Article

Holy War in Corinth: The Apocalyptic Background of Paul's Struggle against Opponents in 2 Cor 10:3–6

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to explore what kind of light apocalyptic eschatology can shed on our understanding of Paul's argumentation in 2 Cor 10–13. The focus is on 2 Cor 10:3–6, where Paul, using the *topos* of *holy war*, describes his struggle against the opponents in Corinth. The apostle elaborates on a biblical theme, which also appears in Jewish apocalyptic texts, such as 1QM and T. 12. Patr. Comparing 2 Corinthians with this literature allows us to see certain similarities: the performative nature of 2 Cor and 1QM; the radical division into the servants of light and the servants of darkness; the active participation of Belial/Satan in the present warfare, and the belief in the absolute defeat of the evil spirit at the end of time, combined with the gift of peace and the universal reign of the Messiah. There are also significant differences between Paul on the one hand, and 1QM and T. 12. Patr. on the other: the lack of dualism of the cosmic type and a non-violent nature of Paul's struggle, resulting from the fact that the apostle imitates the meek and clement Christ. Ultimately, the apocalyptic eschatology sharpens Paul's rhetoric, strengthens his authority in Corinth and enhances the weight of his appeals to the community, upon the acceptance of which the salvation of believers depends.

Keywords: apocalyptic eschatology; *holy war*; 2 Cor 10:3–6; Qumran; 1QM; the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; T. Dan 5:10–11

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1. Introduction

An apocalyptic perspective has steadily been gaining popularity in the reading of Paul's letters in the past decades (Wright 2015, pp. 135–218). The apocalyptic nature of the apostle's thought was first suggested by Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer (Schweitzer 1968, pp. 311–13).[1] The latter qualified some parts of Paul's teaching as *Interimsethik*, a transitional ethic of eschatological times characterized by a radicalism resulting from the belief that the end of time is near. Schweitzer marked the "eschatological-mystical" area of Pauline theology as dominant and relegated the "rabbinic-juridical" discussions on the Law to the background (Schweitzer 1968, pp. 205–26, esp. 225).[2] Several decades later, the views of another German exegete, Ernst Käsemann, helped to win over new followers of the *apocalyptic Paul*. Käsemann, moving away from the Bultmanian *gnosis*, pointed to the apocalyptic as the basis for the development of the New Testament writings. According to him, the dynamics of early Christian thought, including Paul's, would be guided by faith in God's victory over the forces of evil, taking on a cosmic dimension and taking place at the end of time. In Käsemann's view, the apocalyptic perspective has a strong dualistic flavor and is associated with the rejection of the present order in favor of the one to come (Käsemann 1969, p. 102).[3] Similar ideas can be found in Johan Christiaan Beker (Beker 1980, 1982), J. Louis Martyn (Martyn 1997; 2000, pp. 246–66), and the so-called *Union School*, including Martinus C. de Boer (de Boer 1988; 1998, pp. 345–83; 2013, pp. 1–20; 2015, pp. 169–90), Beverly R. Gaventa (Gaventa 2007, pp. 125–45; 2011, pp. 265–78; 2013a, pp. 61–75; 2013b, pp. 77–91), and Douglas Campbell (D. A. Campbell 1992, 2005, 2013).[4] All of them are characterized, apart from the classic apocalyptic idea of the interpenetration of

the divine and human worlds, by the emphasis on the cosmic revelation of God in Christ, the victory over the forces of evil achieved by the Messiah, as well as by a strong dualism and radical differentiation between the present and the future *eon*.

In an extensive critical discussion of the apocalyptic trend in contemporary studies on Paul, N.T. Wright draws attention to the fact that the concept of the apocalyptic has been blurred and used as an equivalent of an idea or a broadly understood vision of reality. Currently, the term *apocalyptic* functions on many levels, denoting a literary genre, a cultural and historical background, or a social movement, in particular, Jewish apocalypticism with its dominant ideas (Wright 2015, pp. 137–38).[5] Wright's conclusions are based on earlier research on the apocalyptic genre, one of the most important representatives of which is John J. Collins. The latter, building on other scholars, in a special issue of *Semeia* 14 (1979) and later in his monograph *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (1984, 1998), outlines the morphology of the apocalyptic genre, defines it and reflects on its relation to apocalypticism and apocalyptic thought.[6] The very definition of apocalypse involves, according to the author, a conceptual structure or a view of the world, containing a revelation transmitted from a supernatural source, hidden presence of angels and demons directly relevant to human destiny, and eschatological judgment which determines human history. This conceptual structure indicated by the genre can also be found in works that are not revelation accounts, and thus, technically, they are not apocalypses. Moreover, it is strictly related to apocalyptic eschatology, a kind of eschatology that is to be found both in apocalypses and outside them, e.g., in the Gospels and Paul's writings (Collins 1998, pp. 8–9, 11–12).

Even though Collins does not qualify Pauline letters as apocalypses, he perceives apocalyptic ideas in them, encapsulated in the eschatological revelation proclaimed as a mystery (1 Thess 4:15–17; 2 Thess 2:1–2; 1 Cor 2:6–8; 4:1; 2 Cor 12:2–4) and salvation sought beyond this life, in the resurrection (Rom 6:3–5; 1 Cor 15) (Collins 1998, pp. 264–68). Wright, in a similar vein, advocates the apocalyptic nature of Paul's gospel, the unexpected revelation of grace present in it, and the cosmic dimension, in which the good news embraces all creation, liberates it from the tyranny of the old world, and leads to a new life (Wright 2015, pp. 168, 180, 184, 218). In recent times, there has been a proliferation of studies on the apocalyptic character of the Pauline writings, in general, and on the specific apocalyptic themes found in his letters, in particular.[7]

Following the methodology of contemporary authors, such as Collins and Wright, this paper aims at explicating the presence of the apocalyptic eschatology and related themes in 2 Cor 10–13. Using, as recommended by Collins, the adjective *apocalyptic* in an extended sense, I will be interested to see how Paul employs the motif of *holy war*, closely related to his apocalyptic gospel, in describing his adversaries in the last four chapters of 2 Corinthians. A similar motif also appears in 1QM and T. 12. Patr., works which, although not apocalypses, qualify for the designation of apocalyptic eschatology.[8] This is also the case with 2 Corinthians, where in 2 Cor 12:1–10 one finds the well-known description of Paul's heavenly journey. Unfortunately, this is where the apocalyptic reading of 2 Cor 10–13 usually ends. However, the last four chapters of 2 Corinthians, especially the topic of Paul's opponents in Corinth, provide a very promising field for comparison with Jewish apocalyptic literature.

A good number of publications have been devoted to Pauline adversaries,[9] whom Barrett recognizes as crucial to our understanding of the entire New Testament theology (Barrett 1971, p. 233).[10] Paul's opponents were already clothed in the garments of Judeo-Christians (Baur 2003, pp. 268–320, esp. 276–77),[11] of Gnostics (Schmithals 1956, pp. 52–69),[12] of Jewish-Hellenistic missionaries (Georgi 1985),[13] and of the pneumatics (Sumney 1990, pp. 149–79).[14] According to Bieringer, there is a growing conviction in contemporary scholarship that Paul's clash with his opponents is more personal than ideological; it touches upon cultural canons and Christian missionary ethos rather than on different religious traditions (Bieringer 1994, p. 219).[15] What has not been given due atten-

tion so far is the fact that, in depicting the struggle against his adversaries in 2 Cor 10–13, the apostle reaches for images and motifs characteristic of the apocalyptic eschatology.

Due to the limitations of this paper, I will focus primarily on 2 Cor 10:3–6, where Paul describes the *holy war* he wages against his opponents in Corinth, linking it to other relevant parts of 2 Cor 10–13, e.g., 2 Cor 11:1–4, 12–15. Rhetorically speaking, 2 Cor 10:3–6 is part of the *exordium*, an introduction to Paul's argument in 2 Cor 10–13.[16] The apostle refers to his opponents' accusations of duplicity and weakness (2 Cor 10:1–2), responding with a description of his apostolate, in which military metaphors abound (2 Cor 10:3–6). In 2 Cor 10:3–6 commentators have seen references to Prov 21:22 (the sage conquering the strongholds of the wicked), to Philo (*Conf.* 128–131), to Eccl 9:14–16 (the unacknowledged sage, savior of the city), to philosophical disputes between Cynics and Stoics, or to the Hellenistic descriptions of sieges known from the Books of Maccabees.[17] What basically escaped scholars' attention is the apocalyptic background of Paul's metaphors in 2 Cor 10:3–6. The apostle employs the motif of *holy war* which, in his creative apocalyptic reworking, announces a divine fight with his opponents and God's final victory over them.[18] The same motif can also be found in 1QM and in T. 12. Patr., which can help us understand how the apocalyptic eschatology shapes the apostle's rhetoric in 2 Cor 10–13.

