

Table of Contents

Introduction	XV
Acknowledgements	XXIII
Chapter 1: The ‘Image of God’ in Ancient Judaism	1
Introduction: The ‘image of God’ in the Jewish scriptures	1
1.1 The interpretation of God’s image (Gen 1.26–27) in ancient Judaism .	7
1.1.1 Paraphrases	8
(a) <i>The Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach</i>	8
(b) <i>Jubilees</i>	9
(c) Pseudo-Philo, <i>Biblical Antiquities</i>	10
1.1.2 Contextualized interpretations	10
(a) <i>1 Enoch</i> 106	11
(b) <i>The Fourth Book of Ezra</i>	13
(c) Echoes of <i>4 Ezra</i> in the <i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i> and the <i>Vision of Ezra</i>	14
1.1.3 <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls</i>	15
(a) 4Q504: Adam, fashioned in the likeness of God’s glory	15
(b) ‘All the glory of Adam’	18
(c) 4Q417: Humanity’s formation according to the patterns of the angels	22
1.1.4 Anti-idolatrous application: the image of God and other images	27
(a) <i>The Sibylline Oracles</i> , book III/II: An implicit antithesis in the Jewish material	27
(b) <i>The Sibylline Oracles</i> , book VIII: An explicit antithesis in the Christian material	28
(c) <i>The Life of Adam and Eve</i>	28
1.1.5 A particular ethical understanding of the ‘image of God’: <i>2 Enoch</i>	32
1.1.6 A spiritual/intellectual understanding of the ‘image of God’	35
(a) <i>Sirach</i>	35
(b) 4Q504	35
(c) <i>The Wisdom of Solomon</i>	36

(d) Pseudo-Phocylides	36
(e) The Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers	37
1.1.7 A bodily understanding of the 'image of God'	38
(a) <i>Life of Adam and Eve</i> and <i>2 Enoch</i>	38
(b) <i>Sibylline Oracles</i> , books I and VIII	39
(c) <i>The Testament of Naphtali</i>	39
(d) <i>The Testament of Isaac</i>	41
1.1.8 Concluding observations	44
(a) Antithesis between the image of God and other images	46
(b) A spiritual, intellectual understanding of God's image – a divine anthropology?	46
(c) A physical understanding of God's image	47
1.2 The 'image of God' in Philo	48
1.2.1 'Let us make humankind ...': The creation of the different parts of man	49
1.2.2 'Created in, or after the image of God'	50
1.2.3 The cosmos as a copy of the divine image	54
1.2.4 'Created according to the likeness of God': The non-bodily likeness between God and man	57
1.2.5 'Image' and 'Spirit': The intersection and overlap of the first and second account of man's creation in Gen 1–2	62
Introduction	62
(a) Two types of man	63
(b) The defining characteristics of the second type	63
(c) The overlapping area between both creation accounts	64
(d) The hierarchical relation between the two creation accounts .	66
1.3 Image, form and trans-formation: A semantic taxonomy of Paul's 'morphic' language	69
Introduction	69
1.3.1 The terminology of image	71
1.3.2 The terminology of forms	75
(a) A survey of morphic language in Paul	75
(b) Morphic language in Philo	82
(i) Anthropomorphism.	82
(ii) The forms of the soul	83
(iii) The forms of the cosmos.	83
(iv) The specific language of metamorphosis	84
(v) The forms of images	85
(c) The images and their forms	86

1.3.3 Concluding observations	88
(a) 'Being in the form of God'	89
(b) Metamorphosis	90
(c) The extent and coherence of Paul's morphic language	91
 Chapter 2: The 'Image of God' and 'Being Made Like God' in Graeco-Roman Paganism	92
Introduction	92
2.1 The 'image of God' in Graeco-Roman paganism	93
2.1.1 The 'image of God' in cosmology: The cosmos as the image of God	93
2.1.2 The 'image of God' in Hellenistic kingship ideology: The king as the image of God	95
2.1.3 The 'image of God' in anthropology: The wise and the virtuous, and man in general, as the image of God	99
(a) The wise and the virtuous	99
(b) Man in general	101
(c) A physical, sophistic interpretation of man as the image of God	109
2.1.4 The 'image of God' as a reference to statues and pictures of the gods, literal and metaphorical	112
2.1.5 Cross-fertilization between pagan and Jewish anthropology of the image of God?	118
2.2 The 'image of God' and 'being made like God': The traditions of <i>homoïōsis theōi</i> in Greek philosophy from Plato to Plotinus	124
Introduction	124
2.2.1 Plato	129
2.2.2 Pseudo-Plato	135
2.2.3 Aristotle	136
2.2.4 Post-Aristotelian views	138
(a) Aspasius	138
(b) Alexander of Aphrodisias	139
(c) Themistius	140
2.2.5 Eudorus and the introduction of <i>homoïōsis theōi</i> as the goal of Platonic ethics	141
2.2.6 Plutarch	148
2.2.7 Alcinous	154
2.2.8 Platonizing influence on Stoics	159
2.2.9 Celsus	160

