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Marcin Kowalski

The Spirit in Romans 8

Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors
in Dialogue



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Volume 3

Marcin Kowalski

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Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors in Dialogue

VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT

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Contents

Acknowledgements.....	9
Foreword.....	11
Introduction.....	13
1. <i>Pneuma</i> in Paul in relation to Stoic theories	18
2. A preliminary evaluation of the theses concerning the presence of Stoic elements in Paul’s pneumatology	36
3. The premises of the project	42
Part One: The Spirit in Stoic Texts, the Old Testament, and Literature of the Second Temple Period	45
Chapter One: The Stoic Concept of <i>Pneuma</i>	47
1. <i>Pneuma</i> as a particle of life	48
2. <i>Pneuma</i> as a cognitive element, connected to the soul, reason, and senses	53
3. <i>Pneuma</i> as a unifying element of the universe	59
4. <i>Pneuma</i> and the blending of substances (κρᾶσις).....	64
5. <i>Pneuma</i> and the shaping of offspring.....	69
6. The spirit of poets, lovers, warriors, and prophets	72
7. Summary	74
Chapter Two: The Phenomenology of the Spirit in the Old Testament	79
1. The spirit as a principle of life and unity of creation	81
Conclusions: <i>pneuma</i> as a particle of life in the Old Testament and in the Stoa	88
2. The spirit – an element of human nature.....	89
2.1 The spirit and the volitional-emotional sphere of a person	90
2.2 Human spirit and virtues	94
2.3 The rational spirit and the soul	97
2.4 Conclusions: <i>pneuma</i> and human nature in the Old Testament and in the Stoics	100
3. The Spirit of God and its multiform manifestations in the Old Testament.....	102
3.1 The Spirit revealing God’s presence and action	102

3.2	The Spirit enabling one to fulfill their mission	105
3.3	The Spirit of prophetic inspiration	110
3.4	The Spirit of the knowledge of God and of moral conduct	117
3.5	The Spirit's residing in a person	124
3.6	Conclusions: God's Spirit in the Old Testament and in the Stoics	126
4.	Summary	128

Chapter Three: The Spirit in Jewish Literature of the Second

Temple Period	131
1. <i>1 Enoch</i>	132
2. <i>Jubilees</i>	137
3. Dead Sea Scrolls	140
3.1 The spirit in creation	143
3.2 The spirit as an individual's inner disposition	144
3.3 God's Spirit and its role in Qumran	154
3.4 Conclusions: Qumran and the Stoics on the human and divine Spirit	159
4. <i>The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	162
5. <i>The Psalms of Solomon</i>	168
6. Philo	170
6.1 <i>Pneuma</i> as wind and element of the created world	172
6.2 <i>Pneuma</i> as a particle of life	174
6.3 Human spirit, mind, and soul	175
6.4 The Spirit of God	177
6.5 Conclusions: the human and divine <i>pneuma</i> in Philo and the Stoics	184
7. Josephus	188
8. LAB	193
9. <i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	198
10. <i>4 Ezra</i> and <i>2 Baruch</i>	202
11. Summary	206

Part Two: Paul's Conception of the Spirit in Romans 8 211

Chapter Four: New Life and the Spirit in Paul's Argumentation

in Romans 5–8	213
1. Subjects raised in Romans 8 against the backdrop of Romans 5–8	213
2. New life and the S/spirit in the context of Paul's argumentation in Rom 5–8	220

3. Summary	235
Chapter Five: Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish Authors in Dialog	239
1. The divine-human <i>pneuma</i>	239
1.1 The Spirit of God or the spirit of Paul (Rom 1:9)?.....	239
1.2 The S/spirit of life, slavery, and adoption (Rom 8:10,15).....	241
1.3 God's Spirit communicating with the human spirit (Rom 8:16)...	244
1.4 The divine-human <i>pneuma</i> , the Stoics, Jewish authors, and Paul	246
1.5 Conclusions: Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish authors on the overlapping divine and human <i>pneuma</i>	250
2. <i>Pneuma</i> as a cognitive entity	251
2.1 The Spirit and the fulfilment of the just requirement of the Law (Rom 8:4)	252
2.2 Thinking in accord with the Spirit (Rom 8:5–6)	256
2.3 Cognitive and ethical dimensions of the Spirit of adoption (Rom 8:14–17).....	259
2.4 Cognitive <i>pneuma</i> , Stoic trends, and Paul	261
2.5 The originality of Paul's thought on the cognitive Spirit	267
2.6 Conclusions: the cognitive S/spirit according to Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish authors	275
3. God's Spirit in a human being	277
3.1 The Spirit's residing in a human being according to Paul	278
3.2 Paul and Philo in dialog	285
3.3 Paul between Stoic immanence and the Jewish concept of the transcendent Spirit	291
3.4 Conclusions: the indwelling Spirit in Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish authors	295
4. <i>Pneuma</i> and the gift of eternal life.....	297
4.1 The Spirit of resurrection and its connection with Christ	298
4.2 Resurrection as a consequence of believers' similarity to Christ	302
4.3 Life-giving Stoic <i>pneuma</i> and the Spirit of resurrection in Jewish literature and in Paul	305
4.4 Conclusions: Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish authors on the Spirit of eternal life	319
5. The Spirit – a giver of unity.....	322
5.1 The Spirit of the prayer “Abba! Father!” (Rom 8:15)	323
5.2 The Spirit's prayer (Rom 8:26) and the creation's groaning (Rom 8:22–23).....	324
5.3 The Spirit, Stoic <i>sympatheia</i> , and Jewish authors	328

