

Charismatic fellowship or tradition- bound hierarchy?
-Studying the roots of church government with focus
upon the Pauline and the Johannine source material.

A master thesis written within the Religious Roots of Europe Program

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To my grandfather Arne († December 2009)

who taught me creativity

and

to my friend Hanne († 22.07.2011)

who encouraged me to seek knowledge

○

I wish you could be there to see me graduate

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Table of content

Abstract	6
Introduction.	7
Primary sources.	8
Secondary sources:	9
The structure for my thesis:.....	10
Chapter 1: The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there.	11
1.1 Method for textual analysis.	11
1.2 Theory.	12
1.2.1. Authority as a sociological concept.....	12
1.2.2. Max Weber	14
1.2.2.1. The Three pure types of legitimate authority	15
1.2.3 Other perspectives on authority.....	19
Chapter 2: «Paul as an authority».....	20
2.1 Pre-Pauline Christianity and the “origin” of the apostle role	21
2.3 Paul and the Galatians.	24
2.4 Other sources to Paul`s life.....	27
2.5 Paul in Corinth.....	28
2.6 Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 3:5-9	28
2.6.1 Paraphrase	28
2.6.2 Exegesis:.....	29
2.6.3 A detailed exegesis/interpretation of 1.Cor 3:5-9.....	30
2.7 The Authority of Paul.....	33
Chapter 3. The <i>Ekklesia</i> and the apostle: Conflicts within the body?	35
3.1 An exegesis of Paul`s first letter to the Corinthians 12:1-31	36
3.1.1 Paraphrase:	36
3.1.2 Exegesis:.....	36
3.1.3 A detailed exegesis/interpretation of verses 1 to 31.	37
3.2 The Body as a metaphor and Greco-Roman rhetoric`s	42
3.3 Prophets and teachers	46
3.4 A summary	48
Chapter 4.Approaching the Second Century	48
4.1 The Pastoral letters.	52

4.1.1 The episkopos.....	55
4.1.2 The diakonos.	57
4.1.3 The presbyteros	59
4.1.4 A summary	63
4.2 The Johannine sources.....	64
4.2.1 A special disciple.....	65
4.2.2 Spirits and prophets.	67
Conclusion.....	68
Bibliography.....	72

Abstract

In Norwegian

Denne oppgaven tar for seg autoritetsforståelse og lederskap i Kristendommens spede begynnelse, og jeg har jobbet utifra følgende problemstilling: With basis in the Pauline and the Johannine text corpus, how might we define authority and leadership in the primitive church?

Kildematerialet som blir presentert og analysert er i hovedsak bibelske tekster, 1 Korinterbrev, Galaterbrevet, Pastoralbrevene, Johannesevangeliet og 1 Johannes brev. Metode er derfor Bibeleksegese og teorien er hentet fra Max Weber sin modell om de tre rene former for legitim autoritet. Sekundærlitteraturen er hentet fra Meeks, MacDonald, Holmberg, Dunn og Campenhausen.

Hoveddelen av oppgaven er bygget på det Paulinske materialet, men Johannes tradisjonen og brevene fra Peter er brukt som sammenligningsgrunnlag. Oppgaven er også kort innom bevegelsen fra det andre århundre som vi kaller Montanisme.

Stikkord er autoritet, profeter og falsk lære, apostel, tradisjon, metaforbruk og institusjonalisering vs. Individualisering.

Oppgaven er skrevet for masterprogrammet The Religious Roots of Europe.

In English

This paper is looking at authority and leadership in the earliest stages of Christianity, and is built up under the following research question: With basis in the Pauline and the Johannine text corpus, how might we define authority and leadership in the primitive church?

The source material which is presented and analyzed is mainly biblical texts, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, The Pastoral Letters, The Gospel of John and the first letter of John. The method is Biblical exegesis and the theory is Max Weber's model about the three pure types of legitimate authority. The secondary literature is from Meeks, MacDonald, Holmberg, Dunn and Campenhausen.

The main part of the thesis is based on the Pauline material, but the tradition from John and Peter are used as means to compare. The thesis is also touching briefly the second century movement Montanism.

Keywords are authority, prophets and false teachings, apostle, tradition, the use of metaphors and institutionalization vs. individualizing.

This paper is written within the master program The Religious Roots of Europe.

Introduction.

During the second semester of my master studies I wrote an exam paper about prophets in early Christianity and early Islam. The main purpose of that paper was to study if and how women might take the role as a prophet or be named as one, in these two traditions. When I read up on secondary sources, Lynch,¹ among others, mentioned that the second-century itinerant apostles, teachers, and prophets were less able to claim authority on the basis on direct contact with Jesus' early followers. In another chapter, Lynch described the tensions between prophets and bishops because of the direct revelations that some prophets still claimed to have through the Holy Spirit. My interest was sparked and I decided to study authority and leadership in the earliest church for my thesis project. I recognized, in the process of getting an overview over text material and sources, that there is a much bigger amount of texts to study than I first thought. I started by working with Paul's first letter to the Corinthians and reading about how one studies biblical text, since this was still a new experience for me. Biblical exegesis therefore is an important methodological tool used in my thesis. Parallel to this, I started reading up on secondary sources, and to work with a theoretical framework for my paper. The German sociologist, Max Weber, was decided to be a good starting point with his theory about "The three pure types of legitimate authority."² In addition, I have added perspectives from other sociologists and scholars in the field of

¹ Lynch 2010 p.63

² From *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, part I*

religious studies. The quest continued: Which texts are the most interesting to work with if we want to describe leadership and authority in early Christianity? I decided to focus on the first century, and in addition, to take some notes of the transition from the first to the second century. The source material then limits itself, but there is still a variety of possible approaches, a fact that became even clearer after having gone even deeper into the secondary sources and their approaches. Finally, my problem formulation/research question is formulated as follows: With basis in the Pauline and the Johannine text corpus, how might we define authority and leadership in the primitive church?

However, there is a weakness with my problem formulation, because focusing on the Pauline and the Johannine material means to leave out other valuable sources, and then other possible perspectives. I will try *to meet this weakness* by also including a shorter look into the writings of Peter the apostle. The New Prophecy and the Thomas tradition will be included in my study, but will primarily be studied through secondary sources: the Thomas tradition in connection with the study of the Johannine sources and the idea of the beloved disciple, and The New Prophecy³ in connection with the idea of the continuance of charismatic groups, as a possible opposition to the traditional authority system that took form in the second century.

Primary sources.

Some general notes about Biblical texts will first be given.

From the German scholar Gerd Theissen⁴, we learn the following: There are 13 canonical Pauline letters; meaning that the Bible contains 13 letters ascribed to Paul. There are four letters which we call "catholic": 1 and 2 Peter, James and Jude and three Johannine letters.⁵ Theissen writes that our only source for primitive Christianity from year 0 to year 70 CE is the Acts of the Apostles⁶ and the authentic Pauline letters⁷. If there are authentic Pauline letters, there must also be inauthentic ones. These are called pseudo-Pauline and are given a later date than the authentic letters of Paul. They are among the sources Theissen puts in the

³ Or Montanism

⁴ Theissen, Gerd. *De første Kristnes religion, en teori om urkristendommen*, Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag 1992 translated from German by Knud Rendtorff

⁵ Theissen 1992 p. 287

⁶ It is common to attribute the authorship of Acts to Luke, the same Luke who is given the authorship of "The Gospel according to Luke".

⁷ Theissen 1992 p. 270

category of year 70 to 110 CE, along with the Judeo Christian writings, the synoptic gospels⁸, and the Johannine writings.

The primary sources to be studied are, from The Pauline tradition, Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, Paul's letters to Timothy, and to Titus. In addition, I will use Galatians and Philippians for chapter two, when discussing Paul's self-understanding, and other texts may be referred to as well. 1Corinthians, which was the first source I started to work with, is dated to as early as 52 A.D., and is commonly agreed to be an authentic Pauline letter. It is interesting because it gives us an insight into Paul and his relationship with his fellow workers, and because of the described model for how the church should function, and about charisma.

The Johannine tradition or traditions, as Johnson⁹ describes them, are found as one gospel: The gospel of John, three letters: 1, 2 and 3 John and as an apocalyptic document: the Apocalypse or Book of Revelation¹⁰. Among these texts, my study will primarily focus on the Gospel of John (John 21:15-23) and The First Letter of John (1John 4:1-3), but the apocalypse/ book of Revelation will also be used in connection with the prophecy-discussion.

My skills in *Koine* Greek are on a really basic level, so the English translation from the New Revised Standard Version¹¹ was of great help in interpreting the source material. Occasionally I will make use of other English Bible translations, to compare the understanding of important words and terms. Of course it is important to remember that the Greek text version, in my case Nestle-Aaland's *Novum Testamentum Graece*¹², is also an interpretation and not a true copy of the letters and gospels.

Secondary sources:

When I learnt the basic method for reading biblical source material, I found it to be the key for reading and understanding many of my secondary sources. I recognized the way that the scholars thought when they approached the source material. There are two sorts of secondary sources which I made use of: the biblical text commentaries which are helpful guidelines

⁸ Mark, Luke and Matthew

⁹ Johnson, Luke Timothy. *The writings of the New Testament, an interpretation*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press 2010. Third edition.

¹⁰ Johnson 2010 p. 462

¹¹ *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, New Revised Standard Version with The Apocrypha, fourth edition, Oxford University Press 2010

¹² Nestle-Aaland 2006, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft

when reading eg. Corinthians or Galatians, and the books and articles which discusses a topic similar to or like mine, Holmberg's Paul and Power, Campenhausen's Ecclesiastical authority¹³ etc., where the scholar makes use of several sources to describe and discuss their topic of interest. In addition, I have also conferred with a couple of reference works; The Theological Dictionary of The New Testament among them. Some books are not actively referred to in my thesis but were useful background readings for preparing me to write my thesis, and to go back to during the research and writing process. Most of the sources I used were recommended to me by my supervisor and my co-supervisor, and a few books came to my attention because they were mentioned by other students or by the authors of the material I was already using. Introduction chapters often contain the scholar's description of previous research in the field which his/her publication is a part of, as well as a review concerning the lacks and benefits of the theories and results of the former research. For my own work I can already state that I recognize the problem of trying to include a broad textual material into a limited amount of pages, when I see how Campenhausen's book lacks a consistent framework, while MacDonald's is somehow a bit too structure-focused. For my own thesis I have attempted a middle way.

The structure for my thesis:

First I will be presenting a methodological and theoretical framework, in chapter one, with a focus upon how one studies authority and leadership in the fields of religious studies and sociology¹⁴. Thereafter comes chapter two, where the aim is to present and discuss Paul and his life shortly, before spending the bigger part of the chapter discussing Paul's role and his understanding of authority, as well as how others saw and see him (in modern research). The ending of chapter two will consist of a preliminary conclusion concerning Paul's authority.

Chapter three will study how the churches of the first century functioned. Here I will set special focus upon the congregation which Paul addresses in his letter to the Corinthians. The church in Corinth will be studied as an example of a first century Christian community which struggled with intern conflicts. This study will make us able to recognize what the sources for

¹³ von Campenhausen, Hans. *Ecclesiastical authority and spiritual power in the church of the first three centuries*, Massachusetts Hendrickson Publishers- J.A .Baker 1969

¹⁴ And not to forget: theology.

the conflict are, and how authority is exercised. The keywords are the model of the body and the terminology of baptism.

In chapter four, it is interesting for the purpose of comparison, to see what the tendencies are in the years leading up to the second century. We should therefore spend some time looking into the situation of the churches which Paul's followers, and the other apostles, had supervision over. These are the churches addressed in the Pastoral Epistles¹⁵ and the Christian communities we meet in the Johannine tradition. A side glimpse will be given to the writings of Peter the apostle. The New Prophecy and the Thomas tradition will be included in my study, but will primarily be studied through secondary sources.

With this structure, I intend to give the reader of this thesis a good and basic understanding of authority and leadership in Christianity's earliest days, and to answer the problem formulation stated above. It is important to stress that chapter two and three are not solely focused on Paul, but will also actively add to the picture of the church of the first century by looking into what roles other church delegates and apostles have.

Chapter 1: The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there¹⁶.

- Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of authority and leadership in the church of the first century.

To be able to analyze the primary sources and to discuss the overall theme of my thesis, it is useful and rather necessary to have a set of tools to use. With the language of religious studies, "tools" can be called "method" and "theory". This chapter will therefore be concerned with exploring and defining these tools: first, which type of methodology to work with throughout the thesis, and second to figure out which sort of theoretical framework to draw.

1.1 Method for textual analysis.

To compare we need to understand. In order to understand the phenomenon we are studying, we need to start by analyzing the primary sources we have. For studies in ancient history this

¹⁵ My study will take place under the assumption that the Pastoral letters are not written by Paul himself.

¹⁶ Quote from L.P. Hartly. *The Go-Between*, 1953

material is often written sources¹⁷; some well-preserved, some not. My study material is mainly texts from the Biblical text corpus. There is a specific method for analyzing biblical material, and the way of doing this within New Testament Studies is called “Exegesis”. There are four steps: “Translation”, “Paraphrase”, “Exegesis” and the adding of a co-subject according to what you intend to use the exegesis for. First you translate the NT-text, and focus especially on the syntactical analysis. The linguistic work helps you make the text easier to understand. Next step is the paraphrase, which is a reproduction of the texts content and structure, in a different and often shorter form. The paraphrase is your tool for getting an overview of the textual structure and course. Step three is to make your own understanding of the text visible, by deciding its literary context, making a more detailed analysis/ exegesis of the text and give an overview of the main points from the text. To interpret a Biblical text, you need to have knowledge of history, including social history, how and why the text came into being, as well as theology of the New Testament. With the inclusion of social history, you read the text into the social setting which it was written. Without this basis, many sentences and arguments appears vague to us, and we miss out on important aspects of the interpretation. Wayne Meeks and Gerd Theissen are viewed as pioneers in the field of social studies and conflict studies in New Testament studies.

In New Testament studies there are different schools, as we might call them, with different opinions as to which methods to best apply to the reading of the texts. These differences will be visible when the theories from the different secondary sources are applied to the exegetical work.

1.2 Theory.

1.2.1. Authority as a sociological concept.

Social order is the present (existing) and future (desired) social arrangements of a group. Form of authority and power can be part of the social order. The Sociologist Meredith B. McGuire claims that *a legitimation* is any form of socially established explanation that is given to justify a course of action¹⁸. She understands Religious legitimations as justifying existing social arrangements, but adds that they might also be a form of criticism of the

¹⁷ Or from other archeological findings like buildings, art etc. of course

¹⁸ McGuire 1981 p.23

existing social order. Legitimacy is defined by McGuire as “the social recognition of an authority’s claims to be taken seriously”¹⁹ and it further implies a form of negative social sanctions if one fails to comply with the authoritative commands.

Reading Weber through the eyes of Holmberg²⁰, “*Authority* is a quality pertaining to a person or a group of persons”²¹, while *domination* is a quality pertaining to a social system. The bearer of authority is always a human being. A sheep or a chair cannot be the bearer of authority. Authority works in such a way that the individual’s confidence in the ruler is greater than confidence in one’s own insight, which might even lead to abandoning what one knows to be true, for the benefit of following the ruler. Authority requires that subjects consider it legitimate.

In Hellenistic Greek of The New Testament, the word for “authority” is ἐξουσία. This feminine noun has a variety of meanings. In addition to might, power and authority, it can also be translated to freedom of choice, right to act, etc.²² Furthermore, it can refer to the bearers of authority, *authorities*, *officials*, *government*, and in the Pauline letters also to *spirit powers*. How to translate ἐξουσία is therefore solely dependent upon context.

In Rom 13:1-3 the word ἐξουσία is used four times, and translated as *authority* by the NRSV²³ translation. Paul is telling the Christians in Rome: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ- ...*for there is no authority except from God* (Rom 13:1). In what follows, he explains that the existing authorities have been instituted by God, followed by the explanation in verse 2 that ὥστε *therefore* those who resists authority – ὁ ἀντιπασσόμενος (participle) τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ also resists God.

In 1Cor 15:24, another text where ἐξουσία is used, Paul speaks in eschatological terms and explains what will happen when the world ends. Here the authority is something that will end when the world ends, when he (Christ) has καταργήσῃ –destroyed (every ruler and) every authority- πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν (and power). We saw above that ἐξουσία can also be translated as

¹⁹ McGuire 1981: 168

²⁰ Holmberg, Bengt. *Paul and Power, The structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as reflected in The Pauline Epistles*, 1978

²¹ Holmberg 1978 p.126

²² Several dictionaries/lexicons

²³ New Revised standard version

power, but put in a context where we also have the word δύναμις,²⁴ I agree with the NRSV translation that authority is the right translation for ἐξουσία.