2.2.10	Maximus of Tyre	161
2.2.11	The <i>Sententiae Pythagoreorum</i> – the Pythagorean path	162
2.2.12	Diogenes Laertius – the general path	165
2.2.13	Plotinus – the Platonic path	166
2.2.14	The fourth, Christian path in the time leading up to the Council of Nicaea	170
(a)	Assimilation as the explicit goal of ethics in Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus of Rome	170
(b)	Assimilation to God according to other ante-Nicene Christians	174
(c)	Justin Martyr (continued): ‘Those who lived like Christ shall become akin to God’	176
(d)	Clement of Alexandria (continued): ‘Created according to the image and likeness’	177
2.3	Philo and man’s similarity and assimilation to God	181
2.3.1	‘Nothing is similar to God’	181
2.3.2	‘Nothing earth-born is more like God than man’	183
2.3.3	Philo’s acquaintance with Plato’s <i>Theaetetus</i>	186
2.3.4	Assimilation to God	188
(a)	Assimilation as the goal of ethics	188
(b)	True wealth	188
(c)	Assimilation, the multitude and God’s solitude	189
(d)	Assimilation and the active and contemplative life	190
(e)	Assimilation to God only possible through the second God	191
(f)	Assimilation to the cosmos and to God	192
(g)	Assimilation and the ideal ruler	195
2.3.5	Specific applications of the doctrine of assimilation	196
2.4	Paul, the image of God and likeness to Christ	199
2.4.1	The ‘image of God’ in Paul	199
2.4.2	<i>Homoiōma</i> between Christians and Christ	206
(a)	The <i>homoiōma</i> of Christians with Christ through baptism: Acquiring the ethos of a god	206
(b)	The decline and restoration of true religion	212
(c)	The <i>homoiōma</i> between Christ and man	212
2.4.3	‘Image’ and ‘homoiōsis’: intertwined notions	214
(a)	The twin notions of image and assimilation	214
(b)	The underlying logic	216
2.4.4	Preview	219

Chapter 3: Philo's Anti-Sophistic Interpretation of the Narratives of Moses' Pentateuch	220
Introduction: Balaam as the sophist <i>par excellence</i>	220
3.1 Balaam in Philo's thought	223
3.2 Philo's anti-sophistic programme	228
3.2.1 Characteristics of the sophists	228
3.2.2 The 'history' of the sophists and Israel	230
(a) The creation and the life of the first men	230
(i) <i>Creation's anti-sophistic order</i>	230
(ii) <i>The Serpent versus Eve</i>	231
(iii) <i>Cain versus Abel</i>	231
(b) The period of the patriarchs and matriarchs	232
(i) <i>Abraham versus the Chaldeans</i>	232
(ii) <i>Hagar and Ishmael versus Sarah and Isaac</i>	232
(iii) <i>Rebecca's non-sophistic attitude</i>	233
(c) Israel in Egypt: Joseph and Moses versus 'the sophists of Egypt'	233
(i) <i>Joseph versus the sophists of Egypt</i>	233
(ii) <i>Moses versus the sophists of Egypt</i>	234
(d) Israel in the wilderness: Moses and the Israelites versus the Amorites and Balaam	236
(i) <i>Israel versus the Amorites</i>	236
(ii) <i>Balaam</i>	236
3.3 Philo's application to the philosophical discussion of his day	237
3.4 Epilogue: The function of Moses' Pentateuchal narratives in Philo ...	241
 Chapter 4: Paul versus the Sophists: Outward Performance and Rhetorical Competition within the Christian Community at Corinth	245
Introduction	245
4.1 Competition in the Christian communities in Corinth	246
4.1.1 Paul and Corinth	246
4.1.2 Sophistic factionalism	247
4.1.3 Loyalty of disciples	249
4.2 The technique of improvising speeches	250
4.3 Invention of themes, physiognomy and self-praise	253
4.4 The sophists' daily life in the cities	259

