

ABSTRACT

Title: Paul's Use of Scripture: A Comparative Study of Biblical Interpretation in Early Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament With Special Reference to Romans 9-11

James W. Aageson

Mansfield College, the University of Oxford

Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas 1983 [i.e. 1984] HT

The thesis which is argued has two basic elements. First, it is asserted that the methods of using scripture which Paul exhibits in the epistles are largely adaptations of methods found in a wide range of early Jewish sources. Second, it is argued that Paul's method of scriptural interpretation and argumentation is fundamental to the theological development of the discussion in Romans 9-11. In contrast to the types of investigations which focus on specific and in some cases isolated aspects of the use of scripture in the epistles in relation to Jewish literature, a comparative method is employed in this thesis in order to relate the structural, verbal, thematic, and interpretative characteristics of Paul's manner of using biblical quotations to a wide range of Palestinian Jewish sources. With regard to Romans 9-11, the objective is the examination of Paul's method of arriving at a theological statement. Thus, the theological concepts and ideas expressed in chapters 9-11 are viewed in light of the method which Paul has used to construct a response to a troublesome issue in the early church. It is argued that the discourse in these three chapters of Romans has its coherence in the method of scriptural argumentation which Paul has used. Furthermore, it is asserted that the theology reflected in chapters 9-11 is in part the product of scripture's verbal and thematic contribution to the discussion.

## ABSTRACT

Title: Paul's Use of Scripture: A Comparative Study of Biblical Interpretation in Early Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament With Special Reference to Romans 9-11

James W. Aageson

Mansfield College, the University of Oxford

Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas 1983

It has been argued in chapter one that five developments are important for understanding the function of scripture in early Judaism: 1) the emergence of the synagogue, 2) the establishment of the "school" as a seat of Torah study, 3) the rise of scriptural authority and the conviction that the Bible is the Word of God, 4) the development of scriptural interpretation as an area of religious activity, and 5) the manner in which traditions were transmitted and became interwoven with the interpretation of scripture. In the synagogue, the Bible was read, translated, and expounded as the community gathered for prayer and worship. The need to nurture the faith of the people and to apply the Torah to varied life situations gave rise to halakah and haggadah. It has also been asserted that midrash as a method of interpretation normally, if not always, began with a scriptural text and proceeded to make it meaningful to the people in the contemporary situation. But, as Roger LeDéaut has indicated, Jewish interpreters appear not to have been as conscious of conforming their work to a literary genre as carrying out the task of actualizing a scriptural message within a developing tradition.

In chapter two it has been argued that in Ben Sira wisdom teaching and "legal" material from scripture have been brought together; the wisdom tradition frequently has been grounded in Torah. Furthermore, in Jubilees and LAB, biblical material has been paraphrased, amplified, clarified, and in some cases omitted in order to protect the image of God or a biblical person, to reflect doctrinal concerns, to avoid offending religious sensibilities, or to explain passages which might be unclear. It has also been claimed that in I Enoch and IV Ezra the scriptural material has been used "structurally" and "anthologically". Moreover, for the writers of apocalyptic literature scripture was not the singular revelation of God; the biblical material was understood in light of the secret revelation which the author claimed to have received. For the covenanters of Qumran, the words of the prophets pertained to the end-time which was thought presently to be on the verge of fulfilment. To the Teacher of Righteousness and to the community of "knowledge", God had unveiled the true meaning of scripture. Through the systematic interpretation of prophetic texts, the sectaries sought to uncover the message of God which until the present had remained hidden. This interpretation was governed in turn by the conviction that the community was the true covenant people of God. We have also argued that in the Rules of the community the structure of the scriptural citations in relation to the literary contexts in which they have been placed by the writers displays a basic pattern: 1) opening statement, 2) introductory formula, and 3) quotation. In most cases, however, an application, interpretation, or elaboration of the biblical material also follows the citation. In the final section of chapter two, it has been asserted that qal

waḥomer can be a way of elaborating "legal" material but may also be a method of illustrating a story or developing a religious argument. And gezerah shawah, as a form of interpretation and argumentation, is based on analogy as are to some extent the other "middoth" ascribed to Hillel.

In chapter three, we have indicated that in some cases there is a correlation between the book which Paul has cited and the textual tradition reflected in his quotations. Furthermore, we have sought to show that some of Paul's citations bear evidence of Hebrew influence. It has been argued also that five categories of textual variations can be discerned in Paul's scriptural quotations: 1) those involving articles, particles, conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositions; 2) those exhibiting different word order; 3) those reflecting variant word forms; 4) those involving the omission, addition, or substitution of words; and 5) those resulting from a paraphrastic manner of quoting. In addition, it has been argued that the double citations reflect some of the same types of variations between the two occurrences in the epistles as have been found between the LXX and the Pauline quotations. Within these five categories, a significant number of variations appear to have been the result of intentional modification of the scriptural text. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out that Paul in some cases may have quoted from memory, it seems evident that many variations are the consequence of an attempt to conform the text of scripture to the context of the epistles. As gleaned from our discussion in this chapter, these modifications may be classified as follows: 1) stylistic modifications, 2) literary variations designed to introduce the text or to allow it to fit smoothly and meaningfully into the epistolary context, 3) modifications designed to achieve a desired rhetorical effect, 4) changes which reflect a shift in historical perspective, 5) variations resulting from the universalization of particular scriptural statements, 6) manipulation of the text in order to support and enhance an argument, and 7) adaptation of the text for the purpose of avoiding an unacceptable theological/christological idea.

We have argued in chapter four that Paul's quotations in relation to their epistolary contexts conform to certain patterns. The basic literary form consists of three elements: 1) opening statement, 2) introductory formula, and 3) scriptural quotation. Among the texts which exhibit this basic pattern, the scriptural reference is intended to substantiate the opening statement and there is no attempt to state or elaborate the meaning of the quotation. In certain texts, this same literary structure is displayed, but instead of a single scriptural reference Paul has linked a series of passages together. Three modifications of this literary form have been identified: 1) scriptural text and elaboration, 2) scriptural text and interpretation or application, and 3) scriptural text and exhortation. In each of these, the basic literary form is supplemented by a statement or a discussion following the quotation. It has also been shown in this chapter that scriptural references often produced themes and words which have been woven into Paul's literary presentation. Hence, scripture functions constructively in the epistles in two ways: 1) it serves as a source for the substantiation of religious claims and assertions and 2) it generates themes and words which contribute literarily and conceptually to Paul's manner of presentation. Therefore, Paul's use of scripture often moves in two directions. On the one hand, the text is applied to the argument which Paul wants to substantiate and communicate; and on the other, it contributes by stimulating ideas which in turn mould the way Paul develops the opening statement and the ensuing discussion. In terms of the content of Paul's citations, it has been argued that christology plays a limited role. In contrast, issues related to righteousness,

sonship, and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles are predominant among his references. We have also argued that Paul has selected a high proportion of his quotations from certain blocks of scriptural material, but that there is, with perhaps a few exceptions, little solid evidence to suggest that the quotations from these or other sections were intended as "pointers" to their larger scriptural context. Furthermore, it has been shown that Paul's respect for the scriptural context of a passage depended in the main on the circumstances of his argument.

In chapter five, it has been indicated that the christological material in Romans 1:1-7, 3:21-26, and I Corinthians 15:3-4 has not been developed exegetically by Paul although reference to the scriptures is made in each of these texts. It has been argued also that in Romans 1:2, 3:21, and Galatians 3:8 the temporal and prospective dimension of Paul's understanding of scripture is exhibited. It has been shown in our examination of II Corinthians 3:4-4:6, I Corinthians 2:7-10, Romans 16:25-27, and 1:17 that Paul claimed special religious "insight" for himself and for those who share his faith in Christ and that this has shaped his view of scripture. Furthermore, Paul's application of scripture, it has been asserted, is characterized by two dimensions: 1) it is applied in order to illustrate and establish a religious principle and 2) it is applied to persons or things in the contemporary situation. It has been shown that certain citations have been applied explicitly, whereas others appear to have functioned as a source from which Paul has drawn a religious implication, idea, or consequence. It has also been shown that Paul understood scripture as a source of instruction and guidance. In addition, we have made the claim that typology, understood in terms of historical linkage, is limited in the epistles of Paul and is not an adequate term to describe the framework with which he approached the use of scripture. To identify and describe the connection between scriptural persons or things and contemporary persons or things, we have argued for the use of the term "correspondence". There is also evidence that Paul has used scripture allegorically. In the concluding section of chapter five, we have provided a comparison of Pauline and Jewish uses of scripture as this material has been presented in parts I and II of our thesis.

We have argued in chapter six that Romans 9-11 has its unity in the method of scriptural argumentation which Paul has employed and that it is in light of this that the theology of these chapters must be seen. Romans 9-11 is not to be understood in terms of a theologically coherent composition but in terms of a series of interconnected individual scriptural arguments each of which contributes to the larger development of the discourse. Therefore, our examination of these chapters has not begun by identifying the major theological junctures in the discourse but by focusing on the stylistic and thematic features in order to highlight Paul's use of scripture and the way it has contributed to his manner of presentation. Furthermore, it has been argued that Romans 9-11 is a discrete argument within the epistle to the Romans and that it is set apart from the remainder of the epistle by the extent to which scriptural references are used, the variety of individual theological issues which are related to the larger Jew-Gentile issue on the basis of scripture, the internal integrity of the discussion, and by the manner of presentation.

In chapter seven, the application of scripture in Romans 9-11 has been examined in light of "correspondence", the occasion of the presentation, and special religious "understanding". We have argued that the discussion in chapters 9-11 is bound together by a network of scriptural "correspondence" and that it is this which assists Paul

in relating his theological and religious principles to the readers of the epistle. Thus, there is an interaction between scriptural "correspondence" and the establishment of religious principles as Paul seeks to develop the respective arguments in the presentation and to apply scripture to the theological and social circumstances of his day. It has also been argued that the term Ἰσραήλ is a key term for understanding the way Paul applies scripture in these three chapters. In addition, we have asserted that the occasion and purpose of the epistle, as well as Paul's use of the term ἐπίγνωσις in 10:2, bear on the application of scripture in chapters 9-11.

In chapter eight, we have examined the use of scripture and tradition in Romans 9-11 under five headings: 1) Not All Those Descended from Israel are Really Israel, 2) The 'Potter' and His 'Clay', 3) A 'Remnant', 4) Christ and the Commandment of God, and 5) The Gentiles and the Salvation of 'All Israel'. We have argued in the first section that Paul in Romans 9-11 displays evidence of sectarianism on the one hand and Jewish proselytism on the other. There is a theological impulse towards particularism as well as an impulse towards the incorporation of the Gentiles into Israel. In the second section, we have argued that Paul in Romans 9:19-23 has brought together two elements from Jewish 'potter' and 'clay' language and imagery. The one element focuses on the relationship between man and God and the other centres on the right of God to make vessels for different purposes. We have argued in the third section of this chapter that Paul's use of remnant language and theology, too, can be paralleled in the Jewish sources, especially some of the Qumran material. In the fourth section, it has been asserted that in Romans 10:6-8 Paul has substituted Christ for the commandment of God and that this is related to certain Jewish wisdom traditions and I Corinthians 10:4. Finally, we have argued that the paradigm of salvation and history in Romans 11:11-27 is related conceptually in a general or perhaps indirect way to certain Jewish and other New Testament traditions.

PAUL'S USE OF SCRIPTURE

A Comparative Study of Biblical Interpretation in  
Early Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament  
With Special Reference to Romans 9-11



by

James W. Aageson

Mansfield College  
The University of Oxford  
Michaelmas 1983

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Theology  
in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in New Testament

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A word of appreciation must be given first to my supervisors, the Reverend Anthony Harvey and Dr. Geza Vermes, for their expert advice and guidance. Throughout the process of preparing this thesis, their criticisms have always been incisive and constructive. Thanks must be extended also to Professor George Caird and the participants in the Oxford graduate students New Testament seminar for the interchange of ideas and the opportunity to present in preliminary form drafts of portions of this thesis. But above all, my family deserves the deepest expression of my gratitude for their constant encouragement. Erin Kristine and Anne Elizabeth, my daughters, are a continuing source of joy and delight and to them goes my sincere thanks. And to Julie, my wife and companion, for her patience and constant support I give my deepest love and appreciation.

