



An exegetical study of the ground motive of Paul's tent-making implied in his letters

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PREFACE

All honour and glory to God!! This study has been completed only through His inspiration and wisdom. I hope that the result of my study would be sincerely applied in my life.

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ABSTRACT

What was the ground motive for Paul's tent-making? In response to this question, some New Testament texts provide reasons for Paul's tent-making based on the circumstances of individual churches. Also, social studies of Paul and his communities provide reasons for Paul's tent-making based on the context in Greco-Roman society. In other words, most research on Paul's tent-making point to contextual characteristics that are based on the context of the church or society at that time. Thus, because these characteristics are circumstantial in nature, it is difficult to deduce from them a ground motive for Paul's tent-making.

This study makes use of exegetical and literary analyses in order to identify the ground motive for Paul's tent-making. Firstly, it is necessary to grasp the theological significance of Paul's tent-making as indicated in the New Testament texts. The texts dealing with Paul's tent-making show that his work was not merely a means of living but rather an embodiment of Christ's suffering. Secondly, the factors were identified that influenced the theological significance of Paul's tent-making. Paul's tent-making represented self-sacrifice for others, and this concept is likely indirectly influenced by the theology of land in the Old Testament. Directly, the theological significance of Paul's tent-making was greatly influenced by Paul's encounter with the suffering Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus and his call for Paul to become a suffering apostle for the sake of the message of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Key words: Paul the apostle, tent-making, ground motive, Christ's suffering, the theology of land, the Damascus event.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Why did Paul practise tent-making? Other apostles enjoyed the privilege of receiving financial support (1 Cor. 9:4-6). It seems that even the churches wanted to give Paul financial support. Nevertheless, why did Paul give up the proper right to be provided for and choose to live a humiliating worker's life? The problem is that Paul did not directly answer to the question in his letters and he just used his own example of tent-making for churches in trouble. Some texts in Paul's letters mention several reasons for his tent-making, and social studies of Greco-Roman society in the first century A.D. help to infer the reasons for Paul's tent-making through the cases similar to Paul's labour. However, the reasons for Paul's tent-making are just circumstantial. What should be borne in mind is that Paul laboured manually regardless of the circumstantial reasons, which indicates the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to find the ground motive by tracking the principles indicated in Paul's tent-making texts and theological influences on them.

It is widely recognised that Paul did tent-making and it was meaningful to him. In particular, Paul's tent-making has been considered an effective strategy for mission (Malone, 2014). There is also an attempt to understand Paul's tent-making in terms of solving the problem of poverty, a critical issue of today (Wessels, 2015). The applications of Paul's tent-making should be considered as so significant. However, this thesis attempts to focus on a theological understanding of Paul's tent-making, not its applications.

1.2 Background and problem statement

1.2.1 Insufficient scope of the traditional research

In the field of New Testament studies, little research has been done on Paul's tent-making ministry, to the extent that it is difficult to find a book-length publication, except for some books including Hock's work (Hock, 1980) which was conducted following a socio-historical method (Garrett, 1992:94). Hock's work is significant because it analyses Paul's tent-making ministry in the context of the Greco-Roman society and places it not at the "periphery of his life" but "actually central" (Hock, 1980:67). Through this research one may discover the details of Paul's tent-making ministry in his own circumstances and assume roughly what the reason for his manual labour is, including how important his manual labour is. The elaborations based on a social aspect, however, seem to be insufficient to elucidate exegetically the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, although

one learns certain details of Paul's life at that time. In order to achieve a proper understanding of this ground motive, Paul's tent-making should be studied and interpreted on the basis of his theology within the context of 1 Corinthians 9 and the whole of 1 Corinthians, as well as relevant texts on the topic in the other Pauline epistles and Acts. Furthermore, it needs to find the influences that made Paul's tent-making bear theological significance.

1.2.2 Problem statement

This study investigates whether it is possible to discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making life as a crucial element to understand Paul's gospel in his letters, irrespective of the circumstantial problems of the churches to whom he wrote or of current research on his tent-making based on the socio-historical method, which generally fails to indicate the fundamental motive preceding other studied grounds of his tent-making.

Sub questions arising from this problem statement are:

- What is the state of research on the interpretation of Paul's tent-making?
- What reasons for Paul's tent-making are evident from social research on the topic?
- What did Paul communicate in 1 Corinthians which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making?
- What did Paul communicate in his other letters which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making?
- What elements of the Old Testament influenced the ground motive of Paul's tent-making?
- To what extent can Paul's tent-making be understood as being underpinned by the ground motive of his apostolic calling and authority?
- What conclusions can be drawn from the results of the research regarding the ground motive for his tent-making?

1.3 Preliminary literature study

Several reasons have been put forward for Paul's tent-making in the research performed on his letters, even though the topic has not enjoyed prominent status in the history of Pauline study. Helped by Wessels (2018:19), the reasons for Paul's tent-making are mainly as follows:

- Paul practised tent-making to follow Jesus' instruction that it is more blessed to give than to receive (Acts 20:33-35).
- Paul wanted to illustrate the example of the renunciation of one's proper rights to the "strong ones" in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1).
- Paul used his example of tent-making to give a message in an ironic style to the divided congregation (2 Cor. 11:7-12) (Aejmelaeus, 2002:368).
- Paul tried to show his love for the congregation by doing manual work (2 Cor. 12:14, 15) (Marshall, 1987:233).
- Paul employed his tent-making to object to other missionaries who taught the Corinthians for payment (2 Cor. 11:12).
- Paul wanted to follow Jesus' servant attitude (Matt. 20:28; Mark 10:45), and the attitude is presented as working manually in his lists of hardships (1 Cor. 4:12; 2 Cor. 6:4-10; 11:23-28, 12:10).
- Paul used his tent-making as an example to give instruction to those who do not like working (2 Thess. 3:6-12).
- Paul wanted to show himself as self-content (Phil. 4:11) (Hengel, 1974:36).
- Paul used his workshop for evangelism in which he "had made himself available to all people, rich and poor, more in any case than had he accepted support and stayed in a household" (Hock, 1978:560).
- Paul wanted to avoid being an economic burden to the poor congregation (1 Thess. 2:9, 10; 2 Thess. 3:8) (Horrell, 2009:599) or he wanted to take care of the poor (Deissmann, 1912:209).
- Paul wanted to distinguish himself from the philosophers who taught wisdom for payment (Robertson & Plummer, 1929:186; Stambaugh & Balch, 1986:143).
- Paul had effective skills to make a living as a travelling missionary in the Greco-Roman cities (Hock, 1980:25; Theissen, 1982:37, 38).
- Paul was the founder of the Corinthian church. The church was not mature enough to pay him a salary, so that he did not expect to get a salary like other missionaries who arrived at Corinth after Paul (Barnett, 2011:155). Not only that, but the foreign situation in which

Paul had to missionize and the conflict with the Jewish people made it difficult for him to obtain support (Theissen, 1982:39).

- Paul did not want to enter into a relationship of client and patron in a Greco-Roman society (Hock, 1980:54, 55) in order to retain his independence, like the prophets in the Old Testament (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:109, 113).
- Paul wanted to avoid misunderstanding regarding the collection for the Jerusalem church (Barrett, 1968:207).

It should be noted that research on Paul's tent-making has been done primarily by focusing on either an exegetical or social aspect. Even though the reasons summarised above are acceptable with regard to both the social and exegetical aspect, these cannot necessarily be viewed as the ground motive for Paul's tent-making. This is because they are exegetically based on Paul's struggling attempts to solve the practical problems of churches, and also tend to emphasise his tent-making in a social context, and therefore does not reflect Paul's uniqueness.

Firstly, some of the reasons summarised indicate that Paul used his tent-making as an example for the troublemaking believers who encountered several difficulties, so that the mentioned list shows diverse reasons. Holmberg (1978:93) argues as follows:

They are rather to be understood as a group of ad hoc reasons given in the argument and not inconsistent with Paul's general conception of himself and his apostolate, although not constituting the real reasons for his practice.

In that case, did Paul simply work manually to show himself as an exemplary goal to solve the present disputes of the churches? Or is there a possibility to discover a ground motive for Paul's tent-making which is not connected to the contextual aspects of churches? It is possible to discover a universalised motive underlying the above reasons in the Pauline epistles, especially in 1 Corinthians 9, in which Paul seems to generalise his conduct "beyond the concrete context" (1 Cor. 9:19-22) (Theissen, 1982:123)?

The Pauline epistles contain several texts regarding Paul's tent-making (1 Cor. 4:12, 9:1-27; 2 Cor. 6:3-5, 11:7-12, 12:13-18; 1 Thess. 2:5-12; 2 Thess. 3:8), while Luke also presents some materials about it (Acts 18:3, 19:11-12, 20:34). Among these texts, it seems that 1 Corinthians deals with the topic of his tent-making in greater detail than any of his other texts, although other texts will be also studied later.

First of all, 1 Corinthians contains the longest chapter in the letters in which Paul explains or defends his labouring in order to persuade Corinthian believers not to serve for their own sake

but for the sake of others. Additionally, in 1 Corinthians the critical issue assumes that the Corinthian believers do not accept Paul's apostleship, which places his whole apostolic life in jeopardy. In 1 Corinthians 9, they deny his apostleship because he had never seen Jesus (1 Cor. 9:1) and he did not receive support from the Corinthian believers who must have known Jesus' instruction that missionaries deserve to receive support during their ministry (Matt. 10:10; Luke 10:7; 1 Cor. 9:4-6, 14) (Wenham, 1995:192, 193). In this situation, through the argument of the Corinthian believers on the salary issue, it is likely that Paul primarily tries to alleviate the troubles related to sacrificed food that arose between the strong and the weak in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1), as well as partly resolve the dispute over his apostleship. Thus Paul cannot do otherwise than seriously discuss the topic of his renunciation of a justifiable right to receive a salary in 1 Corinthians 9. Considering that Paul has no choice but to do manual labour if he does not receive financial support, it is unavoidable that his renunciation of the right to be supported is linked to his performing of manual labour. Therefore, it is essential to study 1 Corinthians, especially chapter 9, in analysing Paul's tent-making.

In 1 Corinthians, the parts which refer to Paul's tent-making are 1 Corinthians 4 and 9. Compared to 1 Corinthians 9, 1 Corinthians 4:12 uses an example of his manual labour to contrast with the attitude of the Corinthian believers who regard themselves to be like kings (Horrell, 2009:559, 600). Considering that 1 Corinthians 4 might not be interested in explicitly stating the reason for Paul's tent-making, 1 Corinthians 9 should be treated here to study the ground motive. 1 Corinthians 9, which is placed in the broader context of the issue of food offered to idols, is the longest chapter on Paul's tent-making in all his letters. It means that there is a possibility that Paul here implies much more about the ground motive for his manual labour. So, it is necessary for this chapter to receive more attention than other texts, even though other texts on the topic deserve to be studied as well.

On the surface, the ground motive for Paul's tent-making can be understood in the context of 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1. Working manually and laying down his proper right to earn a salary, he wants to be an example of the renunciation of one's rights due to his concern for the weak people and he desires them to change the perspectives which are causing problems (Hays, 1997:146). Along the way, Paul may refer to the ground motive in 1 Corinthians 9:12b, though it is abstract so that it should be explained (Barrett, 1968:207; Blomberg, 1994:175; Aejmelaesus, 2002:363). Paul says in the verse that "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ πάντα στέγομεν, ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ."¹ As indicated by some scholars, it appears abstract. Of course, several contexts make it more meaningful. The meanings of the verse may come from diverse contexts so that it looks difficult to find the ground motive for his tent-making.

¹ "But, we did not use this right. On the contrary, we put up with anything rather than hinder the gospel of Christ" (NIV).

However, one can discover Paul's intention to generalise his concrete conduct in the chapter (Theissen, 1982:123). 1 Corinthians 9:19-22 shows that Paul desires to become a slave to all people without discrimination so that they may be saved. It implies that he tries to generalise his particular behaviour although he instructs the Corinthian believers in the specific context of division, which is the root of the problems in the Corinthian church (Mitchell, 1992:83). In this sense, it is not improbable that Paul may hint at his real motive for tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9:12, if the fact that he attempts to generalise his specific conduct is accepted. Thus it may be argued that the reasons grounded in the context of 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1, for example in order not to burden the poor believers, is a kind of contextual application of the ground motive in 1 Corinthians 9:12. Also, the reason why I argue that 1 Corinthians 9:12b, that is, ἵνα μὴ τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, is the ground motive of Paul's tent-making is that his abstract statement indicates his missionary life just as it is. It is widely recognised that Paul's life was oriented to proclaim the gospel after his conversion on the road to Damascus and he did not avoid the suffering that resulted from his missionary work (1 Cor. 4:9-13; 2 Cor. 11:23-27, 12:10) (Kim, 1982:57; Paretsky, 2013:624). Therefore it is no exaggeration to say that the research regarding the ground motive of Paul's tent-making depends on the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 9:12b (Barrett, 1968:207); at the same time, the research on Paul's ministry from his apostolic calling should also discover this ground motive. If so, the research on Paul's tent-making can be connected with the core of Paul's life as Hock (1980:67) refers to, for example, Agrell (1976:111) describes Paul's tent-making in terms of eschatology in the purpose of evangelism. That is, the ground motive for Paul's tent-making might be based on Paul's ministry and his apostolic calling which wholly changed his life.

The interpretations of 1 Corinthians 9:12b mostly come down to an economic issue. They are largely divided into four opinions. Firstly, Paul wanted to avoid the public opinion that he was a kind of philosopher who taught wisdom for payment (Bruce, 1971:85; Fee, 1987:410, 411). Secondly, he desired to avoid being an economic burden to the believers. It means that he worried that people did not accept the gospel because of the economic burden to support the apostle's living (1 Thess. 2:9, 10; 2 Thess. 3:8) (Robertson & Plummer, 1929:186). Thirdly, there is the opinion that he practised tent-making to avoid the concern about the collection for the Jerusalem church (Barrett, 1968:207). Fourthly, he did not want to be dependent on a few wealthy supporters (Horrell, 2009:599).

What becomes clear from the interpretations is that the research on why Paul did manual work reflects the contextual aspects which the Corinthian believers encountered because the research regarding the topic is based on specific biblical verses or social contexts regarding Paul's tent-making. In other words, 1 Corinthians 9:12 shows the ground motive why Paul practised tent-making although it does not illuminate what it means without concrete contexts. It should be

remembered that the verse does not explain the reason for Paul's tent-making but gives a guideline to solve the problem of the sacrificed food in the context of 1 Corinthians 8-10 (Savage, 1996:95). Thus it is necessary to study the texts regarding tent-making in other Pauline epistles besides 1 Corinthians 9.

Secondly, the rest of the reasons mentioned have been researched from a social perspective. According to Garrett (1992:90, 91), research from a social point of view is conducted with the "social historical" method and "sociological" or "social scientific" methods. Socio-historical research is based on data obtained through investigation of contemporary literature using a traditional historiographical method. This research method has the disadvantage that the objectivity of the results of the data analysis may be questioned (Meeks, 1983:4, 5). The social scientific research method is aimed at supplementing the existing historical and exegetical analyses of the Bible by employing the viewpoint and method of social scientists. For this method, Garrett (1992:90) indicates that

the relevant sources are too sparse and fragmentary to support the use of sociological models ... sociological analysis both reduces theological statements to reflexive expressions of social forces, and unjustifiably minimizes the historical importance of the creative initiative and intention of individual leaders.

Also, human societies are not a natural system that follows scientific laws, but rather "societies are moral or symbolic systems in which patterns can be 'discovered' – or, better, 'imaginatively constructed'- by the observer" (Garrett, 1992:91). However, few scholars pursue only one side, and these two approaches usually go together.

If the social dimension of the New Testament at the time is not sufficiently taken into account, there is a real possibility that the understanding of the situation of the time in which the interpreter is located may infiltrate and interrupt the appropriate comprehension of the biblical text (Meeks, 1983:4). Garrett (1992:94) especially points out such a weakness of social studies. Because the message of the writers of the New Testament in the contemporary context corresponds to the object of interpretation of the New Testament, if there is not a close analysis of the contemporary context, it is like neglecting the foundation to build a house of proper understanding of the New Testament. In this sense, the fact should not be disregarded that one of the authors of the New Testament, Paul, and the recipients of Paul's letters were members of the Greco-Roman society in the first century and shared that world's culture and perspective (Garrett, 1992:90).

In discussing the core of Paul's thought, Beker (1980:24) proposes the distinction of contingency and coherence to divide into surface meaning and deep meaning. He argues that although coherence is important, contingency is not a peripheral factor. An interpreter of the Pauline letters cannot access the essence of the letter away from the contextual background. Beker's claim could

be applied to the Greco-Roman world, which might be related to the contingency of Paul's thought. As "the authentic truth of the coherent centre aims at relevance according to the demands of the dialogical situation" (Beker, 1980:17), it can also be helpful in understanding Paul's ideas, since the understanding of the world from a social perspective at the time is related to specific situations. The importance of social research in the first century world as background to the New Testament is revealed here. Social research provides a general understanding of the message of the authors of the New Testament and the situation of the recipients (Hock, 1979:449).

When research is conducted from a social perspective, it should be borne in mind that it not only holds benefits but also disadvantages in that it might produce different results depending on the viewpoints of the researcher and the methods of data analysis. This means that when using social inquiry it is difficult to obtain objective results (Garrett, 1992:91-93), although it is admitted that careful social research can be of great help in understanding the New Testament messages. One representative example of the disadvantages is the so-called discussion of Old Consensus and New Consensus. Both studies show the socio-economic situation of the members of the Pauline community, but they are contradictory according to the researchers' perspectives, ways of data analysis and kind of materials. Criticism can even be levelled at this argument itself. It begins with the premise, when social research is conducted, that the context in which the researcher is situated might influence the result of the research. This means that the specific contexts of the researchers are likely to be influenced by something surrounding them because researchers cannot be perfectly objective. In such a case, the subject of research may be a tool for the researcher to reflect the reality or desire of the researcher, and the results may be distorted in the direction that the researcher intends. This flaw is common to all research but social research is more susceptible to it. Friesen (2004:325, 358), for example, says that there was no such consensus in the so-called discussion of Old Consensus and New Consensus, and argues that they reflect merely a little difference of branches with the same idea, although there have been discussions between them (Theissen, 1982; Meggitt, 1998; Theissen, 2001). Friesen (2004:338) insists that his own argument has been generally agreed upon in the field of the economic history of the Roman Empire, but it has not been well-received in the study of the New Testament, implying that the results of the research have been distorted or reduced by the viewpoints of the researchers, and acknowledging that his own research cannot be completely objective either.

Another disadvantage of social studies is that they tend to lead to separation from theological interests (Garrett, 1992:90), which means "there is always the temptation to go to the other extreme" (Gupta, 2010:519). This is probably related to the fact that concern for the social aspects in the study of the New Testament came as a reaction to excessive emphasis on the theological aspects of doctrine (Malherbe, 1983:2). It can be argued that subsequently too much emphasis on social research made theological significances become detached. Also, when interpreting the

theological and social elements together, it would not be helpful to reduce confessional religious features and pursue public recognition in the academic sphere.

For example, the study of Paul's tent-making has been largely done from a social perspective. The reason for this is that Paul's work itself has the characteristics of social elements, and there were many philosophical schools and instances with similar elements at that time. So, through these many sources, we could get considerable information on the characteristics of Paul's tent-making, the background of his labour, his economic status, and so on, as general practice in the Greco-Roman society. The study of Paul's tent-making from a social perspective enriched the results from the traditional research with regard to exegesis, but at the same time it likely committed the mistake of limiting the significance of Paul's tent-making to mainly the social aspect.

In studying Paul's tent-making, focusing on the social point of view might result in the abandonment of the theological significance of Paul's tent-making. In other words, since similar examples to the case of Paul's tent-making were found in contemporary literature, there might be a suspicion that Paul's tent-making has only been studied in terms of highlighting similarities between Paul's tent-making and these similar practices reflecting the customs of the Greco-Roman society. It should be remembered that the topic of Paul's tent-making is theological as well as socio-historical or socio-scientific. In this sense, when studying Paul's tent-making, it should be considered that there are advantages and disadvantages to social studies.

In conclusion, firstly, the traditional interpretations do not show why Paul chose, in essence, to do manual labour even though common sense (1 Cor. 9:7), the Old Testament (1 Cor. 9:8-10), and even Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 9:14) support the right to receive a salary from the church, because the studies on the reason for Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9:12b tend to reflect the circumstantial problems of the Corinthian church. Therefore, to discover the ground motive it is necessary to link Paul's tent-making as "central" and not peripheral to his life (Hock, 1980:16), although his skill for tent-making was already developed before his conversion, and Paul's custom of manual labour was not just his own (1 Cor. 9:16; 2 Cor. 12:18; 1 Thess. 2:7-9). Secondly, his concrete behaviour should not just be considered as a means for living or an effective tool for mission work.

This research to discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making provides the social oriented research with an additional view that Paul's detailed life such as his tent-making can also be understood in the light of his ministry. Although Hock argues that Paul's tent-making is central to his life, his attempt is not enough to show the relationship between Paul's tent-making and his ministry. He only shows that Paul's tent-making was crucial to his life and related to his apostleship. The research on Paul's tent-making may have been primarily focused on the

similarity between Paul's behaviour and other elements regarding the social aspects at that time because they provide abundant material to understand the characteristics of Paul's tent-making.

The research on Paul's tent-making also needs to be balanced by emphasising its unique characteristics in the perspective of his theology which came from the Damascus experience. In the field of New Testament study, Paul's experience on the road to Damascus has been largely considered in two directions. One direction focuses on the distinctive characteristic of his experience with other religions at that time (Kim, 1982). Another direction emphasises the circumstances with Second-Temple Judaism (Dunn, 2008). Most research on Paul's tent-making emphasises the context that Paul's theology was influenced by his surroundings at that time. The distinctiveness of the ground motive of Paul's tent-making seems to be downplayed.

Thus, this thesis seeks to emphasise the distinctiveness of Paul's tent-making. That is, because the outcome of the research in a social aspect does not fully cover a theological area of Paul's tent-making, the distinctiveness of Paul's experience should be added. Such an attempt seeks to bring a balance to current research. One-sided research just gives a fragmentary and one-sided picture of Paul's tent-making. This thesis seeks to promote the view that Paul's tent-making should be integrated in both similarity and difference in order to show a stereoscopic and clear image of Paul's tent-making.

1.4 Aim and objectives

1.4.1 Aim

The main aim of the study is to attempt to discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making life as a crucial element to interpret his ministry based on his apostolic calling and authority in his letters, irrespective of the circumstantial problems of the churches to which he wrote or of current research on his tent-making based on a social perspective, which generally fails to indicate the ground motive preceding other reasons for his tent-making.

1.4.2 Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

- determine the state of research on the interpretation of Paul's tent-making
- determine the reasons for Paul's tent-making that are evident from the research in a social aspect on the topic

- determine what Paul reveals in 1 Corinthians which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making
- determine what Paul reveals in his other letters which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making
- determine what elements of the Old Testament did influence the ground motive of Paul's tent-making
- determine whether Paul's tent-making can be understood as being underpinned by the ground motive of his apostolic calling and authority
- summarise the conclusions that can be drawn from the results of the research regarding the ground motive for his tent-making.

1.5 Central theoretical argument

The central theoretical argument of this study is that the ground motive for Paul's continuation of his tent-making and refused support is rooted in the apostolic calling and authority which he experienced on the road to Damascus. The experience plays a key role in understanding the texts regarding Paul's tent-making in terms of his ministry, especially in a Christological light.

1.6 Methodology

The study is conducted from a Reformed perspective. The following methods are used to answer the various research questions:

- In order to determine the state of research on the interpretation of Paul's tent-making, a literary analysis of relevant scholarly material is conducted to determine and evaluate existing viewpoints.
- In order to determine the reasons for Paul's tent-making that are evident from the socio-historical research on the topic, a literary analysis of the relevant scholarly material is conducted.
- In order to determine what Paul reveals in 1 Corinthians which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making, exegetical and literary analyses are conducted primarily in a rhetorical manner (Ackerman, 2006:6-9; Schreiner, 2011:20, 26). This exegetical study presumes that the composition of 1 Corinthians is deliberative (Mitchell, 1992:1), so that

it seeks to discover a function of the composition of 1 Corinthians as a whole (Kaiser & Silva, 2007:129). In other words, 1 Corinthians has a rhetorical structure illuminating theological significance (Bailey, 2011:16).

- In order to determine what Paul reveals in his other letters which might elucidate the ground motive for his tent-making, exegetical and literary analyses are mainly conducted using a historical-grammatical method.
- In order to determine what elements of the Old Testament did influence the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, the literary research on the instructions of the land of promise in the Old Testament (Habel, 1995; Brueggemann, 2002) is examined.
- In order to determine whether Paul's tent-making can be understood as being underpinned by the ground motive of his apostolic calling and authority, Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is examined in order to examine the theological significance of Paul's tent-making.

1.7 Contribution to the field of New Testament study

Paul's tent-making has been a subject of social-historical and social-scientific research in the field of New Testament studies. This is because, on the surface, labour itself seems to be rather a sociological than a theological concept. Through the studies of such social perspectives, it is possible for us to understand the dynamic and detailed features of Paul's tent-making, which is not well-represented in his letters. It is also possible to understand what kind of life Paul would have lived in his missionary work.

However, the study from a social point of view has a weakness, namely that it has been mainly processed in terms of comparing Paul's tent-making with similar examples in the Greco-Roman society at that time. The examples of rabbis, philosophers and many artisans in society at the time helped us to form an idea of what Paul's tent-making and manner of life entailed, but the problem is that they seem to imply that Paul's tent-making just followed their contextual examples. It is not right to understand Paul's tent-making only in the context of similar examples from the Greco-Roman society at that time. Since Paul was a man who was educated in his day, it is natural that he was familiar with various situations of the time. However, it should not be overlooked that Paul was also a person of theology who had received a revelation.

The attempt to understand the New Testament based on various materials of the time is necessary because it plays a role in enriching the studies of the New Testament. This attempt, however, tends to view the New Testament as simply one of the documents produced in the

Greco-Roman milieu, or regards Christianity as just one of many religions of its time. The history of religion school mainly examined Christianity in terms of similarities with cults at that time. And the so-called “new perspective on Paul”, which argues that Paul’s theology derived from his missionary contexts, might also overlook Paul’s uniqueness based on the Damascus event. In this sense, this thesis will focus on discovering the ground motive of Paul’s tent-making as changed by his unique experience on the way to Damascus. Paul’s uniqueness derived from revelation should be considered as well as the similarities between Greco-Roman thought, philosophy, religion, lifestyle and so on. In particular, the claim that a theological perspective should be added to the study of Paul’s tent-making in the social-historical or social-scientific aspect reflects a proper view of Paul as a member of the Greco-Roman society and at the same time as an apostle sent by God. That is, this thesis will contribute to provide a different perspective on Paul’s tent-making by focusing on a theological explanation thereof.

1.8 Ethical considerations

The emphasis of the study will be on a literature review and textual analysis; hence no ethical risk is foreseen. All sources used will be referred to, and due effort will be made to articulate the viewpoints of various scholars in a fair and balanced manner. No inflammatory or stereotypical language will be used.

This study will not include any interviews, nor engage in empirical data collection of either a quantitative or qualitative nature. The author has a legal background, practised as an advocate and is therefore competent to evaluate legal literature and documents.

1.9 Chapter layout

- Introduction
- Traditional research on Paul’s tent-making
- Research on Paul’s tent-making in a social context
- Text Analysis 1: 1 Corinthians
- Text Analysis 2: Other Pauline letters besides 1 Corinthians, as well as Acts
- The influence of the Old Testament on Paul’s tent-making

- Paul's apostolic calling and his tent-making
- Conclusion

CHAPTER 2 TRADITIONAL RESEARCH ON PAUL'S TENT-MAKING

2.1 Introduction

In general, Paul is thought not to have received support from others, based largely on the Corinthian letters describing Paul's refusal of support and his choice of tent-making (1 Cor. 9; 2 Cor. 11:7-12 and 12:13-18). Also, in his other letters Paul maintained his self-support policy (1 Thess. 2:5-12; 2 Thess. 3:8). However, there is evidence in the Pauline letters that Paul did not simply reject all offers of support (2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 2:30; 4:15, 16). In this sense, Paul's policy of self-support should be understood as follows: "It meant that he never asked for money, and avoided any gift that could be construed as payment for his preaching" (Hall, 2003:179). Where that was not the case, Paul must have received support from other churches. Paul's livelihood from his tent-making was not enough, so that according to him (2 Cor. 11:9), the support from others partially provided for his need.

To answer the question as to why Paul insisted on doing manual labour, it would be helpful to investigate how the church through history understood the motive behind Paul's tent-making, based especially on 1 Corinthians 9:12. It will be argued that other scholars' opinions on the motive of Paul's tent-making are not rooted in principle but rather in circumstance, adapting to the situations which Paul encountered.

2.2 Contingency and coherence to fulfil the purpose of this thesis

As already mentioned, the diverging opinions on the reasons of Paul's tent-making in the Pauline letters are situational. When we consider the characteristics of the Pauline letters, it is obvious that the reasons reflect the circumstances of each church (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:59, 60). However, it should be mentioned that contextuality does not mean that the ground motive is depreciated. For Paul's theology it is important to find the coherence of the contents of the Pauline letters in a situation where it is necessary to emphasise the unity of Paul's theology (Beker, 1980:29, 30). However, when applying the approach of biblical theology that emerged from the opposition to systematic theology, it can be realised that Paul's counselling offered according to situations should be respected by itself. In that sense, the contingency of Paul's thought is important, but at the same time coherence is also important. This study may seem to search for coherence, and in the process seem to underestimate contingency. However, not to overlook the importance of contingency, it takes as point of departure that the contextual motives of Paul's tent-making do not adequately express the ground motive thereof.

The apparent reasons in his letters which referenced Paul's refusal of financial support and his tent-making imply the situations of individual churches. These reasons assist in understanding each of the letters because they may tell us what the issues are in each church. However, it is the purpose of this study to explore the ground motive for Paul's tent-making, irrespective of the circumstances of individual congregations. Rather, the ground motive for Paul's tent-making might be grounded in Paul's extreme conversion on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1-19; 22:3-16; 26:4-18).

In other words, Paul's reasons for tent-making in individual letters may be influenced by a deeper ground motive. Hence it is important to study the situational reasons that reflect the circumstances of each church in tracking the ground motive of Paul's tent-making study. But what is most important is the theological significance of Paul's conversion which may plausibly have influenced the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. His tent-making is also included in the transformation of his entire life, which Paul's extreme conversion brings. It is therefore necessary to examine the theological significance of Paul's conversion as well as its influence on Paul's tent-making. Through this process, we will endeavour to find the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, in which situational reasons for Paul's tent-making in his letters as well as consideration of the core elements of Paul's theology in Paul's conversion must be dealt with together.

2.3 Reasons why Paul accepted support from others but not from the Corinthians

Before indicating the reasons of Paul's tent-making which have been traditionally described, it is necessary to clarify why Paul did indeed receive financial gifts from fellow-believers but not from the Corinthians, and thus not consistently applied his self-support policy. Paul himself testified several times that he received gifts from fellow believers (2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 4:15, 16, 18). It would follow that Paul's behaviour seems to be inconsistent if appropriate explanations are not provided.

According to Marshall (1987:176), limited to 2 Corinthians 11:7-12, Paul did not receive support from the Corinthians because he already had enough to live from on account of the gift from the Macedonians. However, only a portion of 2 Corinthians 11:9 agrees with this reasoning. In the context, Paul did not intend to state his financial status but rather defend the criticism levelled against him by the false missionaries. Therefore Marshall's argument is not persuasive because it simply seems to be an illustration of his self-support policy rather than a reason for it, as Hall (2003:178) indicates.

A second opinion is related to whether Paul stayed behind in or left a region where he founded a church. This opinion argues that Paul received support from only the communities where he founded a church and then left. This means that he refused financial support from the new

congregation he was building in order not to burden them (cf. 1 Cor. 9:12). However, this opinion is not correct because the second letter to the Corinthians 11:7-12 and 12:13-18 clarify that Paul did not receive material support from the Corinthian community although he had already left. Holmberg (1978:94) argues that “[o]nly when (and if) the relation between the apostle and the church has developed into a full, trusting koinonia does Paul accept any money from the church.” If one accepts the argument of Holmberg, it would be possible to recognise that Paul’s rule to be supported required a trusting relationship between himself and the community. In the case of the Corinthian community, which was famous for being richer than other communities, it is probable that Paul would have been careful not to be controlled by the Corinthian believers, and thus refused to receive support from them.

The third opinion seems that Paul’s acceptance of a salary from others was acceptable to him when it was related to the progressive roll-out of the gospel. 1 Corinthians 9:12 says that Paul did not receive support from the Corinthians in order not to impede the way of the gospel that corresponds to “[t]he overall rule which regulated Paul’s acting in the matter of salary” (Aejmelaeus, 2002:363). This means that if such support did not burden the gospel, he could have accepted it from the believers. As proof, Fee (2014:819) points to 1 Corinthians 16:6 where Paul asked the Corinthian believers to assist him materially in his travels. Although he spared comparatively much space in the letter (1 Corinthians 9) to explain his self-support policy, in the ending chapter he requested material support from them. Paul seems to act inconsistently but it can be reasonably explained if the requested support had the purpose of the progressive proclamation of gospel. Simply put, if his work was associated with the spread of gospel, he might have thought that receiving support from fellow believers is acceptable. In other words, Paul’s norm for his decision whether or not to receive support from others seems to be influenced by specific reasons such as the progression of the gospel.

Paul’s statement in Romans 15:26, 27 strengthens his proper right to accept a salary as 1 Corinthians 9:11 says, because the gospel builds reciprocity between giver and receiver. It presupposes that giving and receiving money for Paul was related to the progression of the gospel. Although it is true that one of the reasons why Paul took the lead in the collection was to help the poor believers in Jerusalem, Paul clarified that his other reason for the collection was “mutual indebtedness” (Jewett, 2006:929) through the medium of the gospel, which furthermore was pleasing to God (Kruse, 2012). Also, it might be argued that the reason why Paul accepted support from the Macedonian brothers as mentioned in 2 Corinthians 11:9 was that he would spend the material source provided in order to proclaim the gospel. In the case of Holmberg (1978:94), he argues that “[o]nly when Paul has left a church he has founded does he accept any money from it, in order to stress the fact that it has the character of support in his continued missionary.”

More specifically, Savage (1996:98) indicates that the reason for the Philippians' support to Paul was the same as that of Paul's refusal of a salary, as follows:

They view their support as an opportunity to participate with Paul in his affliction (συγκοινωνήσαντες μου τῇ θλίψει, Philippians 4:14) and to share in the service of the saints (τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, 2 Corinthians 8:4). They give from the depths of their poverty (2 Corinthians 8:2) and beyond their ability (8:3). They beg Paul for the 'favour' of this ministry (τὴν χάριν ... τῆς διακονίας, 8:4) and thus are conformed to the 'favour' of Christ (8:9), making themselves poor that others might be made rich (τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, 8:9). It is therefore because they have already conformed themselves to the Lord (8:5) that Paul accepts their money. To bring the Corinthians to the same position Paul must *refuse* their support (*Italic is original*).

That is, the same rule was applied consistently in both cases of Paul's refusal and acceptance.

As a result, it is noted that Paul primarily kept to his self-support policy in his ministries, but in particular cases he accepted support from others. The rule which Paul employed might be stated as follows: if financial support did not obstruct the way of the gospel, if he built a healthy relationship with the providers, or if they participated in the suffering of Paul, he accepted support. Otherwise, he refused support.

2.4 Refusal of aid, and tent-making

How are the two concepts, namely Paul's refusal of support and his tent-making, linked to each other? According to Marshall (1987:175), they are not to be equated. He means that the problem with Paul's relationship with the Corinthian church was precisely Paul's refusal of support, not his tent-making itself. As mentioned in 2 Corinthians 12:13, the Corinthian church seemed to feel uncomfortable with Paul being supported by other churches, yet him refusing financial support from them.

However, there are studies indicating that Paul's labour itself caused the Corinthian church members situated in Greco-Roman culture hostile towards Paul. Labour at that time was regarded as low because it was the slaves' part (Hock, 1980:35), so that the Corinthians could not accept that Paul, the founder of the Corinthian church, laboured like a slave. As a result, the Corinthian church members could no longer trust Paul as an apostle. This leads to the relationship between Paul and the Corinthian church being broken. The intellectual people working in Greco-Roman refusing financial support, Paul's labour itself becomes a problem.

On the other hand, there is a claim that almost all the Corinthian church members were also subordinates and they also performed manual work to make a living, so there was no criticism about Paul's labour. It is presumed that the great majority of the Greco-Roman society at the time had felt homogeneity with Paul the working apostle because they lived at the level of subsistence economy, and it is argued that the view that labour was slaves' role was limited to the upper class (Meggitt, 1998:12, 13, 58).

In any case, the cause of the uncomfortable relationship between Paul and the Corinthian church might be attributed to either his tent-making or his refusal to receive financial support. By textual evidence (1 Cor. 9; 2 Cor. 11), Paul's refusal of financial support seems to be a more appropriate cause than Paul's labour itself. Contrary to this, from a social perspective Paul's labour caused the relationship between Paul and the Corinthian church to deteriorate. In conclusion, it seems proper to note that Paul's tent-making is engaged directly or indirectly in the conflict between Paul and the Corinthian believers.

1 Corinthians 9:6 says that Paul and Barnabas abandoned their rights by deciding to work (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:50). Through the reference, it is noted that Paul solved the economic difficulties that Paul experienced by refusing support through tent-making. In 2 Corinthians there is mention of financial support from other churches, but it seems not regular and not enough (Hall, 2003:179). In this sense, in specific cases, Paul's refusal of support can be seen in a sense similar to Paul's tent-making. Furthermore, 2 Corinthians tends to focus on Paul's refusal of financial support rather than Paul's tent-making because of the circumstances of the Corinthian church. However, in the letter Paul's usage of refusal of support is almost identical to the significance of his tent-making, which will be studied in Chapter 5 of this current research. In summary, the question as to why Paul refused the financial support of the Corinthian church is similar to the question regarding why Paul laboured manually.

But these two questions cannot be exactly the same, because the refusal of financial support might be influenced by certain conditions, but Paul's tent-making custom seems to have been practised steadily regardless of financial support (Hock, 1980:26). There was support from the Macedonian church (2 Cor. 11:9) or Philippian church (Phil. 4:15), but it does not indicate that it has stopped his labour. It seems that the support of churches was not sufficient, so Paul practised his tent-making constantly. In this way, Paul's tent-making and refusal of financial support have similarities and differences.

However, the question posed in this paper as to why Paul practised tent-making pursues his ground and theological motive for his tent-making. In that sense, Paul's refusal of financial support from the Corinthian church would be regarded as one of the circumstantial reasons for Paul's

decision to labour manually because he had decided to receive or refuse the support depending on the circumstances in each case, although at times, they indicate the same significance.

2.5 Reasons for Paul's tent-making

As mentioned earlier, due to the purpose of Paul's letters to the churches, his letters were understandably confined to the practical circumstances of the churches (Beker, 1980:18). For this reason it has been noted that Paul's ground motive for his tent-making cannot be clarified simply by examining the letters superficially. The reasons for Paul's tent-making that are elucidated below are therefore considered to be circumstantial rather than fundamental. Thus, most of these reasons are proffered based on a functional role in Paul's mission strategy in specific contexts (Siemens, 1997:127).

2.5.1 To avoid laying financial burden on believers

Many writings have argued that the meaning of 1 Corinthians 9:12b (ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δώμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), that supposes the reason why Paul did manual work, was related to a financial aspect (Robertson & Plummer, 1929:186; Fisher, 1975:143; Marshall *et al.*, 2002:84, 85). Because his conduct of tent-making was monetary, on the surface, it may be a good interpretation of 1 Corinthians 9:12b. Several opinions are as follows:

In *Didache*², however, the reason why Paul did work manually is not explicitly demonstrated and the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 9:12 is not provided either. However, some verses and interpretations may hint at an understanding of 1 Corinthians 9:12. *Didache* indicates that evangelists were allowed to stay within two days when they came to a town for evangelism and that they were forbidden to collect money when they left the house (11:5, 6) (Schaff, 1889:200):

Οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐὰν δὲ χρεια, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνη, ψευδοπρφήτης ἐστίν. Ἐρχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῆ: ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῆ, ψευδοπρφήτης ἐστί.

The instruction of *Didache* is different from Jesus' and Paul's teaching (Draper, 1995:294, 295). In the case of Jesus, he recognised that in the missionary context his disciples were able to stay

² Through several textual evidence, it is likely that *Didache* appeared in the second half of the first century (Schaff, 1889:119, 120) or early in the second century (Maloney *et al.*, 1998:58) and most scholars agree with the hypothesis. *Didache* teaches disciplines of the Christian life for maintaining unity of the community (Sandt & Flusser, 2002:35), but it does not address theoretical or speculative explanations of the Christian faith. In that sense, *Didache* is the document of rule for the Christian community rather than a theological document (Maloney *et al.*, 1998:26). This indicates that *Didache* might reflect the information of the church at that time.

in a house until they left for another town (Matt. 10:11). There was no limitation on the duration of their stay. The duration depends on whether or not the evangelists had completed their missionary work. Also, the teaching of *Didache* referred to a prohibition on collection, while Paul made references to collection in his major letters (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians) and even in the most part of his third missionary journey (Acts 18:23-21:16) he dedicated himself to collecting money for the Jerusalem believers (Nickle, 1966:13).

Such a difference is also demonstrated in the teachings of Jesus and Paul. For example, Jesus instructed that his disciples could get support from others when they worked as missionaries. However, Paul did not avail himself of the opportunity although he must have been aware of Jesus' teaching regarding support. Supposing that the difference between Jesus' approach and that of Paul came from the change of circumstantial context (Horrell, 2009:601), it is probable that the content of *Didache* also originated in a different context. Jesus' teaching in the Gospels that his disciples were able to stay in a house without limitation (Mt. 10:11; Mk. 6:10; Lk. 9:4) became a strict prohibition of staying in a house longer than 3 days. This is similar to the change implying the occurrence of the false apostles in 2 Corinthians who ask financial support while peddling the word of God (2 Cor. 2:17), which implies "adulterating a product for improper gains" (Barnett, 1997:157).

Also, unlike Paul's collection for the sake of the believers of Jerusalem (Rom. 15:22-33; 1 Cor. 16:1-4), *Didache* might determine to forbid collection of evangelists except for bread related to life (11:6) because Jesus Christ's teachings on a financial aspect is abused. Even the prohibition to collect money seems to infringe the apostles' suitable right to receive salary as demonstrated in 1 Corinthians 9:1-15. As stated above, the occurrence of false apostles might have made the strict instructions to become a necessity.

Especially, it is interesting in *Didache* that the policy of self-support might be regarded as a sign of true apostles, which was strengthened in *Didache* 12:3, indicating explicitly to require labour from the apostles when they wanted to stay longer than three days (Cody, 1995:12). *Didache* might think that the monetary burden was an obstacle to the progression of gospel, considering that it prevented apostles from receiving money in excess of daily bread. In this sense, it is highly probable that *Didache* interpreted 1 Corinthians 9:12b in terms of an economic aspect. In other words, not to cause any hindrance to the gospel of Christ means not to place a financial burden on the believers. It implies that *Didache* recognised that Paul's policy of refusing support was the right response to the financial problem caused by false apostles at that time (Sandt & Flusser, 2002:35).

Garland (2003:413) says that the word of ἐγκοπὴ, which points to a hindrance, in 1 Corinthians 9:12 reminds of πρόσκομμα (1 Cor. 8:9), which indicates a stumbling, and σκανδαλίζω (1 Cor.

8:13), which indicates to cause to stumble. Considering linking the words, he implies that a hindrance to the way of the gospel means in the context of the issue of food offered to idols to cause the weak to stumble in faith so that they were made to leave Jesus Christ. In this sense, the reason why he did not use the right to receive salary in 1 Corinthians 9:12b, that is, ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δώμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, is that he didn't want believers such as the weak in 1 Corinthians 8-10 to fall down from faith in Jesus Christ because of financial obligations. Not only that, Garland implies another reason for Paul's tent-making. He indicates that the Corinthians "did not interpret his voluntary privation as conforming to the pattern of Christ's sacrifice" but "interpreted his penury as demeaning to himself and an embarrassment to them", which hints that the reason of Paul's tent-making is to imitate the example of Christ's sacrifice by choosing suffering (Garland, 2003:413). He divided the reasons of Paul's tent-making into two directions, namely practical and theological. In other words, even though he does not do so, Garland may categorise the reasons for Paul's tent-making into two parts, namely circumstantial reasons and a ground motive.

However, there is a counter opinion that Paul did not need to worry about the financial situation of the Corinthian believers because they had plentiful money, which opinion is in dispute in social research (Meggitt, 1998:153; Friesen, 2004:350, 351, 357). According to Savage (1996:89), in the case of the Corinthian community they were rich enough to assist Paul with financial support (2 Cor. 8:14) (Murphy-O'Connor, 2002:53). Therefore this reason for his avoidance of laying a financial burden on believers might only have been acceptable to the poor churches. If the argument is accepted, it may indicate that Paul had in mind reasons such as the extent of trust relationship (Holmberg, 1978:94) to refuse support from the Corinthian believers.

The reason of financial burden could be considered as peripheral because he already stated that the right of labourers to be paid was appropriate, indicating several reasons such as common sense and Jesus' instruction (1 Cor. 9:7-14). If Paul did not receive salary in order not to place a financial burden on believers, his conduct was certainly motivated by charity. It could only be applied to the poor communities but not to an abundant church. In this sense, this reason would not be fundamental but simply practical.

2.5.2 Effective demonstration of the gospel

According to this reason, Paul worked at a trade in order to demonstrate dramatically the free character of the gospel, compared to other teachers' behaviours. In this sense, 1 Corinthians 9:15-18 is considered the concrete explanation of 1 Corinthians 9:12b. That is, Paul refused the right to support and did manual labour in order not to hinder the gospel of Christ (1 Cor. 9:12) so that he might offer the gospel without charge (1 Cor. 9:15-18).

Explaining 1 Corinthians 9:12, Fee (1987:410, 411) indicates that 1 Corinthians 9:15-18 provides more explicitly the meaning of the verse, while it is vague what the hindrance to the gospel means. By proclaiming the gospel freely, Paul must have thought that he could effectively demonstrate the free character of the gospel. It must have been the most powerful distinction between Paul who declared the gospel without charge and philosophers who taught for money. Maybe Fee posits that Paul did work manually instead of receiving support in order to highlight the gracious nature of the gospel. Referring to the importance of the nature that the gospel without charge corresponds to a living example of the gospel itself (Fee, 1987:421; Wright, 2005:169), Fee posited the reason why Paul refused to be provided for.

Grosheide (1953:207) identifies 1 Corinthians 9:12b with 2 Corinthians 6:3 in pointing out that something causes a hindrance in the way of the gospel. In the verse of 2 Corinthians, however, Paul did not also state explicitly what the stumbling block was. Grosheide interprets that Paul “is fully aware that the gospel would be more easily accepted if he did not ask for payment but would rather suffer all things.” In other words, Paul worked at a trade in order for people to receive the gospel more positively. Paul must have thought that the spread of gospel in the world depended on the pure intention of his proclamations during the missionary travels.

However, this reason holds the disadvantage that it might not indicate everything Paul intended why he laboured and only contains the reason given in 1 Corinthians 9, although it has been regarded to include a portion of the ground motive. It could be easily understood in the context of the sacrificed food issue in 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1. In this context, Paul had no choice but to emphasise renunciation of his own proper right because his intention was to persuade the Corinthian believers to give up their rights which were deserved in order to solve the trouble in the Corinthian community. In this sense, his tent-making as an example must have been employed to strengthen his aim of 1 Corinthians 9 in the idol food issue, focusing on the character of the gospel and its followers. This means that the reason for effective demonstration of the gospel's distinction in 1 Corinthians 9 could not overcome the contextuality demonstrated in the issue of sacrificed food, although 1 Corinthians 9 indicates the explanations of Paul's tent-making much more fully than other letters.

2.5.3 For the sake of independence

The opinion that Paul did manual labour for the sake of independence consists of two reasons. Firstly, Paul wanted to avoid the control from others in power and wealth lest he be under the harmful influence by those who provided support (Barclay, 1975:80, 81). Secondly, Paul followed the example of the prophets in the Old Testament who made themselves “a sole individual” (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:109). Hays (1997:147) does not explain explicitly what 1 Corinthians 9:12 means, but he implies Paul's reason of tent-making, summarising Hock's explanations,

which shall be studied in more detail in Chapter 3, about the four suitable ways of financial support for a philosopher. Among them, Hays implies the fourth, namely supporting oneself or working at a trade, as Paul's reason to refuse support from others. Such working for a livelihood provides independence from mastery of other people, even if this brought the damages of inferior social status and of wasting time and energy (Hall, 2003:182).

Blomberg (1994:175, 176) argues that 1 Corinthians 9:12b is the essential reason why Paul refused the right to receive payment when he preached, emphasising that tent-making in order to refuse the right makes him independent from others' control as Hays argued above, and remarkably, that it can make him independent from the misunderstanding that Paul did the missionary work for financial gain itself. Blomberg might think that Paul must have worried about the prejudice with fund-raising for the believers of Jerusalem as well as subordination under the control of others.

Hengel and Schwemer (1997:109, 113) think that Paul's tent-making goes well with his missionary work. An interesting thing is that his independent missionary work was different from the custom of pairing-up popular at that time. They consider Paul's calling to be similar to that of the prophets' in the Old Testament. However, it seems difficult to relate the prophets' independence with Paul's refusal of support and his tent-making because the Old Testament might not be so interested in the prophets' livelihood. It is better to confine the similarity between Paul and the prophets in their self-consciousness "as a sole individual" unlike the case of Luke 10:1. Also, they relate Paul's independence in terms of his gospel and self-support policy and think that this independence made Paul distinctive at that time (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:113). In their argument, it is worthy of notice that they connect Paul's policy of tent-making to the independent character of gospel. It means that Paul's gospel should be considered when Paul's tent-making is analysed.

However, Savage (1996:89, 90) thinks that this reason is not reasonable. He argues that Paul elicited "the greater indignity of poverty and shame" by denying salary, regarding being reliant on others as indignity. In other words, the Corinthian believers were in dispute because Paul's tent-making humiliated him and at that time those who were called leaders should not be needy (Savage, 1996:87).

Also, the reason of independence seems to be unconvincing because Paul had received support from others. The evidence is that he asked support for travel (1 Cor. 16:6) (Fee, 2014:819). Although it stands in contradiction to his refusal to accept financial support (1 Cor. 9), it may be argued that for Paul the support for missionary work was not considered to be a burden on believers. Not only that, one of the purposes of the letter to the Romans has been considered a request of support for missionary travel to Spain (Rom. 15:23, 24) (Moo, 1996:16, 17; Jewett, 2006:88, 89). These prove that Paul accepted support if it had a purpose for proclaiming the

gospel. Therefore it is noted that the rule which Paul determined whether he received support was not based on his own independence but evangelism. In other words, Paul decided to refuse monetary support for the sake of his own interest, not for proclaiming the gospel. Additionally, considering the texts regarding Paul's tent-making such as 1 Corinthians 9, his tent-making is related to renunciation for others much more than independence in his missionary work. Even though the reason of independence is available, it derives from a social aspect and lacks biblical evidence.

2.5.4 To avoid suspicion on collection

This reason is especially linked to the collection for the believers in need in Jerusalem. It means that Paul, under the suspicion that he used money for himself did tent-making in order to avoid the suspicion. The opinion implies that Paul must have worked at a trade because he should have gotten support from the Gentile churches for the poor in Jerusalem and at the same time, he should have dispelled worries about his misuse of money.

Barrett (1968:207) also thinks like Blomberg whose argument is mentioned above that 1 Corinthians 9:12b indicates the central motive of Paul's tent-making. It means that refusing the right of support is useful for the gospel itself. The detailed content, however, which the verse implies, is different from that of Blomberg. Barrett relates Paul's reason for tent-making to his collection for the believers of Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1). He may indicate that if Paul did not refuse his own proper right, others would have been much more suspicious of his collection. That is, Paul worked at a trade because he wanted to avoid suspicion of collection, which formed a great part of his missionary travel.

Hurd (1965:202-206) argues that Paul defended his integrity through his tent-making story in 1 Corinthians 9 because some Corinthians doubted the true intention of the collection. In this context, the meaning of 1 Corinthians 9:12b ἵνα μή τινα ἐγκοπὴν δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ should be interpreted against the background of the collection for the congregation in Jerusalem. Maybe, the gift from Macedonia (2 Cor. 11:8, 9) must have thrown the Corinthians' suspicion on Paul (Hurd, 1965:204). They might think that Paul's travel was to collect money for his own interests. For them, Paul's tent-making was a tool to avoid suspicion. 2 Corinthians 8:20, 21 and 12:16-18 also focus on the issue of money. This implies that Paul's attempt in 1 Corinthians 9 failed and that the Corinthian believers kept suspecting Paul of collecting for the believers in Jerusalem.

This reason of avoiding suspicion on collection has some weak points. Firstly, there is no direct statement that Paul did manual labour to avoid suspicion of the Corinthian believers of collection. It seems that the collection for the believers of Jerusalem was simply applied to the interpretation

of 1 Corinthians 9:12 because of a common financial aspect. It is sure that the verse orients Paul's tent-making in the context of 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1. And in 1 Corinthians there is no reference to Paul's financial aspect except for his collection for Jerusalem as well as there is no accusation of deceit in terms of the collection in 1 Corinthians (Hall, 2003:187). Of course, there are some texts that have been interpreted in a monetary perspective such as 1 Corinthians 6:1-11 and 11:21, 22 (Theissen, 1982:147-163; Peppard, 2014:179, 188), but they are just related to the Corinthians, not Paul. Therefore, the only definite financial issue which Paul treated as being of importance is the collection for Jerusalem. Thus, the commentators may relate Paul's tent-making to the collection.