2. The Biblical Motif of *Holy War* in 2 Cor 10:3–6

According to Neil Elliott, among Paul's apocalyptic themes, one should include the struggle against his adversaries, described in 2 Cor 10:3–6 and more broadly in 2 Cor. 10–13. Because the ruler of this world stands behind the apostle's opponents (2 Cor 11:12–15), fighting them also means fighting the forces of darkness (Elliott 2004, p. 79). This is all about this topic we find in Elliott. Let us now try to illustrate his laconic statement with specific textual references.

The motif of *holy war*, which can be applied to Paul's struggle against his enemies in Corinth, is found primarily in the Old Testament, in the descriptions of God liberating his people from Egypt (Exod 14:14; 15:1–21). This event, laying the foundations for Israel's identity as God's nation, provides a theological model that later influenced the descriptions of Israel's wars. The conquest of the promised land, similar to the event of Exodus, is the Lord's war in which his mighty arm determines victory (Exod 17:16; Num 21:14; Deut 1:30; 3:22; Josh 2:9–14; 5: 13–15; 6; 10:14, 42; 23:3, 10; Judg 4–5; 6:11–16). Once the Israelites settled in their inheritance, their struggles to keep it would also be referred to as "God's wars" (1 Sam 7:10; 17:47; 18:17; 25:28; 1 Macc 3:42–4:25). Finally, in the creative hands of the prophets, the victorious campaigns of God the Warrior became synonymous with the Lord's saving interventions, his reign over creation and history, and part of the end-of-times scenario (Isa 13–23; 34:1–10; 42:13; 45:1–6; 63:1–6; Jer 46–51; Ezek 21; 25–32; 35; 38–39; Dan 10–12; Nah 1:1–10; 2:14–3:19; Hab 3:3–15; Zech 14).[19]

In describing his struggles against the adversaries in Corinth in 2 Cor 10–13, Paul may have drawn on the old and rich biblical tradition of God's wars. This assumption can be supported by the wording the apostle uses in 2 Cor 10:3–6. Just as Israel is to destroy pagans and their deities, so Paul destroys the cunning of his opponents in Corinth (see καθαίρεσις/καθαιρέω in 2 Cor 10:4 and in Exod 23:24; 34:13; Deut 7: 5; Judg 2:2; 1 Macc 2:25, 45; 3:43; 5:65, 68; 6:7; 2 Macc 10:2 [LXX]). Just as the Israelites demolish and capture the strongholds of their enemies, so does the apostle level all the heights that rise up against the knowledge of God (see ὀχυρός/ὀχύρωμα in 2 Cor 10:4 and in Josh 14:12; 1 Macc 5:65; 10:12; 12:33–35; 2 Macc 8:30; 10:16, 23; 12:19 [LXX]).[20] Pauline opponents, depicted as "proud obstacles raised up against the knowledge of God" (2 Cor 10:5), are portrayed with the same term ἐπαίρω, used to describe Israel's arrogant enemies in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 1:3; 2:63; 8:5; 2 Macc 7:34; 9:4; 3 Macc 2:21; 6:4 [LXX]). Paul's campaign, like the *holy wars* of Israel, ends in captivity and subjugation of the rebelled (see αἰχμαλωσία/αἰχμαλωτίζω in 2 Cor 10:5 and in Num 31:12, 19, 26; Judg 5:12; 1 Macc 1:32; 5:13; 8:10; 10:32; 14:7 [LXX]).[21] In Corinth, the apostle inflicts punishment, similar to that which befell Israel's enemies by God's hand (see ἐκδικέω in 2 Cor 10:6 and in 1 Sam 15:2; 1 Macc 2:67; 13:6 [LXX]).[22] Paul,

using the terminology of *holy war* in 2 Cor 10:4–5, could have portrayed himself as like the leaders of Israel, who led God's people to victory and salvation.[23] Ultimately, they were no more than representatives of God, who in Deut 32:42 presents himself as a victorious commander, and whose sword devours the blood of the slain and captives.

3. The Motif of *Holy War* in 1QM

The motif of *holy war* also appears in several places within the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period (Qumran, *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, the *Sibylline Oracles*), with the best example being the War Scroll (1QM).[24] According to Brian Schultz, this document in its oldest version can be dated even to 160/150 BCE (Schultz 2018, p. 356),[25] and its subsequent revisions found in Cave 4 testify to its popularity among the *Yahad* members.[26] It first describes the eschatological clash between the sons of light and the sons of darkness (*col*. 1), the "Kittim", denoting Israel's eschatological enemies (cf. Num 24:24), and their allies, which include "violators of the covenant" (cf. Dan 11: 32), probably a part of the Jewish population living in Judea. The battle is to have seven rounds, until the seventh in which "God's hand" (cf. Isa 31:8) intervenes to miraculously bring down the "Kittim" (1:11–15). In *col*. 2, the scroll describes another war, lasting 40 years (1QM 2:6), whose goal is to conquer the whole world for God (*col*. 2). Subsequently, the document depicts the ranks, weapons, and tactics of the fighting army (*col*. 3–9), prayers and liturgies that are to be recited on the battlefield (*col*. 10–14), returning in the end to the war against the "Kittim" (col. 15–19).[27] Schultz, recognizing along with most researchers the compositional character of the War Scroll, reads it as a unity, in *col*. 1 describing the war against the "Kittim", identified as Hellenistic rulers, the Seleucids, accompanied by their pagan and Jewish allies. After the victory over them, all Israel moves to another *global war*, described in *col*. 2. Then, in *col*. 15–19, the theme of the war with the "Kittim" returns; however, they no longer refer to the Seleucids, but to a new, more powerful empire that has taken over the world, namely Rome. According to the author, the last part of 1QM (*col*. 15–19) was created in the first century BCE as a response to the threat which the Roman Empire posed to Israel (Schultz 2009, pp. 385–90).

For the purposes of our topic, we do not need to analyze the origins and the compositional process of the War Scroll. Much has been written on this unique document, analyzing its structure and literary genre, as well as the nature of the struggle contained therein.[28] It can be said that the scroll illustrates the wars and armies of the end times, the core of which are members of the *Yahad* and the faithful Israelites, who supply their ranks. The "Kittim", who take the other side, are the pagan Hellenistic rulers, followed by Rome, to which some of God's people join as well.[29] The victory over them that the Lord will grant to his chosen ones will be complete and irrevocable. The struggles described in 1QM are both physical and spiritual. This is how the images contained in the War Scroll are interpreted by Alex P. Jassen, who qualifies them, employing socio-anthropological categories, as "violent imaginary" (Jassen 2015, pp. 175–203). According to this author, the Essenes, experiencing the violence from pagans and their compatriots, imagined God's vengeance on them in the form of an eschatological battle, which would take place at the end of time. The War Scroll could have been recited during the community liturgy, serving, in Jassen's opinion, as "a propagandistic tool to prepare the Sons of Light as they inched closer and closer to what they believed was the imminent end of days and the eschatological war" (Jassen 2015, p. 176).[30] Priests are given a special role in this *holy war*, which requires ritual purity from God's army (1QM 7:3b–7; 9:7b–9), as they fight side by side with the angels and prepare for the end-time banquet (Schiffman 1994, pp. 332–33).[31]

4. Paul and the Essenes at War

What can Paul's struggle against his opponents in Corinth have to do with the *holy war* described in 1QM? To begin with, there are minor but striking similarities. The apostle, like the members of the *Yahad*, is aware that he is fighting in the name of the Lord, and

his weapon is mighty "to God" or "in God's cause" (δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ) (2 Cor 10:4).[32] This statement may bring to mind 1QM *col.* 3, which describes the inscriptions on the Essenes' trumpets, highlighting God's feats of power on the eschatological battlefield: "God's mighty deeds to scatter the enemy and force all those who hate justice to flee" (1QM 3:5–6), "God's battle formations for avenging his wrath against all the sons of darkness" (1QM 3:6), "God's mighty hand in the battle to fell all the slain of unfaithfulness" (1QM 3:8), "God's mysteries to destroy wickedness", "God has struck all the sons of darkness, he shall not cause his wrath to return, until they are exterminated" (1QM 3:9).[33] The inscriptions on their banners read in the same vein: "From God is the hand of battle against all degenerate flesh" (1QM 4:2–3), "No longer do the wicked rise, [due to] God's might" (1QM 4:3–4), or in the shorter, exclamatory form: "God's battle", "God's revenge", "God's lawsuit", "God's reward", "God's might", "God's prize", "God's power" and "God's destruction of every futile people" (1QM 4:12).[34] The Essenes and Paul employ weapons that proclaim God's power and initiative in their struggles.

