

THE INFLUENCE OF SECOND TEMPLE CLERICAL STRUCTURES ON PAULINE
ECCLESIOLOGY

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Abstract: In the field of New Testament ecclesiological studies, there appears to be a gap in the research literature concerning the developing ecclesial structures of the earliest Christian communities and their relationship to Second Temple Judaism. With the Apostle Paul's writings providing the great New Testament contribution about the form and nature ecclesiologies of this period, and given his background as a Jewish religious leader, how Paul leveraged existing Jewish clerical structures from both the Temple and the local synagogue are key to understanding his overall approach to the offices and authority in the New Testament church.

It is the proposal of this paper to study late Second Temple leadership structures and apply them against the Pauline ecclesiological model of leadership as provided in Paul's *Hauptbriefe*. Though primary attention shall be paid to the leadership patterns from among the national Temple and local synagogues, additional forms from other, loosely affiliated, Jewish groups will also be in focus. As aspects of Second Temple clerical structures informed the developing Pauline ecclesiology, there continue to be influences seen in present day church method and theology.

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Since there is a rather firm notion that Paul drew on existing Jewish forms in crafting his theology, it follows that there could be some element of Jewish influence in the development of Pauline ecclesiology.¹ The communities which Paul founded, and would influence, were embedded in a context that saw rich diversity in the religious and cultic landscape of his day. Likewise, the earliest Christian communities appear to have been primarily Jewish in their composition while also remaining affiliated with the Temple in Jerusalem. Though much has been written about other areas of Jewish influence in the early theological formation of Christianity, there is a gap in the literature concerning the ecclesiological formation of these communities; specifically how the existing first century Jewish structures may have influenced the earliest Christian communities. Since the earliest Christian communities sprang about amid a context of Second Temple Judaism and Greco-Roman paganism, some of this context might have informed and shaped their burgeoning structures and early ecclesiastical offices. In the New Testament, the Apostle Paul provides substantial information about the nature and structures of his churches, and as a means of confining this inquiry, the churches he founded or influenced will be considered. To accomplish this, Jewish systems will be considered first followed by an analysis of their influence on Pauline ecclesiology. By evaluating the clerical structures of Second Temple Judaism the goal is to understand how Paul's communities might have adopted or discarded these structures and, as a result, informed contemporary practice in churches.

Clerical Forms in Second Temple Judaism

Second Temple Judaism in the first century cannot to be understood as a monolithic

¹ N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 2013). 453

religious system. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls continuing to reinforce this observation, it is more common to see Second Temple Judaism as a diversity of religious practices and form than a uniform system. Central to the Jewish practice and religious identity of the Second Temple period was, indeed, the Herodian Temple itself.² Other components of first century Jewish religious life include the synagogues and the disparate communities such as found in Qumran. As a first step in considering the clerical patterns of Second Temple Judaism it is best to consider the clerical structures of the Herodian Temple.

The Temple

When one thinks of the place where clerical structures might emerge the most clearly, the Temple, and its priestly leadership, is certainly the one institution worth investigating first. Standing in the midst of Jerusalem, this Temple, rebuilt by Herod, was the epicenter of Jewish cultic practice and religious significance.³ Having little ability to develop other political institutions in Palestine in the post-exilic era, the Jews also needed the Temple to serve an important role in asserting a political identity. Reaching back into the Old Testament era, the Aaronic priesthood still has sway in the leadership of the Temple in this era. Though wounded by the difficulties of the divided kingdom stage, and nearly vanquished through the exilic process following the desolation of the land of Israel, the priesthood was feebly reconstituted in the Second Temple phrase. At the beginning of the period the priestly class was nearly decimated, but by BCE 100 it had grown to fifteen hundred priests.⁴ In the first century CE, the

² David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007). 21

³ Jacob Neusner, *Judaism When Christianity Began: A Survey of Belief and Practice* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002). 45-53

⁴ Based on estimates collected from Pseudo-Hecataeus in Josephus, *Contra Apion* 1.22

priestly class had ballooned to, by Josephus' estimates, 20,000 priests who were serving on a rotating basis in the Temple.⁵ Each priestly section might have served two weeks out of the year in Jerusalem,⁶ and then spent the remainder of the year outside of Jerusalem tending to other matters of personal business⁷ while also serving as judges or overseers in some diaspora communities.⁸ Grabbe suggests these numbers are likely inflated,⁹ but they do provide some basis for seeing how the priesthood had grown after being reestablished in the post-exilic period.

Part of the ceremonial duties of the Temple priests was, first and foremost, to officiate the cultic functions of the Jewish religious system. They also served in other functions, including collecting offerings and distributing alms among the poor and indigent.¹⁰ With the core of the Jewish identity still rooted in the Old Testament sacrificial system, the functions of the priests were in regulating the offerings, burnt and sacrificial, while and planning for the daily cultic practice of the Temple. They were also, as group, the political leaders of Judaism.¹¹ Outside of

⁵ Ibid, 2.8; *Antiquities of the Jews* 7.14.7

⁶ Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1969). 206

⁷ For instance one priest, Phanni, was a stone mason, in the village of Apithia, *Talmud Yoma* I.6, 180; Eleazar b Zadoq, *Tosefta Bezah*, III.8, who had an olive oil business; and Eleazar b. Azariah, *Megillah* 27b.

⁸ Emil Schürer, *The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ*, trans., Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010). 209-210

⁹ Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period : Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2000). 136-137

¹⁰ Schürer. 254-305

¹¹ N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 1st North American ed., *Christian Origins and the Question of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992). 210

the Temple, in the midst of the synagogues and communities of diaspora Judaism, priests were not given formal officiating functions.¹² Jerusalem was the center of their power and influence, where they functioned as a priestly autocracy that stood above, and beyond, the rest of Judaism.

Out of the priests would come the High Priest whose responsibilities included the annual atonement sacrifices and leading the priests of the Temple. The High Priest was given a term of service where, during that time, he led the council in Jerusalem and became the de facto representative for the Jews when dealing with their foreign rulers.¹³ Josephus adds leading the weekly Sabbath service and the times of Jewish feasts or festivals.¹⁴ Caiaphas was the High Priest in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus' trial, perhaps presiding over this council, and is one of the more highly attested figures of this period.¹⁵ He was part of a line of hereditary rulers; his brother Ananus is said to have overseen the execution of James, the brother of Jesus, as the High Priest.¹⁶ Often, the High Priest was drawn from a pool of chief priests¹⁷ who led the priestly class and, perhaps, composed the council of rulers for the Temple.

¹² James Tunstead Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church: Public Services and Offices in the Earliest Christian Communities* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992). 254-255

¹³ Schürer. 254-256

¹⁴ Josephus, *War of the Jews* 5.5.7

¹⁵ Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews*. 18.33ff and is also mentioned in Gospel of Matthew 26:57-67. Among the rabbinic literature, Caiaphas is mentioned in the Mishnah *Parah* 3.5, Jerusalem Talmud *Yevamot* 1.6, and the Babylonian Talmud *Yevamot* 15b. Other data about Caiaphas exists, such as John 18:12-24, Luke 3:2, as well as a number of ancillary or indirect references in rabbinic literature.

¹⁶ Craig C Hill, "The Jerusalem Church," in *Jewish Christianity Reconsidered: Rethinking Ancient Groups and Texts*, ed. Matt A. Jackson-McCabe (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007). 51

¹⁷ Cf. Acts 4:6; Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews* 15.39f

Levites were also part of the priestly order, though not considered on the same level as the Temple priesthood. They served as the assistants in the Temple and were often assigned menial duties with no sacerdotal function.¹⁸ For the priestly class, the primary function of their work was to provide for cultic worship in the Temple, the Levites operated as their support staff. As Skarsaune points out, there are three concentric circles of influence in the Temple: chief (or high) priests, the priests, and the Levites.¹⁹ Through this kind of leadership, the Temple was kept and cared for while the Jewish people were led during this extended period of political alienation. Within the Temple leadership these three primary offices existed to ensure the daily and weekly ceremonial and cultic functions were observed and maintained on behalf of the Jewish people.

Other officials existed in the Temple: the captain of the guard, director of the weekly rotation of priests, Temple overseers, treasurers, and some other roles which were occupied by priests.²⁰ Given the Aaronic background of the priesthood, along with its unique expression in the Second Temple period, the hereditary nature of the priesthood was not just confined to the chief priests but was part of the entire priestly system. In effect, the Jewish system was highly orchestrated to provide and care for their religious leaders in Jerusalem. Of course in New Testament history several other groups stand out as part of this system.

The scribes (γραμματεὺς) are a group of officials in the Temple system that have no religious function as priests, but do have some correspondence to the priestly function. Scribes

¹⁸ Jeremias. 180

¹⁹ Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002). 98

²⁰ See the lists provided in the extensive discussion in Jeremias.181-207

are found in the New Testament, often doing rhetorical battle with Jesus and his followers.²¹ During this era, scribes found their influence and credibility through their knowledge and education.²² Scribes functioned alongside leaders of the Temple, and sometimes the synagogues, in providing support as secretaries and, or defining legal categories.²³ Since Judaism was a religious system based on the observance of the Law, having individuals who could transcribe that Law while also offering valid interpretations was an important aspect of the Temple religious system. Primarily found in Judaea, inscriptions attesting to the existence and function of scribes proliferate throughout the Roman Empire.²⁴ Scribes, were vital to the effective administration of the Temple and, likely because of their knowledge, often accompanied varying officials in support of their work.