Secondly, there is better evidence for Paul's apology for averting from the Corinthians' distrust of the collection than his plea of tent-making. That is, he imposed representatives appointed by the Corinthian believers themselves to deliver the money collected from churches (1 Cor. 16:3). This, not Paul's tent-making, was indirect but the definite answer to the Corinthians' suspicion. Paul's carefulness in 1 Corinthians 16:3 implies that the Corinthian believers doubted his honesty in dealing with the raised money (Hall, 2003:187), but the fact that there is no active defence of such a critical issue makes the relationship between Paul's tent-making and the collection weaker.

2.5.5 To avoid misunderstanding of the purpose of Paul's missionary work

According to this reason Paul wanted to reject any identification with philosophers of the time who taught something for payment (Lenski, 1963:365; Hodge, 1964:159; Hall, 2003:182). Paul wanted to demonstrate dramatically the difference between himself and the itinerant philosophers. However, at that time, not only Paul and his fellows refused payment for teaching, but those who followed Socrates might also have done so, following Socrates' example (Rengstorf, 1976:417, 418). So, there have been interpretations that Paul followed Socrates' instruction, or that of the Stoics, or Cynics

Bruce (1971:85) points out that the perception of the apostle's missionary work for the sake of his own interests might have given his enemies the means for strong criticism that he exploited the converts to gain monetary interests for himself. In this sense, for Paul, working at a trade provided a way of not becoming a stumbling block to the gospel (Robertson & Plummer, 1929:186; Agrell, 1976:110, 111). The criticisms for Paul's tent-making demonstrated in 1 Corinthians 9 as follows: most representatively, it is likely that Paul was compared with other apostles as Jesus' disciples and he was criticised by the Corinthians because of certain differences (1 Cor. 9). Paul might have been suspected in respect of his apostleship, with critics pointing out his flaw that he has never seen the historical Jesus (1 Cor. 9:1). Considering the requirements of apostles proposed in the election for filling a vacancy in Acts 1:22, it is true that Paul was not qualified to become an

apostle of Jesus Christ because he had never shared Jesus' life on earth, although he certainly had seen the risen Jesus Christ on the way to Damascus.

Also, his economic behaviour was surely different from that of other apostles who were recognised. The apostles might be accustomed to follow the tradition of Jesus instructed in the Gospels, which allowed them to receive support when they proclaimed the gospel (1 Cor. 9:4, 5). Contrary to that, Paul might have been famous for refusing support except in specific cases. Certainly, the Corinthian believers must have accepted Paul's apostleship as they were willing to provide a salary to him, but Paul rejected their provision in contradiction to their hope. At the same time, Paul became the one who did not follow the tradition which Jesus started and his disciples continued. As a result, the Corinthian believers might have started to doubt Paul's apostleship.

Holmberg (1978:92) understands that Paul engaged manual labour because he wanted to leave no misperception that he taught others for payment like Sophists. At that time, it was known that Sophists gave instruction of wisdom to make money (Rengstorf, 1976:420). Although Socrates disapproved of such behaviour, it was generally recognised and teachers who were self-supported were rare. Thus, receiving payment for teaching might not have been deserving criticism. However, Paul wanted to avoid people regarded him as a kind of philosopher who provided wisdom for payment like the Sophists in order to highlight the value of the gospel.

Barclay (1975:80, 81) also indicates that the first reason why Paul refused support from others was to avoid suspicion whether or not his missionary act was for the sake of his own benefits. Unusually he refers to Jewish priests for comparing Paul's tent-making. At that time, Barclay argues that the Jewish priests were a "byword." Contrary to the ordinary Jewish family, they enjoyed luxurious lives and even their greediness was infamous, which might be explained as "fee hunters" in *Didache* (5:2) (Isa. 1:23) (Kleist, 1948:18, 157) and in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (20:2) in which the author explicitly pointed to the Jewish opponents (Smith, 2014:493). Paul already knew about that, so "he was determined that he would go to the other extreme and take nothing" (Barclay, 1975:81).

Barnett (2011:155) especially emphasises Paul's role as a pioneer missionary of the Corinthian church. He thinks that Paul was the one who first found the Christian community in Corinth so that enough provision must not have given to him because he should not "be thought of as just another guru with his hand out for money", although those who came after Paul were supported.

However, considering the reason why the Corinthian believers suspected Paul, this reason is also not appropriate to regard it as a ground motive. Certainly, the Corinthian believers must have accepted Paul as an apostle and been ready to provide a salary. The reason why Paul was suspected in his apostleship is not that he received support but that he refused provision from

them. In my opinion, this reason of avoiding suspicion on financial interests comes from social research when comparing Paul to philosophers (or priests) of his time.

2.5.6 To follow Jesus' deeds

For Paul, to follow Jesus' deeds does not simply mean to copy His life (Ehrensperger, 2003:253; Tolmie, 2017:102). Some questions are relevant in terms of Paul's refusal to accept financial support from some believers:

- If he really wanted to follow Jesus' deeds, why did he refuse support from the believers, being different from the instructions in the Gospels? The Gospels don't inform that Jesus Christ earned his living by His own working at a trade when He carried out the ministry of the gospel.
- Why did Paul continue to labour manually although he was informed that his behaviour provoked so much dispute in the Corinthian community? Even though Jesus ordered Christians to protect the unity of Christians, the fact that Paul persevered in specific behaviour that created serious conflict in the Corinthian community, indicates to us that he must have done so with very good reason leaving him no choice but to preserve his distinct custom. This means that Paul must have considered his tent-making custom as a lifestyle of Jesus Christ to be maintained although it made a conflict within the Corinthian community.

Paul wanted to follow Jesus' servant attitude (Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45), and the attitude is presented through working manually in his lists of hardships (1 Cor. 4:12; 2 Cor. 6:4-10; 11:23-28, 12:10) that he experienced in his ministry, which is dramatically demonstrated in 1 Corinthians 11:1 (μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ), which is the thematic verse of 1 Corinthians 7:1-11:1 (Nam, 2017:53-63). Paul wanted to illustrate himself as self-content (Phil. 4:11) by practising tent-making (Hengel, 1974:36). However, he might indicate that his self-content is similar to the characteristics of lifestyle of Jesus Christ in Philippians 4:12, 13 (Fee, 1995:433). Paul also practised tent-making to follow the instruction of Jesus that it is more blessed to give than to receive (Acts. 20:33-35), especially in relation to the poor (Longenecker, 2011:36).

I have argued elsewhere that Paul must have applied discipleship on the Gospels into the message for the Corinthian believers in 1 Corinthians 7:1-11:1 (Nam, 2017). In the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7, it is assumed that Paul encountered circumstances in his ministry quite different from those of Jesus Christ; thus Paul even taught on the issue of unbelieving spouses which Jesus couldn't teach on in a Jewish context, but arose in a Gentile area. Paul did not follow Jesus' deed *per se* but dealt with their principles and adapted them into other conditions to solve problems encountered in each community. Especially, in the context of food sacrificed to idols in

1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1, the most concrete model of Paul's imitation of Jesus Christ was his tent-making example indicated in 1 Corinthians 9, which provides a principle of self-sacrificial attitude for the Corinthian believers in dispute. In the economic support issue, one of the serious problems which caused the relationships between Paul and the Corinthians to be bad, even Paul himself accepted that he deserved to be supported financially, indicating common sense, a case study from the Old Testament, and Jesus' instruction (1 Cor. 9:4-14). Nevertheless, bearing the opposition of the Corinthians, the fact that he refused to exercise the proper right implies that there is another essential motive for his tent-making. In other words, there must have been unavoidable circumstances that drove Paul to keep insisting on his special custom at the expense of a dispute with the Corinthians.

As a result, it is sure that Paul followed the way of Jesus Christ, but he did not just copy the historical actions of Jesus Christ. He formed an application of Jesus' instructions into new circumstances. In this sense, it is noted that Paul followed Jesus Christ in principle. This means that although Paul's ministry was similar to Jesus' ministry in principle, at the same time he had his own distinct characteristics in the ministry. In other words, Paul's tent-making can be called a kind of tool to materialise the spirit of servanthood of Jesus Christ in his own style. Thus, to follow Jesus' deeds seems relevant as the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, but the motive is common and corresponds to the ground motive of all Christians' lives. We need a more specific and concrete ground motive for Paul's tent-making.

2.5.7 To convey a message through his own example

This reason is very appropriate but it is subsidiary, according to Schnabel (2008:298), because Paul did, first of all, his own tent-making to satisfy his own financial need. It implies that Paul did not start his manual labour only in order to provide such instructions. It has been assumed that Paul's tent-making skill traced back to his conversion on the way to Damascus, regardless of whether it came from a specific Jewish practice (Bailey, 2011:247, 248) or the Hellenistic culture (Hock, 1980:22-25). It is likely that Paul's example of tent-making was helpful to convey messages to solve the problems that occurred in communities regardless of the extent of effectiveness in practice (Meeks, 1983:118).

However, although Paul's tent-making was used to convey the message of self-sacrificial attitude, it is difficult to imagine that Paul kept doing his manual work to exemplify himself for the believers after his conversion. Rather, it is more useful to think that unexpected opportunities presented themselves through which he could serve those in trouble who needed to be instructed by his sacrificial example implied by his tent-making. Thus, to convey a message to the Christians does not correspond to the ground motive.

Nevertheless, the significance of the reason does not decrease because it was true that Paul's example played an important role in giving vital instructions to the arrogant Corinthian church. In 1 Corinthians 4:16 and 11:1, Paul requested the Corinthian believers to imitate his own example. Both contexts indicating the request to imitate him, accompany the issue of Paul's manual labour (1 Cor. 4:12; 9:4-14). The contexts are similar in the aspect of Paul's intention to persuade the arrogant Corinthians to exhibit a humble attitude. In various conflicts, the Corinthians needed to seek the spirit of loving each other instead of self-interest. In other words, Paul wanted them to perceive that those who follow Jesus Christ should walk in the way of the cross, not in that of glory.

Especially, Paul's intention is well-demonstrated in the request of renunciation of one's proper rights for the strong in the Corinthian church in the issue of sacrificed food (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1). Also, it can be noticed that Paul must have shared the Corinthian way of life in which most Corinthians had to labour hard in relative poverty (Hall, 2003:181; Lohr, 2007:187). There is also an opinion that the Corinthian community was comparatively richer than other communities (Murphy-O'Connor, 2002:53). However, because the fact that almost all members of the church were poor, has been agreed (Friesen, 2004:325), Paul's illustration by his tent-making must have been sufficient for them, but they might not have accepted the message considering that Paul sent a similar instruction in 2 Corinthians 11:7-9 in which Paul explained again why he did not accept support from the Corinthians. In 2 Thessalonians, Paul used his tent-making as an example to teach those who did not like working (Fee, 2009:331, 332) and thereby damaged the fellowship in the community (2 Thess. 3:6-12) (Martin, 1999:46). Additionally, Paul used his example of tent-making to convey a message in an ironic style to the congregation which has criticised Paul (2 Cor. 11:7-12) (Aejmelaeus, 2002:368). Not only that, he wanted to edify his converts by his example, defeating their secular perspective (Savage, 1996:91-93).

Therefore one can recognise that Paul's example of tent-making contributed to instruct the communities he founded, although it does not necessarily correspond to the ground motive of Paul's tent-making.

2.5.8 To show his love

Paul tried to show his love towards the congregation by doing manual work (Marshall, 1987:233). Although Paul in 1 Corinthians 9 struggled to solve problems that occurred in the community by exemplifying his tent-making, his effort might be in vain for the Corinthians because of those who justified the right to receive a salary after Paul had left Corinth (Aejmelaeus, 2002:360). They seemed to be accustomed to the tradition of Jesus in which disciples could expect economic support from others. So, Paul's behaviour of refusing the support was criticised by them due to it being contrary to the teaching of Jesus Christ. Although the first letter to the Corinthians seemed

to effectively solve the problems of the community (Meeks, 1983:118), the economic issue must have remained serious.

Considering Paul's reference to tent-making in 2 Corinthians 11:7-12 and 12:13-18, the dispute regarding his tent-making might have grown in intensity during his absence. 2 Corinthians 11:11 implies that the Corinthian believers resented Paul because he did not receive any support from them while he accepted gifts from the Macedonian brothers (2 Cor. 11:9). From the Corinthians' view, it was not consistent that Paul decided to refuse the support from the Corinthians, yet accepted support from other churches. So, the Corinthians might feel that Paul loved the Macedonians, but that they were not loved by him. Concerning their grievance, however, Paul as parent of the Corinthian believers emphasised that it was natural for a parent to spend gladly for his/her children and that parents are responsible to save up for children (2 Cor. 12:14). In other words, the Corinthian believers are considerably loved by Paul to the extent which he expends everything he has (2 Cor. 12:15). In this sense, Paul's tent-making was to his mind proof of his love for the Corinthians and he was convinced that he loved them much more than other teachers who followed the custom of advocating payment.

Similar to the previous reason, this reason also looks subsidiary because it is difficult to say that Paul started his manual labour in order to show his love to the Corinthians. Rather, his continuous custom became a golden example to demonstrate his true love for the Corinthian believers who suspected his love.

2.5.9 To resist false missionaries

The reason, namely to resist false missionaries, is related to the previous reason because false missionaries seeking their own interests might have caused the Corinthians to disapprove of Paul's behaviour of refusing the support from the members in the Corinthian community, and so they thought that Paul did not love them.

As mentioned above, there were two supportive customs for itinerant teachers at that time. Those who agreed with the case of Jesus Christ must have argued that the right to be provided by others was certainly proper for true apostles. In this sense, they might attack that Paul was not a true apostle of Jesus Christ because he did not keep his tradition of using the right to receive payment. Through their argument, the Corinthian believers must have distrusted Paul's integrity. In this case, Paul should have objected to the false missionaries who pursued money in order to resolve the Corinthians' misunderstanding and to facilitate a recovery of the relationship with the Corinthians. So he clarified that he would continue his own custom in order to cut the opportunity of their boast (2 Cor. 11:12) that they do in the same way of Paul by making him accept financial support (Barnett, 1997:521). Paul's tent-making was sharply contrasted with their way of

missionary act. Hence, they could not have argued that their work was just like his. In order to prove that they were false, Paul decided to continue his manual work.

The argument that Paul laboured manually to resist the false missionaries who sought financial interests is also not relevant to the ground motive, but the circumstantial reason to solve the encountered trouble that the false missionaries aroused. Also, the problem which was caused by the false missionaries did not cause Paul to do tent-making. Conversely, Paul's tent-making was the reason for the opponents' attack. Therefore, in their criticism of his renunciation of proper right, Paul used his tent-making as a tool to defend himself and object to the opponents' criticism.

2.5.10 Economic aid from other churches

This is not directly related to the motive of Paul's tent-making. However, it is necessary to counter the opinion that Paul refused the Corinthians' support because he was already full as a result of Macedonians' support (2 Cor. 11:9). Marshall (1987:176) argues that the "only reason he gives for his refusal of the Corinthian offer is his acceptance of aid from other churches" in the case of 2 Corinthians 11:7-12 and he also continues that "[t]his inconsistency on Paul's part in his relations with his churches is implied in 1 Cor. 9:19-23 and underlines Paul's defence in 2 Cor. 11:7-12 and 12:13-18" (Marshall, 1987:240). Simply, he thinks that Paul had an inconsistent policy on provision, based on different circumstances, and he refused support from the Corinthians because he had sufficient provision on account of the gift from the Macedonians (2 Cor. 11:9).

However, this reason is not suitable as the ground motive because it is just limited in the context of 2 Corinthians 11:7-15. Also, Hall (2003:178) rightly argues that "the reference to help from Macedonia provides an *illustration* of his policy, not the *reason* for it" (*Italic is original*). Paul's statement emphasised that he didn't want to burden the Corinthian church when he served the church, rather than explaining why he refused to receive support from them.

Additionally, no texts describing Paul's travels as a missionary implied his own abundance in economic status (1 Cor. 4:11, 12; 2 Cor. 6:4, 5; 11:27). Even his manual labour could not satisfy his own livelihood because his peripatetic ministry might prevent him from being successful in his business (Meggitt, 1998:76). Instead, Paul was affluent in spirit although he always appeared to be suffering and lacking sufficient financial means (2 Cor. 6:10). Maybe, although he received the gift from the Macedonians, Paul must not have avoided impoverishment (Meggitt, 1998:77, 78). Therefore, the gift from others cannot be the motive of Paul's refusal of Corinthians' support and his tent-making. Finally, had it been sufficient, Paul would not have needed to do manual labour for his livelihood. This means that at that time Paul could not help working manually although he received financial support from the Macedonians.

Therefore the argument of Marshall is not appropriate because it is not compatible with the fact that Paul did manual work in Corinth. It indicates that Marshall might not have considered Paul's tent-making but only the gift from Macedonians in his argument.

2.6 Conclusion

Through the literature study above, it is noted that most general commentaries of Pauline epistles reflect the circumstantial aspects which each community encountered as the reason for Paul's tent-making, so that interpretations of the texts regarding Paul's tent-making simply clarified what Paul's tent-making meant in each context. For this reason, although the interpretations make sense to some degree, there is still a more fundamental question as to why Paul did work manually essentially, not receiving support from others.

- Firstly, it was true that he accepted the right to receive salary as an apostle. Also, he recognised that those who work deserve to be paid for their service. The Old Testament and common sense supported that his right to be provided for by churches is proper.
- Secondly, Paul's tent-making caused the Corinthian believers not to trust their spiritual parent, although it was as a result of false missionaries who followed a tradition that differed from that of Paul. For them, Paul's custom of tent-making meant that he was not an authentic apostle and his acceptance from others apart from the Corinthians indicated that he did not love them. Despite the problems, he did not withdraw his decision not to receive support from the Corinthians.

It is notable that Paul continued his manual labour although he had recognised his proper right to be provided for and his labour had made him to be criticised by the Corinthians. The worthiness of his right to be supported and the Corinthians' disfavour of manual labour make the motive of Paul's tent-making questionable even though the biblical texts regarding Paul's tent-making try to answer why Paul did manual labour. The evidence proposed by the biblical texts is categorised largely into three parts.

- Firstly, the reason for Paul's tent-making is related with an economic aspect. According to some reasons, Paul did not accept financial support and laboured manually lest the poor believers be burdened by provision for Paul, lest he be controlled by providers of support and lest he be financially misunderstood in the purpose of his missionary act including collection for the Jerusalem believers. This reason also indicates that Paul loves them so much.

- Secondly, the reason is instructional. Paul primarily used his tent-making example for persuasion. Through his example, the believers were expected to change their wrong behaviour and to resist the false missionaries who deceived the believers.
- Thirdly, the reason is functional to convey a theological message. Paul's tent-making effectively signified the distinctive message of the gospel. Also, it was Paul's way of following the life of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH ON PAUL'S TENT-MAKING IN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction³

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the traditional research on Paul's tent-making following an exegetical approach indicates diverse reasons why Paul did manual labour in the specific circumstances of each Christian community. The circumstantial reasons are significant because they are closely related to the issues of the churches. However, they do not point to the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. This is because Paul himself never refers to the motive explicitly.

Not only that, Paul's letters don't have the purpose of providing concrete information on Paul's life such as his tent-making so that it is not easy to understand tent-making itself. The inclination to interpret Paul's letters in an exegetical manner might cause him to be considered just a theologian or missionary, which resulted in a limited understanding of Paul as a social person. Thus it is necessary to investigate Paul's tent-making in another aspect. In other words, researching Paul's tent-making against the background of Greco-Roman society is required to discern the significance of Paul's labour. For this purpose, the research on a socio-economic or sociological aspect should be considered. Apart from Paul, there were others such as philosophers and teachers who laboured manually at that time. And many normal people laboured for their livelihood as Paul did. The records of their experience could help us to understand the characteristics of Paul's tent-making.

Since the 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of social studies in the New Testament led to increased interest in how Paul and Pauline churches were influenced by the culture of Greco-Roman society. The premise that Paul and the believers were also members of the Greco-Roman society satisfies the necessity for social studies in the New Testament field. It indicates that the social research basically recognises the inseparable relationship between Christianity and the secular world, which means that the faith in Christ detected in the New Testament would essentially reflect the circumstances of the believers. Hence social studies within the context of Greco-Roman society are necessary to thoroughly understand the New Testament.

Scholars in social research have investigated data on the Greco-Roman society and found the Christian communities to be similar to other groups in the Mediterranean world (Brookins, 2014; Last, 2016). Some concluded that the Christian communities were influenced by the groups such

³ This Chapter uses New American Standard Bible translated by the Lockman Foundation and quotes the biblical texts from the website of the foundation (<http://www.lockman.org/misc/readonline.php>).

as schools and associations in the Greco-Roman society etc. As a result, the tendency to emphasise the similarity between them and the Greco-Roman culture at that time has been strengthened, rather than the specificity of Christian communities.

For example, the language used by Paul has been understood according to the usage of the time (e.g., Welborn, 2013). It has been acknowledged that the Pauline community showed many similarities with the Greco-Roman culture, although they also exhibited differences. Recently it is even argued that some social peculiarities that have been claimed to be possessed by the Pauline community could also be discovered in the Greco-Roman society, adding to the broad background to the understanding of Pauline letters, because they are related to the “time of origin” (Coetzee, 1997:15). In this sense, the study of Paul’s tent-making from a social perspective should be considered to be significant.

3.2 Significance of research in social aspects

As Hock (1980:12-16) already pointed out, under the influence of the school of the history of religion, which focused on the religious context of the Greco-Roman period and placed more emphasis on the similarity between the early Christianity and other cults than on the distinctiveness of Christianity, the social characteristics of Paul’s life and ministry had been disregarded. Additionally, many scholars who had questioned biblical studies that are focused on ideologies after the Second World War were concerned about detachment from the real life and genuine world in existence (Wright, 2015:225, 226). In other words, they have “a dissatisfaction with broad generalizations about ‘the early church’ which took no account of the social and economic standing of the first Christians, or of the network of assumptions, hidden social narratives and cultural symbols which shaped their everyday lives” and thus the social context only played a minor or no role (Wright, 2015:226, 227).

Thus “the field of early Christianity has suffered from a predominance of theological and related concerns” (Gager, 1975:3). Deissmann (1912:6) implied that Paul the apostle should be placed as “a hero of piety”, a missionary for evangelising the gospel and solving problems of churches instead of simply a theologian. Although there had been attempts to situate Paul within a specific context (Deissmann, 1912:5, 6), general attitudes towards the social aspects of Paul’s tent-making were mainly indifferent, with interest concentrated on Paul as a theologian. As a result, little attention was paid to research into the ground motive for Paul’s tent-making. The increase of interest in social aspects of the New Testament has provided a more dynamic understanding of Paul’s social life against the background of Greco-Roman society.

3.2.1 Characteristics of social studies

Firstly, understanding the lives of early Christians contributes to a better understanding of the New Testament. The reason why Paul wrote letters closely concerns the circumstances of the recipients. So, to understand the purpose of Paul's letters, a proper understanding of the recipients is necessary. The interpreter of the New Testament unavoidably deals with social aspects (Gill, 1975:13). According to Meeks (1983:54, 55), various factors such as ethnic origins, personal liberty, wealth and so on should be referred to in expressing the social position of a person, so a researcher should not too easily decide upon such social position. It is also natural that there are many things to consider when researching a community of diverse people. This means that multidimensional considerations are required. Otherwise, simply dealing with past data is merely transferring "bones from a coffin to another" (Meeks, 1983:5). Research on social aspects could provide these multidimensional requirements to understand early Christian members and communities. It means that social studies are of central importance in understanding the New Testament.

Secondly, the Bible also has social contexts. Jesus lived and ministered in the Jewish background, and Paul did primarily in the Gentile region, where Greco-Roman culture was overwhelmingly dominant. Therefore, when understanding the word and life of Jesus, the Jewish background needs to be taken into consideration and when understanding Paul, there must be an understanding of the Greco-Roman cities and culture. This is similar to the argument that is concerned over "the isolation of New Testament study from other kinds of historical scholarship – not only from secular study of the Roman Empire, but even from church history" (Meeks, 1983:1). Meeks argues that it is necessary to add the results of social study to seek a proper understanding of the New Testament. Also, he implies that without the study of a social aspect, the interpretation of the New Testament might be vague, although it does not mean that a theological aspect should be denied (Malherbe, 1983:3). In the case of Baur under the influence of Hegelian dialectic, he found "a vehicle for his own insights concerning the process of historical development of early Christianity" (Lincicum, 2013:84). The development was "from servitude to freedom, from nonage to majority, from the age of childhood to the age of maturity, from the flesh to the spirit" (Baur, 2003:212). Especially, the Corinthian conflicts which Baur was interested in also correspond to the process of the development. The tension between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians is indicated in the factions in 1 Corinthians (Butarbutar, 2007:22, 23). It means that he also reflected the Jewish and Gentile situations which differed from each other, although it has a weakness to project too much dialectical methodology into Paul's circumstances. Social studies consider not only ideological situations but also social situations, including philosophical and rhetorical aspects. Therefore, Meeks' argument is reasonable that trying to understand the Bible only theologically is a reductionistic interpretation (Meeks, 1983:3, 4). Interpreters of the

New Testament should not ignore the process and consequence of social studies (Gill, 1975:120; Punt, 2009:455, 456).

Thirdly, if Christian members as socially positioned people constituted a social body, it would be identified that early Christianity was not also unrelated to social factors. This means that the conventional principle of the society influenced theology. In that sense, Keck (1974:439) is unsatisfied with the lack of Bultmann's interest in social grounds of the believers who were recipients of Paul and John. Christians converted and became new identities, yet they were still living in their secular society with the social mind. This is why issues such as eating food offered to idols (1 Cor. 8-10) have caused serious problems in the Corinthian church. On the issue of eating sacrificed food, Paul criticised that the so-called strong members did not concern the weak members' conventional principle in the food offered to idols. Without the understanding of social contexts, such an issue could not be comprehended well.

3.2.2 Disadvantages of social studies

Firstly, interpreting theological concepts only from a social perspective might lead to reductionistic interpretation. For instance, according to Meeks (1983:2, 3), there are two cases. Marxism sees the origin of Christianity as the result of class struggle and Shirley Jackson Case understands the origin of Christianity merely as a response to the needs of the time. Social elements can affect religious ones, and vice versa. However, it is not an appropriate argument that theological formulae can be understood as a tool to fully understand the social field or vice versa. This means that theological elements should be viewed theologically, although the social aspect could help to understand it.

Secondly, the gap-filling method used when evidence is lacking may be inappropriate (Meeks, 1983:5). There is a risk that an interpreter may reflect his thoughts and preconceptions or he/she may impose modern insights when interpreting the ancient material (Gupta, 2010:519, 520; Wright, 2015:10, 11). Meeks (1983:5) says that a researcher "is tempted to infer what must have happened and the conditions that must have been obtained on the basis of certain assumed regularities in human behaviour." This implies that each focus or position might cause different claims (Stambaugh & Balch, 1986:72)⁴ as in the case of 'New Consensus' and 'Old Consensus' (Moses, 2018:483), although this is the same with other studies. In reality, Theissen (2001) agrees with the argument of Meggitt (1998) to some degree, but he opposes Meggitt in the use of materials and the perspective in the society. In this sense, the subjective characteristic of studies

⁴ This case points to a contradiction in the claim of the use of slaves and free workers in the Roman economy.

should be considered. Since nobody has all the evidence needed, it is inevitable to fill the gap. So, it should be borne in mind that it would be problematic when filling the gap.

Thirdly, it is difficult to grasp Paul's special experience in a social context, although some argue that social studies attempt to have an open attitude to the specificity of a particular group (Malherbe, 1983:13; Meeks, 1983:7). Particularly, if trying to receive recognition in the academic field, there is a problem that the possibility of overlooking the specificity is increased as Friesen (2004:331) says that "[t]he non-confessional study of religion has found more acceptance in the academy over the course of the last quarter-century and so we now have more luxury to question this alleged neutrality." In other words, although it might be argued that the socio-analysis of theological contents does not reduce the theological significance to sociological factors (Theissen, 1982:123), it focuses on the common things of the day, so it does not diminish but it may be not fully revealed. A possibility exists that the uniqueness may be covered by a general one. Or it may not be able to detect something unique (Theissen, 1982:121; Martin, 1995:45, 46). For example, Paul's tent-making has been considered simply as a kind of mission strategy, a pathway to reveal the relationship and economic situation of Paul and members of the Pauline community. In other words, Paul's tent-making has been regarded as just functional through social studies.

3.3 The research in Paul's tent-making based on a social aspect

There has been growing awareness that the doctrinal understanding of Paul or the understanding based on the school of the history of religion, which "sought to discover connections between NT belief and religious practices and those of the larger religious environment" (Garrett, 1992:90) alone makes it difficult to achieve a balanced study of Paul, and the interest in Paul's social situation has increased (Malherbe, 1983:2).

Despite this growing interest, it seems that the study of Paul's tent-making has not progressed much (Hock, 1980:14, 15). In Paul's societal context, however, Paul's tent-making was an excellent topic so that it has been mentioned constantly by scholars because his labour itself might reflect "dynamic social interchange among persons who lived in specific communities at particular times and places" (Garrett, 1992:89).

Among the scholars, one of the most frequently mentioned in the study of Paul's tent-making is Ronald F. Hock. He shows Paul's mentions of his manual working by discussing his plying a trade of tent-making "as it is known from contemporary sources, the experiences that would likely have arisen from tentmaking as a way of life, and contemporary attitudes held by different groups of persons (including rabbis and philosophers) towards manual labor" (Garrett, 1992:94).

Hock (1980:16) wanted to show through his research that Paul as a tentmaker was clear and that his tent-making custom was central rather than peripheral to Paul's life. And he also wanted to demonstrate Paul in the image of the apostle of Jesus Christ who settled in the daily life beyond speculative and religious (Hock, 1980:26-49). Therefore, Hock's research on Paul's tent-making cannot be excluded in order to fulfil the goal of this thesis. Although his research was published several decades ago, it has still been considered most significant in the study of Paul's tent-making (Tolmie, 2017:94).

In this section, before dealing with the reasons for Paul's tent-making in a social aspect, generalities about Paul's tent-making in a social perspective need to be examined, focusing on Hock's work on Paul's tent-making (Hock, 1977; Hock, 1978; Hock, 1979; Hock, 1980). In addition, extra research from other scholars will be conducted for a response to Hock's work and, if necessary, a better understanding.

3.3.1 The nature of Paul's tent-making

Discussions exist on the exact meaning of σκηνοποιός (Acts 18:3), Paul's job. The meaning is still uncertain (Tolmie, 2017:92, 93), but most scholars agree that there are primarily two meaning possibilities for σκηνοποιός. One is a weaver of goat's hair, which was criticised by Zahn that the understanding of *cilicium* (goat's hair) as a material for tent-making is not relevant for the meaning of σκηνοποιός⁵ (Hock, 1980:21). Another is a leather worker. According to Hock (1980:20, 21), the conclusion of this discussion is generally understood as making tents and other products from leather. Leatherworking was not required to use a lot of tools because it has primarily two processes of cutting the leather and sewing it (Hock, 1980:24). This means that "such a craft was easily transported from city to city, for the only things Paul needed to carry along were his knives and awls" (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:53), although the convenience might not guarantee a satisfying income.

The debates on the exact meaning of σκηνοποιός, naturally translated into a tentmaker (Barrett, 1998:863), will not be dealt with significantly in this thesis, although they were not without value. The fact that Paul was a labourer or craftsman in the Greco-Roman society is important for the research question of this thesis but is generally not disputed.

⁵ According to (Peterson, 2009:508), it is not proper to connect Paul's occupation with his native province, *cilicium*. This is because the same trade is also attributed to his fellows, Priscilla and Aquila, although they came from Pontus, and Paul probably learned his trade when he began his education in Jerusalem (22:3).

3.3.2 The origin of Paul's tent-making skill

Verbrugge and Krell (2015:53, 54) summarises the origin of Paul's technique to make a tent into three possible options: from his father, from his teacher Gamaliel, and during the period of Tarsus after conversion.

Firstly, Hock (1980:23) claimed that the origins of Paul's skill as a tentmaker came from his father's family business, and that its background was working philosophers of the Cynic school (Hock, 1977:164, 165), having explained the examples of Cynic philosophers favouring manual work (Hock, 1977:33-48). It means that it is unclear whether or not Paul's education was a teaching for the profession, even if he might have been learned under Gamaliel (Acts 22:3). Additionally, there is no evidence that there was a principle that harmonised education of the Torah with the profession in Paul's day. For the teacher of Torah who did the actual self-supporting, their self-supporting policy was not based on their self-understanding, but was from their economic needs. Verbrugge and Krell (2015:55) indicates that Paul was like the wandering philosophers in the Greco-Roman world, referring to the account in Athens (Acts 17:18-21). Also, Paul was a complete Greco-Roman character as well as seemingly philosophers. Thus it could be argued that Paul adopted his financial support policy from the custom of wandering philosophers rather than from the Jewish tradition.

Secondly, Paul might have been influenced by a possible earlier Pharisaic practice of fathers teaching their sons a craft (Hengel, 1991:15-17). From the Jewish perspective, the idea that the study of the Torah and the work for livelihood should be done concurrently was likely to be rooted deeply, as some scholars argued (Barnett, 1993:927). Paul must have learned much about the way of life of scholars and wise men of Judaism while learning the Pharisee tradition. If so, it would have been in the Jewish setting before conversion that Paul learned the techniques of making products from leather. In this respect, it can be seen that the Jewish customs and influences affected more or less the background of Paul's tent-making mission. However, it is also clear that the influence of the Hellenistic culture cannot be denied because the Jewish religion of Paul's time was not alone in isolation from the dominant culture.

Thirdly, Paul learned his craft in the period of Tarsus after conversion. This claim looks least persuasive. It is most likely that Paul was in financial difficulties after his conversion (Davis, 2017:222). Had he not had the skill, it would have been difficult to sustain his life when he served in ministry. It would also be difficult to obtain immediate complete trust from Christians after conversion because of his record of persecution. Thus, during the silent years that followed the conversion, it is likely that Paul had sustained himself. This means that Paul had already learned his skills before conversion.

3.3.3 Paul's life as an apostle and a tentmaker

Assuming that Paul plied a trade wherever he proclaimed the gospel, Hock (1980:26-49) examines cautiously Paul's life as a tentmaker. He shows that Paul worked with his own hands in every city where he preached the gospel, claiming that Paul's tent-making and his life are not to be separated. In that sense, he emphasised the careful examination of the life of Paul as a labourer and missionary. Through this, he intended to indicate that Paul's tent-making was highly related to his ministry. Paul travelled a lot for mission, and he worked for his livelihood when he stayed in the centre cities of his ministry. As a worker, Paul spent much time in labour and had to work very hard. So his workplace seems to have become a place to preach the gospel in a missionary sense (Hock, 1979:450; Hock, 1980:41). Of course, it is hard to regard Paul's use of workplace as just a strategy for evangelising the working class because he used all the places to preach the gospel and one of them was Paul's workplace (Schnabel, 2008:298, 304).

It was not easy for Paul, who has been assumed to be a member of higher class (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:38, 39), to labour manually at that time when labour was considered shameful and humiliating. If Paul is regarded to be born in the abundant background, such a choice would have been a double pain (Deissmann, 1912; Hock, 1980:35), which was opposed by the argument of Meggitt (1998:75-96) that Paul had never been a member of elite and rich class. Either way, there were several negative understandings of labour at that time (Hock, 1980:35, 36). Firstly, there was a perception that labour was the role of slaves. Secondly, by working, one instilled the perception that there was no room for him to develop his virtue or that he was not educated. Thirdly, there was a perception that trade was unnecessary. It was merely a passage of luxury and waste. Because of these negative perceptions in the Greco-Roman society, the workers might be insulted and suffered around them (1 Cor. 4:10, 12; 9:19; 2 Cor. 11:7). For Paul, tent-making was consuming and painful because he worked even night and day excessively (1 Thess. 2:9). In Judaism the concept of night is designed for rest (Tromp, 2008:364-368) so that Paul's working night and day means that he worked extremely hard to earn a living. So, Paul always mentioned his work in the lists of his hardships (Hock, 1980:37). The author adds that the work experience of Paul is not entirely negative (Hock, 1980:37), but it is clear that the overall image implied by Paul's tent-making that could not be excluded from Paul's life and ministry never seems to have been positive.

Hock's explanation of negative perceptions of labour has been criticised. Specifically, the argument that negative perceptions of labour were prevalent at that time corresponds to just the view based on the records which the upper class could have produced (Meggitt, 1998:12, 13; Aejmelaeus, 2002:351). The records written on stone indicate a different story that the general labourers were proud of working (Savage, 1996:85). Additionally, a positive opinion on work from the Stoics certainly existed (Punt, 2000c:355). For almost all people in the Greco-Roman world

who stayed in subsistence level, labour must have been indispensable to live. In that sense, although it seems plausible that tent-making was shameful to Paul because he was born in elite or middle class (Hock, 1978:564), labouring manually itself could not be determined whether or not it signified humiliation. In other words, it is not clear whether Paul's labour was causing others to rebuke him. This understanding is consistent with the argument that Paul used his workplace as an opportunity to evangelise people and that Paul's labour provided solidarity with those in the working class.

3.3.4 Paul's tent-making and apostleship

Hock (1980:50-65) relates Paul's tent-making to the apostleship. Paul understood himself as an apostle who preached the gospel for free through his labour, when his apostleship was criticised (1 Cor. 9:1-19; 2 Cor. 11:7-15; 12:13-16). Hock says there are four options for how philosophers and teachers lived in Paul's time (Hock, 1980:52-59). Most philosophers preferred to take tuition fees or to act as a resident teacher. Of these four options, Paul's choice of manual labour was the most unpopular option.

The important thing is that Hock argues that Paul's tent-making corresponds to a part of Paul's apostolic self-understanding. In other words, Paul's tent-making made Paul take pride in preaching the gospel without charge (1 Cor. 9:18). The association of Paul's tent-making with his apostleship must be the result of a remarkable insight based on a social aspect. Not only that, this was a correct assessment of Paul's tent-making from a theological point of view and played a major role in understanding the Pauline letters regarding his tent-making. And, illuminating that Paul's tent-making is directly linked to his apostolic mission to proclaim the gospel without charge, Hock's study confirmed that Paul's tent-making is a key factor in Paul's life and ministry (Hock, 1977:132). Additionally, by choosing the most unpopular option of Greek philosophers' means of livelihood at that time, one might see that Paul endured weakness (1 Cor. 2:3), slavishness (1 Cor. 9:19), and humiliation (2 Cor. 11:7). Through the attitudes, Paul "could articulate a theology of strength in weakness" (Hock, 1980:65). As a result, by showing examples of contemporary artisans and philosophers through social research methods, Hock made it clear that Paul was not simply a theologian, but an apostle as a hard-working worker in the workplace (1 Thess. 2:9), which had been overlooked due to the doctrinal interests.

Although the connection between Paul's tent-making and his apostleship is supported by some biblical texts of 1 and 2 Corinthians, as Hock (1980:59-64) analysed, it should be strengthened more. One could know that Paul's tent-making and his apostleship were deeply related through Hock's study, but he just implies that Paul's tent-making was the result of adopting one of the philosophers' means of livelihood at that time. It seems to be the best explanation that Paul was rooted in the social situation at that time, but it seems possible to be criticised that it has

oversimplified the relation of Paul's tent-making and his apostleship. Also, the assertion is available that the connection might be criticised by the argument that in the situation of debate at Corinth Paul used his tent-making only as a tool of defending his apostleship. So, more research is needed on the relationship of Paul's tent-making and apostolic authority in order to avoid simplicity of the relationship.

It is possible to find a specific connection between Paul's tent-making and his apostleship. For example, it is the question as to whether there is a connection between the ground motive of Paul's tent-making and his apostleship, not simply between circumstantial reasons for his labour and the apostleship. In that sense, the context of the relationship of Paul's tent-making and apostleship needs to be expanded on. Not only the Corinthian letters, other Pauline letters dealing with Paul's tent-making and Luke's witness should be studied (Chapter 4, 5). Ultimately, the origin of Paul's apostleship should be studied in order to better comprehend the relationship of Paul's tent-making and apostleship (Chapter 7).

3.4 The reasons for Paul's tent-making from a social aspect

3.4.1 To satisfy the economic necessity

Above all, it may be argued that the reason why Paul plied a trade is his own economic necessities. That is, the foreign situation in which Paul had to missionize and the confliction with Jewish people made him to be difficult to get support (Theissen, 1982:39; Davis, 2017:222). In the case of Davis (2017), Paul's missionary life can be recognised in terms of his business. This is why Davis tries to explain most of Paul's movements after the conversion as an economic perspective. For example, Davis (2017:222, 223) claims that the reason why in Galatians 1:17 Paul went to Arabia was economic problems after his conversion, as follows:

However, his conversion would have created an immediate economic hardship for Paul. He came to Damascus with letters of authority from the chief priest in Jerusalem (Acts 22:5). These letters probably functioned not only as letters of introduction to the Jewish community but, more importantly, they could have functioned as letters of credit for Paul that he could use to draw on resources of the local Jewish community for his upkeep. Obviously, after his conversion this potential source of support was gone.

One premise in this thesis, which is the purpose of looking for the ground motive for Paul's tent-making, is that Paul's tent-making was what Paul had already done before he was converted. It is important to realise that Paul did not initiate his manual working as a missionary strategy after he experienced conversion on the way to Damascus. As many scholars have noted, the technique of Paul's tent-making came from a family business, an influence of Hellenistic philosophers or

possibly as a result of his Pharisaic background (Hengel, 1974:62; Hock, 1980:23). In this sense, it is not wrong to say that Paul's tent-making was primarily for sustenance. Regardless of the origin of Paul's tent-making skill, the technique to make a tent satisfied his livelihood. But the ground motive for Paul's tent-making in this thesis seeks a theological significance. In other words, the essence of this thesis is how Paul regarded his own tent-making after experiencing conversion on the way to Damascus, where Paul was going to take down Christians. When studying Pauline letters it becomes evident that Paul uses his example of tent-making several times, and these references can confirm that Paul has considered his own tent-making as bearing theological significance, not merely as a means of livelihood. However, except for the newly created meaning of tent-making which was given because of Paul's conversion, it is correct that the reason for Paul's tent-making was obviously for sustenance.

This particular significance is hard to ascertain through a study of Paul and his tent-making from a social aspect. The social perspective of the general elements of society at the time is not sufficient to capture the special experience of Paul's radical conversion on the way to Damascus. In other words, there are some similar parts between Paul's tent-making and labour of philosophers or workers at that time, but there is also a special part which does not correspond. It is true that Paul learned skills as a man of his day and kept his livelihood with the skill like artisans and some philosophers. However, he continues to appeal that his skill is not just for a living in his letters (1 Cor. 9:12; 1 Thess. 2:9). It is right that Paul worked manually for his own livelihood, but the reason for livelihood does not contain the special significance given after the conversion to be discussed in this thesis. In this sense, although the claim that Paul's basic reason for tent-making was for sustenance is true, it is not relevant in terms of finding the ground motive of Paul's tent-making in a theological sense.

3.4.2 To use a workshop for evangelism

Paul used his workshop for evangelism in which "Paul had made himself available to all people, rich and poor, more in any case than had he accepted support and stayed in a household" (Hock, 1978:560). For Paul's life, "business was ministry, and ministry was business" as Davis (2017:233) referred to. This means that Paul's workplace was a very important place in his ministry. According to Schnabel (2008:287-304), of the five important places for evangelism, that is synagogues, marketplaces, lecture halls, workshops and private houses, in Paul's ministry, the first purpose of only the workplace was not for preaching the gospel. "Rather, this was a financial necessity when his funds had run low" (Schnabel, 2008:298), as argued above. Paul's workshop was indeed a centre for his livelihood, but Paul did not use the time at the workshop only to make money for a livelihood, as Schnabel (2008:304) referred to: "The only 'strategy' was the utilization of all venues that allowed the spreading of the news of Jesus Christ." It is true that Paul's mission strategy was that he used all circumstances and resources given to him to preach the gospel

rather than using his tent-making as his mission strategy. Although Paul did his best to preach the gospel anywhere, his workplace must have been such an effective venue to meet people for evangelism. The details of the workshop look different from one scholar to another (Hock, 1980:32; Meggitt, 1998:65; Schnabel, 2008:298-300), but the basic situation looks similar (Tolmie, 2017:96). Therefore this part primarily focuses on the function of Paul's workshop for evangelism, not on building design or components.

Firstly, Paul was able to meet various people in the workplace. There is no clear evidence that Paul met people for evangelism in the workplace. However, considering that Paul was a tentmaker as referred to in Acts 18:3, he would apparently have worked in the workplace of tent-making, and in the process he would have had the opportunity to meet various people. This is because "[t]he activities of these shops included not only work itself but also the related tasks of selling the products to customers and, on occasion, of instructing an apprentice" (Hock, 1980:33). According to Tolmie (2017:97, 98), there were many benefits to Paul's labour in the workplace. Firstly, Paul could have met people in the workplace who were hard to meet in other places. For example, the synagogue was a place of religious interest, but in the case of the workplace, it was not where those interested came, but where it was for economic purposes. Secondly, Paul could also have an opportunity to meet people of various social classes. Paul's job was to make products from leather, so he would have had many opportunities to encounter people who needed leather items. Especially, at that time, the tent was a necessity for travellers. For travellers there was a reason to meet someone who makes a tent, regardless of whether or not they were rich (Hock, 1980:33, 34). Thirdly, working in the workplace would have been a good opportunity to build positive relationships with customers visiting the workplace. If a positive relationship exists between people visiting the workplace and the owner of the workshop, the customers would have thought that the owner of the shop trusted Paul whom the owner employed in the workplace. This might have helped build confidence between Paul and his clients.

Secondly, Paul pursued identification with the working class or those of lower status through labour in the workplace (Chang, 2000:151; Hafemann, 2000:133, 134). The premise of this second argument is that Paul's social class belonged to the middle class as Deissmann (1912:53) argued, or the upper class as Hock (1978:560) insisted. This is implied in the verses of his adaptation shown in 1 Corinthians 9:19. Through this Paul was able to adjust to the working class and to try to get them to hear the gospel and to be saved. An important place for such an attempt was the workplace (Hock, 1980:41). On the other hand, as Meggitt (1998:75) argued, if Paul belonged to a lowly class, it doesn't matter. The work in Paul's workplace would be a good opportunity to meet people in the same social class as well as in other social classes. Through these encounters Paul might have known the circumstances of those who visited to and from the workplace and had the opportunity to preach the gospel to them. Thus, regardless of what social

class Paul belonged to, Paul's workplace might have been a very effective place to meet and talk to people and preach the gospel. Importantly, it would have had a good effect on the relationship with the working class who worked like Paul. Paul would have found a guild of workers in cities where he travelled for a mission, and he would have kept his tent-making custom by borrowing or co-operating the workshops of existing tent-making workers, as Hock (1980:32) referred to that "workers having the same trade tended to locate their shops in close proximity to one another."

Thirdly, the fact that Paul's workshop would have been useful for teaching can be seen in the examples of working philosophers at the time. Quite a while ago the workshops had been used as places to teach knowledge (Hock, 1979:448). Studying the workplace, which was the background of Paul's ministry, Hock (1979:449) argues that "the evidence of philosophers in the workshop can assist us in reconstructing Paul's parallel practice more clearly and surely than is possible on the basis of NT texts alone." In particular, the examples of the Cynic school provide positive evidence of the claim of Paul's preaching the gospel and teaching people in the workplace (Hock, 1980:37-41). Through such a study it can be seen that the workplace at that time might have been an effective place in Paul's ministry.

Fourthly, as Paul himself referred to, he spent much time to labour manually in the workplace. It might be that Paul plied a trade on his missionary journeys (Hock, 1980:26). Especially, he worked day and night at Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2:9) and "presumably elsewhere" (Hock, 1980:31). Paul stayed in the workplace for a long time in his week days, which meant that he had enough time to build relationships with customers and preach the gospel to those he met at the workplace (Hock, 1979:440-443). Given the physical time, it is probable that Paul's workplace is the place where his missionary work could be primarily done among the five important places for evangelism, which are synagogues, marketplaces, lecture halls, workshops and private houses (Schnabel, 2008:287-304).

Because of the reasons, the claim that Paul's workplace would have been productive in meeting various people and preaching the gospel tended to focus on effectiveness of Paul's tent-making in his mission. But as Schnabel (2008:304) claims, it seems that the workplace background played an important role in Paul's mission, but the fact should be borne in mind that he used all circumstances and venues given to him to preach the gospel. This means that the functional point of view is not persuasive that Paul just used the workplace in order to evangelise effectively. This statement can be applied to be all assertions that have been considered Paul's tent-making as functional for mission. In other words, if one looks at Paul's tent-making from a functional point of view, he/she may not see the essential part of it. The purpose of this thesis is to find a significance beyond the functional role of Paul's tent-making.

Additionally, it may be thought that Paul borrowed an example of a working philosopher of the Cynic school. Before Paul's conversion, however, it has been argued that he was already acquainted with the tent-making technique because of the Jewish tradition or family background. In this sense, it is similar to that of the Cynics, but it is not the same. Especially, the life of Musonius Rufus is similar to that of Paul in the positive aspect of working (Hock, 1977:35-41). According to Malherbe (1983:24), Musonius Rufus might consider his own manual labour as a positive example for the pupils as Paul did (1 Cor. 11:1). Even if there are similar parts, the orientations of each manual labour differ. If the working life of Rufus is to show an example to his disciples, Paul's tent-making would be argued beyond showing a positive example.

3.4.3 To relieve the economic burden of the community

Paul wanted to avoid being an economic burden to the poor congregation (1 Thess. 2:9, 10; 2 Thess. 3:8) (Horrell, 2009:599) or to take care of the poor (Deissmann, 1912:209). Contrary to so-called 'New Consensus', Meggitt (1998:97-99) and Friesen (2008:18-21) argue that almost all the Christians in the first century experienced dire poverty. Even apart from the dispute on 'New Consensus', it is true that most Christians were poor in the period of Greco-Roman society (Trebilco, 2013:27), so that they must have felt burden on supporting someone economically (cf. 2 Cor. 8:2).

As already discussed, the key to the discussion of the economic situation of the Pauline community is that most of the believers of the Pauline community were poor. Both 'New Consensus' and 'Old Consensus' agree that most church members remained near the level of subsistence, although, as 'New Consensus' indicated, the Pauline communities might have several affluent believers (Moses, 2018:483). Of course, there are some claims that the Corinthian church would have been rich because Corinth was rich (Murphy-O'Connor, 2002:53, 54), but there may also be a question about whether the affluence of the commercial area can be directly linked to the richness of the church community.

The scholars who studied the Pauline community have a few differences but commonly acknowledge that most believers in the Pauline community were poor. It is plausible, therefore, to say that Paul refused to receive financial support from the church and instead he worked manually to satisfy his own need. Paul might know well about the economic situation of the believers in the community he had founded, so he would refuse to receive financial support and decide to use his own skills to keep his livelihood and not burden the church members. Wessels (2015) argues that Paul's offering of the gospel free of charge through his tent-making proposes solutions for the poverty of churches in Africa.

Additionally, the collection for the believers in Jerusalem implies Paul's concerns for the poor (Everts, 1993:297-299; Punt, 2000b:475; Longenecker, 2011:26; KarYong, 2017:24, 25), which will be more concretely studied later. It was quite unusual for the Gentiles to raise money for the poor in Greco-Roman society (Longenecker, 2011:28). Rather, "[t]he majority of the society's resources made its way upward on a never-ending conveyor belt that enhanced the elite in their quest to capture honor through generous initiatives and opulent living" (Longenecker, 2011:33). In this context, the fact that Paul encouraged the believing Gentiles to raise money for the poor believers of the Jerusalem community indicates that Paul was eager to help the poor.

In the article studying biblical texts related to Paul's collection to overcome the remarkable poverty of African nations including South Africa, Punt (2000b:475) indicates that Paul emphasised the importance of collection for the poor believers because the effort was to imitate the love of Christ (2 Cor. 8:1-15). According to KarYong (2017:24), "Paul, even a century after his death, is remembered as someone through whom the resources of the rich could be used to channel help to the poor." Considering Paul's endeavour for the collection, the claim that Paul did tent-making in order to relieve the economic burden on the community is plausible.

This argument, however, suffers from several criticisms. Firstly, Paul received financial support from the Philippian believers (Phil. 4:15, 16; cf. 2 Cor. 11:9). Not only the Corinthian church, but also, according to 2 Corinthians 8:1-5, most members of the Philippian church were not wealthy (Marshall, 1987:234). The fact that Paul accepted the financial support from the Philippians and not from the Corinthians indicates that the reason for Paul's renunciation of support did not depend on the financial condition of the believers.

Secondly, the poor Christians used to play a role "as agents of charity as well as its recipients" (Buell, 2008:41). In other words, the poor members could be almsgivers and their impoverished status was not problematic when they wanted to donate (2 Cor. 8:2). It indicates that it was not just the economic status that influenced Paul's renunciation of the Corinthians' support.