McGuire discusses religious leadership and finds that in the history of religion, the prophet stands as the prototype of the change-oriented leader. With Weber, she differentiates between two types of prophetic roles: the exemplary prophet and the emissary prophet. An exemplary prophet is one who through his/her way of life, sets an example for others, like Buddha. An emissary prophet brings a message, a warning, or a new way of thinking, and is an important factor for change in the society. McGuire mentions the Old Testament prophets as examples. A prophet is in an opposing role to the priest, making the relationship between them into a struggle over authority. The priest controls the established religion; the prophet claims an authority outside this established authority²⁵. This is an interesting point for the discussion later in this paper about the different roles within the church, because it appears to me that especially in the church of the first century, the prophets, rather than opposing the role of the priest/preacher, supplement him. The situation for the second and third century, however, may easily be of different sort, thus my comments in the introduction to the thesis.

A scholar that took a great interest in how authority functions in a society is Max Weber, who was briefly mentioned earlier, but who will now in the following section be studied in more detail.

1.2.2. Max Weber

Max Weber was a German sociologist who lived from 1864 to 1920. His social theories have been actively used both for social sciences, theology and religious studies.

It has been a common to view Weber as the re-inventor of Charisma, applying it to his social theories and claiming its universalism. In a book called “A History of Charisma”, by John Potts²⁶, the author traces the roots of “Charisma” back to the apostle Paul. We should bear in mind though, that charisma in Paul’s understanding is a different one than that of Weber and contemporary theologians and sociologists²⁷. Potts is also under the impression that Weber

²⁴ Δύναμιν- accusative form of Δύναμις – power, strength, act of power, miracle etc.

²⁵ McGuire 1981 p. 202

²⁶ Potts, John *A History of Charisma*, Great Britain: Palgrave Macmillan 2009.

²⁷ A point I will return to when discussing the usefulness of Weber’s theories for my thesis.

brought Charisma back to life. Ekstrand²⁸, however, rightfully gives the credit to Rudolph Sohm, and so does Weber himself:

"The concept of `charisma` (`the gift of grace`) is taken from the vocabulary of early Christianity²⁹. For the Christian religious organization, Rudolph Sohm, in his *Kirchenrecht*, was the first to clarify the substance of the concept, even though he did not use the same terminology." ³⁰

Rudolph Sohm was a theologian and a jurist, living from 1841 to 1917. He understood charisma within a clear Christian framework, seeing charisma as a gift from the Holy Spirit, given to those who should lead the church. According to Sohm, the Christian Church is a charismatically governed organization³¹. Weber, as we shall see, held charisma as an analytical concept, and also to be value neutral. Not only is there a difference between Paul's understanding of Charisma and that of modern scholars, but there is also a difference between theologians and sociologists on this point.

A few remarks: I have used the available English translations of Weber, from *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, translated into English by A.M Henderson and Talcott Parsons. The theory about the three pure types of legitimate authority seems to be printed in several other English translations. The secondary sources I refer to, which also use material from Weber, use English translations in addition to the German original. For example, in Holmberg's bibliography³² there is listed an edition called "Economy and Society. An outline of Interpretative Sociology", published in 1968 and in three volumes. Many of Weber's texts were published posthumously, and his writings are therefore difficult to place chronologically.

1.2.2.1. The Three pure types of legitimate authority

The text "The Three Pure Types of Legitimate Authority" is from the book "The theory of social and economic organization"³³. As the title of the book indicates, Weber's main concern is not on religious systems but rather society in general. Still, Weber makes reference also to the church as an institution, and to charismatic leadership within the religious sphere.

²⁸ Ekstrand 1990

²⁹ Which means that during my thesis I need to get an understanding of what exactly charisma in the Christian sense, is

³⁰ Weber 1947: 328

³¹ Ekstrand 1990 p.154

³² Holmberg 1978 p. 223

³³ Weber 1947 ed. Talcott Parsons, Chapter III pp.324-386

Power is, by Weber's definition, "a person's ability to impose his will upon others despite resistance"³⁴. The two basic types of power then, are domination resting on the ability to influence the interests of others, and the domination that rests on authority.

The first type of authority to be recognized by Weber is authority based on rational grounds: *legal authority*³⁵. More specifically: legal authority with a bureaucratic administrative staff. He explains that there are certain ideas that must be valid for legal authority to be efficient. First, the person in authority occupies an office, with an established set of rules. Second, the one who obeys the authority is a member, obeying the law of the association. Here Weber gives the examples of a church member. The member does not hold a personal relationship and responsibility to the leader/authority, and the leader does not hold any authority outside his specified sphere. Weber then brings up eight aspects of what he calls the fundamental categories of rational legal authority³⁶, which I chose to summarize in the following keywords: continuity, competence, hierarchy, the need of the right skills, written, appointed never elected. Legal authority demands a system of social control. The subjects of bureaucratic control might break free, Weber writes, but normally only to create an organization of their own, which again is subject to the process of bureaucratization.³⁷

Weber's second type of authority is *traditional authority*³⁸. The person or persons who are exercising authority are designated according to traditionally transmitted rules. Unlike legal authority, where one's authority is linked to a specific system and a set of rules, traditional authority is based on the personal authority of the individual. Those who are under his authority are so because of personal loyalty to him. You show your obedience to a person, not to a set of rules. In the same way, opposition will be directed not against the system but against the person, whom the people can accuse of failing to observe the traditional limits of his authority. Traditional authority might be exercised both with and without an administrative staff³⁹. Where a staff is involved, it will consist of those in important positions within the authority's household. Weber writes that the typical administrative staff is recruited from: (1) persons who already are related to the authority by traditional ties of personal loyalty, such as kinsmen, slaves and officers of the household; (2) other people standing in some sort of relation to him, and those who of their own will enters into his household.

³⁴ Blau 1963 p. 306

³⁵ Weber 1947 pp. 329

³⁶ Weber 1947 pp. 330-333

³⁷ Weber 1947 p. 335

³⁸ Weber 1947 pp.341-358

³⁹ Weber 1947 p.342

Further, Weber writes that a traditional authority can be an example for people to follow- an important influence to how they chose to live.

Charisma, according to Weber, is a certain quality of an individual which sets the person apart from ordinary men. This quality is a specifically exceptional power. Based on this quality, the person becomes a leader- *a charismatic authority*. He/she is thought to be of divine origin or has gained status by being an example to others⁴⁰. The one important thing, says Weber, is how the individual is regarded by those who are subject to his charismatic authority, who we can call followers or disciples, the last one being a term often used in connection with religion. In a similar way as with authority based on traditional grounds, charismatic authority may cease to exist if the leader fails his/her mission, which here means failing to demonstrate his or her gifts. Weber says that Charisma means “gift of grace”. This choice of words will easily be thought of as having a religious connotation, but for Weber, charisma is not religiously bound. Further, all types of charisma are treated on the same level, as equally important, because sociological analysis must be free from value judgments. Unlike an authority based on rational grounds, there are no formal rules or law connected with a charismatic authority, and his staff⁴¹ is not claiming any special knowledge. Charismatic authority is for Weber something outside the normal system of a society. It is the greatest revolutionary force, as one strong charismatic leader might change people’s whole concept of thinking.

The question is whether such a loose and radical form of authority can last? Weber’s theory of the three pure types of legitimate authority has a second part, where he talks about what he calls the “routinization of charisma”⁴².

“Routinization” refers to the process of institutionalization. Weber contends that in the purest form of Charismatic authority the social relationships directly involved are strictly personal. A radical change is needed however⁴³. The original charismatic character cannot remain stable, and it will, Weber writes, become either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both. The followers of the charismatic authority will themselves at some point desire to transform charisma and charismatic blessing from something unique into a permanent possession of everyday life, and economic interests will take a part as well. The followers will

⁴⁰ An exemplary prophet, as we spoke of earlier

⁴¹ Followers, disciples

⁴² Weber 1947 pp.363-386

⁴³ Weber 1947 pp. 363-364

take up certain roles, forming an organizational structure. A normal turning point in a charisma based authority is when the leader dies and one faces the question of how to carry on⁴⁴.

Weber's approach to the study of authority have been criticized on the following points:

-From Campenhausen's⁴⁵ perspective, the categories from Weber are developed in a too schematic a manner to be useful as they stand, for throwing light on early Christian situations. This explanation is given in a footnote to Campenhausen's introduction notes about the authority of office and the validity of personal endowment⁴⁶.

Another criticism has been the sharp line that Weber draws between charisma and tradition. For Berger⁴⁷, the criterion for distinguishing between genuine and false charisma is the religious *tradition*, and so the sharp distinction Weber makes between authority based on charisma and authority based on tradition, is problematic for Berger.

According to Lindskoug⁴⁸, Weber's value neutral concept of charisma is lacking any form of moral content. This is problematic for her, because she claims that it is the content of the charisma which decides if the charisma is good or bad, and therefore she cannot use Weber's theory for her research.

-Holmberg⁴⁹ criticizes Weber especially for the part of his theory which describes the routinization of charisma, because he⁵⁰ finds it confusing and self-contradictory to combine "routine" and "charisma" in one concept. Secondly he sees a fundamental vagueness in defining the nature of routinization. Thirdly he mentions the case where the charismatic leader himself is the primary routinizing agent, and that this is not given much consideration by Weber's theory. Weber's primary focus is on what happens when the leader dies and his followers carries on with his mission. The leader's death is what causes the institutionalization/ routinization to happen, because his followers need to find a way to continue.

⁴⁴ Weber 1947 p. 364

⁴⁵ Campenhausen 1969

⁴⁶ Campenhausen 1969 p.1

⁴⁷ Ekstrand 1999 p. 154

⁴⁸ Ekstrand 1999 p. 155

⁴⁹ Holmberg 1978 p. 164-166

⁵⁰ Holmberg

1.2.3 Other perspectives on authority.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the three types of legitimate authority which Weber's theory describes, are to be understood as ideal types. In "Metode i Religionsvitenskap"⁵¹, Michael Stausberg writes that ideal types are a fruitful tool for comparative method. It is a way of simplifying reality, because reality will of course be much more complex than these models or types. Weber's theory is a good tool and good to "think with". It helps us to describe different forms of legitimate authority, and to distinguish them from each other. At the same time it is important to remember that Weber's work is purely sociological. As a sociologist he is interested in describing processes of change in the society. For him, the proof that a person is the bearer of charisma is that he has followers who view him so. Unlike the authority based on legal-rational or traditional grounds, charismatic authority is purely based on the qualities of the leader.

These are the same points as Eileen Barker mentions, when she sets forth to analyze New Religious Movements⁵². She explains that there is a difference between how sociologists, theologians and "the man on the street" uses the word charisma. For the regular guy, a pop-star might be described as a charismatic figure. Theologians would speak of charisma as a special kind of grace which the bearer possess, while for a sociologist charisma means that the followers of a leader believe that the leader possesses a very special quality⁵³. Interesting for my work is number two and three, and these will, I believe, be the categories we have to keep in mind when talking about charisma in this paper.

Barker further writes that charismatic leaders are neither bound by tradition nor rules⁵⁴. Here she agrees with Weber, in distinguishing between the concepts of charisma, tradition and law. The charismatic leader bears an authority which influences every sphere of the human being's/member's life.

McGuire introduces her chapter 5 called "The Dynamics of Religious Collectives"⁵⁵ by saying that while some religious groups have loose boundaries and relaxed authority structures, others will have clear-cut boundaries and rigid authority structures. She also distinguishes between those groups who find themselves in conflict with the rest of society and those who are "socially comfortable and thoroughly integrated into the larger society".

⁵¹ Kraft & Natvig (ed.) 2006 p.44

⁵² Barker, Eileen. *New Religious Movements: a practical introduction*, London: HSMO 1989

⁵³ Barker 1989 p. 13

⁵⁴ Barker 1989 p.13

⁵⁵ McGuire 1981 p.142

McGuire`s opinion is that all religious groups change over time. The reason for scholars` interest in this sort of classifying was the discovery that religious groups orient themselves differently to their social environments. For Weber there were two basic categories, which I believe we still refer to today: the church and the sect.

In chapter three I intend to address the situation of conflict which Pauline sources tell us existed in the church of Corinth in the first century. The above observations from McGuire are interesting because they indicate what to look for when analyzing the Corinthian church as a religious collective. Can we find these boundaries which she speaks of, and is it possible to speak of “authority structures” or at least a skeleton/sketch of them? How about the Christians in relation to the society around, can we recognize any specific patterns here? , We must think, I believe, both of structures and boundaries within the group, and how this is communicated out to the society.

Durkheim studies showed that shared religious meanings *expressed* the group`s unity, while shared experience *produced* that unity⁵⁶. If we consider the situation of the very first Christians, their religious meaning would be their claim that the man called Jesus was God`s son and the Messiah allegedly promised in the Hebrew Scriptures. Those who knew Jesus while he lived and claimed to have been called as apostles in his name shared that experience and so the experience produced the unity of the group. The theories here presented will not be used by me as fixed forms to put material from my research work into, but rather as a tool to sort my material into categories. Models like these are a way of simplifying reality, and should never be mistaken for reality.

Chapter 2: «Paul as an authority»

The focus of this chapter will be to find out how Christians in the church of the first century understood authority, to try to define what characterizes authority and leadership in the very beginning of Christianity. I will take the role of the apostle as my starting point. As the headline indicates, it is the apostle Paul that is to be studied. The reason is primarily that Paul's life and his understanding of apostleship is the best documented of all the mentioned apostles from early Christianity, due to the fact that we have his correspondence with Corinth, Galatia etc. We want to see how Paul views the role of an apostle, and how his perception meets that of the people over which he has supervision. It is important as well to look at how

⁵⁶ McGuire 1981 p.36

the role of an apostle is understood when Paul starts his work as one, because his pre-understanding of his assigned task would certainly influence how he comes to take his responsibility, and we will be able to see how his perspectives help shape the tradition of apostleship. Which source(s) is it that Paul builds his authority on, and how does he argue for his right to that authority? Is his authority basically built on his claim to be a part of a tradition, or does his authority come from personal experience or appearance, ability for persuasion or the claim to being a bearer of charisma?

2.1 Pre-Pauline Christianity and the “origin” of the apostle role

Paulos kletos apostolos christou iesou dia thelematos theou...

-Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God...

These words are the opening of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. It gives the name and title of the sender, as was normal in letters from antiquity. Paul gives himself the title of apostolos, which he is called to be “kletos” by Christou Iesou through (dia) the will thelematos of theou God. Apostolos then, is the title Paul gives himself, and it is what gives him authority, when writing his letter with advice and commands for the Corinthian church. What then, is an apostle, and which form of authority does this title give to Paul? This question I will investigate in the next pages.

αποστολη⁵⁷ (feminine noun) describes: the role of one who has been commissioned and sent as a special messenger- `apostleship, to be an apostle, to be a special messenger`. αποστολος (masculine noun) describes: one who fulfills the role of being a special messenger - `apostle, special messenger`. αποστολος doesn't have any direct biblical references. It is a derivative of αποστέλλω “to send a message, one who is sent with a message- a messenger”.

The term “apostle” in the New Testament is applied to one who carries the message of the gospel. The original adjective “apostolos” is attested only infrequently in Greek literature, referring to an envoy or a bearer of a message in a general sense, and does not appear in the

⁵⁷Barclay-Newman 1989

Old Testament scriptures (For references, see Herodotus or Plato. There is also the understanding of a divine envoy- the ideal Cynic, in Epictetus)

With this apparent lack of apostles other places than the Bible, A.B.D⁵⁸ concludes that Christianity appears to have picked up a secular term and made it into a specific office and title⁵⁹.

The basic meaning of apostle then, is a messenger or envoy. Paul emphasizes that he is the apostle of Jesus Christ. This means that Paul was sent as a messenger by Jesus, a fact that must be important for his authority.

From Paul himself we learn about the other apostles, the tradition of apostleship.

To define the distinctive character and activity of an apostle, Campenhausen⁶⁰ says the following: an apostle was a missionary, with an authority considered to be based on a call from God himself and not from any humans, and he mentions that the disciples were called to be apostles in the meeting with the risen Lord. Disciples became apostles. Jesus followers went from pupils to missionaries, assigned a specific task. My assumption is that this new task would also lead to a form of authority. Peter was assigned a special role among the apostles, as the church builder. When we later read Galatians, it is evident from Paul`s report from Antioch that Peter is one who questions Paul`s authority and possibly his status as an apostle. Paul was not a member of that exclusive group that followed Jesus around. This is a crucial point for understanding why Paul`s language is so apologetic in his letter to the Galatians.