The apostle's enemies, as in case of the Essenes, are also Jews (1 QM 1:2; 2 Cor 11:22). In Corinth, they promote a pagan model of apostolate based on the power and success of preachers (2 Cor 10:1–11), self-recommendation and comparison (2 Cor 10:12–14), rhetoric (2 Cor 11:5–6), as well as empty boasting and exploitation of the community (2 Cor 11:18–20).[35] They resemble the Israelites who join the Gentiles at the time of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 1:52), whom the members of the *Yahad* opposed as well.[36] Paul's opponents also identify themselves with Hellenistic culture, to the point that they become the "violators of the covenant", preaching "another Jesus, another Spirit and a different gospel" (2 Cor 11:4). The apostle, who is leading the punitive campaign in Corinth, is of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil 3:5; Rom 11:1), one of the three that, according to 1QM 1:2, fight against the pagan "Kittim" and their allies (Judah, Levi, and Benjamin).[37] Just as the Essenes imagine that after the first victorious war the time will come to conquer the whole world for God (see the two phases of the war), so Paul, after subduing his opponents in Corinth, thinks about setting out with the gospel further, to the ends of the then known world, to Spain (2 Cor 10:15–16; Rom 15:23–24).

The enumerated similarities are rather superficial and by no means suggest that in 2 Cor 10:3–6 the apostle is drawing on 1QM (we would rightly run the risk of being accused of pure parallelomania). The indicated points of contact should not obscure the fundamental differences resulting from the purpose and character of the War Scroll. Yigael Yadin and others after him have suggested that 1QM is an actual manual of war, harking back to Roman military practices.[38] Comparing it with Roman military manuals, Jean Duhaime has noted many similarities between them, but also a striking lack of religious references in the Roman texts, which, on the contrary, abound in 1QM. This has ultimately convinced him to label the War Scroll as a "utopian tactical treatise" (Duhaime 1988b, pp. 133–51).[39] Duhaime has also suggested that its purpose could have been to support the idea of an armed conflict between the Essenes, pagans, and law-breaking compatriots.[40] Steven Weitzman, in turn, has seen the War Scroll as an effort to manipulate troop psychology, belonging to the art of war, arising under the influence of or perhaps in reaction against Greco-Roman military practice (Weitzman 2009, pp. 213–41). Although 1QM is not an ordinary manual of war, and the discussion on its nature is far from being settled, it can be argued that the Essenes perceived themselves not only as ritual-symbolic, but also as flesh-and-blood, physical participants in end-time warfare (Collins 1998, pp. 170–71).[41] The Qumranites imagined the full-scale war and the liberation of Israel from the Roman yoke, which replaced the Hellenistic rulers in the first century BCE (Collins 1998, pp. 168–69; Alexander 2003, pp. 29–31; Bolotnikov 2005, pp. 264–65; Schultz 2018, p. 357). According to Schiffman:

> Ultimately, the sect would overcome its enemies and be victorious. Numbered among the blessed who would survive the battles would be the righteous of Israel, who will have turned to God and adopted the sectarian way of life. Together

with the original sectarians, they would constitute the eschatological community.
(. . .) Under the leadership of the Zadokite priestly messiah and the renewed king
of Israel, they would reconstitute the life of Israel on its land in accord with their
sectarian views. Together, the people of Israel would then live a life of purity and
perfection. (Schiffman 1994, p. 331)

Paul does not describe his *holy war* in Corinth either in a ritual-priestly manner or as a
physical struggle in a military sense. While 1QM involves the extermination of the enemies
of the *Yahad* (1:5, 7, 10), the apostle speaks of destroying their "arguments" (λογισμός) and
taking every "thought" (νόημα) captive to obey Christ (2 Cor 10:4–6). The language used
by Paul is heavily imbued with rhetoric that is bellicose and at the same time goes beyond
strictly military interpretations.[42] The apostle's weapons of warfare (ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας)
are not "merely human" (σαρκικά), but powerful to God (δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ) (2 Cor 10:4).
This means that they can sow destruction and vengeance, but the apostle purposefully
deviates from the human ways of waging war.[43] Paul's struggle differs from the regular
military campaign, being more of a spiritual-intellectual and ethical character. Its purpose
is destroying "strongholds" (ὀχύρωμα), i.e., "arguments" (λογισμός) and "proud obstacles
raised against the knowledge of God" (ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεου),
taking every "thought" (νόημα) captive to obey Christ (2 Cor 10:4–5). He is ready to punish
every disobedience to Christ and his gospel, while in his military campaign he counts on
the complete obedience and help of the community (2 Cor 10:6).[44] Paul's weapon is the
gospel, the preaching of which the apostle describes with eschatological language also
elsewhere in 2 Corinthians. In 2 Cor 2:15, he calls it the "aroma of Christ" among those
who are being saved, and among those who are perishing (2 Cor 2:15). For the latter, it is
also veiled (4:3).

The apostle clearly avoids physical violence and the brutal exercise of his authority.
This is the attitude he showed already during his dramatic visit to Corinth in 54 CE, when
he did not decide to inflict a decisive punishment on one of the sinful members of the
community. This contributed to accusing him of weakness and lack of authority that should
characterize a leader (2 Cor 10:1–2).[45] Explaining his behavior, the apostle refers to the
meekness and clemency of Christ, which the community should have recognized in his
attitude. Both terms, appearing in 2 Cor 10:1, are related to the exercise of power and
denote a calm, gracious disposition that is not given to retaliation or malice.[46] Paul draws
his inspiration from the Messiah, who in Matt 11:29 calls himself "gentle and humble in
heart" (πραΰς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ) and expects his disciples to learn the way of
humility and service from him.[47] Christ does not preach vengeance but forgiveness offered
to enemies.[48] Using the ingenious distinction introduced by Kyung S. Baek, instead of
violence and "the sword-in-the-hand" strategy, Jesus calls his disciples to fight evil by doing
good and preaching the gospel, or by using "the sword-in-the-mouth" weapons (Baek 2015,
pp. 354–63). Paul, who faithfully imitates the earthly Christ, cares more about the good
and growth of the community than about imposing his authority in Corinth (2 Cor 13:7–10;
cf. Matt 20:28). However, he is ready to use it, in the name of the Messiah, when he arrives
the third time and finds the community still mired in their old sins (2 Cor 13:1–4).[49]

At the same time, the Qumran community and the apostle share some ideas that can
be qualified as belonging to apocalyptic eschatology. It is still debated whether or not
1QM coincides with the characteristics of the apocalyptic literature. Duhaime, quoting the
views of those who answer this question in the affirmative, points to the theme of *holy
war*, assuming a universal, cosmic, and eschatological dimension, the dualistic division
into the sons of light and the sons of darkness, the motif of the "day of the Lord" and the
divine determination of history, the angelology, the prophetic inspirations as well as the
environment and times permeated with apocalyptic ideas, in which the War Scroll was
created (Duhaime 1984, pp. 71–75).[50] On the other hand, those who refuse to classify 1QM
not only as an apocalypse but also as apocalyptic in general, speak of the missing elements
of apocalyptic revelation and specific ways of communicating it, or an understanding of

salvation, which in 1QM does not consist in transferring the believers from the earthly to the heavenly realm (Duhaime 1984, pp. 79–82). According to Duhaime, who ultimately opts for *via media*, the Essenes in 1QM creatively rework apocalyptic ideas in light of their priestly theology. In the War Scroll, there is no classical apocalyptic revelation of heavenly mysteries because the Torah and its specific communal interpretation function, under the guidance of the Teacher of Righteousness.[51] Participation in the heavenly world does not take the form of a vision or a journey, but presents itself as a permanent communion, resulting from belonging to the community of the saved.[52] The Essenes also believe that, by God's intervention, they have already been transferred to the divine realm, and that the reign of Belial has been defeated in them. They themselves are now in the state of a new *holy war*, being God's soldiers and preparing themselves for the final victory of the Lord (Duhaime 1984, pp. 82–88).[53]