Thirdly, the fact that Paul understands his own custom of tent-making as a reward from God (1 Cor. 9:18) indicates that his concern for the poor is not at the centre of the motive for his tent-making. It is true that Paul paid attention to the economic burden of the community (2 Cor. 11:9; 1 Thess. 2:9, 10; 2 Thess. 3:8), but it is hard to conclude that it was the ground motive why Paul did not receive economic support from the church, considering that Paul showed some inconsistency in this regard. (1 Cor. 9:18).

Based on these points of criticism, the element of believers' economic status turns out to be inadequate as the ground motive of Paul's tent-making.

3.4.4 To distinguish from teachers for payment

Paul wanted to distinguish himself from philosophers at that time who taught wisdom in return for payment (Robertson & Plummer, 1929:186; Stambaugh & Balch, 1986:143; Barnett, 1993:926). There were several attempts to explain Paul and the Pauline community in terms of comparison to philosophic or rhetorical schools (Meeks, 1983:81-85). As already mentioned, Hock (1977:164, 165) argued that the background of Paul's tent-making was the Cynic school. In the case of Cynics, they were similar to the fact that Paul maintained his livelihood by working manually without financial support. At the time, however, most philosophers such as the Sophists received payment for teaching (Rengstorf, 1976:420; Everts, 1993:295). Not only that, most Christian teachers such as itinerant philosophers might receive financial support, according to Paul (1 Cor. 9:4, 5).

Thus, in Pauline studies, there have been many cases of comparing philosophers at that time with Paul. Through these studies, one can know that the patterns of Paul and philosophers were similar (Acts 17:17-21). So, people at that time could have recognised Paul as one of the philosophers. The believers who thought of Paul as one of the itinerant philosophers for fees may have misunderstood Paul as a preacher of gospel who sought financial profit. As a result of the misunderstanding, Paul's message of the gospel might not have been conveyed properly. So Paul refused to accept financial support and did tent-making in order to differentiate himself from philosophers who receive the cost of teaching and to maximise the effectiveness of the gospel. This reason looks well suited to the comparison with 1 Corinthians 9:18, which indicates Paul's provision of gospel without charge.

This claim is quite reasonable. It is because Paul's testimony in 2 Corinthians 11:12 clearly points to this reason. Perhaps those who followed the Palestinian tradition (Matt. 10:10) from Jerusalem would have criticised Paul who did not follow the tradition. The Corinthians who had complaints for Paul because of such criticism, Paul argues the reasons for his own custom of tent-making and not receiving their support. Paul insists that teaching for profit is not a following of the tradition of Jesus. Instead, that the true tradition of Jesus is to follow the pattern of Christ's life who gave salvation without charge.

There are, however, some objections to this claim. Firstly, the Corinthian believers would not have compared Paul with philosophers who teach to get financial profit like the Sophists. Paul had effective skills to make a living as a traveling missionary in the Greco-Roman cities (Hock, 1980:25; Theissen, 1982:37, 38). As already mentioned, Paul might have done tent-making before he converted and then became a Christian missionary. Paul kept his labour (Hock, 1980:26) and sustained his livelihood, although his tent-making in the itinerant mission did not make enough money (Meggett, 1998:76). The believers must have known the fact because Paul

continued his custom of tent-making anywhere in his missionary travel (Hock, 1980:26). It may be possible to compare Paul with the philosophers of the Cynic school who pursued the working philosophy at that time (Hock, 1977:33-48), but the opposite case looks impossible.

Secondly, Wood (1995:8) argues that Paul's mission should be applied to the model of craftsmen not a comparison with philosophers. Among sociological models to understand Paul, the author claims that it is this model that provides better data in understanding Paul (Wood, 1995:201). Although it was not indicated clearly in his letters, Paul must have lived as an artisan rather than a philosopher, when considering that Paul continued to labour during his missionary journey in the sociological context of Greco-Roman society. If so, Paul was far from the philosophers who received the reward of teaching. In this sense, comparing Paul with such philosophers is not reasonable.

Thirdly, for Paul there was no need to distinguish himself from the teachers receiving payment. The Corinthian church wanted to provide financial support for Paul, but he refused it, negatively affecting the relationship between them (2 Cor. 12:13). What is important is that the Corinthians proposed financial support. This means that the Corinthians recognised teachers' acceptance of payment and regarded it as a matter of course (Marshall, 1987:147). This is a common part of Greek philosophical tradition and Jesus tradition (Mt. 10:10). Then the fundamental question arises whether Paul had a reason to make a distinction from other philosophers who received payment, if financial support was a proper custom. There was no reason to show any difference from other teachers, even though one can say that Paul had practised tent-making for the lesson that the gospel of Jesus Christ is given without payment.

The claim that Paul did tent-making in order to make a distinction from the paid teachers and to proclaim effectively the message of the gospel is quite plausible, but it cannot be denied that the argument is problematic when considering the objections mentioned above. Also, above all, this reason seems to be the result of a simple comparison of the philosopher who received money and Paul who did not accept fees and proclaimed the gospel. Therefore it is clear that conveying the gospel without charge is a good explanation of the nature of the gospel against the examples of philosophers seeking profits, but a more detailed explanation should be needed in order to discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making.

3.4.5 To avoid influence of patronage

The understanding of patronage has been significant because the New Testament is filled with the patronage model (MacGillivray, 2009:38) and Pauline scholars "apply a model of patronage not merely to the study of the relational dynamics within the Pauline communities but also to the very structure of Paul's theology itself" (Downs, 2009:130). One of the simplest applications is

Paul's tent-making. It means that Paul did not want to enter into a relationship of client and patronage in Greco-Roman society (Hock, 1980:54, 55; Siemens, 1997:123) in order to retain his independence like the prophets in the Old Testament (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:109, 113).

In the case of Punt (2000c:356), he argues that the patronage system "compromised the ability of philosophers to maintain their freedom of thought and speech." In other words, the support to Paul indicated "interests of a group for people from the higher ranks in Corinth who wished to put Paul under obligation to them" (Marshall, 1987:233). Especially, Chow (1992:172) indicates that Paul's refusal to receive support from the Corinthian church means reluctance to be controlled by the strong patrons in the church, supposing that the troubles of 1 Corinthians 5, 6 and 8-10 were made by them.

Theissen (1982:69, 102) contends that the Corinthian Christian community consists of a few rich and most poor similar to socio-economic levels of the Hellenistic congregations and such a community "was in all probability with special problems of integration of its internal stratification." This means that Paul attempted to integrate groups with socio-economic difference in the Corinthian community. As Theissen (1982:69) argued, this understanding presupposes the existence of socio-economic difference within the church. It means that there was an economically prosperous group in the Corinthian church and Paul did not receive their support lest it hindered the integration of the community. From the sociological point of view, it seems to be true that one can be constrained by one's actions from being supported by a patron because of the unequal relationship (Marshall, 1987:144; Ott, 2018:16). In other words, a possibility exists that a client would be affected by the influence of a patron (Everts, 1993:295). For that reason, scholars thought that Paul refused to receive financial support in order not to be influenced by providers and the argument looks plausible (Lohr, 2007:186).

However, this claim has several weak points. Firstly, was Paul the one who would be influenced by the authority of the affluent group because of the support? Absolutely not. Paul was the one who fully recognised that he had a proper right to receive financial support (1 Cor. 9:6). So, the claim that Paul was concerned about being influenced by the authority of the provider is not reasonable because he used his appropriate right. Paul also says that it is natural for the Gentile church to financially support the Jerusalem church because they shared spiritual blessings with the Gentiles (Rom. 15:27). Paul's perspective has already been applied to the relationship between himself and the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 12:14), although this verse explains the reason why he rejected the financial support from the Corinthians. As referred to in 1 Corinthians 9:5, 6, if other apostles have the right to receive financial support from the Corinthian church, Paul, who founded the Corinthian church, is much more entitled to receive financial support. Additionally, one can see that he was not afraid of receiving gifts from the Philippians (Marshall, 1987:297). Paul should not have also received it from the Philippian church unless he had received financial

support for fear of being influenced by the strong of the Corinthians. Even if the characteristics of the churches are different, it is not different in that the financial support may cause influences on Paul.

Secondly, the patronage system was not common in the Greco-Roman world. Meggitt (1998:164-175) deals with the survival strategies of the poor living in the city, explaining what solutions they could find to survive when they encountered a subsistence crisis. One of them was the patronage system. Meggitt (1998:166-168) points out that the patronage system was of little help to the poor, and that the patronage system was not as widespread in Greco-Roman society at that time as Classical and New Testament scholars assumed. MacGillivray (2009:40) supports Meggitt's argument, insisting that "patronage was a distinctly Roman phenomenon that failed to make inroads into broad Greek and Jewish society". The opinion that the patronage system was not common makes the argument of avoiding the influence of patronage weak.

Thirdly, the relations within the church were quite different from those of the patronage system at that time. This means that the relationships between Paul and the people in Paul's letters cannot be placed in the framework of the patronage system of the time. As Marshall (1987:246) indicates, the Corinthian believers understood Paul's acceptance of the Philippians' gift in the perspective of friendship and enmity, so that his refusal of support from the Corinthians made them feel dishonoured and inferior (cf. Malherbe, 1996:129, 130). However, it should be borne in mind that Paul relied on the higher reciprocal relationship of parent and child than on the patronage system (Marshall, 1987:247). Additionally, according to Walton (2011:232), for Paul, the human relationship in Christ was different from the patronage system of the Greco-Roman society. This is because the centre of the human relationship is Christ rather than emperor. Paul understands the relationship between himself and the Corinthian church members as a relationship between parents and children (Yarbrough, 1995:131). In that context, Paul says that it is natural that children do not provide financial support for their parents, but they do so for their children (2 Cor. 12:14). At that time, even though Paul and the Corinthian believers might have had an understanding of the patronage system of the Greco-Roman society, for Paul the Corinthian believers were spiritual children. This reason that the Corinthians tried to put Paul under their patronage, according to Briones (2013:34, 57), is the result of misunderstanding the patronage system. He opposes that a model of patronage is overly simplified and that it contains every exchange custom. Various relationships have common points with the patronage model, but at the same time they also have distinctive characteristics.

Fourthly, the claim that Paul did tent-making in order to get freedom from patrons may not be reasonable (Hengel, 1974:55), although it is true that Paul sought freedom in an aspect of economy. Savage (1996:90) opposes the argument that Paul did tent-making to get freedom from all social constraints, based on the social concept of friendship and enmity. He continues to

explain that Paul “declines support precisely because he is *bound* to his converts in love (cf. 2 Corinthians 12:14-15), because by declining support he hopes to ‘win the more’ (1 Corinthians 9:19)” (*Italic is original*). In other words, Paul rejected financial support and did not practise tent-making in order to obtain freedom from the strong Corinthians, but rather he wanted to make himself be a slave to save more people. In this sense, refusing financial support and labouring manually for freedom seems a completely wrong claim. In the case of Lohr (2007:186), although the claim that Paul did tent-making in order to get freedom from the social constraints is somewhat correct and this sociological position is persuasive, he insists that this reason does not have support from the explanation of 1 Corinthians 9, especially in 1 Corinthians 9:12 his endeavour to cause no hindrance to the gospel of Christ. Lohr (2007:186, 187) argues that the meaning of 1 Corinthians 9:12 does not indicate the freedom from the social constraints. Rather, as demonstrated in 1 Corinthians 9:19-23, it is understood that Paul, through his tent-making, has decided to become a slave to all, especially to identify with the poor, in order to remove obstacles of the gospel of Christ. Paul wanted the Corinthians to follow such an attitude as he gave up the right to be supported.

Like these arguments, there are several oppositions to the claim based on the patronage system. It is true that the interpretations based on the patronage system of the Greco-Roman society is very helpful in understanding the relationship between Paul and his community. However, the explanation based on the patronage system does not fully indicate all social relationships and proves to be insufficient to reveal the ground motive of Paul’s tent-making.

3.4.6 To avoid identification with the case of Apuleius

In addition, according to Hengel (1974:38, 39), it is argued that Paul was suspected of excessive financial expenditure on new religious offerings, such as Apuleius, who spent a great deal of money on Isis and Osiris religious offerings, so that Paul refused financial support and did tent-making. This is not the case of a costly philosopher, but it also shows that Paul’s effort to avoid the suspicion of preaching a new religion for financial gain was tent-making.

It is plausible that Paul may had been suspected of this. But it is not right to say that Paul did tent-making to avoid such doubts, since he had already been doing tent-making. Paul’s tent-making would have helped to avoid such doubts. However, considering what Paul said in 2 Corinthians 12:13 implying a complaint of the Corinthian believers, the Corinthians might have wanted rather to give financial support to Paul. According to Marshall (1987:246), the conflict between Paul and the Corinthian believers aroused by Paul’s refusal of the financial support from them. In this sense, it is not reasonable that Paul did tent-making to avoid suspect in excessive expense. Certainly, Paul’s case was not different from that of Apuleius.

3.5 Conclusion

It should be borne in mind that the social studies of Paul's tent-making are helpful. It is true that one can perceive the characteristic of Paul's tent-making in detail through the social research on Paul's tent-making while Paul's letters cannot fully provide us with sufficient information on tent-making and the nature of labour itself in the Greco-Roman period. In other words, the understanding of Paul's tent-making from Paul's letters would not be satisfactory if the result of social research were not added to it.

As already mentioned, the investigations in a social aspect have answered the question of why Paul did tent-making in several ways. It has been understood that Paul did tent-making on the basis of various reasons for his livelihood, for the opportunity of evangelism in the workplace, for differentiation with the teachers at the time, for relieving the economic burden of believers, for avoiding influence of patronage, and so on. Social studies have helped Paul to become a vivid character in the background of the Greco-Roman society, and they have enabled detailed explanations of the role of tent-making in the background. One can also gain information about Paul as a manual labourer - what Paul's life was like, where he worked, what people he met, and so on.

However, the reasons for Paul's tent-making based on general data reflecting the society at the time has a disadvantage that it does not evaluate specific data (Martin, 1995:45, 46). This means that social studies cannot grasp the particularity of Paul's theological motivation of tent-making, which will be argued in terms of the significance of Paul's conversion on the way to Damascus. In this thesis, without a theological consideration, it is likely to be difficult for social studies on Paul and Pauline communities to identify the ground motive for his tent-making. The reason might be because the conversion that Paul experienced on the way to Damascus changed the character of his tent-making. Before Paul's conversion, he already did tent-making to make a living, but after his conversion, his custom of tent-making continued, but it seems that his ground motive was changed, and the fact was constantly implied in his letters. In this sense, in order to grasp the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, it is necessary to make efforts to find Paul's intention of tent-making through exegetical and theological studies rather than solely relying on social research.

CHAPTER 4 TEXT ANALYSIS 1: 1 CORINTHIANS

4.1 Introduction⁶

Chapter 2 and 3 have reviewed the literature on why Paul gave up his proper right to be supported financially by the churches and rather chose manual labour in the form of tent-making. The reasons summarised in the abovementioned Chapters are circumstantial, situational or restrictive, so they do not adequately capture the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. Firstly, the reasons for Paul's tent-making in each letter simply reflect the churches' particular circumstances and the purpose of solving the troubles in those churches. So, the reasons are circumstantial, situational or functional (Tolmie, 2017:101). Secondly, Paul's tent-making in a social approach fails to reflect Paul's particularity since it only deals with general data concerning Paul's tent-making (Tomlin, 1997:59). It is true that social studies are very helpful in understanding Paul's tent-making, but they have limitations in terms of their application to a theological field (Tomlin, 1997:60).

In order to achieve the goal of this thesis, one should attempt to examine the ground motive of Paul's tent making beyond the situational and limits of social research on which the preliminary studies have been based. For this, one needs to analyse the letters Paul referring to the tent-making custom, focusing on Paul's ground motive for his manual labour. The analysis of 1 Corinthians is particularly important because it contains the longest and most detailed chapter about tent-making, namely 1 Corinthians 9. 1 Corinthians 9 is reflecting the Corinthians' situation of conflicts in the issue of food offered to the idols between the strong and the weak.

Not only that, it might be presumed that Paul also indicates in 1 Corinthians 9:12 the said ground motive implicitly. In addition, 1 Corinthians 4 indicates the topic of Paul's manual labour. The significance of this reference to Paul's manual labour is not less important than that of 1 Corinthians 9. Rather, it truly demonstrates what Paul intends to say to the Corinthians. Based on the implicit motive uncovered in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9, it should be examined what Paul's tent-making means in the context of the whole of 1 Corinthians.

In 1 Corinthians one of the most remarkable points is the concept of the cross. Paul in 1 Corinthians deals with the problems of the Corinthian congregation and might think the problems originated from their spiritual immaturity (Ackerman, 2006) or division among them (Mitchell, 1992). In order to cure the problems, Paul suggests the idea of the cross as the best antidote to the diseases of the community in 1 Corinthians (Tomlin, 1997:62). Therefore, this Chapter focuses on the concept of cross in 1 Corinthians, examining how Paul develops 1 Corinthians and what

⁶ This Chapter uses New American Standard Bible translated by the Lockman Foundation and quotes the biblical texts from the website of the foundation (<http://www.lockman.org/misc/readonline.php>).

role Paul's tent-making plays in the whole of the letter. Additionally, it should be noted that the pericopes which deal with Paul's tent-making include the word of *μμητής* (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1). The pericopes of 1 Corinthians 1-4 and 8-10 use Paul's tent-making as a kind of example that the Corinthian believers should follow. In other words, Paul's tent-making signifies a principle against the arrogant attitude of the Corinthians in the pericopes.

The ideas of Paul's tent-making and *μμητής* are so significant to understand Paul (cf. Fee, 2014:540). They are essential to support Paul's endeavour to solve the problems of the Corinthians church more than anything else in the pericopes. Such concepts occur together, so it might be thought that they have similar usage and are connected. Thus, the relationship between Paul's tent-making and *μμητής* needs to be researched whether it is coincidental or not. This Chapter consists of an analysis of 1 Corinthians' structure and thematic approach, the role of Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians, and a study of the concept of *μμητής*.

4.2 Analysis of 1 Corinthians

The first letter to the Corinthians looks different from Romans and Galatians, which have been primarily perceived as theology-focused documents. 1 Corinthians primarily deals with practical advices for the community (Barrett, 1968:17). 1 Corinthians mainly consists of disputes among certain groups within the Corinthian church or within general churches (cf. 1:2), such as wisdom (1-4), immorality (5-6), marriage (7), sacrificed food (8-10), worship (11), spiritual gifts (12-14), resurrection (15), et cetera. It seems that there were differences of opinion among group members on these topics and that conflict resulted. In this sense, 1 Corinthians has been recognised as a practical letter that seems quite different from Romans and Galatians.

However, it is pointed out that it is difficult to see the whole of 1 Corinthians as simply a letter dealing with practical issues, since Paul offers solutions to the practical problems with a theological basis. This means that most problems of the Corinthian believers are primarily practical, but Paul attempts to not only solve them practically, but also theologically. It indicates that Paul developed 1 Corinthians on the basis of a theological concern. Conversely, it has been argued that the letters which are famous as doctrinal documents such as Romans and Galatians also reflect the circumstances of the early church as Beker (1980:25) argues that "Paul's thought is geared to a specific situation and that his arguments cannot be divorced from the need of the moment". Consequently, it is worth noting that Paul's letters contain both practical and theological concern.

Therefore, one can see that the organisation of 1 Corinthians is based on a theological principle for solving the practical problems in the church. In this section, analysing 1 Corinthians means to

grasp the theological principle on which the letter is based. It also means identifying the rhetorical structure of 1 Corinthians and confirming Paul's intentions through it. In other words, 1 Corinthians is a well-structured theological letter according to a rhetorical point of view, and its structure well represents Paul's theological intent.

Although he mentioned that by using the words of wisdom he would not preach the gospel (2:4), Paul did not hesitate to adopt rhetorical techniques in order to accomplish his purpose (Malcolm, 2016b:266). Paul intended to convey the message of the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ through rhetorical techniques (Ackerman, 2006:2; Naselli, 2018:109, 110). This is because the concepts are decisive for the maturity and unity of the Corinthians community. In this sense, it is clear that these are the core concepts of Paul (Rom. 1:3, 4) and prominent in 1 Corinthians (1 Cor. 1:17, 23; 2:2; 5:7; 6:11, 14, 20; 7:23; 11:24, 25; 15:1-58). However, in the perspective of restoration of the church, the emphasis is on the subject of the cross of Jesus Christ (Ackerman, 2015). Thus, the purpose of this part is to look at 1 Corinthians focusing on these two concepts, especially the cross of Jesus Christ.

4.2.1 Structural and thematic analysis of 1 Corinthians

Naselli (2018:98), after surveying hundreds of studies on 1 Corinthians, indicates that "relatively few of them agree on either the letter's precise structure or its theological message." Agreeing with the statement of Naselli, Malcolm (2016b:266, 267), nevertheless, concludes in his article that there exist general agreements among scholars in the arrangement and basic theme of 1 Corinthians.

One such point of agreement is that 1 Corinthians is a unified letter. For a time, 1 Corinthians had been regarded as the result of redaction or a collection of several documents. However, some researchers like Mitchell (1992) have proposed the unity of 1 Corinthians thematically and compositionally and have successfully proven it, so that 1 Corinthians tends now to be accepted or presupposed as a unitary document⁷. This implies that 1 Corinthians is Paul's letter reflecting his purpose very well in order to deliver specific message to the Corinthian believers rhetorically.

It has been argued by several scholars that 1 Corinthians was influenced by the rhetorical tradition of Greco-Roman culture (Mitchell, 1992) or that of the prophets of the Old Testament (Bailey, 2011). Although there are two viewpoints concerning the influence of rhetoric on Paul, there is agreement that 1 Corinthians is filled with a rhetorical purpose (Malcolm, 2016b:266). It indicates that, related to the topic of this thesis, Paul's tent-making references in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9 also form part of, and must be understood in the light of, his purpose for the Corinthians. The purpose

⁷ The following scholars agree with the argument: Hurd (1965), Murphy-O'Connor (1995), Smit Sibinga (1998), Smit (2002).

of 1 Corinthians as a unitary document might assist in answering the question regarding the ground motive of Paul's tent-making.

Before studying the text of 1 Corinthians, one needs to determine the overall message that Paul intended to deliver to the Corinthians through an analysis of the structure of the letter. Given the circumstances of the Corinthian church at the time when Paul wrote the letter, it should be understood that 1 Corinthians was presented as a solution to problems within the Corinthian church, as already mentioned above. The research on 1 Corinthians through the structural analysis of 1 Corinthians presumes that the structure of 1 Corinthians was influenced by Paul's purpose demonstrated in 1 Corinthians. In this part, Mitchell (1992), Ackerman (2006), and Bailey (2011) will be primarily treated in order to find significances indicated in the structure of 1 Corinthians.

According to Mitchell, 1 Corinthians is a written work reflecting Paul's intentions. In that sense, 1 Corinthians is not a collection of pieces but a unifying document replying a variety of themes. Her point of argument is as follows: "1 Corinthians is a single letter of unitary composition which contains a deliberative argument persuading the Christian community at Corinth to become reunified" (Mitchell, 1992:1). First of all, Mitchell argues that 1 Corinthians is similar to deliberate rhetoric indicated in the Greco-Roman rhetoric tradition, which means that 1 Corinthians include the elements of deliberative rhetoric such as time frame, appeal to advantage, use of example, and subjects of factionalism and concord (Mitchell, 1992:23). Secondly, on the basis of her argument that 1 Corinthians constitutes a form of deliberative rhetoric, Mitchell argues that 1 Corinthians' composition exhibits characteristic of deliberative rhetoric (Mitchell, 1992:186, 187), consisting of epistolary prescript (1:1-3), thanksgiving (1:4-9), body (1:10-15:58) and closing (16:1-24). Through elaborate analyses of the whole of 1 Corinthians, she proved that 1 Corinthians is a well-structured text containing Paul's intentions as it is (Watson, 1993:293). Additionally, Reno (2018:493) argues the close connection between 1 Corinthians 1-4 and 5 which have been regarded as having separate topics. Specifically, 1 Corinthians 5 exemplifies the topic of wisdom treated in 1 Corinthians 1-4. I have argued elsewhere that 1 Corinthians 7 and 8-10 share a common principle so that they might be included in the same unit while scholars have considered 1 Corinthians 7 as separate from 1 Corinthians 8-10 because they deal with different topics (Nam, 2017). The former deals with the issue of marriage and the latter does the issue of food offered to the idols. However, I explained that some topics such as serving others, lordship of Christ, and imitation of Paul based on the concept of discipleship provide strong evidence to make them one thematic unit (Nam, 2017:56-62). Accordingly, the structural and thematic unity of 1 Corinthians has been strengthened in diverse ways.

Ackerman (2006:1) considers the focus of 1 Corinthians as Paul's proposition to solve the problems of the Corinthian believers derived from their spiritual immaturity which is continuously

argued in the book. Because of their spiritual immaturity, they failed to maintain the relationship with not only the Lord but also their believing neighbours. Thus, Paul wrote the letter in order to restore the relationships with the Lord and others (Ackerman, 2006:161). For the purpose to solve the problems, Paul firstly indicates the divine mystery, which is represented with the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ (Ackerman, 2006:2). In other words, in order to resolve the troubles in the Corinthian community, Paul proposes his theological foundation in the first part of 1 Corinthians which he preached during his first visit to Corinth. Based on the theological foundation of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Paul attempts to solve the problems which he heard of or was informed of by a letter from the Corinthian believers (1 Cor. 1:11; 7:1; 11:18). In 1 Corinthians, the divine mystery representing the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ forms the framework of Paul's ideology to counter against the Corinthian believers' ideology which is identified with the boasting of their wisdom, knowledge, spiritual gifts, and authority, etc., using a perspective of time as follows:

His message of the divine mystery in Christ was revealed in the past through Christ's death on the cross and resurrection from the dead. Christ's death and resurrection brought the possibility of new life for believers marked by fellowship with Christ through the Holy Spirit. Christ conquered the power of sin and death through his resurrection. Believers participate in this victory, in part, in this life. When Christ comes again, believers will be resurrected, death will be defeated, and victory will be complete. Meanwhile, believers should live as holy people between the time of Christ's death and resurrection and his coming again (Ackerman, 2006:12).

The author also argues that the problems of the Corinthian community resulted from the influence of environmental elements in the Greco-Roman society (Ackerman, 2006:24, 134) since they failed to establish a definite boundary between them and the surrounding world (Ackerman, 2006:142), similar to the argument of Mitchell (1992:118). Their standard is fluid so that they are easily influenced from outside the church, resulting in not keeping to love and holiness for God and neighbours. Thus, in order to establish this boundary, Paul uses the kerygma of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ. As a result, the author regards the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ, which are primarily indicated in the first (1 Cor. 1-4) and last part (1 Cor. 15) of 1 Corinthians, as the central solution to the problems of the believers' spiritual immaturity, as well as the theological foundation of 1 Corinthians. Naselli (2018:110, 114) also agrees with the basic argument of Ackerman, insisting that 1 Corinthians consists of ten parallels and they are embraced with the concept of gospel. Malcolm (2016b:266) summaries that the studies in the structure and theme of 1 Corinthians has broad agreement that Paul's gospel is the solution in order to fulfil the unity of the church. In other words, the theme of Jesus' cross and resurrection is widely accepted as an essential focus of 1 Corinthians.

Bailey (2011:25, 52) says that 1 Corinthians is a well-organised and coherent document influenced by the Hebrew rhetorical style of the Old Testament prophets⁸. Therefore, he says that sequential reading is not enough to properly understand 1 Corinthians as a unitary document, so that it should be analysed with the assumption that 1 Corinthians is a rhetorical letter. Bailey understands the whole of 1 Corinthians as having a ring composition, or “chiasm”. He sees the entire 1 Corinthians as a unified letter composed in a single chiasm. However, because most researchers identify relatively short chiasms in the letter, Bailey is criticised that the application of a chiasm to this long text is not appropriate (Lee-Barnewall, 2012:623). Although there is criticism that Bailey’s chiasm takes an excessively subject view (Gupta, 2013:72), it is true that his analysis of such chiasm is helpful in coming to a unified understanding of 1 Corinthians.

Bailey (2011:25, 26) indicates that 1 Corinthians consists of “five carefully constructed essays” with the exception of greetings and ending remarks and these essays are composed of chiasms as follows:

1. The Cross and Christian Unity (1:5-4:16)
2. Men and Women in the Human Family (4:17-7:40)
3. Food Offered to Idols (Christian and pagan) (8:1-11:1)
4. Men and Women in Worship (11:2-14:40)
5. The Resurrection (15)

The five essays form the structure of A-B-C-B'-A', and the first and last essay encompass the other essays. Based on the Hebrew rhetorical style of the Old Testament prophets, the centre essay constitutes the climax (Bailey, 2011:292), which indicates the proper attitude of Christians in a pagan world. It implies that 1 Corinthians delivers the message of constructing a boundary to separate believers from the secular world, based on the gospel consisting of the cross and resurrection. In this sense, the encompassing essays indicating the gospel message are not of lesser importance than the center essay. Rather, it seems that Paul develops his essays upon the foundation of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

⁸ Ciampa and Rosner (2006:207) also argues that if one accepts that 1 Corinthians was influenced by the Old Testament and has a Jewish character, the structure and argument of 1 Corinthians become clarified. In this perspective, the Corinthian believers are “part of the fulfilment of the OT expectation of worldwide worship of the God of Israel, and as God’s eschatological temple they must act in a manner appropriate to their pure and holy status by shunning pagan vices and glorifying God as they reflect the lordship of Jesus Christ” (Ciampa & Rosner, 2006:218).

What is important to note based on the above is that 1 Corinthians is well-structured and unified and the predominant topic in 1 Corinthians is the gospel for the unity of the Corinthian church in trouble as Malcolm (2016b:266) summarises. This means that the concept of cross and resurrection serves as the core buttress of the whole of 1 Corinthians. Likewise Ackerman (2006:68, 159) sees it as a map or paradigm for believers, and it might be understood that the practical problems of the church could be resolved based on it.

In conclusion, it is noted that 1 Corinthians presents the cross of Jesus Christ as the key solution of various troubles within the church. And Paul does not only speak of the suffering of the cross, but also shows the glory of the resurrection (Naselli, 2018:109). 1 Corinthians is composed of the frame of the cross and resurrection in order to convey what Paul intends, locating them in the first and last part of 1 Corinthians. However, it is clear that the cross of Jesus Christ is Paul's solution to the problems presented in 1 Corinthians (McGrath, 1993:192). Thus, 1 Corinthians continuously deals with the topic of the cross of Jesus Christ directly or indirectly. Resurrection corresponds to the hope given to the Corinthian believers who should bear the cross for unity and purity of the community. Suffering for the sake of Christ and renunciation of a proper right for others might be endured by the hope of resurrection in future, which means that in quality the human body will be reconstituted to be proper for the divine presence through the Holy Spirit (Maston, 2016:538, 541).

4.2.2 Thematic analysis based on the concept of cross

If one recognises that 1 Corinthians is a unitary document both theologically and structurally, it is important to read 1 Corinthians within the concept of cross and resurrection which is widely accepted as an essential element of the letter (Naselli, 2018:110). However, I will argue that Paul proposes the idea of the cross of Jesus Christ as the ultimate remedy for the problems of the Corinthian church. In other words, Paul tends to focus on the concept of cross in order to maintain the unity and purity of the Corinthian community for the glory of God. The gospel consists of the cross and resurrection which is essential for Paul and play the role of interpretative frame for everything (Keck, 1984:231), but reckoning with the needs of the Corinthians, Paul needed to emphasise the cross rather than the resurrection. Spiritual immaturity of the Corinthian believers brought about arrogance, self-boasting, and lack of love for others (Ackerman, 2006:15). This caused the church to be in crisis. So, Paul realised that the concept of the cross as an antidote for the self-centred lifestyle is indispensable to the Corinthians who should have exhibited the attitude of self-sacrifice and renunciation of their proper rights.

The crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ are central to the New Testament. As the resurrection event is predicting the future judgment of death and the resurrection of the believers, the cross of Christ is a past event that corresponds to the foundation of the present faith. In this

sense, the message of the cross of Christ presents a standard for the life of the believers and should be understood as the basis upon which the believers must always remember.

The meaning of the cross of Jesus Christ is twofold. Firstly, it references salvation through self-sacrifice. The cross has been considered to be the exclusive ground of salvation, the starting point of Christian theology, and centre of Christian thought (McGrath, 1993:192, 193). In other words, “the word ‘cross’ was used as a summary description of the gospel of salvation, that Jesus Christ ‘died for our sins’” (Torrance, 1996:246). Secondly, it references the taking down of all walls. The meaning of the cross is not only sacrifice, but also a new relationship between God and people, as well as between persons (Phil. 1:27). It represents the origin of a new being, a new identity, and a new community in this new relationship. In this new relationship, the racial, hierarchical, sexual discrimination becomes meaningless (Gal. 3:28) (Punt, 2009:458). In that sense, the meaning of the cross should not be confined only to the relationship between God and people. In particular, Romans, Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians used to understand the cross of Jesus Christ by destroying the walls that existed between Jews and Gentiles, or the so-called the strong and the weak. In the first century Judaism, Deuteronomy 21:22, 23 was used to refer to the crucifixion (Green, 1993:199). The cross has negative perceptions (Torrance, 1996:246) as indicated in 1 Corinthians 1:18-25 and Galatians 3:13 as well as in secular writings (Kern, 2011:136). Yet, the crucified one meaning “the cursed one” in Deuteronomy became to be regarded as the “Anointed One” in Christianity and especially Paul emphasised this in his kerygmatic proclamation (1 Cor. 1:23; 2:2).

There are two reasons why Paul thought the cross to be essential in his life and writings (Punt, 2009:446). Firstly, it is because Paul met Jesus Christ, who suffered on the cross, on the way to Damascus (Rom. 1:4). Because of this encounter, his existing theological convictions changed. Secondly, in the Greco-Roman culture, the cross meant foolishness, as Paul indicates (1 Cor. 1:23). In the polytheistic context, the emphasis on and awareness of the immortality of the gods must have been strong. In such a situation, the Son of God’s death would have been hard to accept. So, in the circumstance the significance of the cross of Jesus Christ should have been necessarily emphasised. And the Corinthian believers especially needed the concept of cross while surrounded by a context which denied the significance of cross. Thus, Paul couldn’t help concentrating on the meaning of cross to persuade the Corinthian believers.

4.2.2.1 The true Wisdom of God demonstrated in the cross

According to Barram (2015:196-198), in 1 Corinthians Paul attempts to correct their distorted hermeneutic frame of wisdom, power, freedom, and knowledge. Instead, Paul emphasises the value of foolishness, weakness, slavery, and love. Especially, in 1 Corinthians 1-4, Paul primarily deals with the topic of wisdom because the Corinthian believers think it is valuable and yet it

causes conflicts within the community. Paul tries to change their hermeneutic frame of wisdom into that of foolishness and weakness representing the cross of Jesus Christ.

Paul was informed about the situation of the Corinthian church from Chloe's household (1:11). In the community, there were divisions named after leaders (1:12), suggesting that it was probably related to the problem of baptism (Pascuzzi, 2009:822) (1:13-16). Paul emphasised that the power of God appears on the cross of Christ, not the authority from humans, the rhetorical power, or the philosophical wisdom of the person who baptised, and that Paul was sent to preach the message of the gospel (1:17-18) (Smit, 2002:241). Those who believed Jesus Christ value the crucified Christ although Jews demand miracles and Greeks look for wisdom (1:23, 24). The cross of Jesus Christ meaning self-humility and sacrifice is essential to solve the great problem of boasting in human preachers arising from the Corinthian believers' pride and self-assurance. Also, the concept of the cross corresponds to God's plan to reverse the values of the world (1:26, 27). In other words, the cross discloses the weakness of the secular wisdom and strength of humanity (Ackerman, 2015:89)

Recalling the time when he founded the church in Corinth, Paul indicated that he focused on Jesus Christ and His crucifixion rather than relying on rhetoric or human wisdom when he preached the gospel (2:1, 2). For Paul, the situation in which the church was divided by the pride of the Corinthians' rhetorical skill or philosophical wisdom as emphasised in Greco-Roman culture, caused the manifestation and power of the Holy Spirit to be obscured (2:3-5). Referring to the wisdom of God, Paul criticises the believers who have been influenced by the rhetorical wisdom of Greek philosophy (Lioy, 2009:47). Contrary to the secular wisdom (2:6), Paul speaks of the wisdom of God as a mystery (2:7) representing the crucified Christ (Lang, 2016:89). The crucifixion of Christ occurred because of the wisdom of the world which the Corinthians value (2:8). The Corinthians chose the way of the world like the Roman emperor, symbolising secular power against God's wisdom demonstrated in the cross of Christ (Finney, 2005:30). The path of the cross cannot be detected by human wisdom (Lioy, 2009:36) and it is the true wisdom of God (Grindheim, 2002:696). In other words, "[t]he crucified Christ is the interpretative framework for making sense of God" (McGrath, 1993:194). Additionally, related to the Holy Spirit, Paul criticises that people who are dependent on the wisdom of the world have not received the Holy Spirit from God and have been in the flesh (2:14). Reliance on worldly wisdom does not grasp the true wisdom of God, meaning the cross that can only be discerned through the Holy Spirit.

Paul indicates that the Corinthians in conflict with pride in worldly wisdom are spiritually immature children (3:1, 2). He points out that they belong to the flesh without the true wisdom of God that the Holy Spirit makes known, the cross of Christ (3:3) (Harris, 2015:223). The worldly wisdom led the Corinthian believers to the divisions following specific leaders (3:4). However, the leaders are just stewards, planters, waterers and builders for the church of God (3:5-9). The only foundation

of the church is Jesus Christ (3:11). This means that the ministry and life of Jesus Christ, including his death on the cross, is the basic and essential condition for unifying the church (Togarasei, 2007:68). Therefore, disunity of believers corresponds to denying the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ as well as defiling the temple of God and the Holy Spirit (3:16, 17). The pride in worldly wisdom and excessive preference in specific leaders, causing the church to be divided, are foolish before God. Instead of it, Christians should seek the true wisdom of God demonstrated in the message of the cross (3:18-23).

Paul criticises the Corinthians' pride and boasting, radically contrasting himself and the Corinthian believers (4:6, 7). Paul means that "the Corinthians are convinced that they already have part in God's sovereignty" (4:8) (Conzelmann, 1975:87, 88). Paul intends that it is not the time of glory, but that of suffering and the cross (Thiselton, 2000:367; Kern, 2011:152). In other words, "Paul is convinced that being united with Christ's crucifixion means not immediate glorification but suffering for the believers in this interim period" (Segal, 1990:68). So, Paul intentionally contrasts himself with the Corinthian church through a list of his own afflictions in 4:11-13 (Fee, 2014:194). The Corinthians have already become rich and powerful (4: 8). On the contrary, Paul the apostle of Christ suffered tribulations as Christ suffered on the cross (4:9-13) (Asano, 2016:20). The Corinthians' pride and arrogance based on premature triumphalism (Malcolm, 2016a:124), namely their erroneous eschatology which recognises only a present reality of the kingdom of God but excludes a future hope of resurrection (Fee, 2014:189), seems to be a summary of the problems in the whole of 1 Corinthians. In that sense, the message of the cross of Christ against their arrogance plays an important role in solving the problems throughout the whole of 1 Corinthians

Paul wants the Corinthians to leave the immature and fleshly life that boast their leaders and cause the division of the church. Paul chooses rather to follow the way of the cross revealing the true wisdom of God. Thus, Paul requests them to imitate himself (4:16). The way of the cross that Paul chose to follow is the correct way to restore the Corinthian church in trouble, to live in the eschatological era and to demonstrate the power of the kingdom of God (4:20).

4.2.2.2 Boundaries made by the cross between the believers and the world

In the Greco-Roman society, those who believed Jesus Christ endured antagonism from outsiders when he/she became a member of a new family (Trebilco, 2013:39). Ackerman (2015:87) indicates as follows:

The early Christians came from different group associations. For Gentile believers, their new faith in Christ required removing themselves from many of the social, religious, and political voluntary associations found in the Roman Empire. The church provided a new association with new identities, forming a new social unit (Eph. 4:17-24).

In this sense, the new community of Christianity needed boundaries between themselves and outsiders, and Paul deals with these boundaries in 1 Corinthians. This means that the Corinthian believers already failed to follow the cross of Jesus Christ instead of embodying the attitude of the cross (Noakes-Duncan, 2017:201).

Reno (2018:511) argues that Paul primarily denounces the behaviour of the Corinthians who tolerate immorality within the church rather than the one who committed immorality in 1 Corinthians 5. If it is accepted, 1 Corinthians 5 as a test case of 1 Corinthians 1-4 disapproves the arrogant Corinthians preferring human wisdom (Reno, 2018:493). Paul urges the Corinthians not to deteriorate the community by allowing some old leaven of immorality. For this, it is necessary to throw away those who commit fornication when one gets rid of the old leaven (5:2, 6-8). Likewise, the church must judge immorality, greed, idolatry, insults, drunkenness, and deceits (5:11). All of this is based on the significance of Christ's crucifixion. Firstly, the church was created by the Christ event. Therefore, the church should not tolerate sinful acts that are contrary to the meaning of the Christ event. Secondly, the cross, the symbol of shame, is the tool of the recovery between God and sinners. Likewise, it is not the purpose of shame for the church to give shame to the believers who have sinned, but the repentance through shame and the return to community (Ackerman, 2015:83, 88-90).

Stating that 1 Corinthians 6:1-8 should be understood in conjunction with 6:9-11, Peppard (2014:192) argues that Paul means that Christians should not be sinners (6:9, 10) among the newly formed family members. If they do so, they will be deprived of inheritance of the kingdom of God as greedy brothers are disinherited in real life at that time. According to López (2007:73), Paul intends to exhort the Corinthians who were saved by the ministry of Jesus Christ that they should not be guilty of such sin before being saved. And in 1 Corinthians 6 there are many references to the term "body", where the concept must be understood as both personal and communal (Gupta, 2010:536), which emphasises not only personal cleansing but also the unity and cleansing of the church. In the discussion in 1 Corinthians 6, salvation through Christ's crucifixion is the actual foundation. Firstly, Paul encourages those who do injustice in the church, to refrain from doing so, reminding them that they have already been washed, sanctified and justified in the name of the Lord and in the Holy Spirit (6:11). Secondly, the body containing both personal and communal aspects should be used for the purpose of glorifying God because it was bought by Christ's sacrifice on the cross (6:20) (Bailey, 2011:188).

Looking at 1 Corinthians 7⁹ from the perspective of the unity and purity of the church, it shows that there are sects in the Corinthian church centring on the issue of sexuality. 1 Corinthians 7

⁹ 1 Corinthians 7 deals mainly with the issue of marriage. Most understand it as an independent pericope belonging to Paul's answer to the Corinthian letter (7:1). However, it is also regarded as a part linked

consists of Paul's teachings about those who advocate asceticism in various controversies on marriage (7:1-24) including instructions in situations that may arise in the Gentile culture (7:12-17), and counsel to virgins and widows (7:25-40), and the crucifixion of Christ is at the root of the counsel of 1 Corinthians 7 although it is not overly emphasised in 1 Corinthians 7. Firstly, Paul's instruction is based on the standard of not sinning. In the exhortation of the sexual relations of the couple, Paul has the purpose of avoiding fornication (7:2) and of urging believers not to give into temptation (7:5). Secondly, Paul's teaching is based on the Christian's new identity because of Christ's act of salvation. In the matter of an unbelieving spouse, Paul addresses the problem of salvation of the unbelieving spouse as the proper goal of the believer (7:12-16), and the counsel to stay as they are called is also based on the new identity through the Christ event (7:17-24). Furthermore, the marriage of the Christians has been different from that of the unbelievers. In other words, the purpose of the Christian marriage has turned into a service to the Lord (7:32-35; 39, 40). Thirdly, in the matter of marriage Paul bears in mind the end goal that the cross of Christ provoked. Christians are moving toward the end goal that will be fulfilled through the resurrection of the believers. In this sense, Christians should live their lives bearing in mind the end, and it is the same in marriage (7:25-31; 36-38) (Hays, 1997:129).

4.2.2.3 Building up the church by the renunciation of one's own right, signifying the cross

The issue of food offered to idols¹⁰ is one of the major problems that caused the Corinthian church to be divided. To the church seriously divided because of idol-offered food, Paul argues that love is more important than γνώσις (8:1). Even theological knowledge (8:4-6) is not given to every believer, so that those who have such knowledge should be cautious of causing the weak to stumble (8:7-10). Knowledge without love is fatal enough to destroy the brother whom Christ died for (8:11, 12). Therefore for Paul it is worth giving up even his legitimate ἐξουσία for a brother (8:13). Paul's purpose is to persuade the strong assuring their knowledge to abandon their proper right for the sake of others as Jesus did.

For this, Paul shows an example of renunciation of his right to be provided for (1 Cor. 9). His right to be funded as an apostle who has seen the resurrected Christ and has founded the Corinthian church (9:1-6) is guaranteed by common practice, the Old Testament and Jesus Christ Himself (9:7-14), but he gave up his right for the sake of others' salvation (9:15-22).

with chapter 8-10 (Nam, 2017:70, 71), and it could be understood in conjunction with 1 Corinthians 5 and 6 because it is related to the sexual problem (Ackerman, 2006:112-114; Marshall, 2015:842).

¹⁰ According to Patterson (2015:130), the issue of food offered to an idol can be categorised into defilement from outside demonstrated in 4.2.2.2. Even if it seems plausible, it is hard to accept her opinion. This is because the crucial point is the conflict between the strong and weak inside the community, although the source of the conflict is certainly from outside.

It is based on the conviction that in certain situations even practices that can be justified and legitimated by unquestionable theological principles should be renounced out of concern for others, a concern rooted in an orientation to the interests of the other which for Paul is essentially an imitation of Christ (Horrell, 1997:105).

The imitation of Christ indicates humility and self-sacrifice for others representing the attitude of the cross. For this purpose, he is prepared to endure and have self-control (9:24-27) (Plummer, 2001:227). As Jesus Christ sacrificed on the cross for others, the Corinthians should be cautious of exercising their right and rather forgo to eat food offered to idols for the weak brothers in order to obtain the imperishable wreath (9:25).

Contrary to Paul's positive example in 1 Corinthians 9, the Israelites who were delivered from Egypt were destroyed in the wilderness by idolatry (10:1-11). Through the negative example, Paul indicates that the strong should take care that the weak do not fall into the sin of idolatry because idolatry is a great sin before God (10:12-31). This means that the strong believers are required to take a humble attitude to forgo their right. Such an attitude should be applied to everything that believers do for the glory of God (10:31) which used to be considered as the ultimate topic in 1 Corinthians (Ciampa & Rosner, 2006:214). Like this, Christians should seek their benefits not for their own benefit but for the salvation of others, not becoming a stumbling block of the gospel (10:32, 33). The basic message in the matter of eating idol food is Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Love takes priority over knowledge. Knowledge, the source of the pride of the Corinthians, on the one hand, gives the theological legitimacy of eating food offered to an idol, but on the other hand, it breaks another commandment of love of neighbours. The believers should imitate the love of Christ who died for brothers (11:1).

For Paul, *"the concern for others is the starting point of his theology. And this theology is derived from Christ himself and the gospel of Christ crucified"* (Butarbutar, 2007:120) (*Italic is original*). It means that Paul's self-sacrificial attitude of giving up his right resembles the crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

4.2.2.4 Unity based on the concept of the cross in the worship act

In the worship meeting, the Corinthian church experienced some problems. It was a matter of head covering regarding gender distinctions and sacrament (1 Cor. 11). The head covering problem was caused by the Corinthians' misunderstanding of Paul's earlier teachings, according to Hays (1997:182). It is also argued that the problem derived from the misunderstanding of human creation in Genesis (Jervis, 1993:238-242). In any case, Paul attempts to correct the error in his letter to the Corinthian church. The Corinthians seem to have misapplied Paul's instruction that there is no distinction in Christ (cf. Gal. 3:28). Their understanding is that Paul's teaching even invalidates the differences in a cultural situation and the order of creation. Rather, Paul

teaches that there is no discrimination, but that the differences should be respected (Murphy-O'Connor, 1980:499; Marshall, 1987:135), which means that “[t]here is mutual dependence and no hierarchy” in the community (Ackerman, 2006:125). In this part, the term “in the Lord” delivers the essential message. There is a distinction of gender between man and woman, but it is common that they are from God and are in the Lord (11:11, 12). “What Paul wants his readers to know is that the unity of man and woman in Christ does not obliterate the diversity of the sexes, but rather establishes it in all of its glory” (Jervis, 1993:246).

Paul also refers to the issue of the Lord’s Supper, pointing out that there is a conflict when the believers meet (11:17-20). It is difficult to ascertain exactly what dispute caused the problem, but it seems that there was a problem with eating food in the Lord’s Supper (11:20-22). In the Lord’s Supper in the Corinthian church, some people ate enough, and others did not (11:21). For this reason, this is a favoured text of researchers who support the claim that the members of the Corinthian church have socio-economic class differences (Theissen, 1982:145-163). The studies and their insights are varied, but what is important is that the church was divided even in the moment of the sacramental meal indicating the cross of Christ (11:23-26). Paul warns them that those who eat and drink in the Lord’s Supper in an unworthy manner will be guilty of the body and blood of Jesus Christ (11:27). When believers in the Lord’s Supper commemorates the cross of Jesus Christ, they should look after themselves and then participate in the Lord’s Supper (11:28). In other words, they should judge the body of the Lord rightly when they eat and drink (11:29), which means that believers must seek the unity and purity of the community in the Lord’s Supper; therefore, to eradicate discrimination and barriers that may arise in the Lord’s Supper and to care for and help other believers correspond to eating and drinking worthily the Lord’s Supper.

Not only in the Eucharist, abundant spiritual gifts (1:7) seem to have caused disruption in the worship of the Corinthian church (12-14). Perhaps people seemed to set a hierarchy among spiritual gifts, and the indiscreet use of gifts might cause confusion in worship meetings. So, Paul teaches that although the subject of the gift is the Holy Spirit, the appearance of the gift is manifold in the church (12:4-6, 8-10). The various gifts are for the benefit of the church (12:7). Paul likens the church to the body (12:12) covering everything. Just as one body has various parts, one church consists of the various members with diverse gifts (12:14-27). The lesson of one body is that Christians should seek no dispute and take care of one another (12:25). The purpose of the gifts which one and only Spirit distributes is to serve the church community, but there is no purpose to determine its superiority (12:11, 29, 30). The usage of gifts follows the principle of service and sacrifice demonstrated in the cross of Jesus Christ. This principle is taught in detail in 1 Corinthians 13 through the theme of love which is the quality that makes “the restoration of peaceful relations possible” (Noakes-Duncan, 2017:206) as the cross of Jesus Christ did.

After referring to love as the guideline of using gifts (Noakes-Duncan, 2017:208), 1 Corinthians 14 focuses especially on the gifts of prophecy and tongues. As Paul did in 1 Corinthians 12, it is clear that the use of the gifts has as its purpose of building up the church community (14:19, 27-33). Believers, who became the same because of Christ's salvation ministry, should not forget the purpose of the church when they meet to worship. The lesson of the cross, namely loving one another, must always dominate the church meetings (Jervis, 1995:72, 73).

4.2.2.5 Resurrection, the ultimate hope of the believers who still bear the cross

Some of the Corinthians seemed to have doubts about the bodily resurrection of the dead (15:12) or they were not interested in the resurrection because they believed they already reigned as kings (4:8) (Malcolm, 2016a:122). Paul teaches that the death and resurrection of Christ assures the resurrection of the believers. Christ's death and resurrection is not the end, but those who believe in Christ will be resurrected from the dead. The Corinthians were mistaken in their over-realised eschatology, which can also be called "premature triumphalism" (Malcolm, 2016a:118). They have not already become perfect (cf. Phil. 3:12) but should wait for the abolition of death as the last enemy (15:26) until Christ returns and He destroys all rule and all authority and power and devotes the kingdom to God the Father (15:24). When Jesus Christ, who was resurrected and exalted, returns and destroys death, those who are Christ's will be resurrected (15:23) (Martini, 2011:70). As those who wait for the end, the Corinthians must live the proper life of believers (15:34). Through the ministry of the cross and resurrection, Jesus Christ as the last Adam became a life-giving spirit (15:45). In other words, since the resurrection will surely be, the Corinthians must now be firm and steadfast in the principles of the cross and should always be more committed to the work of the Lord (15:58).

Thus it is noted that throughout 1 Corinthians Paul attempts to solve the problems of the unity and purity of the Corinthian church by relying on the principle of the cross, as Brown (1996:435) states:

...in 1 Corinthians, possession of the consciously *cruciform* mind is what makes possible the unity Paul calls for in 1:10, the mindful servanthood outlined in chapters 3-4, the recognition that the body is the Lord's in 6:19-20, and the mindfulness of prayer and praise to which he appeals in chapter 14. Here at last is the most explicit link of the discourse between transformed perception and transformed behavior (*Italic is mine*).

4.2.3 Conclusion

1 Corinthians follows the structure of Christ's cross and resurrection, namely the message of the gospel (1 Cor. 15:3, 4), and consequently Paul must have thought that the principle of the cross is the key to achieving the unity and purity of the Corinthian church. Unlike Chapters 1-4, where

direct emphasis is placed on the cross of Christ, the rest including 1 Corinthians 11: 1 and 1 Corinthians 13 reminds us of the cross of Christ through the emphasis on the attitude of self-sacrifice. In the whole of 1 Corinthians, Paul urges the Corinthians to follow the principle of the cross in order to solve various problems of the Corinthian church. By presenting the resurrection issue in the last (1 Cor. 15) and by encouraging the believers at the end of the issue (15:58), Paul clearly reveals the structure and purpose of the entire book of 1 Corinthians: *The Corinthian church must live a life that conforms to the principle of the cross, not its own wisdom, strength, wealth, and so on. The principle requires the attitude of self-sacrifice and is not an easy way because it needs necessarily to give up proper rights for the sake of others. But Christians should know that in the end of self-sacrificial life, the glory of resurrection awaits.* Paul is closing the exhortation to unity and purity toward the Corinthians by presenting such hope at the end of 1 Corinthians. In other words, the Corinthian believers in dispute must be united in the principle of the cross of Christ, expecting the hope of resurrection.