## Table of Contents

	page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1

### PART I

#### THE JEWISH USE OF SCRIPTURE IN PALESTINE

Chapter

I	THE ROLE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF EARLY JUDAISM . . . . .	9
	The Synagogue . . . . .	16
	Haggadah and Halakah . . . . .	21
	Midrash . . . . .	25
II	THE USE AND INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IN EARLY JUDAISM . . . . .	28
	Scripture in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha . . . . .	28
	Ben Sira . . . . .	28
	Jubilees and Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum . . . . .	34
	I Enoch and IV Ezra . . . . .	38
	Scripture in the Literature of Qumran . . . . .	41
	The Faith of the Community . . . . .	41
	Peshet . . . . .	44
	The Damascus, Community, and War Rules . . . . .	48
	4Q Florilegium and 4Q Testimonia . . . . .	50
	Selected Methods of Rabbinic Scriptural Use . . . . .	53
	Qal Waḥomer . . . . .	53
	Gezerah Shawah . . . . .	55
	Other Methods Attributed to Hillel . . . . .	56
	Concluding Remarks . . . . .	57
	Summary . . . . .	60

### PART II

#### PAUL AND THE USE OF SCRIPTURE

III	THE TEXT OF PAUL'S CITATIONS AND HIS MANNER OF QUOTING FROM SCRIPTURE . . . . .	64
	Septuagint, Textual Tradition, and the Evidence of Hebrew Influence . . . . .	65
	Variations in Paul's Quotations . . . . .	72
	Minor Words, Pronouns, and Prepositions . . . . .	73
	Word Order . . . . .	77
	Word Forms . . . . .	78
	Omission, Addition, and Substitution . . . . .	79
	Paraphrase . . . . .	81
	Double Citations . . . . .	82
	Summary . . . . .	84
IV	PAUL'S CITATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF 'CONTEXT' . . . . .	86
	Epistolary Context . . . . .	86
	Structure . . . . .	86
	Content . . . . .	97
	Scriptural Context . . . . .	105
	Content . . . . .	105
	Use of Context . . . . .	109
	Respect for Context . . . . .	113

Context of the Early Church's Developing Tradition . . . .	115
Romans 9:33 -- Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 . . . . .	116
Romans 10:16 and 15:21 -- Isaiah 52:13-53:12 . . . . .	120
Romans 11:9-10 and 15:3 -- Psalm 69 . . . . .	124
Romans 10:13 -- Joel 3:5 . . . . .	125
Romans 13:9 and Galatians 5:14 -- Leviticus 19:18 . . . .	126
Acts 13:16-41 . . . . .	128
Concluding Remarks . . . . .	129
From Scriptural Context to Epistolary Context . . . . .	130
Summary . . . . .	132

V PAUL'S UNDERSTANDING AND USE OF SCRIPTURE . . . . .	136
Scripture and the Gospel . . . . .	136
Romans 1:1-7 . . . . .	136
Romans 3:21-26 . . . . .	138
I Corinthians 15:3-4 . . . . .	140
Galatians 3:8 . . . . .	141
Scripture and the Uncovering of Its Meaning . . . . .	142
II Corinthians 3:4-4:6 . . . . .	142
I Corinthians 2:6-10 . . . . .	145
Romans 16:25-27 and 1:17 . . . . .	146
Application and Interpretation . . . . .	147
Didactic and Edifying Function of Scripture . . . . .	149
Typology and Correspondence . . . . .	151
Allegory . . . . .	156
Comparative Summary of Pauline and Jewish Uses of Scripture . . . . .	159

PART III

PAUL AND THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN ROMANS 9-11

VI SCRIPTURE AND LITERARY STRUCTURE . . . . .	170
Method and Manner of Presentation . . . . .	171
9:1-5 . . . . .	171
9:6-13 . . . . .	172
9:14-18 . . . . .	175
9:19-29 . . . . .	177
9:30-33 . . . . .	180
10:1-8 . . . . .	181
10:9-13 . . . . .	182
10:14-21 . . . . .	183
11:1-6 . . . . .	189
11:7-10 . . . . .	190
11:11-24 . . . . .	191
11:25-32 . . . . .	195
11:33-36 . . . . .	197
Concluding Remarks . . . . .	198
Structural Outline . . . . .	200
Chapters 9-11 in the Context of Romans . . . . .	201
VII SCRIPTURE AND SCRIPTURAL APPLICATION . . . . .	211
Application and Correspondence . . . . .	212
Application and the Occasion of the Presentation . . . . .	231
Application and Special Religious 'Understanding' . . . . .	238

VIII SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION IN PAUL'S PRESENTATION . . . . .	244
Not All Those Descended from Israel are Really Israel . . .	244
The 'Potter' and His 'Clay' . . . . .	249
A 'Remnant' . . . . .	254
Christ and the Commandment of God . . . . .	259
The Gentiles and the Salvation of 'All Israel' . . . . .	268
CONCLUSION . . . . .	277
APPENDIX . . . . .	281
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	285

## INTRODUCTION

Paul's use of scripture has frequently attracted the attention of New Testament scholars. Indeed, major works have been written on the subject in German, French, and English,<sup>1</sup> in addition to the vast body of literature which has been devoted generally to the use of the Old Testament in the New.<sup>2</sup> Scriptural interpretation as practised in the early church has been the focus of such interest that it may be described as a specialized field of modern New Testament study. But

---

<sup>1</sup>Hans Vollmer, Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus (Freiburg and Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1895); Otto Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1929, reprinted 1972); Joseph Bonsirven, Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse Paulinienne (Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1939); and E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957). Cf. also Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology (London: SPCK, 1974).

<sup>2</sup>For recent work on this subject see, C.K. Barrett, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. I, eds. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), pp. 377-411; C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology (London: Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1952) and The Old Testament in the New (Athlone Press, 1952); E. Earle Ellis, "How the New Testament Uses the Old," in New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1977), pp. 199-219; Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1961); Richard N. Longenecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975); Henry M. Shires, Finding the Old Testament in the New (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974); D. Moody Smith Jr., "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays, ed. James M. Efird (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), pp. 3-65; and Max Wilcox, "On Investigating the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black, eds. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge: University Press, 1979), pp. 231-43. For a survey of older works on Paul, see Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 2-5.

the development of this field has become linked increasingly with the investigation of early Jewish hermeneutics and literature. It is this aspect of Paul's use of scripture which forms the foundation of our work.

The thesis which is argued in the following pages has two elements. First, it is asserted that the methods of using scripture which Paul exhibits in the epistles are largely adaptations of methods found in a wide range of early Jewish sources. Second, it is argued that Paul's method of scriptural interpretation and argumentation is fundamental to the theological development of the discussion in Romans 9-11.

In the course of our research, particular aspects of Paul's use of scripture have been seen to require special consideration. His manner of quoting from scripture is an area of investigation which has received insufficient attention. As our work will show, a variety of hermeneutical factors are involved in Paul's handling of the scriptural text. Another aspect which frequently receives little notice is the structural, verbal, and hermeneutical relationship between Paul's quotations and their immediate epistolary contexts. Our examination of this relationship will provide significant material for comparison with examples from Jewish literature. A third area of investigation which requires discussion and perhaps refinement is the question of the types of issues which prompt Paul to cite scripture. For our purposes, this becomes especially important when comparing the manner of argumentation in Romans 9-11 with that found elsewhere in the epistle. The way in which Paul's application of biblical material relates to his method of scriptural interpretation and contributes to his manner of argumentation also requires further investigation.

An aspect of Paul's use of scripture which has provoked considerable discussion in scholarship is the relationship between

Pauline and rabbinic methods of using the Bible.<sup>3</sup> And as the cooperation between scholars interested in these two bodies of literature increases, it is likely that this is an area which will continue to attract attention. Another aspect of our topic which has been the focus of much interest is the way in which Paul's christological perspective relates to his hermeneutic and method of using scriptural texts.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to these types of investigations, which focus on specific and in some cases isolated aspects of the use of scripture in the epistles, we shall seek by means of a comparative method to relate the structural, verbal, thematic, and interpretative characteristics of Paul's manner of using biblical quotations to a wide range of Palestinian Jewish sources.

---

<sup>3</sup>In addition to the work by Bonsirven see e.g. Peter Bläser, "Schriftverwertung und Schrifterklärung im Rabbinentum und bei Paulus," Theologische Quartalschrift (1952):152-69; Dan Cohn-Sherbok, "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis," Scottish Journal of Theology 35 (1982):117-32; W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1948); J. Jeremias, "Paulus als Hillelit," in Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black, eds. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), pp. 88-94; A. Marmorstein, "Paulus und die Rabbinen," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 30 (1931):271-85; Christian Maurer, "Der Schluss 'a minore ad majus' als Element paulinischer Theologie," Theologische Literaturzeitung 85 (February 1960):149-52; and Heinrich Müller, "Der rabbinische Qalwachomer Schluß in paulinischer Typologie: Zur Adam-Christus-Typologie Rm. 5," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 58 (1967):73-92.

<sup>4</sup>See e.g. Christian Dietzfelbinger, Paulus und das Alte Testament: Die Hermeneutik des Paulus untersucht an seiner Deutung der Gestalt Abrahams, Theologische Existenz Heute (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961); Morna D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written? St. Paul's Use of Scripture," New Testament Studies 27 (April 1981):295-309; J. Lambrecht, "Paul's Christological Use of Scripture in I Cor. 15:20-28," New Testament Studies 28 (October 1982):502-27; and Philipp Vielhauer, "Paulus und das Alte Testament," in Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation, eds. Luise Abramowski and J.F. Goeters (Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), pp. 33-62. Cf. also Traugott Holtz, "Zur Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament," Theologische Literaturzeitung 99 (1974):19-31; Dietrich-Alex Koch, "Beobachtungen zum christologischen Schriftgebrauch in den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 71 (1980):174-91; and Barnabas Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology," New Testament Studies 23 (October 1976):59-66.

As our thesis pertains to Romans 9-11, it is significant that despite the important work which has been done on these three chapters there has been surprisingly little effort devoted to the examination of them from the perspective of Jewish hermeneutics and the use of scripture. As Nils Dahl writes:

Many commentaries, monographs and articles discuss the interpretation of Romans 9-11. In spite of the vastness of the literature, two aspects of these chapters have not received enough attention. Scholars rarely consider Paul seriously as an interpreter of scripture. We still have no detailed investigation of Paul's use of the Old Testament in Romans 9-11, comparing it to other Christian and Jewish interpretations of the passages quoted, and examining their wording in textual tradition and in translations. The other aspect which scholars have neglected is a formal analysis of the composition and style of Romans 9-11.<sup>5</sup>

That further study on the use of scripture in Romans 9-11 is required is also implied in the remark with which Alphonse Maillot concludes his introductory essay on the citations in these chapters: "Tout ce travail n'est qu'une ébauche. Qui voudra prendre la suite? Je crois la piste bonne."<sup>6</sup> This hiatus in scholarship, along with the fact that in Romans 9-11 Paul has utilized quotations to an extent found nowhere else in the epistles,<sup>7</sup> warrants our investigation of Paul as an interpreter of scripture focusing especially on these three chapters.

---

<sup>5</sup>Nils Alstrup Dahl, "The Future of Israel," in Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977), p. 138. Dahl's statement is still valid, but since its publication a promising step forward has been made by Paul E. Dinter in his thesis submitted in 1979, "The Remnant of Israel and the Stone of Stumbling in Zion According to Paul (Romans 9-11)," Union Theological Seminary, New York. Unlike Dinter, however, we have sought to bring to bear the wider scope of Jewish hermeneutics as well as the use of scripture in the other Pauline epistles.

<sup>6</sup>Alphonse Maillot, "Essai sur les citations vétérotestamentaires contenues dans Romains 9 a 11," Etudes théologiques et religieuses 57 (1982):73.

<sup>7</sup>There are twenty-nine explicit quotations in Rom. 9-11 in addition to other allusory and illustrative material from scripture.