Needless to say, the Qumran apocalyptic eschatology outlined by the author seems very attractive in comparison to Paul's. According to the apostle, the believers do not need supernatural visions, either, because the fullness of revelation is contained in the (apocalyptic) gospel proclaimed to them (2 Cor 12:1–5). Paul also understands Christian life as a communion with God, which he expresses with the concise formula ἐν Χριστῷ.[54] It marks a union with the Father and the Son even closer than at Qumran, which also results in sharing in their divinity. Finally, Christians putting on incorruptibility and immortality, fighting sin and death, are already foretasting the final victory of God in Christ (1 Cor 15:50–57). Confident in their salvation (Rom 8:1), they continue to fight for the sanctity of their lives, following the Spirit, not the flesh, and thus preparing to participate in the glory of the Son (Rom 8:4–17).[55]

In addition, 1QM and Paul share a dualistic perception of the world, in which the divine and earthly dimensions interfere. We should note that, according to scholars, the Qumran dualism, described as cosmic, differs from the biblical one, defined as ethical.[56] While in the former chaos and evil seem to be inherent in the structure of the universe, in the latter they are understood as a rebellion against God.[57] This difference comes to the fore in 1QM, where the "Kittim" and the "violators of the covenant" belong to the "lot of Belial", remain under its dominion and will share its fate of destruction (1QM 1:1, 5, 15; 4:2; 13:4–5, 11; 15:3; 18:1–5).[58] Paul describes his opponents in dualistic language reminiscent of 1QM only to some extent. Just as the Essenes call their adversaries the "sons of darkness" (1QM 1:1), so the apostle calls them the "false apostles", "deceitful workers", "disguising themselves as apostles of Christ" (2 Cor 11:13).[59] Just as the members of the *Yahad* imagine Belial fighting for and inspiring their enemies (1QM 1:1,5), so Paul recognizes his opponents as being allied with and imitating Satan.[60] Just as the evil spirit deceived Eve by disguising itself as an angel of light, so they deceive the community disguised as ministers of righteousness (2 Cor 11:3, 14–15).[61] Like the Essenes, Paul fights for and on God's side (2 Cor 10:3–4), and like them, he is sure of his victory (1 QM 1:5, 7; 2 Cor 10:6; 11:15; 13:1–4), whose stake is the edification and salvation of the community (2 Cor 10:8; 12:19; 13:10). Using the apocalyptic language, the apostle announces the punishment he will inflict on those who disobey the gospel of Christ (2 Cor 10:6). In fact, the punishment comes from God and foreshadows the judgment of the last times (Thrall 2004, 615 n.147).

Again, what distinguishes Paul from the Essenes is the lack of a tragic determination of the fate of his enemies. In 2 Cor 10:1–6, Paul draws a clear dividing line between the community, which he calls to fully obey him (2 Cor 10:1–2, 6; 11:1, 16; 12:11, 19; 13:1–10), and the opponents towards whom he is bold, courageous, and stern (2 Cor 10:6, 11).[62] Even to them, however, Paul does not predict a total annihilation, speaking rather of the destruction of their arguments and the subordination of their "thoughts" (νόημα) to Christ (2 Cor 10:5). Significantly, the term νόημα appears regularly in 2 Corinthians in the pejorative sense of the "designs" of Satan (2:11), hardened "minds" of Israelites (3:14), "minds" of the unbelievers blinded by the god of this world (4:4), and "thoughts" of the Corinthians led astray by the opponents (11:3). In most cases in 2 Corinthians, the one who

stands behind the corrupt human thinking, expressed by the term νόημα, is Satan. Using Paul's adversaries as his puppets, he also threatens the Corinthians. The solution will be to capture the minds of both the opponents and the Corinthians in obedience to Christ.

5. The Performative Nature of 1 QM and 2 Cor 10:3–6

1QM and 2 Cor 10–13 also come close to each other in yet another interesting aspect, namely in their performative character. Rebekah Haigh, examining the War Scroll in the context of oral performance, drew attention to alliteration, rhythmic sentence patterning, word play, and mnemonic organization that serve in moving its addressees and generating, or heightening, particular emotional responses (Haigh 2019, pp. 204–11). The descriptions of trumpets and banners (1QM 3:2–5 and 4:2b–5), in which the same formulas are repeated, should transport the Essenes listening to them to the battlefield. Phrasal repetitions, amplifications and mnemotechniques in 1QM 6:1–6 fortify a sense of confidence in the divine and reaffirm the centrality of the *Yahad* in the final battle between the forces of light and darkness.

In a similar way, as I have also tried to show elsewhere, oral patterning works in 2 Cor 10:3–6 (Kowalski 2013, pp. 85–109). It runs through the entire section of 2 Cor 10:1–6, where one can discover a massive step-structure in which Paul intentionally picks up the words from the previous sentence to repeat them in the next phrase (Harvey 1998, p. 203). The effect is a long-running repetition, accompanied by a chiasm (4cd) and concentric arrangement (5b–6b):[63]

a	**3a** ἐν σαρκὶ γὰρ περιπατοῦντες		
	3b οὐ κατὰ σάρκα στρατευόμεθα		
a′	**4a** τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικὰ		
	4b ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ		
b	**4c** πρὸς καθαίρεσιν	ὀχυρωμάτων	
	4d λογισμοὺς	καθαιροῦντες	
	5a καὶ πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον (…)		
b′	**5b** καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν		ὑπακοήν
	6a καὶ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ ἔχοντες ἐκδικῆσαι πᾶσαν		παρακοήν
	6b ὅταν πληρωθῇ ὑμῶν		ἡ ὑπακοή

Through this technique, Paul first demonstrates just how erroneous the opponents' accusations concerning his bodily presence are (vv. 1–2). Repeating the verb θαρρῆσαι, the apostle states his readiness to show his boldness, when he is finally present in Corinth, the boldness that he was supposed to demonstrate only at a distance (v. 2). His reasoning (λογίζομαι, v. 2b) stands up against the "sophistries" (λογίζομαι/λογισμός, vv. 2c, 4d) of his opponents, setting the stage for Paul's confrontation with them.[64] Another repetition (ἐν σαρκί, οὐ κατὰ σάρκα, σαρκικά) demonstrates that, though living in this world, the apostle is not acting in a worldly manner (v. 3ab) and that his arms are not weak in God's cause (v. 4ab).[65] In the linear development a (v. 3)–a′ (v. 4ab) and b (vv. 4c–5a)–b′ (vv. 5b–6b), Paul depicts first the character of his weapons (a–a′) and then the scope of his ministry (b–b′). The chiasm in v. 4cd explains that the "strongholds" (ὀχύρωμα) mentioned by the apostle are the "proud obstacles" (ὕψωμα, v. 5a) and "thoughts" (νόημα, v. 5b) of his opponents, to be destroyed and made subject to Christ. The anaphoric καί (5.6a) and concentric arrangement accompanied by an epiphora (ὑπακοή) in vv. 5b–6 emphasize the scope of this mighty campaign—the reestablished obedience of the Corinthians to Christ.[66] One can imagine the powerful effect of this section on the audience: the Corinthians should discover that the Pauline image depicted so lively before their eyes is not a threat, but rather an invitation to take an active part in the apostle's campaign. In fact, it is God's fight against the forces of darkness, in which the community should join by taking the side of the apostle.

Once again, in 2 Cor 10:1–6, Paul does not imitate 1QM, but simply resorts to the rhetoric and communication practices of his time. Both the apostle and the Essenes are

part of an environment that Walter Ong described as a "manuscript culture" with high residual orality (Ong 1982, pp. 157–60), and Vernon Robbins labeled as a "rhetorical culture" (Robbins 1994, p. 80). The conventions of the written language were then permeated to a large extent by oral markers, such as repetitions, assonances, and other figures of speech. They kept the audience on the track, helping it to capture the meaning of the text, which, as in the case of Paul's letters, was read aloud before the gathered community.[67] With the help of metaphors, the apostle evokes in the imagination of his recipients popular images of the *holy war*, stories and legends related to it, thus motivating the Corinthians to stand in the ranks of God's warriors.

Ultimately, 1QM and 2 Corinthians do not belong to the genre of apocalypse, but they use the symbolism and motifs characteristic of this literature to teach their respective communities how to live the struggles of the present times in the eschatological perspective.[68] According to James E. Bowley, the apocalyptic themes at Qumran also served to defend the authority of the Teacher of Righteousness and the community itself against adversaries, whom the Essenes called the false prophets.[69] To some extent, this also corresponds to the rhetorical function of 2 Cor 10:3–6, where Paul defends his apostolic authority, undermined by the opponents in Corinth. In 2 Corinthians, Paul refers to Jeremiah in many aspects. The apostle alludes to his idea of the New Covenant (2 Cor 3; cf. Jer 31:31–33), speaks of the authority given him by the Lord for building, not destroying (2 Cor 10:8 and 13:10; cf. Jer 1:10), and he grounds his boasting in the Lord, following Jer 9:22–23 (2 Cor 10:17) (Aernie 2012, pp. 158–84). He is also close to the symbolic language and actions with which Jeremiah defended himself against the false prophets (Jer 27–28). What distinguishes Paul from both Qumran and Jeremiah is the emphasis with which he distances himself from visions and revelations, claiming that he wants to be judged by what the community sees in him and hears from him (2 Cor 12:6).[70] For Paul, the only indispensable revelation is the Gospel of Christ, which should be reflected in the life of his disciple.