5.4 Conclusions: the unifying character of the Spirit in Paul, the Stoics, and Jewish authors	330
6. The Spirit and the power to give birth to God's children	332
7. Summary	338
 General Conclusions: Paul, the Spirit, and Going beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide	 343
 Abbreviations	 351
Grammars, Dictionaries, and Reference Works	351
Ancient Works	352
 Bibliography	 357
 Index of References	 419
Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.....	419
New Testament	428
Deuterocanonical Works and Septuagint	435
Early Jewish Literature	437
Pseudepigrapha.....	437
Dead Sea Scrolls	441
Philo.....	444
Josephus.....	447
Mishnah and Rabbinic Works	448
Greco-Roman Literature	449
Early Christian Literature	458
 Index of Authors	 459

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Marcin Kowalski
Lublin – Kielce, June 2023

Foreword

Ancient historians and biographers, such as Plutarch and Suetonius, used to describe the events and protagonists of their essays by comparing them. Comparison – in Greek, *synkrisis* – was all the more popular because it was a method recommended by the textbooks of the time, as it may be seen in Theon's *progymnasmata*. It is of course at work in the writings of the New Testament, especially in the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, but also in Romans 5:10–21, 7:7–8:30 and other passages of the letters of the apostle Paul. Comparing makes it possible to better understand and highlight the similarities and differences existing between characters and ideas, philosophies, theologies, and it is not surprising to see *synkrisis* today as still being a useful and even necessary approach in many disciplines, including biblical exegesis.

The approach of Marcin Kowalski's monograph on the relationship of Romans 8 to Stoicism is also comparative. It is not the first such study, since in recent decades, several scholars have questioned at length the relationship of Paul's letters to Stoic philosophy and tried to see to what extent Paul had been inspired by Stoicism, especially for his depiction of the Holy Spirit. The best known are David A. deSilva (*Paul and the Stoa*, 1995), Troels Engberg-Pedersen (*Paul and the Stoics*, 2000), Michelle V. Lee (*Paul, the Stoics and the Body of Christ*, 2006) and Runar M. Thorsteinsson, whose analysis is not limited to Paul but covers nearly all the ancient Christian writings (*Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism*, 2010). These monographs aimed at showing that Paul had not only been in dialogue with the Judaism of his time but that he had also known the ideas of the Greek philosophical schools and had been influenced by them.

What is new in Marcin Kowalski's book? If, according to the studies I have mentioned, one could think that Paul had a direct knowledge of Stoic ideas and positions, it was extremely difficult to specify in which writings he had picked them up. That is why the author prefers to widen the scope of *synkrisis* to encompass biblical writings – translated into or even written directly in Greek – and to Greek Jewish intertestamental writings. It is in the way it deals with the question of sources that the originality of Kowalski's study lies. It not only compares the ideas of Stoicism and Paul on the S/spirit, but convincingly shows that the biblical and Jewish intertestamental writings were a fruitful intermediary for the way the apostle describes the identity and action of the S/spirit: it is through the Stoic reformulations of Judaism that Paul presents the divine *pneuma*, its personification and role in the work of creation and salvation. Thus, the author shows that Romans 8 combines Greco-Roman and Jewish cultural elements and that the old division into the

Hellenistic and Jewish Paul should be abolished, since the apostle's depiction of the S/spirit in Romans 8 (and elsewhere) is rooted in both cultural contexts.

An exegete (Matthew V. Novenson, "On Thinking Paul and Judaism," 2022) recently said that most of the comparisons between Paul and Judaism were misleading and deceiving because they conclude that Paul is unique or anomalous. In my opinion, the readers of this monograph cannot formulate such a criticism. By following Marcin Kowalski's explanations, they will be convinced of the relevance of the choices made, especially since the comparisons are always carried out in relation to the rhetoric of the respective writings. The importance given to the rhetoric of the different texts also deserves praise.

Since the reader will have the pleasure of appreciating the content of this study, I will not say anything about it. It seemed to me more relevant in a Foreword to point out the importance of correctly using methods and models in biblical exegesis.

Jean-Noël Aletti
Pontifical Biblical Institute (Rome)

Introduction

How much of a Stoic could there have been in Paul? The Fathers and early Christian authors, living in close temporal proximity to his times and familiar with the Greco-Roman culture to a larger extent than we are today, would be likely to say: not much. The apostle used a mere handful of concepts that could be classified as “Stoic” to make his thought understandable to the recipients coming from a Greco-Roman background. Origen maintained that Paul’s deployment of the dominant culture’s elements had a pragmatic character and served to convey spiritual truths with the familiar and corporeal language (*Cels.* 6.70–72). Richard Longenecker fully agrees with this stance, arguing that parallels to non-Jewish literature in Paul are derivative and form the periphery rather than the center of his teachings.¹ Kathy Ehrensperger likewise sees Paul as primarily Jewish, positing that, despite his Roman citizenship, he remained a Jew at heart and did not render his gospel in Hellenistic categories.² Peter J. Tomson seems to depart somewhat from this view by saying that the apostle used Hellenistic conventions and popular motifs of Stoic or Cynic thought, though not their philosophy.³ N.T. Wright assumes a similar outlook, providing two arguments in favor of reading Paul in the Stoic context. First, in his view, the apostle’s teaching was likely to be seen by its ancient recipients as a form of philosophy, understood as a holistic system explaining reality and teaching one how to live. Secondly, Stoic thought formed the most popular philosophical and cultural current of Paul’s times, a current difficult to ignore while studying Pauline thought.⁴ This notwithstanding, scholars tend to be cautious when it comes to parallels between the apostle and the Stoa, enumerating formal, lexical or thematic similarities but accentuating more important differences. John Barclay draws attention to the fact that Paul was a decidedly less assimilated diasporic Jew than other Jewish writers of this period.⁵ It seems, therefore, that the apostle’s

1 See Richard N. Longenecker, *Paul, Apostle of Liberty* (Grand Rapids, MI, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2015), 53.