Referring back to what I previously said about the 12 disciples “turning into” the twelve apostles; the idea of a specific number is quite interesting. According to Campenhausen⁶¹ there was probably never a fixed number for either disciples or apostles. It has been suggested by him that the number 12 represents the 12 tribes of Israel. Of course those tribes were no longer a reality at this point, but historical references might have helped the trustworthiness of the gospels and of Acts. Reading the gospels we see that there are many people following Jesus, also women, and when we meet Christianity after Jesus death and resurrection, it is as well likely that the group of apostles was a growing one, and not limited to a specific number.

⁵⁸ Anchor Bible Dictionary

⁵⁹ Anchor Bible Dictionary 1992 pp.309-311

⁶⁰ Campenhausen 1969 p. 22-23

⁶¹ Campenhausen 1969 p. 14-15

As we saw earlier, the term apostle was not connected to a specific office in the Greco-Roman society. There were however, a multitude of other titles and offices. I believe that to understand how the apostle role was viewed among members of the earliest churches, we need to have a basic understanding of authority and offices in the Greco-Roman society.

In Roman Corinth, most people held multiple social roles. The basic and most important relationship was the one you had to your family and to your household. Robertson⁶² calls this unit the household network. Inside your household network you have a certain set of obligations, which comes first, no matter which other obligations you have. If the head of house, in most households the father, became a Christian, the rest of the household would be expected to follow, including the slaves.

Another relationship described by Robertson is that which you find between patron and client⁶³. The patron gives the client protection, perhaps money or a way to social positions. In return the client has certain obligations to fulfill. This is a network of dependence, as is the master-slave relationship. A young man would then find himself to hold obligations first to his father and second to his patron. The young man's patron may again be the client of another person, from higher up in the society. The difference between the master-slave relationship⁶⁴ and the patron-client relationship is that the patron has no ownership over the client, the authority relation could perhaps be seen as similar to Weber's concept of traditional authority, from the Three types of legitimate authority-theory. The authority that the master exercises over his/her slave on the other hand, is absolute. A fact that should be taken into consideration when we study Paul's use of the term *doulos*-slave in Gal 1:1, 4:1 and 1Cor 7:21 or the context of Paul's letter to Philemon, which I will do a brief introduction to later⁶⁵. A slave may be given his/her freedom by the master, and will thereafter be referred to as a "freedman". A reason for why you would free your slave is for example if the slave saved a family members life etc. Freedman may own a house and land, but will still keep a form of relationship with his/her previous master. Such a relationship can then be a patron-client relationship.

This system of belonging and interdependence would without question be taken up in the Corinthian church. As would the general understanding of social hierarchy and an

⁶² Robertson, *Conflict in Corinth: re-defining the system*, Volume 42 of studies in biblical literature, P. Lang 2001 p. 58

⁶³ Robertson 2001 p.69

⁶⁴ A third set of relationship

⁶⁵ Chapter 2, sub headline "other sources to Paul's authority"

understanding of how leaders should act and dress. If we picture a leader of high class, dressed up smartly, always followed by at least one servant, and having been trained by the best teachers in rhetoric, then we picture quite another person than who Paul was, don't we?

In chapter 3 I will look more in detail at the model for a Roman class-system, which was commonly described by using the body as a metaphor⁶⁶. In the same presentation, I have also tried to introduce the way in which the philosophers used the same metaphor, and how Paul used it for his mission. The philosophers I have in mind here are the Stoics. Philosophy was, along with rhetoric, an important part of education in the Greco-Roman societies. First however, we shall return to what the sources tells us about Paul, in preparation for the forthcoming discussion about his position and authority.

2.3 Paul and the Galatians.

The reason for choosing Galatians as a text for closer study when addressing Paul and his authority, is that it is the best source for Paul's background story. As I will show when we start interpreting the text, Paul use his own story as an example for the people we call Galatians. This is not however, his autobiography. The general scholarly assumption is that Paul was born between year 5 and 15 CE, in Tarsus, and that he must have had some sort of rhetorical training during his youth. Paul was born with a Roman citizenship and went to Jerusalem to study (Acts 22:28)⁶⁷. The assumption about his birth comes from a mixture of how we can relate episodes he describes to historical events, and by using The Acts of The Apostles. It should be mentioned here as before, that Acts and the Pauline letters don't always agree. Galatians 1:14 tells us that Paul used to be a Pharisee, meaning he belonged to the Jewish group that was called Pharisees.

Johnson, in the chapter called "The letter to the Galatians", writes that both the geographic/demographic placement and dating of the source is uncertain⁶⁸. He adds that it is a difficult letter to interpret, because of the density of Paul's argument. The letter is written to a group of churches, unlike for example Corinthians, which is addressed to one congregation, and as Gal 3:1 relates Paul calls the members "Galatians". According to Johnson, the letter's rhetoric⁶⁹ is emotional and polemical all trough. Horrell⁷⁰, referring to Hans-Dieter Betz,

⁶⁶ The model of discord

⁶⁷ So this could be where he received rhetorical training

⁶⁸ Johnson 2010 p.290

⁶⁹ The rhetorical species are epideictic, deliberative and forensic.

gives us a sketch for the rhetorical structure of Galatians. Betz sees the letter as an “apologetic” letter⁷¹. What does “apologetic” mean? *Apologia* is a Greek word, the feminine noun *απολογία*; *defense*, (in some NT texts: *answer, reply*).⁷²

I will not give a full analysis of the letter, but rather chose some parts I find to be of primary interest.

First, we have Paul’s references to his own personal experience. He names himself the sender of the letter and at the same time gives his title “apostle”, a position “not from men nor through man” (Gal 1:1, RSV⁷³), implying that apostleship is not a position you inherit or gain through privilege and status, but, from his understanding, “...through Jesus Christ and God the Father...” (Gal 1:1, RSV). In the latter part of verse 10, Paul answers his own question “Or am I trying to please men?”, with a “If I were still pleasing men, I should not be a servant of God”. This statement is interesting for two reasons. Firstly because Paul here gets another role, that of “servant” or perhaps rather gives an extra description to the already stated role as an apostle and secondly, because the Greek wording here (*doulos*) in most dictionaries means “slave”. RSV also has a footnote to the word servant, saying “or slave”. I will return to the language and rhetoric of Paul including the concrete use of words/ terms and the metaphorical one. For now it is sufficient to say that we understand an apostle as one who serves, not man but God.

In vv. 11-12 Paul writes (RSV): For I would have you know, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not man’s gospel. For I did not receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ”

The importance of these two verses lays again in Paul’s strong emphasis on something coming from Jesus Christ and not from man: *anthropos*. Just as he is an apostle through Jesus Christ, so the gospel preached by him is not man’s gospel, received from man, it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ. I would say that these verses build a stable ground under Paul’s feet, he is in the process of establishing his apostolic authority.

⁷⁰ Horrell 2006

⁷¹ Horrell 2006 pp. 51-54

⁷² Gingrich 1971 p. 24

⁷³ Revised Standard Version

For analyzing the next verses I will use James D.G. Dunn's commentary "The epistle to the Galatians"⁷⁴.

v15: "But when he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace..." (RSV) / "But when it pleased the one who set me apart from my mother's womb, and called me through his grace... (Dunn's translation⁷⁵)

Dunn here puts our attention to the shift from Paul speaking in first person, and focusing upon what he did and learned, to the inclusion of another factor- "But when it pleased THE ONE who set me apart from my mother's womb". He compares Galatians 1:15 with 1 Corinthians 1:21, which has: *eudokesen ho theos*, and says that "the reference to God is not explicit but unmistakable (in Gal 1:15). Nestle- Aland's Greek textual version of the New Testament has *ho theos* in a square bracket, which means that textual critics today are not completely convinced of the authenticity of the enclosed words.

- "and called me through his grace" This line refers to Paul's calling as an apostle. The grace of God becomes a crucial aspect also in 1 Corinthians, in 3:10 when Paul talks of his own role, and in chapter 12 when he explains the community function and spiritual gifts to the congregation in Corinth.

Verse 16 starts with: "To reveal his son in me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles," points to an act of revelation, and to Paul's special task, which is to preach to the Gentiles. Dunn⁷⁶ adds that this special task given Paul does not exclude him from preaching to other than Gentiles. The point is that his commission is freed from previous limitations, where only preaching to the already circumcised was the idea.

Dunn explicitly uses the word commissioning and not conversion. From Horrell we learn that some scholars defend the view that Paul had a call to a specific task, and did not do a conversion, because the god remained the same. Other scholars, Alan Segal being one of them, see Paul as a convert, but in "the modern sense of the word"⁷⁷. There are also different views as to *when* Paul understood himself as commissioned to take the gospel to the Gentiles. This is due to the fact that we have scarcely any information about Paul's early missionary activity.

⁷⁴ Dunn 1993

⁷⁵ Dunn 1993 p.62

⁷⁶ Dunn 1993 p. 66

⁷⁷ Horrell 2006 pp. 29-30

2.4 Other sources to Paul's life.

The letter of Paul to the Philippians tells us that Paul once was in prison, and it is from there that he writes his letter. Or perhaps he told Timothy what to write, because Timothy is a co-sender of the letter (Philippians 1:1). The situation of Paul's imprisonment is taken up in verses 12-26. He turns a negative situation into a positive one, by explaining how his imprisonment has led to more people hearing Christ. Paul's missionary activity then, did not stop at any point of his life, it seems. He works from everywhere. The New Testament canon includes one personal letter from Paul to Philemon. This letter resembles Philippians because it is written from prison, but the content is of a different kind. Paul asks his friend Philemon to accept Onesimus, Philemon's slave who is now imprisoned at the same place as Paul, when he returns from prison, where he has become a Christian just like Paul and Philemon. The greeting-formula is different from the letters to the congregations, because Paul does not greet Philemon by calling himself an apostolos, instead he writes – paulos desmios christou iesou – Paul prisoner of Christ Jesus. The term apostolos is not important in the context of a personal letter, but at the same time Paul emphasizes his role for Christ by calling himself a prisoner of-by-for Jesus. He does not write any letters without emphasizing his connection with Christ.

Interesting is it also that in the first part of Philippians chapter 1, and the latter part of verse 1, we find: “To all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi, with your *bishops (episkopos)* and *deacons (diakonos)*” (NRSV: my emphasis and words in brackets). Paul greets the congregation as a whole, but he mentions these two terms that are not used in the greetings in any of his other letters. When we continue the study of Paul below, he will be referring to himself as a *diakonos*, but *episkopos* is not part of the general Pauline terminology. The apostle is in the basic sense a messenger or envoy. The religious connotation is added by the Christians, no Greek text sees an apostolos as a religious figure. The message that the apostles bring is from God, and we learnt from Paul that they got a calling from God. We saw that he recognizes other persons as being called as apostles by Jesus himself while he lived, and understand apostleship as being established by Jesus. Paul as an apostle is the backdrop for studying his authority. From the study of Galatians we learnt that there is a possible explanation that God decided Paul as an apostle while still in his mother's womb. It was by God's grace that he became an apostle, when God used his son Jesus for this purpose, so that Paul could preach among the gentiles. To be an apostle is a lifelong calling, see what I wrote

above on Paul still working from prison. Parallell to being a messenger, envoy from God Paul was also a servant or slave, not for men but for God.

2.5 Paul in Corinth.

In the previous section/paragraph I used Paul`s letter to the Galatians together with Horrell`s book and commentaries by Johnson and Dunn, starting the process of defining Paul and his role. For this next part, I will include a detailed textual interpretation of 1 Corinthians 3:5-9 and commentaries based on reading the first four chapters of the letter. Paul`s first letter to the Corinthians is dated year 52 A.D and written to a congregation in the city of Corinth, which we learn that Paul has founded. Especially the first four chapters (1Cor 1-4) have been used for a variety of purposes, when a scholar has wished to test out a new theory and method. One of these approaches is the study of Paul`s rhetoric, and the question of what caused the conflicted situation in Corinth. Mitchell⁷⁸ sees the whole letter, and not just 1 Corinthians 1-4, as a united argument in response to factionalism (deliberative rhetoric⁷⁹).

For this textual interpretation I will use the structure of a biblical exegesis, which includes the following parts: (translation), paraphrase, exegesis with the sub-headlines defining context, a detailed exegesis and a summarizing interpretation. I put translation in brackets because I do not possess enough knowledge of the Greek language to do a full translation, and will therefore base my interpretation on translations done by others.

2.6 Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 3:5-9

2.6.1 Paraphrase

v.5 Paul defines himself and Apollos as servants, the servants who helped the addressees of the letter to come into belief.

v. 6-7 A definition of roles: Paul planted and Apollos watered, but God is the one that made the seed grow.

v.8-9 The roles of the two serve a common purpose; they are working together and receive payment according to this work. The congregation (“you”, plural) is compared with God`s field and God`s building.

⁷⁸ Mitchell, Margareth M. *Paul and the rhetoric of reconciliation: an exegetical investigation of the language and composition of 1 Corinthians*. Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox 1993

⁷⁹ The rhetorical species are epideictic, deliberative and forensic.

2.6.2 Exegesis:

Defining context

The chosen verses are part of the third chapter of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. The form of the text as a whole is that of a letter written to a congregation over which Paul the Apostle had supervision. Paul is raising a concern for the situation of the congregation/Christian community in Corinth, and so the purpose of his letter is to give the members advice and encouragement for their work and for their life as Christians. In chapter 1:1 Paul defines himself as: "Paul, called to be an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God, and our brother Sosthenes", and so establishes who the sender of the letter is. The man with the name of Apollos is a fellow apostle of Paul, mentioned several times during the letter, and also in the ending words of Paul, where he writes that Apollos has been encouraged to visit the Corinthian congregation, but has not yet followed that request; clearly he has had a stay (or more) in Corinth at some earlier point. In The Acts of the Apostles 18:24, we learn that Apollos was a Jew from Alexandria, who taught in Ephesus and later in Corinth (Acts 19:1).

When reaching "our" part of the letter, Paul has established that there is a problem within the Corinthian church, and he has tried to show them in which way what they are doing is against God's bidding. The rhetorical question he asks in verse five, "What then is Apollos? What is Paul?" is a reference back to 1:12, where Paul writes "What I mean is that each of you says, "I belong to Paul", or: "I belong to Apollos" or "I belong to Cephas" or "I belong to Christ." In a closer context, the words from verse five follow the saying of the previous verse (3:4): "For when one says, "I belong to Paul", and another, "I belong to Apollos", are you not merely human?" The reference to Paul and Apollos as servants (*diakonoi*) is again taken up in chapter four, where the community in Corinth is asked to see the apostles "as servants of Christ and stewards of God's mysteries".

The reference to the members of the congregation as "God's field" and "God's building" (3:9) is connected with the verses that follow, where Paul compares himself with "a skilled master builder".

2.6.3 A detailed exegesis/interpretation of 1.Cor 3:5-9

Secondary literature referred to in this part: Hays, Richard B. *Interpretation, a Bible Commentary for teaching and preaching: First Corinthians*⁸⁰ and PHEME PERKINS *First Corinthians*⁸¹

What I found in the paraphrase is that Paul, in verse 5, defines himself and Apollos as servants. He asks the rhetorical question of what he and Apollos are. The role which Paul now gives himself and Apollos, is as those who helped the Corinthians come into faith. This establishes that both Paul and Apollos have been in Corinth at a time when Christianity had few or no roots in Corinth, so that it was their job to spread the word of God. When reading the next verse, verse 6, we understand that Paul was the founder of the congregation: “I planted”. In Acts 18:11 we can read that Paul stayed in Corinth for one and a half year, to teach the people there the word of God.

As for Apollos, he was the one who “watered”, implying that even though Paul speaks of himself and Apollos as equals, they have had different roles to play in the process of, to use Paul’s own language “church planting” in Corinth. Paul laid the foundation; Apollos provided an important means for it to grow (water), by visiting the congregation and continuing Paul’s work. But God was the one who made sure that the church grew, and he placed the seed which Paul used to plant the church. Without God there would be no church, just as without sun, there would be no flowers.

In verse 8 Paul again sets focus upon the similarities between him and Apollos, in talking about the common purpose of the two (the one who plants and the one who waters), and how they will get rewarded according to that role (“receive wages”). Verse 9 repeats for us the weight Paul puts on them being servants, God’s servants, and emphasizes that they work together. There might be disagreements among the brothers/apostles, and from other sources we know that there was, but Paul’s mission is to make it clear that this is not something the Christians should find themselves bothered about. Put in a different way: He has to make sure that they understand how united he and Apollos are, otherwise he can’t claim that the Corinthians should stop arguing over roles and positions in the congregation. At the same

⁸⁰ Hays, Kentucky: John Knox Press 1997

⁸¹ Perkins 2012

time he emphasizes, as Hays⁸² rightfully claims, how fruitless it is to quarrel and to claim different leaders, to say that one was more important than another. If Paul and Apollos didn't cooperate then there would be no fruits and no congregation. This doesn't mean however that Paul necessarily sees himself and Apollos as equals. Through the whole letter Paul is working to establish his role and to make the Corinthian community see why they should listen to him.