The Synagogue

In Jerusalem, the Temple was the epicenter of all the Jewish activity. Of course, Judaism in the first century was not isolated in Jerusalem. As one moved outside of Jerusalem, beyond Judaea, they would find Jews living throughout the Roman Empire in diaspora communities.²⁵ In

²¹ Particularly in the Gospels, they appear often alongside other religious leaders and groups. Some scenes in particular include: Matthew 2:4; 8:19; 9:3; 12:38; 15:1; 21:15; 26:57; 27:41; Mark 2:6, 26; 3:22; 7:1, 5; 9:14; 11:18; 12:28-32; 14:1, 43, 53; 15:1, 31; Luke 5:21, 30; 6:7; 11:53; 15:2; 19:47; 20:1, 19, 39; 22:2, 66; John 8:3; Acts 4:5; 6:12; 23:9.

²² Frederick James Murphy and Frederick James Murphy, *Early Judaism : The Exile to the Time of Jesus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002). 214

²³ Josephus *Jewish War*, 1.33.2; *Antiquities of the Jews* 17.6.2; and also in 4 Maccabees 5:4

²⁴ Schürer. 319

²⁵ It is estimated that between five and six hundred thousand Jews lived in Palestine at the time of Christ and an additional five to six million lived outside of this region, mostly in diaspora communities around the Mediterranean. For the background on this data see Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT:

order to continue their regular worship and facilitate their communities, diaspora Jews of the Second Temple period existed in synagogues that were, largely, autonomous from the administration and oversight of the Temple structures in Jerusalem.²⁶ Synagogues are described differently in varying works,²⁷ but the central to the conception of the synagogue in Second Temple Judaism is its existence as a Jewish social and religious structure,²⁸ led by a group of elders, often in a conciliar (γερουσία) body for leadership, that became the center of activities for a Jewish community outside of Judea.²⁹ Education of children, religious observance, Torah study, and judicial regulation all took place in the synagogue.³⁰ Throughout the diaspora,

Yale University Press, 2003). 34 and also the conversation in Jeremias. 204-205

²⁶ S Applebaum, "The Organization of the Jewish Communities in the Diaspora," in *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Shemuel Safrai and M. Stern, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum Ad Novum Testamentum Section 1 (Fortress Press: Philadelphia, PA, 1974). 500

²⁷ Emil Schürer, *The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ*, trans., Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010). 68-69 notes the following names: συναγωγή, προσευκτήριον, and σαββατεῖον as just three with corresponding citations in rabbinic and antiquities authors.

²⁸ Lee I. Levine, "The Second Temple Synagogue: The Formative Years," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine and Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Center for Synagogue Studies (Philadelphia, PA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987). 9-10, Levine's work on this topic has brought him to the forefront. Here his emphasis on the disparate nature of the synagogues across the Mediterranean region bolsters the idea of both local control and relative autonomy from the Temple leadership in Jerusalem.

²⁹ For a good overview of the nature of synagogues and the epigraphic evidence related to them see Peter Richardson, "Early Synagogues as Collegia in the Diaspora and Palestine," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G Wilson (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996). 90-109, also see Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

³⁰ Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary - 3:1-14:28*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012). 1298-1303 "Excursus on Synagogues." Keener helpfully notes that before the fourth century there is limited evidence for the existence of synagogues in Palestine, they did seem to have proliferated throughout Judaism as once gets beyond this region.

synagogues were designed differently and are composed of a diverse socio-religious composition the Second Temple period. Though there is much fruitful discussion to be had about the origins of the synagogue in Jewish life, and even more intriguing discussions about the varying architectural development, it is helpful for the points herein to stay focused on the nature of the leadership of these groups and how they influenced the earliest Christian communities.

It is unlikely that the *γενουσία* equaled the *collegium* of non-Jewish associations;³¹ they might well have been understood along the lines of Greco-Roman voluntary associations³² of this time which allowed their continued existence in light of the careful religious oversight of Rome.³³ As Levine notes, while the concept of these councils being led by a set group of elders, or other leaders, was firmly agreed on at one point, over last several decades, mostly due to the discoveries of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other archeological data, the diversity of the leadership patterns in the local synagogues has become the majority view among scholars.³⁴ The council of elders in the synagogue would have been composed of individuals with varying titles, but its existence was the validation of the legitimacy of a community. In Mishnah *Sanhedrin*, for a town

³¹ For a helpful discussion of these various differences see, E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule : From Pompey to Diocletian*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity (Leiden: Brill, 1976). 133-134, though some have made this argument, for instance Richardson. 102-103

³² A.T. Kraabel, "Unity and Diversity among Diaspora Synagogues," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine, Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Center for Synagogue Studies (Philadelphia, PA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987). 52-54

³³ Silvia Cappelletti, *The Jewish Community of Rome: From the Second Century B.C. To the Third Century C.E.*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism (Leiden, NZ: Brill, 2006). 11-12

³⁴ Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. 413-415, here Levine is most helpful in articulating the various views that are held concerning the nature of leadership patterns and tracing the primary arguments that led to the growing agreement over their, in his words, "radical diversity."

to have a ruling council it needed to have one hundred and twenty families present.³⁵ By reaching this population size, the Jewish community was to be permitted its own self-rule, without the oversight of priests or other individuals from outside their community. Smaller towns had a *γερουσία* of individuals within that singular community; larger towns and cities, where multiple synagogues might have existed, would have various leaders elected from the different synagogues and sent to a central *γερουσία* that represented the Jewry of that town or city. A fully functioning *γερουσία* was responsible for overseeing different aspects of the regulation of the community while also interacting with the Roman leadership.³⁶ Though this will be discussed more later, the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem is an example of the *γερουσία* of elders, having a composition of priestly elite.

Even in the variety of applications the synagogue received within Judaism, one of the common features of each synagogue appear to be a group of elders, *πρεσβύτεροι*, who were responsible for the oversight of the synagogue. This group is perhaps the best attested among synagogues because of their appearance in the Theodotus' inscription and other recent discoveries in inscriptionary research.³⁷ Opinions vary about the nature and identity of the elders, or *πρεσβύτεροι*, in first century Judaism. Campbell believes that the elders of this period are not considered office-holders in their communities, but a collective term that often corresponds to

³⁵ Mishnah *Sanhedrin*, 1.6 Sometimes the council, or *γερουσία*, is reported to have seventy-one members in such places as the Great Synagogue of Alexandria. Mishnah *Sukkoth* 5.1.

³⁶ Meeks. 36

³⁷ One of the more significant discussions about the location and place of the *πρεσβύτεροι* is found in S.R. Llewelyn, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1986-1987*, vol. 9 (Marrickville, NSW: Macquarie University Press, 2002). 69-72

imprecise offices.³⁸ He takes the notable stance that to be an elder in a Jewish synagogue was not so much an appointment, or election, based on merit, influence, or popularity, but primarily a role reserved for the most aged men of a local synagogue community. Out of this group came the various officer holders for the synagogue. Campbell's views have met resistance,³⁹ but has also found agreement from other specialists.⁴⁰ The challenge is understanding the role of the elders in Jewish communities and how they might have been understood by their external counterparts. It does appear that the elders, πρεσβύτεροι, of a local synagogue community were vital to the ongoing sustainability of that community in administration and instruction. Elders appear to have functioned as a board of aged men who took up matters for review and discussion but were not regularly involved in the daily activities of the synagogue.

Out of this group of elders,⁴¹ one individual would be chosen to lead the community. Referred to as the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, the synagogue chief,⁴² or even the γερουσίαρχ,⁴³ the office

³⁸ R. Alastair Campbell, *The Elders: Seniority within Earliest Christianity*, T & T Clark Academic Paperbacks (New York, NY: T&T Clark International, 2004). 44

³⁹ For instance, see Roger Beckwith, *Elders in Every City: The Origin and Role of the Ordained Ministry* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Press, 2003). 22 though the most notable disagreement would be found in Burtchaell. *From Synagogue to Church*.

⁴⁰ Carsten Claussen, "Meeting, Community, Synagogue - Different Frameworks of Ancient Jewish Congregations in the Diaspora," in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins until 200 C.E.*, ed. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament (Stockholm, SW: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003). 160-161 and Roger W. Gehring, *House Church and Mission: The Importance of Household Structures in Early Christianity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004).

⁴¹ The elders are also referred to as ἀρχων in other literature of the era. The two terms appear to be synonymous and are simply a regional variation.

⁴² Schürer prefers "ruler of the synagogue" in Schürer, *The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ*. 63

⁴³ Lee I. Levine, "Synagogue Leadership: The Case of the Archisynagogue," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1998). 197

appears to be central to synagogue communities, though diverse in identification.⁴⁴ The growing consensus concerning the nature and role of this office centers around its primary functions: being chosen as the leader of the council of elders in a local synagogue of which he is part, serving as the primary spokesman with external officials on behalf of the synagogue, responsible for some aspects of the Torah instruction, seen as the synagogue "father," being the administrative leader of the synagogue, and also the financial overseer of the council.⁴⁵ This individual was the synagogue leader, or overseer, not the final authority, but the leader of the authorities. Of course, additional opinions proliferate and scholars take many different approaches in defining the office.