6. *Holy War* in T. 12. Patr. and 2 Cor 10:3–6

The reflection on 1QM and Paul's struggle against the adversaries described in 2 Cor 10:3–6 will be supplied with yet another text coming from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This work, dated from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st/2nd century CE,[71] contains motifs characteristic of the apocalyptic literature, including revelations of the mysteries of heaven communicated to the protagonists through visions (T. Levi 2–5), angelology (T. Reu. 5:3; T. Iss. 2:1; T. Jud. 15:5; T. Levi 3:2–3; 5:3, 5; T. Dan 6:5), and the dualistic division into the spirits of truth and falsehood, going back to the fall of the Watchers (T. Jud. 20:1–2; T. Naph. 3:5). Beliar or Belial, also known as Satan, appears especially often in T. 12. Patr. as the one who inspires human sins (T. Ash. 1:8; 3:2; T. Dan 1:7; 3:6; 5:6; T. Benj. 6:1; 7:1–2) and will suffer defeat in the last days (T. Dan 6:3; T. Jos. 20:2) (Kee 1983, p. 779). Among many apocalyptic themes in T. 12. Patr., we also find the idea of *holy war*. In T. Dan 5:10–11, it occurs in a particular configuration related to the captivity and conversion of the disobedient, bringing to mind Paul's campaign against his opponents in Corinth:[72]

> And there shall arise for you from the tribe of Judah and (the tribe of) Levi the Lord's salvation. He will make war against Beliar; he will grant the vengeance of victory as our goal. And he shall take from Beliar the captives, the souls of the saints; and he shall turn the hearts of the disobedient ones to the Lord, and grant eternal peace to those who call upon him.[73]

In this quotation, Dan unfolds before his sons a vision of salvation that will come to Israel from the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Levi. It will be preceded by a great apostasy in the last days (T. Dan 5:4). Israel will imitate the gentiles' sins, especially those related to sexual promiscuity, for which the spirits of deceit and Satan will be responsible (T. Dan 5:5–6). After a time of exile and conversion (T. Dan 5:7–9), the Lord himself will make war on Beliar and rescue his captives, the souls of the saints.[74] He will turn the hearts of the disobedient to himself and grant eternal peace to those who call upon him (T. Dan 5:10–11).

In a similar vein, T. Zeb. 9:8, using the image of captives and captivity, presents the Lord who, rising in the light of justice as a merciful healer, at the end of time will deliver the sons of men from the bondage of Beliar and trample every spirit of error. He will turn the nations back to himself.[75]

The *Testament of Dan* speaks of the struggle of the end times, but it is in such times that Paul locates the existence of his community—the believers are those "on whom the end of the ages has come" (1 Cor 10:11). Like the victorious Lord in the *Testament of Dan*, Paul also sets free the "saints" (ἅγιοι)—this is how Christians are named in 2 Cor 1:1 and elsewhere in Paul's correspondence.[76] In T. 12. Patr., the term can refer to angels (T. Levi 3:3), but it is much more commonly used to describe the believers belonging to God (T. Sim. 6:1; T. Levi 18:11, 14; T. Iss. 5: 4; T. Dan 5:11, 12). Its similar double use is also testified in *1 Enoch* and Qumran, although the reference to angelic beings predominates there (Collins 1993, pp. 313–17; Nickelsburg 2001, p. 100). In the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is associated with the mingling of angels and human beings in the ranks of the *Yahad*, which can also be spotted in the description of the eschatological war in 1 QM 12:7. In *1 Enoch*, the association of "saints" with humans appears especially frequently in the *Similitudes*, and, according to Collins, it "implies an affinity between the human people so designated and the angels in heaven, analogous to what we have seen at Qumran, although the fellowship with the angels here is reserved until after death" (Collins 1993, p. 317).[77] The concepts standing behind the designation of believers as "saints" in *1 Enoch* and Qumran do not seem to exert much influence on Paul, who, when describing the Corinthian community in this way, is probably referring to the Old Testament status of Israel. The Israelites, by their covenant with God, became his "treasured possession" (סגלה) (Exod 19:5), the "priestly kingdom" and "holy nation" (גוי קדוש) (Exod 19:6; Deut 7:6; 26:19). In the same way, Christians, through the work of Christ, baptism and the gift of the Spirit, become God's special belonging and the community of saints.[78]

It is this belonging that is threatened by Paul's opponents, acting under the auspices of Satan/Belial (2 Cor 11:1–4, 12–15). Both of these names, describing the evil, appear in 2 Corinthians (2:11; 6:15; 11:14; 12:7) and are also used interchangeably in T. 12. Patr. (T. Dan 3:6; 6:1; T. Gad 4:7).[79] In the latter, Beliar or Belial, making use of different kinds of spirits, draws the children of Israel into sin and causes their destruction (T. Iss. 7:7; T. Zeb 9:8; T. Dan 1:7; 4:7; 5: 1; T. Naph. 3:2; T. Ash. 3:1–2; T. Benj. 3:3–4; 6:1,9; 7:1–2). Israelites are, therefore, called upon to choose wisely between the Law of the Lord and the works of Beliar (T. Levi 19:1; see also T. Naph. 2:6; T. Ash. 1:1–9, and Deut 30:15–20). Paul urges his community to make a similar choice, in which they should abandon the ways of Belial and his allies and opt for the authentic apostle of Christ (2 Cor 10:1–2, 6; 11:1, 12–21; 12:11, 19–21; 13:1–10). The apostle feels a divine jealousy for the Corinthians, for he promised them in marriage to one husband, to present them as a chaste virgin to Christ (2 Cor 11:2). Now, because of his enemies, they can be deceived like Eve was deceived by the snake, and their thoughts can be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ (2 Cor 11:3).[80]

In 2 Cor 11:1–4, the apostle supplies his metaphor of *holy war* with yet another popular biblical metaphor that describes the relationship between the believers and God in terms of marriage.[81] Paul plays the role of the father of the bride, which is the Corinthian community that he prepared for marriage with Christ (2 Cor 11:2). This union is threatened by the opponents, who, inspired by Belial, persuade the Corinthians to abandon the Bridegroom, Christ, i.e., *de facto* induce them to commit adultery. In T. 12. Patr., Beliar or Belial is especially fond of using the spirit of licentiousness, which in the OT oftentimes goes in pair with idolatry, the fundamental sin by which Israel breaks her covenant with God (T. Reu. 4:5–11; 6:3; T. Dan 5:6; T. Sim. 5:3–4; T. Jos. 7:1–4; T. Benj. 7:2). The same sin of promiscuity/idolatry is committed by Paul's opponents, acting under the influence of Belial/Satan, who draws the community away from faithfulness to Christ (2 Cor. 11:3, 12–15). According to T. Iss. 6:1–2, abandoning sincerity and aligning with insatiable desire, disobeying the commandments of the Lord and allying with Beliar are the signs of end times. Then also Beliar and his attendant spirits of error will receive deserved vengeance

from God's hosts (T. Sim. 3:3; see also T. Zeb 9:8; T. Jos. 20:2). Paul similarly announces the defeat and God's punishment awaiting his opponents, harshly stating in 2 Cor 11:15: "Their end will match their deeds".

Ultimately, the apostle intends to turn the hearts of the disobedient members of the community to Christ, just as the Lord, according to T. Dan 5:11, will turn to himself those who are disobedient in his nation.[82] Both in T. Dan 5:11 and in 2 Cor 10–13, the stake of this apocalyptic struggle is peace, understood broadly as the fullness of messianic gifts and synonymous with salvation.[83] Paul ends his letter by announcing his third visit to Corinth, which should restore Christ's peace in the community (2 Cor 10:6; 13:1–10). Chapter 5 of the *Testament of Dan* also closes with a vision of the peace enjoyed by the new Jerusalem, with the Lord dwelling and ruling over his people in "humility and poverty" (ἐν ταπεινώσει καὶ ἐν πτωχείᾳ) (T. Dan 5:13). Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, in their commentary on T. 12. Patr., relate this image and the noun κύριος to Christ, which would imply a Christian edition of the text (Hollander and de Jonge 1985, pp. 289–90). The humility (ταπείνωσις) of the Messiah reigning in the New Jerusalem has its parallel in the aforementioned Matt 11:29, where Christ presents himself as "gentle and humble in heart" (πραΰς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ κρί). Paul and the Christian editor of T. Dan 5:13 are then probably referring to the same tradition. Christ's reign in Corinth is to be accomplished through the victory of Paul, imitating the Messiah in his meekness, clemency and humility (ταπεινός) (2 Cor 10:1–2).