4.3 The role of Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians

Reference is made to Paul's manual labour in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9. In this section, the meaning and role of Paul's tent-making will be examined within the broad outline of the letter.

4.3.1 Paul's tent-making 1 Corinthians 4: The image of suffering

1 Corinthians 1:10 is, as many scholars agree (Mitchell, 1992:1; Witherington, 1995:94; Malcolm, 2016b:259), one of the thematic verses covering the whole of 1 Corinthians. If accepted, it must be recognised that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians to assist the divided Corinthian church to become united. As already mentioned, the Corinthian church had many problems because of the conflicts within the church, and especially 1 Corinthians 1:11-3:23 suggest that there was a dispute over the topic of wisdom. According to Gardner (2018:80), commentators since the 4th century A.D. tried to identify that some Corinthians might be influenced by Apollos' ministry (Acts 18:24-28), so that they pursued the rhetorical wisdom of Greek philosophy. For them, it was important to communicate effectively messages with the wisdom of words. However, Paul emphasises that such efforts are void, and that the true power of God derives from the knowledge of the cross through the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:1-9).

Also, the act of boasting each leader and causing conflicts is not true wisdom. Beginning with 1 Corinthians 4:6, Paul's discussion of divisions after specific leaders reaches its peak. Paul criticises that the way of life chosen by the Corinthians is utterly wrong, and the proof lies in the contrast between Paul's way of life and theirs. The Corinthians "are already filled", "have already become rich", and "have become kings" (4:8). This points to the Corinthians' wealth in rhetoric,

knowledge, and gifts (1:5, 7). They were sensitive to wisdom (1:18-25; 3:18-23), had sufficient theological knowledge (8:1-13), and received various gifts of the Holy Spirit to the extent that they argued over the gifts in the church meetings (1 Cor. 12, 14). These elements would have been enough to make them feel victorious. The victory they felt was different from the victory on the cross. The victory on the cross was Jesus' victory over all sin and barriers, but the victory of the Corinthians was their own and premature. Their victory was not for the marginalised, the weak, and the poor church members.

In the end, the Corinthian church was bound to suffer conflicts because the victory of Christ had been replaced by the premature triumph of the Corinthians. For Paul, this is the problem of the Corinthian church. Thus he asks the Christians in Corinth to pursue Christ's victory on the cross to the end. Paul illuminated it with his own situation (4:11-13), choosing to suffer according to the way of Christ in stark contrast to the situation of the Corinthians (Marshall, 1987:167). In particular, Paul suffered from the missionary's pain in the preaching of the gospel of Christ (Fee, 2014:194) as well as the economic difficulties associated with manual labour.

Firstly, Paul suffered from the consequences of preaching the gospel of Christ. 1 Corinthians 4:12b deals with persecution that the believers in the early church could face (Matt. 5:44; Rom. 12:14, 20) (Conzelmann, 1975:89). Considering that Paul persecuted the Christians before his conversion (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:88, 89), it is not surprising that Paul himself was persecuted for the same reason. And in the missionary journey, he experienced various sufferings (2 Cor. 11:24) (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:130-132). Because of his ministry to the Gentiles, Paul as a Jew would have suffered from conflicts between Jews and Gentiles (cf. Gal. 2:11-14) (Theissen, 1982:104). Paul's conversion would also have caused economic difficulties. According to Davis (2017:222), Paul received letters from the high priest and the elders in Jerusalem (Acts 22:5) and the letters "probably functioned not only as letters of introduction to the Jewish community but, more importantly, they could have functioned as letters of credit for Paul that he could use to draw on resources of the local Jewish community for his upkeep." His conversion ended the support from the Jewish community, and he might have experienced financial difficulties. Of course, Ananias and his fellow Christians could have provided assistance initially, but the financial capacity of the persecuted community would not have been so great as to support him fully.

Secondly, Paul suffered because of his manual labour. "Like any artisan Paul would have worked long and hard" (Hock, 1980:35). In Judaism night-time was considered time to rest (Tromp, 2008:364-368). In this sense, Paul's testimony that he worked both night and day (1 Thess. 2:9) means that he renounced even his time of rest. Paul worked so hard, yet he could not escape poverty (1 Cor. 4:11; 2 Cor. 6:5, 11:9, 27; Phil. 4:12). Additionally, Hock (1978:560, 564) considers Paul as a member of the elite class (Malherbe, 1983:77) and at that time manual labour was

despised as slavish or unnecessary (Hock, 1980:35, 36). Not only that, manual labourer was regarded as the domain of the uneducated and lacking in virtue because labourers did not have enough time to help someone and thus develop their own virtue (Hock, 1980:36). Thus, “artisans generally and Paul in particular could not avoid experiencing the hostility and contempt directed toward them by representatives of the dominant ethos” (Hock, 1980:35).

In this kind of sufferings, Paul considers himself like περικαθάρματα of the world and περίφημα of all things (4:13). Asano (2016:27) argues that the two words περικαθάρματα and περίφημα are used as synonyms in 1 Corinthians 4:13 “as a symbol of the adverse circumstances experienced by faithful followers of Christ.” The sufferings Paul mentions in 1 Corinthians 4 can be seen to be comparable to Christ’s suffering on the cross.

Paul’s point is singular. In contrast to the Corinthians, who are “filled, rich, ruling, wise, powerful, honored,” he and his fellow apostles look far more like their Lord, who fits well the picture of Isa. 53:2b-3: “He had no beauty or majesty to attract us to him, nothing in his appearance that we should desire him. He was despised and rejected by men, a man of sorrows and familiar with suffering. Like one from whom men hide their faces, he was despised and we esteemed him not.” (Fee, 2014:197)

As Fee said above, in 1 Corinthians 4, Paul contrasts sharply himself with the Corinthians and emphasises that the suffering he experiences is the proper stance of a disciple of Christ crucified (Fee, 2014:195). In other words, Paul points out the wrong attitude of the Corinthian church and uses the example of his hardships to correct them (Horrell, 2009:600). And his example of manual labour is used to indicate that his suffering is the way of the cross, similar to the suffering of Christ. Paul knew that the Corinthians had to leave behind their pride and follow the way of the humble Christ. For this purpose, the Corinthians must follow the example of Paul walking the path of the crucified one (4:16).

4.3.2 Paul’s tent-making 1 Corinthians 9: Renunciation of proper rights

1 Corinthians 9 speaks of the issue of food offered to the idols. Paul seems to suddenly change the subject in 1 Corinthians 9 when dealing with the problem of idol food. But he presents the example of tent-making and refusing support as renunciation of his proper right, indicating that the appropriate way for Christians is to deny the right to eat idol food for the sake of the weak members. His refusal of support and tent-making ministry removed obstacles in preaching the gospel (9:12b) and became a strong example to the Corinthian believers in the conflict regarding the issue of food offered to idols (11:1).

Having recognised himself as an apostle and a founder of the Corinthians church (9:1, 2), Paul might reply the Corinthians’ complaint that the reason why Paul laboured manually and did not

accept financial support as other missionaries did (9:3-12) (Barnett, 2011:148). Paul had the privilege of receiving financial support including eating (9:4), taking a believing wife along on a journey (9:5), and not working for a livelihood (9:6). Here Paul implies that he denied financial support and rather laboured manually (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:50). In this sense, in 1 Corinthians 9, Paul's refusal of financial support is closely related to Paul's tent-making. In other words, the reason why Paul refused the financial support from the Corinthian church overlapped with the reason for tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9. Paul states that self-support is contrary to common sense (9:7), and the Old Testament recognised the right to be provided for (9:8) (Deut. 25:4). Additionally, Paul as the founder and spiritual father of the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4:15) is fully worthy of being supported by them (9:12a)¹¹. But Paul refuses to exercise his rights for the sake of the gospel (9:12b), although refusing the right equated to a form of insult at that time (Marshall, 1987:17, 18, 177).

In the case of 1 Corinthians 9:12b, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the sentence when a researcher focuses on only the verse since it is abstract. So it is necessary to check the context of the verse (Hafemann, 2000:134). Most scholars agree that 1 Corinthians 9:15-18 should be considered in order to understand 1 Corinthians 9:12b (Grosheide, 1953:208). Giving no hindrance to the gospel of Christ means to proclaim the gospel without charge to show the free nature of the gospel (Fee, 2014:454). However, if the context of 1 Corinthians 9:12b is extended to 1 Corinthians 8:1-11:1, not just 1 Corinthians 9, the meaning of giving no hindrance to the gospel of Christ can indicate the message to those who are strong in the specific issue of the food offered to idols. In other words, the hindrance to the gospel of Christ is applicable to the wrong attitude of the strong who do not show proper concern for the weak co-believers. By extending the context, the meaning of 1 Corinthians 9:12b may show more variations or become more concrete. In this sense, it is needed to adopt diverse contexts of 1 Corinthians 9:12b. For example, 1 Corinthians 9:12b can be placed in the context of Paul's reply to the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 7-15). Not only that, the whole text of 1 Corinthians also can become the context of 1 Corinthians 9:12b to discover other significances of the meaning. When one takes the whole text of 1 Corinthians as a context, he/she may recognise that Paul's tent-making can be understood in terms of the cross, demonstrated in the analyses of 1 Corinthians (4.2.2).

The custom of sharing the sacrificial food and Jesus Christ's instruction also buttress Paul's right to be supported financially (9:13-15). 1 Corinthians 9:15-18 seems to explain 1 Corinthians 9:12b in more detail, which is why Paul did not exercise that right, despite his right to be provided for being appropriate in many cases. This could be said to be very important in explaining the ground motive for Paul's tent-making with 1 Corinthians 9:12b. This is because the reason for Paul's tent-

¹¹ Paul's Jewish background including Pharisee training also recognises the legitimacy of accepting support from followers (Verbrugge & Krell, 2015:52)

making is related to the gospel. Paul considers his own tent-making custom as slavish (9:19). And the reason why Paul, who does not seem to be from the lower class, does this hard work is to save more people. And this is his principle in the missionary work. In order to save others, he can adapt to any form, position, or situation (9:20-22). In this viewpoint, Paul's tent-making may also be understood as one of the tools Paul used for the salvation of others. Paul can endure the difficulties like manual labour for the sake of the clear goal of salvation (9:24-27). In the case of Valentine (2014), one can see this part in the context of self-control by connecting 1 Corinthians 10:1-13 to 1 Corinthians 9. This emphasises the need to abandon rights and make sacrifices for the sake of salvation, which is similar to the context of Paul's tent-making.

Among his writings, 1 Corinthians 9 is the longest and most detailed account in which Paul refers to his manual labour. It might be argued that in 1 Corinthians 9 Paul implies the ground motive of his tent-making, despite his proper right to be provided for and his resulting conflict with the Corinthian believers. The ground motive is the relation of Paul's viewpoint with the gospel. It is true that the topic of tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9 is influenced by the context of the issue of idol food, but its connection with the gospel (9:12b) governs Paul's whole life, pointing to an essential element beyond the specific issue.

Paul uses the same formulation to describe love in 13:7 that he uses to describe his own practice of self-support in 9:12: love "endures all things." *For Paul intends his own example of self-support to be seen as an embodiment of that same Christian principle of love which he is admonishing the Corinthians to follow.* It thus becomes crucial for understanding Paul's apostolic self-conception, as well as for understanding his ethical admonitions in general, to realize that Paul saw his own decision to "become all things to all men" (9:22) to be an extension of the basic ethical principle, "Let no one seek his own (good), but that of his neighbor" (10:24) (Hafemann, 2000:135) (*Italic is mine*).

As Hafemann stated, Paul's tent-making is associated with love, which is the right attitude of Christians as Paul's purpose in 1 Corinthians. And it is an embodiment of the principle of love that Christians must follow. In other words, Paul's tent-making represents the love that the cross of Jesus Christ represents as Paul intended to deliver the message through 1 Corinthians.

To sum up, Paul wanted the Corinthian believers to have an attitude of love and self-sacrifice. His manual labour in 1 Corinthians 9 corresponds to the example that encourages the Corinthians to be willing to give up their rights. In this sense, Paul's tent-making can be understood as representing love and self-sacrifice, which is an embodiment of the cross of Jesus Christ.

4.4 Understanding of μιμητής

The command to imitate and follow Jesus Christ is prevalent in the New Testament¹², and it is thus impossible to deal with all the occurrences in this study.

The word μιμητής in 1 Corinthians 4:16 and 1 Corinthians 11:1 plays a significant role in conveying Paul's message. The word functions in presenting the principle to solve problems concerning the issue of wisdom and food offered to idols. The theme of the two pericopes of 1 Corinthians 1:10-4:21 and 8:1-11:1 is about a proper Christian attitude which should guide the Corinthian believers in their conflicts. Furthermore, the two pericopes include Paul's tent-making as mentioned above. Paul's tent-making references in the two chapters seem to indicate a similar significance, although 1 Corinthians 4 deals with the topic very briefly and 1 Corinthians 9 more elaborately. In this sense, it is necessary to look at the key word, μιμητής in these two pericopes.

The traditional μιμητής research has had a tendency to be limited to the study of the meaning, usage and function of the word (Cable, 2016:106, 107)¹³, including the relationship with μαθητής which has been regarded as a version of μιμητής in the Gospels. Stanley (1959) researched characteristics of Paul's imitation, analysing the biblical texts regarding μιμητής. For him, a distinguishing feature of the imitation of Paul is mediation between the Lord and the believers (Stanley, 1959:877). As a further distinctive point in his argument, he is of the opinion that the imitation plays a significant role in transmitting the apostolic tradition (Stanley, 1959:874).

De Boer (1962) indicates in the introduction of his book that “[a]ll of Christendom has heard of the imitation of Christ. Few within Christendom have heard much of the imitation of Paul.” Thus, he attempted to answer the question: “What does Paul have in mind in speaking of the imitation of himself?” (De Boer, 1962:211). For this, he researched how Paul used the words such as μιμέομαι and τύπος in the biblical texts regarding μιμητής, and how the words were used in the surrounding cultures at that time. Through his research, it is noted that the imitation of Paul sought maturity of

¹² Firstly, the derivatives of ἀκολουθέω referencing the pursuit of the way of Jesus Christ (rather than physically movement) are as follows: Matt. 8:22; 9:9; 10:38; 16:24; 19:21; Mk. 2:14; 8:34; 10:21; Lk. 5:27; 9:23, 59; 18:22; Jn. 1:43; 12:26; 21:19, 22. Secondly, the derivatives of μιμέομαι are as follows: 1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Eph. 5:1; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9; 3 Jn. 11; Heb. 13:7. Among them, 1 Corinthians 11:1 and 1 Thessalonians 1:6 refer to Jesus Christ as the objective of imitation. The rest of the verses indicate other objectives of imitation such as Paul (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; 1), missionaries including Paul (1 Thess. 1:6; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9), God's churches in Judea (1 Thess. 2:14), God (Eph. 5:1), what is good (3 Jn. 11), and church leaders (Heb. 13:7). Although they do not deal with directly the imitation of Jesus Christ, the verses seem to point to the same imitation of Jesus Christ. What is interesting is that ἀκολουθέω occurs intensively in the Gospels and μιμέομαι primarily occurs in the Pauline letters.

¹³ According to Cable, research in the function of μιμητής primarily consist of discussions of authority and example.

believers (1 Thess. 1:6) as well as mediation of the imitation of Christ (1 Cor. 11:1) (De Boer, 1962:215, 216).

Clarke (1998:359, 360) explains Paul's role models of leadership and he expected Christians to do so. According to him, in Pauline letters, the models of leadership indicated three perspectives. The role models are Christ, Paul himself, and the leaders instructed by Paul who would direct other believers. It implies that Jesus Christ is not the only role model. It is true that Jesus Christ is the ultimate goal of believers, but they require some interim stages to approach the goal. Hence Paul himself became one of the role models, as well as the leaders he equipped. One important aspect to note is that the believers should also become examples for immature believers, although they were themselves required to keep imitating appropriate examples (1 Thess. 1:7).

Ehrensperger (2003) discusses the characteristics of Paul's use of the language of imitation. As a conclusion, Ehrensperger (2003:258) argues as follows:

imitation language rather than being an instrument of domination and control serves as a means to guide members of the Christ believing movement into life in Christ; this implies a deconstruction of the thought and value system of the dominant Greco-Roman society.

In other words, although the concept of imitation veers towards the formation of hierarchy, the goal of the hierarchy described in the imitation is different from that of secular society, and even protests against it.

Copan (2007) explains how the two words μιμητής and μαθητής have been compared, analysing the biblical texts including Christian texts in history. Through the research, he concludes that the two words have not been understood as having the same meaning, although they share some points of commonality (Copan, 2007:322, 323).

Bolt (2013:22) explains the function of μιμητής which plays the role of bridging the gap between "the spiritual kingdom and the earthly kingdom", playing a mediating role. This is because "[t]he imitation of Christ is not seen as providing the content of the life of discipleship but its core, its heart" (Bolt, 2013:29). Thus there is a need for someone to provide concrete content to the imitation of Christ.

Johnson (2013) takes the Trinity as the object of imitation. He argues that the Bible shows the three contents of imitation of the Trinity. These are "(communicable attributes) of the triune God", "aspects of the conduct of the triune God in the economy of salvation", and "the humble, self-sacrificing life of the incarnate Christ" (Johnson, 2013:334). As a result, he concludes that "imitation of the Trinity (imitatio trinitatis) ultimately takes the form of the imitation of Christ (imitatio

Christi) and is empowered by the redemptive work of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit” (Johnson, 2013:334). The imitation of Christ is just available based on the work of the triune God.

Through the research mentioned above, it is noted that the word μιμητής has been mainly studied in terms of its meaning, function and usage. It is meaningful that the research makes Christians realise what the proper attitude of believers in faith is. Here several questions arise: Why did Paul choose to use the word μιμητής? What was the background against which Paul decided to use the word? As Paul did not indicate this explicitly in his letters, this study will focus on finding the answer through analysis of and reasoning based on the available evidence in Paul’s letters. A threefold approach will be followed: firstly, the meaning of μιμητής will be studied. Secondly, the texts regarding μιμητής will be analysed in order to determine the specific characteristics of the word in its New Testament contexts. Based on the results of the research, the reason why Paul used the word μιμητής in his letters will be deduced.

4.4.1 Word study of μιμητής¹⁴

The word study of μιμητής will be approached both synchronically and diachronically (Van Rensburg, Fika & De Klerk. Ben, 2015:158-171), supplementing one another in determining meaning. Additionally, the research on μιμητής will be concluded with the analysis of texts regarding μιμητής in the New Testament.

4.4.1.1 Synchronic word study of μιμητής

The lexicon of Louw and Nida (1988) based on semantic domains will be primarily used for the synchronic word study. Nida (1975:32) indicates that:

To determine the linguistic meaning of any form contrasts must be found, for there is no meaning apart from significant differences. If all the universe were blue, there would be no blueness, since there would be nothing to contrast with blue. The same is true for the meanings of words. They have meaning only in terms of systematic contrasts with other words which share certain features with them but contrast with them in respect to other features.

This means that differences need to be established between words in order to decide what it means. Through this methodology, it has the advantage¹⁵ of supplementing weaknesses of other dictionaries that “for the most part are limited in indicating meanings, since they depend principally upon a series of glosses” (Louw & Nida, 1988:viii).

¹⁴ This section is based on Nam (2017).

¹⁵ According to Wilson (2003), the understanding of the Greek language is enriched by using semantic domains.

Step 1: Identify the semantic domain of the target word based on the context

In the word study of μιμητής, firstly, it needs to identify the semantic domains that contain the target word by consulting Louw and Nida Volume 2, which shows just one meaning of μιμητής (Louw & Nida, 1988:164). Then one should select the semantic domain corresponding to the given context. The most representative text in several texts, including the word μιμητής, is 1 Corinthians 11:1. And it is appropriate to study the word μιμητής in 1 Corinthians 11:1 because it seems related to Paul's tent-making in the same pericope (1 Cor. 8:1-11:1).

Step 2: Identify the flow between the domains

In this step, it is important to contrast the relevant semantic domain with the directly adjacent domains. The aim is to find a unique aspect indicated by this semantic domain. The second volume of Louw and Nida (1988:164) explains that μιμητής indicates an imitator in domain 41 ("Behavior and Related States"). According to the first volume of Louw and Nida (1988:504), this step seeks to find a specific meaning of μιμητής by comparing the neighbouring domains. The adjacent domains are as follows: Domain 37 ("Control, Rule"), 38 ("Punish, Reward"), 39 ("Hostility, Strife"), 40 ("Reconciliation, Forgiveness"), 42 ("Perform, Do"), and 53 ("Religious Activities")¹⁶. From the relationship between domain 41 and neighbouring domains some implications can be drawn.

Firstly, domains 39 and 40 generally have the opposite meaning according to volume 1 of Louw and Nida (1988:502). In other words, domain 39 represents the situation in conflict prior to becoming reconciled.

Secondly, bad relationships come from an attitude of ruling others from a negative point of view. That is, domain 38 ("Punish, Reward") is a result of domain 37 ("Control, Rule") and a cause of domain 39 ("Hostility, Strife"). This implies a cause of troubles.

Thirdly, domain 41 ("Behavior and Related States") leads to activities beginning at domain 43 ("Agriculture") indicating human activity via domain 42 ("Perform, Do"). Among many activities, domain 53 ("Religious Activities") is the most relevant domain that corresponds to the context of 1 Corinthians 11:1.

As a result, μιμητής refers to a kind of behaviour that manifests after the restoration of the relationship between persons and the imitator tends to do specific activities. Therefore μιμητής

¹⁶ Domains hereafter domain 43 have shared features of human activities (cf. Louw & Nida, 1988:vi). Considering the traits to treat meanings from the generic to the specific meaning, domain 42 is followed by the domains regarding activities beginning at domain 43 ("Agriculture"). Among them, domain 53 ("Religious activities") is related in terms of the context.

may indicate the imitator's preparedness to behave in a certain manner within this renewed relationship after troubles are solved. In particular, when viewed from the religious viewpoint of domain 53, μιμητής might indicate readiness for religious activities such as devotion, sanctification, and worship etc.

Step 3: Identify the flow between the sub-domains

In this step, the different sub-domains of domain 41 are contrasted with one another to find a unique aspect indicated by the meaning of the concerned sub-domain.

According to Volume 1 of Louw and Nida (1988:509), μιμητής occurs in sub-domain D ("Imitate Behavior"). The other sub-domains within domain 41 are: A ("Behavior, Conduct"), B ("Custom, Tradition"), C ("Particular Patterns of Behavior") and E ("Change Behavior"). Considering the flow of the sub-domains, A-E sub-domains are divided into two categories.

Firstly, A-D sub-domains imply continuity. The existing established behaviour continues. It is either a tradition or a pattern.

Secondly, E implies a change of behaviour. That is, it means a change in a direction different from the previous one.

In this sense, in 1 Corinthians 11:1 the word μιμητής presupposes that there is an already established behavioural pattern, that it takes a positive attitude to the pattern and that it complies with it.

Here, μιμητής emphasises the behaviour of imitation itself. In this regard, a comparison between domains 41 and 25 ("Attitudes and Emotions") as well as 88 ("Moral and Ethical Qualities and Related Behavior") is required. Domain 41 focuses on behaviour itself, and domain 25 tends to place the emphasis on behaviour coloured by emotions. Domain 88 rather emphasises moral or ethical qualities of behaviour according to volume 1 of Louw and Nida (1988:504). Actually, the sub-domains included in domain 41 tend to present only the continuity or shift of behaviour. It does not contain the specific content or value of behaviour while domains 25 and 88 do indicate it. In this sense, it could be seen that the basic meaning of μιμητής is distinguished from ethical and emotional behaviour. Depending on the context of the target word, a word indicating the basic behaviour of μιμητής holds the potential of expanding into a moral or emotional field.

Step 4: Compare words in the sub-domain

In this step, the meanings of the different words are contrasted with one another in order to discover an accurate definition of the meaning of the target word.

Μιμητής occurs as entry 41.45 in sub-domain D (“Imitate Behavior”) of domain 41 (“Behavior and Related States”). There are five other entries in the sub-domain, namely μιμέομαι (41.44), συμμιμητής (41.46), περιπατέω τοῖς ἴχνεσιν, στοιχέω τοῖς ἴχνεσιν, ἐπακολουθέω τοῖς ἴχνεσιν (41.47), ἐξακολουθέω (41:48), and προσποιέομαι (41.49).

A more exact understanding of the meaning of μιμητής can be gained by contrasting these entries. All these entries refer in general to “to imitate”. However, in the case of ἐξακολουθέω, it refers to the imitation of wrong behaviour (cf. 2 Pet. 1:15, 2:2), while προσποιέομαι refers to imitation with the goal of indicating a presumed intent.

It is remarkable that ἐξακολουθέω, a derivative of ἀκολουθέω, appears in the entries included in the sub-domain D of the domain 41. In Volume 2 of Balz and Schneider (1990:428), μιμέομαι means “to imitate and follow” someone. This implies that the understanding of ἀκολουθέω helps a better understanding of μιμητής. The word of ἀκολουθέω in domain 36 (“Guide, Discipline, Follow”) is related to μιμέομαι. This is not simply a physical movement of domain 15 (“Linear Movement”), which is another semantic domain that ἀκολουθέω has. Rather, it represents a positive agreement on a value and complies with it. This is a shared feature between μιμέομαι and ἀκολουθέω. This proves that ἀκολουθέω signifying μαθητής is quite related to μιμητής (Michaelis, 1976:668; Hubbard, 2000:633).

The meaning of μιμητής can provisionally be formulated as follows: μιμητής refers to a behaviourer following traditions based on the restored relationship. Additionally, μιμητής is the one who agrees with and follows the patterned behaviour according to the tradition. In the New Testament, the word of μιμητής presupposes the newly born believer through Jesus’ sacrifice based on God’s plan of salvation. Thus only those who are reconciled with God through Jesus Christ can imitate Paul and Christ himself, ensuing the tradition originated from Jesus Christ (Bauder, 1978:492).

4.4.1.2 Diachronic word study of μιμητής

According to Michaelis (1976:659, 660), μιμέομαι first occurred in the 6th century B.C. Initially it referred to man’s imitation or mimicking of animals, e.g. weaving from spiders or building from swallows. Art was also considered as the imitation of reality, albeit a diminished reality according to Plato’s concepts of idea and phenomenon. Accordingly, things referred to by the word group μιμέομαι were regarded as poor imitations and unoriginal. However, the Hippocratic concept of μιμέομαι in *De victu* between 5th and 6th century B.C. indicated the microcosmic-macrocosmic analogies (Bartoš, 2014:543, 544). This employed “the formula ‘small things in relation to great things and great things in relation to small things’”, suggesting “some kind of reciprocity or mutual

relationship of greater and smaller structures” (Bartoš, 2014:546). It implies that the understanding of μιμέομαι has not been one-sided.

Within the ethical sphere, the word group was used positively to denote the imitation of a good example. It is especially important to know that the term “imitation” was often used cosmologically in Greek thinking, following the philosophy of Plato. He considered reality to be a poor imitation of the idea, or “transcendent universal form” (De Boer, 1962:4). Conversely, Aristotle accepts it positively (Yung Suk, 2011:152). He thinks the imitation is natural and manifests some potential (De Boer, 1962:5, 6). Thus a person who worships a god, imitates that god, although in an imperfect manner. De Boer (1962:4, 5) and Michaelis (1976:663) argue that the cosmological concept of μιμέομαι is not related to the imitation of God and Christ in the New Testament since the statements in the New Testament clearly have an ethical characteristic contrary to the cosmological concept.

For philosophical schools in the Greco-Roman world, imitation was understood to occur between a teacher and a student (Sierksma-Agteres, 2016:122). The behaviour of imitation between a teacher and a student continues until the student becomes the role model to emulate (Sierksma-Agteres, 2016:127). This means that imitation of role model intends to reproduce another role model. In rhetorical fields, imitation was the process of creation of new literary work by using existing textual models (Reis, 2006:23).

The word group of μιμέομαι occurs extremely infrequently in Jewish literature. The idea of imitating God is irrelevant and does not exist in the Old Testament (De Boer, 1962:4; Michaelis, 1976:663, 664), although the fourth commandment (Exod. 20:11) might consider “a relationship between God’s rest from creation and the injunction on the Israelites to celebrate the Sabbath” as the imitation of God (Petersen, 2013:26) and the book of Isaiah also has the concept of replication of God (Grey, 2018). Instead, the concept of imitation is sometimes used negatively in order for the Israelites not to imitate other nations’ hateful wrongdoings (Hubbard, 2000:633). In the Septuagint the concept of imitation is unfamiliar and there is no idea of the imitation of God (Michaelis, 1976:663). However, the word group was used to a considerable extent in later Jewish writings. In this period, the imitation was primarily used to emphasise the pious figures “who died at the hands of oppressors rather than compromise the traditions of their ancestors” (Reis, 2006:23). In the case of Philo, it indicates “the conscious imitation of a model” or “simply comparison” (Michaelis, 1976:665, 666). Similarly Josephus uses the term for “the conscious imitation of the qualities or acts of others” or “only a comparison” (Michaelis, 1976:666). Under the influence of Greek philosophy, it refers to cosmological ideas, “a simple comparison or likeness” (De Boer, 1962:13) and progress regarding human development (Bauder, 1978:491). Among these meanings, the latter was most common (De Boer, 1962:13). It implies that “one

person, being under the influence of another, or at least in acquaintance with another, seeks to become like that person in a certain respect” (De Boer, 1962:13).

Apart from 3 John and Hebrews the word group of μιμέομαι is mainly used in Paul’s letters in the New Testament (Michaelis, 1976:666). The word group refers to the imitation of something or someone with spiritual development as the goal. However, there are various objects of imitation in Paul’s letters (De Boer, 1962:14). The meaning of the words in Paul’s letters is more or less abstract in the sense that the content to imitate should be provided (Bolt, 2013:29). Fortunately, Paul provides the content of a definite salvific goal (Ellington, 2011:303; Johnson, 2013:317). It is likely that, through the admonition to imitate, the apostle wants to express “a way of life rooted in the image of Christ crucified” (Yung Suk, 2011:151) rather than an identical reproduction in the Middle Ages (Richardson & Bowden, 1993:285). There are three contrasting views of imitation in Paul’s letters. Clarke (1998:331, 332) summarises these as follows: Firstly, Paul uses the idea of imitation as a means of demanding obedience. Secondly, Paul’s usage of imitation is just a rhetorical tool to strengthen his authority. Thirdly, the imitation focuses on acting like the apostle, who shows self-sacrificing humility, and his purpose is the spiritual growth of believers. Especially, in the letters to the communities in conflicts, Paul’s exhortations to imitate himself operate to restore the unity of the communities (Reis, 2006:23). It is important to note that the concept of imitation in Paul’s writings moves towards positive results in terms of the development of believers’ conduct and spirituality.

In the Christian communities after the New Testament period, the concepts expressed in the word group had become much more accepted (Michaelis, 1976:673). The Apostolic Fathers tended to connect the imitation with suffering represented by martyrdom (De Boer, 1962:15), based on the suffering of Christ. It is also interesting to note that “no one has followed Paul’s example and called for the imitation of himself” (De Boer, 1962:15). It indicates that the meaning of imitation became concentrated on suffering in imitation of Christ because of the difficult circumstances endured by the believers. For Ignatius, the imitation of Christ clearly indicates primarily suffering as the inevitable result of loving like God loves and this is also related to the unity of the church (Swartley, 1973:100, 101). It is remarkable that Ignatius considered the concept of imitation of Christ as related to the unity of church.

According to Petersen (2013:9, 10), in utopian types of religion, the imitation of god is related to divinisation. This understanding denies the Platonic imitation arguing ontological difference between god and man and opens possibilities of divinisation. However, dealing with the concept of imitation between a master and a follower to get good character, ultimately philosophical schools wanted to be incorporated into divinisation (Sierksma-Agteres, 2016:127). It looks similar to the topic of deification in the Greek patristic tradition. According to Russell (2004:211), Basil of Caesarea, considered deification as the destiny of every Christian. The aim of the calling from the

Lord is to become like God. He defined Christianity as the imitation of the life of Christ. For him, the imitation of Christ is twofold. It implies not only following Christ's example of gentleness, humility, and endurance of suffering, but also symbolically sharing in his death and burial through baptism. Especially, when Christianity was legalised, the emphasis on practical and physical suffering in the imitation of Christ decreased and the concept of imitation of Christ was confined to just the monasteries (Elwell, 1985:549). In the post-Nicene period, in combination with the Platonic tradition, the concept of imitation became abstract. The meaning of imitation in the Middle Ages was encapsulated in the representative book *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas à Kempis which set out to guide believers to spiritual communion with God (Ferguson & Wright, 1998:331). This meaning might not accurately reflect that which was intended by Paul.

4.4.1.3 Conclusion

From the data analysed above, a probable definition of the meaning of μιμητής as it is used in 1 Corinthians 11:1 can be formulated.

Μιμητής in 1 Corinthians 11:1 refers to an imitator, specified by the concrete content of the imitation which can be deduced from the context of Paul's admonitions to the believers (1 Cor. 7:1–11:1), namely a way of life characterised by sacrificing oneself for the sake of others (Taylor, 2014:125). The reason why the attitude of imitation of Jesus Christ and Paul is required is that the issue of food offered to idols came from the Corinthians' lack of love for others. They have a priority of their own rights. This signifies a bad relationship between God and them. Thus, after they have been reconciled with God, the believers are only capable of such imitation (Agan, 2013:806). This indicates that Paul demands of the Corinthian believers to be more mature in faith, turning their wrong behaviour into behaviour that imitates himself and Jesus Christ. The imitation that Paul calls the Corinthians to has maturity in faith as the end-goal. Thus the process of imitation is aimed at the development of a believer or congregation and results in positive growth (Sanders, B. 1981:361, 362) indicating the purity and unity of the community based on the traditionally patterned behaviour (cf. Shogren, 2012:66) originated by Jesus Christ, Paul, and other believers. Additionally, μιμητής is used with the verb γίνομαι in the continuous tense. This means that the imitators should continually follow the objectives after conversion (Vine *et al.*, 1985:319, 320). In conclusion, "imitator" in 1 Corinthians 11:1 refers to the converted Christian who endeavours to follow the example of self-sacrifice for the sake of others as exemplified by Paul and Jesus Christ (Laurence, 1986:289).

Paul's distinctive use of μιμητής premises a new identity (Patte, 2010:586) and a new relationship to imitate (Elwell, 1985:549). Also, the word indicates a traditionally patterned behaviour and the one who imitates an object should select to change or keep patterned behaviours, which is demonstrated in Paul's refusal of salary from the Corinthian believers (1 Cor. 9). Paul's self-

supporting policy might have been regarded by the Corinthian believers as different from Jesus' pattern of receiving support. Nevertheless, Paul refused to keep the tradition because he believed that the custom of tent-making was a valid way of imitating Jesus Christ. According to Zodiates (1993:986), one of the antonyms of μιμέομαι is παραιτέομαι which means to refuse. In Hebrews 12:25, παραιτέομαι is used negatively, that is to reject obedience to God's word. In this sense, it is clear that the imitation of Jesus' custom pointed to accepting a salary. And, conversely, to refuse the salary means παραιτέομαι God's word. However, when considering that Paul refused the salary from the Corinthians, Paul might have thought that the acceptance of salary was a patterned behaviour that he should avoid in his particular context. This means that the concept of μιμητής does not simply imply an exact copy or likeness. Also, although the meaning of μιμητής itself is abstract, the biblical context provides it with concrete content. It does not indicate likeness but "the way of life of those who derive their being from the forgiveness of God" (Verbrugge, 2000:370), implying that the content of imitation depends on circumstances. In Pauline epistles, the topic of imitation is practically related to the salvation and suffering including self-denial (Richardson & Bowden, 1993:285), which will be studied below, contrary to the cosmological idea of the Greek philosophy. Elwell (1985:549) says that "[I]ikeness to Christ is achieved not by legalistically trying to mould one's action after the divine pattern but by the inward processes of salvation which change heart attitudes, producing good works and Christlike virtues (Rom. 12:2; Eph. 2:8-10; Phil. 2:12-13)."

In conclusion, the word of μιμητής does not mean to copy the exact likeness unconditionally or follow someone's conduct blindly (Gardner, 2018:214). Rather, μιμητής requires a believer to follow a principle towards which the object of imitation orientates. It is noted that the principle that the imitators should follow is the attitude of self-sacrifice demonstrated in the suffering of Jesus Christ.

4.4.2 Analysis of texts where μιμητής occurs

The word study of μιμητής has been processed through a synchronic and diachronic way. What remains is to identify how μιμητής is used in the biblical texts. The word group regarding μιμητής primarily occurs in the Pauline letters. So the topic is important for Paul's life and writings (Gardner, 2018:470). As the previous section studied the word based on the context of 1 Corinthians 11:1, other contexts supplement the lack of concrete contents of the word group (Davies, 2006:744). In some texts, not indicating the word group of μιμητής, Paul seems to ask to follow or to avoid an example (Cable, 2016:108). However, in this part, the word group of μιμητής will be targeted to study.

4.4.2.1 1 Corinthians

Paul in 1 Corinthians focused on solving the practical problems in the congregation such as divisions, food issue, and spiritual gifts etc. Among them, he referred to μιμητής twice in 1 Corinthians 4:16 and 11:1 which treat the problems of divisions and food issues. Each pericope (1 Cor. 1-4 and 8:1-11:1) makes the Corinthian believers turn their attitude of boasting and arrogance into humility and self-sacrifice by imitating Paul himself. Especially, in the case of 1 Corinthians 11:1, Christ also appears as an object of imitation with Paul. In summary, it is clear that μιμητής was used in 1 Corinthians as a solution to the practical problems of the church.

Gardner (2018:206) says that in 1 Corinthians 4:8-13 “Paul now demonstrates the vast difference of approach to life between the way of the cross, followed by Paul and the apostles, and the way of those who consider themselves spiritually superior in the Corinthian church.” The request to imitate Paul in 1 Corinthians 4:16 should be understood in terms of the attitude of the cross for the Corinthians who have already become rich and powerful (1 Cor. 4:8). In this sense, his request to imitate himself means to follow the way of humility and self-giving which the cross implies. Explaining 1 Corinthians 4:16, Conzelmann (1975:92) indicates that his “summons is always bound up with the paradox that he is an example inasmuch as he is nothing and he suffers.” If Paul does not fall into the suffering for the sake of Christ, he cannot be an example for others. That is, his becoming an example depends on whether or not he suffers for the sake of Christ and others.

Ciampa and Rosner (2010:187, 188) argue that the request of 1 Corinthians 4:16 is the summary of the first four chapters of 1 Corinthians and indicates the concrete content of the call to imitate Paul: the Corinthians must stop the boasting and factionalism in the faith community. Through the research mentioned above, it is noted that “Paul wants them to incarnate the cross, to live out their Christian identity in a real and meaningful way, to become true disciples of Christ” (Taylor, 2014:125). Robertson and Plummer (1929:90) point out the context of 1 Corinthians 4:16, namely that the content of imitation are humility and self-sacrifice (1 Cor. 4:10-13). The imitation in 1 Corinthians 4:16 seeks the image of the cross. That is, Paul wants the Corinthians to enter the way of suffering like Christ and himself (Sanders, B., 1981:353).

Ellington (2011) indicates the purpose of Paul’s request of imitation in 1 Corinthians 11:1 through research on 1 Corinthians 9:23. According to Ellington (2011:303, 312), the reason why Paul asked the Corinthians to imitate himself and Jesus Christ was that he wanted them to participate in the gospel as he did. In other words, Paul hoped that the Corinthian believers formed unity in order to save others, following his pattern demonstrated in the renunciation of his rights (choosing a tent-making life) and Jesus Christ’s self-sacrificing conduct on the cross.

Kim (2003:219) indicates that the content of Paul's request of imitation is Christ's teaching and life as well as Christ's self-sacrificing death. He counters that the imitation in 1 Corinthians 11:1 means just Christ's death. As 1 Corinthians 7 refers to Jesus' teaching, the request of imitation in 1 Corinthians 11:1 contains both His teaching and self-sacrificing death. Nevertheless, Kim also does not deny that Paul's idea indicated in the imitation of Christ focused on Jesus Christ's self-sacrificing death (Kim, 2003:224).

Yung Suk (2011) argues in favour of a new interpretation of the characteristic of Paul's imitation. He argues that Paul's imitation followed neither the Hellenistic model which sought the Hellenistic ideal of unity nor the post-modernism model which regarded the imitation "as a means of control and domination of others" (Yung Suk, 2011:150). Imitators in 1 Corinthians 4:16 and 11:1 are required to follow the way of life as Christ's embodiment of God's character of love by giving up Himself (Yung Suk, 2011:161).

Fee (2014:490) emphasises that the primary focus in 1 Corinthians 11:1 is the sacrifice on the cross and Still (2004:18) indicates that Christ's weakness demonstrated on the cross for the sake of others is the paradigm for the Corinthian believers in trouble. For Thiselton (2000:796), it means a pattern for the welfare of others and he agrees with the statement of De Boer (1962:207) that the characteristics of μιμητής are "humility, self-denial, self-giving, self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ and the salvation of others."

Therefore, in the case of 1 Corinthians 11:1, the imitation of Paul and Christ means a self-sacrificing life depicted by the renunciation of rights and giving oneself for the sake of the gospel and the salvation of others. That is, the crucified Christ is the governing principle of Christian life (Taylor, 2014:250).

4.4.2.2 Letters to the Thessalonians

1 Thessalonians 1:6 indicates that the Thessalonian believers already became imitators of Paul, his companions and the Lord. This is different from other texts requesting believers to become imitators. This verse points out that the believers already became (aorist of γίνομαι) the imitators, rather than being requesting to become imitators. According to Wanamaker (1990:81), the participle in the verse should be understood in a temporal way. If the opinion is accepted, it should be translated literally as follows: "they became imitators when receiving the word in many sufferings with joy of the Holy Spirit." In other words, "the Thessalonians' imitation of Paul and the Lord consisted in their experience of great distress accompanied by the joy of the Holy Spirit at the time of their conversion" (Wanamaker, 1990:81). They heard the Word of God and believed in Jesus Christ as Lord, in the midst of much tribulation, but they endured it with joy from the Holy Spirit. Thus joy and suffering formed a collocation in the New Testament through which believers

get “a foretaste of the life to come” by experiencing the eschatological Spirit (Fee, 2009:39). The eschatological Spirit gives joy to the believers in distress who expect the coming of Christ and consider their sufferings as evidence of salvation (Wanamaker, 1990:82).

Through the explanations, it is noted that the fact that the Thessalonians’ imitation happened when they believed Jesus Christ and received Him as Lord differs from the concept of maturity in the word study as researched above. In the study, μιμητής indicates the process of maturity after conversion. But, 1 Thessalonians 1:6 implies that the believers became imitators as soon as they experienced conversion (Shogren, 2012:67). Comparatively, it looks like the process of maturity is left out. In that case, the usage of μιμητής in 1 Thessalonians 1:6 may be confused with other biblical texts. But there is one common element between μιμητής of 1 Thessalonians 1:6 and that of other texts, namely that “the Christian gospel is inherently coupled with persecution” (Shogren, 2012:66). Possibly, it is the reason why Paul chose the word μιμητής for the Thessalonians although it did not fit the condition of the new believers: he took into consideration their anticipated sufferings following their conversion. As Green (2002:98) referred to, “[t]he emphasis here appears to fall on the condition they were in when they received the message.” In this sense, the suffering that they encountered when they believed Jesus Christ might play a significant role in Paul’s adopting of the word μιμητής. After the Thessalonian believers became imitators, they also became an example to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1:7). It is reasonable that they could become an example of endurance in sufferings because the Thessalonians imitated Paul and the Lord in distress. In the case of 1 Thessalonians 2:14, Paul proposed the suffering churches of God in Judea as the object of imitation. Compared to 1 Thessalonians 1:6, the object of imitation was different, but the content of the imitation was the same. The believers must have been required to imitate those who suffered for the sake of Christ.

2 Thessalonians¹⁷ 3:7 in the context of church discipline (3:6-15) also refers to the believers’ imitation although the verses do not express any admiration for them (unlike 1 Thessalonians 1:6, 7). 2 Thessalonians 3:7-9 urges the believers not to live unruly, which must have damaged the fellowship of the church (Martin, 1999:46). It is likely that there were some people who did not work and lived off the community and Paul reproached them that they did not follow the tradition they had already received (2 Thess. 3:6). Thus Paul again instructed the tradition he had already passed on to them by giving his own example. He indicates here his own self-supporting policy (1 Thess. 2:9). Although he had a right to be provided for by the believers according to Jesus’ instruction (Matt. 10:10), he did not accept their help in order not to be a burden to any of them (2 Thess. 3:8). To honour his own decision, he himself chose to suffer by hard work and toil. When

¹⁷ There have been debates on Pauline authorship of some letters in the New Testament. However, I accept the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians without going into the merits of the debate, as it falls outside of the scope of this study.

considering Paul's purpose of his self-supporting policy demonstrated in other Pauline texts, Paul's exhortation to imitate his own example indicates to ask them to exhibit self-sacrifice for the sake of others (De Boer, 1962:136), not just persuading the idle to work honestly. According to Green (2002:349), the motive adopted to the Thessalonians is different from that of 1 Corinthians 9:1-18, that is, not to hinder the gospel of Christ (1 Cor. 9:12). However, it seems a misjudgement. Paul and his co-workers' example became an "imperative" for the unruly life of the believers that must have damaged the fellowship of the church. As a result, the imitation that Paul referred to means a self-sacrificing attitude for the sake of others, which specifies in this biblical text both satisfying others' material needs and supporting the unity of the church (Frame, 1946:300; Martin, 1999:46).

Additionally, the request of imitation in 2 Thessalonians 3 seems not to be related to the context of persecution or suffering like 1 Thessalonians 1:6, 7. According to Hull (2016), the concepts of suffering and glory in 2 Thessalonians 1:5-10 correspond to the eschatological theology of Paul's Thessalonian correspondence. It implies that the topic of suffering has already been laid on the foundation of 2 Thessalonians. If so, the imitation in 2 Thessalonians 3 has to do with the request in 1 Thessalonians 1:6, 7 intrinsically. The imitation in 1 and 2 Thessalonians similarly points to sufferings of Christians. In this sense, the model in 2 Thessalonians includes "both imitating the godly Christian lifestyle of the apostolic circle and emulating their faith in the gospel" (Beale, 2003:254), reminding of 1 Thessalonians 2:9 and 1 Corinthians 9:12.

4.4.2.3 Ephesians¹⁸

Ephesians 5:1 indicates the only case of imitation of God in the New Testament while most cases refer to the imitation of Paul and Jesus Christ. Ephesians 5:1 includes a coordinating conjunction οὐν that draws on the previous sentence. Thus the request to imitate God in Ephesians 5:1 refers back to conduct of God that should be imitated by believers (Lincoln, 1990:310). Ephesians 4:32 urges believers to be kind, tender-hearted, and forgiving towards one another. Paul's encouragement is based on God's forgiveness in Christ (Johnson, 2013:327). Then, Paul requests them to imitate God (5:1). Therefore, the content of the imitation of God is the act of forgiveness of others. After that, Paul also refers to Christ who gave himself up for believers, urging them to act in love, as Christ loved them (5:2). "The example of Christ is appealed to alongside the example of God" (Bruce, 1984:368). Specifically, Christ's self-sacrifice corresponds to intermediation of God's forgiveness. Through Jesus Christ's death on the cross, God's grace of forgiveness decisively reached the world. Therefore the first and second verse of Ephesians 5

¹⁸ There have been debates on Pauline authorship of some letters in the New Testament. However, I accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians without going into the merits of the debate, as it falls outside of the scope of this study.

stand in other aspects facing the same thing of God's work of salvation through Christ's self-sacrifice¹⁹.

Through the research on texts including μιμητής in the Pauline epistles, it is noted that "[t]his language occurs in two kinds of contexts in Paul: suffering for the sake of Christ and the gospel, and behavior that conforms to the gospel" (Fee, 1995:364). For Paul, it is clear that the word μιμητής pointed to those who suffer for the sake of Christ and the gospel.

4.4.2.4 Philippians

In the letter to the Philippians, instead of μιμητής, συμμιμηταί appears (3:17). As already indicated by Fee (1995:364), Paul used the word group of μιμητής in the contexts of suffering for the sake of Christ and proper behaviour based on the gospel. Based on Fee's argument, the usage of συμμιμητής might be also understood in the two contexts. The word συμμιμητής is a *hapax legomena* in the New Testament. Paul's use of συμμιμητής instead of μιμητής probably points to the particular situation of the Philippian church as well as the two contexts in which Paul uses the word μιμητής.

Firstly, συμμιμητής conveys the message of unity among church members. At that time the Philippian church seemed to be conflicted, causing Paul to continually emphasise and encourage the unity of the church. Paul's request to "only conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the gospel of Christ" (1:27a) is anchored in his hope of their unity in one spirit and striving together for the faith of the gospel (1:27b). The background of Paul's instruction to bear the mind of Christ that appears in Philippians 2:5-11 is the establishment of a basic mind-set to accomplish a differently focused attitude in Philippians 2:2-4. The attitude of Christ's humility and sacrifice is a model for the unity of the church. In Philippians 3:17, Paul seemed to emphasise unity by using συμμιμητής, which contains the prefix συν meaning "together". Additionally, Paul asks believers to follow humbly the example of fellow Christians. Hawthorne (1983:160) says that Paul used this word in order to emphasise his desire for a collective effort to follow his example. In this case, Cable (2016:113, 120-124), in his article, focuses on other Christians such as Timothy and Epaphroditus as examples rather than Christ and Paul. Focusing on fellow Christians, not the ultimate example like Christ, Paul might attempt to encourage the church members to maintain unity and respect one another.

Secondly, συμμιμητής represents an attitude to endure the suffering for the sake of Christ and the gospel. The representative part is Philippians 2:6-11. This demonstrates that the attitude of

¹⁹ In Colossians 3:13, Paul refers directly to Jesus Christ's forgiveness as an object of imitation, although words regarding μιμητής do not appear.

Christ, the ultimate goal of imitation, is self-sacrifice and humility. Hansen (2009:261) relates the understanding of συμμιμητής to Philippians 3, as follows:

When they are fellow imitators of Paul, they will be united in their common pursuit of *one thing* (3:13): *to know Christ – yes, to know the power of his resurrection and participation in his sufferings, becoming like him in his death* (3:10). Paul coined the term “fellow imitators” as yet another way to urge the community to be united in their life in Christ (*Italic is original*).

This attitude represents the fundamental character of the content of Paul’s letters indicating the word group of μιμητής. Hawthorne (1983:159, 160) summarises as follows: Firstly, self-denial and self-sacrificial attitude (1 Cor. 11:1). Secondly, the attitude to be willing to suffer for others (1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14; cf. 2 Thess. 3:7-9). Thirdly, giving up everything for the sake of Christ. Fourthly, the attitude to seek goodness from God, not from oneself. Lastly, the attitude to acknowledge that perfection is not his, yet it must be pursued (cf. 1 Cor. 4:16, 17). The attitude of Christ’s self-sacrifice and humility in Philippians 2:6-11 and the determination of Paul in Philippians 3:10-13 is the ultimate model for Christians to suffer for the sake of Christ and the gospel.

In conclusion, it can be seen that συμμιμητής used by Paul in Philippians is a willing participant in the suffering for the sake of Christ and the gospel, specifically a person who endeavours to be united in Christ in the midst of the conflicts in the Philippian church.

4.4.2.5 Usages in the New Testament outside of the Pauline epistles

Except for the Pauline epistles, μιμητής is used only once, namely in Hebrews 6:12. In the verse, the author desires the believers to become imitators of those who inherit what has been promised through faith and patience. After that, Abraham as an example is indicated (6:13-15). Although only one person is indicated as an example of those who inherit the promise by endurance, Hebrews 11 shows the list of faithful people like Abraham (Bruce, 1990:151). A common element of Hebrews 6:13-15 and Hebrews 11 is that faith has a close relationship with perseverance (Attridge & Koester, 1989:176, 307).

The people demonstrated in the Old Testament are the representatives of faith. However, Hebrews 6:12 does not only refer to the great men of the past. Considering the present participle κληρονομούντων (v. 12), which means to inherit, and the aorist ἐπέτυχεν (6: 15), which means to obtain, the object of imitation is not limited to the past but extends to the future generations (Ellingworth, 1993:333) (Heb. 13:7). The examples of the past and present (Heb. 6:12; 11:1-40; 13:7) indicate that “faith is seen as steadfast persistence that pursues the divine promise” (Lane, 1991:145). As a result, μιμητής in Hebrews 6:12 has a characteristic of endurance for seeking faith regardless of generation. So this characteristic is likely to include the present suffering

Christians as the objects of imitation. This is not different from the concept of imitation in the Pauline letters that is available to the apostolic tradition in the suffering for Christ. In this sense, it is no exaggeration to state that Hebrews 11 is full of the objects of Pauline imitation.