C.K. Barrett has written regarding Romans 9-11: "Perhaps the most common view is that, after a predestinarian account of the fall of Israel in 9:1-29, 9:30-10:21 provides a complementary account of the same lapse in which the fault is laid squarely at Israel's door, and in turn leads to a synthesis in chapter 11 in which Paul states his hope for Israel's future."<sup>8</sup> A survey of commentators indicates that in terms of the theological development of Romans 9-11, Barrett's statement is well supported.<sup>9</sup> A number of commentators identify three distinct units which they in turn divide into sub-units. Other scholars, writing in essays and monographs, identify individual concepts in Romans 9-11 which they relate to Pauline theology and to the development of the discourse in these three chapters. Singled out for special consideration have been the ideas of predestination and human responsibility,<sup>10</sup> the righteousness of God,<sup>11</sup> the historical and eschatological

---

<sup>8</sup>C.K. Barrett, "Romans 9:30-10:21: Fall and Responsibility of Israel," in Essays On Paul (London: SPCK, 1982), p. 132.

<sup>9</sup>See e.g. C.E.B. Cranfield, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1975 and 1979), pp. 451ff.; C.H. Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1932), pp. 149ff.; Ernst Käsemann, Commentary on Romans, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1980), pp. 260ff.; and William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, The Epistle to the Romans, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, first published 1895), p. 226. Cf. also Paul W. Meyer, "Romans 10:4 and the 'End' of the law," in The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God's Control of Human Events, ed. J.L. Crenshaw and S. Sandmel (New York: KTAV, 1980), pp. 69-70.

<sup>10</sup>G.B. Caird, "Predestination - Romans IX-XI," Expository Times LXVIII (1957):324-27. Cf. also Ragnar Bring, "Paul and the Old Testament: A Study of the Ideas of Election, Faith, and Law in Paul, with Special Reference to Romans 9:30-10:13," Studia Theologica 25 (1971):25-28 and Erich Dinkler, "Prädestination bei Paulus," in Signum Crucis (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957), pp. 241-69.

<sup>11</sup>Christian Müller, Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9-11, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964). Cf. also George Beasley-Murray, "The Righteousness of God in the History of Israel and the Nations: Romans 9-11," Review and Expositor LXXXIII (Fall 1976):437-50.

Israel,<sup>12</sup> the relation between Jews and Gentiles,<sup>13</sup> Paul's historical understanding,<sup>14</sup> and salvation.<sup>15</sup> Though unstated, the common objective of these studies is the interpretation of Paul's theology.<sup>16</sup> Our objective, however, is the examination of Paul's method of arriving at a theological statement. Thus, the theological concepts and ideas expressed in Romans 9-11 will be viewed in light of the method which Paul has used to construct a response to a troublesome issue in the early church. Paul's theology and manner of using scripture are not separable; but, as we shall argue below in part three, the discussion in Romans 9-11 has its coherence in the method of scriptural argumentation which Paul has employed. Furthermore, the theology reflected

---

<sup>12</sup>Erich Dinkler, "Prädestination bei Paulus," and "The Historical and Eschatological Israel in Romans, Chapters 9-11: A Contribution to the Problem of Predestination and Individual Responsibility," Journal of Religion 36 (1956):109-27.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. the section on Rom. 9-11 in Dieter Zeller, Juden und Heiden in der Mission des Paulus, Forschung zur Bibel (Stuttgart: Verlag katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973). See also Zeller's essay entitled "Israel unter dem Ruf Gottes (Röm. 9-11)," Internationale katholische Zeitschrift 2 (1973):289-301; Johannes Munck, Christ and Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11, trans. Ingeborg Nixon (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967); and W.D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," New Testament Studies 24 (October 1977):4-39.

<sup>14</sup>See Munck, Christ and Israel, and Ulrich Luz, Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus, Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, no. 49 (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1968). Although Luz undertakes an extensive examination of the scriptural material which Paul has used in Rom. 9-11, his primary concern is Paul's historical viewpoint. This frequently obscures the technical and instrumental aspects of Paul's use of the biblical material.

<sup>15</sup>Christoph Plag, Israels Wege zum Heil: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9 bis 11, Arbeiten zur Theologie, no. I, 40 (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1969).

<sup>16</sup>See the discussion by Werner Georg Kümmel, "Die Probleme von Römer 9-11 in der gegenwärtigen Forschungslage," in Die Israelfrage nach Röm. 9-11, ed. Lorenzo De Lorenzi (Rome: 1977), pp. 13-33. The recent essays by Maillot, "Essai sur les citations," and Rafael Vincent, "Derash homilético en Romanos 9-11," Salesianum XLII (1980): 751-88 (English summary) are initial attempts at examining the use of scripture in Romans 9-11, but they have only begun the process.

in these chapters is in part the product of Paul's manner of using scripture and of the instrumental role it has played in the development of his understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles.

Finally, the authorship of Ephesians and Colossians is a matter of long-standing debate, but it is not possible within the limitations of this thesis to discuss these issues. From a methodological perspective, we shall include material from these two epistles but shall base no major argument on information obtained from them without corroborating evidence from those epistles which are commonly acknowledged to be Pauline. In the pages which follow, we shall not seek to provide an examination of the use of the Jewish scriptures in the entire New Testament but to make a contribution to one aspect of the investigation of scriptural interpretation in the early church.

PART I

THE JEWISH USE OF SCRIPTURE IN PALESTINE

## CHAPTER I

### THE ROLE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF EARLY JUDAISM

To understand biblical interpretation in the literature of the New Testament, we must first examine scripture's function within the religious life of the Jews during the period of the second Temple. Methods and traditions of biblical interpretation emerged out of the religious life of the people.<sup>1</sup> Scriptural interpretation was the result of the attempt to make the Bible applicable to new and varied circumstances in Israel's religious experience.<sup>2</sup> The impulse for this

---

<sup>1</sup>This is observed, for example, in the rise of the Targumim. Because of the need for translation of the scriptures into Aramaic within the worship life of the Jews, there developed interpretative traditions and methods which were subsequently used and incorporated into the literature of Judaism. These translations served the purpose of making the scriptures intelligible to the worshipping community, and in that process they themselves became interpretations of the Bible.

<sup>2</sup>The following works give a glimpse into the motive behind the interpretation of scripture in early Judaism: John Bowker, The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretation of Scripture (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), p. 5; M. Gertner, "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation: A Study in Hebrew Semantics," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 25 (1962):1-2; Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Midrash," by M.P. Miller. Supplemental vol.; Daniel Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine, dissertation series, no. 22 (Missoula, Montana: SBL and Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 65-85; Gary G. Porton, "Defining Midrash," in The Study of Ancient Judaism, ed. Jacob Neusner (KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1981), vol. I, pp. 55-92, and his earlier essay, "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible in the Greco-Roman Period," in Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II. 19:2:103-38; G. Vermes, "Bible and Midrash," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. I, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 220. and his two more recent essays on the use of Jewish literature and the study of the New Testament, "Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation," Journal of Jewish Studies XXXI (Spring 1980):1-17 and "Jewish

interpretation was the conviction that scripture was the revelation of God and that the discovery of his will was a matter of inquiry into the inspired words of the sacred writings.<sup>3</sup> The period of the second Temple was formative in the development of the canon and in the rise of scriptural interpretation. As the scriptures, first the "Torah", then the "Prophets", and finally the "Writings", came to be understood as the authoritative and inspired Word of God,<sup>4</sup> it was natural that the Jews and subsequently the early Christians should turn to the interpretation of scripture as a matter of religious priority.

Before the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., scriptural interpretation was of course not the sole, nor for many Jews perhaps even the primary,<sup>5</sup> area of religious activity; but with the decline of prophecy and the periodic defilement of the Temple, the interpretation

---

Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology," Journal of Jewish Studies XXXIII (Spring and Autumn 1982):361-76.

<sup>3</sup>See The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Bible Canon," by Ludwig Blau, p. 147; Gertner, "Terms of Interpretation," pp. 1-3; Miller, "Midrash," p. 594; George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, vols. I and II 1927, vol. III 1930), I:235-48; Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 65-85; and Emil Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, 2 vols., revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, Ltd., vol. I 1973, vol. II 1979), II:314-21.

<sup>4</sup>The formation of the Canon was a gradual process, but it was largely complete by the end of the first century A.D. The canonization of most books of scripture, however, probably took place in the third or second centuries B.C. See Moore, Judaism, vol. I, pp. 235-48; Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, pp. 314-21; and Vermes, "Bible and Midrash," p. 199.

<sup>5</sup>See Porton's argument that the priesthood and the priestly traditions prior to 70 A.D. were probably the most important source of authority for Palestinian Jews, "Defining Midrash," pp. 63-67. For the priests and the Jerusalem Temple authorities, scripture appears to have served a different function than it did for non-priestly groups. The priesthood during this period derived its fundamental authority from scriptural tradition, but it was not necessary for the priests, to any large extent, to legitimate their decrees and regulations on the basis of scriptural interpretation. It seems that scripture as a source of authority may have been appealed to most vigorously by those opposed to the cultic authorities in Jerusalem.

of scripture began to assume an important role in Jewish religious thought and life.<sup>6</sup> As this process developed, interpretative traditions and religious practices grew up around scripture and became authoritative in their own right. Frequently, the starting point for interpretation was not the canonical text but the text as it had been interpreted.<sup>7</sup> Interpretation and reinterpretation of scripture and the traditions surrounding it came to exert a formative influence on the religious thought and practice of Jews. This is the matrix within which interpretative method developed and came to be part of the religious life of Judaism.

But the results of this process were far from being uniform. Judaism was not a homogeneous religious or social phenomenon; there were many different groups and sects and often they differed from one another on the basis of how they interpreted the scriptures.<sup>8</sup> The Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and other apocalyptic groups are the most obvious examples of this, but there were also individual religious propagandists who used scripture for their own purposes.<sup>9</sup> Pre-70 A.D. Judaism was diverse and likewise so were the interpretations of scripture during this period.<sup>10</sup> At most, we shall be able to identify only the more prominent features in this process. Yet in doing so, we can see the manner in which scripture functioned in the religious life of the people and we can observe how this provided the fertile ground out of which biblical interpretation emerged.

---

<sup>6</sup>Miller, "Midrash," p. 594.

<sup>7</sup>Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 53.

<sup>8</sup>See Bowker, Targums, p. 8; and Gertner, "Terms of Interpretation," p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>E.g. Ben Sira used scriptural material and allusions for religious and apologetic purposes.

<sup>10</sup>Morton Smith, "A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition," Journal of Biblical Literature 82 (June 1963):171.

The evidence for the role of scripture in the religious life of pre-70 A.D. Judaism in Palestine is complex, and the evaluation of this evidence depends to a large extent on the date of origin assigned to the various traditions preserved in the literature. Presumably even the literature from the Tannaitic period reflects traditions and practices from an earlier time. But what are the methods for determining this and how can literature which is late be used to demonstrate the role of scripture and the nature of its interpretation in the pre-70 A.D. period?<sup>11</sup> These are complicated issues and ones which continue to be addressed and debated by modern scholars.<sup>12</sup> It is not our purpose to pursue these issues extensively as that would take us too far from our primary task. Nevertheless, it is important to exercise caution with respect to the evaluation of evidence based on late literary sources. This is the case with respect to the Mishnah, the Talmuds, the Tannaitic Midrashim, the Homiletical Midrashim, and the Midrash Rabbah.<sup>13</sup> The Targumim as a body of

---

<sup>11</sup> See the statement regarding method and the study of Jewish literature by René Bloch, "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique," Recherches de science religieuse XLIII (1955): 194-225. See also Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies, 2 ed. Studia Post-Biblica (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), pp. 1ff. and 176f.

<sup>12</sup> For one aspect of this, see the debate between Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period," Journal for the Study of Judaism III (October 1972):7-29 and "Form Criticism and the Oral Law," Journal for the Study of Judaism V (June 1974):34-40; and Jacob Neusner, "The Written Tradition in the Pre-Rabbinic Period," Journal for the Study of Judaism IV (July 1973):56-65, "Exegesis and the Written Law," Journal for the Study of Judaism V (December 1974):176-78. See also the comments of Morton Smith in "A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition," regarding the work of Birger Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity (Copenhagen and Lund: Ejnar Munksgaard and C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961). For another study with wide-ranging implications concerning the evaluation of Rabbinic literature see Jacob Neusner, The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before 70, 3 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), especially III:143-79. And more recently Geza Vermes has contributed to the discussion by outlining his proposal for the use of Jewish literature in the study of the New Testament, "Jewish Literature," pp. 361-76.