Rajak and Noy believe that the ἀρχισυνάγωγος was, first and foremost, a financial benefactor of the synagogue they served.⁴⁶ This would have drawn on elements of patronage already existing in Greco-Roman voluntary associations of the day. Williams agrees, in part, but notes in the application within the synagogues of Rome, the office might have been expanded to

⁴⁴ The office appears at several points in the New Testament: Mark 5:22, 35f, 38; Luke 8:49; 13:14; Acts 13:15; 18:8; 18:17; cf 14:2. Other inscriptionary and epigraphic data exists which bolsters the case for the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. However, since this is not the place for such discussions, the topic and evidences are best discussed in Jean-Baptiste Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, Sussidi Allo Studio Delle Antichità Cristiane, vol. 1-3 (Vatican: Pontificio Istituto, 1936). One final note, Schürer, details how the term is found in many locales outside of just Judaea, including: Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and the Roman Empire. See Schürer, *The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ*. 63

⁴⁵ It is noted at several points that, specifically following CE 70, the ἀρχισυνάγωγος would broaden its office in the synagogues that now were the only means of worship and religious life of Judaism and include less aged individuals and even women. For more information about this see, Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. 432

⁴⁶ Tessa Rajak and David Noy, "Archisynagogi: Office, Title and Social Status in the Greco-Jewish Synagogue," *Journal of Roman Studies* 83, no. 1 (1993). 75-93

include cultic functions.⁴⁷ Burtchaell, drawing mostly from Schürer, posits that those who assumed this office were able to do so because they already had the leading influence in their community.⁴⁸ Regardless of how the office might be interpreted to function, some aspects were likely drawn from some external examples and allowed to form on its own. Varying from region to region, possibly known by other names,⁴⁹ the path of the office is difficult to trace. It is, however, common that this office was primarily held by a singular individual who led the synagogue leadership.

Alongside the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, other offices existed in different synagogues, though one consistent office that appears regularly across different regions was that of the *hazzan*, ἡזן. Operating as a kind of synagogue assistant to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος or other πρεσβύτεροι, the *hazzan* was responsible for many aspects of the regular worship and supporting the administration of the synagogue.⁵⁰ For the *hazzan*, assisting the leadership of the synagogue, whether it is offering the Shema at the beginning of worship, reading the Torah, or taking up and distributing alms, was the principal matter.⁵¹ This office is described as the ὑπηρέτης by

⁴⁷ Margaret H Williams, "The Structure of Roman Jewry Re-Considered - Were the Synagogues of Ancient Rome Entirely Homogeneous?," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104, (1994). 134-135

⁴⁸ Burtchaell. 241-244

⁴⁹ Pater and mater synagogos, presbyter, φροντιστες, ἄρχοντες, and γραμματεεις are all possible alternative titles for this office, depending on the region. See Levine, "Synagogue Leadership: The Case of the Archisynagogue." 195-196

⁵⁰ Robert J. Banks, *Paul's Idea of Community*, Revised ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994). 136, Banks also provides several key points of rabbinic data to support his observations including: *Sotah* 7:7-8; *Yoma* 7:1; *Berakoth* 5:5; *Rosh-ha-Shanah* 4:9; and *Tamid* 5:1.

⁵¹ Applebaum. 466

Josephus⁵² and Epiphanius,⁵³ and is related to a deacon, διάκονος, in some inscriptionary data from Apamea, Syria according to Krauss.⁵⁴ If this is true, there might be some correlation from which the earliest Christians drew their inspiration, or at least assisted them in framing the office. Nevertheless, it appears that this office was, perhaps, a starting place of service for under-aged men who sought the means to serve their communities as they grew and gained more years prior to their being able to assume the office of elder, or πρεσβυτέρος.

Other minor offices can be explored and several other authors have done so in their works listed above.⁵⁵ For the purposes herein it is best to conclude this section on the synagogal offices of the first century by adding one additional note concerning how they related to each other and, ultimately, to Jerusalem prior to CE 70. The synagogue did not operate in contradiction nor opposition to the Temple in Jerusalem. Between the two, they were markedly different in terms of organization and even the nature of their leadership. The Temple had a hereditary priesthood of professionals whose primary task was the regulation and administration of the cultic practice for individuals and at festival times. For the synagogue there was a lay leadership, who handled the daily work of their communities and instructed their people in the Torah. This was not a professional priestly class. While some synagogues might have existed in Judaea prior to CE 70, the evidence is thin; the bulk of the synagogues in Judaism were outside

⁵² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*. IV, 214

⁵³ Epiphanius, *Heresies*. 30.11

⁵⁴ Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertumer* (Olms, GR: Hildesheim, 1966). 120, 126-128

⁵⁵ Specifically see the list from Burtchaell in *From Synagogue to Church*, 249-259 where he lists the additional, relatively minor offices: father and mother of the synagogue, scribe, commissioner, reader, and teacher. These roles have an importance, though the data for them is limited compared to the above listed offices.

this region and operated with a greater degree of autonomy.⁵⁶ Some synagogues appear to have federated together to form networks, but they were entirely voluntary and removed from the oversight of the Temple in Jerusalem. Some echoes of the Temple structure carry through to the synagogue, though this not done so universally. Once the destruction of the Temple occurred, Judaism began to change. The rise of the Javneh, or Jamnia, movement that consolidated the synagogues in Palestine is an important historical force.⁵⁷ However, prior to this occurrence, there was an independence between the synagogues and the Temple which defined their understanding of each other. Both had their place and both had their purposes. Between the two, however, stood two groups of individuals who are, in brief, worth considering.

Pharisees and Sadducees

Few groups from the Second Temple period stand with as much presuppositions about them and their conduct while simultaneously occupying the shadows of history than Pharisees and Sadducees. Both groups arose during the Hasmonean period, though at different stages.⁵⁸ From the perspective of the Gospel writers, Matthew in particular, the Pharisees and Sadducees are positioned as the natural religious enemies of Jesus Christ. As they stand in recovered history, the two fair a bit better, though they are difficult to define. Both groups stand as a kind of bridge between the Temple and the synagogues of Second Temple Judaism. It is this bridge which can be helpful in resolving the point of this inquiry.

Between the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Pharisees are the best identified from the data

⁵⁶ Applebaum. 469

⁵⁷ Skarsaune. 103-108 provides a good overview of these issues.

⁵⁸ The Sadducees by the end of the second century BCE and the Pharisees by about 100 BCE. Grabbe. 208

provided in antiquity. They are best known by the testimony of Josephus,⁵⁹ but other information from rabbinic and New Testament sources also provides aspects of the picture.⁶⁰ Pharisees were a group of Jewish religious leaders who adhered to the Law and sought how to precisely interpret it for application in life.⁶¹ As rivals of the Sadducees, theological differences were a major aspect of their division. The Pharisees, believed in an afterlife and were known for being travelling itinerants who went abroad to spread their message and make Gentile converts.⁶² Given the nature of the independence, and appearance of itinerancy, some had thought that the synagogues were under the control of the Pharisees, however that belief has come under suspicion and is generally considered false.⁶³ The Pharisees did seem to focus on continuing their relations with the common people of Israel and the domain of their work is primarily found among them.

Paul, having been a Pharisee, provides a helpful perspective that the end goal for the Pharisaic group was piety and devotion to purity.⁶⁴ This squares up with Josephus' accounts and the New Testament picture, particularly in how the Pharisees seem preoccupied with religious

⁵⁹ For specific references in Josephus see, *War of the Jews*, 1.5.2-3; 1.29.2; 2.8.14; 2.17.2-3; *Antiquities* 13.5.9; 13.10.5-7; 13.15.5 - 16.1; 13.161.1-5; 15.1.1; 15.10.4; 17.2.4 - 3.1; 18.1.3; 20.9.1; *The Life*, 2, 5, 38, 39.

⁶⁰ The Babylonian Talmud speaks of seven types of Pharisees *b. Sota* 22b; cf. *j. Sota* 5.7; *j. Berakhot* 9.5. Other rabbinic references include: *t. Sabbath* 1.15; *m. Tohar* 4.15; *m. Hagigah* 2.7; *m. Yadayim* 4.6f; *m. Niddah* 4.2; *m. Parah* 3.7; *t. Hagigah* 3.35.

⁶¹ Schürer, *The Internal Condition of Palestine, and of the Jewish People, in the Time of Jesus Christ*. 10-11

⁶² See Matthew 23:15 for an example of this. However, outside the New Testament there is limited evidence for itinerant Pharisees. See additional discussion in Banks. 168-169

⁶³ Mishnah, *Nedarim* 5:5; Tosephta, *Baba Metzia* 11:23 are both examples of rabbinic texts which note how the synagogue remained independent from outside control. Also see the discussion about this in Beckwith. 31-34

⁶⁴ Specifically in Galatians 1:14 and Philippians 3:5-8.

acts such as tithing, fasting, purity, and other halakhic matters.⁶⁵ Though the Sadducees were concerned for these matters as well, the Pharisees, perhaps because of their regular proximity with the masses, seems more focused on these matters. If it appears that the Pharisees lacked the same influence as the Sadducees, this is not the case, for there do appear to be some influential Pharisees. However, the group as a whole is not seen as having significant political influence.⁶⁶ As a religious group in the Second Temple period, the Pharisees were prominent among the towns and cities in Palestine and occasionally in the diaspora. Functioning as religious overseers, the group was primarily related with the common Jewry in the locations where they traveled and stayed. They, like the Sadducees, are better related as a religious party, or sect, than a specific office or ordained ministry.

