews saw ἐπιθυμία as the root of all evil (p. 346). Jan Dochhorn devotes an entire essay examining the similarities between Rom 7:7 and the *Apocalypse of Moses* and its reference in 19.3 to ἐπιθυμία (“Röm 7,7 und das zehnte Gebot. Ein Beitrag zur Schriftauslegung und zur jüdischen Vorgeschichte des Paulus,” *ZNW* 100 [2009]: 59–77). According to David Charles Aune, “Of particular importance is the argument in Rom 7:7–8, where Paul cites the LXX translation of the Tenth Commandment (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, ‘do not desire’) as an example of the law’s demands. Scholars have recognized that Paul here draws upon a common Hellenistic Jewish conception identifying ἐπιθυμία (‘desire’ in the sense of ‘covetousness’) as the source of sin and other evils” (“Passions in the Pauline Epistles: The Current State of Research,” in *Passions and Moral Progress in Greco-Roman Thought*, ed. David Charles Aune, RMCS [London/New York: Abingdon, 2008], 221–37 [229]). The scholars Aune refers to in this passage are Stanislas Lyonnet (“‘Tu ne convoitiera pas’ [Rom. vii 7],” in *Neotestamentica et Patristica: Eine Freundesgabe, Oscar Cullmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag überreicht*, ed. Willem Cornelius van Unnik, NovTSup 6 [Leiden: Brill, 1962], 157–62), who cites 4 Macc 2:6; Philo, *Decal.* 142–152; *Spec.* 4.84, and to his own discussion; cf. David Charles Aune, “Mastery of the Passions: Philo, 4 Maccabees and Earliest Christianity,” in *Hellenization Revisited: Shaping a Christian Response within the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Wendy E. Helleman (Lanham/New York/London: University Press of America, 1994), 125–58 (126–27, 134–35). I will soon summarize Lyonnet’s view of ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Rom 7. For scholars who follow Büchsel’s interpretation of ἐπιθυμέω in Rom 7:7 and see it as the summary of every other command in the Jewish Scriptures and as the source of sin, see also Egon Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung zu Röm. 5,12–21 (1.Kor 15)*, WMANT 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), 207; Günther Bornkamm, *Das Ende des Gesetzes: Paulusstudien, gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 1, BEvT 16 (Munich: Kaiser, 1966), 54; Ernst Käsemann, *An die Römer*, HNT 8a (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1974), 186; Heikki Räisänen, “Zum Gebrauch von ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ und ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΝ bei Paulus,” *ST* 33 (1979): 85–99.

²⁵ Cf. Janzen, “Sin and the Deception of Devout Desire,” 29–61; John A. Ziesler, “The Role of the Tenth Commandment in Romans 7,” *JSNT* 33 (1988): 41–56 (46).

²⁶ Ziesler, “The Role of the Tenth Commandment in Romans 7,” 46.

²⁷ Ziesler, “The Role of the Tenth Commandment in Romans 7,” 46. In this text I will follow Janzen and Ziesler and will develop their arguments related to ἐπιθυμία κτλ in the undisputed Pauline epistles.

not share this view.²⁸ Later Jewish writers, including Philo and 4 Macc 2:4, 6, associate νόμος with λογισμός and expect control of the ἐπιθυμία.

Following the Septuagint, the New Testament approaches ἐπιθυμία neutrally, but generally views it negatively as a kind of unreasoned wanting.²⁹ Thus, the Ninth and Tenth Commandment become simply an exhortation to reject ἐπιθυμία (cf. Rom 7:7; 13:9). According to Büchsel, Paul's

compression and extension of the tenth commandment into a simple οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις in R[om]. 7:7; 13:9 finds a parallel in 4 Macc. 2:6: μὴ ἐπιθυμῆν εἶρηκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ νόμος, and it is thus pre-Pauline. There is no point in asking whether Paul is here *following Jewish or Stoic usage*. The two had long since merged in respect of the use of ἐπιθυμία and ἐπιθυμῆν. Apart from πάθος ἐπιθυμίας at 1 Th[es]. 4:5 there is nothing distinctively Stoic in Paul. ... ἐπιθυμία is evil, not because it is irrational, but because it is disobedience to the command of God. Basically, then, his conception of ἐπιθυμία is OT and Jewish, not Stoic.³⁰

Büchsel makes two important conclusions regarding Paul's use of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ: (1) he concludes that by the time of Paul, Jewish and Stoic views of ἐπιθυμέω κτλ had merged, so that it is impossible to decide which source Paul followed when he mentions οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις in Rom 7:7 and 13:9. Later in this paragraph, however, Büchsel guesses that Paul's use of ἐπιθυμία was influenced by the Old Testament and by Jewish sources, rather than Stoic usage. (2) Büchsel concludes, wrongly in my opinion, that for Paul, ἐπιθυμία is evil. Rather, as my study will seek to demonstrate, ἐπιθυμέω κτλ in Paul – as in numerous other Roman imperial authors – did not necessarily refer to something bad or evil; oftentimes in Roman imperial texts, ἐπιθυμέω κτλ referred to positive objects. Büchsel insightfully notes, however, that in the New Testament, ἡδονή and ἐπιθυμία are closely related lexemes (cf. e.g., Tit 3:3).³¹