<sup>13</sup> Bowker, Targums, pp. 53-84.

literature, or at least individual texts within that corpus, may be late,<sup>14</sup> but the targumic tradition of interpretation, as a continuous process of making scripture understandable to Aramaic-speaking people, has its roots in the period of the second Temple.<sup>15</sup> With respect to the New Testament, the Targumim must be used with discretion on a case by case basis, for they contain traditions which are late as well as traditions which are early.<sup>16</sup> The other literary sources containing evidence for the use and interpretation of scripture in early Judaism are the inter-testamental writings of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, the Qumran literature, the writings of Philo and Josephus, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, and the New Testament. As we are concerned primarily with the function and interpretation of scripture in Palestinian Judaism and its use by Paul, we shall concentrate on those sources which emerged in that environment. This is done in recognition of the fact that the religious life of Palestine was not insulated, but developed and in some cases struggled to survive amidst the cultural cross-currents of Hellenism.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 16. Also Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, *Analecta Biblica*, no. 27 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), pp. 33-35.

<sup>15</sup> See Bowker, Targums, pp. 15-16. For general remarks concerning the kinds of interpretation contained within the Targumim, see Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Interpretation, History of at Qumran and in the Targums," by G. Vermes.

<sup>16</sup> McNamara, Palestinian Targum, p. 35. See Vermes' remarks in critique of Joseph Fitzmyer's position with respect to the admissibility of evidence from Aramaic sources in the study of the New Testament, "Jewish Literature," pp. 364-68.

<sup>17</sup> Although Martin Hengel, in support of his thesis, may have emphasized unduly the penetration of Palestinian Judaism by Hellenism, his work nonetheless illustrates that many Palestinian Jews were indeed influenced by Greek language, culture, ideas, and other forces associated with Hellenism. See Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1974).

In order to understand the function of scripture in early Judaism, we must observe the interrelationship between a number of developments. First, the emergence and establishment of the synagogue as an important institution in the post-exilic period was, for the most part, a consequence of changing circumstances in the social, political, and religious life of Israel. Presumably it developed in response to needs that were brought about by the changing world in which the people of Palestine found themselves. And in turn the synagogue, as an institution, gave impetus to the increasing importance of scripture and its interpretation among the Jewish people. As we shall see,<sup>18</sup> the synagogue provided one arena within which scripture was read, studied, and grew in importance.<sup>19</sup> Second, the "school", which was the seat of Torah study, was closely associated with the synagogue.<sup>20</sup> It seems reasonable to conclude that בית המדרש and the ישיבה were connected with the development of the synagogue in Palestine.<sup>21</sup> Third, it is within the Temple cult, the synagogue, and the "school" that scripture functioned as the Word of God,<sup>22</sup> and it is primarily within these institutions that the people of the day were exposed to the Torah and nurtured by it. This is not, however, to assert that scripture functioned only in the context of formal institutions. But the rise of scriptural authority in Judaism and the development of the canon cannot be separated from the Bible's organic role within the life of the Temple, the synagogue, and the "school". Fourth, biblical

---

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 16-21.

<sup>19</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 34-36. See also Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, pp. 424-54.

<sup>20</sup> Moore, Judaism, vol. I, pp. 311-12.

<sup>21</sup> Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> See above, p. 10.

interpretation was the counterpart to the understanding that scripture was the revelation of God. If scripture was the Word of God and the source of all knowledge about his will, then it was essential that it should be interpreted and rightly understood. With the passage of time, new questions were addressed to scripture and new answers were gleaned from it; changed religious and juridical circumstances required renewed application of its precepts. In this process of interpretation, there was constant interaction between the written word of scripture and the demands of the contemporary situation.<sup>23</sup> Fifth, the transmission of the traditions surrounding scripture became an important dimension in the religion of Judaism. Customs and practices sometimes became authoritative in their own right and were transmitted independently; other times an attempt was made to ground them in the biblical material and to demonstrate that they were contained in scripture.<sup>24</sup> The origin and development of this process is not entirely clear,<sup>25</sup> but its outline is sufficient to show that religious and interpretative traditions did emerge, were transmitted (orally or perhaps in writing), and exerted a direct influence on early Jewish hermeneutic. Hence, scriptural interpretation and the development and transmission of religious traditions were interwoven. On the one hand, the fragmentation of Jewish religious life leading up to the time of the New Testament was in part the result of differences regarding the interpretation

---

<sup>23</sup>Patte, in Jewish Hermeneutic, deals extensively with this interaction. Pages 65-85, 117-27, 153-56, 175, 205-7, 267, and 309-13 are particularly important in this regard. This interaction is not limited to the main streams of Jewish tradition, but also appears with various modifications among the apocalyptists and the Qumran sectaries.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. the work of Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Midrash and Mishnah: A Study in the Early History of Halakah" (1915) in Rabbinic Essays (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1951); and Solomon Zeitlin, "Midrash: A Historical Study," Jewish Quarterly Review XLIV (1953-54): 21-36. See also Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 90ff.

<sup>25</sup>Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 91-92.

of scripture and the treatment of the traditions surrounding it. On the other hand, the religious fragmentation itself contributed to differing interpretations of scripture and tradition.<sup>26</sup> The five developments which we have outlined are interrelated and provide the background against which the role of scripture in the religious life of early Palestinian Judaism must be seen. We now turn to a more detailed examination of these developments.

### The Synagogue

The beginnings of the synagogue are shrouded in obscurity, and scholars have given varying accounts of its inception.<sup>27</sup> Even if a precise date cannot be given for the origin and development of the synagogue, however, there can be no doubt that by Paul's day it had become an important part of Jewish life.<sup>28</sup> The impulse behind the

---

<sup>26</sup>The most prominent examples of this are the Pharisees, Sadducees, and the Essenes, but to a large extent Paul and the other New Testament writers also differed from their Jewish contemporaries on the basis of their understanding of scripture and tradition. But in the case of the early Christians, differing scriptural interpretations were in significant measure the consequence of differing religious convictions and experiences. Scriptural interpretation and religious conviction, however, were not the only causes for the divisions within Judaism as Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, has argued; accommodation or resistance to Greek thought and culture may also have been a factor.

<sup>27</sup>Some have identified the origins of the synagogue in the period of the exile (e.g. The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v., "Synagogue," by Lewis N. Dembitz, p. 619; Moore, Judaism, vol. I, p. 283; Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, p. 426), whereas others have dated it from the Maccabean or Hellenistic period. Some claim that its roots extend back to the time of the first Temple, but most agree that its development as an institution took place sometime after the return of the exiles. For a survey of various positions see Isaac Levy, The Synagogue: Its History and Function (London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co., 1963), pp. 6ff. and Joseph Gutmann, "Synagogue Origins: Theories and Facts," in Ancient Synagogues: The State of Research, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), pp. 1-6.

<sup>28</sup>See Acts 13:14, 27, 42f., 44, 15:21, 16:13, 17:1f., 18:4. Cf. also Mk. 1:21, 6:2; Lk. 4:16, 31ff., 6:6, 13:10.

emergence of the synagogue is also a matter of speculation and debate;<sup>29</sup> but despite the conflicting opinions regarding its development, we can assert that it emerged as a significant force during the last centuries before the Christian era.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, it developed in all probability in response to the religious needs of the people following the reconstitution of the nation after the return of the exiles from Babylon. People gathered for prayer, study, and communion; and these gatherings eventually became a common feature of Jewish life. Alongside the Temple cult, they grew up and provided opportunities for religious devotion to be expressed and nourished.

As a centre of religious activity, the synagogue was a place for prayer and worship as well as for the reading and studying of the

---

<sup>29</sup>Louis Finkelstein has argued that the synagogue has its roots in the prophetic meetings of which we get a glimpse in the story of the Shúnammite woman (2 Kings 4:8ff.). During the time of Manasseh, the Temple was defiled and many pious Jews gathered together privately for prayer and communion in order to fulfil their religious obligations without coming into contact with the profaned Temple cult. These meetings became customary and continued from one generation to the next. Thus, they emerged into something that can eventually be identified as the synagogue (Louis Finkelstein, "The Origin of the Synagogue," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research [1930]:49-59). Others have seen the motivation for the rise of the synagogue in the Ma'amadoth as the people gathered on a rotatory basis in their various stations to pray and to recite passages, as sacrifices were being offered in the Temple. These gatherings corresponded to the weekly temple service of the Ma'amadoth, and it is argued that out of these emerged the synagogue (see K. Hruby, "La synagogue dans la littérature rabbinique," L'Orient Syrien IX [1964]:475f.; Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Synagogue," by I. Sonne, p. 479; Levy, Synagogue, pp. 17-18). Still others have asserted that the "bamoth" -- local shrines -- never ceased to function as sites of worship and that eventually they were transformed from places of sacrifice into synagogues (cf. Sonne, "Synagogue," p. 479; Finkelstein, "Origin," p. 49f.). Much in these arguments is speculation, and the last two hypotheses appear to be especially unlikely (see Sonne, p. 479; Finkelstein, p. 49). Finally, Gutmann has argued for the Hasmonaean origin of the synagogue as a response to the challenges of Hellenism ("Origins," p. 3-6).

<sup>30</sup>See Ps. 74:8. This is perhaps a biblical reference to the destruction of a synagogue. The earliest known documents which mention synagogues come from Egypt between 247-221 B.C. Cf. also Ezra 8:15, Neh. 8:2, and I Macc. 3:46ff. See L. Rabinowitz, "The Synagogue and Its Worship," in A Companion to the Bible, ed. T. W. Manson (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1939), pp. 453ff.

Torah.<sup>31</sup> The synagogue had social and cultural functions,<sup>32</sup> but the centre of its activity appears to have been prayer and the exposition of scripture. The reading of the scriptures and the exposition of the law provided the synagogue with its focal point. In the course of worship, the seder and haftarah were read;<sup>33</sup> and, with the rise of Aramaic as the common language of the people, the readings were followed by translations. If the worshippers were to be confronted by God's Word and to conform their lives to it, they must be able to understand it. There was no thought that, in the process of targumization, the text was being altered or changed, for it had already been read in Hebrew. Yet the purpose of these translations was to make the text intelligible and meaningful;<sup>34</sup> and in that process, obscure passages were explained, texts and words which might be considered irreverent were changed or avoided, and missing details were added.<sup>35</sup> The process of targumization was a process of scriptural interpretation.<sup>36</sup> The need for translation coupled with the perceived need and desire for interpretation led to the development of the Targumim. This was one important impulse in the development of early Jewish interpretative tradition.

---

<sup>31</sup> See Bowker, Targums, p. 10; Dembitz, "Synagogue," p. 619; Finkelstein, "Origin," pp. 57-58; Levy, Synagogue, pp. 18-19; Moore, Judaism, vol. I, p. 284; Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 34-36; Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, pp. 424-54; Sonne, "Synagogue," p. 487.

<sup>32</sup> Levy, Synagogue, pp. 18-19.

<sup>33</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 35.

<sup>34</sup> Bowker, Targums, p. 13.

<sup>35</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 58ff.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion of targumic methods of interpretation, see ibid., pp. 55-85. See also Bowker, Targums, p. 8; McNamara, Palestinian Targum, pp. 40ff.; and Vermes, IDBS, "Interpretation in the Targums," and "Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum," Journal of Semitic Studies 8 (1963):159-69.