4.4.2.6 Conclusion

The μιμητής texts researched above have several contexts and different addressees. However, the reason for Paul's adoption of the concept of μιμητής is related to the suffering or self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ and the gospel (Hengel & Riches, 1981:62). The Corinthian believers needed to imitate Paul and the Lord in order to leave behind their boasting, heal divisions in their community, and struggle to save others. In the case of the Thessalonian believers, they already became imitators because they received Jesus as Lord in spite of suffering when they believed Jesus Christ (1 Thess. 1:6). Also, they should continue to imitate Paul's self-sacrificial attitude demonstrated in his self-supporting policy in order not to burden others (2 Thess. 3:7-9). In Ephesians, believers are asked to imitate God's forgiveness and Christ's death for the sinners so that they should forgive each other (Eph. 4:32-5:2). Outside Pauline epistles, μιμητής in Hebrews 6:12 are those who seek faith in endurance. As a result, it is noted that the word μιμητής in the New Testament primarily has a close relation with suffering, self-sacrifice, and endurance (De Boer, 1962:207).

4.4.3 Conclusion

When researching the meaning of μιμητής and the texts regarding μιμητής, it is evident that the two kinds of research share one common element, namely the emphasis on suffering and self-sacrifice. Although the objects of imitation are varied, the content of imitation is suffering, self-sacrifice, and humility, which topics are similar to one another. And it is clear that the origin of these topics is Jesus Christ. Paul boldly declared to the believers who rejected suffering and self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ and others: "Be imitators of me, just as I also am of Christ" (1 Cor. 11:1).

Paul refers to his manual labour by emphasising his example of self-sacrifice in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9. In this sense, μιμητής and Paul's tent-making are closely related. In other words, the principle of imitating Paul and Christ is a self-sacrificial attitude for the sake of others such as renunciation of a right, and the practical application of this principle was tent-making in Paul's case. Of course, there are many other hardships in 1 Corinthians 4, but it can be concluded that it is Paul's tent-making that best suits the principle of μιμητής in 1 Corinthians due to the strong support in 1 Corinthians 9.

4.5 Conclusion

1 Corinthians is a letter that effectively conveys Paul's message to the Corinthian believers structurally and thematically. The message is the significance of the cross of Jesus Christ. The solution Paul presented to the Corinthians in the context of their arrogance is the attitude of self-sacrifice demonstrated by Jesus Christ on the cross. This key message appears throughout the whole of 1 Corinthians, and especially in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9, in which Paul uses his tent-making as an example. Although Paul uses it as a means of livelihood, it has an opposite character to the arrogance and immaturity of the Corinthians and would be helpful in delivering the key message of 1 Corinthians. Another concept is related to Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians, namely μιμητής. The word study of μιμητής and the New Testament occurrences of μιμητής show that it is significantly related to the suffering and self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ. In this sense, Paul's use of μιμητής is consistent with the key message of 1 Corinthians and also has a commonality with the significance of Paul's tent-making. Therefore, in 1 Corinthians, where Paul refers to his own labour in the most detailed manner, his tent-making is used as an example to teach the attitude of self-denial and sacrifice for others reflecting the message of the cross of Jesus Christ.

That Paul conveyed the message of Christ's cross through his own labour might provide the basis for Paul's ground motive for tent-making in relation to the cross of Jesus Christ. However, this is not yet clear since the findings are limited to 1 Corinthians. In order to determine the ground motive for his tent-making, Paul's tent-making in his other letters also need to be studied.

CHAPTER 5 TEXT ANALYSIS 2: OTHER PAULINE LETTERS BESIDES 1 CORINTHIANS, AS WELL AS ACTS

5.1 Introduction²⁰

Chapter 4 attempted to understand the entire book of 1 Corinthians from the perspective of the cross as well as to study Paul's tent-making from the same point of view. Through this, one can see that Paul's tent-making is used as a channel to convey the concept of the cross more clearly. It is proper to say that Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians is demonstrated as a way for Paul to embody the cross of Jesus Christ in his life and mission.

Now it is necessary to study how Paul deals with his tent-making in other letters in order to further discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. The letters directly addressing Paul's tent-making apart from 1 Corinthians are 2 Corinthians as well as 1 and 2 Thessalonians. It is also worth noting that Luke's account provides some information on Paul's tent-making. It would be helpful to look at Paul's other letters and Acts in revealing the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, although it is not mentioned in as much detail as in 1 Corinthians.

It should be borne in mind that Paul's financial policy was different according to each church (1 Cor. 9:12; 2 Cor. 11:9). This indicates that Paul's financial policy on support might depend on the circumstances of each church and his relationship with the churches. In other words, according to the situation of each church or Paul's relationship with the church, he decided whether or not to accept financial support. It means that Paul's tent-making custom has a situational character. However if, regardless of whether or not Paul received financial support, Paul's tent-making in the other letters is similar to that of 1 Corinthians, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, it would be evidence that Paul's reason for tent-making is coherent as well as flexible.

In addition, it should be borne in mind that Paul's financial policy does not merely contain the tent-making custom. There is another important event for Paul in relation to finance, which is the collection for the saints in Jerusalem. Paul's tent-making and the collection for the Jerusalem believers bear opposite characteristics, although they are related to financial support. If Paul's tent-making indicates the refusal of financial support from other churches, the fund-raising for Jerusalem is an active request for financial support for the poor believers. The study of fund-raising for Jerusalem, which has been considered as a large part of Paul's ministry, would be of

²⁰ This Chapter uses New American Standard Bible translated by the Lockman Foundation and quotes the biblical texts from the website of the foundation (<http://www.lockman.org/misc/readonline.php>).

great help in understanding Paul's tent-making as a financial policy although they are apparently opposite in character.

5.2 Paul's tent-making in 2 Corinthians

5.2.1 Brief introduction to 2 Corinthians

2 Corinthians primarily deals with the disputes over false teachers' instructions from outside (Best, 1987:3), while 1 Corinthians mainly deals with Paul's answer to the internal problems of the Corinthians. After Paul left Corinth, some teachers who came to the city seemed to have planted negative thinking about Paul and his mission among the Corinthians (Harris, 2005:87). Therefore 2 Corinthians mainly consists of Paul's self-defence in the context of criticism of Paul's apostolic authority, the purpose of the offering for the believers in Jerusalem, etc. Through this, he wants to restore a sound relationship with the Corinthian believers and turn them against the opponents from outside²¹ (Schmeller, 2013:73).

Discussions on the identity of the false teachers are diverse. It is not clear who Paul's opponents are. However, if it is assumed that the identity of the enemies in chapters 10-13 might be constantly implied in chapter 1-9 of 2 Corinthians, there are some points to be noted through Paul's references (Hubbard, 2017:4, 5). For example, they might be proud of their own physical signs (3:7-11, 16-18; 5:1-10) unlike Paul teaching the importance of the Spirit (3:6-8). They use the word of God as a means of seeking economic profit (2:17; 4:2). Relying on a recommendation letter, verse 3:1 provides a clue that they may be those who consider their origin important, and Paul's negative view of the law suggests that the enemies may have a Jewish background. That is, they might be Judaizers (Harris, 2005:85), although this point varies according to scholars (Belleville, 1996:34; Blanton, 2010; Garrett, 2010:735).

Specifically, the reason for pointing out Moses' limitations in 2 Corinthians 3:12-18 seems to reply to the criticism of Paul's lack in comparison to Moses. In other words, Mount Sinai was well-known as Moses' specific place of revelation (Ex. 19:1-6), and Jesus also had a mountain as a place of concrete revelation (Mt. 17:1-13; Mk. 9:2-13; Lk. 9:28-36), but Paul might not have been recognised as a man of revelation although a place on the way to Damascus corresponded to it. As a result, Paul seems to have been criticised as a teacher with limitations (Brown, 1998:275,

²¹ According to Pawlak (2018:378), Paul's attitude in self-commendations in 2 Corinthians also indicates the purpose of 2 Corinthians. It seems contradictory (3:1; 5:12; 12:9 and 1:12; 4:2; 6:4). However, in the perspective of the benefit of the believers his attitude accords with the purpose of 2 Corinthians. He is willing to suspend his principle for the benefit of the believers although he has a definite principle for self-commendation.

276). However, these merely are assumptions. 2 Corinthians 10-13 only provides sparse information on who the opponents are. Based on some evidence (10:12-17; 11:4-12:11, 14, 15), it seems reasonable to identify them as Hubbard (2017:7, 8) argues as follows:

...they were Jewish-Christian evangelists who had adopted the methods and style of the popular Hellenistic sophist-philosophers for their own financial gain, and who severely compromised the gospel in the process.

In spite of Paul's refusal of support, Paul asks the Corinthians to collect money for the Jerusalem believers in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9. The issue of collection might also be included in the dispute regarding Paul's apostleship. Considering the basic purpose of 2 Corinthians as the defence of Paul's apostleship, the reason why Paul referred to the fundraising project in 2 Corinthians might be that Paul's encouragement for the collection had caused the Corinthians to question Paul's integrity as an apostle. In other words, maybe his request led to the suspicion that he would be dishonest in handling the money (cf. 2 Cor. 8:20) (Witherington, 1995:412). Thus, by explaining the principles of the collection for the Jerusalem believers, Paul tried to prove his own apostleship to be authentic. Furthermore, these chapters might emphasise that the Gentiles are also eligible to participate in the inheritance of the kingdom of God, which is one of the main projects of Paul's ministry. The chapters presuppose that the Gentiles and the Jews already formed one church in faith.

That is, this collection is an expression of love to help the poor church. Furthermore, it is a symbolic work confirming the unity of the Jewish Jerusalem church and the Gentile churches (cf. Rom 15:26, 27). It accords with the research of Stenschke (2011) that many references in 1 and 2 Corinthians emphasise that the Corinthian church is a part of the whole church. Therefore 2 Corinthians seems to be an attempt to change the negative view on Paul of the Corinthian believers who have been turned over by the criticism of Paul and to remove the critical influence. In other words, Paul replies the answer as to what the qualifications of a true apostle are (Seifrid, 2015:12). So 2 Corinthians should be viewed in the perspective of Paul's apostolic authority (Matera, 2003:7).

2 Corinthians 2-7 assert Paul's justification of his ministry as a true apostle when compared with false teachers from outside (Lee, 2014:3, 4). 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 show that the collection for the Jerusalem church plays a role as another sign of a true apostle²². That is, his ministry of

²² Scholars have argued that 2 Corinthians is a composite document, but recent scholars have tended to support the unity of 2 Corinthians (Hubbard, 2017:4). Oropeza (2016:3, 4) provides the categorised list of researchers in detail according to positions. For the scholars supporting the partition theory, one of evidence supporting the theory was 1 Corinthians 8 and 9 because they are seemingly separated from other parts (Harris, 2005:26, 27). However, when focusing the problem of Paul's apostleship, it is clear that the issue of the collection for the Jerusalem believers in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 is also

collection resembles the ministry of Christ as unifying divisions and serving others. 2 Corinthians 10-13 directly deal with the criticisms of the opponents and his defence in order that the Corinthians could discern their falsehoods.

5.2.2 Texts regarding tent-making

2 Corinthians indicates that there were criticisms against the refusal of financial support from the Corinthian church and Paul's manual labour. The texts referring to tent-making all contain direct or indirect criticisms of the enemies. This suggests that Paul's tent-making corresponds to a sharp contrast with his enemies.

In 2 Corinthians, Paul's refusal of financial support is emphasised rather than his labour, although there is no doubt that Paul laboured to support himself (Marshall, 1987:168). The reason is due to the nature of 2 Corinthians. One of the differences between Paul and his enemies is whether or not they accepted financial support. Thus, for Paul, it is also a qualification of a true apostle although, for the enemies, Paul's refusal of support proves that he is not a true apostle. Paul criticises the teachers who came in Corinth after he departed, for distorting the word of God for financial gain (2 Cor. 2:17; 4:2; 11:12). Paul might think that it could be identified who is a true apostle according to what the purpose of the ministry is. As a result, Paul focuses on the refusal of financial support in order to contrast it with the practices of his enemies, rather than on his emphasis on tent-making itself²³.

Additionally, one of the reasons why the Corinthian church formed a negative view of Paul might be Paul's inconsistency in accepting financial support rather than labour itself. Some argue that Paul was criticised for the negative view of labour itself under the recognition that labour is humiliated (Peterson, 2009:508). However, the argument looks partially reasonable because it is judged to be a study of work based on the view of the upper class in the study of the perspective of labour at that time (Savage, 1996:85, 86). Also, there is an argument that Paul was criticised by the Corinthians because of his poverty. This is because "in the first century material affluence was an important measure of personal worth" (Savage, 1996:87). Under this viewpoint, there was a perception that a leader should be financially sound. Thus the word of a poor leader was viewed with suspicion, and this attitude was most prominent in Corinth (Savage, 1996:87). Although Savage's research seems valuable, it is difficult to find the evidence in Paul's letters that the

closely related to his apostleship. Thus 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 should be interpreted in the perspective of Paul's apostolic mission in order to keep the unity of 2 Corinthians.

²³ 2 Corinthians also refers to Paul's labour. However, the purpose of 2 Corinthians makes Paul's refusal of support to be focused on rather than on his tent-making. In 1 Thessalonians 2:5-12, Paul refers to both the refusal of financial support and tent-making as in 1 Corinthians 9:6, 12. These are an excellent supplement to the lack of reference to tent-making in 2 Corinthians.

criticism derived from Paul's poverty itself. This point could only be supported by social-historical data from other groups such as the Cynics and Sophists.

In 2 Corinthians, one can see that the Corinthians had been disappointed that Paul did not accept financial support from them but accepted it from another church like the Philippian church (11:9-11). At that time, refusal of gift, though occasionally possible, did not correlate with a social convention (Marshall, 1987:14-17). Therefore, in 2 Corinthians, Paul's inconsistency in receiving financial support might have had a significant impact on the relationship between Paul and the Corinthians rather than the negative view of labour itself.

For these reasons, Paul seems to focus more on refusing financial support than on his labour itself, as compared to 1 Corinthians. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Paul laboured manually, and Paul implies that the sufferings caused by his labour are proof of his true apostleship (6:3-5). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the refusal of the financial support along with his tent-making labour inextricably linked though there are differences in detail. What is obvious is that the criticism and suspicion towards Paul's refusal of the financial support have to do with the proof of Paul's apostleship, although the Corinthians might have thought that his refusal of support and manual labour were not consistent with his apostleship (Harris, 2005:751).

5.2.2.1 2 Corinthians 6:3-5

2 Corinthians 6:3-5 are similar to 1 Corinthians 4:8-13 because they deal with the list of Paul's sufferings as an apostle. However, the context is different. 1 Corinthians 4 criticises the Corinthians' pride of their own wisdom. So Paul's sufferings are used to contrast with the Corinthians' arrogance. The list of Paul's sufferings in 2 Corinthians 6 have the purpose of firmly demonstrating Paul's credentials as an apostle against the false teachers from outside (Barnett, 1997:321-334).

Although there is no specific reference to the enemies in 2 Corinthians 6 (cf. 6:14-18), it is clear that Paul might try to differentiate himself from the enemies, encouraging indirectly the Corinthians church to imitate his cruciform life (Garland, 1999:307). The distinction of Paul as an apostle is that he endures sufferings as an apostle of Christ. Among the sufferings, Paul's labour occupies a place in the list of sufferings (6:4, 5) (Guthrie, 2015:328). In 2 Corinthians, one of Paul's criticisms certainly comes from inconsistency in financial support, not labour itself, but indirectly Paul indicates that his manual labour is evidence of his apostleship (Seifrid, 2014:278). Paul's enemies might have been economically self-sufficient because they received financial support, and thus did not need to labour for their livelihood. However, Paul laboured at his tent-making and endured its hardships because he thought it is worthy to be a worker of Christ.

When Hock (1980:34-37) describes a worker's life at that time, it can be seen that poverty, hardship, trouble, lack of sleep, and lack of food are quite similar to Paul's hardships. It is hard to say that the contents of all sufferings were due to Paul's manual labour without financial support, but it seems clear that some sufferings are considerably involved in his tent-making custom. Paul has endured the sufferings because he does not want the ministry of an apostle to be disturbed (6:3). Considering that the ministry of an apostle is related to the gospel and he imposed upon himself the burdens for the gospel (Matera, 2003:151), it can be seen that this precisely matches the reason for manual labour in 1 Corinthians 9:12b.

In the time of salvation (6:2) of God's grace, which began with the death and resurrection of Christ, Paul the apostle has endured all things for the sake of the work of evangelism in spite of its harshness. When considering that the emphasis on 'now' meaning the divinely appointed time quoting Isaiah 49:8 and the purpose of 2 Corinthians, Paul indicates that the acceptance of God's grace is the same as the acceptance of the suffering apostle (Seifrid, 2014:275). This is because, according to Lee (2014:11), Paul is "the divinely appointed servant of the Servant" prophesied in Isaiah 40-66. In conclusion, Paul's labour demonstrated in 2 Corinthians 6:3-5 plays a significant role in signifying his apostleship.

5.2.2.2 2 Corinthians 11:7-12

Paul criticises the Corinthian believers for their acceptance of false teachings (11:1-4). Paul's opponents might point to his oratorical ability and Paul's refusal of financial support (11:6-12). However, Paul's manual labour and refusal of support also play a role in showing the difference from his enemies (11:7, 8). Contrary to those who seek financial benefits from the believers, Paul has preached the gospel of God to the Corinthians without any cost (11:9), which made Paul suffer from the lack of necessities of life (cf. 11:27). Paul's statement that he does not use his proper right to not be an obstacle to the gospel in 1 Corinthians 9:12b might have foreseen this situation in Corinth (Belleville, 1996:277).

The false teachers' conduct is "walking in craftiness or adulterating the word of God" (2 Cor. 4:2) in order to gain financial benefit. Paul has also received the help of the believers from Macedonia not to burden the Corinthians (11:9). Already mentioned in 2.3, Paul's rules regarding financial support are as follows: a positive assistance of the way of the gospel, a helpful relationship with the providers, or participation in the suffering of Paul cause him to accept financial support from others. Otherwise, he has refused it. However, the fact that Paul received financial support from the Macedonian church and that he did not receive it from the Corinthian church led the Corinthians to criticise Paul. Nevertheless, he will continue the financial policy in order not to stop his boast of the free of charge gospel (11:10).

For the Corinthians, it is evidence that Paul did not love them (11:11). Asking God to be his witness, Paul says it is not true (11:11b). It demonstrates that the Corinthians failed to “understand the gospel that exchanges self-exaltation for self-sacrifice in service to others” (Garland, 1999:474). Paul declares that he would keep the financial policy that he has maintained to prevent the enemies, who distort the gospel from being recognised as labourers of Christ (11:12), which has been considered as an explanation of 1 Corinthians 9:12 (Peterman, 1997:171). According to Savage (1996:91), Paul’s refusal of financial support has the purpose to “make the worst possible example of his opponents”.

After all, Paul’s refusal of support here is a sign that Paul is an apostle of Christ (v.10) and is used as a means of revealing that Paul’s opponents are “false apostles, deceitful workers, and disguising themselves as apostles of Christ” (11:13). Paul, who preached the truth of the gospel (11:10), is sharply contrasted with the false teachers who pursued their interests (Harris, 2005:770).

5.2.2.3 2 Corinthians 11:16-33

2 Corinthians 11:16-33 indicates that Paul, by comparison with false teachers, is a true apostle of the Lord. Unlike the false teachers who have earned credentials from the Corinthians by boasting their origin and wisdom (11:18-22), Paul argues that his sufferings are a source of pride and it proves that he is a true servant of Jesus Christ. The list of sufferings that appear here provides the longest and most detailed account of what Paul has experienced for the sake of Jesus Christ (Grogan, 2007:157). Among them verse 23 and 27 indicate the sufferings from Paul’s manual labour. It is similar to 2 Corinthians 6:3-5 in its overall purpose and content. Paul’s sufferings including tent-making witness that he is a faithful apostle of Jesus Christ (Kelhoffer, 2009:141), unlike his opponents.

Lioy (2015) argues that Paul’s sufferings in this text reflect the character of the cross and is concerned with eschatology emphasising the triumph of God. As already seen in Chapter 4, this is similar to the theological structure of the cross and resurrection demonstrated in 1 Corinthians. After all, 2 Corinthians, similar to 1 Corinthians, indicates that the Corinthians need a discernment based on the principle of the cross. It is noteworthy that the principle to solve problems within the community solving comes from the message of the cross of Jesus Christ equally, although 2 Corinthians deals primarily with warnings against false teachers from outside unlike 1 Corinthians. The reason for Paul’s suffering appears in 2 Corinthians 11:28. To suffer for not only the Corinthian church but for all the churches is the same as Paul’s reason for tent-making. He was determined to give up even his own proper right of financial support to not be an obstacle to the gospel (1 Cor. 9:12).

5.2.2.4 2 Corinthians 12:13-18

This pericope might be a part of Paul's reply to the criticism that Paul does not have the signs of a true apostle. In particular, against criticism of the lack of ecstasy experience, Paul insists that his own ecstasy experience is never lacking (12:1-4). Nevertheless, Paul boasts the power of Christ revealed in his weakness rather than such an ecstasy experience as a source of pride (12:9). So he became a weak apostle enduring all kinds of suffering for the sake of Jesus Christ (12:10). Through this, Paul sharply contrasts himself embodying the cross of Christ with false teachers who show off glorious power. Even the Corinthians had witnessed that Paul had the marks of an apostle (12:11, 12). However, for Paul, they were considered secondary proofs of an apostle. For Paul, the most important sign as an apostle is weakness in which the power of Jesus Christ dwells (12:9, 10), which indicates the way of the cross studied in Chapter 4.

Instead of signs, wonders, and mighty works, 2 Corinthians 12:13-18 indicates Paul's renunciation of financial support and manual labour as true signs of an apostle. There are mainly two kinds of criticisms related to financial policy. Firstly, the fact that Paul does not receive financial support is evidence that he is not a true apostle. This means that Paul cannot be an apostle of Jesus Christ because he has violated Jesus' teaching (Mt. 10:10) that allows financial support. This seems to be the claim of Jewish teachers who cling to the Palestinian tradition. Secondly, Paul is inconsistent in receiving financial support (Marshall, 1987:257). This includes their disappointment at Paul's discriminatory attitude regarding financial support, indicating a sign of lack of love. Teachers from outside and the Corinthians criticised Paul for not receiving financial support from the Corinthian church while receiving financial support from other churches.

2 Corinthians 12:13-18 seems to be the latter case. For the Corinthians, Paul's inconsistent attitude was regarded as evidence that Paul respects other churches rather than the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 11:11). Paul argues that there was nothing lacking in anything but financial support (12:13b). Paul even loves the Corinthians in abundance (12:15) so that he does not accept financial support from them. The reason why Paul refuses to receive financial support and suffer to labour is that he does not want to burden them (12:13a). According to Belleville (1996:316), *καταναρκάω* means to "grow numb' under a heavy weight." This can be interpreted to mean that Paul does not want to put an economic burden on the Corinthian believers that are financially strained. But, more importantly, it would be better to understand that if Paul received financial support, he would worry that there would be a possibility that his preaching of the gospel would be hindered, or that the relationship between Paul and the church would be damaged, which can be another explanation of 1 Corinthians 9:12 (Peterman, 1997:171, 172). In other words, loving the Corinthian church means that Paul does not allow them to become an obstacle to the gospel of Christ but rather to participate in the pattern of Jesus Christ (Savage, 1996:93).

Above all, Paul as a founder of the Corinthian church, is also a parent of them (12:14b; cf. 1 Cor. 4:15), not simply a labourer that receives salary. He is willing to spend his own wealth for them, as parents save up for their children (12:14b, 15). This means that Paul is not interested in their possession but the relationship with them and that he doesn't want their goods but only what is helpful for them spiritually (Guthrie, 2015:610). His spiritual paternity distinctively separates Paul as a genuine apostle from his opponents (Harris, 2005:883). It is noteworthy that Paul applies his parent-child relationship to the relationship with the Corinthian church. Paul understands that the relationship between himself and the Corinthian church is a love relationship. In such a relationship of love, Paul does not serve the Corinthian church for financial benefit, and he claims that Titus and his co-workers have also never practised such conduct (12:17, 18). Through this, Paul demonstrates that he who truly loves the Corinthian church is a true apostle of Jesus Christ, rather than those who compromise the truth of the gospel.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The texts that relate to the refusal of financial support and manual labour in 2 Corinthians are aimed at sharply contrasting Paul with false teachers who have had a negative impact on the Corinthian church. Poverty as the result of Paul's refusal of financial support and suffering of labour is contained in the list of hardships that appear in Paul's letters. Paul refused financial aid and did manual labour to show that the essential value of Christianity is not in physical sign or origin, but in conforming to the suffering of Christ (cf. 2 Cor. 12:12)²⁴. This is the way to restore the Corinthian church that is tempted by false teachers.

In this sense, it can be seen that the texts regarding Paul's tent-making appearing in 2 Corinthians are similar to the issue of eating food offered to idols (1 Cor. 8-10) and reflect the significance of 1 Corinthians 9:12b, although they each have a different purpose (Oropeza, 2016:408). In other words, Paul wants the believers to accept the importance of suffering imitating Christ's sacrifice on the cross by means of his refusal of financial support and tent-making custom.

5.3 Paul's tent-making in the Thessalonian correspondences

First Thessalonians is a letter that Paul wrote to the Thessalonian church. Paul stayed at Thessalonica for a very brief period although he had built the church. Perhaps Paul must have been worried about the newly born church at Thessalonica. Thus Paul wrote the letter to play a significant role in constructing the young community's theological solidarity (Harriman, 2017:343)

²⁴ According to Barnett (1997:20), four passages indicating sufferings are found in 2 Corinthians. They are 1:7-11, 4:8-10, 6:4-10 and 11:23-12:10. Koontz (2015:39) argues that 2 Corinthians is "one in its focus on the nature and necessity of suffering in the life of those who preach the gospel."

and to contribute the formation of boundaries for the Thessalonian church to protect it from outside (Van Eck *et al.*, 2015:1).

According to Milinovich (2014:517), Paul urges the Thessalonians to recall his own proclamation and example given to them (1:2-2:16). Additionally, he asks them to remember “the power of the Spirit in their sanctification and persecution” (2:17-3:13). Lastly, they are required to hope to be saved by using the memory in spite of the present affliction (4:1-5:25), which emphasises the worthy Christian life based on eschatology.

It is remarkable that, according to Still (2012:18), “Paul appeals in 1 Thessalonians to Jesus’ death and resurrection as the grounds for eschatological hope while simultaneously conjoining eschatological beliefs with ethical behavior.” This concept is the same as in 1 and 2 Corinthians emphasising the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

According to Mayhue (2005:161), when Paul wrote the first Thessalonians and he stayed in Corinth (Acts. 18:1-17), he heard some reports from Thessalonica (2 Thess. 3:11). The Thessalonian church faced several problems, so Paul decided to write a letter again. The second letter is much more issue-oriented than the former. Paul wrote to reinforce the church, even in the midst of sufferings. He consoles the persecuted community (1:3-12), instructs them not to be deceived by wrong messages on eschatology (2:1-17), and challenges disordered members (3:1-15).

The concept of suffering and glory also appears in 2 Thessalonians. Hull (2016:181), after analysing 2 Thessalonians 1:5-10, argues that “Paul’s writings teach that the experience of suffering comes before the glory”.

5.3.1 Texts regarding tent-making

According to Taylor (2017:201), the letters to the Thessalonians are more interested in the value of work than are other Pauline letters, so that Paul considers labour one of the key points in the Thessalonian correspondences. Maybe, the Thessalonian community might have been formed as a professional voluntary association of manual labourers (Rulmu, 2010:394). Before studying texts of Paul’s manual labour, it would be helpful to look at Taylor’s claim that Paul has a theological view of labour. Referring to Paul’s thanksgiving for the Thessalonians’ work of faith, the labour of love, and steadfastness of hope in 1 Thessalonians 1:3, Taylor (2017:205) argues that Paul emphasises work, labour, and steadfastness as much as his interest in faith, love, and hope. Also, the phrases of work of faith, the labour of love, and steadfastness of hope are nearly synonymous “with the contribution of κόπος emphasizing the nature of work as toil, and ὑπομονή its duration” (Taylor, 2017:206). Simply, this suggests that work, labour, and endurance reflect a suffering that the Thessalonian church experienced (Taylor, 2017:207). And work, labour, and

endurance are the inevitable consequences of faith, love, and hope in Christ (Taylor, 2017:208), which indicates that believers cannot avoid sufferings when they follow the way of Jesus Christ. Based on this thought, Taylor understands Paul's tent-making and refusal of financial support as examples for the Thessalonian believers as "an act of love and faith as well as an expression of eschatological hope" (Taylor, 2017:218). This is evidence that Taylor considers Paul's tent-making to be theological. It is not different from Malherbe's argument that "Paul's ethical instruction is not separated from his mission preaching; that is, the initial offering of the gospel. The letter provides no evidence of a two-stage activity, the preaching of the kerygma and, subsequently, doctrinal and ethical instruction" (Malherbe, 2012:204).

As a result, Paul's tent-making and warnings of idleness in 1 Thessalonians have never been regarded as just practical. It should be borne in mind that Paul instructs the Thessalonians to labour hard on a theological basis.

5.3.1.1 1 Thessalonians 2:7-12

1 Thessalonians 2 reminds of the time when Paul stayed in Thessalonica in order to build a new church. The focus in this part is on suffering (Jensen, 2010:25). When Paul preached the gospel in Thessalonica, his purpose was to please God (2:4); preaching the gospel by embodying the suffering of Christ. Specifically, Paul preached the gospel and gave his own life to the Thessalonians (2:8), even enduring the sufferings of manual labour (2:9). For Paul, "the Thessalonians were the 'beloved ones' for whom no sacrifice was too great" (Mayhue, 2005:76). As a result of Paul's preaching the gospel while persevering in the sufferings of labour in Thessalonica, the Thessalonian church became a faithful community to God's word (2:13). As evidence, they became a church suffering under their own fellow citizens, imitating the churches in Judea persecuted by the Jews (2:14). In that sense, 1 Thessalonians 2:7-12 should be understood in the context of suffering.

Paul recalls in 2:1-12 the attitude with which he preached the gospel to the Thessalonians. He did not preach the gospel with "error", "impurity", "by way of deceit" (2:3), "flattering speech", "a pretext for greed" (2:5), and the attitude of seeking "glory from men" (2:6). All that Paul indicates means that Paul did not seek personal interest when Paul preached the gospel to the Thessalonians (Fee, 2009:76, 77). The specific content specifying Paul's attitude points to his tent-making custom.

Paul did not use the prerogative of being an apostle of Jesus Christ, although he deserved it (2:7)²⁵. This is consistent with the testimony of 1 Corinthians 9 and reminds of the fact that Paul

²⁵ The text-critical evidence suggests ἡπιοι (gentle). The Nestle-Aland Greek text chose νήπιοι (infants) as original. Although both have advantages and disadvantages in interpretation (Fee, 2009:65-72),

did manual labour and gave up the proper right to be supported for the church. And considering that the word βάρος meaning authoritative weight might be interpreted into 'burden' (2:7) and 1 Thessalonians 2:9 indicates ἐπιβαρέω meaning to burden, one of the similar word group (2:9), it is reasonable to assume that the prerogative of an apostle is a right to receive financial support (Gupta, 2016:54). 1 Thessalonians 2:9 testifies to what extent Paul and his co-workers loved the Thessalonians (Still, 2012:10). Paul preached the gospel, working night and day so as to not burden any of the Thessalonians (2:9). Paul was willing to accept the sufferings of labour because he loved the Thessalonians, even though he had the right to be provided for. Giving up the right to receive financial support and enduring the suffering of tent-making when he preached the gospel are the proofs of Paul's holy, righteous, and blameless act toward them (2:10). Paul implies that such a service is as a father does to his children (2:11), which is similar to 2 Corinthians 12:13-18 as already explained above. This similarity suggests that one of the reasons Paul refused the right to receive financial aid and chose to suffer from manual labour was based on parents' love for their children. The love means Paul's effort to make the Thessalonian church members live a worthy life for God (2:12). This worthy life is seen as a life enduring the sufferings for the sake of Jesus Christ in 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians, and one example is Paul's tent-making custom. In that sense, Paul's financial policy, as described in 1 Thessalonians 2:7-12, embodies the suffering of Christ, which is consistent with that already mentioned in 1 and 2 Corinthians.

In conclusion, Paul's tent-making was an act of love and related to evangelism. His manual labour is the clearest example of the manner in which he preached the gospel in Thessalonica (Míguez, 2012:70, 71).

5.3.1.2 1 Thessalonians 4:9-12

Paul, who preached the gospel to the Thessalonians, had to leave after a very brief period because of persecution (Acts 17:1-9). Perhaps Paul was concerned about the young church. He had planned to go back to Thessalonica and take care of the church, but all seemed to have failed (2:18). So Paul sent Timothy to strengthen and encourage the Thessalonian churches who were suffering for their faith (3:2, 3). From Timothy, who returned from Thessalonica, Paul was delighted to hear that the Thessalonian believers were standing firm in faith (3:6-9).

Paul, who desired to complete what lacked in their faith and meet them again (3:10-13), encourages them to live a life that pleases God (4:1-12). Paul's instructions consist of teachings

they could support the attitude of Paul's tent-making. Firstly, if νήπιοι is chosen, it could be interpreted that Paul became a child. This can be understood as an emphasis on innocence, which expresses that Paul did not serve the Thessalonians for personal gain. Secondly, if ἡπιοι is chosen, it emphasises parents' love for their children. This has already been indicated similarly in 1 Thessalonians 2:11, and it is also used in 2 Corinthians 12:13-18.

of sexual immorality (4:3-8) and love in the community (4:9-12). Paul acknowledges that the Thessalonian church members are already doing well in their familial love with their church members (4:9). This is also known in the Macedonian region (4:10a). Paul asks the Thessalonian church members to be more enthusiastic in loving one another (4:10b, 11).

Firstly, Paul urges them to make it their ambition to lead a quiet life and attend to their own business. This can be said to be a practical counsel to the Thessalonian church members in tribulation from outside (Rulmu, 2010:395) due to sustaining their life in faith (3:3, 4), and be a way of loving each other as community members.

Secondly, the Thessalonian believers should try to work with their own hands. Although this teaching has been viewed as a warning against idleness that has been spread by the influence of impending eschatology, it is difficult to know the exact background of this teaching (Wanamaker, 1990:162) because it was a very common and ideal teaching at the time (Marshall, 1987:171). However, the purpose of Paul's instruction makes them to behave properly and diligently toward outsiders and to make them free from poverty. It means that they should try to obtain the respect of outsiders to avoid persecution, and they should maintain their own livelihood without financial support from other Christians. According to Davis (2017:233), the background of the teaching of manual labour is the patronage system. Failure to achieve financial independence might cause rich church members to have to provide financial means to poor members, and poor members might as a result become subordinate to wealthy members.

The teaching on labour of 1 Thessalonians 4:11 should be understood in terms of familial love in faith as already mentioned (Malherbe, 2012:217). Labour is not just understood as a means of livelihood. The Thessalonians, who already have an excellence in familial love in faith, should seek a higher level that is the labour for loving each other. This understanding, though there may be a difference in the direct background, indicates that the core message is exactly the same as Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9. Paul, who set an example of giving up the right for others and laboured manually, exhorted the Thessalonian church members to labour for others. This agrees with Marshall's statement that "[t]he association, then, between Paul's working and preaching in 1 Thessalonians is quite evident. His work and his other conduct formed part of the gospel he preached and had a pragmatic function" (Marshall, 1987:170). That is, Paul's tent-making is a way of witnessing the gospel he preached.

5.3.1.3 1 Thessalonians 5:14

One of the important teachings Paul wanted to convey to the Thessalonian church is related to eschatology. Answers to questions about believers who are already dead (4:13-18) and about the timing of the Lord's second coming (5:1-11) are related to the future, but also inherently to the

present. Paul's purpose for the present is to build the Thessalonian church on a sound foundation (4:18; 5:11, 13). For example, he might want to set up hard-working leaders as models (4:12) (Gupta, 2016:112). In this context, Paul might emphasise labour in order to correct those who are dependent financially on other church members (5:14a). Two reasons are possible for explaining Paul's focus on labour. Firstly, the Thessalonians might have been lazy because of an excessive expectation of the immediate coming of the Lord, so Paul instructs them to work hard. In other words, the importance of labour was subsumed by the excessive hope. Secondly, the teaching on eschatology of Paul derived from the loss of hope of the second coming of the Lord (Taylor, 2017:202-204, 216). They might be motivated through Paul's teaching. Paul hopes that the importance of labour would be promoted.

In conclusion, Paul's teaching of labour in 1 Thessalonians 5 indicates the attitude of the believer to expect the completion of salvation in the future. It is also the attitude of the church community to build up one another in love (Fee, 2009:210). Labour is not simply a means of livelihood and the removal of poverty, but a way of love that the church, which follows the death and resurrection of Christ, must now adopt, which is, similar to 1 Corinthians, loaded with teachings about how the Corinthian church should live in the present on the basis of Christ's death and resurrection. It is clear that the labour Paul exhorted to the Thessalonian church must be theologically understood and not only morally or practically.

5.3.1.4 2 Thessalonians 3:8

2 Thessalonians seems to have three primary purposes. Firstly, Paul wrote this letter to comfort the Thessalonian believers in persecution (1:3-12). Secondly, Paul attempts to correct the false teachings of the Lord's return (2:1-12). Lastly, Paul wants to solve the problem of the laziness of the Thessalonian church members (3:6-15). This demonstrates that 2 Thessalonians is quite similar to 1 Thessalonians. It implies that Paul's underlying theme indicated in 1 Thessalonians is presumed basically in 2 Thessalonians. If so, one should also remember the viewpoint of the attitude of believers who await the coming of Christ, which is important in 1 Thessalonians.

The Thessalonian believers already know what to do because he has already taught them about laziness (3:6b, 7a) and he has already set an example before them (3:7b-8). Paul acted orderly when he stayed with them (3:7b). He kept his livelihood by labouring manually to avoid burdening other members (3:8). The problem of idleness mentioned here should be understood in terms of the problem of harming the church community and the progress of the gospel (Beale, 2003:253). In this sense, the problem of idleness of the Thessalonians is essentially the same as the issue of eating food offered to idols in 1 Corinthians and the trouble of the false teachers in 2 Corinthians. In other words, the fact that Paul proposes his own tent-making custom as an example to be imitated is not just the purpose that makes the believers to live diligently. It should

be borne in mind that Paul's teachings have the purpose of strengthening the Thessalonian church theologically. The Thessalonian church should live in anticipation of Christ's return in times of tribulation (1:3-12). In such a situation, sound labour is essential to make a church community to stand firm. This is because labour corresponds to an act of love (Taylor, 2017:217) for sustaining the community in faith.

5.3.2 Conclusion

Through the two letters Paul wrote to the Thessalonian church, Paul's tent-making proves to be a way to solidify the church community in faith. It shows Paul's attitude of self-sacrifice for the sake of the church, which indicates the way of life that the church waiting for the second coming of the Lord should seek. Sound labour is one of the acts of love that can be expressed in the church community, and Paul's tent-making has set an example of love before the community. Paul's tent-making is for the benefit of others and is thus worthy of imitation by the Thessalonian church.

5.4 Characteristics of Paul's letters dealing with tent-making

Through the study of the texts regarding Paul's tent-making, it is noted that Paul's tent-making is the subject of theological significance (Míguez, 2012:71). However, not all Paul's letters deal with it. By looking at the characteristics of the letters that Paul refers to his own tent-making, one can determine to some extent Paul's criteria for introducing the subject of tent-making.

Firstly, Paul uses tent-making as an example to the church in Corinth in the context of disunity caused by spiritual arrogance (1 Corinthians). A church that lacks love among the members and claims each other's rights needs the principle of self-sacrifice demonstrated in Paul's tent-making. Paul's tent-making as an example of renunciation of one's proper rights is a way to love others and pursue the interests of neighbours as Jesus Christ did. Through this, the unity of the church is maintained.

Secondly, Paul uses tent-making as an example to the church in Corinth in the context of doubts and criticisms surrounding his apostleship (2 Corinthians). There are many things that are pointed out as reasons why Paul's apostleship has been criticised, such as Paul's in excellent rhetoric, lack of mysterious experience, poverty, labour, or discriminatory responses to financial support. When Paul is suspected of apostleship in relation to his tent-making, rather he presents it as evidence for a true apostle. For Paul, his tent-making is a kind of imitation of Christ's sacrificial ministry for others (1 Cor. 11:1). Although Christ's suffering in the sacrificial ministry is distinctive,

Paul's suffering for the sake of others "extends the same vicarious principle into the 'day of salvation'" (2 Cor. 1:6; 4:12, 15) (Barnett, 1997:515).

Thirdly, Paul uses tent-making as an example to the church in Thessalonica concerning perseverance in faith and a sound eschatological lifestyle (1 and 2 Thessalonians). The believers who seek maturity in faith should follow the example of Paul's tent-making. It encourages them to love each other. Additionally, the example can be a good antidote to laziness that came from an erroneous knowledge in eschatology. However, it should be borne in mind that the reason why Paul uses the example is that the idleness becomes harmful to the community. That is, Paul's example of tent-making is used to sustain the church not just to instruct them on a diligent life.

In conclusion, Paul's tent-making is used as a proof signifying the message of gospel from Jesus Christ. It is impossible to separate Paul's personal example of tent-making from his teachings for the unity and soundness of the church demonstrated in his letters.

5.5 Luke's witness

In the New Testament, Acts is the book where the information on Paul's tent-making can be obtained with the exception of the Pauline letters. It is true that doubts on the historicity about Luke's testimony have been raised because of the differences between Luke's testimony and the Pauline letters (Peterson, 2009:23). Additionally, Acts does not cover fully Paul's missionary life (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:1, 2). However, it is also true that Luke's record cannot be ignored (Bruce, 1988:4). Thus, it is necessary to examine texts regarding Paul's tent-making in Acts.

Firstly, through the book of Acts, one can see that Paul's occupation is a tentmaker²⁶ (18:3) (Hock, 1980:21). Although Paul mentions in his letters that he laboured, he does not specifically state what the profession is. Based on this record, excellent studies in Paul's tent-making from a social perspective have been conducted. However, it should be remembered that Paul did not reveal what his profession is in his letters. Paul might have had no need to mention his own profession because they already knew what he did. Or, Paul seems to focus more on his labour itself than what his profession is.

Secondly, Paul seems to have worked on the day except the Sabbath (18:3, 4). On the Sabbath, Paul taught in the synagogue and tried to persuade the Jews and Greeks. On the other days,

²⁶ The word σκηνοποιός in Acts 18:3 is the only reference to Paul's occupation in the New Testament. It is formed by combining σκηνή (a tent) and ποιέω (to make), namely a tentmaker. However, the occupation might not refer to a weaver of tentcloth because weaving was considered shameful for a young scholar. Thus it is likely that Paul was a leather-worker who manufactured tents and other products from leather (Michaelis, 1971:393, 394).

Paul might labour in a workshop placed in a location like a marketplace (Acts 17:11, 17; 19:12, cf. 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8). Labouring every day except the Sabbath, Paul preached the gospel to the people who he met at the workshop (Hock, 1980:42).

Thirdly, it is noted that Paul did not receive support from the Ephesian church when he stayed at Ephesus, and he supplied his own needs (20:33, 34), although Paul's reference of tent-making regarding the Ephesian church is not found in Paul's letters. In his teaching to the elders of the Ephesian church, it is indicated that Paul did not receive financial support from them, and through labour he fulfilled the material needs of his colleagues as well as his own (20:34). Paul's example should be imitated by the church of Ephesus so that they endeavour to care for the weak (20:35a). And this is the result of obeying the words of Jesus Christ: "It is more blessed to give than to receive" (20:35b). According to Schnabel (2016:852), the prophetic word of Revelation 2:4 for the Ephesian church might be the result of indifference to help the weak indicated in Paul's sermon for the elders of the Ephesian church.

Through Luke's testimony, it can be seen that Paul's tent-making is used not only for the purpose of livelihood but also for the purpose of effectively proclaiming the gospel of Christ. Furthermore, Paul also adopts his tent-making custom as a means of his imitation of Christ. This means that Paul's tent-making in the book of Acts is not different from that in the Pauline letters.

5.6 Paul's collection for the believers of Jerusalem

To assist our understanding of Paul's tent-making, we now turn our attention to Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers. This is because Paul's tent-making and collection for the Jerusalem church are the most representative financial policies in Paul's ministry. The research in comparison of the two may provide interesting messages about Paul's financial policies. Also, the offering for the believers in Jerusalem is sharply contrasted with Paul's refusal of financial support (Punt, 2000b:471). Paul did not accept financial support for himself, but he actively sought funding for financial support for the poor believers in Jerusalem. From a social perspective, he allowed the Corinthians to become benefactors to the believers in Jerusalem, but not to himself (Witherington, 1995:467). They are similar in terms of financial policy, but superficially have opposite characteristics. In that sense, it would be beneficial to compare them after identifying the principles and key messages of Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers.

5.6.1 Characteristics of general donations at that time

Firstly, there is no evidence of fundraising for the benefit of community members to which donors do not belong (Kloppenborg, 2017:191). Donors primarily donated for their neighbourhood

(Stenschke, 2015:3). This means that donors donated when they were related relationally and geographically. In this sense, it was quite unusual for Christians from a gentile background to collect money for the poor Jewish believers of Jerusalem who were geographically and culturally, even religiously, far away.

Secondly, in the Greco-Roman society, reciprocity was demanded if something was granted (Eubank, 2015:174, 175). Donors donated to people who could give back something including honour, which was an important value at the time (Stenschke, 2015:3). The custom of donation, which flowed from the patronage system, was to impose the obligation of a return favour on those who were sponsored. From the perspective of the patronage system, Paul's collection might have been a kind of material compensation for spiritual blessings springing from Jerusalem. However, it is rather to be viewed as a tool of witness to God's grace (Ott, 2018:7) as well as a financial donation. Thus material compensation as return favour by the Jewish believers in Jerusalem would not have been expected (cf. Lk. 6:35). Any return favour by the believers in Jerusalem would rather have been expected to be founded on Christ's love for the Gentile believers.

Thirdly, there was no donation that directly helped the poor (Kloppenborg, 2017:191). Donations by upper-class members were largely confined to providing entertainment for the citizens or providing infrastructure for the purpose of maintaining their political influence (Longenecker, 2011:32). Thus such a donation was not effective in alleviating poverty. But Paul's collection for the Jerusalem church was for the poor believers (Longenecker, 2011:43). Even the research into Paul's collection by White and Batson (2016) argues that the purpose of Paul's collection focused on the poor people rather than on the poor believers. Although it might not have completely solved poverty of the Jerusalem church, it is significant that it had the purpose of directly helping the poor.

Fourthly, Greeks and Romans did not raise money for relieving others' poverty (Longenecker, 2011:28). The aid to the poor of the Jews took place mainly within the Jewish community and there is little reason to think that the Gentiles are the objects of aid (Longenecker, 2011:33). It was after Christianity was preached that the Gentiles became objects of financial help. In that sense, Gentiles' collection for the Jewish believers must be strong evidence of the transformation of Gentile believers.

Fifthly, it was not natural for the Gentiles to donate for the Jews (Stenschke, 2015:1). At that time, there were people among the Gentiles who had a favourable view of Judaism and became 'God-fearers' (Acts 10:22). But there were also Gentiles who had negative views on the Jewish history like the exodus from Egypt and their distinguishing practices such as circumcision, dietary laws and the Sabbath. Especially, the Sabbath was considered evidence of the Jews' laziness (Bohak, 2010:669). Also, at the time Paul delivered the offering, the Jews' hostility in Jerusalem toward

the Gentiles was strong (Stenschke, 2017:4). It was surprising that in this situation the Gentiles made donations to solve the poverty of the Jews.

In conclusion, Paul's offering for the poor saints of Jerusalem was a special donation with features that were quite different from the practices of Greco-Roman society at the time.

5.6.2 Research on Paul's collection

Ogereau (2012:362) summarises the research into Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers into the following four categories, although they are not exclusive to each other.

Firstly, Paul's collection is for a generous act for material alleviation (Meggitt, 1998:159). This assertion is mainly based on the interpretation of Galatians 2:10, namely that Paul sought to raise money to practise what he had heard when he went up to Jerusalem, "remember the poor." This argument has provoked opposition that Galatians 2:10 is not related to Paul's offering for the church in Jerusalem (Wedderburn, 2002:95-110; Longenecker, 2010:263-275). However, it should be remembered that the Jerusalem church had suffered from great famine when Paul's collection was in process (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:241). It is true that Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers had theological significances, but it must have been that one of his purposes was to alleviate poverty.

Secondly, Paul's collection indicates the fulfilment of an eschatological event prophesied by the prophets in the Old Testament (Munck, 1977:303, 304). Isaiah 2:2, 60:5 and Micah 4:1 are used as evidence that the prophecies of the prophets were fulfilled through Paul's ministry of collection. Additionally, Paul declares before King Agrippa and in Rome that he is on trial and wearing a chain because of the hope of the promise made by God to his fathers (Acts 26:6; 28:20). This indicates that the purpose of Paul's journey lies in the fulfilment of God's promises. It supports that Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers could also be included among the fulfilments of prophecies of the Old Testament (Wilson, 2017:376). However, Downs (2008:7, 8) criticises that those who claim the pilgrimage tradition in Romans 11:25 or 15:12 should explain why Paul did not show the viewpoint of the eschatological pilgrims of the nations in Romans 15:25-32 dealing with Paul's journey to Jerusalem. However, Downs' criticism could be weakened by the argument of Samuel (2016:155, 156) that Romans 15:27 reflects the Old Testament prophecy in the sense that it was the reward of the Gentiles who have learned the law. Furthermore, the fruit that appears at Romans 15:28 means good deeds of the converted Gentiles and can be seen as indicating that the Old Testament prophecy of the Gentiles' pilgrimage is ready to be fulfilled.

Thirdly, Paul's collection is the expression of the Gentiles' moral and/or social obligation towards the Jews (Joubert, 2000:139). This is basically an understanding of Paul's collection based on Romans 15:27 from a social perspective. This means that Paul's collection for the Jerusalem

believers corresponds to a reward of Gentile believers as clients in relation to the Jewish believers as patrons, based on the patronage system of the Greco-Roman society, reflecting the value system of his time. However, the weakness of this interpretation lies in its lack of a theological foundation. It is clear that Paul understands the collection based on the Old Testament and Christology. If so, it is reasonable to conclude both a theological understanding and an understanding of the basis of the patronage system.

Fourthly, Paul's collection was a symbol of an ecumenical offering indicating unity and solidarity (Downs, 2006:183; Ott, 2018:6). Paul's collection for the Jerusalem church indicates the unity of Jew and Gentile believers in Christ. It was a symbol of removal of the gap between the Jews and the Gentiles and formation of one community due to the ministry of Jesus Christ.

However, it seems reasonable that Samuel (2016) argues that the fulfilment of an eschatological event can encompass other understandings. In support of Munck's assertion, he claims that Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers is the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies, based on the evidence in the texts regarding the offering in the Pauline letters.

Firstly, he argues that Isaiah 55 in 2 Corinthians 9:10 might indicate that Paul's collection reflected the pilgrimage of Gentiles (Samuel, 2016:147, 148), and the evidence that Paul's ministry was influenced by the Hebrew text of Isaiah 66 relates the collection to the pilgrimage of Gentiles in Romans (Samuel, 2016:148-151).

Secondly, he insists that thematically the collection is also connected to the pilgrimage of Gentiles as follows:

Paul affirms in 2 Cor 9 that the collection will be a proof that the Gentiles are in submission to the Messiah, and that it represents the unity of Jews and Gentiles in the salvation history. The same theme is also present in many texts of the pilgrimage of Gentiles tradition: the peregrination represents the Gentiles submitting to the God of Israel and making peace with the Jews. Furthermore, the texts that describe the Gentiles bringing gifts to Jerusalem may have the same nuance, in that the gift is a "gift of peace," according to the gift-giving conventions of the ancient Near East (Samuel, 2016:155).

In Paul's view, it is Jerusalem who shared spiritual things with the world. Jesus died and was resurrected in Jerusalem, and the Gospel came out from Jerusalem through the apostles and other missionaries. Even more, ethical directives to the Gentiles came from Jerusalem, through the letter written on the occasion of the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:1-30). The Gentiles owe to the Jerusalem church because they have shared from the spiritual things that came out from Jerusalem, just as in the pilgrimage of the nations, where the Gentiles reciprocate the gift of the law and the glory of YHWH they are sharing (Samuel, 2016:156) (*Italic is author's*).

Lastly, historical evidence in the book of Acts supports this claim of Munck (Samuel, 2016:156-159). Samuel argues that the Gentile believers who accompanied Paul according to Acts 20:4 demonstrate the fulfilment of Zechariah 8:23. Similarly, Acts 21:27-29 also shows the expectation of pilgrimage of Gentiles. Additionally, he thinks that it may be significant that Paul visited the Jerusalem church with the Gentile believers during the time of Pentecost. According to Josephus, “the gathering of Jews during the festivals was an occasion when sentiments of rage against the Gentile oppression grew and revolts were fermented” (Samuel, 2016:157). Samuel (2016:157) argues that “Paul wanted to perform a public act, which might mean that he wanted somehow to “provoke to jealousy” his compatriots at Jerusalem during the festival.”

Samuel admits that these grounds mentioned in his research are not conclusive, but it demonstrates that the research of Munck can include other kinds of research in Paul’s collection for the Jerusalem church. As a result, the topic of the fulfilment of an eschatological event may be the best understanding in Paul’s collection for the believers in Jerusalem.

5.6.3 Key messages of Paul’s collection for the Jerusalem believers

There are three texts in the letters of Paul that deal directly with the collection for Jerusalem (1 Corinthians 16, 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, and Romans 15). Additionally, Galatians 2 points to the collection for the Jerusalem church. By analysing these texts, one might identify key messages from Paul’s collection.