4.5 Philosophy versus sophism	262
4.6 Concluding remarks: Paul 'at the cross-roads of Greece'	268
Chapter 5: The Two Types of Man in Philo and Paul:	
The Anthropological Trichotomy of Spirit, Soul and Body	269
Introduction	269
5.1 Philo on the two types of man	272
5.1.1 The relation between the heavenly and earthly man at creation ..	272
(a) Double creation – Gen 1 & 2	272
(b) The heavenly man – Gen 1.26–27	273
(c) The earthly man – Gen 2.7	275
(d) A third anthropological key text: Lev 17.11 – The soul and the blood	282
5.1.2 The degeneration and fall of man	287
5.1.3 Restoration of the human mind and spirit	292
5.2 Paul on the two types of man	298
5.2.1 The 'soul' in Paul	298
5.2.2 Paul's differentiation between various types of man	302
Introduction	302
(a) Those who 'say there is no resurrection of the dead'	305
(b) The sophists/ <i>psychikoi</i> versus the <i>pneumatikoi</i>	306
(c) The <i>excessive pneumatikoi</i>	308
Chapter 6: Paul's Anti-Sophistic Interpretation of the Narrative of Moses' Shining Face (Exod 34) in 2 Cor 3: Moses' Strength, Well-being and (Transitory) Glory, according to Philo, Josephus, Paul, and the Corinthian Sophists	
Introduction: Why does Paul draw on Exod 34 in 2 Cor 3?	313
6.1 Moses in pagan-Jewish relations	315
6.2 The anti-sophistic setting of 2 Cor 3	317
6.2.1 Reference to written letters of recommendation and a slow development towards an implicit antithesis between 'letter' and 'spirit' (2 Cor 3.1–3)	318
6.2.2 The antithesis between 'letter' and 'spirit' becomes explicit (2 Cor 3.4–6)	320
6.2.3 Moses' 'gramma': glorious, but only transient glory (2 Cor 3.7–11)	321

6.2.4 The superiority of the Lord's permanent, inward glory (2 Cor 3.12–18)	323
6.3 Philo and Josephus on Moses the legislator	326
6.3.1 Philo – Moses' strength and well-being	326
6.3.2 Josephus – Moses' glory, honour and rivals	329
6.4 The language of power, glory and <i>theios anēr</i> among the sophists . . .	331
6.4.1 Power	331
6.4.2 Glory and physical appearance	333
6.4.3 Superhuman identity	334
6.5 Concluding observations: Paul's definitive answer to the Corinthian sophists	335
 Chapter 7: The Renewal of the 'Discredited Mind' Through Metamorphosis: Paul's Universalist Anthropology in Romans	340
Introduction	340
7.1 Pagan and Jewish monotheism according to Varro, Plutarch, and Paul: The aniconic, monotheistic beginnings of Rome's pagan cult – Romans 1.19–25 in a Roman context	343
7.1.1 Paul	344
7.1.2 Varro	347
(a) Varro on pure Roman religious beginnings	347
(b) Varro on the Jews	350
7.1.3 Plutarch on pure Roman religious beginnings with Numa	353
7.1.4 Ideas of decline	355
7.1.5 Conclusion	356
7.2 Assimilation to Christ and the geography of good and evil in man: Romans 6–8	357
7.2.1 Assimilation to Christ in Romans 6	357
7.2.2 The inner man – the history of a concept	358
(a) A literal meaning	359
(b) A physiological or medical meaning	360
(c) A metaphorical meaning	361
(d) A philosophical meaning	362
(e) A Philonic interpretation	366
7.2.3 The mind and the inner man in Romans 7	370
Introduction: The inner man and his vices	370
(a) Plotinus on the inner man, virtues and sin	371
(b) Paul on the inner man and sin	372

7.2.4 The detailed geography of good and evil in man	375
7.3 The metamorphosis of man's mind and the restitution of true religion:	
Romans 12 – the climax of Paul's anthropology	388
 Bibliography	 393
 Index of Passages from Ancient Authors	 413
Biblical writings	413
Jewish scriptures	413
New Testament writings	414
Ancient Jewish writings	419
Classical writings	425
Early Christian writings	434
References to collections of texts (Stern, <i>SVF</i> , et al.)	436
 Index of Modern Authors	 437
 Index of Subjects and Selected Ancient Names	 441