There can be no doubt that the Bible was read in the early synagogue,<sup>37</sup> but it is less clear if scripture was read according to a fixed pattern or lectionary. Did a lectionary exist in Palestine prior to 70 A.D.? If so, was it a festival-only lectionary or was it an annual or triennial Sabbath lectionary? If a lectionary did not yet exist and function as a fixed pattern of Sabbath readings during this period, at what stage of formation was it by the beginning of the Christian era? Many scholars have attempted to demonstrate that indeed a lectionary was in use in early Judaism, and some even have attempted to show how it affected the composition of the Gospels.<sup>38</sup> But the evidence for the use of a fixed triennial lectionary or, for that matter, an annual lectionary during this period appears to be

---

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. Lk. 4:16f.; and also Josephus, Contra Apionem, II, 175.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the following works: A. Büchler, "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle," Jewish Quarterly Review V and VI (1893 and 1894):420-68 and 1-73; L. Crockett, "Luke IV:16-30 and the Jewish Lectionary Cycle: A Word of Caution," Journal of Jewish Studies XVII (1966):13-46; J. van Goudoever, Biblical Calendars (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959); J. Heinemann, "The Triennial Lectionary Cycle," Journal of Jewish Studies XIX (1968):41-48; Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Triennial Cycle," by Joseph Jacobs; Leon Morris, The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries (London: Tyndale Press, 1964); J.R. Porter, "The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle: An Examination of a Recent Theory," in Promise and Fulfilment, ed. F.F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963); H. St. John Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins (London: Oxford University Press, 1921). The following works relate various New Testament writings to a liturgical or lectionary pattern: Philip Carrington, The Primitive Christian Calendar: A Study in the Making of the Marcan Gospel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952); R.G. Finch, The Synagogue Lectionary and the New Testament: A Study of the Three-Year Cycle of Readings from the Law and the Prophets As a Contribution to New Testament Chronology (London: SPCK, 1939); M.D. Goulder, Midrash and Lection in Matthew (London: SPCK, 1974) and The Evangelists' Calendar: A Lectionary Explanation of the Development of Scripture (London: SPCK, 1978); Aileen Guilding, The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship: A Study of the Relation of St. John to the Ancient Jewish Lectionary System (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960); G.D. Kilpatrick, The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946). More recently, Romans 9-11 has been examined in light of the lectionary hypothesis; see Rafael Vicent, "Derash homilético en Romanos 9-11," Salesianum XLII (1980):751-88 (Eng. summary). Without arguing in detail the case for the use of a triennial lectionary in Palestinian Judaism, he concludes that the sequence of readings of the synagogue, as it has been proposed in modern scholarship, can constitute the basis of the "homiletic Derash" of Romans 9-11.

inconclusive.<sup>39</sup> The most that can be said is that the roots of the lectionaries' formation appear to extend back to the time of early Judaism,<sup>40</sup> as specific readings were designated for festivals, for the four special Sabbaths, and perhaps also for other Sabbaths during the year.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to being read, the scriptures were expounded homiletically. The precise form of these homilies cannot be ascertained perhaps, but the work of Jacob Mann on the structure of the Midrashic Homilies may provide us with an insight into their formation in early Judaism.<sup>42</sup> He asserts that the haftarah provided the starting point for the preacher and served as a formal connection between the seder and the homily verse.<sup>43</sup> The haftarah was connected with the seder on the basis of some verbal connection and provided the framework for the homily.<sup>44</sup> Basically two types of homilies have survived: 1) a proem

---

<sup>39</sup> See the objections raised by Heinemann, "Triennial Lectionary," pp. 41ff; and Morris, N.T. and Jewish Lectionaries, pp. 11ff. With respect to the possible influence of a Jewish lectionary on the formation of certain New Testament documents, there is a methodological issue that raises doubts about the validity of the results. The scholars who attempt to argue this case appear to be engaged in a circular argument; it moves from the external evidence for the existence of a lectionary to the internal evidence of the documents themselves in which they claim to see traces of a lectionary pattern of thematic development. This internal evidence tends to confirm the original hypothesis that a lectionary was in use in Jewish worship prior to the writing of the New Testament. As Heinemann and Morris have shown, this is not necessarily correct. This circular method of argumentation is not in itself perhaps invalid, but it tends to obscure the question of dependence; and in this case, because it is based upon ambiguous external evidence, it is an unacceptable procedure for obtaining reliable results.

<sup>40</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> See Mishnah Megillah 3-4.

<sup>42</sup> Jacob Mann, The Bible As Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue: A Study in the Readings from the Torah and Prophets, As Well As From Psalms, and in the Structure of the Midrashic Homilies, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: Press of the Jewish Publications Society, vol. I 1940, vol. II ed. by I. Sonne, 1966).

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., vol. I, p. 7. See also the discussion of Mann's thesis by Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 43ff.

type which begins with an introductory text and 2) a yelammedenu type which opens with a request for instruction.<sup>45</sup> There is evidence that the homily form of interpretation may be reflected in Acts 13 and perhaps also in Acts 2:21-36, 15:14-21; and in Romans 4.<sup>46</sup> In addition to being read and expounded homiletically, scripture was used in the prayers and liturgies of the communities' worship.<sup>47</sup>

### Haggadah and Halakah

As Judaism developed and the synagogue became an established institution, the interpretation of scripture and the activity of the scribes became more prominent.<sup>48</sup> Scriptural interpretation is first mentioned in the Bible in Nehemiah 8:1ff. Ezra read the "book of the law of Moses", and the people were helped to understand it by the Levites. With the eventual canonization of the sacred books, religious guidance became increasingly the task of biblical interpretation.<sup>49</sup> The "sopher" emerged as a professional class whose job was to search the scriptures.<sup>50</sup> Scripture and its counterpart, interpretation, ultimately became part of the very fabric of Jewish religious life. Geza Vermes has written:

In short, the Bible, correctly interpreted, became the legal charter of national life, the foundation of public worship, the unique source of inspiration for individual piety, and a text-book for the schooling of young and

---

<sup>45</sup>J.W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," New Testament Studies XIV (October 1967):99.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-111. Cf. also Gal. 4:21-31 where a prophetic text is included in the context of the exposition of the Genesis material.

<sup>47</sup>Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 35, 81-86.

<sup>48</sup>For a discussion of scribal activity see Moore, Judaism, vol. I, pp. 39ff.

<sup>49</sup>Vermes, "Bible and Midrash," p. 199.

<sup>50</sup>Ben Sira 39:1-8.

old. Judaism's most treasured possession, its study and observance were thought to constitute at all times, during the eschatological age also, the quintessence of religion.<sup>51</sup>

The need to nurture the faith of the people and to apply the Torah to varied life situations gave rise to haggadah and halakah. These did not arise independently, but emerged within the religious life of the synagogue and the "school". Initially, haggadah and halakah may not have been distinguished,<sup>52</sup> but in any case these interpretative traditions came to be differentiated primarily on the basis of content.<sup>53</sup> Haggadah was the interpretation of "non-legal" material and was a matter of supplementing, embellishing, relating passages, and in some cases rewriting whole scriptural texts. As a method of interpreting and rewriting biblical history, haggadah was a process of developing interpretative tradition by the examination of biblical texts and by the creative, and often imaginative, supplementation of scriptural material.<sup>54</sup> Vermes has said that there are basically two patterns of haggadah:

- 1) the form which exhibits traces of liturgical usage in which a Torah verse, by means of haggadic development, was interpreted and extended to include the whole passage, and

---

<sup>51</sup>Vermes, "Bible and Midrash," p. 201. Porton has challenged the claim that the Bible during the Hellenistic period was the charter of national life ("Defining Midrash," pp. 63-64), but Vermes' statement nonetheless illustrates most vividly an important aspect of Jewish life, that associated with the canonical text and its interpretation.

<sup>52</sup>W. Bacher, "The Origin of the Word Haggada (Agada)," Jewish Quarterly Review 4 (April 1892):406-29.

<sup>53</sup>Because of the nature of the material with which they were concerned, haggadah and halakah also exhibited in the course of time their own unique formal features. Cf. David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: The Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 67ff. Yet many of the same notions of scripture and its interpretation undergirded both. In this regard, they are closely connected and cannot be strictly differentiated. See Joseph Bonsirven, Exégèse, pp. 13f; and Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 109.

<sup>54</sup>Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, pp. 346ff.

2) the form in which the Torah passage was expounded verse by verse or in which larger sections of biblical material were completely rewritten.

The first, according to Vermes, is preserved in the Fragmentary Targum, the Geniza fragments of Targum Yerushalmi, and Codex Neofiti, whereas the second form appears in Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, Jewish Antiquities, and Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum.<sup>55</sup>

Haggadah came to be associated most closely with the activity of the synagogue; but, as has been pointed out, it was also found in the "school". Likewise, the "school" was not exclusively the Sitz-im-Leben of halakah; this form of interpretation was found in the synagogue as well.<sup>56</sup> The settings in life of haggadah and halakah cannot be differentiated strictly on the basis of the difference between the synagogue and the "school" because these two institutions were inter-connected.<sup>57</sup> Many of the same people used both methods and were involved in both the synagogue and the "school".<sup>58</sup> But regardless of its Sitz-im-Leben, haggadah, as a form of tradition and a method of biblical interpretation, is important for our purposes, because Paul clearly has been influenced by it.<sup>59</sup>

Halakah was the interpretation and application of "legal" material. The interpreters of Torah searched for knowledge about God's will through logical inference, the association and combination of passages, and the

---

<sup>55</sup> Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, pp. 228-29. See also IDBS, "Interpretation at Qumran and in the Targums."

<sup>56</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 88.

<sup>57</sup> Above, p. 14.

<sup>58</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 88.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. see Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, pp. 178ff. He has demonstrated with specific examples the tradition of interpretation within which Paul stands. See also Stanislas Lyonnet, "Saint Paul et l'exégèse Juive de son temps," in Melanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de Andre Robert (Paris: Bloud and Gay), pp. 494-506. Below, chapter eight.

elaboration of biblical principles.<sup>60</sup> But halakah was not simply a matter of midrashic exegesis; it emerged originally often as religious custom and habit.<sup>61</sup> Whether these halakoth were traced back to scripture or not, they were considered to be binding.<sup>62</sup> Alongside the written Torah, halakoth grew up and were eventually codified in the Mishnah. The impulse for halakah was the desire to discover the will of God in the Torah and to engender obedience to it. As a Torah-centred religion, Judaism was occupied with the development of legal casuistry. In the "school", the students of the law searched for knowledge about God, and in turn sought to apply the principles of Torah, by means of halakah, to the life of the community.<sup>63</sup> To this task, considerable religious energy was devoted. Torah study, however, did not reach its culmination until the rise of rabbinic Judaism after Yavneh, but its origins and early development were undoubtedly in the period of pre-70 A.D. Judaism. As we have seen above,<sup>64</sup> the primary Sitz-im-Leben of halakah was the "school" in which teachers and students gathered to study Torah and to learn and transmit the traditions of halakah. These traditions were transmitted orally for the most part during the period of early Judaism.<sup>65</sup> It is not certain to what extent rabbinic halakah was written during this time. Jacob Neusner has pointed to some evidence which suggests that

---

<sup>60</sup>Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, p. 339.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 340. See also Lauterbach, "Midrash and Mishnah," pp. 193ff; and Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 90-92.

<sup>62</sup>Schürer, Jewish People, vol. II, pp. 340-43.

<sup>63</sup>See Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 89.

<sup>64</sup>Above, p. 23.

<sup>65</sup>See Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp. 19ff; and Lauterbach, "Midrash and Mishnah," pp. 193ff. Some of the assumptions behind the notion of oral transmission in early Judaism are not, however, without critics. Cf. e.g. Jacob Neusner, "The Written Tradition," pp. 56-65, "Exegesis and the Written Law," pp. 176-78, Pharisees Before 70, vol. III, pp. 143-79; and Morton Smith, "A Comparison," pp. 169-76.

there was written rabbinic "legal" tradition in the pre-Yavneh period.<sup>66</sup>

The transmission of exegetical tradition was an important dimension of Jewish religious life. Halakic traditions required precision, and this perhaps expressed itself in repetition and memorization.<sup>67</sup>

Haggadah, too, was transmitted orally,<sup>68</sup> but it was not under the same necessity to adapt and change to new community situations. Hence, haggadah, as a body of interpretative tradition, was generally more stable than halakah.<sup>69</sup> Because of its binding character, halakah had to adapt to new religious and cultural circumstances, which forced older traditions to recede from view. In this regard, halakah and haggadah tended to function differently.<sup>70</sup>

#### Midrash

The study of midrash is an especially important area of investigation; but because of the vastness of the linguistic and literary evidence,<sup>71</sup> we must limit ourselves to a few pertinent remarks regarding

<sup>66</sup> Jacob Neusner, "The Written Tradition," pp. 56ff.

<sup>67</sup> The Jewish Encyclopedia, s.v. "Mishnah," by J.Z. Lauterbach. See also Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript, pp. 19ff. Cf. Neusner, Pharisees Before 70, vol. III, pp. 143-79.

<sup>68</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 16-17. See also Bloch, "Note methodologique," p. 200.