The Apostolic Fathers and Patristic writers also view ἐπιθυμία neutrally, but predominantly as a worldly movement of the soul against God, probably influenced by the New Testament, making life a continual fight against the evil one.³² The Gnostics categorize ἐπιθυμία as sin, while the Patristic writers classify ἐπιθυμία as one of three parts of the soul, no doubt due to the influence of Greek philosophers. Thus, the Patristics claimed that the bodily-realm pulls people downwards, that the spirit (πνεῦμα) inclines towards its origin above, and that the third part of the soul consists of ψυχή. This ψυχή provides the body with its needs, but otherwise seeks to remove as many obstacles as possible from the πνεῦμα. For this reason, early church writers developed a theory about

²⁸ Cf. Andrew Bowden, "Sklaverei, Gesetz und Erkenntnis der Sünde. Die Rolle der Begierde in Röm 7,7–8," in *Perspektiven auf Römer 7*, ed. Stefan Krauter, BThSt 159 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2016), 17–48.

²⁹ Cf. Wilpert, "Begierde," 2:66–70.

³⁰ Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:171.

³¹ Cf. Büchsel, "θυμός," 3:171.

³² See Wilpert, "Begierde," 2:69–77 for the details of this paragraph.

a twofold ἐπιθυμία, which was often linked to the platonic theory of the soul and with the stoic theory of reasoned wanting and unreasoned ἐπιθυμία.³³ In contrast to animals, which are led by their impulses, human beings must control and steer their emotions. Such control is challenged by the inclination towards earthly and evil things. Human beings must never let their guard down, since ἐπιθυμία grows as it is filled. Therefore, the focus should not be on the absolute removal of ἐπιθυμῶιαι, but on constant control over them. The early church fathers, like ancient Greek philosophers, also pondered the power of sexuality, with the result that they often speak directly about sexual-ἐπιθυμία.³⁴ Thus – following Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, who instructed people to subject their (sexual) ἐπιθυμῶιαι to the yoke of reason – the early church taught that ἐπιθυμία must be controlled even in the context of marriage, so that bearing children must remain the goal of sexual intercourse.

Having briefly summarized Wilpert and Büchsel’s influential essays from the last century related to ἐπιθυμία κτλ in ancient Greek texts, including Paul, I now introduce more recent theories that have been suggested regarding ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Paul. Some writers further develop the arguments of Wilpert and Büchsel regarding ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Paul in relation to the use of these lexemes in the Roman Empire (1.2). To my surprise, some authors conclude that by the time of the Roman Empire, ἐπιθυμία κτλ was associated primarily with *sexual* desire (1.3). After summarizing the arguments of David Fredrickson regarding lexemes related to longing, including desire, in Philippians (1.4),³⁵ I will highlight the important discoveries related to ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Romans suggested by Stanley Stowers in his 1994 monograph *A Rereading of Romans*³⁶ and by his student Emma Wasserman in her essay “The Death of the Soul in Romans 7,” published by *JBL* in 2007³⁷ (1.5). Drawing on several of Stowers’s and Wasserman’s observations, I will conclude this chapter by noting that, to my knowledge, semantic observations of ἐπιθυμία κτλ in Roman imperial texts – including Paul’s use of these lexemes in his undisputed Pauline epistles – have not yet been conducted, which necessitate this study (1.6).

³³ See, e.g., *Shepherd of Hermas*, Mandate 12.1: “Remove from yourself all evil desire, and be clothed in desire that is good and holy (ἄρον ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν, ἐνδύσαι δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ σεμνήν); for clothed with this desire (ἐπιθυμίαν), you will hate the evil desire (ἐπιθυμίαν), and shall bridle it as you wish (χαλινναγωγῆσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς βούλει).” This text confirms Wilpert’s observation above about the tendency in early Christianity to replace ἐπιθυμία for bad objects with ἐπιθυμία for good ones.

³⁴ Cf. Wilpert, “Begierde,” 2:74–75.

³⁵ David E. Fredrickson, *Eros and the Christ: Longing and Envy in Paul’s Christology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013).

³⁶ Stanley K. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Justice, Jews, and Gentiles* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

³⁷ Cf. Emma Wasserman, “The Death of the Soul in Romans 7: Revisiting Paul’s Anthropology in Light of Hellenistic Moral Psychology,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 793–816.

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