Sadducees were, the higher class of leadership between the two, but are also more mysterious. Differing from the Pharisees theologically, they denied the immortality of the soul and that individuals are consigned to a fate.⁶⁷ The Sadducees likely occupied priestly roles in the Temple and among the priestly aristocracy in Jerusalem.⁶⁸ Josephus mentions the Sadducees on three occasions, the first as opponents to the Pharisees in a matter over someone named John Hyrcanus.⁶⁹ Rabbinic literature is more descriptive,⁷⁰ yet none of which is written by someone

⁶⁵ Lester L. Grabbe, "Sadducees and Pharisees," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J Avery-Peck (Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc, 2001). 59

⁶⁶ Murphy and Murphy. 217

⁶⁷ Grabbe, "Sadducees and Pharisees." 59-60

⁶⁸ Flusser. 11

⁶⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*. 13.171 for the other references by Josephus see *Jewish War 2* and *Antiquities 18*.

⁷⁰ Mishnah *Erubin*, 6.1; *Makkoth* 1.6; *Yadayim* 3.7; 4.6f; *Niddah* 4.2; 5.2f; *Parah* 3.7f; Babylonian Talmud *Erubin* 68a; *Yoma* 2b, 4a, 19b; *Hagigah* 16b, 23a; *Baba Bathra* 115b;

who is a Sadducee nor a contemporary of them.⁷¹ Sadducees might not have been exclusively priestly, appearing to have members that are wealthy landowners and other influential lay persons among the Jews in Palestine.⁷² They also rejected the Pharisaic rulings, which often went beyond the written word of the Torah which the Sadducees saw their sole source of authority.⁷³ Since it was the priestly class which led the Jews in the post-exilic period, the Sadducees would have been part of this group.

Between the two groups it is important to note that they are not, in and of themselves, offices or clerical forms. Yet, from this brief investigation it can be shown that they do influence both offices and clerics of the Second Temple period. They stand as helpful bridges between the Temple and the synagogue, though not exerting any power in the synagogue. Lester Grabbe has helpfully summarized the differences between the two groups in several specific points: 1) through the sources above, the two groups were rivals who sought power and influence at the expense of each other; 2) Sadducees were part of the Jewish aristocracy while the Pharisees worked among the masses; 3) they differed on religious beliefs, Pharisees accepting tradition and Scripture while the Sadducees only accepted the Torah among other beliefs; 4) two of four sources particularly note that the Pharisees were deeply concerned about halakhic and purity regulations; 5) only late, post CE 70 sources depict the Pharisees as the dominant group; and 6)

Sanhedrin 33b, 52b; *Makkoth* 8b; *Horayoth* 4a-b; *Zebahim* 65a; *Niddah* 33b; Palestinian Talmud *Baba Bathra* 8.1; and in the Tannaitic Midrashim *Sipra* 81b; *Sipre Numbers* 112; *Sipre Deuteronomy* 190.

⁷¹ This corresponds with the New Testament descriptions found in: Matthew 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11f; 22:23, 34; Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27; Acts 4:1; 15:17; 23:6ff.

⁷² Murphy and Murphy. 239

⁷³ Gary Porton, "Sadducees," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David N Freedman (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1992). 892-893

the Sadducees might have a corresponding relation with the Boethusians, another Jewish sect.⁷⁴ Both groups might have had members that were part of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin, but that is not entirely known.⁷⁵ If the Sanhedrin was composed of differing groups of religious leaders, it would have likely had an authority over all Jewish religious activities that extended into Palestine and not extending far beyond that region.⁷⁶ It is difficult to obtain a complete picture of the Sanhedrin since, outside of the New Testament references,⁷⁷ there are only several obscure historical references to the group.⁷⁸ What has been noted is that it was composed of religious leaders of the Jews who adjudicated disputes and religious matters in their meetings.⁷⁹ Members of the Sanhedrin might have been from either the Pharisees or, more likely, the Sadducees and the council convened occasionally to review matters affecting the Jewish people.⁸⁰ These two groups do influence the clerical systems of Second Temple Judaism and would have had members who were part of the overall system. Pharisees were the reformist movement while the Sadducees, as best understood, were the protectors of the religious establishment. However, one last group, which corresponds to these two, are also deserving of some exploration as they represent a radically divergent approach to Judaism with multiple streams of influence on the

⁷⁴ Grabbe, "Sadducees and Pharisees." 59-61, this is a summarization of his points.

⁷⁵ Murphy and Murphy. 243

⁷⁶ M. Miguéns, *Church Ministries in New Testament Times* (Arlington, VA: Christian Culture Press, 1976). 34-35

⁷⁷ Matthew 5:22; 26:59; Mark 14:55; 15:1, 43; Luke 22:66; 23:50; John 11:47; Acts 4:15; 5:21-41; 6:12-15; 22:30; 23:1-28; 24:20.

⁷⁸ Most notably: Antiochus III decree as referenced by Josephus, *Antiquities* 12.138

⁷⁹ Murphy and Murphy. 241-243

⁸⁰ Llewelyn. 72

earliest Christian communities.

Essenes

Standing against both the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Essenes were an ascetic movement that sought to fundamentally address the challenges represented by a commitment to purity and separatism from the Hellenization that was occurring in Second Temple Judaism at the beginning of the first century BCE. Mentioned first by Josephus,⁸¹ the group held to strict guidelines of conduct and membership while also having a communal lifestyle similar to Pharisees.⁸² Pliny states that they lived "without money"⁸³ and were both non-violent and refuse to take slaves.⁸⁴ The movement was believed to have taken their origins from dispossessed Zadokite priests who were replaced during the rebuilding of the Temple.⁸⁵ For the Essenes, the reestablishment of a pure Judaism was the central pursuit of their sect.

Theologically they differed from the Sadducees remarkably, though not as much from the Pharisees. Josephus provides an example of their beliefs on the role of fate where the Sadducees denied the role of fate, the Essenes believed fate to be the "mistress of all things," and the Pharisees took a position in the middle.⁸⁶ For the Essenes there was, according to Wright, a move away from the sacrificial systems and a recognition that the Temple, though perhaps cleansed

⁸¹ Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.8.2, there is a parallel account, often attributed to Hippolytus, in *Refutation of All Heresies*, 9.8.

⁸² Jeremias. 247

⁸³ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 5.17-29

⁸⁴ Philo *The Good Book*, 78-79

⁸⁵ BE Thiering, *The Qumran Origins of the Christian Church*, Australian & New Zealand Studies in Theology and Religion (Sydney, AS: Southwood Press, 1983). 15-23

⁸⁶ Josephus, *Against the Jews* 13.172 and 18.18

during the Maccabean revolt, was still not worthy of their worship or support.⁸⁷ By the end of the first century, the Essenes rivaled the Pharisees with approximately four thousand adherents to the Pharisee's six thousand.

What becomes most significant about the Essenes is not their juxtaposition against the two rival Jewish religious camps of their day, but the communities that resulted from their work. Specifically, the development of Qumran stands as their most notable community. This community provides some of the more unique clerical forms outside the Temple and synagogues during the Second Temple Period. Though there is debate as to whether they had widespread influence into the rest of the Essene sect, the clerical structures of Qumran differ in some degree to their other Jewish counterparts. As aforementioned, given the diversity within nearly all aspects of Judaism of this era, and with the continuing discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls enhancing the understanding of this diversity, it is not surprising if, even within the Essene group, there is a resulting diversity. As one examines the leadership patterns and organizational structures of Qumran some details do emerge.

Qumran appears to have a council of leaders who led the group by overseeing its administration and religious adherence. As 1QS 8.1f notes, they were responsible for these two areas while also maintaining jurisdiction over the members of the community as described in 6.1f. This council might have been made up of twelve elders and three priests which corresponds to the requirements of a council in Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 1.6.⁸⁸ The priests might have been part of

⁸⁷ Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*. 205

⁸⁸ Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, *Novum Testamentum Et Orbis Antiquus* (Göttingen, GR: Vandenhoeck und Reuprecht, 1986). 16-17

the overall number of the council,⁸⁹ or they could have been separate from the twelve elders. What is important about the council is how it oversaw the community and regulated its conduct. This is a similar system as found in the synagogues of diaspora Judaism and correlates to the γενοσσία of the Temple.⁹⁰ For Jewish groups in the Second Temple, having a group of elders who oversaw the conduct and administration of certain areas seems to have been a crucial development that is mutually, though not universally, shared.

Other clerical positions existed in Qumran, most notably priests who occupied the premier position among the assembly and in worship.⁹¹ Priests at Qumran had the official capacity of leading the worship though not necessarily in the same sacerdotal, or sacrificial form as their counterparts in the Temple. The *Manual of Discipline* indicates that it was from these priests that three were chosen to be part of the council of twelve, or fifteen.⁹² Priests at Qumran were not as numerous as those in Jerusalem. At one point there appear to be twelve priests serving the community.⁹³ Priests were responsible for reviewing the admission of new members to the sect, likely in consultation with the council. Much of their organization at this level seems to have been in reference to the Tabernacle of the Mosaic period.⁹⁴ As a result, the priests

⁸⁹ As found in 4Q 164, which is a *peshet* on Isaiah 54:11f.