Again, by no means should we imply that in describing his *holy war* in Corinth Paul refers to T. 12. Patr. Even assuming their Jewish origin and early dating, we can only talk about a certain convergence of ideas between this work and 2 Corinthians. This may have resulted from a common Jewish-Christian environment, permeated with apocalyptic eschatology. The *Testaments* differ from Paul in the emphasized obedience to the Law, dualism of the cosmic type, which is close to the Qumran texts, and a much more developed demonology (Kee 1983, pp. 778–80). Although, in comparison with Qumran and T. 12. Patr., the Belial/Satan figure does not appear so often in the apostle's letters, it receives more attention in his Corinthian correspondence than in any other of his writings.[84] This provides yet another reason for seeking an explanation of Paul's conflict with his adversaries in the context of apocalyptic eschatology and *holy war*, encompassing the human and the divine world.

7. Conclusions

Although the meaning of the apocalyptic categories applied to Paul and the Second Temple period literature is still being discussed, scholars generally agree on the apocalyptic eschatology present in Paul's gospel, the Qumran texts, and in T. 12. Patr. What does this classification contribute to the reading of Paul's letters, specifically to 2 Cor 10:3–6? Undoubtedly, it makes contemporary readers more aware of the Jewish-Christian context in which the apostle functioned, and which was characterized by strong dualism, the interpenetration of the divine and the human world, as well as the growing conflict between the forces of good and evil, which would find its solution only in the eschatological war of the end of time. Paul's struggle against his adversaries in Corinth, described in 2 Cor 10–13, revolves around the apocalyptic gospel he preaches. Consequently, apocalyptic eschatology seems an appropriate background for interpreting the Corinthian crisis. It is more than probable that in 2 Cor 10:3–6 the apostle employs the popular biblical motif of *holy war*, which, while going on in the present, simultaneously prepares and announces the warfare of the end times. An apocalyptic elaboration of this motif can be found, among others, in the War Scroll and in T. Dan 5:10–11.

Paul can be placed close to the Essenes, considering the creative elaboration of the themes of the apocalyptic revelation contained in his gospel, constant communion with the heavenly world and the salvation already present in the community, and at the same time still awaiting its fullness. The apostle, like the Essenes, is convinced that he is fighting for God, and that his weapons are mighty in God's cause (2 Cor 10:4). He makes a sharp

distinction between the children of light and the children of darkness, servants of Christ and servants of Satan (2 Cor 11:12–15), mentioning the latter as a participant in the Corinthian conflict. Like the members of the *Yahad*, Paul is certain of the defeat of the evil one and his allies, expecting an indisputable divine victory, in which the believers will also participate (2 Cor 10:6. 8; 13:1–10). His description of *holy war*, similar to 1QM, is performative, deeply rooted in oral culture, engaging the senses and imagination of listeners and encouraging them to take part in the warfare on the side of God and the apostle. The mention of Belial/Satan and the conviction of his defeat also connect Paul's thought with that of T. 12. Patr. In addition, the apostle, like the author of T. Dan 5:10–11, describes the believers as "saints" (2 Cor 1:1) and associates Satan with the sin of promiscuity. His collaborators urge the Corinthians to commit adultery by breaking their marriage covenant with Christ (2 Cor 11:3). Paul, by imitating the meekness, clemency, and humility of the Messiah (2 Cor 10:1–2), also fights for Christ's peace in the community, similar to the peace that reigns in the New Jerusalem (T. Dan 5:13).

At the same time, there are also significant differences between the aforementioned apocalyptic works and 2 Corinthians. Paul's letter is not a war manual, and the conflict he describes has little to do with an actual military clash, rather taking place in the realm of rhetoric, knowledge, and moral attitudes (2 Cor 10:4–6). Pauline dualism differs from that of 1QM and T. 12. Patr. by the lack of cosmic overtones and less emphasis on the working of Belial/Satan. The purpose of the *holy war*, which the apostle is waging, is not to exterminate the enemies completely, but to submit them to Christ. Paul fights in Corinth as Christ's apostle, imitating the meekness, clemency, and humility of the Lord (2 Cor 10:2). The original character of God's saving plan revealed in the crucified Messiah, so strongly accentuated in the Corinthian correspondence (1 Cor 1:27–28; 2 Cor 13:3–4), the reshaping of the *eschaton*, the different fulfillment, and different kind of victory that took place in Christ, determine the unique character of Paul's *holy war* (Wright 2013, p. 1306). The Christological foundation of eschatology, according to Richard Bauckham, gives a novel perspective to Christian authors and their writings. Even if they use the apocalyptic motifs of *holy war*, they elaborate them creatively in the light of the work and person of Christ (Bauckham 1988, pp. 30–34).[85]

Ultimately, the apocalyptic eschatology significantly strengthens Paul's rhetoric in 2 Cor 10–13, transposing his struggles against adversaries to a heavenly and eschatological level. The apocalyptic thought adds to Pauline discourse a factor that can be called *social imaginary*, according to which we imagine the world before we even think about it.[86] With the help of the apocalyptic images that Paul evokes in the minds and hearts of his listeners, the first and fundamental evaluative description of the world around them is made. John Collins speaks in a similar vein of the "revolution in the imagination" that apocalyptic literature effectuates (Collins 1998, p. 283). The apocalyptic metaphors associated with the *holy war* are intended to open the eyes of the Corinthians to a new, so far unnoticed dimension of the conflict taking place in the community. It is no longer just a personal clash between Paul and his adversaries, but a fight between God and the Messiah, represented by Paul, and the forces of darkness, personified by Paul's opponents. Invoking the apocalyptic eschatology allows the audience to look at the Corinthian crisis from the heavenly perspective, which is full of God's authority and reveals his truth. It discloses the true identity of Paul's opponents as acting on the side of Satan, despite the fact that they call themselves Christ's servants (2 Cor 11:12–15). The apocalyptic eschatology does not aim to provide a precise answer regarding the identity of Paul's opponents, but it undoubtedly reinforces their Jewish identification. Apocalyptic motifs, according to Collins, generally function to provide a basis for assurance and guidance, and establish the authority of the speaker, creating a context for the clarification of values (Collins 1998, pp. 8–9). Thus, they immeasurably enhance Paul's rhetoric and moral appeals, on which the salvation of the Corinthians depends (2 Cor 12:20–13:10).

Notes

1   Cf. also Schrage (1989, pp. 30, 35–36).

2   Cf. also Beker (1980, p. 13).

3   On Käsemann and his approach to apocalyptic, see Wright (2015, pp. 145–50).

4   On the *Union School*, see Wright (2015, p. 155).

5   Wright himself uses the adjectival *apocalyptic* in connection with *worldview*, which is the world we look through, the unseen and pre-cognitive framework through which any given community approaches the world (see Wright (2013, p. 28)). Others associate the term with *social imaginary*, which presents the advantage of appreciating the affective, imaginative, and supra-rational way that we negotiate being-in-the-world (see Smith (2009, p. 63)). Still others speak of the apocalyptic *mode*, special way of thinking found in the apocalypses (see Tigchelaar (1996, pp. 5–8)). On the various understandings of the adjectival *apocalyptic*, see Davies (2016, pp. 30–35).

6   Collins (1979a, pp. 1–19); Collins (1998, pp. 1–42). For a thorough exposition of the scholarly discussion on the apocalyptic genre, see DiTommaso (2007, pp. 235–86).

7   See Davies (2016); Boccaccini and Segovia (2016). On the presence of specific apocalyptic motives in the apostle, see Blackwell et al. (2015).

8   On the apocalyptic character of the Qumran texts and T. 12. Patr., see Collins (1998, pp. 133–43, 145–76).

9   On the scholarly approach to the question of Pauline opponents in Corinth, see Sumney (1990, pp. 15–73), Bieringer (1994, pp. 181–221); Stegman (2005, pp. 25–42).

10   In Barret's interpretation of 2 Cor 10:12–18 and 11:4–5, the opponents of Paul in Corinth are the Judaizers or Jewish Christians. The conclusion is drawn on the parallels which the author discovers between 2 Cor 10–13 and Gal 1:5; 2:1–10.