2 Kathy Ehrensperger, “*That we may be mutually encouraged*”: *Feminism and the New Perspective in Pauline Studies* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 131–2.

3 Peter J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles*, *Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 3.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 52–3.

4 Nicholas T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, *Christian Origins and the Question of God* 4 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 199–206, 213–29.

5 John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 381–95.

theology is quintessentially Jewish, devoid of significant traces of philosophical concepts popular in the 1st century CE.⁶

Such a stance is questioned by Troels Engberg-Pedersen, whose publications have generated a revival in scholarly discussions on the Stoic character of Paul's thought.⁷ The author argues for the presence of the elements of Stoic physics and ethics in Pauline writings, defending his position with an admirable steadfastness.

6 In his entry on the Spirit in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, Paige fails to mention any possible Greco-Roman sources or inspirations of Paul's pneumatology. The only areas of influence indicated are the Old Testament, the Second Temple period Judaism, early Christianity, and Paul's own experience. Terence Paige, "Holy Spirit," in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne, Ralph P. Martin, and Daniel G. Reid, 404–13 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1993), 404. In a later article, the author argues that pagan Hellenistic writers from the classical period up until the 2nd century CE didn't use the term *pneuma* to describe a self-conscious, intelligent, and supernatural being: Terence Paige, "Who Believes in 'Spirit'? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission," *Harvard Theological Review* 95, no. 4 (2002): 417–36. By the same token, Anthony C. Thiselton, *The Holy Spirit in Biblical Teaching, through the Centuries, and Today* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 30 argues that Paul does not make use of the Stoic conception of the spirit as restricted to matter and reason.

7 See Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Stoicism in Philippians," in *Paul in His Hellenistic Context*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen, 256–90 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 256–90; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "The Hellenistic Öffentlichkeit: Philosophy as a Social Force in the Greco-Roman World," in *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity, and the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Peder Borgen, Vernon K. Robbins and David B. Gowler, 15–37, Emory Studies in Early Christianity 6 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1998), 15–37; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "The Reception of Graeco-Roman Culture in the New Testament: The Case of Romans 7.7–25," in *The New Testament as Reception*, ed. Mogens Müller and Henrik Tronier, 32–57, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 230 (London, New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 32–57; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "The Relationship with Others: Similarities and Differences between Paul and Stoicism," *Die Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 96, no. 1–2 (2005): 35–60; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Paul's Stoicizing Politics in Romans 12–13: The Role of 13.1–10 in the Argument," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 29, no. 2 (2006): 163–72; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Complete and Incomplete Transformation in Paul: A Philosophical Reading of Paul on Body and Spirit," in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body, and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, ed. Turid K. Seim and Jorunn Økland, 123–46, Ekstasis 1 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 2009), 123–46; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "The Material Spirit: Cosmology and Ethics in Paul," *New Testament Studies* 55, no. 2 (2009): 179–97; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "A Stoic Concept of the Person in Paul? From Galatians 5:17 to Romans 7:14–25," in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Clare K. Rothschild and Trevor W. Thompson, 85–112, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 85–112; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "On Comparison: The Stoic Theory of Value in Paul's Theology and Ethics in Philippians," in *Der Philipperbrief des Paulus in der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, ed. Jörg Frey, Benjamin Schliesser, and Veronika Niederhofer, 289–308, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 353 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 289–308.

He makes the further argument that Paul's vision of the world, human being, and conversion is in its essence as strongly connected with the Stoa as it is with Judaism. Engberg-Pedersen aims to bridge a gap he sees as having existed between the Jewish and Greco-Roman contexts of the apostle's thought. Although there has been an upsurge of works corroborating the Hellenistic influence in Judaism of the Second Temple period, following the publication of Martin Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism*, writers dealing with Paul's letters seem to be immune to appreciating the extent of this influence.⁸ As evidenced by the scholars cited above, it is generally maintained that the apostle might have used the Greek language, but he thought and acted like a Jew. While acknowledging Paul's rootedness in both Greco-Roman and Jewish cultures, these scholars show no acceptance, however, for the former's substantial interaction with the latter in the apostle's thought and writings. Engberg-Pedersen questions this way of thinking, arguing that Paul's vision of the world, human being, and conversion is in its essence as strongly connected with Judaism as it is with the Stoa. The scholar clearly places emphasis on the Stoic context as hitherto neglected in Paul's exegesis.

Engberg-Pedersen is not the first one to seek ties between Paul and the Stoa. As shown by the multi-author volume *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, possible connections between the apostle and Seneca have inspired writers from antiquity to contemporary times.⁹ The affinity of Paul's thought to that of popular moral philosophers has been postulated also by Abraham Malherbe,¹⁰ Wayne Meeks,¹¹ Gregory Sterling,¹² and Geurt van Kooten, who noted the parallels between Paul's anthro-

8 See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); Martin Hengel and Christoph Marksches, *The Problem of the 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (London: SCM, 1989).

9 Joseph R. Dodson and David E. Briones, eds., *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*, *Ancient Philosophy and Religion 2* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2017). See also an earlier study by Jean N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* (Leiden: Brill, 1961).

10 Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Thessalonians: The Philosophic Tradition of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987); Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1989).