Paul ends this paragraph (v.9) with emphasizing the role of his addressees, "You are God's field, God's building". The congregation is the result of what Paul has planted, Apollos has watered and God has given growth. Now they must carry on with the responsibility.

The word "servant", is used twice in the plural, in this text passage. The word from the Greek text is "diakonoi". Hays explain that the word must be seen to be meant metaphorically only, and is not meant as the technical term for a particular office in the church: "Deacon"⁸³. The reference to them as being "God's servants" also puts into the discussion a really important fact: the work which Paul and Apollos do, they do because they were assigned those tasks by God. They are literally servants, and it makes for Paul no meaning to quarrel about who is the best one among them, because they do their role as servants of God, not as independent leaders making their own decisions.

Still, we shouldn't give a too harmonious picture of the relationship between Paul and Apollos. Paul mention in 3:6 about being the one that planted, is further emphasized in later verses, like 3:10, where Paul puts himself as the "skilled master builder," the one to lay the foundation for the church. His role is a different one than that of Apollos.

We saw that God is both responsible for growth (vv.6-7) and is the owner of the field (v.9) and that Paul and Apollos roles are to serve God.

Gordon D. Fee⁸⁴ writes that the terminology of servant hood used in 1 Corinthians was one "ready-made" for Paul, coming directly from the teachings of Jesus. As proof, he asks us to read the Gospel of Mark (10:41-45) and the Gospel of Luke (22:25-27). He also adds that Mark 10:42 gives us the basic idea of Greek attitudes towards leadership, which then are different from the Christian one⁸⁵. It seems that the language of "servant leadership" is a Christian construction, used by Jesus and adopted by Paul.

⁸² Hays 1997 p. 51

⁸³ The term *diakonoi* will be discussed more in detail in chapter four

⁸⁴ Fee 1987

⁸⁵ Fee 1987 p.130-131

Making a summary of my findings, I would first like to draw attention to how Paul understands the founding of new churches and his role in it. This is an important point for further work with the church structure as it develops in these early days, and second it is crucial for understanding how Paul's authority works. In this part of the process, I will use, in addition to the source itself and the biblical commentaries already mentioned, a number of secondary sources which help me build up my argumentation. These sources will be presented as they appear in my argumentation.

First, we saw how Paul defined the roles of himself and Apollos, and how much emphasis he put on them being the servants of God. In his understanding they function as earthly leaders, but the earthly leaders are unimportant, because all Christians belong to one united church⁸⁶. The earthly leaders are just workers, they had their role as specified by God, and their authority doesn't go beyond that. Here it is interesting to compare with Weber's theory on the three pure types of legitimate authority, where we saw that one of the characteristics for *legal authority* is that the authority that the leader exercises over the members does not go beyond his specified sphere. From the member's perspective, he does not hold a personal relationship and responsibility to the leader. What happens if the *member* is a church member and the *leader or authority* is an apostle?

In chapter 1 verse 1, Paul uses the title "apostle" (*apostolos*) for himself, in the sentence "Paul called to be an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God..." (1Cor 1:1 The NRSV translation) Later in the letter, like in 4:15 and 11:1, Paul again claims his authority as coming from God through his position as an apostle. In 1Cor 12, which I will come back to in more detail in the latter part of this chapter, Paul lists apostles as those with most authority in the congregation. Second come prophets and third teachers⁸⁷. What this implies is up for discussion later, but we should remember that Paul views apostles, who are the group he himself belongs to, as the most important one.

In Paul's letter to the Galatians 2:1-10 and Acts 15:4-29 we learn that Paul once went to for a meeting with the Apostolic Council or Jerusalem Apostolate, which bore the role as the highest Doctrinal Court of the Church. In this council sat "the twelve", those handpicked by Jesus himself to keep the church up and going also after Jesus left the earth. Paul went to this

⁸⁶ Hays 1997

⁸⁷ See chapter three and sub-headline "prophets and teachers" for an understanding the role of the prophet and the teacher- the prophetes and the didaskalos.

meeting together with his fellow worker Barnabas. Holmberg⁸⁸ starts his work on “Paul and Power” with a discussion of this meeting and what it meant for the church. While Paul is commonly referred to as being a missionary among the Gentiles, and Peter as having the same role among the Jews, Holmberg writes that the division made during this council more likely had to do with a geographical diversion of the missionary responsibility, rather than a strictly ethnic one⁸⁹. Holmberg⁹⁰ discusses how Paul’s role is different from that of the other apostles, because he wasn’t among those Jesus himself called while being on earth⁹¹. Paul therefore had to work harder to prove that his position was as important as that of the other apostles, who lived with Jesus.

2.7 The Authority of Paul

Holmberg⁹² claims that Paul is not a charismatic leader, that he is not in himself a source of authority, and that he is "less charismatic than his colleagues". He summarizes up his argument in the following five points: (1) Paul personal conduct is marked by both superhuman powers and by very human weaknesses, (2) there is a strong emphasis on his authority being delegated, and to make a distinction between his person and his charisma, (3) Paul's pragmatic and rational attitude to money, (4) his message is identical with the Gospel, an entity which is independent from the work of the apostle, the consequences in social ethics and politics of his message are not revolutionary, and (5) his staff is not bound to him personally⁹³.

Neither are the prophets in the Pauline churches examples of pure charismatic authority.

Actually Holmberg doesn’t see any of the apostles and missionaries as being in themselves sources of authority; rather they can be seen as being part of a tradition, as representatives of a more important leader, namely Jesus⁹⁴. This claim fits well with the way in which Paul himself stresses the unimportance of earthly leaders.

Perhaps Paul is a traditional authority? He certainly speaks for tradition in a number of places. Take as an example 1Cor 10:1-11 where Paul is referring to the people disobeying God and

⁸⁸ Holmberg 1978 p. 14

⁸⁹ Holmberg 1978 p. 30

⁹⁰ Holmberg 1978 p. 27-28

⁹¹ A similar argument is made by Campenhausen 1969, see page 15 (of my thesis)

⁹² Holmberg 1978 p.160

⁹³ Holmberg 1978 p. 160-161

⁹⁴ Holmberg 1978 p. 160-161

therefore getting punished, as an example for how the Corinthians should not behave. He doesn't claim a traditional-bound authority himself here, but uses their common understanding of history and Jewish tradition to set an example. And when speaking as an apostle, is it not an already established tradition that Paul bases his authority on?

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned the possibility that the church leader exercises a rational-legal authority, and asked: What happens if the *member* is a church member and the *leader or authority* is an apostle? Another question is though, is Paul even the leader of the church? Admittedly he does not ask the Corinthians or Galatians to listen to any specific leaders in their congregations, but he does have a kind of staff that he can give advice, if not order, to do his bidding. I think then of Apollos and Timothy, and other mentioned fellow-workers of Paul.

In the beginning of this chapter I asked some questions which will answer as I summarize up this chapter. First, we have seen that Paul builds his authority on being an apostle- a messenger following Gods calling. The call that Paul got means that he is to spread the gospel among the non-believers, the Gentiles. Paul can build his authority on being an apostle of Christ, because people before him have claimed the same status. He is following a tradition of apostleship. Yet, we saw that his approach to the Christian mission is different from the other apostles, because they lived with Jesus and was called to be apostles while Jesus still lived on earth. In addition to the term apostle, Paul uses servant and slave to describe his status. As we move on to chapter four, the secondary century will be approached.

Chapter 3. The *Ekklesia* and the apostle: Conflicts within the body?

-Its control over religious sanctions can form the basis of a system of spiritual imperative control over human beings⁹⁵. ...The Church claims a monopolistic authority⁹⁶.

- Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it. And God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers; then deeds of power, then gifts of healing, forms of assistance, forms of leadership, various kinds of tongues. (1Cor 12:27-28, NRSV)

In the previous chapter I discussed Paul as an example of a figure of authority in the early church. The starting point was Paul's greeting to the Corinthians in 1Cor 1:1, where he states that he is *Paul called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God*

The aim for this chapter is to study how the churches of the first century functioned. Here I will set special focus upon the congregation which Paul addresses in his letter to the Corinthians. The church in Corinth will be studied as an example of a first century Christian community which struggled with intern conflicts. This study will make us able to recognize what the sources for the conflict are, and how authority is exercised. The keywords are the model of the body and the terminology of baptism.

Questions to be asked: How is authority exercised in Corinth? Which roles or positions are important, how is ministry working? And lastly: Could we claim that the church in Corinth is a Charismatic community run on the basis of charismatic leadership?

As you can see from the quotations above, I am trying to draw some attention back to my discussion around Weber from chapter 1. In addition to his "Three pure types of legitimate authority", I found in that chapter that Weber also had strong opinions about how the church work and how it views and uses its authority. Referring back to the quotations, it seems that Weber understands the church as a system controlling its members, while Paul understands the church as "the members", who cooperate to make the church work. From McGuire we learned about the social unity within a church, and she described the idea from Durkheim that shared religious meanings *expressed* the group's unity, while shared experience *produced* that unity. I used this theory of Durkheim to suggest that, if we consider the situation of the very

⁹⁵ Weber 1947 p.156

⁹⁶ Weber 1947 p. 156

first Christians, their religious meaning would be their experience that the man called Jesus was God's son and the Messiah allegedly promised in the Hebrew Scriptures. Those who knew Jesus while he lived and claimed to have been called as apostles in his name shared that experience and so the experience produced the unity of the group.

These perspectives from sociology and sociology of religion are interesting to have in mind when we are to discuss this topic. First however, we should go to the primary sources and as we did in the previous chapter, do a textual analysis of a selected paragraph, in this case chapter 12 of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.

3.1 An exegesis of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians 12:1-31

3.1.1 Paraphrase:

vv. 1-3: Introducing the topic of spiritual gifts/manifestations. Explaining the difference between the life as pagans and idol-worshippers and the new life with Jesus as lord and with the Holy Spirit.

vv. 4-11 The variety of gifts, services and activities, all from the same source: The utterance of wisdom, the utterance of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, the discernment of spirit, various kinds of tongues, the interpretation of tongues.

vv. 12-14 The unity of the body and its many members. The many members are one body, and baptized into that body in the one Spirit.

vv. 15-26 The body needs its individual members, and all the members need each other. The less honorable ones and the disgraceful parts should be treated as more valuable than the graceful parts. If one suffers, all suffers, and if one is honored, all rejoice with it.

vv. 27-31(a) "You" (The congregation in Corinth) are the body of Christ. The appointments in the church are first apostles, second teachers, and third teachers and then come the other gifts and services. They are of lesser importance however, compared with the greater gifts.

3.1.2 Exegesis:

Defining context

Paul's first letter to the Corinthians is written within the letter tradition of antiquity. We recognize the structure from Roman letters. The content of the letter is theological. The text is a part of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. As a letter it discusses different topics which the addressee finds that his readers need advices for, either because these are questions raised by the congregation itself (1Cor 7:1), or because it has come to Paul's attention that these are questions of conflict in Corinth (1Cor 1:11, 5:1). The question about how to deal with different situations related to worship, has been up since chapter 8. It is common to see the chapters 12-14 as one unit, addressing the topic of Spiritual Gifts and Spiritual People in the church of Corinth. In the previous chapter Paul answered questions concerning the shared meal. Chapter 13 takes up what is said in chapter 12 and explain why it is of lesser importance if compared with: love. Chapter 14 discusses further the use of some of the gifts and functions that chapter 12 addressed. So in this way we understand that chapter 12 is part of a bigger argument, and should therefore be read within a bigger context. Because chapter 14 goes into special details about prophecy and glossolalia-the speaking in tongues, and tells that the first one are a greater gift then the second, because of it may benefit the whole congregation and not just the speaker, we get the impression that the speaking in tongues is highly valued in Corinth, and is the background for why Paul writes concerning spiritual gifts.

The letter is addressed to the community as a whole, not to particular members or leaders, and the same is true for the part concerned with Spiritual gifts. Still, it is likely that some members needed to hear it more than others. Those who are the source of conflicts within the congregation because they feel superior to others, and therefore claim a position, would be especially asked to listen up here.

3.1.3 A detailed exegesis/interpretation of verses 1 to 31. (using Hays 1997, Fee 1981 and Thiselton 2006)

Verse 1: With the sentence starting "Now concerning spiritual gifts" *Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν*, Paul introduces a new topic in his letter, and its wording is a clear indication that this topic is one that has been raised by the Corinthians themselves, to Paul. He addresses them as brothers and sisters (or just brothers, in some translations), and explains that he does not wish them to be uninformed (about spiritual gifts). *τῶν πνευματικῶν* is the genitive, plural form of the Greek noun *πνευματικός*, which is translated "spiritual", with the common adding

of words like person, thing, gift etc. Hays⁹⁷ suggest that *pneumatika* was a term Paul adopted from the Corinthians themselves. Later (verse 4) Paul introduces “his own” term *charismata/charisma- χαρισμά- gift* (as an expression of divine grace⁹⁸). Thiselton⁹⁹ in a similar way claims that Paul on purpose replaces the Corinthians preferred term “spiritual gifts” (*pneumatika*) with his own preferred term “freely given gifts” (*charismata*) to make the statement that it is all about gifts and not self achievement.

In verse 2 Paul reminds the Corinthians of their past times as pagans and worshippers of idols, where they were easily led astray and going from one idol to another. Verse 3 follows up this thread, arguing that just as no one speaking “by the spirit of God” would ever exclaim “Jesus be cursed”, so no one can name Jesus as the Lord without being with the Holy Spirit. This is Paul’s way of establishing the clear difference between the Holy Spirit and other “spirits” that the Corinthians may have come to believe in¹⁰⁰. The Holy Spirit is “connected with” Jesus and with God.

Verses 4 to 6 explain in a sort of three-parted structure, how there are varieties of gifts- *charisma(ton)*, but the same Spirit, varieties of services- *diakonion* but the same Lord and varieties of activities- *energmaton* but the same God, who activates them. Hays¹⁰¹ claims that although the Trinity was not a set dogma for the church until at a much later point, Paul here expresses a Trinitarian thought, with God, the Lord and the Spirit as different expressions of them same divine being. Thiselton¹⁰² is thinking in the same direction as Hays, writing that the verses 4-7 have a double importance, because they provide a kind of “ground plan” of Trinitarian theology and “expound dialectic of unity and diversity”¹⁰³, further taken up in the second main part of the chapter. The idea for Paul is that all gifts, services and activities related to the church have the same source. The word *διαίρεσεις* "varieties" emphasizes the importance of diversity in the church. The next sentence, verse 7, has two functions. First, by writing "to each is given..." Paul says that these manifestations of the spirit which he is addressing are given to all members of the congregation and not just a selected few. Secondly, these manifestations of the spirit are given "for the common good". They are not something you are given for your own benefit. In this sense, the picture we get of Paul's teaching is

⁹⁷ Hays 1997 p. 207

⁹⁸ Barclay Newman: Greek English Dictionary of The New Testament

⁹⁹ Thiselton 2006 p.137

¹⁰⁰ Hays 1997 p.206

¹⁰¹ Hays 1997 p.137

¹⁰² Thiselton 2006 p.197

¹⁰³ Thiselton 2006 p. 197

already now that he does not wish for some people to have a higher authority within the church than others, such as the gifts from the Holy Spirit might give. Even if there are (and there probably is) some formation of leadership, these cannot base their claim to leadership upon possessing gifts that others don't possess. This point is further emphasized by Paul in verses 8-11, where Paul refers a number of spiritual manifestations which are probably active in Corinth; wisdom, knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, the discernment of spirits, various kinds of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues. Paul ends this "summary" by reminding the Corinthians again that all these gifts are activated by one and the same Spirit, according to the choice of the Spirit. Nowhere here does he claim one sort of gift to be more important than another.

The second part of Paul's argument comes with verse 12. Here Paul introduces us to the use of the body as a metaphor. The body is a unity, consisting of many members. All these members, although they are many, are one body. Verse 12 ends by relating that this understanding of the one body equals how we should view Christ. Verse 13 relates that the one Spirit, who gave each member of the church a gift of grace, was also the one which they were all baptized into, either they were of a Jewish or a gentile background, and being of high or low rank, they all drank of that same spirit. To drink of one Spirit is an expression used by Paul to state that the spirit is some sort of overflowing source, which has enough for everyone. When the Corinthians drink of one Spirit it means that they are being baptized into the same spirit, and not that they are sharing an Eucharist meal¹⁰⁴. I find it interesting and worth noting that up until now in this chapter, Paul has been speaking about the people in Corinth, but in the sentence in verse 13 where he speaks about how all were baptized in the one spirit, he uses "we". It gives for the English translation the impression that Paul is now including himself more actively again, after being quite passive. He could have said something that would lead to the translation "For in the one Spirit *you* were all baptized", but instead he uses the 1.person plural, emphasizing that he is also part of this.