5.6.3.1 1 Corinthians 16:1-4

The text of 1 Corinthians 16 deals primarily with technical aspects of the collection, and thus presents less theological concerns than other texts (Samuel, 2016:144). Consequently, it has rarely been referred to in the research of Paul’s collection. However, the text points to elements that are relevant to this study.

Firstly, Paul instructed the Corinthian church on the collection for the Jerusalem church as he did the Galatian church. This suggests that the fund-raising project for Jerusalem was not done by one church only (Stenschke, 2017:6). One can see that some churches involved by Paul have participated in the offering for Jerusalem whether they were poor or relatively rich. This also allows identifying the nature of the unity of the church that Paul’s collection intends.

Secondly, Paul is mindful of the Corinthian believers not misunderstanding his intention to raise money. Murphy-O’Connor (1997:319) claims that Paul’s intention to raise money was under suspicion. It is not clear whether he wanted to avoid such misunderstandings, but Paul declares that those who are approved by the Corinthian believers will bring the gift for the Jerusalem church (16:3). It seems like an effort on Paul’s part not to undermine the significance of the offering.

5.6.3.2 2 Corinthians 8-9

2 Corinthians 8 and 9 include the longest account of the collection for the Jerusalem believers. Paul's purpose seems clear. It encourages the Corinthian church to participate more actively in the project. It seems that the Corinthian church poorly supported the offering for Jerusalem, and Paul motivates the offering through the letter. The salient points to be found in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 are as follows:

Firstly, the collection is based on the grace God has given to the church (8:1, 4, 6, 7, 9). And this grace indicates God's salvation through Jesus Christ (Betz, 1985:42), who became poor in order to make the believers rich. Paul emphasises that the gospel, a message of salvation through Christ's death and resurrection, is demonstrated through the collection (Andemicael, 2016:627). This grace causes the believers to participate in serving others with favour (8:4). In other words, not only the conversion and devotion of life in Christ, but the collection for the Jerusalem church are also understood in terms of grace. So, the Corinthians should participate eagerly in the project of collection for the Jerusalem believers considering the many gifts that they have (8:7, cf. 1 Cor. 1:5). Strictly speaking, as a result of God's grace (χάρις), the gift (χάρισμα) of giving gifts to the believers should be revealed (cf. Rom. 12:8) (Barnett, 1999:142). Therefore donations should be made by voluntary participation rather than compulsory request (9:5-7).

Secondly, the participation in the collection is a way of imitating Jesus Christ (8:9) (Lim, 2013:25-27). Jesus Christ became poor to enrich the Corinthians through His poverty. Paul expresses the collection based on Christ's redemptive ministry in an economic language. If it is possible for the Corinthians to supplement what is lacking in the believers in Jerusalem, the opposite is also possible. Through this, there may be equality (8:14, 15). Sharing others in need corresponds to a kind of imitation of Jesus Christ. According to Betz (1985:61), "the Jerusalem collection presented the perfect opportunity to respond appropriately to the example of Christ." In other words, although the terms regarding μιμητής are not directly used, it is clear that Paul is asking believers to imitate the sacrificial attitude of Jesus Christ (Andemicael, 2016:623).

Thirdly, the example of the Macedonian (8:1-5) and Achaian believers (9:2) used to motivate the Corinthian believers in the collection for the Jerusalem church indicates that the Macedonian and Achaian believers have already imitated Jesus Christ. Especially, the Macedonians' "abundance of joy and their deep poverty overflowed in the wealth of their liberality" in spite of a great deal of affliction (8:2). The believers lived in joy even though they were in the sufferings of Christians and they gave material gifts for the Jerusalem church even though they were extremely poor, which is "a result of their conversion to Christianity" (Betz, 1985:43). It means that they have served the work of spreading the gospel as a way of self-dedication (8:5). The Achaian believers might be

willing to contribute to the collection for the Jerusalem church through their preparedness (9:2). This example indicates that they have embodied the cross of Jesus Christ for the sake of others.

Fourthly, the word ἰσότης has an economic and theological significance. Paul presents ἰσότης as a goal of the collection, quoting Exodus 16:18 (8:13-15), which is “not an exploitative vertical flow of resources, which characterized the imperial system” (Friesen, 2008:28). Agreeing with the argument of Friesen, Welborn (2013) seeks a regular inclination in Paul based on three contexts of the Greco-Roman society: friendship, politics, and the cosmos. The author argues that Paul’s collection has the purpose of overturning the ancient logic of unequal balance as the way for achieving ‘equality’, which is opposed by Tucker (2014). Tucker (2014:69) argues that Paul did not seek “economic equality through redistributive action since he did not address the equally dire economic situation of the Macedonians”, although he seems concerned about the main economic question for daily food in antiquity. As Tucker argues, it is unlikely that the purpose is to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor merely from an economic point of view. This must be understood in relation to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The evidence is as follows: 2 Corinthians 8:13-15 quoting the manna passage of Exodus is based on the grace of Christ (8:1, 4, 6, 7, 9). Additionally, 2 Corinthians 9:12, 13 also says that supplementing the lack of the believers is testifying to the faithful submission of the gospel of Christ (cf. 8:2). However, it is undeniable that Paul’s collection has a purpose to relieve poverty of believers in Jerusalem on the surface. Thus the perspective of economy should also be adopted. In this sense, equality must be understood in both an economic concept and a theological concept (cf. Gal. 3:28).

Fifthly, Paul hopes that the offering would be delivered without problems (8:16-24). For the transparency in the process of sending a large amount of offering, Paul instructed Titus, who was recommended by many churches, to deliver the offering. Paul wanted not to be criticised by misunderstandings of dishonesty in money, which was an important part of his ministry (cf. 1 Cor. 16:1-4).

Sixthly, God is the source of the generosity of the believers (cf. 8:1, 4, 6, 7, 9), and is the One who abundantly compensates their service (9:6-10). Harris (2005:644) explains this pericope as follows: Firstly, “God supplies and multiplies the Corinthians’ store of seed intended for sowing (τὸν σπόρον ὑμῶν)”. Secondly, “The Corinthians sow this seed by giving generously (= δικαιοσύνη = σπείρειν ἐπ’ εὐλογίαις, v. 6)”. Thirdly, “A rich harvest (γενήματα = θερίζειν ἐπ’ εὐλογίαις) results from their δικαιοσύνη”. Fourthly, “God swells (αὐξήσει) that harvest, enlarging its proportions”. In summary, God is the one who gives seeds for abundance for the sake of believers’ generosity, and He makes believers richer when they practice charity.

Lastly, the collection for the saints of Jerusalem is not only aimed at the alleviation of poverty, but also for the many thanks that people give to God (9:12). It means that the gratitude to God is

overflowing because of the financial support for the poor. And, when it is remembered that the offering is from the Gentile believers, this appreciation may be based on an eschatological interpretation of the collection. As a result of the grace of God, thanksgiving would be overflowed due to the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament that the Gentiles bring wealth to the Jews (9:11, 12). The offering for the believers of Jerusalem would demonstrate that the Corinthians are testified and proved that they faithfully believed and obeyed the gospel of Christ (Samuel, 2016:152). Through this, the believers glorify God (9:13). This reminds of the concept of sacrifice for others demonstrated in 1 Corinthians (8-10), where the gospel of Jesus Christ is at its core, and it means that the essence of the gospel of Christ is revealed through the collection for the Jerusalem believers.

5.6.3.3 Romans 15:25-32²⁷

The letter to the Romans spends many chapters describing the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 2, 3, 9-11, 15), which is one of the most serious issues in Paul's ministry. Thus, in the letter, the Gentile Christians' offerings for the Jewish Christians are significant to the extent that Jewett (2006:83) argues that the focus of Romans is Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers. Paul's collection functioned as evidence that the Gentile believers became the fruits of the gospel through his ministry (15:28); therefore Paul's collection for the Jerusalem corresponds to a notable topic to represent the purpose of Romans regarding the relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

The reason Paul goes to Jerusalem is to serve the poor believers there (15:25). The purpose is that Paul wants to deliver the gift, which the believers in Macedonia and Achaia collected, to the poor believers of Jerusalem (15:26). Ogereau (2012:371) argues that the term *κοινωνία* focuses on the relationship between Jews and Gentiles rather than on the collection itself. This seems to be an argument in favour of the significance of the unity of the Jews and the Gentiles. However, *πτωχός* (15:26) and *σαρκικός* (15:27) seem to point to *κοινωνία* towards indicating directly the

²⁷ There is an argument that Romans 15:16 also indicates Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers, although this part only deals with Romans 15:25-32, which directly refers to Paul's collection. According to Downs (2006), *ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν* in Romans 15:16 should be interpreted as a reference to the collection for the Jerusalem believers by the Gentile believers. But, in general, this phrase has been understood to explain the ministry of Paul, who gives the Gentiles themselves to God. This is supported by the Muncck's eschatological achievement analysis. That is, the phrase in Rom 15:16 is seen as the eschatological fulfilment of Isaiah 66:20. However, unlike Isaiah 66:20, it is the Gentiles who are offered to Jerusalem in Romans 15:16. Schreiner (2018:740, 741) understands that *ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν* in Romans 15:16 is not the Gentiles' offering but Paul's giving the Gentiles to God. This is because the Gentiles do not deliver donations directly. Downs (2006:174) says that for various reasons including issues of grammar, verbal, and conceptual links, *ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν* can be interpreted as a subjective genitive. One of them is because *προσφορὰ* means religious offerings (Acts 21:26; Heb. 10:18), but also material gifts and benefactions. He argues that Romans 15:16 and 15:25-32 viewed together use metaphorical language taken from the realm of cultic worship (cf. Betz, 1985:47). With the common element of cultic worship language, Paul's collection is one of activities of his ministry for the Gentiles (Downs, 2006:183).

collection for the Jerusalem believers. The former focusing on the unity is available, but the latter indicating the collection seems to be better.

The contribution of the Gentiles is not merely a financial support for the poor, but a reward for spiritual benefits (15:27). In other words, Paul's offering does not simply mean poverty relief; it has theological significance from the relationship between the Jews and Gentiles in faith. This weakens the argument of White and Batson (2016) that Paul's offering is not for the poor believers in Jerusalem, but instead of it, his purpose is that the collection would be distributed to the poor people in Jerusalem through the believers. When considering Paul's concern for his own people (Rom. 9:3), the argument based on the manuscript of P⁴⁶ looks reasonable. However, it is clear that Romans 15:25-32 pointed to the believers in Jerusalem as the first priority, even though one admits the new interpretation of Romans 15:31. It seems possible to say that the unbelieving poor might become a secondary target of donation through the believers as an agent.

Paul wanted to confirm the fruit of the Gentile believers to the Jewish ones (15:28). This indicates that the significance of the salvation of Gentiles in Paul's missionary work is reflected in the collection for the Jerusalem believers. Paul's offering for Jerusalem has always been claimed to have eschatological significances (Nickle, 1966:129-142). This means that Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers should be understood in the framework of the tradition of the pilgrimage of the Gentiles to Jerusalem in the Old Testament. As already mentioned, this understanding seems to be the best view to understand Paul's offering because various research in Paul's offerings could be included in it (Samuel, 2016). In other words, Paul's offerings can be understood as a sign for the partial realisation of the economic equality (Ogereau, 2012:377, 378) within the alliance of the Gentiles and the Jews (Holmberg, 1978:38, 40).

5.6.3.4 Galatians 2:10

Paul's trip to the city of Jerusalem had purposes for "a mutual understanding with the Jerusalem leadership over the form, scope and direction of future missionary activity, as well as to obtain their approbation of the work already accomplished" (Nickle, 1966:42). Paul, who ascended to Jerusalem and determined the direction of his ministry with the apostles there, refers to the fact that the apostles of Jerusalem asked him to remember the poor.

According to Betz (1979:101, 102), the verb *μνημονεύω* meaning 'to remember' refers to a "specific, ongoing financial subsidy" in the verse. Although it is not sure whether "the poor" are identical to the Jerusalem church, the tense *μνημονεύω* indicating a continued action (Burton, 1948:99) shows that there was Paul's concrete aid for the poor known to the Galatians. Given the purpose of defending Paul's apostleship, it indicates that Paul conforms to the agreements

determined at the apostolic meeting and corresponds to one of the evidences of Paul's apostleship.

Some scholars argue that the result of this reference is the collection for the believers of Jerusalem (Nickle, 1966:40-73; Bruce, 1982:126; Joubert, 2000:73-115). However, there is also the assertion that the apostle's request does not refer to the offering for the poor believers of Jerusalem, but to general poor relief (Fung, 1988:102; Wedderburn, 2002:95-110; Longenecker, 2007:58). It seems true that there is no direct evidence that the apostle's requests in Galatians 2:10 refer to the offering for the believers in Jerusalem.

However, when remembering that Paul's fund-raising basically intended to alleviate the poverty of the believers in Jerusalem, it could be accepted that the request of Galatians 2:10 is similar to the purpose of the offering for the Jerusalem believers (cf. Acts 11:27-30) and, contextually, because the purpose of the apostolic meeting is related to the Gentiles, the request to remember the poor might not be confined solely to poverty alleviation. The main purpose was to alleviate poverty, but it is possible that sharing for achieving the unity of churches was considered. In this sense, Galatians 2:10 might refer to Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers.

5.6.3.5 Paul's principles on the collection for the believers of Jerusalem

Firstly, Paul's collection has as a basic purpose to relieve poverty. At that time, severe famine led the people in Jerusalem to food crises (Joubert, 2000:107-111). The believers in Jerusalem could not avoid the situation. Acts 4:32-35 might be their reaction to the severe famine. The solution demonstrated in Acts 4:32-35 had limitations so that aid from outside was needed. As a result, Paul might begin to collect money for the believers in Jerusalem.

Secondly, Paul's collection for the Jerusalem church is based on God's grace. The grace of conversion and transformation through Christ's redemptive ministry has brought about the manifestation of gifts to believers. The collection is the result of the grace. The wealth should be understood as a "communicated good" not as believers' possession, because God gives it (2 Cor. 9:8-10).

Thirdly, the collection seeks the unity and solidarity of churches, which was prophesied by the prophets in the Old Testament. The collection on the basis of God's grace immediately is evidence of the unity of churches (Mounce, 1995:269). This is because all believers were saved by the grace of God's redemption. As long as the collection reminds of God's grace, it provides the need for solidarity of the church (Schreiner, 2010:131). The collection also serves to certify that the barriers including ethnicity and economy have been removed by Christ's redemptive ministry.

Fourthly, Paul's collection for the Jerusalem church is an act of imitating Jesus Christ. The Gentiles' offering for the Jerusalem church through Paul means giving up the honour that they hope to get in their region, and the abandonment of economic sufficiency. This is the act of following Christ's incarnation and sacrifice to save sinners. In that sense, Paul's collection has Christological and soteriological characters.

5.6.4 Relationship between Paul's collection and his tent-making

5.6.4.1 Differences

The differences between Paul's collection and his tent-making are based on the diversity of contexts. Firstly, Paul refused financial support and laboured manually while he asked other churches to support the Jerusalem church economically. Paul has a conflicting attitude in terms of financial support. However, this is due to differences in those who receive financial support. As already seen, considering Paul's request for financial support for the missionary journey (1 Cor. 16:6) and the offering for the church in Jerusalem has a Christological and soteriological meaning, it could be seen that he did not hesitate to request financial support for the proclamation of gospel.

Secondly, for Paul, his tent-making was private, but the collection for the Jerusalem church was a catholic project. Despite many proper reasons for receiving financial support, Paul refused financial support and chose to labour. Although there is a theological background, it was a personal choice to perform manual labour. On the other hand, the collection for Jerusalem was a project putting together the Gentile churches into one church in Jesus Christ. It is a demonstration of the unity of the church including Jews and Gentiles.

Thirdly, Paul had an inconsistent attitude to receive financial support from the church, depending on the circumstances of the church and his relationship with the church. However, the collection for the Jerusalem believers seems to have been required of all the Gentile churches involved in Paul. Paul was greatly pleased with participations of the believers of Macedonia and Achaia in the collection for the believers in Jerusalem, despite the poverty of churches (2 Cor. 8:1-5; 9:2) while he laboured in order to avoid burdening the church economically.

5.6.4.2 Similarities

Firstly, Paul's tent-making and collection for Jerusalem are financial policies, so they caused controversies in Paul's ministry. Paul's tent-making led to controversy mainly about the qualifications of an apostle, and his collection contributed to the suspicion of his integrity and transparency in finance. Because Paul's tent-making and collection formed a very important public and personal policy, Paul made efforts to solve the controversies related to the issues.

Secondly, the purpose of Paul's tent-making and collection for Jerusalem was to relieve the poor. One of the reasons Paul did tent-making was to not put an economic burden on the poor church members, and Paul's collection had a purpose to relieve the poverty of the saints of Jerusalem who were suffering in the famine at the time. These two economic policies bear theological significance, but it is clear that they are basically aimed at alleviating poverty from an economic point of view. But the concern for the poor is not simply a humanitarian dimension, but an expression of love required by the gospel of Christ.

Thirdly, Paul's tent-making and collection for Jerusalem represent an act of imitation of Jesus Christ. The texts dealing with the two financial policies are grounded in Christ's redemptive ministry. In particular, these two cases reflect the meaning of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. 1 Corinthians 9, where the message of Paul's tent-making is most evident, reveals the value of self-sacrifice for others. 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, where Paul's collection is most detailed, provides a basic principle of the collection for the Jerusalem believers with Christ's becoming poor for the sake of others' abundance. This indicates that the seemingly conflicting two were in fact consistent acts with a similar theological intention.

Fourthly, there were similar customs with Paul's tent-making and collection in Greco-Roman society at the time. So, by studying from a social point of view, one can gain useful information about Paul's tent-making and the collection. However, they have distinctive traits. This is because both indicate a way of effective expression of the gospel.

Fifthly, Paul's tent-making is humiliating and painful and the collection for the believers in Jerusalem also has many obstacles. As already mentioned, social studies on labour in Greco-Roman society illuminate that labour itself was a humble activity at the time of Paul and that the lives of labourers were very tough. Additionally, the studies show that it was not common for the Gentiles to raise money for the Jews and those who were far away. Both were hard to do.

Sixthly, both are related to Paul's apostolic defence. Paul's tent-making led to doubts about Paul's apostleship, but rather Paul has shown his tent-making to be one of the apostolic qualifications. This means that his tent-making corresponds to the imitation of Jesus Christ. And Paul argues that his collection is imitating the ministry of Christ and is in accordance with the ministry of the apostles because he acts in compliance with the consensus determined at the apostolic meeting.

In conclusion, the two contexts differ, but they are based on the same purpose. In Paul's personal policy or ecumenical project, it is clear that Paul had a consistent principle. The principle is the spread of the message of the gospel.

5.6.5 Conclusion

Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers plays an important role in Paul's apostolic ministry. It is the fulfilment of the event already prophesied in the Old Testament, and it witnesses that the redemptive work of Christ has been effective so that the Gentiles and the Jews formed one church in faith, although it was not common at the time for the Gentiles to raise money for the Jews and for people of other regions. This means that Paul's collection not only sustains and affirms Christ's redemptive ministry.

The comparison of Paul's tent-making and collection for the Jerusalem church reveals that Paul has a consistent attitude regardless of his personal or public financial policy. Though each background is different, the consistency strengthens the understanding of the theological aspect of Paul's tent-making. Paul's tent-making and collection are very important parts of his ministry. In the crucial parts, the two are manifested in a coherent theological emphasis as a way of imitating self-sacrifice represented by the cross of Jesus Christ. This implies that the influence of the cross of Jesus Christ was considerable for Paul's life and ministry.

5.7 Conclusion

In 2 Corinthians, Paul chose to conform to the suffering of Jesus Christ demonstrated in his refusal of support and tent-making as the way to restore the Corinthian church tempted by false teachers. Additionally, in the letters to the Thessalonians, Paul's tent-making indicates the attitude of self-sacrifice for the sake of the church waiting for the second coming of the Lord. Paul's tent-making corresponds to an example of loving one another. Additionally, Paul's tent-making shares common points with his collection for the believers in Jerusalem. It is noted that his labour and collection are equally based on the significance of the cross of Jesus Christ. Through this, the message of the cross is a consistent principle when Paul strives hard as an apostle.

Paul's tent-making indicates that the gospel has had a great influence on Paul's life and ministry. The event of Jesus Christ's death and resurrection changed Paul's life and determined the direction of his life. It has been implied in the texts regarding his tent-making in his letters. Why, then, did Paul reflect the message of the cross in his tent-making? In the next Chapters it should be studied what theological elements influenced Paul's tent-making.

CHAPTER 6 THE INFLUENCE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT ON PAUL'S TENT-MAKING

6.1 Introduction²⁸

As explained in Chapters 4 and 5, Paul's tent-making cannot be explained without due cognisance of the influence of the suffering of Jesus Christ. While it is true that Paul's tent-making could be explained in terms of the circumstantial reasons implied in each letter, the reasons are also consistently associated with Christ's suffering. In other words, Paul's sufferings emanating from his own tent-making are closely related to Christ's sufferings.

If the texts in which Paul refers to tent-making confirm this link to the suffering of Christ, it should be examined in more detail why Paul's tent-making points to the suffering of Jesus Christ. The results of this in-depth study may indicate the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, which is the main objective of this thesis. Phrased differently: Did the significance of Paul's occupation change after his conversion experience on the way to Damascus? Consequently, it is necessary to investigate theological influences that are significant in Paul's tent-making. In other words: what theological influences caused Paul's tent-making to reflect the message of the cross of Jesus Christ?

In this chapter, the focus is on the theological influence of the Old Testament. It is clear that Paul was well-acquainted with the Old Testament when taken into account his Jewish background and his own understanding of his apostleship in the context of the Old Testament. Based on his background and understanding, it might be assumed that the Old Testament influenced the significance of Paul's tent-making. The next chapter will reflect on the influence of Paul's experience on the way to Damascus. Paul's experience, the decisive event in him becoming a believer in Jesus Christ, is likely to have influenced his tent-making, which occupied a central place in Paul's life and mission.

In the Old Testament, especially in some aspects' the theology of land might be compared with Paul's tent-making. Firstly, Paul says that the Corinthian believers are "God's field" in 1 Corinthians 3:9. God's field reminds of the promised land of Israel in the Old Testament and Paul might be comparing the church with Israel (Bailey, 2011:135). Secondly, the theology of land and Paul's tent-making have a similar implication of maintaining the congregation and the concept of self-sacrifice for neighbours.

²⁸ This Chapter uses New American Standard Bible translated by the Lockman Foundation and quotes the biblical texts from the website of the foundation (<http://www.lockman.org/misc/readonline.php>).

6.2 Theology of land

6.2.1 The influence of the Old Testament on Paul

Since Paul lived as a Jew in the background of the Greco-Roman society, he must have been under Jewish influences as a Jew as well as Hellenistic influences (Porter, 2008:119, 120, 123, 124). The most notable thing of the Jewish elements that influenced Paul's ideas and letters is the Old Testament (Porter, 2016:77). There is no great disagreement that Paul frequently made use of the Old Testament (Punt, 2000a:311). Most of all, Paul himself considered the Old Testament to be available and relevant to his contemporaries (Rom. 15:4; 1 Cor. 10:11).

Paul directly quotes the Old Testament 88 times only in Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians (Porter, 2016:77, 78). There also are many indirect quotations and allusions. This means that Paul's understanding of the Old Testament is important in order to understand his claims in the Pauline letters. Porter (2016:79, 80) argues that no one can limit Paul's use of the Old Testament to any one model or category, given that Paul made use of the various ways for the interpretation of the Old Testament. This implies that Paul's use of the Old Testament might be much more varied than one thinks.

After his conversion, Paul realised that his conversion derived from the will of God, that Jesus was the Messiah and Lord, that he and all believers had to worship before Him, and that the church was to be involved with Jesus Christ in the same way Israel related to God (cf. 2 Cor. 4:1-11; Eph. 3:6; Heb. 8:8-13) (Capes, 2018:183). Ultimately, the cross and the resurrection of Jesus Christ caused Christians, including Paul, to look back on the Old Testament and interpret it in the light of Christ (Capes, 2018:188). Thus it is important to determine how Paul saw the Old Testament in the light of Christ, and consequently Paul's use of the Old Testament has been vigorously studied and debated (Moyise, 2010:125). What is clear, however, is that Paul used the Old Testament extensively in his letters (Goswell, 2013:459) and that he interpreted the Old Testament as part of his assistance to the churches in trouble (Hays, 1989:5).

Of special importance is the fact that Paul interprets and understands the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ in the context of the Old Testament (1 Cor. 15:3, 4; Rom. 1:4). That is to say, Paul's understanding of the Old Testament is important when remembering that Paul dedicated his life to preaching the gospel after his Damascus experience. Therefore scholars have attempted to determine the significant elements of Paul's life and ministry in the context of the Old Testament. For example, Tucker (2014) argues that the collection for the Jerusalem believers was influenced by the manna narrative of the Old Testament. Wilson (2017) claims that in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 Paul chose a three-year tithe model derived from Deuteronomy. In other words, Paul's collection for the Jerusalem believers could be understood in the Old Testament

background, as already indicated in Chapter 5. If so, there is a possibility that Paul's tent-making, which is largely viewed within his private life but was also important in his ministry, could be also placed and interpreted in the context of the Old Testament.

It is clear that Paul and his apostleship have been influenced by the Old Testament. However, this cannot be considered as direct evidence of the relationship between Paul's tent-making and the Old Testament. However, if Paul's tent-making that played an important role in his life and mission has a theological significance as already studied, it also means that the influence of the Old Testament should not be excluded. This is because the Old Testament affected Paul's missionary life to a large extent. There might be themes in the Old Testament linked to Paul's life and mission, but in this thesis the theology of land, one of the most important themes in the Old Testament, will be studied and compared with Paul's tent-making.

Especially in 1 Corinthians, Paul refers to the idea of a theology of land. In 1 Corinthians 6:9-11 Paul warns that wrongdoers will not inherit the kingdom of God (6:9). This list of wrongdoings recalls Deuteronomy 28:15-68, where a list of curses indicates that those who disobey God will be expelled from the promised land. Accepting that Paul interprets the promised land of the Old Testament in the light of the coming of Christ, 1 Corinthians 6:9-11 constitutes a parallel with the warnings of Deuteronomy within the framework of curse and punishment. Additionally, in 1 Corinthians 3:9 Paul identifies the Corinthians community as God's field and building. Bailey (2011:128) understands it as follows:

The struggling, newly born, deeply flawed congregations that he was founding were, in his eyes, the *restored land* and the *glorious temple* promised by the prophets. He was not de-Zionizing the tradition; rather he was *transforming it into a new form of Zionism* that needed no particular geography and no special building! (*Italic is original*).

For Paul, the promised land is still significant although he views its particular geography as a historical fact while in the context of the newly reborn Christian community the importance of a geographical land is omitted (Rom. 4:13).

This thesis concerns the land of Canaan that God promised Abraham and his descendants and the promise of the land to Abraham is a theme that covers the whole of the Old Testament (Wilken, 1992:4-7). According to Wright (2004:78), Scripture contains 46 promises from Genesis to Judges, of which only seven do not contain a reference to the land, and 29 times exclusively refer to the land. It can be seen that the land occupies a significant position in the covenant of God with Israel (Braverman, 2016:110). But the core is not in the geographical land itself. The key is Israel's faithfulness to the covenant of God. In other words, the focus of the covenantal relationship is on the people rather than the land (Lev. 25:39-55).

The God of Israel is not geographically bound and is called by the name of his covenant people (Exod. 3:6). The theology of land indicates how the Israelites should live in the promised land. Therefore the theology of land represents the relationship between God, who gave the land as a conditional gift, and the people who live there (Habel, 1995:52, 53). This theme is structurally similar to the Pauline letters, which contain primarily how the people of God who became new creations in Jesus Christ should live, although the concept of the physical promised land and the visible land in which God dwells, has disappeared in the New Testament (Braverman, 2016:111).

Unlike the New Testament, the physical promised land is important in the Old Testament. For example, Morgan (2011:86) argues that “[t]he clear mark of the deity’s ownership of the land was the building of the heavenly, divine sanctuary on the earth.” He sought to identify the message of the twelve prophets through studying the physical object of the land and temple in the Old Testament. Considering that the concept of the promised land is so significant in the Old Testament, gaining and losing the land is quite meaningful in the Old Testament. Hence it is not surprising that the reasons for the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah are related to the contents of the theology of land. The kingdoms did not satisfy the requirements of God’s commandments, that is how the Israelites should have lived in the promised land.

There are many discussions about the theology of the land. In the case that the theology of land is considered as a basis of social justice, it used to be suggested as a way of solving the present problems between Palestine and Israel (Braverman, 2016). Such research deals with the problem of physical land, but in this thesis, the theology of land is limited to the requirements of covenantal people in the promised land, since in Paul’s context Israel was physically landless. Thus the theology of land in the Old Testament laying stress on the land of Canaan cannot be directly applied to Paul’s situation.

6.2.2 The significance of the theology of land

God of Israel raised up the mighty nation of Assyria to destroy the northern kingdom of Israel because of the worship of idols and disobedience to Him (2 Kgs. 17:2-10), and the wrongdoings of the northern kingdom of Israel influenced southern Judah and it also finally faced the fall (Mic, 6:16). Lovell (2018:231) argues that the author in 2 Kings 17:7-20:

not only cares to theologially explain the destruction of Samaria as a consequence of the sin of idolatry, but also to explore the reason why Judah has been spared in spite of their common idolatrous history.

This means that 2 Kings 17:7-20 indicates the cause of the fall of both kingdoms. In this section, it will be argued that the extortion of the promised land, meaning the violation of the principles of

theology of land, finally resulted in the destruction of northern Israel and southern Judah. In order to know how the sin of extortion of land is related to the cause of the destruction of kingdoms, most of all, it is necessary to know the meaning of the promised land as inheritance.

In Genesis, the land is associated with God's creation and the creation of man (Gen. 2:7). The land "represents a place where all people, and in particular the descendants of Abraham, can anchor their culture and nation" (Burge, 2010:1). So, Verhoef and Rathbone (2015:162) argue that "land cannot be reduced to mere geographical space, resource, ownership, culture or religious phenomenon." This is because God grants the land to people and requires them to do something associated with God's will.

Additionally, the theology of land might be understood in the perspective of the first creation account. According to Krüger and Haynes (2017:682), God rested after He had finished the activity of creation, but the seventh day was not over and it continues when considering no statement that the seventh day ends. Now human beings are functioning. This means that it is necessary to see the theology of land from the perspective of the task God has given to humanity. Human beings were chosen among the creatures in order to achieve tasks God assigned (Gen. 1:28). Also, God chose Abraham and his descendants among all mankind as a representative of God (Exod. 19:4-6). Basically there is a common point to demonstrate the reign of God. However, in this part it is assumed that the theology of land generally deals with the promise to Abraham and his descendants.

The Pentateuch mainly consists of the journey of the Israelite to the land God promised Abraham (Gen. 15:7) (Brueggemann, 2002:5, 6). Moses' greatest mission in his life was to lead the Israelites to the promised land. Dealing with the Israelites' itinerary just before entering the promised land, the Pentateuch is full of God's promise of land, the freedom of God's people, and teachings about the attitude of the people who are qualified to dwell in the land. The land would be given to the people who conform to God's commandments. The peoples that do not keep God's commandments would be driven out of the promised land (Lev. 20:23). And the Israelites who become the new residents will be expelled if they do not conform to God's commandments like other tribes. Even though the Israelites have a special relationship with God (Lev. 20:22), they should be responsible to their conducts.

The owner of the promised land is not man but God (Lev. 25:23, 35). Man only leases the land from the owner. The land indicates that it can be positively a gift as a place for life and at the same time it can negatively be a possibility to be expelled (Noble, 2017:141). In this sense, the Israelites must live a life of obedience to the word of God, the owner of the promised land, so that they may live long in the land (Deut. 5:33; 25:15). This means that staying faithful in the promised land is a visible measure of the good relationship with God. Thus only people with land can enjoy

an independent status in the social community of Israel to which they belong. Otherwise, if someone loses the land because of his debt and becomes a slave without liberty, he is excluded from the covenant community of Israel and his direct relationship with God is cut off (Koch, 1982:45, 46).

After the exodus from Egypt, the Israelites in the wilderness had a time of wandering without land. And the time of wandering used to be considered to be the heyday of the Israelites according to some prophets (Isa. 63:11-14; Jer. 2:2; 31:2; Hos. 2:14, 15)²⁹ (cf. Van Dyk, 2017). Because of this, there is an argument that the understanding of the Old Testament should not be exhausted by the theology of land (Helberg, 1998:230). However, in the process of gaining the land and in the state of losing the land, it is impossible to say that the retrospection of the wandering in the wilderness has nothing to do with the land. The reason is that the life in the wilderness moving towards the land was filled with the hope due to God's promise. Also, for those who lost their land, it is enviable to have hope to return to the promised land. So in Ezekiel the restoration of the Israelites corresponds to the recovery of the land (Ezek. 36:33, 34). In this sense, it is problematic to see the Old Testament only from the viewpoint of the theology of land, but it is impossible to properly understand the Old Testament without such a viewpoint.

6.2.3 The outline of the theology of land in the Pentateuch

6.2.3.1 Genesis: the promised land where the Israelites must enter

After the dispersion from Babel (Gen. 11:1-9), God chose one person rather than an alternative city to Babel (Gen. 12:1). God promised him an heir with many descendants, and land (Gen. 15:3-7). The land is the concrete blessing that God gives, although Abraham and his descendants in Genesis are nearly landless. Abraham and his descendants, whom God has chosen, must enter the land that God promised, although they should first experience a long slavery of 400 years. They should not forget the promise of land that God gave to the patriarchs, just like Joseph's last word that God will bring the Israelites up from Egypt to the promised land according to His promise (Gen. 50:24, 25; cf. Exod. 13:19). The Israelite has an obligation to enter the land.

6.2.3.2 Exodus: the promised land where the liberated people must go and take

At the end of slavery in Egypt, the Israelites went into the wilderness (12:41) and after three months they arrived at Mt. Sinai (19:1). During about one year of camping on Mount Sinai (Num. 10:11, 12), they became free people of God under the covenant, rather than slaves of Egypt.

²⁹ According to Smith (2018), the concept of wilderness is positively used in Deuteronomy and Hosea and omitted in the account of the Israelite's rebellion, while it indicates a negative view in Numbers.

They received the law of God, and constructed the tabernacle demonstrating that God stays among the covenantal people of God. These provide a blueprint of how the people of Israel should live in the promised land as well as in the wilderness. It is about the prosperity of Israel as a covenant people who should live in the promised land within the right relationship with God.

6.2.3.3 Leviticus: the promised land where God's laws should be kept

As tenants, the Israelites must live a holy life in order not to be expelled from the land (Lev. 20:22). The representative laws for a holy life are the sabbatical year and jubilee law (Lev. 25). The law of sabbatical year and jubilee indicates economic renewal rather than redistribution of wealth (Piotr, 2019:4), although it also serves to reduce inequality (Tatum, 2017:131-133).

For the purpose of neighbours' recovery, the Israelites are required to agree with the premise that the owner of the land is God, not the people of Israel (Stephen & Ronald, 2000:58). Without the consent and sacrifice of community members, the ideal of the theology of land cannot be achieved. This means that the Israelites cannot be proper for the promised land, if they don't follow God's commandments and love others. The dignity of the covenant community of Israel is maintained when the people recognise that they are not the owner of the land but just tenants and should finally give up anything other than the inherited land. Otherwise, because of human greed, people will try to have more. As a result, the community will suffer divisions, and finally be broken as was the case with those from northern Israel and southern Judah. In this sense, the theology of land demonstrated in the sabbatical year and jubilee law plays a significant role in preserving the community of Israel.

6.2.3.4 Numbers: the promised land for those who believe in God's promise

Numbers teaches that the Israelites should learn that obedience to God and trust in His promise is the only way to enter the promised land from the wilderness life. Unless the solid trust in God's promise supports, God's people would be deprived of their qualification and they would not enter the promised land. Most Israelites complained that God brought them out of Egypt into the land of Canaan because of the negative opinion of 10 spies who went and got back to spy on the land of Canaan (Num. 14:2, 3). Everyone who did not trust in God's promise of land would die in the wilderness (Num.14:26-38), although finally, Numbers ends positively, and the new generation of the Israelites are ready to enter the promised land. The people who did not trust the promise of God and died in the wilderness, damaged to the community of Israel. Those who are worthy of the promised land must live with firm faith in God's promise of land.

6.2.3.5 Deuteronomy: the promised land where the covenantal people should live according to God's laws.

The core statement of Deuteronomy is how the Israelites can keep and enjoy the land God has given. According to Coetsee (2019) who theologically understands Deuteronomy in terms of the concept of life, the only way to enjoy prosperity in the promised land is to wholeheartedly obey God's commandments. The key is that God is the owner of the land and the promised land is just a gift (Richter, 2010:358). According to Deuteronomy 28:1, 2, the way to live well in the land is to keep and obey the commandments given by God. In other words, God owns the land, and the Israelites have a responsibility as a steward (Kaiser, 2012:227, 228). Keeping the right relationship with God is the way to settle down and live on the land worthy of the covenant people.

6.2.3.6 Social aspect of theology of land

Among the contents of the Pentateuch is the practice of in-kindness that should be given to the struggling neighbours (Barrera, 2013:74, 77). Particularly, in Deuteronomy, the mind of God who desires the community of Israel to be a society based on love and justice is clearly obvious (Kaminsky, 2019:10). This means that the Israelites must take care of each other with righteous moral conduct in order to satisfy the covenant with God (Barrera, 2013:78).

In Deuteronomy 23 and 24, this mind of God appears in some specific commands. Order to provide shelter and protection to slaves who escaped from other countries (23:15, 16), order of prohibition of loan-sharking (23:19, 20), command that there should be no one to hunger (23:24, 25), and order to protect socio-economic weak people who are even threatened with the basic right to live (24:6, 10-14, 15, 17-22). They have the purpose that the community of Israel is preserved obeying God's commandments.

Also, the execution of sabbatical year and jubilee law was an important factor in building a society full of love. In the sabbatical year and the jubilee year, all Israel should leave the land fallow, forgive debts, and release slaves (Lev. 25; Deut. 15). Through this, the land regains richness, the debts are annulled, and the slaves get the status of free people. When the poor regain the land, they receive new strength and dignity to re-join the community (Stephen & Ronald, 2000:56).

6.2.3.7 Conclusion

It is clear that God wanted the Israelites to enter the promised land and to build a society full of kindness based on respect for one another through keeping God's laws. In other words, God wanted them to become the best people who demonstrate God's sovereign rule to be fulfilled in the land and excel among all the nations of the world (Deut. 28:1). For this purpose, justice and

righteousness from the laws should be carried out in a practical way (Thomas, 2011:197). Additionally, dedications of the community members are necessary.

6.2.4 The fall of northern Israel and southern Judah

Generally, it is argued that the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel came from a new era in international relations starting with the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (Schoors, 2013:101-104). Biblical evidence indicates that the reason why God allowed the Assyrians to defeat northern Israel was “ingratitude” (Davis, 2005:245, 246) to God’s covenant. Dubovsky (2014) proposes that 2 Kings 15 indicates the causes of the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel. According to him, the northern kingdom of Israel collapsed because of frequent revolts, gradual deterioration, tensions between tribes, gradual loss of executive power, financial problems, and the crisis of international policies. These causes identified from a social perspective are interpreted theologically in 2 Kings 17.

However, this section will attempt to interpret the theological cause of the fall demonstrated in 2 Kings 17, which highlights the importance of keeping the principles of the theology of land. As Lovell (2018) argues, 2 Kings 17:7-20 juxtaposes the history of both northern and southern kingdoms together, as a common idolatrous history. And it is assumed that the idolatry might be related to the land system. In order to indicate the relationship, it needs to be focused on the influence of the sins of the Omrides, a ruling dynasty of the kingdom of Israel founded by King Omri. It presupposes that the Omrides adopted the land system as a cause of the fall of both kingdoms.

6.2.4.1 Sins of the Omrides

One of “the statues of Omri and all the works of the house of Ahab” (Mic. 6:16) might refer to the law of the Omrides including the land system that advocates the elite class. This caused a great deal of problems in the social realm (Chaney, 2017:102-105), and it affected even the southern kingdom of Judah to reach its destruction. Detailed explanations of this are Micah 2:2, which is similar to Isaiah 5:8³⁰ (Burge, 2010:7).

They covet fields and then seize them, and houses, and take them away. They rob a man and his house, a man and his inheritance (Mic. 2:2).

The land system of the Omrides described it as a law satisfying the desires of the ruling class by justifying the exploitation of inheritance, meaning “ancestral allotment of arable land”, that was forbidden by the law of Israel (Chaney, 2017:73). Micah 2:1-3 seems to be a commentary on

³⁰ “Woe to those who add house to house and join field to field, until there is no more room, so that you have to live alone in the midst of the land!”

Naboth's vineyard case (Brueggemann, 2002:91, 92). This means that this ordinance, which is called the name of Omri and Ahab, corresponds to the system of advocating land consolidation. According to Limburg (1988:170), the sin of Micah 2:2 was a result of disobedience to the Ten Commandments. Thus, from the perspective of Deuteronomy, this was the cause of the destruction of the kingdom.

Because of a limited amount of land, if a few members of the ruling class took possession of most land, the rest of the people would lose their land (Barrera, 2013:45). That is, a striking dichotomy occurred³¹ (Houston, 2010:103). The loss of land means losing livelihood and freedom, and finally falling to slavery (Waltke, 2007:75). This land system, which was carried out under the influence of the Omrides, was so powerful that southern Judah might be influenced by the refugees of the elite of northern Israel after the fall of northern Israel, and it also acted as the cause of the destruction of southern Judah (Mic. 6:16). This was the result of overlooking the idea that the land is a gift that God gave to the people of Israel to fulfil the need for a decent life through worthy labour (Stephen & Ronald, 2000:58). The formation of the land system and practice named in Omri and Ahab that legitimised exploitations of others' possessions corresponds to the disobedience to the command of God, which aroused the prophets' criticisms.

6.2.4.2 The effect of the sins of the Omrides

One of the causes of the destruction of both kingdoms of northern Israel and southern Judah was the elite group's challenge to the theological principles of the theology of land. This is evident in the case of Naboth's vineyard (2 Kgs. 21). The case of Naboth's vineyard, which deals with the exploitation of the land as inheritance, clearly shows that violation of the theology of land corresponds to a cause of the destruction of northern kingdom Israel. And Amos is the one who severely criticised both kingdoms breaking the principles based on the theology of land. Thus, in this section, 2 Kings 21 and Amos will be studied.

Furthermore, the sins of southern Judah have been influenced by the refugees from northern Israel (Isa. 10:1, 2; Mic. 1:9; 6:16) (Schoors, 2013:91, 93). In other words, the cause of the destruction of southern Judah was very similar to that of the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel

³¹ The important evidence for this is the Samaria Ostraca. In 1910, G. Reisner discovered 102 clay pots at the palace site of Samaria. Of these, only 63 pieces contained important information. They indicate a record of the delivery of luxury goods, such as good oil and long-standing wine. These records indicate the date, place, tribe name, personal name, and product name. They seem to be a record of the times when Jeroboam the second generation ruled (Pritchard, 1950:321). What is important, is the purpose of these records. The ostraca generally contain the records about the fruit from the tenant of the noble who received the land or vineyard from the king. This is a record of taxes in kind that the tenants must bear (Noegel, 2006:397). This means that the Samaria Ostraca is a record of the in-kind tax of the peasants, which supports the luxurious life of the elite of northern Israel. The contents of this tax, such as olive oil and wine, were really luxuries that were not related to the survival of peasants. It is an indirect basis to demonstrate that the gap between rich and poor was substantial.

(Wolff, 1990:198). In relation to the extortion of land as a cause of the destruction of southern Judah, Isaiah 5 will be studied. This text deals with situations similar to Micah 2:1-5 (Houston, 2010:111), which shows that the rich oppressed the peasants to accumulate the land. Barker and Bailey (1999:63, 64) refer to Colossians 3:5 when they explain Micah 2:2. They might indicate that the root of the extortion of land lies in greed (Chaney, 2017:74, 75). Additionally, Jeremiah 7 will also be studied in order to discover the influence of the idolatry indicated in 2 Kings 17:7.

6.2.4.2.1 1 Kings 21

A specific example of the application of “the statutes of Omri and all the works of the house of Ahab” (Mic. 6:16) was Naboth’s vineyard incident under the influence of Jezebel (Hillers, 1984:82; Alfaro, 1989:72, 73). Through the attitude of Jezebel, the princess of Sidon, in Naboth’s vineyard case, it could be inferred that a positive attitude toward taking others’ inheritance was the result of Sidon’s influence³².

Ahab, the king of the northern kingdom of Israel, wanted to have the vineyard of Naboth near his palace (1 Kgs. 21:1). He suggested to Naboth to exchange it with another vineyard or sell it (1 Kgs. 21:2). Naboth rejected this proposal at once because God forbade him to give others the inheritance of his ancestors (1 Kgs. 21:3). When Ahab heard about Naboth’s reaction, he returned to his home and became sick and troubled (1 Kgs. 21:4). Jezebel, the daughter of Etbaal the king of Sidonians and the wife of Ahab, couldn’t understand the response of Ahab as a king. The queen from the foreign country would not have known the law (Lev. 25:23) which prevented the granted land from being sold to others (Brueggemann, 2002:88, 89). And Jezebel thought that Ahab would not enjoy the power of the king (1 Kgs. 21:7). Eventually, Jezebel treated the case in her own way. She might have remembered an example that she had experienced in her home country (Tsirikin, 1990:42). Jezebel hired two bad guys to bring an unfavourable verdict against Naboth and put Naboth to death (1 Kgs. 21:10-13). After Naboth’s death through the unjust court, Ahab occupied Naboth’s vineyard (1 Kgs. 21:16). About this sin of Ahab and Jezebel, God declared reproach and punishment through Elijah (1 Kgs. 21:17-23). This is because “[k]illing and taking possession is the hallmark of idolatry” (Gorringe, 2010:371).

The act of robbing a given land as an inheritance is a sin that undermines the dignity of humanity given by God and indicates the nullification of the Exodus that changed the Israelites from slavery to free people. Since land is evidence of a covenantal relationship with God, losing it means that the relationship with God is broken (Levine, 2000:55, 56). Even a person who inadvertently loses

³² According to De Villiers (2019:2-5), the issue of foreigners in Israel primarily consists of an exclusivist and inclusivist attitude. Although they contrast each other, there is one common religious conviction: the worship of God of Israel. In this perspective, Jezebel, the princess of Sidon and the wife of Ahab, should not have been accepted into the Israelites. This is because she didn’t respect the tradition of Israel and did not worship the God of Israel.

land is threatened to leave the covenantal relationship with God (1 Sam. 26:19³³). In this sense, it is evident that taking another's inheritance is a sin that inflicts a severe blow on the people of God and opposes the reign of God embodied in the land through the people (cf. Mic. 6:9-15). Hence it deserves God's wrath. What is important, however, is that the sin did not end with the destruction of the Omrides, but rather the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel (Amos 4:1-3). According to Koch (1982:94), what happened to the land of neighbours made God embittered and was the cause of the fall of the kingdom.

6.2.4.2.2 Amos 2:4-8

Amos expresses that the sin of Judah did not obey God (2:4, 5), but it can be seen as including, in part, sin against the neighbour (Hutton, 2014:110). If so, it is probable that the moral sins of the northern kingdom of Israel (2:6-8) are specific explanations of the sin of southern Judah. The sins of northern Israel are primarily the elite class' exploitation and oppression of the poor. The sins of northern Israel are as follows: practices of slavery based on debt (2:6b), oppression of the economically weak (v.7a), immoralities (v.7b), and "hypocritical merger of economic exploitation and cultic practice" (v.8) (Hutton, 2014:110). 2:7b³⁴ does not seem to fit in this context. However, according to Mamahit and Venter (2010:7), it is proper in the context because it also deals with the oppression of the elite class. On the surface, this sin is just immorality. However, it could be understood that the immorality is related to the result of debts. The oppression and exploitation of neighbours in the promised land that is presented as a proof of God's covenant signify the abandonment of obedience to God and the destruction of the covenant. As a result, they will perish (v.13-16).

6.2.4.2.3 Isaiah 5:1-10

Isaiah 5:1-10 indicate that the people of Jerusalem and Judah failed to bear fruits so that they will be judged. Although God put them on the fertile hill and arranged good conditions for abundant harvest (5:1, 2a), they produced only worthless ones (5:2b, 4). Now the owner of the vineyard will allow it to be consumed and trampled (5:5). The fruits which the owner wanted are justice and righteousness (5:7). Instead of the fruits of justice and righteousness, they produced bloodshed and a cry of distress (5:7). This seems to be a sort of sarcasm. For economic benefits, southern Judah tried to cultivate grapes for wine, one of the cash crops³⁵, but Judah did not produce the

³³ "Now therefore, please let my lord the king listen to the words of his servant. If the LORD has stirred you up against me, let Him accept an offering; but if it is men, cursed are they before the LORD, for they have driven me out today so that I would have *no attachment with the inheritance of the LORD*, saying, 'Go, *serve other gods*'" (*Italic is mine*). 1 Samuel 26:19 might consider the loss of the land as inheritance to be similar to serving idols.

³⁴ "And a man and his father resort to the same girl in order to profane My holy name."

³⁵ At that time, both the northern kingdom of Israel and southern Judah tried to gain economic wealth through the export of cash crops. Typical exports were olive oil and wine (Richter, 2010:361, 362)

fruit God wanted. The specific sins of the people of Judah are related to the exploitation of land (Thomas, 2011:190). The wealthy people sought to gain economic advantages by producing cash crops as the northern kingdom of Israel did. So they tried to get more and more land (v. 8, 9). Because the land is a gift from God, it must be used in a manner pleasing to God and in a manner beneficial to all who live on the land (Thomas, 2011:196). The elite class of southern Judah forgot this, and they were sentenced to destruction (Chaney, 1999:107).

6.2.4.2.4 Micah 2:2, 3

Micah's prophecy targets both the southern and northern kingdoms (1:1). One of their sins is the exploitation of the land as inheritance by the elite and rich class (Dempster, 2017:86). The exploitation of the land as inheritance is forbidden by the law. This is because landless people are regarded as those who are broken with God. Therefore, taking the land is an act of forcibly breaking the relationship between God and the covenantal people. In other words, land exploitation corresponds to the act of breaking down the covenantal community as well as God's commandments (Exod. 20:15, 17). As a judgement of God, the promised land will be stolen by other people (2:4).

The corruption of religious leaders paved or supported the way of the wrongdoings of the elite class (3:11). Boloje (2018:647) argues as follows:

The insidious strategy that Micah confronted was that of a perverted religion which alienated creed from lifestyle and guaranteed grace and peace to transgressors to enable them to continue with transgression. Such religious ideology in Micah's perspective defines them as agents of social injustice. These religious hucksters, by their choosy and particular emphasis upon Zion and Yahwistic theology violated and frustrated the genuine intent of the covenant. This form of religious deception was the opium of an influential minority of oppressors that pacified their consciences to disregard their responsibility.

This shows that the elite class' moral corruption is closely related to religious corruption. In other words, obedience to God contains moral and ethical integrity. Faithfulness to the covenant with God is another expression of faithfulness to the neighbour. As a result, the unfaithfulness of the

which might be thought that Baal gives the crops in Hosea (2:8) (Day, 2010:205). These crops were a kind of luxury goods that were of little significance in the survival of the common people. However, both kingdoms have made great efforts to cultivate these crops in order to gain economic benefits through the export thereof. Possession of large estates was allowed for the cultivation of the crops for export, and those who lost the land and became slaves were used as labourers. "Faced with a finite supply of exportable commodities but possessed of an almost infinite appetite for imported luxuries", the wealthy in northern Israel and southern Judah focused on production of cash crops to export (Chaney, 2017:151). It was an attitude that only pursued economic interests and ignored the soundness of the community of Israel. As a result of the attitude, landowners have exploited freeholding peasants to gain their own best interests, and they have formed an unequal society (Barrera, 2013:38).

covenant with God has brought the collapse of the covenantal people. And by the punishment of God, the covenantal people will be destroyed, and the promised land will be given to others (2:4).

6.2.4.2.5 Jeremiah 7:6, 7

Like the prophet of Isaiah, Jeremiah also points out the sins of southern Judah. The sins imply socio-economic extortion (3:18-23; 5:1-9, 26-28; 9:1-8; 22:13-17). Because of the sins they will lose everything (17:11). Especially, Jeremiah 7:9 indicates that the worship of Baal including other gods led the kingdom to the fall (2:8, 23; 7:9; 9:14; 12:16; cf. Ezek. 11:12; 22:6, 7, 9, 12). To avoid the destruction, they should care for others according to the covenant with God (7:5, 6). If so, they will be allowed to dwell in the promised land (7:7). Jeremiah 7:6, 7 provide the condition that the Israelites maintain the promised land. In other words, it is the way not to face the fall of the southern kingdom of Judah. This indicates love for neighbours. This topic is also referred to in Jeremiah 4-6 in terms of injustice (Claassens, 2018:617). The injustice came from the elite class against the weaker class (Snyman, 2002:1602).