<sup>70</sup> For a description of the forms in which the traditions were transmitted, see Louis Finkelstein, "The Transmission of the Early Rabbinic Traditions," Hebrew Union College Annual XVI (1941):115ff.

<sup>71</sup> For the linguistic evidence see Gertner, "Terms of Interpretation," pp. 1-27; Porton, "Midrash," pp. 105-8 and "Defining Midrash," pp. 56-58; and Addison G. Wright, The Literary Genre Midrash (New York: Society of St. Paul, 1967), pp. 33-48. In addition to these works by Gertner, Porton, and Wright, see also for the wider aspects of the study of midrash Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible, s.v. "Midrash," by R. Bloch; B. Childs, "Midrash and the Old Testament," in Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in honor of Morton S. Enslin on Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings, ed. John Reumann (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972), pp. 45-59; M. Gertner, "Midrashim in the New Testament," Journal of Semitic Studies VII (1962):267-92; Roger LeDéaut, "Apropos a Definition of Midrash," Interpretation 25 (July 1971):259-82; Vermes, "Bible and

its character and function. Addison Wright has sought to give precision to midrash as a literary genre, and in so doing has asserted that a fundamental characteristic of midrash is that it begins with scripture. Midrash, as literature about literature, proceeds from the text and through comments attempts to make it meaningful to the contemporary situation. Furthermore, he states that the content of midrash is not one of its formal characteristics. Content is distinguished in the differentiation between haggadah and halakah, but it is not a determinative factor in midrash as a literary form. Creative exegesis may or may not be a feature of midrashic literature; and he concludes that interpretative technique, as such, is not primarily a characteristic of this genre.<sup>72</sup> Gary Porton has also emphasized the relationship between midrash and scripture. He writes:

In brief, I would define 'midrash' as a type of literature, oral or written, which stands in direct relationship to a fixed, canonical text, considered to be the authoritative and the revealed word of God by the midrashist and his audience, and in which this canonical text is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to.<sup>73</sup>

Wright and Porton have rightly emphasized a connection between midrash and scripture, but Roger LeDéaut has raised a number of points which are also significant for establishing the function of midrash, as well as for understanding the use of scripture by Paul. In a critique of Wright's thesis concerning midrash, he asks, "Is the chief purpose to write a new composition in order to respond to actual circumstances ... or does the text remain the center of interest and the ultimate reference?"<sup>74</sup> LeDéaut seems to be correct when he says that the Jewish

---

Midrash," pp. 199-231; and Solomon Zeitlin, "Midrash: A Historical Study," Jewish Quarterly Review XLIV (1953-1954):21-36.

<sup>72</sup>Wright, Literary Genre, pp. 67-75. Also published under the same title in Catholic Biblical Quarterly XXVIII (1966):133ff.

<sup>73</sup>Porton, "Defining Midrash," p. 62.

<sup>74</sup>LeDéaut, "Definition of Midrash," p. 274.

interpreters were not conscious of conforming to a literary genre, but were carrying out their task within a developing tradition.<sup>75</sup> Hence, the text may simply provide the jumping off point for a midrashic composition in which the main purpose is to actualize a scriptural message for the community.<sup>76</sup> In the course of the interpretation, the text may remain only in the background, as the interpreter weaves traditions together in order to arrive at his message. LeDéaut writes: "Midrash may be described but not defined, for it is also a way of thinking and reasoning which is often disconcerting to us."<sup>77</sup> In addition to being an exegetical method, midrash is a conceptual framework with which the interpreter comes to his task. LeDéaut states: "Midrash is in effect a whole world which can be discovered only by accepting its complexity at the outset."<sup>78</sup> Underlying this world of thought is the conviction that Torah is the revelation of God, that scripture is to be searched for knowledge of his will, that it is meaningful in all its parts, and that it must be presented anew as a living message to the community.

Without discussing further the positions represented by Wright and LeDéaut, we can make the preliminary assertion that Paul in Romans 4, 9-11, and Galatians 3-4 used the methods of midrash to discover and develop a scriptural message for a new community situation, and in the process arrived at results which would have been, for most Jews of his day, quite astonishing. Paul took the method and the motivation of midrash and placed them in the service of a new message.

---

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 274.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 268. See also M. Gertner, "Midrashim in the New Testament," Journal of Semitic Studies VII (1962):292; he, too, makes reference to "midrashic thinking".

## CHAPTER II

### THE USE AND INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE IN EARLY JUDAISM

#### Scripture in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

##### Ben Sira

One of the most significant features of Ben Sira's use of scripture is the manner in which the writer demonstrates the close relationship between the wisdom tradition and Torah.<sup>1</sup> Without attempting to define precisely the nature of wisdom in Ben Sira, we can observe the way he merges and weaves together his teaching and certain "legal" traditions from scripture. We cannot say with certainty that this is entirely the result of Ben Sira's own literary achievement for it may be in part a reflection of the connection between Torah and wisdom in Judaism. Yet in any case, we see in Ben Sira the relationship which these two elements have, and we are able to observe the manner in which the writer has drawn out the implications of Torah, as found in scripture, under the influence of the wisdom tradition.

---

<sup>1</sup>The social and historical situation in which the "Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira" was written and the message which the writer sought to address to his contemporary situation may not be as clear as Crenshaw, Hengel, and Siebeneck have sought to show; but regardless of the merits of their reconstructions, we are neither required to accept their conclusions nor to follow their methods in order to identify important aspects of the author's use of scripture and tradition. See James L. Crenshaw, "The Problem of Theodicy in Sirach: On Human Bondage," Journal of Biblical Literature 94 (March 1975):47ff; Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, pp. 131-53; and Robert T. Siebeneck, "May Their Bones Return to Life! - Sirach's Praise of the Fathers," Catholic Biblical Quarterly XXI (October 1959):411ff. Cf. the remarks concerning Hengel's work by Fergus Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism'," Journal of Jewish Studies XXIX (Spring 1978):1-21; and George W.E. Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah (London:SCM Press, 1981), p. 64.

A brief examination will be sufficient to illustrate this point.

In 3:2ff Ben Sira writes:

For the Lord honored the father above the children,  
and he confirmed the right of the mother over her sons.  
Whoever honors his father atones for sins,  
and whoever glorifies his mother is like one who lays up treasure.  
Whoever honors his father will be gladdened by his own children,  
and when he prays he will be heard.  
Whoever glorifies his father will have long life,  
and whoever obeys the Lord will refresh his mother;  
(Whoever fears the Lord will honor his father)<sup>2</sup>  
Honor your father by word and deed,  
that a blessing from him may come upon you.  
... Whoever forsakes his father is like a blasphemer,  
and whoever angers his mother is cursed by the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

Ben Sira's reference to the commandment in Exodus 20:12 and Deuteronomy 5:16 is unmistakable, but equally obvious in the Greek version is the allusion to Deuteronomy 27:16 and the curse which is placed upon the one who disregards the commandment.<sup>4</sup> In this section, Ben Sira affirms the Decalogue imperative which was embedded in the "legal" tradition of Judaism,<sup>5</sup> and he sets out to elaborate its implications.

According to the Greek version, the disobedience of the commandment and thus of Torah is punished by the Lord himself. This is made clear in 3:16 by the expression καὶ κευατηραμένος ὑπὸ κυρίου. Implied is that the scriptural imperative is not only a commandment, but also the will of God; and if it is transgressed divine punishment will be delivered by means of a curse. The halakic tenor of Ben Sira's use of scripture in this text and its close connection with Torah is clearly evident in what we have observed.

---

<sup>2</sup>Included by some authorities.

<sup>3</sup>RSV translation. Cf. also Charles' rendering of the text.

<sup>4</sup>The Greek version transposes the verbs as they appear in the Hebrew (3:16b). This alters the meaning of the passage and makes the connection with Dt. 27:16 clear.

<sup>5</sup>This commandment may have been ingrained so deeply in Jewish social and religious life that it was almost axiomatic.

Another influence, however, can be detected in these verses. Some of the consequences of obedience to the commandment are not apparently attributable to God, but are simply the result of the action itself. Ben Sira writes: "Whoever honors his father will be gladdened by his own children". Further on he says: "Whoever glorifies his father will have long life". In 3:8 Ben Sira writes: "Honor your father by word and deed, that a blessing from him may come upon you." In these examples, the result appears to be the natural or expected consequence of the action. Ben Sira does not say that these consequences are the result of divine intervention; rather, he gives every indication that they are simply the effect of a human act. To some degree, this is a feature of the wisdom tradition,<sup>6</sup> and it seems that Ben Sira has interwoven his understanding of Torah with Jewish wisdom thought.<sup>7</sup> To a large extent, the two are integrated. This is exemplified perhaps most vividly in 19:20 (see also verse 24) and 24:1-34 (especially verses 22-23). In these last texts, the direct connection between wisdom and Torah is made. The integration of these elements can be

---

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Prv. 5:1-23, 6:12-15, 6:20-35, 7:1-27, 9:7-12, 10:1-24:34, and perhaps also 25:1ff. See also Ben Sira 7:1-3, 27:25-29, and 35:19. This idea or modifications of it also appear in writings which are not considered to be part of the wisdom tradition. Cf. e.g. II Cor. 9:6 and Gal. 6:7-8. See also Gerhard von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, trans. James D. Martin (London: SCM Press, 1972), pp. 124-37.

<sup>7</sup> It might be argued that early evidence of this interconnection can be detected already in the canonical texts themselves by the inclusion of לְמַעַן יִאֲרְכוּ יְמֵיהֶם עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר-לְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם נָתַן לָהֶם in Exodus and לְמַעַן יִאֲרְכוּ יְמֵיהֶם וְלִמְעַן יִיטַב לָהֶם עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר-לְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם נָתַן לָהֶם in Deuteronomy. It is even possible that insofar as Torah has a didactic dimension we may be able to detect a connection between the halakic traditions of Judaism and wisdom influences. In any case, we can assert that the relationship between Torah and wisdom is complex. Our task, however, does not permit us to pursue this issue.

found also in 7:27-28,<sup>8</sup> 23:22-23,<sup>9</sup> and perhaps 9:1-6.<sup>10</sup>

Another aspect of this can be seen in 6:30. In this text, Ben Sira apparently has substituted wisdom for Torah by means of an allusion to scripture.<sup>11</sup> The תַּשְׁבֵּץ, according to Numbers, is to serve as a reminder of God's law. In an allusion to the scriptural passage, the writer has replaced Torah by wisdom. Implied is that wisdom is to be brought to mind by the "tassel".

In 6:37 Ben Sira writes: "Reflect on the statutes of the Lord, and meditate at all times on his commandments. It is he who will give insight to your mind, and your desire for wisdom will be granted."

The writer's attitude regarding wisdom and Torah cannot be mistaken.

---

<sup>8</sup>In this section, Ben Sira is giving his advice in the form of a list of duties towards a friend, a wife, a servant, cattle, children (daughters in particular), and parents. The style of this section is that of a sage who sets forth didactically, for the benefit of his readers, his insight into wisdom. Perhaps by natural association as well as deliberate design Ben Sira's teaching displays a clear allusion to Exodus 20:12 and Deuteronomy 5:16. The allusion serves to ground the teaching of Ben Sira in the Decalogue tradition. The scriptural reference is indicative of the integration of wisdom and Torah; and because this commandment is such an accepted part of Jewish life, the connection between the two appears to be quite natural.

<sup>9</sup>The reference to the Decalogue tradition as found in Exodus 20:14 and Deuteronomy 5:18 is clear. Once again, the integration of Torah and the writer's own thoughts about a specific issue indicate the way in which allusion to scripture serves to root a saying in Torah and at the same time to allow the implications of an imperative to be elaborated and applied to a particular kind of offence. The woman in this example has transgressed the law of the Most High, committed an offence against her husband, and is guilty of adultery through harlotry. The close connection between the writer's pattern of thought and the scriptural injunction seems evident.

<sup>10</sup>Ben Sira sets forth a series of warnings concerning women, and he does this apparently on the basis of scriptural inference. In these verses, we can detect allusions, if not direct references, to five scriptural passages (Sir. 9:1-Num. 5:14-15; Sir. 9:2-Prv. 31:3; Sir. 9:3-Prv. 23:27; Sir. 9:5-Job 31:1; and Sir. 9:6-Prv. 29:3). These allusions (in three instances to the wisdom tradition of Proverbs) seem to point to an interconnection between Ben Sira's teaching and certain scriptural traditions. At least the concatenation of scriptural references serves as a grounding for his teaching. To be sure, Ben Sira has recast these allusions in his own language and style.