Verse 14 repeats the fact that the body consists of many members. Paul then speaks about different members of the body, by giving to them voices and letting them question their own role and significance. "Because I am not a hand, I do not belong to the body" (1Cor12:15 NRSV) is an argument raised by the foot, in verse 15. Paul argues that this statement from the foot does not make it any less part of the body. Verse 16 has a similar picture, this time with

¹⁰⁴ Hays 1997 p. 220

the ear who questions its worth because it is not an eye. In verse 17 Paul asks: “If the whole body were an eye, where would the hearing be?” Verse 18 explains that it was God who arranged all the members of the body as he liked, and this statement is continued by verse 19 asking “if all were a single member, where would the body be?” (NRSV) The truth is that there are many members and only one body (verse 20). One member of the body cannot say to another that it does not need it anymore (verse 21).

In verse 22 Paul writes that it is those bodily members that seem to be weaker who are in fact absolutely necessary. Similarly, in verses 24-25 the members considered “dishonorable” must have an even greater respect from other members. These verses relate back to what Paul has said earlier in the letter, the whole theme of conflict avoidance.

In verse 26 Paul reminds the Corinthians that if one member suffers, then all suffer with it. Likewise, if one is honored, all rejoice together with it. Verse 27 is the first place where Paul states directly and not just indirectly that the members of the Corinthian congregation should understand themselves as being the body of Christ. So far he has “hinted” strongly in that direction, but verse 27 reads “Now **you are** the body of Christ (Ἔμεις δὲ ἐστε σῶμα χριστου) and individually members of it” (NSRV, my emphasis), giving no doubt that it is of the Corinthians that Paul is speaking. Verse 28 gives a new list, similar to but also different from the one in verses 7-10. Different because here Paul speaks of what God has appointed, and because he uses the ordinals πρῶτον¹⁰⁵, δεύτερον, τρίτον—first, second, third, in front of the first three appointments: apostles –ἀποστόλους, prophets –προφήτας, and teachers – διδασκάλους.

The list continues with the adverbial ἔπειτα –next or then, in front of each of the proceeding abilities: deeds of power –δυνάμεις¹⁰⁶, gifts of healing –χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, forms of assistance –αντιλήμψεις¹⁰⁷, forms of leadership –κυβερνήσεις¹⁰⁸, and various kinds of tongues –γένη γλωσσῶν. How much emphasis one should put on the fact that Paul starts the list with ordinals in front of each appointment but does not continue to do so, is unclear to me, and is the problem with understanding this verse. Perkins¹⁰⁹ sees them as the established ministries, and so the rest of the list, which lacks numbers, are different functions you would likely find

¹⁰⁵ Another text of Paul where we find a differentiation and the use of numbers is Rom 1:16 "to the Jew first and also to the Greek"(NRSV)

¹⁰⁶ Or 'miracle workers'

¹⁰⁷ Or 'ability to help'

¹⁰⁸ Or 'ability to lead'

¹⁰⁹ Perkins 2012 p.148

in a church. While apostles did not stay in the church, but travelled on, Perkins emphasizes their position as founders of new churches and establishers of networks between the churches. Their importance is crucial for the spread of Christianity. Hays's¹¹⁰ theory about verse 27 is that it may indicate some sort of authoritative hierarchy, or it also could be an indication of some sort of temporal order in which these gifts came into play, in the construction of the Christian community. As in the list from verses 8-10, the speaking in tongues is only one of many functions in the church, so yet again Paul weakens its importance.

Verses 29 and 30 ask a number of rhetorical questions, leading back to the foregoing verse: "Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers?" Etc. Verse 31 is by many exegetes divided into two parts, an `a and a `b. The `b-part then "And I will show you a still more excellent way" (NRSV), functions as an introduction to the next chapter. 31 `a` has struck many by surprise because now Paul has first spent a lot of time arguing against putting one spiritual manifestation or gift as more important than another, and suddenly he asks the Corinthians to "strive for the greater gifts"? But this is one of his rhetorical devices for introducing them to something that *is* more important than all the inspired speaking, prophesying and knowledge.

The Greek word *ἐκκλησία* literally means assembly or gathering (of religious, political or unofficial groups). In a New Testament context, *ekklesia* is a church or a congregation. When working with the secondary sources I discovered that some scholars make a conscious use of the word, while others use it actively for their theories without bothering to reflect over its various meanings. According to Meeks¹¹¹, the most common use of *ekklesia* in ordinary Greek was as a reference to the town meeting of free male citizens of a city of Greek constitution, and continued to bear the same meaning after the Roman invasion, even if these town meetings were deprived of most of its powers¹¹². When discussing the different functions and roles in the Pauline churches, Holmberg¹¹³ mentions that some scholars holds the view that Paul always refers to the local communities when he is using the term *ekklesia*, but does this exclude the understanding of an *ekklesia* of all the believers in Christ?

Holmberg takes up this question in relation to his own study of the list from 1Cor 12:28, and argues for the work of the apostles not being a function which we should place within the

¹¹⁰ Hays 1997 p. 225

¹¹¹ Meeks 2003

¹¹² Meeks 2003 p. 112

¹¹³ Holmberg 1978 p. 97

local church, and he argues that the apostles of local churches that we meet in Phil 2, 25 and 2Cor 8, 23 are envoys who acts outside their own church. He further writes that this is agreed upon also from those who held the term *ekklesia* to be strictly speaking for local churches.

3.2 The Body as a metaphor and Greco-Roman rhetoric's

In chapter two we learned that Paul probably had a rhetorical training and that this is evident in his letters. He pretends to be underestimating his own role, by naming himself the least of all and focusing on being a servant and not a leader. The servant he is however is a servant of Christ, and this is where his power comes from. We should continue this discussion from chapter two by looking at some perspectives on the text I just analyzed, 1Cor 12.

Under the headline "the ideology of concord", Dale Martin explains about homonia speeches - concord speeches, which was common to use in deliberative rhetoric at the time when Paul lived. The city - polis¹¹⁴ was described as a body, and when this body got sick, the disease was the rebellion, factionalism or discord that took place. The body gets invaded and weak, and so you have to get the balance back. In Homonia speeches the orator assumes that the body is hierarchically constituted, and when illness or social disruption occurs it is because the hierarchy is disrupted.

Another sort of Homonia speeches is where you use "the state as a household" as a topos. Harmony is achieved when all the different members occupy their proper position with mutual respect, at the same time as a submission to those above oneself in the pyramid¹¹⁵.

These examples clarify that the body symbolism Paul uses is not a new way of thinking. The textual analyses of 1Cor 12 showed us that Paul uses this sort of rhetoric to explain the mutual interdependence of all the bodies members, and repeats his point from earlier in the letter about how fruitless it is to quarrel over who is the best leader. But it also make us ask the question of whether Paul tries to make a certain hierarchy come into being, remember the listing he makes in the last part of 1Cor 12, first apostles, second prophets, third teachers.

¹¹⁴ Might represent any social group

¹¹⁵ Martin 1995 p. 41

Both Lee¹¹⁶ and MacDonald¹¹⁷ put focus on Paul's rhetorical skills. An example is how Paul is appealing to the Corinthians by saying that gifts are given to them for what is advantageous, in 1Cor 12:7 (NRSV). Other interpreters of the Corinthian letter have said "for the common good", but Lee is focusing more on the individual's wish to gain something for himself, even when being a part of the bigger community setting. Because in fact, individual and community interests are the same and this is a part of human nature. Let me explain this theory of Lee further: 1Corinthians 12:7 reads *ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδεται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*. In The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, the translation is "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1Cor 12:7 NRSV). As it was said above, verse 7 has two functions. First, by writing "to each is given..." Paul says that these manifestations of the spirit which he is addressing, is given to all members of the congregation and not just a selected few. Secondly, these manifestations of the spirit are given "for the common good". They are not given for ones own benefit.

This statement represents the view of the biblical commentaries I made use of. Lee however, says that the problem with this interpretation is that *τὸ συμφέρον*'s literal meaning is "profit" or "advantage" and does not necessarily refer to corporate gain¹¹⁸. Lee explains how one might make the meaning of *τὸ συμφέρον* more specific by adding other terms, for example *πόλει*¹¹⁹: what is of advantage to the city, or *ἐμαυτῷ*¹²⁰ for personal advantage. Lee further explains the use of the term *τὸ συμφέρον* in deliberative rhetoric¹²¹, where the goal is for the orator to persuade his audience to a course of action by appealing to what was advantageous.

Paul explains in 1Cor 12 how the Corinthians should evaluate what is advantageous, his argument not being that the spiritual things are given for the common good and that the body is describes to demonstrate how the Corinthians should use what they have been given. Rather, according to Lee's theory, Paul appeals to the self-interest of the Corinthians by telling them these manifestations are given for what is advantageous. How to define what is advantageous in context with their new life in Christ¹²² is what Paul will teach them. The specific instructions come in chapter 14 of Paul's letter, where Paul first speaks about the act

¹¹⁶ Lee 2006

¹¹⁷ MacDonald 1988

¹¹⁸ Lee 2006 p.118

¹¹⁹ *From πολίς- city, town*

¹²⁰ *From εμαυτον- myself/ my own?*

¹²¹ Lee 2006 p.119

¹²² And as corporate members of his body

of prophesying and the act of speaking in tongues¹²³, in more detail than he did in 1Cor 12, and then he gives the congregation in Corinth a concrete set of advice for their worship services¹²⁴.

Paul's perception of the body and its unity is not all that different from for example philosophical traditions. In Stoicism, a person should consider the rest of humanity as "belonging" to oneself. Similarly then, the Corinthians were asked to consider the body/church as belonging to themselves, parallel with them being individual members of the body¹²⁵.

There are a number of theories for why there is a disunity or conflict in Corinth. According to Dale Martin¹²⁶, the problem of disunity is purely status related. Paul introduces a concept therefore which should tell the Corinthians that status, which might be important outside the church, is not important inside it.

Martin claims that the ability to speak in tongues was an ability that gave a high status both for Jews, Christians and Pagans¹²⁷. The examples he gives are from Lucian, Dio Chrysostom and Job as an Old Testament source¹²⁸, and from Irenaeus to describe how speaking in tongues could be seen as representing the spiritual perfection of those who partake of the higher realms of reality¹²⁹. In this context it makes good sense that people who were Gentile converts would base their understanding of who should lead a congregation on the ideals from the Pagan religion and cults, and therefore would see *glossolalia* as one of them. This is Martin's argument, other scholars have argued that the conflict in Corinth was due to groups who were in confrontation with each other because they claimed the authority of different leaders. This interpretation is based on 1Cor 1:12 and 3:5. These leaders would be Apollos, Paul and Peter (and Christ):

What I mean is that each of you says, "I belong to Paul", or "I belong to Apollos," or "I belong to Cephas"¹³⁰ or "I belong to Christ"(1Cor 1:12).

¹²³ 1Cor 14:1-25

¹²⁴ 1Cor 14:26-40

¹²⁵ See Lee 2006

¹²⁶ Martin 1995

¹²⁷ Martin 1995 p.89

¹²⁸ Martin 1995 p. 89-91

¹²⁹ Martin 1995 p. 91

¹³⁰ Cephas is the Aramaic name for Peter

Looking back to chapter two, we saw how different relationships were an important part of the Corinthian city life and family life. The patron-client relationship which is described in Robertson's book¹³¹, might be the model by which the Corinthians understand church relations as well, and then it makes sense to claim oneself a patron: I belong to Apollos, in a similar way as you would "belong to" your patron, as a client.

MacDonald¹³² recognizes four criteria characterizing the most influential church members in early Christianity¹³³: 1. To be active in a civil or religious office in Corinth; 2. To possess a house; 3. To have served Paul or the church or both; and 4. To be able to make a journey. Meeks has a similar yet different system, where he comes up with three ways of gaining and using prestige and influence in the Corinthian church: forming alliances with significant outsiders, having wealth and position in the city, and by behaving in a way that the Pauline Christians recognized as directly manifesting the Spirit of God¹³⁴. For Corinth this manifestation of the Spirit was the speaking in tongues, as we discussed earlier.

We can read the whole argumentation in the Corinthian letter as a way to emphasize how there is a difference between the church and the outside world. Paul never asks the members to avoid outside communication, but to remember where they belong. MacDonald explains that the Christian communities were sects, but not of the introvert type, because Paul asks them to also deal with the evil of the world.

When I read interpretations of 1Cor 12 there are two main groups of scholars: Those who see the texts (together with the rest of 1 Corinthians) as a sign that the Christians are already developing a more formalized pattern of ministry, and those who see the text as an expression for the continued existence of a charismatic community. Reading Dunn¹³⁵ for example, we learn that for him the Pauline Churches are characterized by being charismatic communities where each member has some sort of function within the community, and where all are charismatics. The letters are addressed to everyone in the congregation and not to individuals, a sign that everyone has something to say, in a kind of anarchistic set of thinking (my expression).

The unity of the body of Christ consists in the interplay of the diverse charismas. Still, Dunn also recognizes there to be a form of regular ministries within the Pauline churches, and the

¹³¹ Robertson 2001

¹³² MacDonald 1988 p.58, adopted from Theissen

¹³³ Here speaking about Corinth

¹³⁴ Meeks 1997 p. 118-119

¹³⁵ Dunn 1990 p. 109-110

prophets and teachers as of first importance. Dunn argues that these are functions rather than offices¹³⁶.

MacDonald¹³⁷ sees 1Cor 12:28 with its ranking of apostles, prophets and teachers as suggesting a formalization or institutionalization of roles. For her it is clear that the institutionalization has started, and she describes it using a model of three levels, where the authentic Pauline letters represents community-building institutionalization, Colossians and Ephesians represents community-stabilizing institutionalization, and The Pastoral letters, which we shall address in chapter four, represents community-protecting institutionalization.

MacDonald¹³⁸ claims that the strength of what she calls “Paul’s theological exposition” in 1Cor 12 is that even the most insignificant tasks performed in the congregation are given meaning.

3.3 Prophets and teachers

In chapter two I dealt mainly with the role of the apostle, and how the apostle held a form of authority. In the textual interpretation above however, we found other roles to be considered as well. While maintaining the idea that the apostle is the one with the most authority, there is presented two other leaders/potential leaders: the prophet and the teacher. The Greek terms are *prophetes* and *didaskalos*. Paul does not give any characteristics of these roles, so that apart from making them second and third is his ranking system, and including them in the rhetorical question of verse 29, we have to guess about their precise function in the Corinthian congregation.

Remembering Max Weber and charismatic authority from chapter 1, there are two types of prophets in the modern understanding of the word: *Exemplary* and *emissary*. An exemplary prophet is one who through his/her life sets an example for others to follow. An emissary prophet is the bringer of a message, a warning or a new set of thinking, and is often an important factor for changes in the society. It is rather interesting that sociologists name Jesus (along with Buddha) as an exemplary prophet, while Islamic thinkers would probably say he was an emissary prophet, bringing the gospels to the group that was later to be Christians. Weber mentions the prophets of The Old Testament as emissary prophets. Reading David E.

¹³⁶ Dunn 1990 p. 112

¹³⁷ MacDonald 1988 p. 57 (belongs to the discussion about "Structural Differentiation", p. 55-60)

¹³⁸ MacDonald 1988 p.57

Aune¹³⁹, we learn about a variety of prophets, such as Shamanistic prophets, Cult and Temple prophets, Court prophets and free prophets, all in “the branch” of Israelite Prophecy. In the Greco-Roman world, prophets are connected with oracles, for which one went with the purpose of learning about the future. The prophet then is the medium that brings the word from the God to the man or woman who comes to get a question answered. While, as we saw, the general meaning of the word *prophetes* is “spokesman” or “announcer”, it took the meaning of “one who speaks on behalf of the god”, referring to the cultic purpose of the prophet¹⁴⁰. In Hebrew, and in Arabic, the term for prophet which is most commonly used, are *nabi*. An Arabic prophet might also be called *rasul*; “messenger”.

Aune recognizes that there are three primary sources for Early Christian Prophecy; two New Testament texts; 1Corinthians 12-14 and The Acts of the Apostles, and one second century document of unknown authorship; The *Didache (teaching) of the Twelve Apostles* (10-13)¹⁴¹. There is a common distinction, Aune claims, between “prophet” and “those who prophecy”. Aune’s understanding is that some held the position/office of prophet, and made prophecies on a regular basis, while others made prophecies on occasion. This view fits well with 1Cor 12:10: ἀλλω δε προφητεια- to another (is given through the Spirit) *prophecy*, which tells us that the gift of prophecy was one among others, and was not necessarily connected with an office. In 1Cor 14:1 Paul encourages the Corinthians to pursue love (a theme taken up for the first time in chapter 13) and to strive for the spiritual gifts, prophecy being the one worth striving especially for.