It is remarkable that Jeremiah relates the wrongdoings of the Israelites to idolatry including the worship of Baal (7:9). Keefe (2001:130, 131) claims that Baal, the god of agriculture, is related to the possession of the land. In other words, she sees the worship of Baal as a basis to support the greed of the ruling class to exploit people and take others' land. Chaney (2017:187) agrees with her argument by saying that the worship of Baal "sanctioned agricultural intensification and the powerful few who instigated it and benefited from it." This is also indicated in the myth of Baal that "the status of divine monarchy may reflect anxieties about the legitimacy and stability of monarchy down on earth" (López-Ruiz, 2014:7). This is reflected in the land system represented by the statues of the Omrides, representatively Omri and Ahab (Mic. 6:16). Additionally, it is linked to 1 Kings 17:7. That is, the reason of the fall of the northern and southern kingdom is explained in a socio-economic aspect (cf. Nam, 2012).

6.2.4.3 Conclusion

The extortion of land, represented by the case of Naboth's vineyard, meant that the Israelites were deprived of the foundation for the obedience to God. As a result, the Israelites lost their land and became slaves, rather than people who care for one another in the blessing of God. The northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah lost soundness according to God's commandments, which is the core base for sustaining the kingdoms, and eventually they were destroyed. This indicates that the fall of both kingdoms originated from inside (Koch, 1982:47). And the external attacks from Assyria and Babylon only accelerated the destruction.

6.2.5 Conclusion

The theological messages centred on the promised land in the Old Testament indicate that concerns for the members of the community and renunciation of others according to God's will are the keys to preserve the covenant community of Israel. Excessive possessiveness to the land at the expense of neighbours was one of the reasons for the fall of both kingdoms. Therefore, the Old Testament teaches through the falls of northern and southern Israel that the covenant people should keep down the desire for possessions and the selfish attitude for the preservation and prosperity of the community.

6.3 Relationship between Paul's tent-making and theology of land

6.3.1 Theology of land in the New Testament

According to Davies (1974:166-168), the New Testament has little interest in geographical land³⁶. This means that the significance of the promised land of the Old Testament decreased. Especially, in the New Testament the mission for the Gentiles is focused so that the concept of promised land based on geography became unnecessary (Burge, 2010:92). Additionally, it should be considered that the nation of Israel had already lost its land, or the people left the land. As a result of the ministry of Jesus Christ, the message of the kingdom of God has gone beyond the national limits to the Gentiles, and the concept of the covenant people of the fleshly Israel has been incorporated into the community of the church. Similarly, the temple in the Jewish theological geography was replaced by the Christian community in Paul (1 Cor. 3:16, 17; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16). Especially, Ephesians 6:2 quotes one of the Ten Commandments. In this verse, the land does not mean the land of Canaan of the Old Testament. The concept of the land has expanded to encompass a broader theological geography (Burge, 2010:93). The theology of land has a central focus on the gospel of Jesus Christ. So does Paul's tent-making custom.

Basically, the principles of theology of land might be more important than the land itself because the interest in the physical land of the Old Testament has been reinterpreted in the perspective of the gospel of Jesus Christ, as Gorringer (2010:381) argues as follows:

Jesus re-frames the economic teaching of the Hebrew Bible, alluding to the choice between "two ways" in Deuteronomy, in terms of the choice between God and Mammon. This means a choice "between a society based on never-ending profit making and a

³⁶ At that time, the Jewish diaspora used to be understood from the perspective of the influence of the community, not the promised land, although they still longed for the land (Rajak, 2018:147).

society based on equal sharing so that nobody needs to be anxious about his life. 'No one can serve two masters... You cannot serve God and Mammon' (Mt. 6:24)."

Additionally, according to DeRouchie (2017:17, 18), God's promises including those of the Old Testament played an important role in the Christian's life and Paul declares "for as many as are the promises of God, in Him they are yes" (2 Cor. 1:20). This is because God is faithful (2 Cor. 1:18; 2 Thess. 3:3; 2 Tim. 2:11-13).

Afulike (2018) argues that the main theme of Luke and Acts is the kingdom of God and Jubilee is a practical way to embody the reign of God. As mentioned above, in the New Testament the concept of Jubilee of the theology of land doesn't have a geographical meaning. Instead, jubilee indicates the ethical principle of the kingdom of God. Thus "Jubilee is no longer a 50th-year practice – it is the everyday life style of the people of the kingdom" (Afulike, 2018:49).

In conclusion, the significance of the land of Canaan in the Old Testament has disappeared, but the precepts are still available in the New Testament.

6.3.2 Similarities between Paul's tent-making and theology of land

As already mentioned in the introduction, Chapter 6 presumes the background of the Old Testament as to why Paul maintained his tent-making despite various grounds for Paul's right to receive economic support from believers and churches. There is no clear reference to Paul's tent-making under the influence of the Old Testament, as Paul never mentioned directly the ground motive for his tent-making. However, if it is recognised that he was a Jew and Pharisee and had an insightful knowledge of the Old Testament, it is not impossible to find the Old Testament background of Paul's tent-making.

After Paul became a Christian through his experience on the way to Damascus, he must have interpreted the Old Testament which he knew, at that moment and thereafter, in the light of Christ (cf. Lk. 24:44). In that sense, remembering that Paul's tent-making has a theological significance and played an important role in his missional life influenced by the apostleship based on the Old Testament, it could be assumed that Paul's tent-making also reflects elements of the Old Testament.

The theology of land of the Old Testament is similar to the understanding of Paul's tent-making in that it should be understood not only in terms of social aspects but also in terms of theological aspects. Firstly, the teachings of the theology of land in the Old Testament have social characteristics in which interactions among the members of Israel are important. However, the teachings are unique in that the Israelites are differentiated from other cultures of the ancient Near East. In other words, the theology of land was a symbol of Israel's covenantal relationship with

God. Similarly, Paul's manual labour was not exceptional in Greco-Roman society, and many similar examples can be found. Yet Paul's tent-making has a different aspect from other cases because of its theological significance.

Secondly, as the theology of land could be understood in the light of Christ (Brueggemann, 2002:169-172), Paul's tent-making is also understood in the light of Christ's suffering on the cross, as studied in Chapters 4 and 5. It means that both reflect the gospel message of Jesus Christ. Therefore it is necessary to confirm what commonality is found between the theology of land and Paul's tent-making.

The main point is the unity of community which encompasses social and theological aspects. The two aspects are not exclusive in respect of one another, but rather overlapping. This is because it reflects the relationship with God and neighbours.

6.3.2.1 Preservation of the community

The theology of land of the Old Testament played an important role in maintaining the covenantal people of Israel (Barrera, 2013:291). The texts regarding the theology of land provide conditions for the covenant community Israel to live faithfully in the promised land (Burge, 2010:4). Several laws in the Pentateuch focus on this purpose, as already mentioned. Naturally, the laws primarily deal with caring for each other lest the community of Israel break down. When remembering that the extortion of inheritance of neighbours is identified with the greed from a theological perspective (2 Kgs. 17), exploiting neighbours and destroying the community correspond to the idolatry which is disobedience to God.

As indicated in Chapters 4 and 5, it is clear that Paul's tent-making is also used as an example to seek the unity of the church that has difficulties in conflicts or troubles. Especially, Paul encourages the Corinthian believers to seek unity, overcoming the conflict in the food offered to the idols in 1 Corinthians 8-10. For this, Paul proposes his own example of tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9. Paul's tent-making imitating the sacrificial attitude of Christ (1 Cor. 11:1) provides a principle for the saints to remain unity of community in Christ, which topic appears frequently in his letters (Rom. 15:1-7; Phil. 2:5-11; 2 Cor. 8:9; Col. 3:13; Eph. 4:32; 5:2).

Therefore the theology of land of the Old Testament shares the concern of preservation and unity of community with Paul's tent-making. Although each context is so different, the principle is similar. Both place emphasis on the solidity of community in faith.

6.3.2.2 Concerns for others

The concern for others is a means for maintaining unity of community, although the concern is expanded to foreigners or unbelievers. The theology of land teaches how the covenant people should live in the promised land. It is a life that cares for others in troubles and it is a proof that they are in the covenantal relationship with God. In other words, the theology of land requires the faithfulness of the Israelites in the covenantal relationship with God and at the same time affectionate attention to their neighbours. As mentioned above, for maintaining the unity of the people of God, the community needs to be concerned with the aid and restoration of those who are poor or have failed because of disaster or the harshness of nature. Likewise, Paul's tent-making shows how Christians should live in the world. It characterises self-sacrificial attitude for others. This means that Paul's manual labour as a tool of mission has as priority others' salvation.

The Bible indicates that God has a special interest in the poor (Stephen & Ronald, 2000:55, 56). The theology of land and Paul's tent-making also occupy an important position in the economic ethics of the Old and New Testament and they have the same motive of concern for others. Dealing with the economic ethics in the Bible, Barrera (2013) treats the theology of land in the section of the Old Testament while explaining Paul's tent-making in the part of Pauline letters. Paul's tent-making has the same motive as the theology of land, namely love of God and neighbour (Barrera, 2013:215). In order to imitate Jesus Christ, Paul did manual labour for the sake of others' benefit. Specifically, he repeatedly refers to his labour as a way of relieving economical burdens of the poor believers. Interest in others constitutes a common point in these two themes; likewise Barrera (2013:293) explains that "mutual solicitude is central in both testaments."

Afulike (2018:49) indicates that the apostles, including Paul, stand in the line of the prophets in the Old Testament. So their lifestyle follows the principle of Jubilee and this is demonstrated in economic mutual help. The representative example is Paul's collection for the believers in Jerusalem. In Chapter 5, it is noted that Paul's collection and tent-making share a common principle. Furthermore, Paul's tent-making also has the principle of economic help. In this sense, it could be argued that the concept of Jubilee is embodied by Paul's tent-making in the New Testament.

6.3.2.3 Attitude of self-sacrifice

The theology of land and Paul's tent-making are common to emphasise the attitude of self-sacrifice for others. In the Old Testament, practice of institutions such as jubilee or sabbatical year to improve the economically inclined situation in the theology of land presupposes that members of the community consent to endure their loss. Otherwise, such laws could not be achieved and

neighbours in trouble could not be saved. In this sense, if they do not agree to keep the laws, preserving a healthy community is impossible. Although the laws are from God, it is necessary for the covenantal people to follow the instructions enthusiastically in order to fulfil the purpose.

As already seen, Paul's renunciation of his proper right to be provided for plays a significant role in encouraging the Corinthians to sacrifice for the sake of others and to keep the unity of the church. As indicated in 1 Corinthians 9, Paul does not need to labour manually. The Old Testament, common sense, and Jesus' instruction support Paul's privilege regarding finance. Additionally, other apostles have been already supported so that Paul has a proper cause of financial support. Nevertheless, Paul enunciated the proper right and posed himself as a manual labourer for the proclamation of the gospel.

In conclusion, the theology of land and Paul's tent-making require to renunciate one self's proper privilege to maintain soundly the community in faith.

6.3.2.4 Relation to God's salvation

The theology of land as well as Paul's tent-making are related to God's plan of salvation, which presupposes the health of the community in faith. If the community in faith does not maintain its health, they could not demonstrate God's grace.

According to Furnish (1968:42, 43), arguing that the Old Testament "is a source for his ethical teaching in that it provides him with a perspective from which he interprets the whole event of God's act in Christ," Paul's tent-making can also be interpreted in God's plan in Christ. Piotr (2019:3) indicates that the economic model involved in God's commandments is given to the people who have been chosen in the fallen world because of sin, and this biblical economic ethic is related to God's plan of salvation.

Brueggemann (2002:169-172) understands the theology of land in the framework of death and resurrection, which is similar to the perspective of the gospel. It is similar to Cole's claim. Cole (1990:42, 43) argues that the attribute of God who gave the promised land is demonstrated in that of Him who gave the gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ, as follows:

Thus, land and environment become potent symbols of God's grace and love, proffered, not because of any attribute in the recipient, but solely because of the nature of the giver. In this way, the New Testament gospel of salvation, centring on the indescribable gift of Christ Jesus, and justification, apart from human merit, is anticipated in the gifts of land and environment.

Similarly, Isaac (2014) tried to understand the promised land from a missiological point of view. From this perspective, the promised land should be applied to all people in Christ.

As already seen in Chapters 4 and 5, Paul's tent-making corresponds to the suffering to imitate the sacrificial attitude of Jesus Christ. Paul expected his gospel to be effectively delivered to people through the custom of manual labour (1 Cor. 9:12b) in order that they might be saved (9:19).

Therefore it could be argued that the theology of land and Paul's tent-making play a significant role in contributing to the history of God's salvation, although it does not mean that there has been a direct effect of salvation through the theology of land and Paul's tent-making. It is evident that it could be seen that the theology of land and Paul's tent-making reflect the message of the gospel under the light of Christ.

6.3.2.5 Expression of faith

The theology of land and Paul's tent-making can be understood as expressions of a relationship with God. This equates to building an identity for the community in faith (Hays, 1999:395, 398) through the expressions of faithfulness to God. Therefore the theology of land and Paul's tent-making as tools of expression of faith function in maintaining the community in faith.

Firstly, the theology of land is the answer to how the Israelites can live faithfully in the land God gave them as a gift. This is possible when the covenant relationship with God persists. The main key to keep the promised land is to maintain the covenant with God, which is realised by caring for and loving neighbours and preserving the community that stays faithful according to God's will. In this sense, the theology of land might reflect well the relationship between the two greatest commandments of loving God and loving neighbours. Thus, the Israelites were finally destroyed when they broke the covenant demonstrated in the promised land. To keep the instructions on the promised land is equal to serve God properly.

Secondly, in the case of Paul's tent-making, he might also regard his tent-making as an expression of faith toward Christ and of commitment to the gospel (1 Cor. 9:15-18). However, there is a difference between them. If the theology of land has a communal characteristic, Paul's tent-making is quite personal (Hall, 2003:182). Paul might not consider his tent-making custom itself as a necessary requirement for the church. Of course, he has presented practically his custom for the lesson to those who are lazy (1 Thess. 4:11; 2 Thess. 3:8). He confirms that the apostles including Paul have the proper right to be financially provided for, although not if it constitutes a hindrance to the gospel of Christ, he himself decided to labour manually without financial support. In this sense, it is likely that his manual labour itself does not aim for the application of the whole church. Instead, Paul seems to regard the theological principle of tent-making, the self-sacrificial attitude of Christ, as a value to be followed by all believers of the church.

In conclusion, in the theology of land and Paul's tent-making, the principle reflecting the relationship with God is more important than the land and labour itself.

6.3.2.6 Longing for home

The theology of land and Paul's tent-making have a desire for home. The theology of land in the Old Testament is not only to preserve the promised land, but it also presents a desire to return home to those who lost the land. As already mentioned, Deuteronomy plays such a role in giving hope to those who have lost their land (Deut. 30:1-9). Obedience to God is the way to keep the promised land, but it is also a way to go back home country.

In the New Testament, Christians do not desire physical land, but are indicated as those who expect the heavenly home (Jn. 14:2; Phil. 3:20). So Christians are exhorted that they should not have hope on the earth (Col. 3:1-3). Here it is necessary to remember that the suffering of Paul's tent-making points to the resurrection of believers (1 Cor. 15) as implied in Chapter 4. This means that his tent-making might be an act of eschatological existence (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 2:20). It can be seen through this that Paul's tent-making has not only a social meaning but also theological significance.

Furthermore, Paul's tent-making is a means of imitating Jesus Christ who "was the only human being who fulfilled the law for true humanity: love for God and love for neighbour" (Van de Beek, 2018:151), which proves that the claims of the theology of land have been fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Paul worries that although he preaches the gospel as an apostle, he would be disqualified (1 Cor. 9:27). Thus, he tried to discipline his life by doing manual labour. Also, for Paul the suffering of tent-making helped to strengthen the "hope of final salvation in the age to come" (Oropeza, 2016:406). These elements show that Paul represents the faith in the resurrection of the believers and their eschatological desire.

6.3.3 Conclusion

For the reasons mentioned above, the theology of land of the Old Testament could be asserted to have commonalities with Paul's tent-making under the light of Christ. If it is true that Paul's tent-making reflects the principles of the theology of land in the Old Testament, especially the unity of the community in faith, it could be regarded as evidence that Paul's labour was influenced by the message of self-sacrifice for others demonstrated in the Old Testament.

6.4 Conclusion

In the context that the idea of geographical land of the Old Testament cannot be used, what is important is whether or not the principles of theology of land appear in the New Testament. The theology of land in the Old Testament is, as already studied, a means of preserving the community centred on God of Israel, and at the same time a means of loving neighbours. It is the theology of land that deals with the practical dimension of the greatest commandment (Matt. 22:34-40; Mk. 12:28-34; Lk. 10:25-28). Therefore this concept of the theology of land is sufficiently applicable to the New Testament. In particular, it can be applied to the Pauline letters, which had much interest in keeping unity of the church community.

Paul's letters have the purpose of solving problems within churches. Paul heard that the churches he founded experienced certain problems, and mainly wrote letters to propose solutions. If so, the first concern of the Pauline letters is the preservation and unity of the community living in the end time. And when conflict occurred in the community like in the Corinthian church, the interest in the unity of community is linked to the love for others, which is strengthened by the example of Paul's tent-making. Therefore it could be recognised that the teachings of the New Testament, though not related to the physical promised land of the Old Testament, have the same ideals with the theology of land and they are well represented in Paul's tent-making custom.

Just as the theology of land of the Old Testament changed in Christ, Paul's tent-making also changed in significance after his encounter with Christ on the way to Damascus. When Paul continued his manual labour after conversion, he assigned it a theological significance. Thus, the purpose of Paul's tent-making before and after conversion changed. The first thing that affected the change was the meeting with Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus, which shall be studied in Chapter 7. After meeting Jesus Christ, Paul's understanding of the Old Testament has also changed under the light of Christ. In particular, although the similarities between the lessons of the theology of land and Paul's tent-making cannot be explicitly stated that Paul's tent-making has been influenced by the theology of land of the Old Testament, it could be asserted that it is no different from the theological message of Paul's tent-making.

CHAPTER 7 PAUL'S APOSTOLIC CALLING AND HIS TENT-MAKING

7.1 Introduction³⁷

In Chapter 4 I analysed 1 Corinthians to understand the purpose of 1 Corinthians. Additionally, it indicated the role of Paul's tent-making within this purpose. 1 Corinthians is based on the theme of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and it requires that the Corinthian believers must seek purity and unity in the framework of the gospel. For this purpose, Paul's tent-making plays a significant role in demonstrating a proper example to the Corinthians. Specifically, it can be viewed as Paul's renunciation of his rights reflecting the self-sacrifice of the cross of Jesus Christ. Chapter 5 examined the implications of Paul's tent-making mentioned in Paul's other letters and Acts. As is the case in 1 Corinthians, Paul's tent-making in his other letters and Acts also primarily indicates the concept of self-sacrifice for the sake of the gospel and church. Paul represents his own example of tent-making as a symbol of self-sacrifice, imitating Jesus Christ. In Chapter 6, it was confirmed that there are similarities between Paul's tent-making and the theology of land in the Old Testament. Especially, both functioned as a means of preserving the community in faith. This commonality points to an Old Testament influence in the significance of Paul's tent-making.

Since the influence of the Old Testament on Paul's tent-making is indirect or implicit, Chapter 7 aims to find a factor that directly influenced the significance of Paul's tent-making. That is, what caused Paul's tent-making to reflect the significance of self-sacrifice for the sake of Jesus Christ and the gospel mentioned in Paul's letters? What should be borne in mind is that Paul has already worked manually before he became a Christian. This means that Paul did not learn tent-making skills at the start of his ministry as a mission strategy after his conversion. The reasons of Paul's tent-making before conversion can be deduced from similar contemporary examples such as the Cynics or itinerant philosophers (Malherbe, 1983:24). The question is what his tent-making meant for Paul after he was converted. Thus, if the significance of his tent-making changed, the change might have related to his conversion. In other words, it could be argued that the significance of Paul's tent-making reflecting Christ's suffering on the cross was influenced by his Damascus experience.

Chapter 7 will focus on the topic of suffering presented in the Damascus experience to substantiate the hypothesis that Paul's Damascus experience influenced his tent-making in terms of demonstrating the significance of Christ's cross. The suffering emphasised in the Damascus experience presupposes the suffering of Christ. Specifically, Paul was forgiven and converted

³⁷ This Chapter uses New American Standard Bible translated by the Lockman Foundation and quotes the biblical texts from the website of the foundation (<http://www.lockman.org/misc/readonline.php>).

through his encounter with Christ in the Damascus experience. He was also called as an apostle to the imitation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. Paul's life and ministry after the experience was based on Christ's sacrificial death on the cross.

However, the so-called "new perspective on Paul" (NPP) focuses on his call as an apostle to solve tensions between Jews and Gentiles at that time (Smith, 2013:18) rather than as a suffering apostle for other people's salvation. Therefore, Chapter 7 attempts to prove that the topic of suffering is an essential part of Paul's experience on the way to Damascus, and that its theological impact influenced Paul's tent-making.

7.2 Paul's Damascus experience in the NPP

Paul's Damascus experience has been researched from various perspectives, such as the historicity and interpretation of Paul's Damascus experience (Du Toit, 1996), anthropological studies (Pilch, 2002), psychological studies summarised by Segal (1990:285-300), conceptual research on conversion (Peace, 1999), and so on. However, in this section Paul's experience on the road to Damascus needs to be studied in relation to the research conducted on NPP since the NPP understands Paul's doctrine of justification by faith from a social point of view, which is methodologically similar to social studies on Paul's tent-making. If there is a difference between them, the social studies pertaining to Paul's tent-making attempt to place Paul in the context of Greco-Roman society, whereas the NPP wants to understand Paul in the context of Second-Temple Judaism.

7.2.1 Brief understanding of the NPP

The term "the new perspective on Paul" has been coined since J. D.G. Dunn's Manson Memorial Lecture in 1982, focusing on the argument of E.P. Sanders (1981) that Judaism in the first century was not a legalistic religion (Rhodes, 2016:650, 651). The increased focus on the importance of understanding the social context of Jews and Gentiles relations in Paul's day (Dunn, 2008:196) might have provided an environment in which the NPP could emerge.

The NPP argues that the traditional perspective on Paul based on the Reformation has an errant view of Second-Temple Judaism that was a merit-based religion (Barnes, 2017:3, 4). The NPP holds divergent opinions, but their commonality lies in reading Paul's letters in the context of Second-Temple Judaism (Maschmeier, 2017:35, 36), or then Paul's Jewish context. In other words, the NPP points out that the traditional view that Judaism promoted salvation through works was wrong, and argued that Judaism in Paul's days pursued the so-called "covenantal nomism" (Sanders, E.P., 1981:75). Obedience is required as the condition for staying in the covenant community. Thus, the phrase "works of law" (Rom. 3:20, 28; Gal 2:15, 16) refers specifically to ethnic boundaries differentiating Jews and Gentiles such as circumcision, food laws, and the rule

of Sabbath (Waldschmidt, 2016:10, 11). Therefore, it insists that the doctrine of justification by faith was just a kind of practical plan to assist the progress of the ministry for the Gentiles. It dealt with elimination of the separation between Jews and Gentiles (Dunn, 2008:367-380). This indicates that the NPP emphasises the context of Judaism at that time to understand Paul and his letters.

7.2.2 Advantage and disadvantage of the NPP as a social study

The debate on the NPP has been in progress as claims based on both the traditional viewpoint and the NPP continued to emerge, and there have been attempts to reconcile the two (Smith, 2013:22). Many advocates of the NPP argue that the NPP “takes nothing essential away from the Reformation reading of Paul” (Waldschmidt, 2016:1), which implies that Paul was concerned with both viewpoints but that they differ in emphasis (Waldschmidt, 2016:14). Many traditional interpreters do not agree with this opinion (Seifrid, 1994; Arnold, 2015).

The fact that the NPP takes Second-Temple Judaism as main context of Paul and his writings means that Paul’s social context as a Jew began to receive more emphasis than before. This is quite different from the understanding of Judaism by the Reformers such as Luther and Calvin, which is one of the criticisms on the traditional view by the advocates of the NPP (Thomas, 2018:23). In other words, according to the NPP, the Judaism that the Reformers disapproved of was different from what Paul really criticised. Consequently it is argued that the understanding of Paul’s justification by faith by the Reformers was also wrong (Dunn, 2008:200). It implies that if the understanding of Paul’s context was wrong, then the conclusion is that the understanding of Paul might subsequently be misunderstood.

According to the traditional view, most of the texts regarding Paul’s justification by faith point to the following question. “What will happen to me after I die?” (Wright, 2015:31). In other words, it focuses on “the individual finding peace with God” (Dunn, 2008:196). However, the NPP has been aware that Paul’s justification by faith is deeply engaged in the social relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Dunn, 2008:210). It is appropriate to focus on the issue of the context as Wright (1991:5) argues:

It seems, when we get close up to it, as though, if we grant for a moment that in some sense or other God has indeed inspired this book, he has not wanted to give us an abstract set of truths unrelated to space and time.

The concern with the context made the debate more controversial because it revealed a weak point of the traditional view of Paul’s justification by faith (Maschmeier, 2017:37).

However, the NPP exhibits not only strengths but also drawbacks, similar to those identified in Chapter 3 on social studies on Paul and his tent-making. The NPP adopting the similar research method may also have similar weaknesses.

Firstly, the NPP in terms of social studies has a reductionistic character, although Dunn (2013:157) says that this should be avoided. Specifically, it seems reasonable exegetically that Paul's use of the term "justification by faith" could be understood in the relationship between Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 1:16, 2: 9, 10; 2:25-29; 3:29; 4:9-12; Gal. 2:11-16) (Arnold, 2015:13, 14). However, Paul did not use the term exclusively for the social problem (Kim, 2002:54; Westerholm, 2006). The advocates of the NPP also agree on this (Dunn, 1998:372, 378, 379; Longenecker, 1998:180, 181). In other words, the interpretation focussing on the social relations of Jews and Gentiles cannot cover all the texts regarding justification by faith in all the Pauline letters since the doctrine has a soteriological understanding beyond the social perspective³⁸. The Jewish law also appears as a symbol of Israel's status, but it also has a characteristic of universal ethics (Longenecker, 1990:180), which means that "works of the law" are not confined to the rules forming the ethnic boundaries (Waldschmidt, 2016:12). Therefore, it is better to see that the argument of the NPP might be a form of social application of Paul's justification by faith to solve the problematic relationship between the Jews and Gentiles.

Secondly, there is one more reductionistic characteristic of the NPP: it might be limited by the understanding of the Second-Temple Judaism. NPP research has been based on data concerning Judaism. However, it cannot be said for certain that the Jewish literature and Paul's letters provide enough understanding of Judaism at the time. It is also impossible to know what the Jewish texts that Paul adopted regarding Judaism were. Indeed, the Jewish literature at that time contains not only the Jewish understanding of the NPP, but also other understandings (Carson, 2001:543, 545; Thomas, 2018:25), including "[...] statements of synergism in Second-Temple Jewish literature" (Waldschmidt, 2016:5).

³⁸ Dunn (2008:379) thinks that Galatians 2:11, 14 is linked to 2:15, 16. In other words, the justification by faith in Galatians 2:16 claims to be understood as a term based on the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Considering the context, Dunn's argument appears to be correct, but Dunn might not consider the latter half of Galatians 2:16 citing Psalm 143:2, a representative text indicating the universal corruption of man. The law exposes sin of all people including the Jews. No people could satisfy the law entirely so that they all are sinners. According to Horton (2007:73), if Paul's justification by faith indicated only membership identity, "Paul would have had every opportunity to clear up the misunderstanding by narrowing his polemics to membership identity, but instead he simply elaborates his broader thesis". While the context of Romans 3:20 deals with the critique of "Jewish restrictiveness" (Dunn, 2008:372), Smith (1999:106) notes that Romans 3:20 deals with the problem of human fundamental disobedience to God. As Romans 3:20 cites Psalm 143:2 like Galatians 2:16, Dunn's interpretation might be contextually correct, but it seems to overlook the implication of the Old Testament quotation.

Thirdly, the NPP is based on the literature of the time, and due to the characteristics of social studies that pursue the generality derived from the documents, it cannot reflect the specificity³⁹. Why does it focus on Paul's missionary situation rather than the revelatory nature of the Damascus experience when dealing with the justification by faith? It is probably because there is available data for the research based on Paul's context. Hanges (2003) refers to similar cases in other religions to Paul's Damascus experience, but they just indicate cultic calling and do not consider conversion. The references on the cultic calling might emphasise that Paul did not leave Judaism in order to point to the social crisis between the Jews and Gentiles. However, it should be noted that "Paul was commissioned, not to illuminate a crisis, but to present to a world under judgment a divine offer of salvation" (Westerholm, 2006:217). Additionally, Westerholm (2015:11) argues that "a doctrine of justification by grace, through faith, and apart from the works demanded by the law makes no sense in Judaism, but is perfectly at home in Pauline theology", indicating that Paul's exclusive dependence on the grace of God was absent in Judaism. Sociological researchers themselves also acknowledge that social studies might not be sure that they have properly captured specific aspects (Theissen, 1982:121).

The NPP seems to confuse theological content with social application (Gathercole, 2007:26). Thus, there are a few who accepted the social aspect of the NPP while agreeing with the traditional viewpoint (Das, 2001) since knowledge of Paul's social context is significant to understand his letters.

7.2.3 Paul's Damascus experience in terms of the NPP

The NPP suggests that in Paul's Damascus experience, Paul experienced transformation rather than religious conversion (Wright, 2013:617). In other words, through the Damascus experience, it is difficult to say that Paul became a convert from one religion to another (McKnight, 2009), since his understanding of Judaism was simply renewed at that time. This means that Paul was not converted and did not leave Judaism (Sanders, 2018:34). Thus, when studying Paul's Damascus experience, it has been emphasised that he was entrusted with a commission similar to the call of the prophets in the Old Testament instead of any conversion. Paul remained in the same covenant even after the experience on the way to Damascus. Paul was covered with scales of misunderstanding, but through the Damascus experience, the scales were removed, and he attained true knowledge. This indicates that Paul recognised the error of Judaism emphasising ethnic boundaries at the time through revelation.

³⁹ Malherbe (1983:17) says that "[t]he value of the New Testament writings lies in their particularity- they deal with concrete situations."

The NPP understands Paul's justification by faith in this perspective. Paul's justification by faith is the doctrine for the Gentiles entering into the church, which is designed to eliminate ethnic boundaries for the legitimacy of the Gentiles to join the church. In this point, Paul's experience on the road to Damascus is quite related to the justification by faith. The Damascus experience played a significant role in highlighting the error of Judaism emphasising the ethnic boundaries to sustain the privilege of covenantal members.

To the contrary, the traditional view of Paul's justification by faith focuses on the seriousness of the universal sin of men (Westerholm, 2015:5) rather than any error that stresses the ethnic boundaries. Through the Damascus experience, Paul was not only called as an apostle, but also became a convert that was forgiven by Christ. In this sense, Paul experienced the core of soteriology based on Christology in the Damascus experience⁴⁰. Paul's conversion based on Christ's sacrifice is deeply related to the topic of suffering. This is because Paul's suffering indicates the imitation of Christ's affliction for the salvation of all people.

The NPP focuses on the understanding of Paul's justification by faith from a social perspective. This tendency might influence the NPP's interpretation of the Damascus experience (Segal, 1990:25, 26). The NPP seems to overlook the revelatory nature of the event, demonstrating the forgiveness of universal sin, in order to strengthen the social meaning of Paul's justification by faith focusing on calling rather than on Paul's conversion (Hanges, 2003; Dunn, 2008:195, 196)⁴¹. This tends to weaken the revelation regarding the suffering of the apostle.

In the understanding of Paul's justification by faith, the traditional perspective focuses on a vertical dimension while the NPP tends to emphasise more in a horizontal dimension (Smith, 2013:26). The vertical dimension was more interested in how the sinners could be found righteous by God (Westerholm, 2015:5) rather than the context of the Greco-Roman society. On the other hand, the NPP's concern for the horizontal dimension makes it difficult to capture Paul's special experience. Hence it seems to reduce the revelation of the Damascus experience under the light

⁴⁰ Paul's Damascus experience from the traditional point of view serves as the basis for Paul's theology. When Paul met the resurrected Jesus Christ on the Damascus road, Paul was informed of the basic content of his theology, although he did not realise all the details. On the basis of the experience, Paul would gradually realise what was revealed. In other words, it is true that Paul's theology developed, but the core content of theology was already revealed at the Damascus event (Kim, 2002:4, 5). The Damascus experience in Paul's theology is of decisive importance.

⁴¹ Hanges (2003:68) argues that "conversion narratives are reconstructions of the convert's experience that are socially determined and are therefore usually stereotypical", comparing Paul's Damascus experience with other epiphanic commands. He indicates on the same page that "Paul's task was to transfer the cult of Jesus from its native location to foreign sites, and there establishing new worshipping communities." That is, Hanges considers Paul's Damascus experience as merely a cultic calling rather than any form of conversion. This means that Paul's theology in justification by faith came from his practical ministry to the Gentiles. However, such an argument seems to find it hard to explain some of Paul's statements dealing with human beings' sinful nature (Smith, 1999:106).

of Paul's missionary situation and it corresponds to a weakness of the NPP as a kind of social study.

7.2.4 Conclusion

The NPP has played a positive role in promoting interest in Paul's Jewish context in addition to the social studies of Paul and his communities, which both are based on "the significant post-war consensus that Paul's theology must be understood in the context of Judaism and its Scriptures" (Smith, 2013:30). In particular, the NPP shows how scholars' understandings of justification by faith have changed (Bradford, 2018:110) and that Paul's justification by faith tends to focus on the social aspect. The understanding of the Damascus experience changes according to the understanding of justification by faith. The NPP emphasises that Paul's doctrine of justification by faith was influenced by Paul's missionary situation rather than the Damascus event, while the traditional view focuses on Paul's Damascus experience as a solid foundation for the doctrine. Attempts to focus on Paul's missionary situation used to be supported by exegesis of Paul's letters. However, the understanding of Paul's justification by faith based on his radical conversion on the road to Damascus is also indicated in Paul's letters. In other words, it is clear that any one approach is limited in understanding Paul's letters. This means that both the revelatory character of Paul's Damascus event and situational understanding of his ministry for the Gentiles must be taken into account to understand Paul's theology.

Social studies in Paul and his communities and the NPP are fundamentally contextual. The interest in context has been a great help in understanding Paul. However, there are some doubts about the context. The context is necessary for interpreting the text but speaking of the text as the outcome of the context is another matter. The attempt to interpret and explain everything must be acknowledged, but room must be made for the divine influence by revelation. Thus, it is difficult to find the ground motive of Paul's tent-making in contexts, as seen in Chapter 3, although one is able to see the colourful, dynamic, and tearful aspects of Paul's tent-making based on the contexts. Paul's labour is coloured with various colours but it is hard to confirm the origin of the painting of Paul's labour by looking only at the colour. Therefore, for the purpose of determining how Paul's tent-making had a theological significance, one must focus on the topic of suffering derived from the divine revelatory characteristic of the Damascus experience rather than merely from a social point of view.

7.3 The topic of suffering revealed in the Damascus experience

Luke refers to the Damascus event three times in Acts (Acts 9, 22, 26). Also, Paul indirectly indicates his experience of Christophany in his letters (Kim, 1982:28). The Damascus experience

has been considered a major watershed in Paul's life and theology as an apostle (Awwad, 2011:14). Thus, above all, it should be investigated what Paul's Damascus experience signifies through study of the texts regarding Paul's experience on the way to Damascus in Acts and his own letters.

7.3.1 The Damascus experience in Acts

According to Luke, Paul referred to his experience of conversion on the way to Damascus three times in Acts. The three texts deal with the same event of Paul's Damascus experience, but each context is different. The first text in Acts 9 narrates how Paul was converted. In particular, Paul's Damascus experience coincides with the start of the mission to the Gentiles, which required an apostle for the Gentiles. The second and third texts (Acts 22:6-11; 26:12-18) indicate Paul's special experience in relation to the legitimacy of his ministry. Thus, there are differences in emphasis between the texts (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:43).

7.3.1.1 Acts 9:1-20

Before the Christophany close to Damascus, Paul asked the high priest for official letters to the synagogues in Damascus. As Paul persevered in the persecution of believers, the letters granted him the authority to take persons who believed in Jesus and bring them bound to Jerusalem (9:2). On the way to Damascus, a light from the heaven shone around Paul. He fell to the ground and heard a voice saying, "why are you persecuting Me?" (9:4). The voice introduced Himself as Jesus, whom Paul was (9:5). Paul, who was blinded, was led into the hands of men into Damascus (9:8). Through a disciple named Ananias, who lived in Damascus, Paul was informed that he himself was a chosen instrument of the Lord to bear His name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel and to suffer for His name's sake (9:15, 16). Through the ordination by Ananias, Paul could see again and was baptised (9:17, 18). Immediately after his recovery, he began to preach that Jesus was the Son of God (9:20).

Paul's conversion story in Acts 9 reveals the following facts. Firstly, the one who met Paul on the Damascus road was Jesus, whom Paul was persecuting. It is interesting that Jesus, who already suffered from crucifixion, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, said that Paul persecuted Him (9:4). It means that Jesus, who had risen, identified Himself with the suffering church (Garland, 2017:94). Paul's persecuting the church is the same as persecuting Jesus. The first impression of Jesus, whom Paul met in the light on the way to Damascus, was the image of suffering⁴².

⁴² Suffering and persecution are not synonyms; suffering is a result of persecution. In Volume 1 of Louw and Nida (1988:499), 'to persecute' is simply 'to cause to suffer'. For example, in Acts 8:1 the

Secondly, Paul was chosen to proclaim the message of the gospel to the Israelites and Gentiles. He was called for the salvation of all people that the prophet of Isaiah already referred to (Isa. 49:6⁴³). Of course, after the discussion with the other apostles, Paul was predominantly devoted to the Gentile ministry (Gal. 2:8, 9), but he also had a great interest in the salvation of the Israelites and a tendency to understand the salvation of the Gentiles as a channel for the salvation of the Israelites (Rom. 9-11). However, when considering Paul's ministry in the rest of Acts, it is reasonable to see that Paul was especially called for the sake of the Gentiles.

Thirdly, Paul will encounter many sufferings because of his calling as an apostle to the Gentiles. According to Luke and Paul's letters, Paul's life as an apostle of Christ was full of suffering because of his duty to proclaim the gospel. Therefore, it was determined on the way to Damascus that Paul's ministry as an apostle and his suffering would be inseparable.

Fourthly, for Paul, this incident was intensive enough that he overthrew his own values and immediately became a follower of Jesus Christ. Paul's Damascus experience changed his life completely from the past. He changed from persecuting those who believe in Jesus Christ to believing in Jesus Christ himself to suffering for the sake of the gospel. In other words, the Damascus experience was a decisive event in shifting Paul's life direction.

In conclusion, the experience of Paul's conversion indicated that Paul, who met the suffering Jesus, was appointed as an apostle of the Gentiles to suffer for the gospel, which foretells the rest of Acts (Keener, 2013:1597).

7.3.1.2 Acts 22:6-11

According to Acts 21 the Jews from Asia, when they saw Paul in Jerusalem, caused a disturbance (21:27-30). They argued that Paul had defiled the Jews, the law, and the temple (21:28). This disturbance brought about the mobilisation of the Roman garrison, and as a result Paul had the opportunity to speak before the Jews (21:31-40).

Paul says that he had learned the law under Gamaliel and has been zealous for God like other Jews (22:3). So he had persecuted those who believed in Jesus to be imprisoned and put to death (22:4). He even attempted to go to Damascus to persecute there those who believed in Jesus (22:5). On his way to Damascus, he heard a voice in the light (22:6, 7). The voice was from the persecuted Jesus (22:8). The people who were with him saw the light but could not hear the voice (22:9). The encounter with Jesus of Nazareth, the persecuted, caused Paul to be blinded (22:11).

Jerusalem church faced great persecution and the believers suffered because of their faith in Jesus Christ.

⁴³ "I will also make You a light of the nations So that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (Isa. 49:6).

The specific designation of Nazareth seems to emphasise that the very person who the Jews had crucified proved to be Christ. Like the story of Acts 9, Paul met Ananias and was informed of his calling from God (22:12-16).

The characteristics of Paul's Damascus experience indicated in Acts 22 are as follows. Firstly, in this context, the testimony of Paul's conversion aimed to argue that the encounter with Jesus Christ derived from the plan of the God of the Jews in order to legitimise Paul's ministry to the Gentiles. In Acts 22:3, he emphasises his own enthusiasm in obeying the law. And Ananias, who came to the blind Paul, is introduced as "a man who was devout by the standard of the Law, *and* well spoken of by all the Jews who lived there" (22:12). Additionally, Ananias told Paul that the God of the ancestors of the Jews had chosen Paul and that God's will was for Paul to live as a witness to "the Righteous One", Jesus Christ (22:13-15). In other words, Paul's conversion occurred according to the will of the God of the Jews, so that he was an advocate of the truth of God of Israel (Garland, 2017:234).

Secondly, Paul is assigned with the ministry for the Gentiles not in the event on the way to Damascus but in the ecstatic experience in the temple of Jerusalem (22:17, 21). This seems to relate to Paul's purpose of the speech to the Jews. For the Jews, the temple in Jerusalem was a place where God dwells and speaks. Paul said that he was appointed as an apostle for the Gentiles from God when he was praying in the temple. It indicates that Paul received God's will and implies that the Jews should not oppose Paul's ministry for the Gentiles. This might irritate the Jews so that they reacted agitatedly (22:22, 23).

In conclusion, Paul's experience on the way to Damascus in Acts 22 is similar to that in Acts 9. However, Acts 22 focuses more on Paul's Damascus experience based on the will of the God of the Jews than does Acts 9 in order to persuade the Jews who oppose Paul's ministry for the Gentiles. Thus, Paul's conversion story in Acts 22 does not indicate his sufferings in the future, but already implies sufferings through the disturbance by the Jews because of the ministry for the Gentiles. Additionally, the image of the suffering Jesus and the use of *μάρτυς* (22:15; 26:16) expects Paul's severe suffering for the Lord because *μάρτυς* is used to refer to "a person who has been deprived of life as the result of bearing witness to his beliefs" according to Volume 1 of Louw and Nida (1988:236).

7.3.1.3 Acts 26:12-18

Because of the Jews' disturbance in Acts 21, Paul was imprisoned for a long period (Acts 24:27). After Festus became Roman governor, he decided to listen to Paul's plea because of one more accusation against Paul (Acts 25:2) and Paul's decision to appeal to the Roman emperor (Acts 25:21, 26). In front of Festus and King Agrippa, Paul testified about how he himself came to

believe in Jesus Christ. The story of Paul's encounter with Jesus on the road to Damascus is not much different from that in Acts 9 and 22. Paul heard Jesus' voice in the light, and that he was chosen as a servant and witness to send to Israel and the Gentiles.

But it is different from the story of Acts 9 and 22 that Jesus told Paul in the light in a Hebrew language, saying, "It is hard for you to kick against the goads" (26:14), which means the futility of trying to resist Christ's calling (Garland, 2017:267). Additionally, Acts 26:18 is also unique in the story of Paul's Damascus experience. Jesus is sending Paul as an apostle "to open their eyes so that they may turn from darkness to light and from the dominion of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance among those who have been sanctified" by faith in Jesus Christ. The role of Ananias is omitted in Acts 26 – it is likely that the context of Acts 26 does not require his appearance (Keener, 2013:1600). Nevertheless, the differences might not affect the message of Paul's Damascus experience indicated in Acts 9 and 22 (Keener, 2013:1600).

Similar to Acts 22, Acts 26 shows that Paul's Damascus experience and ministry must be understood in an Old Testament context. Before speaking of his Damascus experience, Paul says that he himself "is standing trial for the hope of the promise made by God to our fathers" (26:6). The promise is one that all the Israelites hope to attain as "they earnestly serve God day and night" (26:7). Because of this hope, Paul is being accused by the Jews (26:7).

The characteristics of Paul's Damascus experience indicated in Acts 26 are as follows: Firstly, Jesus Christ told in the light that He sends Paul in order that people may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance among those who have been sanctified by faith in Him (26:18). The forgiveness of sins in Acts 26:18 means deliverance from darkness and from the dominion of Satan. It points out that Paul's message of salvation deals with human beings' terrible status due to sin. Furthermore, the inheritance reminds of the promised land in the Old Testament, as already seen in Chapter 6. The concept of the theology of land in the Old Testament is interpreted in terms of the New Testament. Here, the inheritance could be understood as referring to the life, the blessing, *et cetera* enjoyed by those who believe in Jesus Christ. Therefore, in Acts 26, unlike Acts 22, Paul's apostolic mission includes not only the Gentiles but also the Jews. While in Acts 22 Paul's purpose seems to be to build legitimacy for his own ministry for the Gentiles in the eyes of opposing Jews, it is likely that Acts 26 tries to legitimise Paul's whole ministry according to the calling of God for the sake of both Jews and Gentiles (Acts 9:15).

Secondly, Paul's message was "what the prophets and Moses said was going to take place" (26:22). The message is that "the Christ was to suffer, and that is the resurrection from the dead.

He would be the first to proclaim the light to the Jewish people and to the Gentiles” (26:23)⁴⁴. In other words, even the prophets and Moses in the Old Testament who the Jews trust, support Paul’s message and his ministry. Therefore, the accusations of the Jews are wrong, and they are going in the wrong way.

In conclusion, Paul’s experience on the way to Damascus and Paul’s ministry point to the fulfilment of prophecies. The reason why God called Paul was that he might preach the gospel to all people. Because of it, Paul encounters and will meet a large amount of suffering similar to the Jews’ antagonism (Acts 26:7).

7.3.1.4 Conclusion

The three texts in Acts dealing with Paul’s Damascus experience have theological agreements but also exhibit some differences (Hengel & Schwemer, 1997:41). The coherent purpose of Paul’s calling is that he was sent as an apostle for the sake of the salvation of all people, including the Gentiles, and that he would suffer greatly. Unlike Acts 9, in Acts 22 and 26, the key was the Jewish criticism of Paul’s ministry, so Paul did not need to mention directly the revelation of his coming suffering in the Damascus experience. Thus, Paul’s testimony in Acts 22 and 26 did not refer to the suffering for the sake of the gospel except by allusion. However, the context of his testimony in Acts 22 and 26 in itself points to the hardships of ministry among the Gentiles (Acts 21:21-40; 26:6, 7). It corresponds to a fulfilment of his calling to suffering mentioned in Acts 9:16.

7.3.2 Paul’s letters implying the Damascus experience

Paul himself does not directly address the experience of Damascus in any of his letters. However, it is clear that Paul’s experience on the way to Damascus is the basis of both his theology and his identity as an apostle. So, Paul might omit referring to the event because this is fundamental to his teaching (cf. 1 Cor. 9:1) (Kim, 1982:29, 31). This means that most believers might have already known Paul’s story of conversion. There are, however, many allusions⁴⁵ to the Damascus event in Paul’s letters, apart from the texts that will be studied below.

⁴⁴ In this verse the NASB says “first to proclaim” but most translations say “first to rise”. The latter translation makes more sense from the Greek text. However, in this part the translation of πρῶτος does not affect my argument.

⁴⁵ The opening verses of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians and Colossians may be added here as alluding to Paul’s conversion and call on the Damascus road (Kim, 1982:27). Additionally, Romans 15:15, 16, 1 Corinthians 1:22-24, 9:1, 16, 17, 15:8-10, 2 Corinthians 3:4-4:6, Galatians 2:7 etc. might be considered to be alluding to Paul’s Damascus experience. These texts allude vaguely to Paul’s conversion or simply mention that Paul saw Jesus Christ. Thus, these texts will not be studied in detail since the selected texts in this section are sufficient to find a key message emanating from Paul’s Damascus experience.

7.3.2.1 Romans 10:2-4

Although many theories as to why Paul wrote the letter to the Romans have been proposed, Timmins (2018:388) argues that they all show weaknesses and should be reinforced. Proposing three reasons, Timmins (2018:403) concludes that Romans exhibits complex purposes:

Paul wrote Romans to conduct an apologetic pastoral ministry among the believers of Rome—or a ministry of pastoral apologetics—designed to further gospel mission in Jerusalem, Rome and Spain.

Among the missional, pastoral, and apologetic reasons, Romans 9-11 as a part of Paul's apologetic purpose dealt with the relationship between the Jews and Gentiles arousing "severest criticism" on Paul's message so that he should have strongly defended his own argument (Timmins, 2018:403).

According to Middendorf (2013:828), Romans 9-11 as a context of Romans 10:2-4

represents God's saving righteousness in relationship with his Israel that now comprises both believing Jews together with Gentiles whom God has brought into the community of faith in Christ (e.g., 9:24; 10:12-13; 11:17).

Additionally, Romans 10:2-4 is included in the answer of Paul (9:30-10:21) on "a question that naturally arises from what he has just said about gentiles outnumbering Jews" (9:24-29) in the true people of God (Thielman, 2018:437). In the context, Romans 10:2-4 explains why the Jews failed to attain the righteousness of God⁴⁶.

Paul indicates that their zeal for the law blinded unbelieving Jews (10:2a). Thus, they have not followed the true knowledge, and live in ignorance of the righteousness of God (10:2b, 3a). The ignorance involves "a fundamental misperception of what God wills for the world, indeed, of who God is, as revealed in Christ" (Jewett, 2006:617). When interpreting that "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believes" (10:4), the meaning of τέλος (end) can be primarily translated into two options of "goal" and "termination". Based on contexts, both meanings are intended (Keener, 2009:124, 125). However, this context seems to deal with approaches to

⁴⁶ In order to save the Jews who failed to attain the righteousness of God, Paul thinks that the mission for the Gentiles is necessary (Rom. 11:11-14). Based on Paul's context as a Second Temple Jew, Jeong (2018:163) argues as follows: "While Second Temple Jews such as Philo and Josephus saw obedience to the law as a means by which Gentiles would be 'provoked to jealousy', Paul, as a Jewish follower of Christ, saw the Gentiles' obedience by faith – as a christologically reinterpreted form of law-observance – as the means by which Jews would become jealous of Gentiles and ultimately be saved." If the reason why the Jews failed is their ignorance of the true law related to the righteousness of God (Rom. 10:2, 3), it seems reasonable that Paul's solution to restore the Jews indicated in Romans 11:11-14 could be interpreted in terms of observance of the law in faith.

attain the righteousness of God (Middendorf, 2013:935). If so, it is better to understand that τέλος is translated into “termination” of seeking the law as a way to attain the righteousness of God.

Dealing with the Jews’ ignorant avenue to attain the righteousness of God by obedience to the law, Paul certainly reflects on his own life before conversion to the faith in Jesus Christ (Schreiner, 2018:530). In this sense, Romans 10:2-4 could be considered to indicate a result of the experience on the way to Damascus. At that time, Paul’s life had been sustained by zeal for the law (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:6). Yet through the experience on the way to Damascus he realised that faith in Jesus Christ is the only way to attain the righteousness of God. Specifically, Thielman (2018:488) argues that Paul indicates Jesus Christ’s death as “God’s means of atonement for universal human sin” or the way to attain the righteousness of God. It implies that Paul’s experience of conversion indicated in Romans 10:2-4 puts emphasis on the role of the cross of Jesus Christ as the right approach to the salvation of God.

7.3.2.2 2 Corinthians 4:6-12

2 Corinthians primarily deals with the disputes over false teachers and their teachings. Guthrie (2015:50) summarises the purpose of 2 Corinthians as follows:

the message of 2 Corinthians is that Paul commends his ministry to the Corinthians as one of integrity. Appointed by God, under the lordship of Christ, and suffering in his proclamation of the gospel, Paul calls the Corinthians to repent from unhealthy relationships and embrace his authentic apostolic leadership. Their appropriate response will be seen, on the one hand, by again taking up the collection for Jerusalem, and on the other hand, by resolutely rejecting the ministry of the false teachers.

It seems clear that Paul focuses on his legitimisation as a true apostle to the Corinthians in 2 Corinthians (Seifrid, 2015:12). According to Long (2015:85), however, a change of topic occurs in 2 Corinthians 4:7. The shift between 4:6 and 4:7 might reflect Paul’s conversion. Additionally, Paul’s language use in the text mimics that of Luke’s accounts of Paul’s experience on the way to Damascus (Hubbard, 2017:65). Thus, it is likely that 2 Corinthians 4:6-12 indicates Paul’s conversion and the result of his conversion. In 2 Corinthians 4:6-12, Paul argues that the sufferings that occurred in his ministry have the purpose of the advancement of the gospel (Guthrie, 2015:249). God revealed to Paul the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ, as God performed the creative act (4:6 adopting Gen. 1:3) (Seifrid, 2014:200, 201). This treasure, the knowledge of the glory of God, is hidden in the weakness of man, to show that power comes from God, not from men (4:7). The list of sufferings that Paul had experienced reveals the human vulnerability (4:8, 9) (Kruse, 2015:147), which is theologically interpreted in terms of Paul’s suffering as “a continuation of Jesus’ suffering and death” in 2 Corinthians 4:10, 11 (Hubbard, 2017:69, 70). Paul’s suffering corresponds to carrying about in the body the dying of Jesus, “so

that the life of Jesus also may be manifested in our body” (4:10) or “in our mortal flesh” (4:11). This means that Paul’s suffering follows the cross of Jesus Christ and he carries about in the body the dying of Jesus “in order that also the life of Jesus might be made known through the medium of our body” (Guthrie, 2015:260), which is demonstrated in 2 Corinthians 4:12. In the verse, Paul’s suffering plays an important role in bringing the resurrection life to the Corinthians (Hubbard, 2017:68). Paul’s ministry enduring sufferings for the sake of the gospel is clearly contrasted with that of the false teachers.