11 Wayne A. Meeks, *The Moral World of the First Christians*, *Library of Early Christianity 6* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986); Wayne A. Meeks, *The Origins of Christian Morality: The First Two Centuries* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1993).

12 Gregory E. Sterling, "Hellenistic Philosophy and the New Testament," in *Handbook to Exegesis of the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 313–58, *New Testament Tools and Studies 25* (Boston: Brill, 1997), 313–58.

pology and ancient philosophy.¹³ Niko Huttunen,¹⁴ Runar Thorsteinsson,¹⁵ and C. Kavin Rowe¹⁶ proposed to read Paul with reference to the Stoic conception of law and ethics and to postulates of exclusivity and loyalty towards the ideas proposed by the Stoa and the gospel. In a collection of essays titled *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition* (2017), a number of authors address a whole plethora of themes linking Paul to the Stoics, including spiritual struggle, mourning and consolation, hope, cosmic destruction and restoration, the concept of nature, death, and worship of deities.¹⁷ Another collection, *Paul and the Giants of Philosophy* (2019), adds further possible parallels between Paul and the Stoa, such as suffering, weakness, slavery, individual and community, afterlife and the vision of heaven.¹⁸ The authors of the texts included in these two volumes exercise substantial caution in stressing both similarities and differences between Paul and the Stoics, with the latter by far outnumbering the former. Thorsteinsson can be treated as an exception here, for in his article he points to the surprising parallel between Paul's thought in 1 Cor 15:28 and Rom 8:9–11 and the Stoic's pantheism and panentheism.¹⁹ He resembles Engberg-Pedersen in proposing the presence of profound conceptual similarities between Paul and the Stoa. Apart from diction and thematic parallels, what would justify such a close connection?

One may intuitively think of Tarsus, where Paul spent his youth. It is known that the apostle grew up and possibly received his early education in the capital of Cilicia, a city that had a reputation for its love of philosophy, surpassing even Athens and Alexandria in this respect, according to Strabo.²⁰ The citizens of Tarsus readily traveled in pursuit of knowledge, but this does not mean that there were no good schools or famous teachers in their own city.²¹ Strabo enumerates the following

13 Geurt H. van Kooten, *Paul's Anthropology in Context: The Image of God, Assimilation to God, and Tripartite Man in Ancient Judaism*, Ancient Philosophy and Early Christianity, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 232 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

14 Niko Huttunen, *Paul and Epictetus on Law: A Comparison*, Library of New Testament Studies 405 (London: T&T Clark, 2009).

15 Runar M. Thorsteinsson, *Roman Christianity and Roman Stoicism: A Comparative Study of Ancient Morality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 89–116, 137–98.

16 Christopher K. Rowe, *One True Life: The Stoics and Early Christians as Rival Traditions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 85–111.

17 Joseph R. Dodson and Andrew W. Pitts, eds., *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition*, Library of New Testament Studies 527 (London, New York: T&T Clark, 2017).

18 Joseph R. Dodson and David E. Briones, eds., *Paul and the Giants of Philosophy: Reading the Apostle in Greco-Roman Context* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2019).

19 Runar M. Thorsteinsson, "Paul and Pan(en)theism," in *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition*, ed. Joseph R. Dodson and Andrew W. Pitts, 135–56, Library of New Testament Studies 527 (London, New York: T&T Clark, 2017), 135–56.

20 Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.13 (C673) (unless otherwise indicated, all quotes come from LCL).

21 Cf. W. W. Gasque, "Tarsus (Place)," *ABD* 6:333.

as among Tarsus's Stoic rhetoricians and philosophers: Antipater, Archedemus, Nestor, Athenodoros Cordylion (the teacher of Marcus Cato?), and Athenodorus Sandon (Caesar's teacher). Other philosophers, teachers, and poets mentioned by Strabo include Plutiades and Diogenes, Artemidorus and Diodorus, as well as Dionysides.²² Caesar Augustus appointed his own teacher, Athenodorus the Stoic, as the governor of Tarsus, later to be replaced by another Stoic, Nestor. In Strabo's times, there may have existed in Tarsus a Stoic school of a several-century-long tradition.²³ Is it possible that the apostle listened to lectures delivered by the famous Stoics?

It is rather unlikely. Even though in Acts 17:28 Paul cites a Stoic poet from Cilicia, Aratus of Soli, this reference instead arises from his general education. Scholars assume that the apostle completed the first two stages of rhetorical training, yet not the third – the gymnasium – that gave one the status of a professional orator.²⁴ Paul calls himself ἰδιώτης τοῦ λόγου in 2 Cor 11:5, which may suggest his basic and intermediate command of the art of oratory.²⁵ The apostle fails to mention any philosophical education, and his letters do not frequently allude to philosophy as such.²⁶ He probably left Tarsus as a young man to pursue studies in Jerusalem, as suggested by Acts 22:3.²⁷ This does not mean, however, that the apostle did not draw on the Greco-Roman philosophical heritage or concepts at all. According to Willem C. van Unnik, Paul supplemented his Hellenistic education after his conversion,

22 Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.14–15 (C674–675).

23 Cf. David Sedley, “The School, from Zeno to Arius Didymus,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. Brad Inwood, 7–32 (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 30. Hemer mentions lectures sponsored by city authorities. See C. J. Hemer, “Tarsus,” *ISBE* 4:736. For less favorable opinions on Tarsus in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and Dio Chrysostom's speeches, see *ibid.*

24 Cf. Marc Rastoin, *Tarse et Jérusalem: La double culture de l'Apôtre Paul en Galates 3,6–4,7*, *Analecta Biblica* 152 (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2003).