⁹⁰ Other councils like this are found among different religions and community structures of this day. For additional information about these kinds of groups see David Flusser, "The Peshet of Isaiah and the Twelve Apostles," *Eretz-Israel* 8, no. 1 (1967). especially 52-54 and Felix Solmsen, *Inscriptiones Graecae Ad Illustrandas Dialectos Selectae*, Scholarum in Unsum Iterum Edidit (Leipzig, GR: Teubner, 1930). 145-150

⁹¹ 1 QS 2.19f; 6.4f; and 6.8.

⁹² David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007). 309

⁹³ 1 QM 2.9

⁹⁴ Skarsaune. 114

occupied an important position for the regular worship and ensuring that the individuals of the community were both adhering to the regulations while also being cared for through the priestly service.

Out of the priests came the overseer of the community, the *mebeqqar* (מבקר), as referenced in 1QS 6.14f, 19f. This individual was the chief official in the community and the head of the priests. An overseer was responsible for teaching the Law and ways of God, ensuring that proper individuals are brought into the community leading, the training of neophytes, overseeing the financial proceedings of the community, presiding over the assembly of the community, and was the primary judge for reconciling disputes.⁹⁵ The *War Scroll* describes this individual as the leading officer for worship.⁹⁶ As the overseer functioned, particularly in educating new priests,⁹⁷ there was a consistent commitment to maintaining the theological purity of the community as well as ensuring their ritual purity would be acceptable. Perhaps the chief overseer was the spiritual link with the Teacher of Righteousness who had founded the community.⁹⁸ If the Teacher of Righteousness is the first chief overseer of the community, then it provides a means of reinforcing the unity of the community through keeping its leadership in line with the charismatic authority of the first founder. This would have been a pattern picked up from other Greco-Roman associations of the period, though not necessarily found in Jewish communities.⁹⁹ It is not that this leader was genetically linked to the Teacher of Righteousness,

⁹⁵ Burtchaell. 269

⁹⁶ 1 QM 2.1

⁹⁷ 1QS 6:19f

⁹⁸ Of course this figure is ambiguous in the Dead Sea Scrolls, even as he is described in the *Damascus Document* (CD 1.1-5.)

⁹⁹ Weinfeld. 19-20, 45

but that he would have been able to carry the authority of the Teacher in the administration and leadership of the community. While this correlation is less than secure, it is one worth exploring further for a possible link.

The Qumran community also had other members which were part of its ongoing worship and daily life. It appears that the members of the community elected their leaders, including the overseers, from among their own ranks.¹⁰⁰ Campbell cites the lack of direct reference to *πρεσβυτέροι*, elders, within the Dead Sea Scrolls and infers that the community might have had a dim view of age. Leveraging details from the *Messianic Rule*,¹⁰¹ he believes that since membership began at twenty years of age, and leadership could be gained at thirty with the anticipation of voluntary discharge of duties at first sign of senility, the idea of 'elders' being aged men is not present at Qumran.¹⁰² They were a younger community than one might find in their contemporary synagogues.

In another innovation, the community saw themselves as an autonomous community from the oversight and rule of external figures, possibly leading to their demise in about CE 68. Other Essene groups likely existed and Qumran was simply the headquarters for a larger movement, though it could have also been a breakaway community from the Essenes.¹⁰³ The exclusivist nature of the Qumran community also meant that its members were screened and received specific instruction on how discipline is to be enforced in the *Rule of Community* document. All together, the quest of Qumran was a purity of instruction and life that would,

¹⁰⁰ Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.8.3; *Antiquities of the Jews* 18.1.5.

¹⁰¹ 1QSa

¹⁰² Campbell. 57, 62-64

¹⁰³ Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period : Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh*. 204

hopefully, build unity. To achieve this, specific structural features were put into place to regulate the nature of the community. Claussen and Davis have helpfully noted some of the key components of the community code at Qumran:¹⁰⁴ initiation procedures,¹⁰⁵ the keeping of a common treasury,¹⁰⁶ attention to some of material provision for members of the community,¹⁰⁷ centrality of the common meal,¹⁰⁸ establishing bylaws and governing documents for the initiation and responsibilities of members of the community,¹⁰⁹ a penal code for violations of the bylaws,¹¹⁰ and a strong religious identity which are evident across the varying documents.

In the community at Qumran the individual served the purposes of communal life and dedicated themselves to growing in their instruction. Hierarchy existed within the community and individuals understood their roles relative to that hierarchy.¹¹¹ This did not mean that the community was not integrate, but quite the reverse, Qumran was a highly integrated religious community for its time.¹¹² The strength of Qumran was that its community identity was shaped by its eschatological outlook coupled with the desire to form a pure unity based around the Torah and the messianic expectation. As the community functioned independently of the Temple and

¹⁰⁴ Carsten Claussen and Michael T Davis, "Concept of Unity at Qumran," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael T Davis and Brent A Strawn (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2007). 243

¹⁰⁵ 1QS 6.13-20

¹⁰⁶ 1QS 1.11-13; 6.19

¹⁰⁷ CD MS A 14.12-17

¹⁰⁸ 1QS 6.4f

¹⁰⁹ 1QS 5.8-10; 9.10

¹¹⁰ 1QS 6.24-27

¹¹¹ 1 QS 6.2f

¹¹² Claussen and Davis. 248

even diaspora Judaism, it did so in a manner of expectation and communal service.¹¹³ For the purposes of the community the individual became subordinate but not obsolete. Ultimately the purpose of the community was eschatological, an innovative concept within Second Temple Judaism.

Within these varying examples of the Second Temple religious structures, there do appear to be several standing offices existing in the context of the first century at the point when the earliest Christian communities begin to form. These clerical offices have specific expressions and varying levels of authority in their specific spheres of influence. So, with all of this data now in mind, and returning to the theme of this inquiry, what is the impact on Pauline ecclesiology? Or more directly, how is Paul impacted by the clerical structures of Second Temple Judaism? To these questions this inquiry now turns in its evaluative steps.

Influence on Pauline Ecclesiology

To be direct, and concise, it can be surmised that Paul is certainly mindful of some aspects of the Second Temple clerical structures in the formation of his earliest Christian communities. Though not influenced entirely, Paul does appear to leverage the influences he encountered through his life, training, and then ministry following his conversion. As Paul is described in the book of Acts and better described in his letters, there is a pattern of Jewishness that guides the formation of the ecclesiological structures in the Pauline churches. However, before launching into this, it is best to step back for a moment and summarize the salient details of Pauline ecclesiology.

¹¹³ Thiering. 13-14

Paul's ecclesiology is unique from the other New Testament forms.¹¹⁴ One of the near maddening traits about Paul's ecclesiology is that while he provides more information than the rest of the New Testament writers about the nature and theology of the churches to which he is writing, much of the structural components of these churches is underdeveloped or simply not communicated. When one confines their task to the Pauline *Hauptbriefe*, this seemingly nettlesome critique becomes more exacerbated. For the purposes herein, these *Hauptbriefe* will be understood as the undisputed letters of Paul along with Ephesians and Colossians.¹¹⁵ In

¹¹⁴ For the purposes of this inquiry, it is assumed that there are indeed four primary ecclesiologies of the New Testament: Pauline, Lukan, Johannine, and Matthean. These broad categories of ecclesiology provide unique understandings of the Church as it was in midst of the structural development in the earliest Christian communities. It is not entirely necessary to work out each of these models in this space above, suffice to say that each recognizes an aspect of Jewish influence, or at least context, for their some aspect of their own formulation. Since Paul is the New Testament author with the most information about the fundamental nature of his congregations he provides the best entry point for a conversation about the nature of his ecclesiological structures. Several works have helpfully dealt with this discussion and are worth noting at this point, they include Eduard Schweizer, *Gemeinde Und Gemeindeordnung Im Neuen Testament*, Abhandlungen Zur Theologie Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments, vol. 35 (Zürich, SW: Zwingli Verlag, 1959)., Adolf von Schlatter, *The Church in the New Testament Period*, trans., Paul P. Levertoff (London, UK: S.P.C.K., 1955)., Roger Haight, *Christian Community in History*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (New York, NY: Continuum, 2004)., William J. La Due, *The Chair of Saint Peter: A History of the Papacy* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999). and Paula Gooder, "In Search of the Early 'Church': The New Testament and the Development of Christian Communities," in *Routledge Companion to the Christian Church*, ed. Lewis S Mudge and Gerard Mannion (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2007). 9-27 Other works are certainly worth exploring, though for the sake of this inquiry these shall suffice for providing an effective means of seeing the rising pluriformity within the earliest Christian communities.

¹¹⁵ Certainly reasonable arguments can be made for the exclusion of these two letters, but likewise better arguments are made for their inclusion. The traditional Pauline *Hauptbriefe* include: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon. Excluded from the *Hauptbriefe* are Pastoral Epistles and 2 Thessalonians. However, for the purposes of this inquiry, these four New Testament epistles will be referred to as the Proto-Pauline epistles as they appear to be quite connected to the Pauline tradition and were written by the immediate followers of Paul at the end of his life or within a few short years of his death. Certainly qualified arguments can be made, and have been made, for the traditional authorship of all the Pauline epistles by such scholars as John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1976). By creating this differentiation, the goal is to see how the Pauline communities, or at least recipients of the letters, would have been formed and

considering these *Hauptbriefe* for their ecclesiology there are several traits which stand out from the rest of the New Testament. One of the first is that Paul understands the nature of the invisible Church and visible churches as distinct elements of a whole unity. That is, the body of Christ,¹¹⁶ a popular metaphor for Paul, symbolizes the universal unity of the Church for all the ages. This Church is the invisible corporate body of all who have assumed the covenantal faithfulness of Christ and are counted as members of that new nation, the *true* Israel as it is for Paul. The invisible Church is an eschatological community of the covenanted people of God who have been redeemed through Christ's atonement and are bound together by the Holy Spirit. Central to Paul's ecclesiology is this Spirit-led community that is working out their salvation together.