<sup>11</sup>See Num. 15:38. Cf. Rom. 10:6-8.

Wisdom is from God, and it is intimately related to Torah. This connection is one significant feature of Ben Sira's use of scripture. As E.P. Sanders has written:

For the general understanding of the book, it is important to note the point of connecting the admonitions of wisdom literature ('help a poor man') with the Mosaic covenant ('for the commandment's sake, 29.9). The variation between admonitions of a very general tone and explicit mention of obeying the commandments given by Moses is to be explained by the fact that Ben Sirach was intentionally defining the values of the well-established wisdom tradition in terms of the Mosaic covenant: that wisdom which is universally sought is in fact truly represented by and particularized in the Torah given by God through Moses (see especially 24:23); ...<sup>12</sup>

Ben Sira, however, does not relate his teaching only to Torah; he also connects it with the history of Israel. As we have seen, the writer anchors his wisdom teaching in the Jewish "legal" tradition by reference to scripture. Likewise, he grounds his teaching in Israel's history by reference to the nation's past. This is not limited only to isolated or casual allusions, but is observed most clearly in the "praise of the fathers".<sup>13</sup> In these chapters, Ben Sira develops an historical review of important figures in Israel's past, and by doing this he glorifies God and Israel and calls upon his contemporaries to emulate these heroes of history.<sup>14</sup>

Without attempting to reconstruct the historical situation which Ben Sira is addressing in chapters 44-50:24, we can affirm the apologetic

---

<sup>12</sup>E.P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1977), p. 331. Cf. also Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, p. 139; Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature, pp. 59-62; von Rad, Wisdom in Israel, pp. 240-62; and James Keith Zink, "The Use of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1963), pp. 78ff. Our conclusions to this point suggest that von Rad has incorrectly deemphasized Ben Sira's relationship with Torah. Yet it must be conceded that the passages to which we have already referred, although significant, do not constitute a large proportion of the total book.

<sup>13</sup>Sir. 44-50:24.

<sup>14</sup>Siebeneck, "Praise of the Fathers," pp. 416ff.

and didactic nature of the book as a whole and this section in particular.<sup>15</sup> Ben Sira's historical review of biblical persons serves to establish Israel's possession of wisdom,<sup>16</sup> and it sets forth these people of obedience and virtue from Israel's past as examples for the author's contemporaries.<sup>17</sup> As Siebeneck has indicated, Ben Sira does not merely repeat the biblical names, but he restates and interprets the reasons why they are important and are thus worthy of serving as examples.<sup>18</sup> Two instances will suffice to indicate this. Noah is included in Ben Sira's list,<sup>19</sup> and he is portrayed by the writer as the one who preserved the human race from destruction. He is the first in the line of purified humanity. Noah was found to be righteous, and Ben Sira makes it clear that on his account a remnant was able to survive. For Ben Sira, Noah serves as an example of a person who is righteous; and at the same time he is the one who stands at the head of humanity reconstituted after the flood.<sup>20</sup> In the case of Enoch, the Greek version tells us that he was a ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας ταῖς γενεαῖς.<sup>21</sup> He was an example or an אֹת דַעַת to the generations. In these two cases, we can see how Ben Sira has stated information about an individual in order to establish his credentials as a virtuous and obedient person. This historical review

---

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Heb. 11:1-40. The controlling interest of the writer to the Hebrews is to display the faith of the biblical characters. Ben Sira appears to be more concerned with portraying the scriptural figures as virtuous, obedient, and wise.

<sup>16</sup>Siebeneck, "Praise of the Fathers," p. 413.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 411-28. Cf. Sir. 44:16 and 46:12.

<sup>18</sup>Siebeneck, "Praise of the Fathers," p. 415ff. Cf. Abram Spiro, "Manners of Rewriting Biblical History From Chronicles to Pseudo-Philo" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 24-62.

<sup>19</sup>Sir. 44:17-18.

<sup>20</sup>Siebeneck, "Praise of the Fathers," p. 422.

<sup>21</sup>Sir. 44:16. Cf. אֹת דַעַת לְדוֹר וְדוֹר.

enables Ben Sira to glorify Israel's heroes of the past, to portray them as people of virtue and wisdom, to connect his teaching with Israel's history, and to call upon his contemporaries to follow in the footsteps of these worthy people of old.<sup>22</sup> Other features of Ben Sira's use of scripture can also be identified but these are sufficient for our purposes.

#### Jubilees and Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum

Despite the differences between Jubilees and LAB, they are both examples of rewritten scripture.<sup>23</sup> Jubilees is a midrash on Genesis and part of Exodus, and it displays evidence of both haggadah and halakah.<sup>24</sup> The calendrical structure of the work and the halakic concerns of the writer are evident throughout the composition.<sup>25</sup> The style of Jubilees is didactic and perhaps even homiletical;<sup>26</sup> and throughout, scripture is interpreted in light of the concerns of the writer. Through haggadic expansion of the text, the writer attempts to disclose the truths of scripture, to explain any difficulties presented by it,<sup>27</sup> to glorify Torah, the Patriarchs, and Israel, and to denounce the enemies of God's people.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the writer in

---

<sup>22</sup>Other examples of Ben Sira's use of historical material from scripture can be found in 16:6-10, 17:12, 38:5, and 39:17 (Gk.). Reference to Jewish creation imagery also occurs in 16:26, 30; 17:1ff; 24:3-4; 39:16; 43:2, 6-7, 9-12. Cf. also 40:1 and 25:24.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Genesis Apocryphon and Josephus' Antiquities.

<sup>24</sup>See Louis Finkelstein, "Some Examples of the Maccabean Halaka," Journal of Biblical Literature XLIX (1930):20-42; Louis Finkelstein, "The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halaka," Harvard Theological Review XVI (January 1923):39-61; Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 145; and Solomon Zeitlin, "Jewish Apocryphal Literature," Jewish Quarterly Review XL (1949-1950):248.

<sup>25</sup>See Finkelstein, "Maccabean Halaka," pp. 20ff. and "Jubilees and Rabbinic Halaka," pp. 39ff.

<sup>26</sup>Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, p. 145.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 145f.

<sup>28</sup>R. H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees: or the Little Genesis (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), pp. LI-LVI.

1:4 refers to Moses and the revelation which God gave to him on Mount Sinai.<sup>29</sup> As Daniel Patte has indicated, this revelation was not only of the law but also of "earlier and later history".<sup>30</sup> It is claimed that the meaning of history was taught to Moses and this revelation has been recorded in the book of Jubilees. Scripture is to be read not only to discover Torah but also to gain knowledge of history's meaning.<sup>31</sup>

The writer of Jubilees paraphrases scripture, amplifies it, and on occasion makes explicit the implied meaning of the text. Hammill describes the exposition of Genesis 8:21-22 in 6:4 as "exegetical complement".<sup>32</sup> By supplying the implied meaning of the passage, the author makes explicit the apparent intention of the biblical writer.<sup>33</sup> According to the author of Jubilees, the implicit meaning of Genesis 8:21-22 is that God will not send another flood. Hence, he paraphrases the biblical text to make this clear. In 23:15, the writer cites Psalm 90:10, but once again his rendering of the passage is to some extent a paraphrase. Furthermore, by reapplying the passage to a new context, the author has derived a meaning which is at most only vaguely implied in the Psalm verse. The writer also amplifies scripture. In 34:1-9, he apparently refers to an account in Genesis 48:22 concerning Jacob's conquest of Schechem.<sup>34</sup> If Charles is correct, this amplification of the scriptural passage may be due to an attempt to bring to mind among the readers the great Maccabean victories.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> See Ex. 24:12, 31:18, and 34:1. See also Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 150ff.

<sup>30</sup> Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 150ff.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>32</sup> Hammill, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 20f.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Sir. 20:7 and 40:26.

<sup>34</sup> Charles, Jubilees, p. 200n. and Hammill, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 107ff. Cf. Test. of Judah 3-7.

<sup>35</sup> Charles, Jubilees, p. 200n.

Jubilees is filled with examples in which the writer has changed or omitted biblical material. In 26:35, the writer interprets Genesis 27:41 and subtly shifts the sense of the verse in order to portray Esau in an unfavourable light.<sup>36</sup> In other instances, the interpreter strives to protect the character of biblical individuals. Jubilees 19:11 records that Abraham took a third wife, Keturah, and the author inserts that Hagar died before Sarah in order to explain the reason why Hagar was not taken back as the Patriarch's wife. The Genesis account of Abram's deception in Egypt concerning Sarai is omitted.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, Isaac's lie regarding Rebecca in Genesis 26:7 is not recorded in Jubilees. In 26:13 and 26:19, the writer modifies Genesis 27:19 and 27:24 and in doing so eliminates the lie which Jacob told to Isaac.<sup>38</sup> The author also seeks to avoid statements or material which might be thought to portray God in an unfavourable light. Jubilees 17:15f (Gen. 22:1f), 48:2f (Ex. 4:24), 49:2 (Ex. 12:29), and 3:15 (Is. 28:25f) are examples of this.<sup>39</sup> Other adjustments to the biblical text by the interpreter can be attributed to Jewish teaching or doctrinal concerns.<sup>40</sup> And finally, the writer of Jubilees attempts to explain potentially confusing or unclear passages. For example, the account of Jacob's deception of his father in 26:18 is expanded with the words: "... and he discerned

---

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>37</sup>Gen. 12:11-13.

<sup>38</sup>For other examples of this characteristic of scriptural interpretation cf. also Jub. 11:16, 12:1ff, 25:4ff, 35:9-12, 37:4f, 38:2, 43:7-10, and 43:11. Gen. 30:35-38 and 32-33 are omitted in the Jubilees' account and this serves to avoid material which might raise questions concerning the reputation of a biblical person. Cf. also Test. of Judah 11:1ff, 12:3, 13:6, and Test. of Levi 5:1-6:11.

<sup>39</sup>The diction is ambiguous in Charles' translation, but perhaps Jub. 48:17 ought to be included among these passages.

<sup>40</sup>Examples of this are found in Jub. 15:16 (cf. Hammill, "Biblical Interpretation," p. 35), 22:16 (the belief that the Jews ought to be separated from the Gentiles is traced back to Abraham), and 32:3 (the rendering appears to lend support to the institution of the priesthood).

him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception...." This addition serves to explain further the inability of Isaac to distinguish between his two sons.<sup>41</sup>

The date of LAB as a literary composition has been discussed repeatedly;<sup>42</sup> and as has been indicated, there is some evidence to suggest that it was written after the destruction of the second Temple.<sup>43</sup> Yet despite the date of composition, many of the traditions contained in this work appear to derive from an earlier time.<sup>44</sup> Whether LAB is denoted as rewritten scripture,<sup>45</sup> midrash,<sup>46</sup> haggadic commentary,<sup>47</sup> or "texte continué",<sup>48</sup> it is clear that, despite the overlap among these

---

<sup>41</sup>Other examples of this can be seen in Jub. 4:29-30 (the timing of Adam's death is addressed), 27:1 (Esau's words against Jacob were made known to Rebekah in a dream), and 30:7-11 (this passage appears to be an explanatory elaboration in light of Leviticus 18:21, 20:2, and 21:9).

<sup>42</sup>See L. Cohn, "An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria," Jewish Quarterly Review X (1898):325ff; Louis H. Feldman, "Prolegomenon," in The Biblical Antiquities of Philo, by M.R. James (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971), pp. XXVIIIf; Daniel Harrington, Jacques Cazeaux, Charles Perrot, and Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1976), II:66ff; M.R. James, The Biblical Antiquities of Philo, The Library of Biblical Studies (New York: KTAV, 1971 -- first published 1917), pp. 29ff; Guido Kisch, Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, publications in Mediaeval Studies (Notre Dame, Indiana: The University of Notre Dame, 1949), p. 17; Michael Philip Wadsworth, "The 'Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum' of Pseudo-Philo: Doctrine and Scriptural Exegesis in a Jewish Midrash of the First Century A.D." (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1974), pp. 1, 318ff. Cf. also Abram Spiro, "Samaritans, Tobiads, and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research XX (1951):279-355.