The third function or position, is teacher. James G. Dunn¹⁴² explains that while prophets were the bringers of new revelation, teachers were the keepers of old revelation. Teacher would probably be responsible for the education of new church members, as well as making sure the older members remembered the teachings. *Didaskalos* is the Greek term for teacher; *rabbi* is the Hebrew one, commonly used referring to Jesus, by his disciples.

Wayne Meeks¹⁴³ makes an interesting comparison between the following four text passages: 1Cor 12:28-30, 1Cor 12:8-10, Rom 12:6-8 and Eph 4:11. He recognizes that these texts contain different but also similar functions and gifts, and writes that “these passages have in

¹³⁹ Aune, David E. *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the ancient Mediterranean world*, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1983

¹⁴⁰ Aune 1983 p.195

¹⁴¹ Aune 1983 p.190

¹⁴² Dunn 1990 p.112

¹⁴³ Meeks 2003

common the conception of the principal roles in the local communities as gifts- by God, Christ, the Spirit”¹⁴⁴. Further, he sees the few roles common to all the lists as pointing to some sort of formalization having taken place. This last point is an interesting one when we wish to understand how an early Christian church works. We also started discussing whether the Pauline text material points towards an institutionalization taking place in the Christian communities.

3.4 A summary

This chapter started with an exegesis of 1Corinthians 12. Trough that exegesis we recognized some topics to be further discussed, the body as a metaphor in Greco-Roman rhetoric’s and its specific use in Paul teachings, as a language of belonging. Another form of this presented in 1 Cor 12 is the baptism as the uniting source for all Christians. In the latter part of chapter 12 Paul presents us with a possible model of hierarchy and two functions in the congregation, the prophet and the teacher.

Chapter 4.Approaching the Second Century

In the previous chapters, I discussed how Paul understood the authority given to him as an apostle of the lord and a servant of Christ and how he used the model of the body and the terminology of baptism to stress unity in one of the congregations that he supervised. This was the specific Pauline church context.

The plan for this chapter is to do two things:

- To study how the tradition from Paul developed in the Pastoral letters
- To look at other contemporary and later traditions for church structure and authority. This will provide a point of comparison for the conclusion, and paint a broader picture of the situation in the first century (and the beginning of the second).

¹⁴⁴ Meeks 2003 p. 135

In chapter three of Meeks book¹⁴⁵, the author takes different models from the environment¹⁴⁶ into consideration, as he seeks to establish what the grounds for the development of the Christian Church were. Meeks focus is on the Pauline text material, and the basis for chapter three is for him to describe the social structure of the Christian groups, and to understand what he describes as the most peculiar thing that happens with Early Christianity: the way in which the intimate, close-knit life of the local groups was simultaneously seen to be part of a much larger movement or entity, a movement that ultimately would become worldwide¹⁴⁷. The "models from the environment" that he studies in the first part of the chapter, is the household, the voluntary association, the synagogue and the philosophical or rhetorical school¹⁴⁸. His study shows that although the Pauline idea of church can't quite be placed within any of these models, the way of thinking is similar. The household was the first meeting place for the Christians, and so defines its basic context, and the adaption of the synagogue to the urban city life the way that the schools organized themselves, all show that there are issues faced by a variety of groups, not just the Christians. What is peculiar for the Pauline Christians is for Meeks that they use a special language, the language of belonging, to emphasis both the belonging to your own house church/congregation and the bounds to the Christians in other cities¹⁴⁹, *and* a language of separation which emphasizes the separation from the non-Christian world¹⁵⁰. In chapter two we saw how Paul has a conscious use of rhetoric when he describes his own role and importance, a servant of Christ etc. Here symbols and metaphors are again of high importance.

An example of the language of belonging, which I also mentioned in chapter 3, is the language of the baptismal ritual. We saw that in 1Corinthians 12:13, and we do so in Galatians 3:28 and Colossians 3:11 as well. In 1Cor 12:13 we learn that the one Spirit, who gave each member of the church a gift of grace, was also the one which they were all *baptized* into –εις ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν (baptized into one body), either they were of a Jewish or a gentile background, and being of high or low rank, they all drank of that same spirit. Set in connection with the rest of chapter 12, the body of Christ which they are baptized into is also symbolized in the body metaphor consisting of many members but being just one body, as we saw in chapter 3. Paul tells the Galatians that because of baptism they are all one in Christ, so

¹⁴⁵ Meeks 2003 p.74-110

¹⁴⁶ "the Greco-Roman environment of the first Christians"

¹⁴⁷ Meeks 2003 p.79

¹⁴⁸ Meeks 2003 p. 77-84

¹⁴⁹ Meeks 2003 p. 85-94

¹⁵⁰ Meeks 2003 p.94-96

that there is no longer Jew or Greek, no longer slave or free, no longer male and female (Gal 3:28). In Colossians, *renewal* is the word that is used to describe what happens in baptism, and this renewal means that there is no longer Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Schytian, slave or free (Col 3:11). They all belong together, because all previous divisions are done away with¹⁵¹. The language of separation is used so as to distinguish those who do not belong to the Pauline groups from those who do. In 1Cor 5:12 and 1Thess 4:12 the "others" are referred to as "outsiders": *τούς ἔξω*, and as "those who do not know God" in 1Thess 4:5 and Gal 4:8¹⁵²: *Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν/ τὰ μὴ εἰδόμενα τὸν θεόν*. In Galatians, Paul refers to how the members of the Galatian Congregation used to be when they were non-believers, in 1Thessalonians he speaks about those who are at this time not members of the Christian community in Thessalonica.

Walter H. Wagner, is a professor in religious studies, and wrote the book named *After the Apostles, Christianity in the second century*¹⁵³. In approaching the second century church, Wagner focused on the challenges met by the Christians, and letter responses from five leaders. One of these challenges is the church's place: its role in God's plan for salvation, the key positions in the Christian community and the organizational patterns of the *ekklesia*¹⁵⁴.

Wagner identifies three offices to emerge in the first century congregations, and which gained prominence in the second century¹⁵⁵: the bishop, the elder and the deacon. As a parallel, his study identifies three patterns for the *ekklesia* or three competing patterns of church polity: the congregational pattern, the council of presbyters and an Episcopal -/bishop oriented polity¹⁵⁶. The congregational pattern is the earliest pattern, according to Wagner. It is focused on the spirit and on charismatic leaders. These leaders may come from within the congregation if needed, and there is no distinction between the members. The Phrygians, or Montanists, is an example of such a congregational pattern. In this movement, says Wagner, the goal was to recall the church to its enthusiasm about the *Parousia*¹⁵⁷ and the *charismata*¹⁵⁸. According to Dale Martin¹⁵⁹ the Montanists likely also considered *glossolalia*¹⁶⁰ a high-status activity,

¹⁵¹ Meeks 2003 p.88

¹⁵² Meeks 2003 p.94

¹⁵³ Wagner 1994

¹⁵⁴ When Wagner uses the term *ekklesia*, he does so without really explaining its content. Ekklesia is a Greek word, and literarily means: assembly or gathering. See the explanation in chapter three.

¹⁵⁵ Wagner 1994 p.121-122

¹⁵⁶ Wagner 1994 p.123-125

¹⁵⁷ The coming-appearance-presence of the god or the Messiah

¹⁵⁸ The importance of the spiritual gifts-gifts of grace, charisma

¹⁵⁹ Martin 1995 p. 89

¹⁶⁰ Speaking in tongues- esoteric speech

which was performed by all the three leaders mentioned below. This second century movement had its origins in Asia Minor, but spread to Thrace, Rome, Gaul and North Africa (Carthage)¹⁶¹. The names scholars today use for these groups are Phrygians because Phrygia in Asia Minor is where the ancient authors first place this movement, Montanism derives from Montanus, the movements first and most influential prophet, and the New Prophecy, because of the way Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla claimed a special insight given to them through direct revelations from Christ. A question to ask Wagner and his theory now is how does the congregational pattern fit with the fact that Montanism does have leaders? The strong emphasis that the Montanists put on prophetic activity did according to Marjanen¹⁶² lead them to hold The Gospel of John as a highly important text. John 16:12-13 is described by Marjanen as a sort of proof text for the Montanists, used as a defense for the claimed novelty of their prophetic utterances¹⁶³. It will therefore, I believe, be highly relevant to discuss Montanism further in the later part of this chapter, where I will look more into the Johannine tradition, which has the gospel of John as the basis, and placed geographically, just like Montanism, in Asia Minor.

The second pattern of church polity is the council of presbyters or elders. This council held the authority to administer, lead worship, teach and discipline members¹⁶⁴. Wagner finds that “bishop” and “presbyters” have similar functions and may overlap in some texts, such as Phil 1, Titus 1 and the *Didache (teaching) of the Twelve Apostles*¹⁶⁵.

The third pattern then, and closely connected, is the Episcopal-/bishop-oriented polity, which Wagner finds in the pastoral letters and in 1 Clement.

Both Meeks and Wagner try to identify and explain what is particularly Christian. Their theoretical approaches should be taken into account as we continue our study.

The first part of this thesis focused upon answering the question of how we might define authority and leadership in the church of the first century with basis in the Pauline text corpus. The primary sources investigated were the ones which scholars agree to be authentic Pauline writings, the undisputed letters.

¹⁶¹ Marjanen (unpublished article) p.241

¹⁶² Marjanen (unpublished article) p.246

¹⁶³ Marjanen (unpublished article) p.246-247

¹⁶⁴ Wagner 1994 p.124

¹⁶⁵ Wagner 1994 p.125 + chapter three of my thesis

A logical starting point is the other apostles of Jesus, and the sources we have concerning their view on authority and leadership in the church. When discussing the apostle Paul as an authority, I also touched on the subject of his relationship with other people named as apostles of Jesus.

What I did not so much discuss there, is how these figures understood churches to function. I would therefore in the following like to give attention to the question of authority and leadership in the Johannine tradition, John being one of the three famous “pillars” and an important contributor to our Biblical text corpus. The apostles James and Peter, the other two “pillars”, will also be considered, although in less detail than Paul and John.

4.1 The Pastoral letters.

A few introductory notes about secondary sources are in order. Bassler’s book *1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*¹⁶⁶ from the Abingdon New Testament Commentaries, was found most helpful. For the further work of situating context and problems addressed in the texts, Campenhausen¹⁶⁷, Wagner¹⁶⁸ and MacDonald¹⁶⁹ have been used. MacDonald’s book about the Pauline churches are of special help for two reasons: (1) she presents the reader with a critical survey of previous research in this field, and (2) she presents the problems and questions from the pastoral letters in a structured way, focusing on the texts but at the same time giving parallels and comparisons with sources earlier, contemporary and later than the pastoral letters. It should be noted however, that the general purpose of MacDonald’s book is to study the process of institutionalization in The Pauline churches, using both authentic and material of dubious authenticity. Therefore she draws a number of parallels between Colossians/Ephesians and The Pastoral letters which are not so relevant for our study. Her book consists of a three parted-structure: “Paul: Community – Building Institutionalization”, “Colossians and Ephesians: Community-stabilizing institutionalization” and “The Pastoral Epistles: Community-protecting institutionalization”. It is her theses that the Pauline corpus reflects a movement that received its initial formation at the hands of Paul and his fellow workers, but continued to develop after the apostle’s death. She agrees with Holmberg that the institutionalization visible in the Pauline text corpus is of a secondary sort, and names

¹⁶⁶ Bassler 1996

¹⁶⁷ Campenhausen 1969

¹⁶⁸ Wagner 1994

¹⁶⁹ MacDonald 1988

Holmberg's secondary institutionalization "community-building institutionalization". The first process of institutionalization is the one Holmberg claimed to have found evidence for already in the group around Jesus¹⁷⁰.

"The Pastoral letters" or "The Pastoral epistles" is a common name for Paul's two letters to Timothy and Paul's letter to Titus. They are grouped together like this, according to Ehrman¹⁷¹, because each text claims to have been written to a person that Paul appointed to lead one of his churches.

The structure of the letters resembles the other letters in the Pauline tradition. If we take 1 Timothy as an example, we have:

1. a salutation, where the sender *Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the command of God our Saviour and of Christ Jesus our hope,*
2. the recipient are named, *To Timothy, my loyal child in the faith*
3. the inclusion of a thanksgiving *Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.*

This is followed by instructions and the sender explaining why this letter is necessary. The main part of the letter is also instructions, for church government, while the last sentences/verses are personal instructions and a benediction.

Naming the sender of letter Paul, gives it a certain authority. Paul the apostle of Christ we have met in earlier Christian writings, like 1 Corinthians, Galatians and Romans. We saw above that Margaret MacDonald spoke for The Pauline corpus as reflecting a movement that was formed in the days of Paul and continued to develop after his death. She speaks about a Pauline movement, while Johnson¹⁷² uses the expression "The Pauline School". After Paul's death, his followers continued his work, and addressed letters to the church delegates, in Paul's name. Johnson places The Pastoral letters as second century documents¹⁷³. Ehrman¹⁷⁴ explains that to write under a pseudonym was common in the ancient world. There are mainly

¹⁷⁰ MacDonald 1988 p.17, Holmberg 1978 p.172-173 (primary institutionalization in theory) and p.179 (primary institutionalization in practice)

¹⁷¹ Ehrman 2004 p.385

¹⁷² Johnson 2010 p.241

¹⁷³ Johnson 2010 p.241

¹⁷⁴ Ehrman 2004 p. 373-376

three reasons for writing a letter or other text under another person's name: as a way to gain profit- you produce "originals" of books by a writer who the new library would like to own, as an act of humility-normal in philosophical schools, writing in the name of your teacher, or to get a hearing for one's own view-you give your arguments more authority if it looks like an acknowledged person wrote it.¹⁷⁵ The process of deciding the authenticity of biblical texts is described by both Ehrman¹⁷⁶ and Johnson¹⁷⁷.

So now we know that Paul is not really Paul, but who is Timothy? Johnson claims that the Pastoral letters are written to Paul's most important delegates, Timothy's prominence in the Pauline Mission being evident in the genuine letters¹⁷⁸. He is the co-sponsor of five of Paul's letters (jfr. 1Thess 1:1, 2Thess 1:1 Phil 1:1, Colossians 1:1, 1Cor 1:1), he is sent in Paul's place to the Corinthians (1Cor 16:10) and has been visiting the Philippians (Phil 2:19-23). Collins¹⁷⁹ uses 2 Timothy 4:5 to describe Timothy's office and 1 Tim 4:6 to describe Timothy's function¹⁸⁰. If we look at 2 Timothy 4:5 first, it says: "As for you, always be sober, endure suffering, do the work of an *evangelist*, carry out your *ministry* fully¹⁸¹". In 1 Tim 4:6, Timothy is told: "If you put these instructions before the brothers and sisters, you will be a good *servant* of Christ Jesus, nourished on the words of the faith and of the sound teaching that you have followed"¹⁸².

From the letter to Timothy I have chosen to interpret chapter 3, verses 1-13 and chapter 5, verses 17-22. These two paragraphs are interesting because they introduce us to three new roles of potential authority: Deacons, bishops and elders. As a supplement I have chosen The Letter to Titus chapter 1, verses 5-9, which first speaks of elders, then the bishop.

About Titus we know that he had some sort of supervision role in Crete (Titus 1:5) and that he was Greek of origin and not circumcised (Gal 2:3). Galatians tells the story of Paul's travel to Jerusalem, where a person called Titus joined him (Gal 2:1). Here the sentence is phrased as if Titus was brought along by Paul, in order to travel with Barnabas ("taking Titus along with me"), implying that Titus was working under/for Paul, while Barnabas seems to have the same rank as Paul. In 8:23 Titus is named a *koinonos*- a *partner* or *sharer*: "...my partner and

¹⁷⁵ Ehrman 2004 p.373 for a full explanation

¹⁷⁶ Ehrman 2004

¹⁷⁷ Johnson 2010

¹⁷⁸ Johnson 2010 p. 383-384

¹⁷⁹ Collins, John N. *Diakonia, re –interpreting the ancient sources*, Oxford University Press 1990

¹⁸⁰ Collins 1990 p. 237- 239

¹⁸¹ According to the NRSV translation

¹⁸² According to the NRSV translation

co-worker in your service’’. This is the same story from which we learnt about Paul and his relationship with the other apostles of Christ.

Having given at least a small picture concerning who Timothy and Titus are, I will continue by addressing the different functions and possible offices that we meet in the Pastoral letters.