As a result of Paul’s conversion, firstly, Paul realised that through the light of the glory of God experienced on the way to Damascus, humans are incompetent, and the power comes from God alone. In relation to salvation, the saving power comes from God, not from human beings. Secondly, Paul as an apostle of Christ has experienced many sufferings for the sake of Jesus Christ. In other words, Paul “is reincarnating the suffering, crucified Jesus” (Hubbard, 2017:71). Paul’s suffering imitating the cross of Jesus Christ has a purpose: “Suffering for Christ re-enacts the crucifixion and brings the renewal of resurrection life to both the sufferer and the Christian community” (Hubbard, 2017:68).

7.3.2.3 2 Corinthians 5:16-21

According to Guthrie (2015:307), Paul almost surely indicates his understanding of Jesus before his conversion in 2 Corinthians 5:16. In the next verse (5:17) the new creation corresponds to the separating point between a worldly way of judgment and a new perspective through Christ. After encountering Jesus Christ on the way to Damascus, Paul realised his own evaluation of Jesus Christ as absurdity (5:16b). Therefore, it is reasonable to see that this text deals with Paul’s Damascus experience.

Defending the integrity of his ministry, Paul proposes himself as an apostle of reconciliation in this text. Christ’s sacrificial death in 2 Corinthians 5:15 results in 2 Corinthians 5:16 and 17. In verse 16, Paul’s view was changed into a new perspective. Even though he had known Christ according to the flesh, yet now he knows Him in this way no longer. In addition, in verse 17, repentant sinners became new creatures when they were united to Christ by faith through Christ’s death (Lioy, 2014:73). In 2 Corinthians 5:18-20, Paul explains Christ’s death as an act of reconciliation of God (Khobnya, 2016:129). Based on Christ’s act of reconciliation, Paul was assigned to become an apostle to proclaim the reconciliation.

Considering the purpose of 2 Corinthians already mentioned, the Corinthian believers should not reject Paul’s ministry of reconciliation because it came from God. If they reject his ministry, “they are in danger of alienating themselves from God and Jesus” (Oropeza, 2016:380). Thus, it is wrong for the Corinthians to follow the false teachers instead of Paul as an apostle of

reconciliation. In this sense, Paul's plea to the Corinthians to "be reconciled to God" might mean to accept Paul himself as an authentic apostle. The reason to be reconciled with God and Paul is that God made Christ become "the sin-bearer" (Hubbard, 2017:96) in order that the repentant sinners might participate in the righteousness of God (5:21).

Jesus Christ assigned Paul on the way to Damascus to bear the ministry of reconciliation. The ministry is anchored in "God's act and the historical events of Christ's passion and resurrection" (Khobnya, 2016:129). In other words, Paul's task of reconciliation between God and human entrusted in his Damascus experience is to proclaim the significance of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

7.3.2.4 Galatians 1:13-17

The Letter to the Galatians is addressed to believers deceived by the teachings of false teachers who claim another gospel, namely that circumcision is necessary to become a member of the Jesus movement (Keener, 2018:18-20). Paul testifies that his own gospel, which represents the message of salvation unrelated to the observance of circumcision and the law of Moses (Gal. 5:2, 3; 6:12-14), was uniquely accepted through his experience on the way to Damascus. Paul's message is distinct in its origin but has the same content as that of the apostles in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:6-10).

Galatians 1:13, 14 speaks of Paul's life in Judaism in terms of persecuting the church of Jesus Christ before his conversion. In Galatians 1:15, Paul expresses his own experience of Damascus as follows: "He chose me in the womb of my mother, and called me by his grace". The experience changed Paul the persecutor into an advocate of the church of Jesus Christ. As a result, Paul became an apostle for the Gentiles (1:16a). Galatians 1:16b and 17 also emphasise the revelatory origin of Paul's message (Boer, 2011:95) by indicating that Paul never consulted with any human authority regarding the content of the gospel. Therefore, it is clear that the division between Paul's past hostility (1:13, 14) and his call from God (1:15-17) implies Paul's experience on the way to Damascus. Galatians 1 does not have a detailed account of Paul's Damascus experience, nor does it give any insight into the results of the Damascus experience except for Paul being chosen for the ministry for the Gentiles.

The Damascus experience in Galatians 1 is used for three purposes. Firstly, Paul's experience was used as a tool to assure the authenticity of Paul's message, rather than to explain the experience itself. That is, the message of Paul is genuine because it came from God (Gal. 1:11, 12) (Moo, 2013:105). The revelation from the risen Christ formed the basis of Paul's theology (Keener, 2018:49). The justification by faith claimed by Paul in dealing with the problem of keeping the law of circumcision, which is the main issue in Galatians, might have been revealed in Paul's

Damascus experience. Paul's experience of Christophany supports his apostleship and theology of justification by faith (Schreiner, 2010:93). So, Paul might adopt his experience on the way to Damascus to defend the theology.

Secondly, Paul's experience on the way to Damascus corresponds to the basic context of the message of Galatians. The Damascus experience was the starting point of Paul's ministry to the Gentiles. The problem of keeping the law in Galatians is deeply related to the ministry to the Gentiles (Keener, 2018:49). The ministry to the Gentiles, which Paul was entrusted with through the experience of Damascus, must have necessarily triggered the question of whether keeping the Jewish law should be required of the Gentiles. So, the controversy on the issue occurred inside the Galatian church. To solve the problem, Paul wrote the letter to the Galatians. Therefore, Paul's conversion and his ministry for the Gentiles should be considered to understand the message to the Galatians.

Thirdly, Paul's Damascus experience led him to realise that he was a member of the Old Testament prophetic tradition (Isa. 49:1; Jer. 1:5), and that Christ was the fulfilment of the covenant of the Old Testament. In other words, while those who lay claim to the other gospel are wrong, Paul is the one who appropriately obeys the Old Testament.

In conclusion, Paul's encounter with Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus functions to support the revelatory origin of Paul's message and to legitimise his theology of justification by faith in the context of his ministry to the Gentiles.

7.3.2.5 Ephesians⁴⁷ 3:1-13

The main focus of Ephesians is unity in the new creation through Christ (Heil, 2007:1-4; Baugh, 2016:35) including the church of Jesus Christ (Pereira, 2013:1). In Ephesians 3, Paul indicates how he recognised the gospel and how his personal story of conversion is related to the message (Cohick, 2010:80). Paul declares that his suffering as a prisoner is for the sake of the Gentiles (3:1). Paul's ministry for the Gentiles causing his suffering derived from the revelation; it might point to his experience on the way to Damascus. Through the experience, Paul was made known the mystery of God (3:4), which was not made known to other generations (3:5). And the believers have already known Paul's personal story (3:2). The mystery of God is that "the Gentiles are fellow heirs and fellow members of the body, and fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (3:6). For this, Paul was chosen as an apostle for the Gentiles (3:7). God's divine purpose "is fulfilled in Christ's work in creating the church (3:8, 9), but the implications of

⁴⁷ There have been debates on Pauline authorship of some letters in the New Testament. However, I accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians without going into the merits of the debate, as it falls outside of the scope of this study.

his work extend through all of creation, reaching to the heavenly places and the hostile principalities and powers” (3:10) (Arnold, 2010:180), according to God’s eternal purpose in Jesus Christ (3:11). The reason why Paul wrote this part is that the Gentile believers should not be discouraged by his imprisonment and suffering but be confident (3:12). This is because his suffering is for the sake of the fulfilment of God’s grand plan and the Gentiles’ glorification (3:13) (Thielman, 2010:223).

Ephesians 3:1-13 indicates that Paul’s own task from heaven is to proclaim the message of gospel to the Gentiles and bring them into the church (3:1-12). Thus, the Ephesian believers should be steadfast in faith although Paul is in imprisonment and suffering, which corresponds to their glory (3:13) (Winger, 2015:144). According to Cohick (2010:92) “[t]he afflictions he suffers for the sake of the gospel are evidence of the profound truth that Gentiles are members of God’s family, and thus share in God’s glory through Christ.” It is clear that Paul’s own mandate for the Gentiles is closely related to his suffering. In this point, Paul’s Damascus experience is used to explain both the origin of his ministry for the sake of the Gentiles and the reason why he suffers as a prisoner.

7.3.2.6 Philippians 3:4-11

The letter to the Philippians has many purposes (O’Brien, 1991:38). Among them, Fee (1995:328) emphasises that “concern for the Philippians’ remaining steadfast (with a keen eye to the future) in the midst of present suffering is a primary reason for the letter.” Through the letter, Paul wanted to encourage the believers to maintain the unity in faith regardless of circumstances.

In Philippians 3, Paul is warning against opponents and asks the believers to follow Paul’s example and teaching. Paul thinks that if the opponents have confidence in the flesh such as qualifications and zeal for the law, he himself has far more (3:4-6). However, after his conversion, according to Holloway (2017:161), for Paul “[a]ny gains that came from being a good Pharisee are completely overshadowed by the surpassing greatness [τὸ ὑπερέχον] of the knowledge of Christ”, so that he considers them rubbish in order to attain Christ and be found in Him. This is because the righteousness of God comes from the faith in Christ not from the law (3:7-9). Besides gaining Christ and being found in Him (3:8, 9) as Paul’s goal, one more goal might be added in Philippians 3:10, 11 (Hansen, 2009:242). That is, Paul wants to know Him and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, being conformed to His death (3:10). Hansen (2009:243) argues that

Paul explicates the meaning of knowing Christ in terms of two objects of knowledge: *to know the power of his resurrection and participation in his sufferings*. By using one definite article, Paul unites the power and participation to form a single entity (*Italic is original*).

In other words, in this context knowing Jesus Christ is regarded as conforming to the gospel reflecting the cross and resurrection. Thus, Paul is conforming to Christ's death (3:10b), which means to continually endure the present sufferings in order to be renewed into the image of Christ (O'Brien, 1991:408). The reason why he endeavours to know Jesus Christ and conform to His death is to attain to the resurrection from the dead (3:11). What is needed is to follow the essence of the gospel, not to act in accordance with ethnic identity of Jews (Zoccali, 2011:19).

Philippians 3:4-11 consists of two contrasting parts (Asumang, 2017:34) that may be separated into two parts relating to before and after Paul's conversion. Paul ascribes his persecution of Christians to his zeal for the law (3:6). When he met Jesus Christ on the way to Damascus, Paul was converted as a Christ-believer with a new perspective. Holloway (2017:161) indicates that it "results from an altered state of consciousness interpreted as a mystical experience of Christ." Additionally, Hellerman (2015:190) implies that Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is indicated in Philippians 3:10, arguing that

[t]he order—"resurrection" first, then "suffering"—is striking, since Jesus first suffered and was afterwards resurrected. The order parallels Paul's own experience, however, where he first encountered the risen Christ and subsequently learned that suffering would be his lot as Christ's apostle (Acts 9:16).

It is clear that Paul's initial encounter with Jesus Christ was the starting point of his own experience of knowing Christ (Hansen, 2009:244). Furthermore, in Philippians 3:1-11 Paul reverses the rhetoric on the Jewish opponents and Greco-Roman rhetorical traditions (Ryan, 2012; Nash, 2016). Although it does not indicate direct evidence, his reversal of rhetoric at that time might reflect the reversal of his life. If so, the bifurcation of the pericope must be Paul's experience on the way to Damascus.

Because of the experience on the way to Damascus, Paul became the one who aspires to know Jesus Christ in the perspective of His resurrection and suffering. His ultimate goal is to attain the resurrection from the dead. For this purpose, he is conforming to Christ's death. In other words, Paul endures all the sufferings for the sake of Jesus Christ to attain the resurrection. In this sense, Paul's present missionary life is characterised by the sufferings for the sake of Jesus Christ. Hansen (2009:246) argues that all sufferings of believers for the sake of the Lord "provide specific descriptions of the sufferings of Christ". It implies that Paul's suffering corresponds to a kind of imitation of Jesus Christ. Additionally, the fellowship of Christ's suffering in Philippians 3:10 concerns not only Paul's own suffering but also the suffering community and believers (Werntz, 2015:147). This is why Paul's suffering could not simply be understood in an individual communion with Christ.

In conclusion, Paul's experience on the way to Damascus compelled him to change his view on Jesus Christ and to follow the suffering of Jesus Christ. Also, Paul's suffering should be viewed in a communal perspective.

7.3.2.7 Colossians⁴⁸ 1:23-29

Concerning the purpose of Colossians, there are some debates as to whether false teachings to confuse the Colossian believers existed (Pao, 2012:26). Regardless of the debates, the main message of Colossians is "the centrality, uniqueness, and supremacy of Christ" and the finality of His authority (Pao, 2012:25; Foster, 2016:24). Colossians should be interpreted based on this core message.

Paul has become a minister of the gospel of Christ (1:23b), and the suffering he has endured in preaching the gospel (1:24a) completes what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of the church (1:24b) (White, 2016:184). However, Paul's suffering is to the benefit of the Colossian believers, yet does not function as a means of forgiveness of sins (Sumney, 2006:665). In this manner, God, who called Paul as an apostle, fulfils His own will (1:25). The mystery that showed to him when He called Paul is Christ within the believers, the hope of glory (1:27). Paul was entrusted with making this mystery appear abundantly among the Gentiles (1:27). So, Paul preaches Christ in order to complete all people in Christ, admonishing and teaching them with all wisdom (1:28). Paul has also worked hard for this purpose (1:29).

Colossians 1:23-29 do not certainly refer to the decisive point of Paul's conversion. However, it seems clear that through Paul's conversion he was made a minister by God in order to save those who were alienated from God (1:21-23). Colossians 1:23-29 speaks of Christ as the mystery revealed to Paul on the road to Damascus and of his suffering from the apostolic ministry that makes the secret known to the Gentiles. It is clear that Paul perceived the mystery through his extraordinary experience on the way to Damascus. It indicates Paul's calling for the Gentiles and his sufferings (1:24, 27).

7.3.2.8 Conclusion

When he met Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus, Paul as a Pharisee must have been compelled to re-evaluate his own confidence which had made him persecute those who believed in Jesus (Capes, 2018:188). As a result of this unique experience, the texts in Paul's letters

⁴⁸ There have been debates on Pauline authorship of some letters in the New Testament. However, I accept the Pauline authorship of Colossians without going into the merits of the debate, as it falls outside of the scope of this study.

alluding to the Damascus event suggest that Paul refers mainly to his sufferings and his ministry for the Gentiles.

7.3.3 Characteristics of Paul's Damascus experience

The encounter with Jesus outside Damascus not only caused Paul's conversion from a sinner to one who was forgiven, but also made a persecutor of those who believed in Jesus a suffering apostle for the gospel. Based on the texts regarding Paul's Damascus experience studied above, it remains to study the characteristics of Paul's apostolic calling, since the call has significances to such an extent that it determined the direction of Paul's life and ministry.

7.3.3.1 Paul's similarity with the prophets in the Old Testament

Many scholars have agreed that Paul's apostolic calling is similar to that of the prophets in the Old Testament (Nasuti, 1988:258; Paretsky, 2013:623; Samuel, 2016:151; White, 2016:197). The fact that the Old Testament influenced Paul's apostleship might have been already recognised in the first century A.D. as evidenced in the book of Acts. Luke thought that Paul's ministry, especially the work among the Gentiles, was based on the prophetic words of the Old Testament.

Until chapter 12 of Acts, Peter was the central figure, and the gospel was mainly proclaimed to the Jews and some Gentiles (Acts 10) related to the Jewish religion around Jerusalem. An important watershed appears in Acts 13. Faced with the obstructions of a Jewish magician (Acts 13:4-12) and the Jews in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14-45), Paul claims the legitimacy of the mission for the Gentiles, quoting Isaiah 49:6 (Acts 13:47). And it is likely that Luke sets the agenda of the Gentile mission for the latter part of the book of Acts (Meek, 2008:24). That is to say, Acts 13 seems to describe the background of Paul's ministry for the Gentiles, focusing on the obstruction of the Jews and the favourable response of the Gentiles. Paul's quotation is located at the beginning of the ministry for the Gentiles, which is in- God's fore-told plan and is related to Paul's calling as an apostle for the Gentiles on the way to Damascus. So, the phrase of "a light for the Gentiles" in Acts 13:47 quoting Isaiah 49:6 has to do with Paul's identity. From his calling, Paul has been associated with the ministry for the Gentiles (Acts 9:15; 26:18, 22, 23). For Hays (1999:394), this means that "Paul understands his apostolic vocation to be inseparable from his *apocalyptic interpretation of certain biblical texts* which prefigure the events of the end time" (italics are original).

Meek (2008:29, 30) argues by way of a terminological study of Jehovah's servant in the Old Testament that Jehovah's servant points to a similar meaning in respect of being "a light to the nations" in Isaiah 49:6, namely that the servant was chosen to play a special role in fulfilling the

salvific purpose⁴⁹. Meek also insists that “a light to the nations” is identical to salvation to all the world, although there has been attempts to limit it within the nation of Israel (Meek, 2008:33). In the book of Isaiah, the salvation of God often indicates not only the salvation from invasion of Assyria or the Babylonian captivity, but also more comprehensive salvation (Isa. 25:6-8; 49:22). Therefore, “a light to the nations” plays an important role in emphasising the salvation of all people.

The pericope of Isaiah 49:1-13 including 49:6 deals with the salvation of Israelites and Gentiles. According to Gilbert (2018:158, 159), it is best interpreted that the two tasks are intricately related to each other based on some Old Testament passages including the promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:13; 17:4-6; Exod. 7:6; 14:1; 19:5, 6; Isa. 19:24, 25; 42:6, 7; Jer. 4:1, 2, etc.). However, Paul only refers to the salvation of the Gentiles in Acts 13:47, quoting Isaiah 49:6. Isaiah 49:1-13 might be regarded as a prophecy of a comprehensive picture of the Jewish and Gentile ministries represented by Peter and Paul in the New Testament. Paul might use “a light to the nations” to put stress on the ministry for the Gentiles against those Jewish preventing his ministry in the context of Acts 13.

In conclusion, the concept of the light used in Isaiah 49:6 and Acts 13:47 signifies a universal salvation and mission. According to Lyons (2013:351, 352), the light to the nations originally referred to the role of the Servant in Isaiah 53 but the role is passed on to the servants of the community the Servant creates. In this sense, as a servant in a broader sense, Paul participated in the ministry of the prophesied servant Jesus Christ and worked for the Lord (Meek, 2008:37).

According to Aernie (2012), 1 and 2 Corinthians demonstrate that Paul follows in the footsteps of the prophets of the Old Testament. Especially, on the basis of research of Sandnes (1990:122-125), he argues that the word ἀνάγκη indicating “compulsion”(1 Cor. 9:16a) provides a similarity between Paul and the prophets in the Old Testament. Such divine obligation compelled them to accomplish a task (e.g. Exod. 3-4; Isa. 8.11; Jer. 20.7-10; Ezek. 3.14-19; 37.1; Amos 3.7-8; Jon. 1) (Aernie, 2012:80-82). Additionally, woe formulas (1 Cor. 9:16b) are similar to the prophetic tradition (Jer. 15:10; 20:14-18) (Aernie, 2012:82-84).

In the analysis of 2 Corinthians, Aernie (2012:113-184) compares Paul’s statement of his apostolic ministry with that of three prophets of the Old Testament: Moses, the Isaianic Servant, and Jeremiah. This means that Paul regards himself as a member of the prophetic tradition. Furthermore, Aernie (2012:185-244) tries to understand some parts of 2 Corinthians in the context

⁴⁹ According to Schnabel (2004:943), the servant language is also used in Acts 18:9, 10 (Isa. 41:10) and 26:16-18 (Isa. 42:6, 7, 16). Especially, Acts 26:16-18 is contained in Paul’s testimony on the conversion on the way to Damascus. So, it could be assumed that the servant language is closely related to Paul’s calling as an apostle for the Gentiles.

of prophetic rhetoric. In the case of Bailey (2011), he attempts to analyse the whole of 1 Corinthians in comparison to the prophetic rhetoric.

In conclusion, based on the evidence mentioned above, it is possible to argue that Paul was regarded as a member of the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. This is why the understanding of the Old Testament is needed to discover the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, as already studied in Chapter 6.

7.3.3.2 Paul's calling for the Gentiles

On the road to Damascus, Paul was converted and called to be an apostle for the sake of Jesus Christ. Specifically, Paul was appointed as an apostle to preach the gospel to the Gentiles. Paul's special mission is evident in the book of Acts and Paul's letters. Even before Paul began the ministry for the Gentiles, the ministry for the Gentiles had already been initiated. However, Paul must have played a significant role in proclaiming the gospel to the Gentiles. So, the apostles in Jerusalem acknowledged Paul's ministry for the Gentiles (Gal. 2:8, 9). In Acts, Paul was called to preach the gospel to both the Israelites and the Gentiles, but Paul's special calling was as an apostle for the Gentiles.

This is also evident in Paul's letters. Paul's letters were mostly written in response to specific circumstances of the Gentile churches and to teach them (Gray, 2012:53-62).

7.3.3.3 Paul's apostleship in dispute

Paul's experience on the road to Damascus is the origin and basis of Paul's apostleship. However, Paul's apostleship through the special experience often functioned as a cause of criticism. In Paul's letters, there are some occasions where Paul's apostleship has been viewed with suspicion. And in such a controversial situation, references are often made to Paul's testimony of conversion to strengthen his claim to apostleship. In particular, this appears in 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians and Galatians.

In 1 Corinthians 9, Paul deals with the issue of eating food offered to idols and presents his tent-making as an example of the renunciation of the proper right, which the Corinthians should follow. Paul implies in 1 Corinthians 9 that there was suspicion regarding his apostleship because of his refusal to accept financial support from the Corinthians as well as his tent-making. In answering the suspicion, Paul emphasises that he himself is the apostle who has seen Jesus Christ (9:1) and that he was entrusted with the task to proclaim the gospel (9:16, 17).

As already mentioned in 7.3.2.2 and 7.3.2.3, the allusions to the Damascus experience shown in 2 Corinthians 4 and 5 are used to show that Paul is a true apostle when compared to the false

teachers who had a negative influence on the Corinthians. In particular, Paul emphasises that his suffering for the sake of the church is contrasted with the false teachers. Considering that the suffering was preannounced to Paul in the Damascus experience, Paul's emphasis on his own suffering for the sake of Jesus Christ indicates that he himself was called as a servant to suffer for the gospel, contrary to the false teachers. It was a way of witnessing that he was a true apostle of Christ.

Paul's Damascus experience in Galatians 1 is used as a basis to demonstrate that Paul's message is authentic, and that the different gospel is false (7.3.2.4). The different gospel (Gal. 1:6) might indicate that keeping the law is necessary to be saved, leading to the attack on Paul's apostleship. In the dispute regarding apostleship, the experience on the way to Damascus when the Lord informed Paul that he would minister to the Gentiles plays a role in pointing out the error of Judaism that emphasised the necessity of circumcision for Gentiles and the revelation of Paul's authority as an apostle.

In conclusion, Paul understands that his own life and ministry as a suffering and self-sacrificing apostle for the gospel of Christ is evidence of a true apostle. Although Paul's apostolic calling has been constantly exposed to criticisms and troubles, it is clear that Paul was convinced of his conversion and calling as an apostle.

7.3.3.4 Paul's calling to suffering in imitation of Jesus Christ

Jesus Christ revealed Himself to Paul on the way to Damascus as the one being persecuted by Paul. Although Jesus Christ had already died on the cross and had been resurrected, Luke says in the accounts of Paul's conversion that He still suffers (Acts 9:5; 22:8; 26:14, 15). It is noted that Jesus Himself identifies with the church persecuted by Paul. The suffering church remembers Christ on the cross but also the glory of his resurrection, and thus the church should struggle to enter the Lord's glory through suffering by imitating Him (Lk. 24:26). Additionally, the accounts of Paul's conversion in Acts indicate that Paul was chosen as an instrument to suffer for the name of Jesus Christ. This implies that his calling was closely related to his sufferings for the sake of Jesus Christ.

Paul says that through suffering, Christians' bodies continue to carry about the death of Jesus so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in their bodies (2 Cor. 4:10). It is clear that the image of Christ who Paul saw was Christ who died on the cross and was resurrected. Thus, by imitating Jesus' suffering, Paul wanted to attain the resurrection (Phil. 3:10, 11). Additionally, Colossians 1:24 indicates that Paul's suffering aimed to complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions. For these reasons, Paul's aim of his whole life was to imitate Christ's cross and resurrection. He wanted to reach the glory of Christ through suffering as He did (Grindheim,

2017:462). Paul's life persecuting Christ was completely overturned by his encounter with Christ into advocating and proclaiming the life of Jesus Christ. This life is to carry the cross and bear suffering of his own accord day by day (Lk. 9:23), so that Paul's life was loaded with suffering. This is certainly demonstrated in the lists of hardships (1 Cor. 4:11-13; 2 Cor. 6:4, 5; 11:23-27), as already mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5.

Paul's afflictions in his ministry is followed by that of the church. The church created by Christ's work is the community which turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God (Acts 26:18). It is rightful that the new identity aroused sufferings (Phil. 1:29). It is necessary for the church to suffer in order that it could achieve the glory through the suffering for the sake of Christ (Rom. 8:17, 18; 2 Cor. 4:17). In that sense, tensions exist between suffering and glory, such as the problems of the Corinthian believers. Paul asks those who already enjoy and convince the glory, to participate in the suffering for Jesus Christ, emphasising the importance of suffering.

7.3.3.5 Paul's apostolic calling demonstrated in the concept of μιμητής

The concept of μιμητής discussed in Chapter 4 is related to Paul's apostolic calling. In other words, the motive of Paul's usage of μιμητής might come from his apostolic calling. The grounds that Paul established for the use of the concept of μιμητής through the influence of the Damascus event, are as follows:

Firstly, when Paul used words in the μιμητής word group, he primarily adopted it in contexts that emphasised suffering, humility, and self-sacrifice. Regardless of who the objects of imitation are, they are all those who have common points of suffering and self-sacrifice. It implies that Paul came to know what he must follow in his whole life by encountering the Lord in the Damascus event. His life-long purpose was to imitate Christ's suffering and to attain the glory of the resurrection. He, who realised how to reach the glory of Christ, willingly devoted himself to the suffering life imitating Jesus Christ. His whole life, devoted to the imitation of Christ, was determined in the encounter with Jesus Christ.

Secondly, the fact that Paul had seen Jesus Christ on the way to Damascus may influence his use of μιμητής because the image of Christ is a necessary element to process the imitation of Christ. It is important for Paul to have seen Jesus Christ in the investigation of the reason of Paul's usage of μιμητής because the image of Christ may be related to the concept of μιμητής. This means that the fact that Paul saw Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus opened the door that Paul might decide to use the word of μιμητής when he experienced the image of Christ. In the case of Elwell (1985:549), he argues that the concept of imitating Christ derives from the biblical texts showing that human beings were created in the image of God. Because of sin, the image of God was distorted and through the imitation of Christ, the image can be restored. Paul must have

recognised how he should restore the image of God because he directly met Jesus Christ. However, not everyone can meet Jesus Christ as Paul did. In the process of restoring God's image, the imitation of Christ is necessary. Thus, to imitate Christ also needs an intermediation to bridge the gap if one has never met Jesus Christ and been converted like Paul.

The fact that Paul emphasised the suffering for Christ may be supported by his experience of seeing the suffering Christ on the road to Damascus. Paul's usage of the word group of μιμητής required the believers to sacrifice themselves, as did Jesus Christ and Paul. Additionally, it is probable that the concept of μιμητής requires the sighting of Jesus Christ. It really happened on the way to Damascus. Therefore, it is likely that Paul's adoption of the word group of μιμητής is related to the encounter with the Lord on the road to Damascus.

7.3.4 Conclusion

The experience of Damascus, of which Luke and Paul speak, has something in common about Paul's calling for the Gentiles and suffering due to the ministry. Paul, who was called in a similar way to the prophets of the Old Testament, was confident in his calling despite many controversies, criticisms, and hardships caused by his ministry for the sake of the gospel. Paul considers his afflictions to be the most convincing evidence that he is a true apostle. If Paul's sufferings were lost in Paul's letters, the most important element to prove the authenticity of his apostolic calling would disappear.

7.4 Paul's apostleship and tent-making

Outside Damascus, Paul was called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ. As already indicated, Paul lived according to the task entrusted to him on the way to Damascus, which is evident in his letters. Now the relationship between Paul's apostleship and his tent-making needs to be studied. It will be researched whether Paul's apostolic calling has had any real impact on his tent-making by studying the connection between the two.

7.4.1 Paul's tent-making relating to the debate of his apostleship

In some texts Paul's tent-making comes together with Paul's argument on his apostleship. The texts in 1 and 2 Corinthians indicate that the critique or doubt of Paul's apostolic calling is related to the custom of his tent-making (Hall, 2003:174). In 1 and 2 Corinthians, Paul's tent-making appears in the list of Paul's sufferings as an apostle.

Firstly, Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians 9 serves as an example of the right attitude that Corinthians should follow in the issue of eating food offered to idols in the pericope of 1

Corinthians 8-10. However, 1 Corinthians 9:2-6 suggest that some in the Corinthian church criticised Paul's apostolic calling and his authority, and that the criticism was related to his custom of manual labour. In this regard, Paul says that despite his legitimate right to receive financial support from the Corinthians, he refuses the support and works tent-making because it is for the sake of the gospel (9:12b) and is consistent with his own ministry (9:16, 17). It indicates that the reason for Paul's tent-making is very close to his apostolic mission.

Secondly, as already seen in Chapter 5, the main purpose of Paul's tent-making in 2 Corinthians 6, 11, and 12 is to highlight the difference between Paul and false teachers. Paul's tent-making is used as a proof of his true apostleship. On the contrary, Paul's tent-making indicates that the false teachers are not true workers of Christ. This is because they are ministering for financial gain unlike Paul. In the end, his tent-making and the refusal of support proved Paul to be a true apostle.

Lastly, it is likely that Paul's tent-making was not recognised as fit for an apostle of Jesus Christ at the time. It was different from the teachings of Jesus in the Gospels and the customs of other ministers (1 Cor. 9:6; 2 Cor. 11:5-9; 12:13-18). Therefore, Paul's tent-making functioned to cause the criticism on his apostleship, and it comes together with the controversy of Paul's apostolic calling.

Paul continued the custom of manual labour despite many controversies. Additionally, although Paul's right to be provided for is acknowledged by the Old Testament, common sense, and even Jesus, Paul himself chose to give up his proper privilege and willingly labour tent-making (9:7-12a). Paul indicates that he decided to do it for the gospel (9:12b). If Paul thought of his tent-making merely as a means of livelihood, he would have abandoned the practice of tent-making which led to doubt and criticism of his apostleship. Even the Corinthian believers were positive to provide financial support for Paul (9:4-6). Nevertheless, Paul chose to abandon such rights and to keep tent-making. This is very similar to Paul's assertion that despite many controversies and criticism, his apostleship came truly from God, referring to the divine encounter on the way to Damascus. Therefore, it is not too much to argue that Paul's tent-making is "a constitutive part" of Paul's apostleship (Hock, 1980:62).

7.4.2 Relationship with the suffering for Christ

Paul's tent-making primarily signifies the image of suffering. Social studies of Paul's tent-making, including the work of Hock (1980), agree that Paul's tent-making was considerably humiliating at that time. This is indicated in Paul's frequent inclusion of his labour in the list of sufferings.

Firstly, Paul indicates that his tent-making represents the renunciation of the proper right to be provided for. Paul clearly knew that he had the privilege to receive financial support like other

apostles (1 Cor. 9:4-6). However, he gave up the right and chose to labour manually. In the Greco-Roman society, manual labour was humiliating and considerably hard. Paul was able to do his apostolic ministry while receiving financial support instead of labour, but he did not, and it was a choice for the sake for the gospel. It means that Paul understood that the suffering from tent-making is inseparable from his ministry as an apostle.

Secondly, Paul considers the suffering that comes from his own labour to be evidence of a true apostle. In particular, most of Paul's hardship lists appearing in 2 Corinthians include his labour. The list of afflictions suggests that the sufferings that he himself endured are for the sake of the gospel of Christ and the church. In particular, Paul disputes false teachers who criticise himself and the custom of tent-making. In Paul's criticism against them, Paul's tent-making plays an important role in contrasting Paul with the false teachers. In other words, his labour is a factor that highlights that they are false. Paul's suffering as an apostle indicates that he is a true worker of Christ. Therefore, Paul's tent-making, an essential part of the suffering of an apostle, is closely related to Paul's apostolic identity and authority.

For these reasons, Paul's tent-making signifying the suffering for the gospel and the attitude of self-sacrifice for others is indicated in the controversy of Paul's apostleship. This is because in Paul's apostolic controversy, Paul emphasises his own suffering for the gospel and Christ's church as a proof of the authenticity of apostleship, not his own strength and power (cf. 1 Cor. 2:2).

7.4.3 Christological background

Paul's tent-making is not only a means of livelihood but also has a theological significance. Horrell (2009:600, 601) argues that despite Jesus' permission to receive financial support, Paul thought that doing tent-making is closer to an imitation of Christ than accepting financial support. In other words, Paul argued that his tent-making was in accordance with the Christological paradigm.

Paul's tent-making can be understood not only to have an ethical emphasis based on Christ's self-sacrifice (Horrell, 2009:600), but also to have a soteriological character based on Christology. In particular, the concept of μιμητής in 1 Corinthians 11:1 supports this understanding. In 1 Corinthians 11:1 corresponding to the thematic verse of 1 Corinthians 8-10 dealing with the issue of eating food offered to idols, it is important to identify what the Corinthian believers should imitate. As already mentioned in Chapter 4, Paul's example of tent-making is an attitude of self-sacrifice and renunciation of the proper privilege for others demonstrated in his tent-making. And Christ's behaviour, which all Christians should follow, is the attitude of love and sacrifice exposed on the cross, which is a theme emphasised by the whole of 1 Corinthians as studied in Chapter 4. In this sense, Paul's tent-making has the Christological significance as seen in Jesus' death on

the cross, the redemptive act of Christ, although Paul's labour is never expiatory. It is possible, however, to understand that it was Paul's attitude of self-sacrifice in order not to be an obstacle to the gospel, that is, in order that Christ's redemptive ministry would be available to others.

This understanding is supported by Colossians 1:24, although Paul does not mention his tent-making in this verse. Steedman (2014:143) follows the translation of NIV ("what was suffered") rather than that of NASB ("my sufferings") in Colossians 1:24a. That is, Paul's suffering in Colossians 1:24a indicates his sufferings which he experienced in the past. It is "looking back to historic events" (Steedman, 2014:143). And Colossians 1:24a and 1:24b seem to have parallel structure (White, 2016:184). In that sense, the meaning of Colossians 1:24b might be the continuation of Paul's sufferings experienced in the past in Colossians 1:24a.

Colossians 1:24b implies that Paul considers himself substitute of Jesus Christ. He has played a significant role in completing or continuing the ministry of Jesus Christ. This understanding has been accepted (Steedman, 2014:239; White, 2016). Although Paul's role is limited to give benefits on the believers not to grant forgiveness of sins (Sumney, 2006:665), Paul's ministry enduring the sufferings is similar to that of Jesus Christ in terms of salvation of people. When it is assumed that Paul's suffering for the sake of the gospel and the church has this Christological significance, Paul's tent-making included in his sufferings might also indicate the same.

7.4.4 Conclusion

Paul's tent-making was a factor that provoked the controversy of Paul's apostolic calling and authority. Ironically, it was also a key element to prove the authenticity of Paul's apostleship. It means that Paul's tent-making was a way to embody Christ's suffering. The mentions of Paul's tent-making are focused on his sufferings. Paul's tent-making also has the Christological character that resembles the cross of Christ. Through this, it can be seen that Paul's apostolic calling and his tent-making share the focal point of Christ's suffering.

7.5 Conclusion

The social studies are very helpful to understand Paul's tent-making because they present very concrete contexts to his labour. However, it seems to be limited in grasping the theological implications of Paul's tent-making, as already seen in Chapter 3. This applies similarly to the understanding of Paul's Damascus experience. The attempt to understand Paul's experience on the road to Damascus from the NPP reveals that Paul's Damascus experience and its influence has a social and relational characteristic. This indicates that the scope of revelation in the

Damascus experience might be limited because of lack of soteriology beyond eliminating ethnic boundary.

Paul's encounter with Jesus Christ outside Damascus in the book of Acts and Paul's writings focuses primarily on Paul's Gentile ministry and his suffering due to the ministry. In reality, Paul's ministry for the Gentiles resulted in many sufferings. And it should be borne in mind that Paul's labour occupied a large part of the suffering. Paul thought that his suffering is evidence that he himself is a true apostle. It was a kind of realisation of the revelation regarding the apostolic suffering informed in the Damascus event. In other words, Paul's tent-making is highly engaged with his apostolic calling.

Paul's tent-making and his apostolic calling share the concept of suffering for the sake of the gospel. Therefore, it can be said that Paul's tent-making is used as a tool of manifesting the suffering for Christ. It is also possible to speculate that Paul's tent-making is the result of the influence of encountering Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus where he was called to be a suffering apostle. It is reasonable to say that his apostolic calling is the most likely reason why the significance of tent-making has changed before and after the conversion when remembering that Paul practised tent-making before and after the experience outside Damascus. Therefore, it is possible to argue that Paul's ground motive of tent-making was influenced by the suffering of Jesus and the task for the gospel that he was entrusted with outside Damascus.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The aim of the thesis is to find the ground motive of Paul's tent-making. Paul's tent-making references in relation to each church or specific situation were of limited value in identifying the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, as was the role of social studies on Paul and his community, although these studies highlighted the importance of Paul's circumstances in our understanding of his writings. Thus, this study focused more on other aspects influencing the meaning and significance of Paul's tent-making in its search for its ground motive. In Chapter 8, the study will be summarised and concluded, and further research proposed.

8.2 Summary

8.2.1 Chapter 2

The literature study on Paul's tent-making primarily provided the reasons for Paul's tent-making in the light of each church's circumstances. Because each church's situation was different, the understanding of Paul's tent-making in the letters to each church was diverse. In other words, the reasons for Paul's tent-making in the letters are circumstantial. Thus, it is difficult to find any ground motive of Paul's tent-making. The reasons for Paul's tent-making indicated in Chapter 2 exhibit two main features.

Firstly, it has an economic aspect. Paul made his living through his labour rather than financial aid, so as not to burden the believers, and Paul was afraid of the influence of financial supporters on his message by him receiving financial aid. Furthermore, he might have performed tent-making so that the intention of the collection for the Jerusalem church was not questioned.

Secondly, it has a functional aspect. This indicated that Paul used his tent-making as an example for the believers or as a channel for the effective preaching of the gospel. Paul's tent-making activity was presented in 1 and 2 Corinthians as a rhetorical illustration, mainly to persuade the Corinthian believers to give up their arrogant attitude by following his example. Also, in the letters to the Thessalonians, his labour provided an illustration of the acts of love that the community in faith waiting for the second coming of the Lord should seek. Paul's tent-making also had the function of effectively preaching the gospel, serving to underline the dramatic difference between false teachers and Paul. The suffering through manual labour was to prove the truth of Paul's gospel in contrast to the false teachers who sought financial profits.

The circumstantial reasons of Paul's tent-making are significant because they are closely related to the issues of the churches. However, these reasons have limitations in identifying the ground motive of Paul's tent-making.

8.2.2 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 identified why Paul did manual labour through a social perspective on his tent-making. The premise of this Chapter was that the social studies are necessary to understand Paul's tent-making because Paul's letters do not give enough information about Paul's tent-making or labour in Paul's days. This has been demonstrated by many researchers. These studies show that Paul's tent-making was a very important factor in Paul's life and ministry.

The reasons for Paul's tent-making from a social point of view were as follows: for his livelihood, for the opportunity of evangelism in the workplace, for differentiation with the teachers at the time, for relieving the economic burden of the poor believers, for avoiding any influence of financial supporters as a form of patronage, and so on. The reasons were similar to the reasons indicated in Chapter 2, but they reflected the characteristics of the Greco-Roman society in the first century A.D. based on the social research such as the studies of the economic level of the members of Greco-Roman society and the patron system.

However, for the purpose of this thesis in pursuit of a theological significance of Paul's tent-making, social studies based on general data seemed to be insufficient to fulfil the aim. Although it was evident that the significance of his tent-making changed after he became a Christian, Paul's social background changed little. Thus it was difficult to grasp the ground motive of Paul's tent-making after conversion through social studies based on the general data of the day.

8.2.3 Chapter 4

Since it was difficult to find the ground motive of Paul's tent-making through traditional studies and social studies on Paul's tent-making, firstly, Chapter 4 explained what the implication and role of Paul's tent-making was in the light of the structure and theme of 1 Corinthians. Secondly, through the study of *μιμητής*, which was highly related to Paul's use of the example of tent-making, the significance of Paul's tent-making was examined.

The premise of the study of the structure and theme of 1 Corinthians was that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians with a clear purpose. Although there were various opinions about Paul's purpose in 1 Corinthians, Chapter 4 asserted that Paul wrote 1 Corinthians to emphasise the importance of the attitude of self-sacrifice to the Corinthians in conflicts, based on the theme of the cross and resurrection. Especially, their arrogance and spiritual immaturity that caused divisions within the community should be necessarily overcome by imitating Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross. The

way of the cross that the Corinthians should follow was to participate voluntarily in the suffering for the salvation of others, requiring that they should give up their proper rights for the benefit of others. Paul's tent-making was a channel through which the cross of Christ was conveyed. It is the way of life that is in stark contrast to that of those who had already become rich and powerful.

The word study of μιμητής and the New Testament occurrences of μιμητής showed that the word was closely linked to the concept of self-sacrifice for the sake of the gospel. This means that the word μιμητής indicated in 1 Corinthians 4 and 9 was coherent with the key message of 1 Corinthians and also shared a similar idea with the significance of Paul's tent-making.

Therefore it could be argued that Paul's tent-making was used as a means to teach the attitude of self-sacrifice for others, demonstrating the message of the cross of Jesus Christ in 1 Corinthians.

8.2.4 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 examined the texts referring to Paul's tent-making in 2 Corinthians 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Acts. In addition, Paul's consistent attitude towards financial matters was confirmed by comparing the collection for the Jerusalem church with Paul's tent-making.

In 2 Corinthians, Paul aimed to defend himself before the Corinthians who were influenced by false teachers. He sought to prove himself to be a true apostle contrary to the false teachers, and proffered his suffering for Christ and the gospel as evidence of such. Paul's tent-making was included in the list of sufferings of the true apostle. Therefore, Paul's manual labour indicated that he was a true apostle of Christ. Unlike false teachers who taught the Corinthian believers for financial gain, Paul's tent-making demonstrated that he lived in harmony with the suffering of Christ.

In 1 Thessalonians, the Thessalonian church was newly formed and thus Paul wanted the church to grow in their faith. In 2 Thessalonians, the church faced various problems, prompting Paul to solidify the faith of the church. For these purposes, Paul's tent-making was used to strengthen the community in faith. It indicated Paul's self-sacrificial attitude for the sake of the church and Paul's labour was an example of the acts of love that the church waiting for the second coming of the Lord, should follow. Additionally, Luke mentioned Paul's tent-making in the book of Acts several times. In Acts, Paul mainly did his tent-making for the effective preaching of the gospel of Christ, imitating Him.

Despite each context being different, the motive of Paul's raising money for the church in Jerusalem was quite similar to that of Paul's tent-making. Fundraising for the church of Jerusalem had the economic significance of helping the poor believers. More importantly, however, it was a

testimony to the validity of the redemptive work of Christ who incorporated one church. In that sense, the collection for the Jerusalem church shared the theological focus of Paul's tent-making. That is, the significance of the cross of Jesus Christ had a great influence on Paul's financial policy, both in terms of his tent-making and the collection for the congregation in Jerusalem.

In conclusion, the theological significance of Paul's tent-making in other letters except 1 Corinthians was similar to that of Paul's tent-making in 1 Corinthians. This was also similar to the use of Paul's tent-making in Acts. In other words, Paul's tent-making, which signified dedication and suffering for the church and the gospel, reflected the significance of Christ's cross.

8.2.5 Chapter 6

Chapter 6 studied the theology of land in the Old Testament as an indirect influence on Paul's tent-making. The principle of the theology of land and that of Paul's tent-making shared a commonality in preserving the community in faith based on the attitude of self-sacrifice. Thus, it was argued that Paul's tent-making was influenced by the theology of land in the Old Testament. This seemed very likely since Paul had extensive knowledge of the Old Testament and already understood his own apostolic calling from an Old Testament perspective.

The teachings associated with the promised land given to the Israelites were primarily for the purpose of maintaining the unity of the covenant community. These teachings were linked to the concern for community members as well as to their abandonment for the sound preservation of the community. The attitude of self-sacrifice of the Israelites and obedience to God's commandments were key requirements for the covenant Israel to live as God's people in the promised land. Therefore, as the prophets in the Old Testament indicated, excessive greed and the neglect of neighbours were the main causes of the destruction of the community of Israel, and eventually the northern and southern kingdom of Israel were destroyed.

The conditions required by the theology of land in the Old Testament were quite similar to the principle of Paul's tent-making. Paul's tent-making was mainly used in the context of communities dealing with problems of divisions, doubts about Paul's apostolic rights, and laziness. Paul hoped that by referring to his self-sacrificing example of tent-making these communities would solve the problems and be strengthened in their faith. In other words, the principle of Paul's tent-making taught the community to seek unity in faith and to have a self-sacrificial attitude to achieve it.

Since the principle of the theology of land and Paul's tent-making point to a very similar purpose, it could be concluded that the instructions on the promised land might have influenced the theological significance of Paul's manual labour.

8.2.6 Chapter 7

Chapter 7 referred to Paul's Damascus experience as the direct influence of Paul's tent-making indicating the suffering for Christ and the gospel. The interest in Paul and his communities' social situation in the twentieth century A.D. led to the study of "the new perspective on Paul" in the pursuit of a correct understanding of Judaism in Paul's day. And this had a different interpretation of Paul's Damascus experience from the traditional Reformation interpretation.

The traditional view understood that Paul experienced the forgiveness of sin and was called to be an apostle on the way to Damascus. Differently, the NPP focused on the relationship between the Jews and Gentiles, one of the most serious issues in Paul's mission. In other words, Paul's Damascus experience highlighted Paul's call to be an apostle for the Gentiles, rather than his conversion.

The NPP, a form of social study reflecting the relationship between Jews and Gentiles based on the understanding of Judaism in the first century A.D., had similar weaknesses to the social studies indicated in Chapter 3. In particular, the NPP tended to narrow the scope of revelation in understanding the Damascus experience. In other words, the Damascus experience in view of the crucial issue of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles seemed to weaken the seriousness of the matter of human sin. This weakness was also demonstrated by the fact that Paul's justification appeared not only in the context of dealing with the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, but also in the context of the problem of human sin. It was reasonable to deduce that the revelation in the Damascus experience went beyond a social context, in spite of dealing with a social issue.

The references to the Damascus experience in the book of Acts and the allusions of the experience in Paul's letters indicated that Paul was commonly called for the salvation of all people, especially for the Gentiles, and that he was determined to suffer as an apostle of Christ. He even encountered the suffering Christ on the road to Damascus. This meant that in addition to Paul being called to be an apostle for Gentiles in the Damascus experience, the element of suffering that characterised Paul's life must be considered. It should also be remembered that Paul's Damascus experience presupposed the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, especially the suffering of Jesus Christ for the salvation of sinners. It is for the salvation of other people that Paul was chosen as a suffering servant of Christ. Throughout the Damascus experience, Paul was called above all to be a servant of the message of Christ's death and resurrection to solve the problem of sin, and additionally, he was appointed as an apostle to play an important role in allowing the Gentiles to enter the church of Christ. Hence, the factor of suffering revealed in the experience on the way to Damascus was an essential consideration in understanding Paul's conversion and his calling.

If the core of Paul's revelation in the Damascus experience was that he was called to be an apostle for the Gentiles and the suffering because of it, then this experience was quite similar to the significance of Paul's tent-making. As already seen in Chapters 4 and 5, the theological significance of Paul's tent-making was to imitate Christ's suffering and to abandon his own proper rights for the sake of the gospel and the church. If so, Paul's tent-making corresponded to a realisation of the revelation of the Damascus experience from Jesus Christ. In other words, the characteristic of Paul's tent-making fitted with that of the suffering of Christ and of Paul's suffering task assigned by Christ. Paul, who had laboured before his conversion, assigned a new meaning to his tent-making, starting with the experience of Damascus. He chose to labour to become an apostle suffering for Christ because of the encounter with the suffering Jesus. Thus, although Paul had a proper right to be provided for financially, he endured hard and lowly labour for the gospel of Christ.

8.3 Conclusion

The Corinthian believers wanted Paul to accept financial support and he was fully qualified to receive it. However, he refused it. The problem was that Paul had already been financially supported by the Philippian believers; thus he could be criticised by the Corinthian believers for being inconsistent in his financial policy. Despite the criticism, Paul continued with his troublemaking custom and caused disputes in the Corinthian community. If he had not kept the custom of tent-making in the context of the Corinthian ministry but accepted the support like other apostles, the attitude of the Corinthians towards Paul might have been changed in a positive way and his ministry could have been more peaceful. It means that Paul must have had another motive for persisting in his tent-making. This is the ground motive of Paul's tent-making, which this thesis seeks, beyond the circumstantial or secondary reasons.

In 1 Corinthians 9, common sense, the general practice, and even the teaching of Jesus Christ allowed Paul to receive financial support. The other apostles ministered with financial aid (1 Cor. 9:6; cf. Matt. 10:10). Thus, Paul's refusal of financial support and his tent-making seemed to be difficult to grasp. However, it should be remembered that the idea of self-sacrifice and renunciation for others reflecting Christ's suffering on the cross, were claimed throughout 1 Corinthians and Paul's tent-making was a representative example to support the main idea. In addition, this feature was found in other Pauline letters and the book of Acts. Paul's tent-making was characterised by the suffering for Christ and the gospel. And it was also confirmed by Paul's use of *μμητής* and by his collection for the Jerusalem church.

As an apostle following the tradition of the prophets of the Old Testament, Paul might have been influenced by the principle of the theology of land in the Old Testament when he chose to labour. However, the most influential event in Paul's life was the encounter with Jesus Christ on the road to Damascus. It was on this occasion that he not only became a Christian but also decided to use his whole life to preach the gospel of Christ. For this reason, Paul's Damascus experience should be considered a factor to influence the theological significance of Paul's tent-making after conversion. As Hock (1980:67) mentions, if it is true that Paul's tent-making was central and not peripheral in Paul's life and ministry, there was a close connection between Paul's tent-making and his Damascus experience.

It was Jesus identified with the suffering church who appeared on the road to Damascus. According to Luke's accounts, Paul was called to be a suffering apostle for the Gentiles. For Paul the gospel was represented by a life of suffering for the sake of Christ. As Christ's cross meant His self-sacrifice for sinners, Paul would have set the goal of his whole life to lead people to Christ through the sacrifice of his own life imitating Jesus Christ. Considering 1 Corinthians 9-10, which directly presented self-sacrifice and abandonment for neighbours, it was clear that one of Paul's own ways of representing the cross of Christ was his tent-making. That is to say, Paul thought that his tent-making was a practical way of becoming like Christ, a clear expression of self-sacrifice, abandonment of rights for others' salvation, which were also demonstrated in the principle of the theology of land that prophets advocated in the Old Testament.

Most of Paul's tent-making references indicated that he was a true apostle. Of course, Paul satisfied his needs by labouring manually and used it for other reasons. But above all, Paul performed tent-making in order to live according to the cross of Christ. That is, Paul's tent-making was used as a message for the church, but fundamentally it seemed to be a personal response to the crucified Lord's call. The remaining reasons were contextual reasons that were derived from the ground motive and applied to the context of each church.

It is not clear when the theological significance of Paul's tent-making was formed, but the significance did not come from the situation in Corinth and Thessalonica. It was established regardless of any church's situation. So Paul even seemed capricious to receive, to reject, or ask financial support. He knew that it would cause criticisms, but he did continue it. This is evidence that Paul's tent-making was driven by a ground motive beyond the circumstances. Additionally, his tent-making was for the sake of the gospel (1 Cor. 9:12). His labour has been interpreted by looking at various parts in several Chapters. As a result, the ground motive of Paul's tent-making was the death of Christ on the cross and salvation through His sacrifice. In other words, Paul, transformed by his encounter with the risen Christ, was commissioned to go on the path of the cross for the gospel, and Paul's choice was the lifestyle of tent-making following the way of the cross.

8.4 Utilisation of this thesis

This study has an impact on the limited understanding of Paul's tent-making ministry in modern churches. Many churches are interested in the model of Paul's tent-making, but it is often merely considered at an economic level as a means of generating income for a pastor or minister. In the case of Korean churches, the influence of Christianity on the society of Korea has been decreasing since the 1990s, and many pastors have been produced, but it is almost impossible to build a church or minister for believers without the financial support provided by the church. Thus, some have argued and practiced the necessity of tent-making ministry based on the model of Paul's tent-making. The problem is that the concern on Paul's tent-making tends to be limited to the issue of livelihood and the financial burden of churches. In other words, the model of Paul's tent-making is mostly used to legitimise that pastors could have so-called secular jobs and then through it avoid adding to the financial burden of the church.

The various reasons for Paul's tent-making show that his labour not only had an economic aspect but was integral to his ministry of the gospel. Considering the ground motive of Paul's tent-making as determined in this study, the latter needs to be understood first. In this sense, the findings of this study help to balance the current understanding of Paul's tent-making ministry.

8.5 Further research

For today's churches, an understanding of the ground motive of Paul's tent-making and the circumstances in which it was applied, is of great importance for the relevant application of Paul's tent-making. Therefore, based on this thesis, further research might seek to evaluate the current understanding of churches' modelling of Paul's tent-making ministry and to formulate a Biblical model.

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