25 Marcin Kowalski, *Transforming Boasting of Self into Boasting in the Lord: The Development of the Pauline Periautologia in 2 Cor 10–13*, *Studies in Judaism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2013), 172–3.

26 Paul's connections to philosophical thought are restricted to major themes, such as strength and weakness, friendship, slavery, gift, suffering, afterlife, with similarities and differences therein. See Dodson and Pitts, *Paul and the Greco-Roman Philosophical Tradition*; Dodson and Briones, *Paul and the Giants of Philosophy*.

27 Cf. Willem C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem, the City of Paul's Youth* (London: Epworth Press, 1962). Van Unnik's arguments on Paul as educated mostly in Jerusalem convinced many scholars mentioned by Andrew W. Pitts, “Hellenistic Schools in Jerusalem and Paul's Rhetorical Education,” in *Paul's World*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, 19–50, *Pauline Studies* 4 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 27 n. 45. Murphy-O'Connor disagrees with this stance, seeing in it Luke's creation. See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 32–3.

during his missionary work.²⁸ As Will Deming argues, Paul's discussion of marriage and celibacy can only be understood in the context of Stoic-Cynic debates on the issue.²⁹ Pauline letters include references to concepts such as αὐτάρκεια (2 Cor 9:8; Phil 4:11), ἐγκράτεια/ἐγκρατεύομαι (1 Cor 7:9; 9:25; Gal 5:23), as well as frequent catalogs of περιστάσεις (2 Cor: 4:7–12; 6:4–10; 11:23–29) and πνεῦμα (21 times in Romans 8 itself), which will be a subject of analysis later in the book. All of these terms link the apostle to the popular Greco-Roman philosophical thought. Paul might not have attended philosophical schools, but he could not have avoided the influence of the Greco-Roman culture that surrounded him, including the Stoic vision of the world and conception of the human being.

One of the popular Greco-Roman concepts is that of *pneuma*. The apostle makes use of the term to describe both the divine and human spirit. He deliberately selects the expression that the Stoics turned into a sort of key to depict the totality of animate and inanimate universe. Could Paul have revoked his Greco-Roman context altogether while speaking of *pneuma* that leads Christians, participates in their resurrection, and is responsible for new life in Christ? How did the apostle configure the nature of the S/spirit? How did he interpret the S/spirit's working and dwelling in believers? To what extent can Paul's thought be associated with Stoic philosophy and related medical opinions whereby the S/spirit (*pneuma*) resided in human beings, endowed them with capacity for moral life, and granted them knowledge and life? This book is not the first and probably will not be the last publication to pose these questions. Therefore, it seems appropriate to begin with a presentation of scholars who have noted not only the validity but also the usefulness of comparing the Stoic and Pauline concepts of *pneuma*.

1. *Pneuma* in Paul in relation to Stoic theories

A valuable overview of publications devoted to the Spirit, mainly in German and English language, can be found in a commendable study by Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, which will serve as a reference point here.³⁰ Reflections

28 See van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem, the City of Paul's Youth*, 1; Kimberly Ambrose, *Jew among Jews: Rehabilitating Paul* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 17.

29 See Will Deming, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004). Cf. also David L. Balch, "1 Cor 7:32–35 and Stoic Debates about Marriage Anxiety, and Distraction," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102, no. 3 (1983): 429–39.

30 See Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-Ethical Life*, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 283 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 2–14, 253–306.

on Paul's pneumatology and its Greco-Roman context need to begin with Herman Gunkel and his work *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauungen der apostolischen Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus* (1888).³¹ Gunkel posits that in order to understand Paul's thought on the Spirit one needs to get immersed in the Old Testament, as spiritual phenomena are quite scarce in Judaism of the 1st century CE (p. 21). He further points to essential differences between the function of the Spirit in Jewish authors of the Second Temple period and in the New Testament. If in the former the Spirit is a gift for the few and is mostly related to ecstasy and prophetic inspiration (pp. 46–8), in the latter it is construed as a gift for all and is related to God's power, which performs miracles in and through an individual (pp. 35, 42).

According to Gunkel, both Jewish and early Christian authors conceive of the deity, the Spirit, soul, and angelic beings as material and composed of a delicate substance – sometimes invisible to human eyes – similar to light, fire, and wind (pp. 42, 59–66). The author follows Friedländer, claiming that the Jews did not have a sufficiently developed sense of abstraction to perceive the Spirit as an immaterial entity (p. 59).³² Gunkel makes a clear distinction between Judaism and the Old Testament on the one hand and Greek philosophical trends on the other, arguing that the latter had no bearing on the materialist construction of deity and S/spirit by the Jews (pp. 61–3). The author clearly has Platonic philosophy in mind here, completely overlooking the Stoic current with its notion of the material *pneuma*.³³ Ultimately, he argues that Paul treats the Spirit as a substance, having derived this idea from the Judaism of his times (pp. 62, 124–6).³⁴ Acknowledging the materiality of the Spirit in Jewish theology and in Paul, Gunkel embraces Christian realism and literal interpretation of biblical texts, standing in opposition to the dominant philosophical idealism of his own times (pp. 65–6).

At the same time Gunkel is right to recognize the novelty of Paul's thought, which links a Christian's possession of the Spirit with their resurrection (pp. 83–4) and relates possessing the Spirit to ethical life to a larger extent than other Jewish and

31 See Hermann Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes nach der populären Anschauungen der apostolischen Zeit und der Lehre des Apostels Paulus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1888). See also the English translation, which will be referred to in this book: Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2008). For a succinct summary of Gunkel's pneumatology, see John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Cambridge, UK, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 1–8, 109–14, 225–9.