4.1.1 The episkopos.

Ἐπίσκοπος in non-biblical Greek means *overseer*, *watch*. The discussion which is given around this word and its meaning, in the TDNT¹⁸³, starts by claiming that episkopos has no religious significance in non-biblical Greek and that its use have been related to secular appointments with a form of technical and financial responsibilities. Yet, as the article in TDNT continues, the picture broadens. The gods in Greek and Greco-Roman cults, is understood as Ἐπίσκοποι *watcher* or *protector* of human beings. In fact, the relationship between gods and humans may be described in a similar matter as that between a patron and his client, a common relationship model in the ancient societies¹⁸⁴. In the quality and activity of a patron the god can be called ἐπίσκοπος, claims TDNT, and the article continues by adding that ἐπίσκοπος expresses the heart of the relationship where the god gives particular attention to the object of his patronage. In some Greek texts, the gods are not only the guardians but also the avengers. In Athens, state officials in the 4th and 5th century bore the designation of Ἐπίσκοποι, and this includes both temporary and permanent offices. There are similar examples from Rome and India. More common is it that Ἐπίσκοποι are local officials or the offices of societies. If we look at Judaism, there is a similar line as in secular Greek, ἐπίσκοπος denotes God, as the same time as having the general sense of supervisions in different fields.

This means, that unlike the apostolate, which was “invented” by Jesus, the office of overseer was already an established function in Greco-Roman society. It does remain a fact however, that episkopos is never used with precision and that there is no strict definition of what is involved. Can we see a similar tendency in the use of episkopos in biblical Greek?

¹⁸³ Theological Dictionary of The New Testament, volume II

¹⁸⁴ Jfr. the paragraph about the patron-client relationship on page 15

There is a limited amount of texts in the New Testament where ἐπίσκοπος is used: 1 Peter 2:25, Phil 1:1, Acts 20:28, 1 Tim 3:1-2 and Titus 1:7. In 1 Peter, it is Christ himself who is called ἐπίσκοπος¹⁸⁵. In Acts, Luke refers how Paul, being in Miletus addressed τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας-*the elders of the congregation* in Ephesus. In verse 28 Paul asks them to take good care of themselves and the whole herd, which the Holy Spirit has placed the πρεσβυτέρους to be ἐπίσκοπους- overseers for. In Philippians 1, Paul (and Timothy) greets the members of the congregation in Philippi, with the addressing τοῖς ἀγίοις- the saints, and thereafter σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις- your overseers and deacons. We might expect Paul to say something during this letter concerning which qualifications an episkopos and a diakonos should hold, and what were their duties, but this information was apparently not relevant for the context. In the Pastoral letters however, the situation is different.

1 Timothy 3 starts with the sentence “The saying is sure: whoever aspires to the office of episkopos¹⁸⁶ desires a noble task” (1 Tim 3:1). This sentence is followed by a longer list of what the episkopos must and must not be (1 Tim 3:2-3). Interestingly, these rules are more about moral behavior than about responsibility. He must be “above reproach, married only once, temperate, sensible, and respectable, hospitable”. Bassler mentions that catalogues of virtues were common in Greco-Roman ethical teaching¹⁸⁷. Hospitality (φιλόξενία- φιλόξενος- hospitable) was promoted as a virtue in e.g. Epictetus *Discourse*, but did according to Bassler receive a special emphasis in Christianity, because of the many travelling preachers. She mentions other New Testament texts where hospitality is given great value: Rom 12:13, Heb 13:2, 1 Peter 4:9, and 3John 5-8. Peter encourages the Christians to be hospitable to one another without complaining, while John thanks Gaius for taking care of "our siblings", and explains why this service is important. In Rom 12:13 Paul asks the Christians in Rome to help those holy ones who suffers, to be hospitable.

Verse 4 claims that the bishop must be able to manage his own household well. This statement we can see in direct relation to the idea of the church as God`s household, so that managing one`s own household is compared with taking care of God`s church. If the bishop is not able to take care of his own household, how can he take care of God`s household? The statement from the previous verse that the episkopos should be hospitable is closely related, being hospitable is a virtue for the family patron in order to be a good manager of the

¹⁸⁵ RSV translates ἐπισκοπον as guardian, making Christ the Shepherd (ποιμνεῖν) and Guardian of the servants` souls.

¹⁸⁶ Or «overseer»

¹⁸⁷ Bassler 1996 p. 67

household, and beyond this the episkopos needs to make sure the household which the church is, is hospitable as well.

On the more practical side, verse 6 tells us that the bishop must not be a recent convert, and should be chosen among those who have been a Christian for some time. For how long we are not told and neither do we know how the actual process of finding a new bishop worked, at least not from these verses.

In Titus 1: 7 the bishop and his virtues is also a subject. Here the bishop is named as “God’s steward”; *theou oikonomo*. Verse 9 explains that the bishop must be a learned man, so as to be able to preach “with sound doctrine” and secondly that he can stand up against those who contradict his words, which are the church’s words.

4.1.2 The diakonos.

Following the passage about the bishop or overseer, comes a similar description concerning the diakonos- deacons. According to the dictionaries and lexicons, the most basic meaning of *διακονοζ*- diakonos¹⁸⁸ is that of a servant, and may refer to both male and female servants. Bassler¹⁸⁹ describes the deacon as a “go-between”, one who performed acts for another, or in the service of another. In a church context like that of Timothy’s, it is according to her apparent that the deacon is not only a church servant but also refers to a specific office. Let us investigate this assumption of hers further.

1 Timothy 3:8 makes use of the word *osautos*: in the same way or likewise, so as to continue from what was said above about the bishop. The deacon likewise must be... is the translation of the NRSV, followed by a new list of virtues. From verse 10 we learn that there is the need to *dokimasesthosan- test or examine*, the deacons before they start their service. Just as we don’t know how a bishop was appointed, we do not know how this testing worked, only that the subject of testing had to prove himself/herself *anegkletos*¹⁹⁰: *beyond reproach or without fault* (the NRSV translation says “blameless”). That there is a testing however, suggest a procedure for selection and so highlights the official nature of the office¹⁹¹. Verse 12 gives the same requirement for deacons as for the bishop: they must be able to manage their children

¹⁸⁸ In plural: *διακονοι*

¹⁸⁹ Bassler 1997 p. 69

¹⁹⁰ *Anegkletoni* in the text, because the author speaks in plural here

¹⁹¹ MacDonald 1988 p. 213

and household well. There is not much information here as to what a deacon does. Verse 13 says that “those who serve well as deacons gain a good standing for themselves (and great boldness in the faith that is in Christ Jesus)” (1 Tim 3:13 NRSV), and here ends what there is to say about deacons. Later in the letter, in 1Tim 4:6, Timothy is told by the sender of the letter that he can consider himself a good diakonos of Christ *if* he puts the instructions given in the previous verses, before the *adelphos* -brothers.

The *diakonos* are not given any remarks in Titus, or in 2Timothy. But as I previously mentioned, the term can be observed in other NT texts. Bassler¹⁹² mentions Acts 6:2, Luke 17:8 and John 12:2 as New Testament texts where the word *diakonos* carries the concrete meaning of the service of waiting at table. She finds that the term quickly was adapted to the Christian context as a leadership role of service, and gives as examples for this statement 1Thess 3:2, Rom 16:1 and 1Cor 3:5 (among others) where Timothy, Phoebe and Apollos are given the role of *diakonoi*, by Paul, who names himself a diakonos in 2Cor 6:4 and Christ as one in Rom 15:8.

Collins¹⁹³, when investigating the title of the Christian Deacon, uses among others *The Didache* as a source. The Didache has been referred to two times earlier in my thesis, first in chapter three¹⁹⁴ and secondly in this chapter, when describing Wagner`s theory¹⁹⁵. Briefly repeating, Aune`s study of prophecy in early Christianity¹⁹⁶ recognized three primary sources for early Christian prophecy: 1Corinthians 12-14, The Acts of the Apostles and The Didache. Wagner referred to The Didache when he described the competing patterns for the *ekklesia* and remarked that the bishop and the elders functions overlaps in some text, giving The Didache as an example of such. Both Collins and Wagner are otherwise quite brief in their mentioning of The Didache, is as supplement source rather than the main one, perhaps because of the lack of knowledge about its origin? Collins quotes The Didache 15.1 and 14.1-3. I expect these are chapters and verses, so that 14 and 15 are chapters and the numbers behind marks verses. Didache 15.1 he then translates "appoint yourselves overseers and deacons, for they are carrying on for you the sacred work of the prophets and teachers". 14.1-3 gives instructions about the Eucharist, and Collins sees these two text passages together as proof that the author is writing in particular about the cultic role of these local ministries;

¹⁹² Bassler 1996 p. 69

¹⁹³ Collins 1990

¹⁹⁴ Chapter three, sub headline "prophets and teachers"

¹⁹⁵ Chapter four, sub headline "

¹⁹⁶ ... and the ancient Mediterranean world

episkopos and diakonos, the deacons assisting at the eucharist where the overseers are supervising, so that deacons has the function of assisting the overseers. In addition to this argument presented by Collins, The Didache 15.1 can also be used for another purpose. The phrase "appoint yourselves overseers and deacons, for they are carrying on for you the sacred work of the prophets and teachers", admittedly is not a proof for an institutionalization where the offices of episkopos and diakonos replaces those more vague functions of prophet and teacher, but it does bring a new perspective which should be brought into the final discussion in the concluding chapter of my thesis.

Another interesting point from Collins book is his discussion on "The language of office"¹⁹⁷. In the Septuagint; The Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, used by the Christians in diaspora, the term Λειτουργία is used for describing the duties of priestly office. Leitourgia is further a widely used term within the Greek/Greco-Roman state, according to Collins, and has both civic and religious connotations¹⁹⁸. Given the active use in the Septuagint, Collins¹⁹⁹ finds it puzzling that Leitourgia is not taken up as a term in the New Testament writings.

Diakonos so far expresses itself in a two-parted way: the term itself is one of a humble servant, one who is waiting at the table or assisting at the Eucharist. From another perspective however, diakonos is consciously used by Paul the apostle to describe both himself and Christ Jesus. After studying Paul`s rhetorical skills and the ways that he so obviously contradicted all the Corinthian arguments by making an upside-down system to prove his own importance with arguments of unimportance, it would be strange to suggests his servant hood as a diakonos to of low status, of course. It is difficult to decide which tasks the diakonos served in the church of the late first and early second century; maybe the closest we come is the Eucharist assistant from The Didache?

4.1.3 The presbyteros

The final interesting source of authority in the Pastoral letters is the πρεσβύτερος *presbyteros*- the *presbyter* or *elder*.

¹⁹⁷ Collins 1990 p. 35-41

¹⁹⁸ Collins 1990 p. 36

¹⁹⁹ And Schweizer, whom Collins uses

Both Bassler²⁰⁰ and Campenhausen²⁰¹ trace the roots of the presbyteros to the Jewish synagogue and the institution of elders there. These elders were a group of adult men, providing a general oversight of the Jewish community, with special focus on the interpretation and application of the law. It is Bassler's suggestion therefore, that the Jewish Christian churches adopted the office of presbyteros from its Jewish roots²⁰². In her analysis, the Jerusalem church is given as an example, with Acts as its source, e.g. Acts 15:1-29; 16:4. Going one step further, Bassler claims that the pastoral letters represent a period of consolidation of leadership positions, with the episkopos and the diakonos from Gentile Christianity and elders from Jewish Christianity. Campenhausen²⁰³ similarly argues for the Judeo-Christian roots of the elder as an office, and for a consolidation taking place at some point. He further notes that there is a clear difference between the Jewish elders and the Christian elders. The Jewish elders were as we saw, protectors of the law, which made them leaders of their communities. MacDonald²⁰⁴ argues against the view of Campenhausen based on some basic problems she finds in Campenhausen's analysis. One of them is the fact that we know very little about the system of office and organization in the Jewish Synagogues. Both Bassler and Campenhausen base their research upon the description of the Jerusalem Church given in the Acts of the Apostles, while MacDonald recognizes that we lack enough concrete evidence to support the assertion that early Christian communities adopted a Jewish form of organization, based partly on the fact that we lack evidence for a system of elders as law protectors being the norm for Jewish synagogues. Meeks²⁰⁵ is addressing the same question when he searches for the roots for the Christian ekklesia. He faces the same issue as MacDonald, the lack of sources for how the Jewish synagogue worked and for how much influence we can prove the Jewish community model had for the development of the Christian community. These perspectives are interesting to bring with us when we now turn to the texts themselves.

The elders are given instructions both in 1Timothy and in the letter to Titus. The approach is somehow different in 1Tim 5:17-22 than in the part on the episkopos and the diakonos in 1Tim 3:1-13. There is no list of virtues, but instead instructions for how Timothy should consider the elders, and some more information as to what an elder does. 1 Tim 5:17 starts by

²⁰⁰ Bassler 1996

²⁰¹ Campenhausen 1969

²⁰² Bassler 1996 p.98-99

²⁰³ Campenhausen 1969 p.77-78

²⁰⁴ MacDonald 1988 p. 214-215

²⁰⁵ Meeks 2003 p. 75-84

saying the elders who rule well, should be considered worthy of double honor. It can be assumed then, that elders have a leadership role that gives them a fair amount of power. This honor is especially relevant if they *labor in preaching and teaching* (μάλλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ). In 1 Corinthians 12 there are the offices/functions of prophet and teacher, who may or may not be sources of authority. It is a safe to make the assumption that the pastoral letters have adopted the importance given to teaching and preaching, from Paul, as presented in 1 Corinthians. We saw in chapter three how the prophet and the teacher were ranked as the second and third in importance after the apostle. Prophesying however, does not seem like something one "does" in the congregations that Timothy and Titus supervises. The references that we do find to prophesying, seems related to historical events, an example is 1 Timothy 1:18, where it is written: I am giving you these instructions, Timothy, my child, in accordance with the *prophecies* made earlier about you- κατὰ τὰς προαγούσας ἐπὶ σὲ *προφητείας* (my emphasis), so that by following them you may fight the good fight (¹⁹having faith and a good conscience). A similar passage is found in 1 Tim 4:14, where Timothy is reminded not to neglect the gift *χαρίσματος* that is in him, given to him through prophecy with the laying on of hands by the council of presbyters. Bassler suggests that the prophecies about Timothy which is spoken of here either came at an earlier time so as to identify Timothy as God's choice, or prophecies pronounced during the ceremony where Timothy was ordained. The use of the word *χαρίσματος* here, in context with prophecies, is a direct reference to 1 Cor 12:10, where prophesying is one of the gifts which a church member may hold. Aune²⁰⁶ does not discuss 1 Tim 1:18 and 4:14 in detail, but he does mention these text passages as parallels to Acts 13:2, which according to Aune describes an oracular commission followed by a ceremony, where the four prophets laid their hands on Barnabas and Saul, before they were sent out on their mission. In Acts 13:2 it is the Holy Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) that speaks out the words: "Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them", while in 1 Timothy it is "Paul" that comes with the exclamations.

In 1 Tim 5:19, Timothy is urged to refrain from accepting any accusations against an elder, unless the misdeed is witnessed by more than one person. If the elder proves to be a sinner, then the punishment should take place in the presence of all, τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐνώπιον πάντων ἔλεγε, ἵνα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φόβον ἔχωσιν *verse 20*. Whoever is writing this letter in the name of Paul, must be someone of high authority, if we consider the words from *verse 21*

²⁰⁶ Aune 1983 p. 266

where Timothy is warned in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus and the *elect angels*, to keep these instructions without prejudice and to do nothing on the basis of partiality.

In verse 22, Timothy is reminded not to ordain/lay hands on “anyone” too hastily *χεῖρα* *ταχέως* *μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει* [...]. We may read this line in two ways; at least, depending upon which context we put it into. Sin and what to do with the sinners is an overall topic for the letter, and so the laying hands on may refer to a ritual of bringing the sinners back to church, or a form of punishment. The other way to read the sentence is to translate and interpret lay hands on as to ordain. Since there are no known rituals for restoration in the church of the first and second century, the context speaks for ordination being the subject. This argument may be further proved by reading 1Tim 5:22 in the context of 1Tim 4:14. Looking back, we discussed the possibility (on page 56) that the prophecies about Timothy were pronounced as a part of the ordination ceremony.

The second part of verse 22 speaks for the church official not to take part in the sins of others, implying that he is to be held responsible if the elders he elects are sinners.

In Titus 1:5 we learn that Titus, to whom the letter is addressed²⁰⁷ was left behind in Crete by the sender, so as to (1) “put in order what remained to be done” and (2) to appoint elders in every town. These elders should be appointed as “Paul” directed: someone blameless, husband of only one wife, children who are believers, not accused of reckless living (*κατηγορία ἄσωτία*) and not rebellious (1:6). These directions make a similar pattern as those given about bishops and deacons. In the continuation of Paul’s letter to Titus, we read: For a *bishop/overseer* as God’s steward, must be...“(Titus 1:7²⁰⁸) About this abrupt shift from one office to another Bassler explains that there are two possible interpretations²⁰⁹. First, some interpreters assume elder and bishop to be interchangeable and to be referring to the same leadership position²¹⁰. This proposition she denies because of the way 1Timothy so clearly distinguish between them²¹¹. If the letters have the same sender, and we have no reason to believe they did not, it would be strange indeed if this authority that writes to Timothy and later Titus should have changed his mind about how the authority of office was understood²¹².