11   Baur's identification of Paul's opponents as Judaizers was consequently followed and modified by Oostendorp (1967); Barrett (1971, pp. 233–54); Gunther (1973); Thrall (1980, pp. 42–57); Lüdemann (1989). For a summary and critique of Baur's and Oostendorp's reconstructions, see Sumney (1990, pp. 20–26).

12   For more on the Gnostic hypothesis and its proponents, see Bieringer (1994, pp. 200–4). Cf. also Stegman (2005, p. 27); Porter and Yoon (2016).

13   On the followers of Georgi's hypothesis, see Bieringer (1994, p. 207, n.102). See also the critique of the hypothesis by Holladay (1977); Sumney (1990, pp. 52, 54–55); Stegman (2005, p. 30).

14   For the critique of Sumney, see Stegman (2005, pp. 39–40).

15   The author refers to Käsemann (1942, pp. 33–71); Theissen (1982, pp. 27–67); Marshall (1987); Furnish (2008, p. 53).

16   On the rhetorical *dispositio* in 2 Cor 10–13, with the *exordium* in 2 Cor 10:1–6, see Heckel (1993, pp. 49–50); Sundermann (1996, p. 45); Peterson (1998, pp. 75–139); Kowalski (2013, pp. 109–13).

17   For a concise summary of the proposals, see Thrall (2004, pp. 610–11); Harris (2013, pp. 676–77). See also Malherbe (1989, pp. 91–119) (chp. 7: "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War").

18   A modest note on such an interpretation can be found in Windisch (1924, pp. 295–96); Jewett (1971, pp. 129–30); Gorman (2017, p. 377). Thrall (2004, p. 608) regards this interpretation as "not wholly convincing" and unnecessary. Humphrey (2002, pp. 113–35) only notes in passing that 2 Cor 10:3–6 contains a description of a "cosmic battle", but does not analyze the passage.

19   On the motif of *holy war* in the OT, see Bauernfeind (1964–1976, pp. 507–13); Elwell and Beitzel (1988, pp. 2130–31); Bauckham (1988, pp. 17–18); von Rad (1991); Miller (2006); Boling and Wright (2008, pp. 27–37).

20   On ὀχύρωμα, "stronghold, fortress", see BDAG, 746; Heidland (1964–1976, p. 491).

21   On the meaning of αἰχμαλωτίζω, see BDAG, 31. Cf. also 2 Cor 2:14–16, where the apostle presents himself as a captive, led in the triumphal procession of the victorious Christ. On this topic, see Heilig (2022, pp. 71–101). Apocalyptic images of the triumphant God and the Messiah can also be found in 1 Cor 15:24–28 and 2 Thess 1:5–10; 2:8.

22   On this rather strong term, which means to "avenge", see Schrenk (1964–1976, pp. 442–43).

23   Furthermore, the mentioned terms frequently appear in the descriptions of the Maccabean wars. The noun στρατεία, used by Paul in 2 Cor 10:4 to describe his apostolic fight, denotes the "sacred and noble battle for religion" in 4 Macc 9:24.

24 1QM was chosen to sharpen the paper's argument. See also other Jewish texts of the Second Temple period, where the motif appears: 1 Q28a 1:19–29; 3:7; 1QHᵃ 10:27–32; 14:27–38; 17:22; 4Q161 *frags*. 8–10:18–21; 4Q246 2:8–9; 4Q402 *frag*. 4:7; 4Q471a *frag*. 1:1–8; 1 En. 55:3–57:3; 62; 90:19; 91:12; 99:4–7; Jub. 23:22; Pss. Sol. 8:1–3, 15; 17:21–25; 4 Ezra 6:22–28; 13:1–13; 16:40–50; 2 Bar. 70:1–10; 72:6; Sib. Or. 3:295–345, 668–709, 795–808; 5:360–385, 511–531; 8:72–109.

25 Gmirkin (1998, pp. 172, 185–91, 203–14) dates the first versions of the text even earlier, to the years 170/160 BCE (the Maccabean revolts). Others argue for later dates, from the second half of the 2nd century BCE to the middle of the 1st century BCE, or even up to the 1st century CE. On the dating, composition and content of the scroll, see Davies (1977); Duhaime (2005, pp. 46–102); Dimant (2006, pp. 625–30); Schultz (2009, pp. 42–85).

26 On the copies and manuscripts of the War Scroll from Caves 1 and 4, see Duhaime (2005, pp. 4–43); Schultz (2009, pp. 10–30, 366–90). Following Bowley (2015, p. 260) and Werrett and Parker (2015, p. 298), for my argument here, the various designations for the Qumran community (*Yahad,* Essenes) are not of crucial importance. Although the War Scroll's relationship with the Essenes is difficult to determine, the document contains a number of features that are understood by most Dead Sea scholars as being emblematic of Qumran sectarianism.

27 Cf. Schultz (2018, pp. 349–55), or more specifically Schultz (2009, pp. 97–326). On the development and character of the eschatological conflict described in 1QM, see also Collins (1997, pp. 93–99).

28 Besides a good number of detailed studies, see also the comprehensive volume covering a wide range of the issues debated in 1QM: Davis et al. (2015).

29 On the "Kittim", see Schultz (2009, pp. 127–58); Gmirkin (1998, pp. 188–90).

30 On the liturgical-performative context of 1QM, see North (1958, pp. 84–85); Krieg (1985, pp. 3–30); Fletcher-Louis (2002, pp. 395–475); Falk (2015, pp. 275–94); Krause (2018, pp. 27–46); Haigh (2019, pp. 189–219); Krause (2020, pp. 117–35).

31 On the role of the Levites, the ceremonial nature of the war, and the priestly perspective from which it is described in 1QM, see Schultz (2009, pp. 342–52) (the author qualifies 1QM as "War Manual for Priests", p. 352). See also Werrett and Parker (2015, pp. 295–316).

32 On the expression δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ, which should be taken as a dative of advantage, see Furnish (2008, p. 457); Thrall (2004, p. 609); Harris (2013, p. 679); Guthrie (2015, p. 474).

33 The translation after García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997, p. 117).

34 Following García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997, pp. 119, 121).

35 On the Jewish credentials of Pauline opponents, combined with their Hellenistic criteria of boasting and comparison, see Barrett (1971, pp. 249–53). For more on the use of cultural categories in the description of Paul's adversaries, see Bieringer (1994, pp. 212–15).

36 On the "violators of the covenant" in 1QM 1:2, see Jassen (2015, pp. 191–92).

37 On the role and importance of these generations in the War Scroll, see Schultz (2009, pp. 103–24).

38 See Yadin (1962, pp. 114–97); Gmirkin (1996, pp. 89–129); Alexander (2003, pp. 28–29) (according to Alexander, 1QM is "a real and practical warbook").

39 On the structure of the army in 1QM and the similarities between 1QM and biblical battle accounts, see Gazov-Ginzberg (1965, pp. 163–76); Collins (1997, pp. 96–98).

40 See Duhaime (2008, p. 145): "D'un point de vue plus pragmatique, elle a pu fournir aux membres les plus militants la légitimation idéologique nécessaire pour passer à l'acte et se soulever contre les Romains et leurs alliés parmi les nations et les "traîtres" à l'alliance".

41 On the other hand, see other scholars, who underline the spiritual war and non-violent strategies present in 1QM and other Qumran writings: Bowley (2015, pp. 261–62); Kampen (2015, pp. 215–36).

42 On the war metaphors used by Paul, see Guthrie (2015, pp. 472–76).

43 Thus, Martin (1986, p. 487); Kruse (1987, p. 169); Furnish (2008, p. 457); Garland (1999, p. 434); Guthrie (2015, p. 473). The term σαρκικός in the Corinthian correspondence can denote the material aspect of earthly existence, human limitations, weakness, lack of maturity, and following this world. See 1 Cor 3:3; 9:11; 2 Cor 1:12. For other interpretations of 2 Cor 10:4, related to Paul's lack of the Spirit, see Barnett (1997, p. 464); Hafemann (2000, p. 394); Thrall (2004, p. 607).

44 On a reference to the Roman military expression "in promptu habeo" in 2 Cor 10:6, see Harris (2013, p. 684). I concur with Bieringer (1994, p. 220) that the apostle can essentially count on the loyalty and obedience of the Corinthians, and that he calls them to show him a decisive support in the struggle against the opponents. It is corroborated by the rhetoric of 2 Cor 10–13 (the use of *periautologia*, irony, metaphors, and shifts from "I" to "we"). For more, see Kowalski (2013, pp. 165–71).