32 Cf. Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*, 5th ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1881), 3.701.

33 Emma Wasserman, "Paul among the Philosophers: The Case of Sin in Romans 6–8," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30, no. 4 (2008): 409–10 is not convincing in arguing for the presence of Platonic ideas regarding the spirit and the body in Rom 8.

34 The author makes reference to 2 Bar. 51, citing also, among others, 1 En. 14:20; 25:3; 71:10.

New Testament writers (pp. 89–94). As the author sees it, the Spirit’s activity in Paul encompasses all the spheres of a Christian life, making them all a gift and miracle and placing them in the supernatural realm (pp. 94–6, 111). The apostle’s pneumatology differs from the Jewish one as much as prediction differs from realization. For Paul, the Spirit is radically connected to ethical life, which itself is a gift of the Spirit and therefore assumes a supernatural character. It is manifested already in the new way a Christian lives, only awaiting the fullness of glory in resurrection (pp. 97–111). Gunkel seems to suggest an ontic transformation of believers that occurs thanks to the Spirit, further emphasizing its close connection with Paul’s “pneumatic” experience of Christ (pp. 111–17).

Another Anglophone scholar that explicitly refers to the presence of Stoic conceptions in Paul is Richard B. Hoyle, the author of *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul* (1927).³⁵ The first part of his book concentrates on Paul’s experience of the Spirit and the multiplicity of forms in which it acts in the apostle’s life (pp. 31–171). In the second part, Hoyle explores the sources of Pauline pneumatology that encompass the Old Testament and the literature of Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism (pp. 173–274). In Hoyle’s view, Paul shows connections with the Old Testament and the prophetic teachings on the Spirit, while Palestinian Judaism gave him only some sort of longing for the divine *pneuma* and its relatedness to the Messiah (pp. 207–10). This is not the case, however, when it comes to Hellenistic Judaism. Hoyle sees a similarity between the vision of the Spirit in the Book of Wisdom and that in Paul. Both, he contends, are based on an impersonal, personal, and supra-personal use of the term *pneuma*, a fluid boundary between the Spirit of God and human spirit, and its connection to the notions of dwelling, love, and virtue (pp. 216–18). Whether the apostle borrowed these ideas from the Book of Wisdom or not, he uses the same strategy as the book’s author, introducing Stoic concepts into the language of faith (pp. 218–19). The Stoic understanding of *pneuma* as a mixture of fire and air, its identification with God, and its dwelling within a person would give Paul the ideas and communicative tools to reach his listeners (p. 223). According to Hoyle, the rudiments of the apostle’s theory of cognition bear Stoic characteristics. This does not mean, however, that it is a scientific vision; rather, it was a popular viewpoint of Paul’s day (p. 230), with its elements discernable in Philo and in various medical texts. In contrast to dominant philosophical schools of the era, Paul does not concentrate on “how” the Spirit acts, but rather what it leads to: its goal is introducing a person into a new dimension of knowing God (p. 241). When it comes to the fundamental significance of *pneuma* as a principle of life and a mediator between God and human beings, the apostle is in agreement not only with the Stoics, but also with a plethora of Pythagorean, Platonic, and Aristotelian thinkers (p. 247).

35 See Richard B. Hoyle, *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927).

Avoiding the Stoic materialism and immanence, Paul uses its concepts to describe the divine force that enters the human world and transforms a person (pp. 262–3). At the same time, in his own way, he personalizes the Spirit and qualifies it as an independent entity.

The Stoic immanentism and materialism mentioned above were the reasons why Verbeke rejected a connection between the Stoics and Paul as regards *pneuma*.³⁶ A similar stance was taken by Max Pohlenz in his article “Paulus und die Stoa,” where, acknowledging some connections between the apostle and the Stoa (e. g. Rom 1:18–32), he eventually concludes that Paul’s knowledge of philosophy was only superficial. As far as the conception of the Spirit is concerned, the author states explicitly: “Das Pneuma aber, der Zentralbegriff der paulinischen Anthropologie, hat mit dem stoischen Pneuma nichts zu tun.”³⁷ Pohlenz does not see the need to further justify his statement, merely adding that the S/spirit-flesh dualism in the apostle derives from Hellenistic religiosity and mysticism.

Ernst Käsemann, a student of Rudolf Bultmann, devotes a lot more attention to *pneuma*. First, in his doctoral dissertation he argues for the material character of the Spirit given to believers through the sacraments.³⁸ These contain a spiritual substance and are essentially spiritual in themselves, for they introduce a person into a communion with God, who is the Spirit.³⁹ As Käsemann sees it, Paul’s pneumatology originates from his contact with the Hellenistic context, to be more specific with Gnosticism, which is characterized by automatism and a materialist understanding of the Spirit.⁴⁰ Apart from Gnostic influences, Käsemann takes note of the Stoic ideas of the immanent *pneuma* in Paul’s teachings. At the same time, he finds an essential difference between the apostle and the Stoics, as the former emphasizes the opposition between the body and the Spirit and the Spirit’s character that comprises features of a force, person, and substance.⁴¹ The influence of the Hellenistic pneumatology on Paul is ultimately reflected in his understanding of the Spirit as a material and substantial force. Like his contemporaries, the apostle is

36 Gerard Verbeke, *L'évolution de la doctrine du pneuma du stoïcisme à S. Augustin: Étude philosophique*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université de Louvain (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1945), 403, 406.

37 See Max Pohlenz, “Paulus und die Stoa,” *Die Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 42 (1949): 82.

38 Ernst Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi: Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit*, Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933), 125.