²⁰⁷ for background info on Titus, see page 4 of this chapter

²⁰⁸ Titus 1:7-9 was discussed under the headline *episkopos* above.

²⁰⁹ Bassler 1996 p. 186

²¹⁰ Wagner is in on this thought, see page 2 of this chapter

²¹¹ Bassler 1996 p. 186

²¹² For some general notes on the authorship of The Pastoral letters, see the Introduction chapter of this paper.

A concrete example²¹³: The teaching role which the episkopos is expected to exercise (Titus 1:9 and 1 Timothy 3:2) is not required from all of the presbyteros (1 Tim 5:17). Bassler suggests instead, as a second possibility for interpretation, that the episkopos is not only the head of his own house and the church of God, but also the head of the presbyterous (1 Tim 3:1-7). Therefore it is natural that there is an overlapping in the qualifications an elder and a bishop should hold, because the bishop would be elected among the elders. I accept Bassler's position. The next question to ask is, do other sources point in the same direction?

The Presbyteros we can also meet in the writings of 1 Peter and 2 and 3 John. In 1 Peter 1:1 the sender of the letter greets the receivers²¹⁴ by naming himself "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ²¹⁵". Later however, in 1 Peter 5:1, Peter uses the term presbyteros about himself: Πρεσβυτέρους οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος... (1 Peter 5:1²¹⁶). In addition to being an apostle, Peter is also an elder²¹⁷. When reading Galatians many scholars understand Peter to represent Jewish Christianity and Paul to represent Gentile Christianity. This is part of the reason why Peter's first letter is used for arguing that Πρεσβυτέρος is an office that developed in the Jewish part of Christianity, and was somehow mixed with diakonos and episkopos in the pastoral letters²¹⁸. Together with the fact that the elders do not appear in any of the authentic Pauline letters. But as discussed earlier, this hypothesis is problematic in many ways.

The general problem with texts where someone is addressed as a presbyteros is that it may be hard to tell if the term is referring to an elder as just one of the older members of the congregation, or if it is a more strict reference to the elder or overseer as a church office. 1 Peter 5:1 is precisely such an example, at the time in his life where Peter writes his letter he may easily be considered an elder, as in an elder man, age wise²¹⁹.

4.1.4 A summary

So far, my understanding is that the bishop is the highest authority, supervising the elders and the deacons.

²¹³ From Bassler 1996 p. 185-186

²¹⁴ Who are "The exiles of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia"

²¹⁵ In a similar pattern as Paul do in his writings, and the Pseudo-Paul does.

²¹⁶ Novum Testamentum Graece, Nestle-Aaland

²¹⁷ Συμπρεσβύτερος is a fellow-elder (Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament)

²¹⁸ See the discussion at the beginning of the presbyteros subchapter

²¹⁹ If "Peter" is in fact the Peter we meet in the gospel tradition, is a whole other discussion, see Johnson 2010 p.423-424

If we return to the introduction for the pastoral letters, I spoke a bit about who Timothy and Titus were. Titus was there presented as a co-worker of Paul, possibly trained by him, and as having some sort of supervision role in Crete. After working with the passage Titus 1:5-9 however, I am about to suggest that Titus was an episkopos. He is given special tasks and then the passage goes δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεγκλήτων εἶναι ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμου,... "For a bishop, as God's steward...". Put in the context, does it not make the most sense that Titus is the bishop, the episkopos that is to appoint the elders? Of course the situation that is referred to may also be one where Titus should think through who he appoints as elders because among them there will be elected a bishop, and that bishop needs to be of the right sort. But if that is the only meaning of text, then we still haven't gotten any answer as to what office Titus holds.

4.2 The Johannine sources.

What we often name The Johannine Writings, is five texts that because of their thematic similarities and the authorship the letters themselves claim²²⁰, have been said to belong to the same tradition- the Johannine tradition. These writings are the gospel of John (John)²²¹-a narrative, 1, 2 and 3 John, which are letters, and the Book of Revelation/ the apocalypse of John, which is an apocalyptic document. The tradition is commonly assumed to have been based in Asia Minor. The chronology of the writings are uncertain, the fourth gospel is placed around year 120. Johnson claims that Revelation is the provider of the only firm connection between these writings, and that they have the same provenance if not authorship. Ehrman suggests a list of thematic similarities between the gospel and epistles of John²²². About the letters there is the question of whether they are written to the same congregation, or to different ones, because unlike the Pauline letters, these are not addressed to a specific city or community, and the texts themselves has few or none geographical references. As background info for reading them, Johnson writes²²³ that the letters describes a setting of conflict and division. In 3 John the conflict described is between rival leaders, in 2 John it is over the issue of proper teaching, and in 1 John the conflict arises from doctrinal and moral disagreements. What seems to be in common for the three situations describes by the letters is that there are conflicts generated from *within*. The gospel of John, in contrast, describes a setting where hostility and persecution from the *outside* world is the issue.

²²⁰ From John

²²¹ Commonly referred to as the fourth gospel

²²² Ehrman 2004 p.180

²²³ Johnson 2010 p.496

A first and basic problem to address is a repetition from what I mentioned above, namely that we do not know who this John is. An interesting starting point is to look into the idea of the beloved disciple.

4.2.1 A special disciple.

The beloved disciple or the disciple whom Jesus loved- τον μαθητήν ὃν ἠγάπα is perhaps fullest introduced in John 21:20, but certainly also appears other places, as we shall see below. The narrative *John 21:15-23* describes a situation where Jesus and his disciple Peter are having a conversation while with the other disciples, and Peter is asked by Jesus to follow him. Peter then turns around-looks back and spots the τον μαθητήν ὃν ἠγάπα following them. This disciple is by the author of the narrative described as the one who asked Jesus during their shared meal about who would betray him *Jesus*. As the narrative goes on, Peter questions Jesus about what will happen to the beloved disciple, and Jesus gives a rather vague answer and continues to insist that Peter should follow him. Parallell, the rumor is spread among the disciples that the beloved disciple will not die, because of Jesus words to Peter, which are once more repeated *what I called the vague answer* "if it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you?"

Other text passages from the gospel of John where the beloved disciple appears, is John 13,21-30 19,25-27 and 20,2-10. Τὸν μαθητήν ὃν ἠγάπα does not appear in any of the synoptic gospels, even though they have a sample of parallell stories. The expression "beloved" is not in any way typical for John, to be among the loved ones or to be a beloved child is found several places in the Pauline and post-Pauline letters.

The reason why the narrative from John 21 is especially interesting is the way that this disciple is described, seen in the context of the questions raised. Something will happen to him-her, and the disciples believe that he will not die. Further, the ending words of the gospel of John says that this is the disciple who is testifying to these things and has written them, indicating for some translators that the John author must equal the beloved disciple. In the book titled *The beloved disciple in conflict?* Ismo Dunderberg²²⁴ explains how the anonymity of the beloved disciple has led to a plethora of attempts at identification, John the elder, John Mark, Lazarus, Matthias, Paul, Thomas, Mary Magdalene and Andrew. The attempt to identify Paul as the beloved disciple stems from Gal 2:20. I am probably bold for pointing this

²²⁴ Dunderberg 2006

out, but it is certainly interesting how often theologians tries to place Paul in every possible place one can, so as to strengthen his authority.

From the opinion of the scholar James D.G. Dunn²²⁵, the beloved disciple in the gospel of John is a symbol, with the task to symbolize the *individual believer* in the immediacy and closeness of his relationship to Jesus. Meaning that for Dunn, it is not important who the beloved disciple was, neither to prove if the beloved disciple was an historical figure. The symbolic value is what counts.

The relationship between John and Thomas has been one of the links for the new search for the beloved disciple's identity, linking the Syrian Judas Thomas tradition and the gospel of John²²⁶. This is also the background for Dunderberg's book.

Both Dunn and Campenhausen speak for a resistance against institutionalization taking place in the Johannine tradition. What are their main arguments in this case? Dunn²²⁷ refers to what we meet in the gospel of John as "The Johannine alternative", a resistance to institutionalization. There is much more emphasis upon the individual's relationship with God and no real mention of apostles, only disciples. The individual seems to stand over the community and therefore Dunn claims the gospel of John lacks the concept of charismatic community, and he also comments on the lack of hierarchy even after the death of Jesus²²⁸. As a parallell, in the Revelation of John, the church is pre-eminently a church that lives trough and out of prophecy²²⁹. Campenhausen focuses on 1 John. Important points from his reading are the lack of practical rules for church order and the suggestion that the disciples are models of spiritual authority. Campenhausen is further concerned with how "sin" is described in the Johannine texts. His arguments are fare from entirely clear to me; I will however give an attempt to explain. In the gospel of Matthew, humans are bound by sin. They therefore need Christianity to lose this sin, or at least to forgive the sins that the humans have made. Matthew's system of the binding of the sin followed by the loosing emphasizes the disciplinary aspect of the church, to protect the community against sinners. John however, contrasts this way of thinking by putting the right to forgiveness first.

²²⁵ Dunn 1990

²²⁶ Dunderberg 2006 p. 119

²²⁷ Dunn 1990 p. 118

²²⁸ Dunn 1990 pp.118-119

²²⁹ Dunn 1990 p. 119

Johnson²³⁰ and Ehrman²³¹ suggested a common tradition/community if not authorship, for the Johannine writings. Aune²³² argues for the same author for the three letters, because even though only 2 and 3 John is specified to have been written by an elder, while 1John does not have a recognized sender,²³³ Aune recognizes a common language and style for all three letters. Aune's special interest for 1 John comes from the content of 1John 4:1-3, where the author warns his readers against the danger of false prophecy. Other texts from the first and second century where the problem with false prophecy is a topic, is Matthew 7:15-23, The Didache 11-12, Hermas *Mand.* xi. and the Acts of Thomas 79²³⁴. In the common description Aune gives before he starts describing the different text passages, he writes that we can trace an increasing concern with the problems presented by false teaching and false prophecy, towards the end of the first and until the middle of the second century.

4.2.2 Spirits and prophets.

I chose to read 1 John 4:1-3 as the second primary text from the Johannine writings, (the gospel of) John 21:15-23 was the first one.

We recognize already some of the Greek terms that is used in this text, from previous interpretations: *Αγαπητοί*, from *Αγαπητος*-beloved, dear and *δοκιμάζετε*, from *δοκιμάζω*- put to the test, examine²³⁵. John 21 spoke about the *beloved* disciple and in 1Tim 3, Timothy was requested to test the *diakonos* before they started their service.

The *Αγαπητοί*- beloved²³⁶ ones are advised not to believe every spirit (*παντι πνεύματι*), but to instead test these spirits so that they can see if the spirits are from God. One has to make sure the spirits are from God, because many false prophets²³⁷ are known to have gone out into the world (1John 4:1). Hereafter John explains how one can recognize το πνεύμα του θεού- the Spirit of God, in a rather simple formula: every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God, ergo=every spirit which does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, is not of God (1 John 4:2). This second type of spirit then, the non-Godly

²³⁰ Johnson 2010

²³¹ Ehrman 2004

²³² Aune 1983

²³³ In the beginning of the letter, there is a "we" that addresses the audience of the letter, later to be an "I".

²³⁴ Aune 1983 p. 222

²³⁵ Or *prove* by testing, *accept as proved*, *approve*, *see fit*. Gingrich 1971

²³⁶ note: In the Greek text beloved is in plural and without the definite article, so when I refer to the beloved ones it is not as a direct translation, just to indicate that the beloved is not one but many, a break with the Gospel of John here.

²³⁷ the literal translation from *ψευδοπροφήται* is perhaps more like pseudo-prophets?

one, is the spirit of Antichrist (ἀντιχρίστου), which the Christians have been warned will come and which is in fact present in the world already (1 John 4:3).

In 1 John 4:6 we meet "The Spirit of error"(τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας) which can be put in opposition to "the spirit of Truth"(τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης)²³⁸. The similarities between the false prophets and the antichrists, makes Aune ask the question of whether 1 John 4:1-3 actually refers to prophetic speech within the Christian Community or whether false prophet is just another way of referring to a false teacher²³⁹, and he mentions text like 2 Peter 2:1 and Did. 11.5 to compare.

Conclusion.

What this interpretation and analysis formally shows us is that the importance that prophecy and prophets are given in 1 Corinthians and partly in Timothy/Titus, is also important in the Johannine communities. There have however arisen new problems that are not faced by the Corinthians and other Christians in the first century, the risk for the spreading of false prophecies. We saw that the prophecies should be tested, and from Marjanen and Tabbernee we know that there is a similar testing process described for the Montanists oracles. The fears for false teachings are common for the Post-Pauline and the Johannine writings. But while the Pastoral letters put a great emphasis on the leaders to take care of Gods household and to give instructions in accordance with what Paul taught them, the Johannine writings speak for a more individual approach to the teachings and are less focused on authorities.

Although this is a simplified explanation, it is a starting point for answering my research question, which was presented in the introduction: With basis in the Pauline and the Johannine text corpus, how might we define authority and leadership in the primitive church? The primary sources in this project have been 1 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, John and 1 John. Other sources have also been referred to.

Studying Paul as a leader and authority in the church of the first century we have seen that Paul builds his authority on being an apostle- a messenger following Gods calling. The calling that Paul got means that he is to spread the gospel among the non-believers, the Gentiles. Paul

²³⁸ Aune 1983 p.224

²³⁹ Aune 1983 pp.224-225

can build his authority on being an apostle of Christ, because people before him have claimed the same status. He is following a tradition of apostleship. Yet, we saw that his approach to the Christian mission is different from the other apostles, because they lived with Jesus and were called to be apostles while Jesus still lived on earth. In addition to the term "apostle", Paul uses "servant" and "slave" to describe his status.

From reading 1Cor 12 we learned that in addition to the apostles, who are travelling from one congregation to another, the local church has prophets and teachers. The letter is written to the congregation in general, and there is no specific advice or warnings given to the prophets and teachers. The discussion in chapter three presented evidence for a variety of functions and roles in the different Christian communities in first-century Christianity. The question of what the stable offices were and which ones change from one congregation to another was not possible to answer fully, neither can we decide if the episkopos and diakonos greeted in the letter to the Philippians were established as offices at that point, but most sources spoke against it. In the Pastoral letters these terms are more explicit offices, we meet a similar triad as in 1Cor, episkopos-presbyteros-diakonos. The suggested system of hierarchy here is with the episkopos on top, followed by the presbyteros, among whom the episkopos is elected, and with the diakonos as the servant at Eucharist meals and other rituals. While the presbyteros also figured in the letter tradition of Peter, it is lacking in the Johannine writings. The Johannine tradition is distinguished from the Pauline first and foremost with the lack of apostles. The gospel of John never "makes" the disciples into apostles, the way that the synoptic gospels does. 1-2 Peter is here similar with the Pauline writings, in that Peter names himself as an apostolos.

We found some interesting metaphors and symbols used in 1Cor, all used with the purpose to calm down the crisis situation in Corinth. The first one is presented in chapter two, and it tells us what the roles of Paul and Apollos are, in relation to the church and to God. The second model is the congregation compared with a body. Here Paul's intention is to explain that the church needs all its members and all their gifts of grace, the church is one body with members representing different body parts. The members are both serving as different parts, and as one body. The third model Paul uses is the idea of the baptism as uniting all the Christians, whether they formally are of Gentile or Jewish background, slaves or free, poor or rich.

All these models presents the start of solutions for dilemmas that arise when the Christians faces struggles and conflicts from within. The conflicts may as we saw be caused by the

Christians having a pre-understanding from the Roman society of how authority and leadership works, expecting the same to be the case within their communities.

We recognized the diversity of Paul's authority and how one could not place the apostle in one of Weber's categories, but that it was useful to use his theory on legitimate authority to say something about the different aspects of the apostolic authority. Chapter four presented us with different ideas as to if and how the Christian communities were in a process of institutionalization in the end of the first and beginning of the second century, and we recognized with Weber and Holmberg that the process of institutionalization started already before the house churches, in the communities of the very first Christians. The first followers of Jesus sought to establish something permanent after his death, and the church structure reflected in the Pauline letters are thus an example of secondary institutionalization. At the same time we saw a lack of the same process in the Johannine communities, and how the individuality focused on there, is reflected further in the Montanist movement, which took form in the same areas, Asia Minor.

We can conclude therefore, that the Pauline and Johannine text material present us with different models for and understandings of authority and leadership in the early Christian church. These diversities is precisely what makes these texts so interesting to study.

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