While the invisible Church never meets on this side of eternity, the local churches are the visible representations of that corporate body. In 1 Corinthians 12:27 and Ephesians 4:12 specifically, Paul leverages the imagery of the body of Christ to describe the workings of the members in unity together. For Paul there appears to be a universal, eschatological unity that is instantiated in the local communities who, through their existence, have members that add to their communities by the employment of their gifts. Local communities, or assemblies, are identified by Paul throughout his letters and are considered to be complete, independent units of the whole corporate Church where ever they are located.

Paul uses the term ἐκκλησία to describe the assemblies in his *Hauptbriefe*.¹¹⁷ By using

structured through the influence of Paul. It is almost undeniable that the communities written to in the Proto-Pauline letters were directly founded and influenced by Paul during his ministry.

¹¹⁶ Romans 7:4; 1 Corinthians 10:16; 12:27; Ephesians 4:12; Colossians 2:17 see also James D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Trinity Press International, 1990). 109 and Paul Sevier Minear, *Images of the Church in the New Testament*, New Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2004). 173-220

¹¹⁷ Paul uses the term fifty-seven times in *Hauptbriefe* and an additional five times in the

this term to describe the local communities, and the universal corporate body, Paul is leveraging the Greek emphasis of an "assembly," which is reflected in the Septuagint's employment of the term.¹¹⁸ Central to Paul's conception of ἐκκλησία is that it is, along the lines of the Old Testament assembly (the לְהִקָּבֵץ). While it may be argued that the Gospel of Matthew bears more reliance on the Old Testament concept of לְהִקָּבֵץ,¹¹⁹ Paul's usage does appear to rely on correlations between ἐκκλησία and συναγωγή as they are used in the Septuagint.¹²⁰ Each of these communities are gatherings with similarity, or at least correspondence, to the Old Testament forms of the gatherings of Israel and the post-exilic religious systems.¹²¹ For Paul, the communities he is serving and founding have a special calling and purpose. As these communities are to gather, or assembly, they reflect the calling and character of God, or Christ. As Paul joins together ἐκκλησία with τοῦ θεοῦ, he does so in both the singular¹²² and the

Proto-Pauline letters. Outside of the Pauline corpus, ἐκκλησία occurs in fifty-two other places with the bulk, twenty-three, of these in book of Acts.

¹¹⁸ *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1965), s.v. "Ἐκκλησία." 506 - 513

¹¹⁹ While לְהִקָּבֵץ is the predominate usage of "assembly" in the Old Testament, קָהָל is used to refer to the body of Israelites, whether assembled or not, as they traveled from Egypt to the Promised Land. Most of occurrences of the term are isolated to the Pentateuch, and almost half are in the book of Numbers. The term is often translated "congregation" where לְהִקָּבֵץ is most often translated "assembly" in more formal English versions. For more discussion on the differences in the terminology see Roy Bowen Ward, "Ekklesia: A Word Study," *Restoration Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1958). 166-172

¹²⁰ James D. G. Dunn, *Beginning from Jerusalem*, Christianity in the Making (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2008). 599-601

¹²¹ This entire issue will be dealt with more completely in the third chapter which considers the influence of Second Temple Judaism in the ecclesiology of the New Testament.

¹²² 1 Corinthians 1:2; 10:32; 11:22; 15:9; 2 Corinthians 1:1; Galatians 1:13; and in proto-Pauline 1 Timothy 3:5, 15.

plural.¹²³ Indeed, across the New Testament the idea of the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, exists only in Pauline language and literature.¹²⁴ Robert Banks has posited that these uses refer to local gatherings most often,¹²⁵ though Witherington, and others, disagree, opting for a more appropriate "both/and" option.¹²⁶ Paul's understanding of the church is indeed multifaceted and arises from his embedded Jewish context. So, how does Paul relate to this context with the above Second Temple Jewish forms? The first turn, then, is towards the Temple.

Temple

In understanding the Pauline use of ἐκκλησία, one must then see how it is employed in light of Paul's understanding of the Temple and, specifically how the work of Christ completes the task of the Temple. Perhaps the great observation by Paul in this regard is how Christ removes his followers from the Temple, and puts the Temple into his followers. Specifically in 1 Corinthians, Paul works out this idea of believers being the new Temple for the Holy Spirit.¹²⁷ Because of Christ's atoning work on the cross, believers no longer need to seek out an ongoing sacrifice for their sins under the old covenant.¹²⁸ As the communities of the new covenant stand, in Paul's theology, the need for sacrifice is done away with and they are now the place where the Holy Spirit is to dwell. No longer needing the Temple in Jerusalem, the new Temple is scattered

¹²³ 1 Corinthians 11:16; 1 Thessalonians 2:14; 2 Thessalonians 1:4

¹²⁴ The only non-Pauline usage is an attributed quote to Paul in Acts 20:28.

¹²⁵ Banks. 37

¹²⁶ Ben Witherington, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1995). 90-93

¹²⁷ 1 Corinthians 3:10-17; 6:19; cf 2 Corinthians 6:16; Ephesians 2:21

¹²⁸ Romans 3:21-26; 1 Corinthians 5:6ff; Colossians 2:16f, 20-23

in the new Christian communities throughout the world.¹²⁹ In Paul's view, the church is distributed throughout the world and is no longer isolated to a specific place. These communities, are to provide the space and location for the assemblies of the *true* Israel.

In applying this reality to the Pauline understanding of the offices of the churches in his ministry, there is a clear shift away from the necessity of the Temple. Because Jesus is the Messiah, the churches in Paul's ministry become the Messianic assemblies that replace the Temple.¹³⁰ Volf observes that the local churches of Paul's ministry become the body of Christ where they exist.¹³¹ Romans 12:3ff, and 1 Corinthians 12:12f, indicate a locality of the assemblies for Paul and there is, in Paul, no place where he instructs the recipients of his letters to go to make sacrifices or travel to find atonement. Instead, this atonement having been accomplished for the believers, the church becomes the place where believers are strengthened, instructed, and unified.¹³² The Temple no longer provides any salvific or covenantal symbolism for those who follow the Messiah. It is, instead, simply an institution, or relic, of a bygone era whose aims have been fulfilled.

One matter that does cause pause to completely removing the Temple is Luke's account of Paul taking himself and his followers there prior to a visit in Jerusalem in Acts 21:23-27. In this scene the Temple complex comes squarely into focus through Luke's historical recounting of Paul's obliging a request to take himself, and four others, to go through the purification rituals of

¹²⁹ Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*. 1492-1493

¹³⁰ Romans 15:7-13, see also Vern S Poythress, *Using Multiple Thematic Centers in Theology Synthesis: Holiness as a Test Case in Developing a Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Theological Seminary, 1991). 23-24

¹³¹ Miroslav Volf, *After Our Likeness: The Church as the Image of the Trinity*, Sacra Doctrina (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1998). 138

¹³² Cf. Ephesians 4:12f

the Temple prior to a season of missionary work. This becomes problematic given Paul's previous, and ongoing, writings which seem to nullify the efficacy of the Temple in the lives of believers. Conzelmann has difficulty reconciling this with Paul's theology provided in his *Hauptbriefe*.¹³³ Bruce notes the struggle with the passage, but, based on 1 Corinthians 9:20, points out that Paul appears willing to allow this kind of cleansing if it has a larger purpose in his missionary work.¹³⁴ Barrett rejects this view, and posits that since Paul keeps the feasts this kind of ritual cleansing was in line with the procedure of his ministry.¹³⁵ Bock provides an effective counterbalance and, noting the Nazarite basis for the men's vow, believes this is Paul acting with cultural sensitivity to his context and commission.¹³⁶ As it relates to Paul's understanding of the place of the Temple, this scene does not obfuscate his position beyond remedy. Paul still considers the Temple moot. Though this scene can be attributed, in part, to the dramatizing tendency of Luke's historical recounting, it is likely that cultural sensitivity which is the first part of Paul's willingness to go to the Temple.¹³⁷ Perhaps the second part is that this is not any kind of sacrificial atoning for sin, but simply a means of performing a ritualistic cleansing that would meet the approval of the Jerusalem Council which had commissioned them. It is more about willing submission to their leadership by Paul than it is making a theological concession to

¹³³ Hans Conzelmann, Eldon Jay Epp, and Christopher R. Matthews, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987). 180

¹³⁴ F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts*, The New International Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1954). 432

¹³⁵ C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, Interational Critical Commentary, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, UK: T&T Clark, 1994). 1000-1013

¹³⁶ Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007). 648-649

¹³⁷ Cf. 1 Corinthians 9:22f as an example of Paul's willingness to forego his own preferences in reaching those who are not yet believers.

Judaism.