39 Ernst Käsemann, “The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, ed. Ernst Käsemann, 108–35, *Studies in Biblical Theology* 41 (London: SCM, 1964), 114. Originally published in German: Ernst Käsemann, “Anliegen und Eigenart der paulinischen Abendmahlslehre,” *Evangelische Theologie* 7, no. 9–10 (1948): 263–83.

40 See Käsemann, “The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper,” 115–16.

41 See Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 126.

not familiar with the concept of energy without a material substrate, thus leaning towards Hellenistic materialism.⁴² The believers receive the Spirit in the sacraments, especially in baptism and Eucharist (1 Cor 10:3–4).⁴³ In his early works, Käsemann describes the activity of *pneuma* in a naturalistic manner: through baptism it incorporates the believer in Christ's nature and realm. Later, the author speaks of a free, personal activity of the Spirit, its revealing of Christ's presence, and mediating role in the new life.⁴⁴ In a way, the author eventually distances the apostle from Stoic materialism, claiming that he merely adopted the language used by the community in Corinth.⁴⁵ Käsemann's student, Peter Stuhlmacher, like his teacher argues for the material character of the Spirit responsible for the substantial-ontological transformation of the baptized.⁴⁶ He also sees in the Spirit the presence of Christ who leads a person into communion with God.⁴⁷

Kurt Stalder, in his book *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus* (1962), offers a similarly substantial reading of the Spirit, taking other scholars to task for failing to reflect on the nature of *pneuma*.⁴⁸ The author uses Romans 8 to elucidate the sanctifying activity of the Spirit, claiming that it is presented neither as hypostasis nor as energy, but rather as God himself (pp. 26–35, 47). Paul might have conceived of the Spirit as a substance, but not in the sense of the material substrate common to God and human being alike (pp. 64–7). Eventually, Stalder rejects the notion of substantiality as too enigmatic and applies the idea of “being” (“Sein”) to the Spirit (pp. 64–7). In the author's view, the question of the Spirit's dwelling in a person cannot be restricted to any philosophical theory or model, for it is a miracle (p. 68). In his analysis of Romans 8, Stalder attributes mainly cognitive and volitional qualities to the Spirit. In Rom 8:5, it persuades believers to submit to its guidance, while in Rom 8:14 it increases their self-awareness, convincing them that they are God's children and as such should take responsibility for their new life. In none of these cases do the Spirit's actions transform believers or make them capable of moral life, but rather inform and motivate them (p. 485).

42 See *ibid.*, 135; Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans* (London: SCM, 1980), 212.

43 See Käsemann, “The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper,” 114.

44 Cf. Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 9. With references to Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 162, 175, 168, 165, 176, 184–5; Käsemann, “The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper,” 118–19.

45 See Käsemann, “The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper,” 117.

46 See Peter Stuhlmacher, “Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der καὶνὴ κτίσις bei Paulus,” *Evangelische Theologie* 27, no. 1 (1967): 24–5.

47 See Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus*, *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 87 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 224–5; Stuhlmacher, “Erwägungen zum ontologischen Charakter der καὶνὴ κτίσις bei Paulus,” 31.

48 See Kurt Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus* (Zürich: EVZ, 1962).

The material character of the Spirit in Paul is also espoused by Friedrich W. Horn in his *Das Angeld des Geistes* (1992).⁴⁹ The author attributes the idea to both the Judaism and Hellenism of the apostle's day. According to both, *pneuma* makes use of material substances, such as water or food, to enter an individual and exert an influence on them. As Horn sees it, Paul borrowed the idea of the material Spirit and the related sacramentology from the Corinthians (pp. 43–8, 57–9, 430). The author distinguishes between the substantial and material form of the Spirit's dwelling in a person, the former being practically the equivalent of personal presence (Rom 8:9; p. 60). Horn speaks of the material Spirit, in turn, when it comes into contact with matter and fuses with it, as, for example, in the sacraments (pp. 60, 405, 429–30). The way in which Paul conceives of the passing of the material Spirit through sacraments is in Horn's view quintessentially Hellenistic (p. 400). *Pneuma* can be compared to a liquid or substance absorbed by the believers and transforming their existence from within. The author maintains that Paul rarely refers to the Spirit in his ethical teachings, essentially restricting its role to the mediator of God's love (Rom 5:5).⁵⁰ At the same time, he points out a certain evolution of Pauline pneumatology, which moves from functional terms (1 Thessalonians) to the Spirit as hypostasis (Romans 8), with materialist accents in the intermediary stage – that is, in the Corinthian correspondence.⁵¹

Until the 1950s and 60s German-speaking scholars had authored the majority of studies on Paul's pneumatology. This changed in the 1990s, when the Anglo-American slant became more noticeable.⁵² To begin with David A. deSilva's 1995 article "Paul and the Stoa: A Comparison," the author compares Paul with the Stoics on the basis of diction, ideas, subject matter, figures, and forms of speech present in their writings. Commenting on verbal parallels, he concludes: "Finally, it should be noted that terms of central importance to Stoic philosophy, such as *logos*

49 See Friedrich W. Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

50 The author's views on this matter can be found in Friedrich W. Horn, "Wandel im Geist: Zur pneumatologischen Begründung der Ethik bei Paulus," *Kerygma und Dogma* 38, no. 2 (1992): 149–70.

51 See Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes*, 119–383. The individuated phases are not mutually exclusive. According to the author, in his later writings, Paul uses both functional and materialist concepts. For more on this, see also Friedrich W. Horn, "Holy Spirit," *ABD* 3:275–6; Thiselton, *The Holy Spirit in Biblical Teaching, through the Centuries, and Today*, 439.