45 On Paul's painful visit to Corinth and the accusations related to it, which stand behind 2 Cor 10:3–6, see Windisch (1924, p. 293); Lietzmann (1949, p. 140); Barnett (1997, pp. 28–29, 461–65, 476–77); Thrall (2004, p. 603); Vegge (2008, pp. 294–95); Matera (2013, p. 222); Harris (2013, p. 671).

46 On the terms πραΰτης and ἐπιείκεια, their meanings and respective semantic fields, see Danker (1989, pp. 148–51); Walker (2002, pp. 38–188, 258); Harris (2013, pp. 667–68).

[47] According to Gunther (1973, pp. 253–55), Paul's opponents could have drawn on the Qumranic messianism.

[48] On the differences between the spiritual warfare in Jesus's teaching and in Qumran, see Evans (2015, pp. 346–53).

[49] On the similarity between the eschatological advent of Christ (in 2 Thess 2:8–9) and the advent of Paul (2 Cor 13:1–4), see Thrall (1980, p. 54).

[50] See also Gmirkin (1998, p. 174).

[51] Cf. also Collins (1998, pp. 147, 150–53).

[52] Cf. also the mysticism and "realized eschatology" of the Essenes in Collins (1998, pp. 173–74); Collins (1997, pp. 130–49).

[53] On the apocalyptic character of the Qumran community and their writings, see also Collins (1997); Mattila (1994, pp. 534–35); DiTommaso (2007, pp. 392–94); Bowley (2015, p. 260).

[54] On being "in Christ" and *christosis* in Paul, see Blackwell (2011); Thate et al. (2014); C. R. Campbell (2015).

[55] On the apocalyptic timeframe (1 Cor 10:11), expected resurrection (1 Thess 4:17; 1 Cor 15), realized eschatology, the presence of angels during liturgical gatherings (1 Cor 11:10), and passages like 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, which speak for an affinity between Paul and the Essenes, see Collins (1997, p. 160).

[56] On the Qumranic dualism, including 1QM, see Huppenbauer (1959); Osten-Sacken (1969); Hübner (1972, pp. 268–84); Collins (1975, pp. 603–12); Duhaime (1977, pp. 210–38); Duhaime (1988a, pp. 401–22); Collins (1997, pp. 99–106); Xeravits (2010); Stuckenbruck (2011, pp. 145–68).

[57] On the cosmic, different from the biblical one, kind of dualism in 1QM, see Collins (1975, pp. 603–12); Mattila (1994, p. 533).

[58] However, on the biblical inspirations in the description of the "sons of darkness", see Schultz (2009, pp. 124–27).

[59] Bowley (2015, pp. 261–62) pays attention to the Qumranic practice of giving enemies epithets and titles, such as the "Wicked Priest", the "Liar" or "Spreader of Lies", rather than referring to them by name. On the rhetorical effect of similar techniques in 2 Corinthians, see Marshall (1987, pp. 341–48, esp. 344); DiCicco (1995, pp. 170–72). See also Du Toit (2007, pp. 45–56); Arena (2007, pp. 149–60).

[60] On the Qumran angelology, akin to Paul's Jewish opponents, see Gunther (1973, pp. 201–5).

[61] See also the motif of Satan in disguise in T. Job 6:4; 20:5; 23:1; LAE 9:1–5; Apoc. Mos. 17:1–5. Barrett (1971, p. 240) refers to Apoc. Mos. 17 and LAE 9, when reading 2 Cor 11:3,14, but he does not draw any conclusions from their apocalyptic language. Thrall (1980, pp. 51–55) explains the double reference to the servants of Christ and servants of Satan in 2 Cor 10–13 with the presence of the Petrine tradition.

[62] According to Peterson (1998, p. 85), Paul's rhetoric implies that it is not the Corinthians themselves who are his opponents, but the satanic interlopers, whom he wants to punish. The anticipated obedience of the community is distinguished from the hopeless and doomed disobedience of the intruders. Cf. also Barrett (1971, p. 239); Martin (1986, pp. 306–7); Furnish (2008, p. 464).

[63] On the rhetorical effect of repetition, see Lausberg et al. (1998, §§ 608–664).

[64] The term λογίζομαι in 10:1–6 denotes both the "reasoning" of the apostle and the negative "sophistries" of his opponents. On the semantic figure of *distinction,* which consists in heightening the difference between the normal (customary) and contextual meaning of the word, see Lausberg et al. (1998, §§ 660–662, 804).

[65] 2 Cor 10:1 (the double use of θαρρῆσαι) and 2 Cor 10:3 (ἐν σαρκί, οὐ κατὰ σάρκα) may be labeled as *conciliation,* in which the argument of the opposing party is exploited for the benefit of one's own party. Cf. Lausberg et al. (1998, § 783). See additionally the *asyndeton* in v. 3, strengthening the opposition in ἐν σαρκί, οὐ κατὰ σάρκα.

[66] Martin (1986, p. 301) also pays attention to the artistic use of assonance in 10:4–6 (καθοιρούντες and καθαίρεσιν in v. 4; υπακοή/παρακοή in vv. 5–6) and observes the alliterative use of words beginning with π in vv. 5–6.

[67] For more, see Ong (1982); Harris (1989). In Paul's letters, see Dewey (1994, pp. 37–66); Loubser (1995, pp. 61–74); Harvey (1998); Botha (2001, pp. 409–28).

[68] On instruction, rule and other proposed genres of 1QM, see Duhaime (2005, pp. 53–60).

[69] On the prophetic war fought by the Essenes, see Bowley (2015, pp. 262–74).

[70] On the particularities of the Pauline description of the heavenly journey in 2 Cor 12:1–4, interpreted as a conventional avoidance of boasting about oneself and Paul's unwillingness to claim visions and revelations as an apostolic credential, see Käsemann (1942, p. 67); Betz (1972, pp. 75–77, 95); Kowalski (2013, pp. 190–91).

[71] On the dating of the *Testaments* between the 2nd century BCE and the 2nd century CE, see Kee (1983, p. 777); Hollander and de Jonge (1985, pp. 82–85); Kugler (2001, pp. 31–39); Evans (2011, p. 40); deSilva (2013, pp. 21–68). The majority of scholars believe the *Testaments* to be a Jewish work with later Christian additions. See Sigvartsen (2019, p. 16).

[72] On the apocalyptic eschatology in T. Dan 5:7–13, see Collins (1979b, p. 46).

[73] Translation quoted after Kee (1983, pp. 809–10).

[74] On the final defeat of Belial, see also T. Sim. 6:6 and T. Levi 18:12.

[75] On the connection and passage itself, see Hollander and de Jonge (1985, pp. 273, 288).

76   See Rom 1:7; 8:27; 12:13; 15:25, 26, 31; 16:2, 15; 1 Cor 1:2; 6:1, 2; 2 Cor 1:1; 8:4; 9:1; Eph 1:15; 3:8,18; 4:12; Phil 1:1; 4:22; Col 1:2,4,26; 3:12; Phlm 5 and 7.

77   Nickelsburg (2001, p. 100) interprets it as an "example of the transferal of the angelic title to the community of the righteous".

78   Cf. Rom 6:19, 22; 15:16; 1 Cor 1:2, 30; 6:11; Eph 5:26; 1 Thess 4:3; 5:23; 2 Thess 2:13. See also Harris (2013, p. 134).

79   On Belial/Satan in the Qumran texts and in T. 12. Patr., see Ho (2015, pp. 60–81).

80   On the motif of the snake in the Second Temple Period literature, see Jub. 3:7–15; 37:1–3; 38:1–3; 39:1–3; Pss. Sol. 4:9; *LAB* 13:8; Sib. Or. 1.39–64; 8.261; 2 Ezra 2:16; 2 Bar. 48:42–43; 3 Bar. 4:8; Apoc. Abr. 23:1–14.

81   On the war and marriage metaphors in 2 Cor 10:3–6, see Gerber (2005, pp. 99–125).

82   On the interpretation of the disobedient, see Hollander and de Jonge (1985, p. 289).

83   On the messianic character of T. Dan 5:10–13, see Gunther (1973, pp. 245–47, 250–52).

84   Belial appears only in 2 Cor 6:15. For the Satan, besides 2 Cor 2:11; 11:14; 12:7, see also Rom 16:20; 1 Cor 5:5; 7:5; 1 Thess 2:18 and 2 Thess 2:9.

85   On the motif of *holy war* in the Gospels, see Betz (1957, pp. 125–37).

86   The concept appears in Taylor (2003). It is also employed in Smith (2009, p. 66).

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