This example notwithstanding, Paul's understanding of the Temple in Jerusalem seems to be one of ambivalence. It bears no further efficacy for the believers in the Messiah nor does it provide any covenantal provisions. The Temple, and its offices, are no longer qualified before God and have been fulfilled by Christ. Priests no longer have a role in the life of believer because all believers are able to go to God without an intermediary since Christ served that purpose in his death.¹³⁸ Through Christ, the Church is democratized and all believers stand before the cross as equals.¹³⁹ Banks, in his study on Pauline ecclesiology, discusses the nature of Paul's understanding of the priesthood and the priestly cult.¹⁴⁰ For Banks, this democratization of the Christian faith removes the priestly caste and makes 'faith, love and total dedication' the priestly actions of the believer.¹⁴¹ There is no cultic apparatus in the Pauline churches, nor need for one.¹⁴² Instead, believers share a meal together and remember the sacrifice of Christ, as prescribed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:17-34. As Paul writes, he only refers to officials once in the opening of any of his *Hauptbriefe*,¹⁴³ preferring instead to address all the believers in a local community.

One gets, from a Paul, a shadow of the Temple of which he is mindful in his attempts to

¹³⁸ Romans 8:26-39; cf. 1 Timothy 2:5f

¹³⁹ Galatians 3:28f

¹⁴⁰ Banks. 118-133

¹⁴¹ Ibid. 133

¹⁴² Jürgen Becker, "Paul and His Churches," in *Christian Beginnings: Word and Community from Jesus to Post-Apostolic Times*, ed. Jürgen Becker (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). 151-152

¹⁴³ Philippians 1:1

shed the light of Christ across his ministry. Certainly aspects of its form and function influence his theology. Perhaps this is because of his own, self-confessed days in training as a Pharisee. With no need for a sacrificial system, the Temple only inhibits the spread of the Gospel message. The various offices of the Temple described above have no place in the communities to which Paul is writing in the New Testament as they fill an invalid priestly function that is now distributed among the new believers in Jesus, the Messiah. No longer does the Temple mean anything other than being a remnant of the old covenant which was completed in Christ. Paul's ecclesiology does appear to have been informed in other ways.

Synagogues

For a Pharisee educated in the court of Gamaliel, Paul would likely have been aware of the structures and leadership forms of both the Temple priestly class and among the synagogues. When one considers the dismissal of the Temple by Paul, the next logical place to look to is the synagogues of Second Temple Judaism. Indeed, here there are more commonalities and perhaps points of congruency with Paul's understanding of the offices and clerical structures than in the aforementioned Temple. Perhaps this is because the nature of the synagogues, as autonomous communities of believers, distributed across cities and towns of the diaspora, closely aligned with the earliest Christian communities. If Paul understood the leadership of Jerusalem prior to Jerusalem Council of Acts 15 to be more like the Sanhedrin of Temple, then the natural view of the synagogues would have been similar to his understanding of the constitution and operation of the local churches outside of Jerusalem.

Several theories about Paul's use of the synagogue have developed over the years, the most notable that is voiced by James Burtchaell. His view is that late Second Temple synagogues

are the basis for the earliest Christian communities in structure and practice.¹⁴⁴ For Paul's churches, Burtchaell acknowledges the difficulty of locating offices in the *Hauptbriefe* since *πρεσβύτερος* does not occur in any of these letters.¹⁴⁵ However the *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* does bear qualities that are remarkably similar to the *ἐπίσκοπος* found in Philippians 1:1, while the *hazzan* is also similar to the *διάκονος* in Philippians and other places.¹⁴⁶ If one extends the view of these offices beyond the *Hauptbriefe* and into the Proto-Pauline letters the instances of *πρεσβύτερος*, *ἐπίσκοπος*, and *διάκνος* increase and demonstrate additional usages.

Gager would agree in part, though opting more towards the Hellenistic synagogues as "blueprints" for the emerging Christian communities of Pauline era.¹⁴⁷ Campbell disagrees with Burtchaell's thesis, citing that Paul's most useful texts are likely post-Pauline while also suggesting the Burtchaell's method is "begging the question."¹⁴⁸ An intriguing perspective comes from Dieter Georgi who, in his article "The Early Church: Internal Jewish Migration or New Religion," draws on the growing notion of a diversity of Jewish forms in the Second Temple era.¹⁴⁹ Basing his discussion on this diversity, Georgi suggests a historic pattern of Jewish migration between forms provided Paul an opportunity to act as a reformer of Judaism. Acting as a reformer, Paul leverages synagogal forms, along with voluntary associations, to bridge the two worlds and begin communities that appeal to both gentile and Jew. Given the growing

¹⁴⁴ Burtchaell. xv

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 183-184

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 241-244, 248-249 Paul does not appear to reference

¹⁴⁷ John G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity*, Prentice-Hall Studies in Religion Series (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975). 126-140

¹⁴⁸ Campbell. 115-116

¹⁴⁹ Dieter Georgi, "The Early Church: Internal Jewish Migration or New Religion," *Harvard Theological Review* 88, no. 1 (1995). 35-68

acknowledgement of the differences among Second Temple Jewish communities in the first century, Georgi's nuancing is both appreciated and recommending.

Another aspect of Paul's communities comes into view when looking closely at the data around the churches he founded and wrote to during his ministry: they were all based in houses. In the growing research concerning the nature and founding of early house churches in the first Christian communities, it is a near consensus that these communities worshipped and met in private homes.¹⁵⁰ There is also some evidence that synagogues in the diaspora, and perhaps in Palestine, would have met in homes at certain points, especially once these Christians were removed from the Temple and synagogues.¹⁵¹ With homes providing an informal leadership structure for both churches and synagogues, the model could have easily been replicated by Paul.¹⁵² Perhaps this is helpful in demonstrating some areas of commonality between Paul and the synagogues. Because of the rather similar leadership structures between the synagogues and the Pauline church leadership patterns, it is not difficult to see aspects of commonality. Since

¹⁵⁰ Margaret MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches: A Socio-Historical Study of Institutionalization in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Writings*, Monograph Series, vol. 60 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988). 57, Carsten Colpe, "The Oldest Jewish-Christian Community," in *Christian Beginnings : Word and Community from Jesus to Post-Apostolic Times*, ed. Jürgen Becker (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). 89 and most exhaustively in Gehring. 13-19

¹⁵¹ Claussen. 160-161 and also Arthur G. Patzia, *The Emergence of the Church: Context, Growth, Leadership & Worship* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001). 40 for background on the nature of these meeting places.

¹⁵² There is another discussion to be had about the nature of diaspora synagogues drawing much of their leadership patterns, organizational structures, and even the nature of their meetings from the voluntary associations that were common in Greco-Roman life. While this is certainly something worth exploring, space is limited, suffice to say there is rather good data to support the this thesis and advance a point that the diaspora synagogues were more in line with Greco-Roman voluntary associations and the collegium of philosophical colleges than anything similar from the Palestine region during the middle to late Second Temple period. For a thorough discussion on this topic see, Richardson. 90-109.

many of the first followers of Jesus after Pentecost were Jewish Christians, it is entirely probable that, in forming communities of their own, they would have looked to the synagogue for their structures in the Pauline ecclesiological system.

One challenge to this is that Paul, at least in his *Hauptbriefe*, appears to move away from a notion of a standing *πρεσβύτεροι* or council within his first churches.¹⁵³ A democratized Christianity that was advanced by Paul dissuaded the use of clerical office initially, preferring a more organic constitution of his communities. It might also be probable that Paul understood those who gained office, or a ministry capacity in their community, did so not by virtue of their age or hereditary rank, but through service and the recognition of their fellow believers. Charismatic gifts as described in 1 Corinthians 12 and Romans 12 are another example of a democratized Christianity that allows all members of the community to contribute to that community's identity and sense of sustainability.¹⁵⁴ As a result, though the diaspora synagogue stands a kind of archetypal blueprint for the meta-communities that Paul founded, this is more likely due to their common organizational heritage in the Greco-Roman voluntary associations. It does not appear, in the Pauline *Hauptbriefe*, that the synagogue is the ultimate example by which drew inspiration from Second Temple Judaism.

Essenes

Paul was part of the religious aristocracy from early in his life until his conversion.¹⁵⁵ His conversion changed the course of his life and subsequent persecutions against him changed

¹⁵³ Banks. 134-137

¹⁵⁴ Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*. 111-112

¹⁵⁵ John McRay, *Paul: His Life and Teaching* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2003). 21-45 provides a good synopsis of the relevant background of Paul's biography.

Paul's view of his Jewish contemporaries.¹⁵⁶ Paul attempts some lasting loyalty to the Temple as recorded by Luke in Acts,¹⁵⁷ but moves on to relocate the Temple and reappropriating its functions. Paul casts off his Pharisaical identity and takes up a new path as he develops this democratized view of God's provision with his education in the priestly elite. When one comes to his letter to the Roman Christians there is an intersection of the realities of living in a pagan land yet being devoted to an otherworldly kingdom which penetrates Paul's discussion. There is a sharp distinction between the local Christian communities and the synagogues of Rome that Paul navigates.¹⁵⁸ Watson has effectively argued that Paul's rhetoric in Romans serves to formalize the severance between Christianity and the Jewish synagogues in Rome.¹⁵⁹ Though Paul reminds these believers to be thankful for the heritage of faith transmitted through the Israelites and then Jews, there is a difficulty for Paul in keeping the Christian communities affixed to the synagogues.