52 See James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in Relation to Pentecostalism Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970); James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997). On Dunn and his work, see Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul*, 288–93.

and *pneuma*, are used entirely differently in Paul with no discernible connections with Stoic usage.”⁵³ The concept of *pneuma* does not recur again in deSilva, who essentially emphasizes the differences between Paul and Stoic anthropology and ethics.

Dale B. Martin expresses a completely different opinion in his work *The Corinthian Body*, which became an inspiration and a reference point for many contemporary biblical scholars.⁵⁴ The author first succinctly explains the Stoic notion of the material spirit, which in popular philosophical and medical texts signifies the particle of life and cognitive being responsible for an individual's perception of the world and moral life (pp. 13, 21–5). Martin repeatedly refers to Stoic ideas in his book, describing the Stoic understanding of nature (pp. 9–10), matter (p. 12), soul (p. 14), and a sage (p. 72). At the same time, he embraces the idea expressed earlier by Gunkel and Käsemann, that the ancients did not differentiate between the material and immaterial aspect of reality, conceiving of all as some kind of matter (pp. 7–15). In Martin's view, 1 Corinthians 15 evinces special Hellenistic influence, describing the resurrected body in terms similar to the Stoic conceptions of heavenly bodies (pp. 118–19, 126). Paul is believed to have espoused the cosmic hierarchy of bodies known to the Stoics to explain to the Corinthians – who also embraced it – the fact of resurrection (p. 129). Ultimately, the author argues that Paul's theology is apocalyptic, yet it leans towards Greek thought in its cosmological aspects and in its understanding of the physical world (p. 135).

Following in Martin's footsteps, Michelle V. Lee proposes Stoicism as a tool to interpret Paul's syntagma “the body of Christ.”⁵⁵ Lee argues for the literary interpretation of this expression, with the Stoic theories of the material *pneuma* constituting the historical context for its understanding. According to them, the Spirit was a giver of unity and an element unifying the whole universe understood as a cosmic body (pp. 51–2). Thanks to *pneuma*, beings become connected to one another while retaining their own qualities (the Stoic theory of *krasis*, pp. 52–3), a form of connection which finds its reflection in Paul's teachings on the body of Christ in 1 Cor 12 (pp. 124–5). In Lee's view, the apostle describes the Church through the Stoic idea of the body as a macrocosm (pp. 135–6), in which the Spirit does not eradicate social divisions (pp. 137–8), but creates bonds between individual members (pp. 148–9).

53 See David A. deSilva, “Paul and the Stoa: A Comparison,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 38 (1995): 551.

54 See Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

55 See Michelle V. Lee, *Paul, the Stoics, and the Body of Christ*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 137 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Further pursuing popular Greco-Roman conceptions of *pneuma*, Troy W. Martin extends his analysis to incorporate medical texts.⁵⁶ According to the author, though differing in many respects from the apostle's thought, they still constitute valuable comparative material (p. 106). In ancient medical theories, *pneuma*, absorbed from the air through lungs and skin pores, circulated within the body through special arteries, reaching heart, brain, and the nervous system (pp. 107–11). Martin quotes ancient authors who address *pneuma*'s cognitive abilities (pp. 111–14) and its life-giving nature, situating it within the category of physical nutrients (pp. 114–15). He concludes that Paul may have visualized the Spirit's entering a person through ears (Gal 3:1–5) or skin pores and mouth, during baptism and Eucharist respectively (1 Cor 12:13) (pp. 115–19).⁵⁷ In Rom 5:5, *pneuma* evinces cognitive qualities, being located in the volitional center – that is, the heart – and leading believers by motivating their actions in Rom 8:14 (pp. 119–20). The Spirit also gives life, liberating Christians from sin and resurrecting them in Rom 8:2,11 (p. 125). Ultimately, the ancient vision of *pneuma* constitutes in Martin's view a valuable context for the understanding of the workings of the Spirit in Paul (pp. 125–6).

Another author who discusses popular Greco-Roman theories on the S/spirit as a backdrop for Paul's thought is Caroline E.J. Hodge.⁵⁸ To clarify Paul's image of adoption in Rom 8:14–17, she refers to the Stoic idea of *pneuma* and its role in procreation and the blending of substances (*krasis*). According to the author, in Rom 8:16 the Spirit officially confirms the adoption procedure and the new status of pagans as God's children (p. 72). Hodge takes note of several Jewish texts that seem akin to Paul, showing the Spirit's role in creating or reinstating the bond with God, such as Ezek 36:26–28, T.Jud. 24:3, or Jub. 1:23–24 (pp. 73–4). At the same time, she points to Greco-Roman traditions that complement Jewish authors in their practical take on the role of *pneuma*. Hellenistic medical writings emphasize the procreative, mobile, and divine character of the spirit, which is responsible for shaping the fetus in the womb and endowing it with the parents' features. Transcending material objects and beings, *pneuma* also accounts for their union without blending and for a person's transformation (Philo, *Virt.* 217). According to Hodge, the Spirit in Rom 8:14–17 incorporates the pagans into Christ in the same way, forming new

56 See Troy W. Martin, "Paul's Pneumatological Statements and Ancient Medical Texts," in *The New Testament and Early Christian Literature in Greco-Roman Context: Studies in Honor of David E. Aune*, ed. John Fotopoulos, 105–26, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 122 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 105–26.

57 Troy Martin follows here Hans-Josef Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), 334–5.

58 See Caroline E.J. Hodge, *If Sons, then Heirs: A Study of Kinship and Ethnicity in the Letters of Paul* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).