Equally curious is the missionary zeal that is so evident in Paul's ministry. There are few examples of evangelistic or missionary of the same nature as Paul's in the Palestinian Jewish

¹⁵⁶ See Acts 9:21-30 recounts two immediate moments of death threats against Paul.

¹⁵⁷ James D. G. Dunn, *Jews and Christians: The Parting of the Ways - A.D. 70 to 135*, The Second Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium on Earliest Christianity and Judaism (Durham, September 1989) (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1999). 100-101

¹⁵⁸ Mikael Tellbe, *Paul between Synagogue and State: Christians, Jews, and Civic Authorities in 1 Thessalonians, Romans, and Philippians*, ed. Birger Olsson, Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series, vol. 34 (Stockholm, SW: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2001). 190-191

¹⁵⁹ Francis Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: A Sociological Approach*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series, vol. 56 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 47-97

context.¹⁶⁰ While diaspora synagogues reflect some missionary, or at least proselytizing work, they also do not seem to be intent on spreading their message to gentiles outside of a specific region. Paul, and the other early Christian leaders, have an entirely different trajectory. This trajectory is not in line with the synagogues or Second Temple Judaism as expected. It also sets him apart from the vigorously sectarian community of Qumran.¹⁶¹ This missionary activity is unique to Paul and the other Apostles, but is not discrediting to his understanding of Second Temple Judaism.

The Essene communities, specifically Qumran, might have provided Paul with a sympathetic counter-example to Judaism that sought pure worship and an independent movement which existed outside the synagogues and Temple of Second Temple Judaism. This community, with its emphasis on ascetic practices and, somewhat, democratized structures of leadership may have been attractive to Paul. Weinfeld sees several points connecting the Qumran communities and Paul's ecclesiology. Specifically, he cites how Paul draws on the notion of 'community,' *κοινωνία*, to designate the fundamental organizational principle for the earliest communities, in texts such as 1QS 8.5ff.¹⁶² For organizational patterns, the overseer, or *מבקר*, is related to the *ἐπίσκοπος* of the Pauline communities.¹⁶³ Indeed if one is positing a developmental ecclesiology for the Pauline communities it is reasonable to observe that, towards the end of Paul's life or soon thereafter, these communities would have begun transitioning away

¹⁶⁰ Karl Löning, "The Circle of Stephen and Its Mission," in *Christian Beginnings: Word and Community from Jesus to Post-Apostolic Times*, ed. Jürgen Becker (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). 116

¹⁶¹ Watson. 45n108

¹⁶² Weinfeld. 48

¹⁶³ Ibid. 19-20, he cites Philippians 1:1 in the *Hauptbriefe* and also mentioned 1 Timothy 3:2 and Titus 1:7 as other examples.

from the oversight of the Apostle to localized leadership per his instruction.¹⁶⁴ Qumran might have been an effective example of a community based around the instruction and dedicated to following a way of living that appealed to Paul's understanding of the earliest Christian communities.

Campbell's observation that the Essene communities having a 'president,' or single overseer who led the community, while the term 'elders' elsewhere is imprecise, is notable in its effect on the growing Pauline communities.¹⁶⁵ Pillars of a community are also noted by Paul, in relation to Peter, James, and John.¹⁶⁶ For Flusser this could have had a connection with Qumran.¹⁶⁷ However, this seems too generous a reading of the *peshet* type interpretation of Isaiah 54:11f found in 4Q164. What does become interesting in this light is how, as the Teacher of Righteousness transitions away from Qumran, he seeks to replace himself with leadership which reflects his concern and care for the community. This is best represented in the development of the מְבַקֵּר, or overseer, position at Qumran. In the same way, as Paul is nearing the end of his ministry he begins to identify key leaders in the communities and position them as his natural, local, successors. There is no transferal of the apostolic office, but instead a different title, ἐπίσκοπος or πρεσβύτερος, is given and leadership is confined to the local community. It may be that this is similar to how the Qumran community acted.

¹⁶⁴ George W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, ed. I. Howard Marshall, The New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans Publishers, 1992). 29-31 recognizes the emerging localization pattern in Paul's letters as the Apostle gets closer to the end of his life. Of course this also could be due to a different articulation of the existing offices, either by a different amanuensis or simply an evolution in terminology among the leadership of the earliest communities.

¹⁶⁵ Campbell. 239

¹⁶⁶ Galatians 2:9

¹⁶⁷ Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*. 314

Finally, there is the democratizing aspect of the community where they elected, or confirmed, their own leadership. In the Proto-Pauline communities this is best illustrated by the affirmation of Titus and Timothy in their respective local churches. Paul also appears to not be mindful of expected age guidelines for leaders of his communities, focusing the ability to serve not on hierarchy but on character. At Qumran this is handled by the involvement in the community election process of their leaders.¹⁶⁸ With the democratizing developments in Paul being different than what one might find in the priestly aristocracy of the Temple, and is uncommon in the diaspora synagogues, this might be one area where there is increased congruency. This is also reflected in how Paul advocated for conversation and internal deliberation in his communities which is similar to something discussed in the Qumran community.¹⁶⁹

How Paul's theology might have been informed by his connections with Qumran has been the subject of other works.¹⁷⁰ As it stands for this inquiry there do appear to be some traits of intersection between Paul and Qumran that are notable and other that are different from his context in the rest of Second Temple Judaism. To this end Paul has unique ties with this sect and it appears some influence is brought into the Pauline understanding of office and ecclesial authority from the Qumran community.

¹⁶⁸ Banks. 186

¹⁶⁹ Cf. 1QS 6.8-12, see note in Bengt Holmberg, *Paul and Power : The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as Reflected in the Pauline Epistles*, 1st Fortress Press ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980). 10-11

¹⁷⁰ For instance W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980).

Conclusion

In the diverse array of Second Temple Judaistic clerical forms there do appear to several emerging patterns that are worth understanding and following. As they have impacted Pauline ecclesiology certain conclusions can be drawn from the above discussion. The first is that Paul, and the rest of the New Testament writers, have no affection for, nor any tolerance of the priestly aristocracy that is present in the Temple of Jerusalem. For Paul the democratization of the faith that has taken place and the final atonement for sins provided for by Christ invalidate the priestly orders and render the Temple moot for the Christian communities. The sects of Judaism as well, even though Paul was trained within one, do not seem to appeal to Paul because there is no caste system either in covenantal, soteriological terms, or within proper ecclesiological expression.

However, one cannot deny that the impact of Second Temple Judaism influenced Paul beyond what has historically been thought. Indeed, given the rising scholarship affirming many of these traits, Paul is affected by his context and the structural elements of the religious system around him. Christianity from its earliest days had a large Jewish component and this would have impacted the basic formation of the earliest communities. When communities and groups begin something new they often carry in the existing structures and organizational patterns of their contemporary environment. Paul's communities are no different. Though there does appear to be some diversity within his communities, they do have a loosely formulated leadership structure. Specifically in the *Hauptbriefe*, Paul's efforts do not, initially, seem to be overly concerned with structuring these communities in a hierarchical manner. Instead, Paul's primary advocacy in writing to his first churches concerns other matters. What arises then is an organic, likely charismatic authority in the churches that, while deferring to Paul initially, begins to take more consistent form by the end of his life.

As these forms solidify, Paul draws on his contemporary environment from the diaspora synagogues and Essene community, specifically Qumran, in crafting the leadership structures that would define his ecclesiology. Earlier in Paul's letters, there does appear to be a more prevalent egalitarianism than exists in the later letters and the Proto-Pauline communications. Perhaps this is due to the natural tendency of first century communities towards a patriarchal establishment more fitting of their era. Or it could be that developed leadership patterns of this time necessarily sought out male headship which was in line with the predominating structures of Second Temple Judaism. As one answers the question behind this observation, other issues will certainly arise. However, it is important to note that Paul's communities continue his democratized ecclesiology after his death. This reflects the embedded motif of freedom in the Pauline churches as it relates to equality believers share. In the Pauline churches, there is simply no room for a Temple system of priests versus commoners. All are equals in Christ.

In final estimation, Paul does draw on the diaspora synagogue and Qumran communities in the localization of ministry into the Christian communities that will continue after his death. Given the meager samplings of leadership structures in the Pauline *Hauptbriefe*, it is difficult to ascertain how these communities began that formation process. However, from the election, or at least affirmation, of leadership at the local level and the single presiding overseer, Paul appears to have drawn his inspiration from Qumran. In the development of the *διάκονος*, Paul may have taken a cue from the office of *hazzan* in the synagogues. Also, the nature of the house church meetings likely reflect an aspect of the synagogal meeting structures that would have been in place in the diaspora synagogues of his day. For Paul, though, the democratization of the faith manifests itself in the move away from any formal clerical structures and priestly caste system. Perhaps more than any other means of drawing from either the synagogue or Qumran

community, Paul's larger clerical legacy is found in his abandonment of the Temple systems in his local churches. This move left Christianity, or at least Pauline Christianity, in a position to aptly handle the destruction of the Temple and resulting loss of any sacerdotal functions therein. It also positioned the earliest Christian communities to also move past the Apostolic era and into the local church era of the turn of the century by investing authority in local, independent communities without the need for, or ability to provide for, a hierarchical system of autocracy in the diverse Christian communities across the Mediterranean region.

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