<sup>43</sup>Cohn, "Apocryphal Work," pp. 325ff; Feldman, "Prolegomenon," pp. XXVIIIf; James, Antiquities of Philo, pp. 29ff; and Wadsworth, "LAB of Pseudo-Philo," pp. 318ff. Cf. also Harrington, Pseudo-Philon, vol. 2, pp. 66ff.

<sup>44</sup>Feldman, "Prolegomenon," p. XXXI; Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, p. 6; and Wadsworth, "LAB of Pseudo-Philo," pp. 325ff.

<sup>45</sup>Vermes, Scripture and Tradition, pp. 228-29.

<sup>46</sup>Feldman, "Prolegomenon," pp. XXXII.

<sup>47</sup>Henry St. John Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), pp. 19-20.

<sup>48</sup>Harrington, Pseudo-Philon, vol. 2, pp. 24ff. In this type of interpretation, the point of reference is primarily sacred history. It is the explication and actualization of divine revelation.

terms, each of them describes something about the nature of this work. In the process of rewriting the scriptural material from creation until the death of Saul, the author of LAB incorporates post-biblical Jewish traditions, interprets texts midrashically, omits and elaborates material,<sup>49</sup> and attempts to address his contemporary situation.<sup>50</sup>

In certain examples,<sup>51</sup> the writer of LAB elaborates the biblical material in order to give the reader additional details; and in still other passages,<sup>52</sup> he gives reasons or alternative reasons why an event took place. The author also attempts to clarify or harmonize passages which might be considered to be unclear or contradictory.<sup>53</sup>

### I Enoch and IV Ezra

George Nickelsburg, in his survey of I Enoch, has identified a number of scriptural references and allusions.<sup>54</sup> Among the types of usage to which he has drawn attention are scriptural paraphrase,<sup>55</sup> reminiscence and allusion,<sup>56</sup> elaboration and interpretation,<sup>57</sup> textual combination,<sup>58</sup> use of biblical language,<sup>59</sup> and historical résumé.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup>Wadsworth, "LAB of Pseudo-Philo," p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>See Harrington, Pseudo-Philon, vol. 2, pp. 24ff. See also Spiro, "Samaritans," pp. 279ff.

<sup>51</sup>See 6:1-18 (Gen. 11), 8:8 (Gen. 34), 40:5-7 (Jdgs. 11:38), 42:1-3 (Jdgs. 13:2).

<sup>52</sup>See 9:5 (Gen. 38:12-30), 9:15 (Ex. 2:5), 11:6ff. (Ex. 20:1ff), 19:7 (Dt. 32:48-52), 42:8 (Jdgs. 13:16), and 55:6 (I Sam. 6:7-12). In 31:8, 40:1ff, 42:1, 45:2, and 51:6 the interpreter inserts names where none appear in the biblical texts.

<sup>53</sup>See 16:3, 18:5, and 19:16. In each of these examples, details in the biblical material are elaborated and clarified.

<sup>54</sup>Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature, pp. 46ff, 90-93, 145-51, and 214ff.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 49 and 217-18. <sup>56</sup>See e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 49 and 147.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., pp. 49-52. <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 151 and 220. <sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 90-94.

But I Enoch is not primarily an exegetical work.<sup>61</sup> It is an apocalyptic writing, and the medium as well as the content of the revelation are the controlling interests of the writer(s).<sup>62</sup> Thus, scripture is not the singular revelation of God, but it is interpreted in light of the secret revelation which the apocalyptist claims to have received.<sup>63</sup> Understanding the use of scripture in I Enoch and in the apocalyptic literature in general is a matter of discerning the relationship between scripture as divine revelation and the disclosure of God's purposes in the end-time. Daniel Patte differentiates between what he terms the "structural" and the "anthological" uses of scripture. In the "structural" use, apocalyptic texts are structured by one or more biblical passage, and the primary locus of revelation is scripture itself; whereas in the "anthological" use biblical language and phrases are used, but the locus of revelation appears to be primarily in the events of the contemporary situation.<sup>64</sup> Despite the difficulty inherent in attempting to identify the locus of revelation by the way scripture is used, Patte's description illustrates something important about the use of biblical material in I Enoch; namely, that scriptural paraphrases, elaborations, allusions, reminiscences, and historical résumés serve primarily to call to mind

---

<sup>61</sup>Whether I Enoch is a composite work or not does materially affect for our purposes the nature of the interpretative traditions and methods which are contained within it, unless it can be shown that Christian or later Jewish scribes adapted the texts in the course of transmission or reinterpretation. In short, our brief examination of scriptural use in this work will deal primarily with the text as it stands, while at the same time recognizing the complexity and diversity inherent in the process of literary formation and in the transmission of the material.

<sup>62</sup>E.g. see I Enoch 13-71 and 103:1ff.

<sup>63</sup>See Stanley Brice Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic: Its Origins and Growth (London: The Epworth Press, 1952), pp. 18-23; Paul D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 11; Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 205-8; and D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp. 98-100.

<sup>64</sup>Patte, Jewish Hermeneutic, pp. 171-72.

in the reader images which, when adapted by the writer(s), become the literary and conceptual components that either structure a particular segment of the revelation or amplify its meaning.<sup>65</sup>

In I Enoch 19, 24-25, 32, 34-36, 43, 60:11-18, and 69:21, we find examples in which biblical language, phraseology, and images have been expanded and amplified.<sup>66</sup> These allusions and images are used to elaborate the apocalyptic visions which serve in I Enoch as the medium of revelation. In the process of weaving together and developing these images, the apocalypticist has drawn upon historical and religious traditions. In this use of scriptural material, we observe how the events of primordial history have been connected with the events of the end-time.<sup>67</sup> One of the purposes of apocalyptic writing is to reveal the "secrets of the ages", that is God's purposes in the past, the present, and the future. This becomes the controlling factor in the revelatory interpretation of the scriptural traditions. Furthermore, in a number of passages the messiah is identified and described by the use of scriptural references.<sup>68</sup> The messianic figure in these examples is part of the apocalypticist's

---

<sup>65</sup>See e.g. I Enoch 6-10 (Gen. 6:1-13), 18:12-19:3, 21:1-10, 22:5-7, and 103:1ff.

<sup>66</sup>Hammill, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 112-15.

<sup>67</sup>See I Enoch 6-11 and 85-90.

<sup>68</sup>See I Enoch 46:1-3 (Dan. 7), 48:1-5 (Is. 42:1, 49:6, Ps. 72:9-11), 49:3-4 (Is. 11:1-2), and 105:2 (Ps. 2:7). Note that three of the four references are from the "similitudes". The issue of the date of the "similitudes" (especially since they alone among the component parts of I Enoch were not found even in fragmentary form at Qumran) has provoked considerable discussion, and there is still much uncertainty regarding the evaluation of the evidence. Milik has attempted to demonstrate that the "similitudes" are of Christian origin and from the third century A.D., but his reconstruction is by no means certain. See Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael E. Stone, "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes," Harvard Theological Review 70 (January-April 1977):51-65; M.A. Knibb, "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review," New Testament Studies 25 (April 1979):345-59; Christopher L. Mearns, "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch," New Testament Studies 25 (April 1979):360-69; and J.T. Milik, ed., The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 4-7 and 89-98.

revelation, and he is understood in light of certain scriptural passages which appear to lend themselves to a messianic interpretation.

Contained within II Esdras in chapters 3-14 is the Jewish apocalypse commonly identified as IV Ezra.<sup>69</sup> In this writing, we find a number of isolated historical and scriptural references.<sup>70</sup> In still other examples, the writer has used scriptural material to reconstruct historical résumés.<sup>71</sup> These serve the writer in the development and structuring of his apocalypse by setting the stage for the description of his contemporary situation. They provide the apocalyptist with conceptual and historical material which he uses to construct the literary account of his visions. In 4:8, 7:17, 7:132-36, and 8:34, the apocalyptist draws upon word images and scriptural allusions to express his religious and theological message.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in 7:30ff, the writer has used scriptural material to describe his vision of the messianic kingdom. In effect, this connects the events of the past with the events that are about to take place in the future. IV Ezra supplies further evidence of the way scripture is used in apocalyptic writing, and it provides yet another source of information concerning Paul's use of scripture.<sup>73</sup>

### Scripture in the Literature of Qumran

#### The Faith of the Community

The covenanters of Qumran conceived of themselves as a community of the "last days"; they believed that they were living in the end-time.

---

<sup>69</sup>Nickelsburg, Jewish Literature, p. 287.

<sup>70</sup>IV Ezra 6:8, 7:129-30, 9:29-30, and 13:44.

<sup>71</sup>IV Ezra 3:1-27, 6:38-54, and 7:106-11.

<sup>72</sup>Cf. Dt. 30:12f, 8:1; Ex. 34:6; Neh. 9:17; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; and Ps. 86:15.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. IV Ezra 4:8 and Rom. 10:6-8; and IV Ezra 10:25-28, 42-45, 13:36, and Gal. 4:21ff. The probable post-Pauline dating of this work must be kept in mind when drawing comparisons between IV Ezra and the epistles.

Furthermore, the sectaries were convinced that the words of God's prophets found in scripture spoke about the end-time which was now on the verge of being fulfilled. As heirs of the covenant, the Qumran sectaries perceived that they occupied a central place in God's plan of salvation which was now about to be completed.<sup>74</sup> It was this design in history, established by God,<sup>75</sup> which had been revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness and to the community. In the veiled words of the prophets, God had spoken of the end-time and of his elect people. But it was not until he had revealed the content of these words that their meaning could be understood.<sup>76</sup> Through the words of the prophets and

---

<sup>74</sup>The following works address various aspects and manifestations of this outlook: Otto Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, no. 6 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), pp. 14-15 and 86-87; William H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation Among Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," The Biblical Archaeologist XIV (September 1951):60f; F.F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, Exegetica Series (The Haag: Uitgeverij van Keulen N.V., 1959), pp. 8ff; F.F. Bruce, "The Dead Sea Habakkuk Scroll," The Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society I (1958-1959):7; Millar Burrows, "Prophecy and Prophets at Qumran," in Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in honor of James Muilenburg, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 226ff; Karl Elliger, Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, no. 15 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953), pp. 150ff; Maurya P. Horgan, Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 8 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), p. 248; Eva Osswald, "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentars," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 68 (1956):247ff; Bleddyn J. Roberts, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Scriptures," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 36 (1953-1954):76ff; Cecil Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," Vetus Testamentum X (January 1960):52ff; Vermes, "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting," in Post-Biblical Jewish Studies (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), p. 44; and P. Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," Studia Theologica IX (1956):63.

<sup>75</sup>See IQS 3:15-17.

<sup>76</sup>See Betz, Offenbarung, pp. 14-15, 82; William H. Brownlee, The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, no. 24 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 28ff; Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, pp. 8-9; Horgan, Pesharim, p. 248; and Vermes, "Qumran Interpretation," pp. 44-46. Cf. Lou H. Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (IQpHab.)," Revue de Qumran 3 (November 1961):326-34.

their inspired interpretation by the Teacher of Righteousness, the Qumran sect understood their history to have been foretold in the words of scripture.<sup>77</sup> To them the mysteries of God's plan had been revealed; the secrets of the ages had been made manifest among the men of "knowledge" and "understanding". The fact that an interpreter of the mysteries of God had been raised up was confirmation that the end-time was at hand.<sup>78</sup> To the sectaries, God had revealed the "hidden things" of history which still remained veiled to those outside the covenant. The community was the remnant of God's people and to them belonged the special revelation which made it possible to know the will of God.<sup>79</sup>

It is against this background that Karl Elliger, in his work of three decades ago on the Habakkuk Peshar, sought to identify two underlying hermeneutical principles: 1) the prophetic proclamation has as its content the end-time and 2) the present is the end-time.<sup>80</sup> These hermeneutical presuppositions guided the biblical interpreter, and they provided him with a religious context for understanding the words of the prophets. It was in the interaction between the interpreter's religious understanding based on a special revelation of God and the words of the texts themselves that the interpreter sought to uncover the meaning of the prophet's message for his community.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> See Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections," p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, p. 9.

<sup>79</sup> Betz, Offenbarung, pp. 14-15. A word study of significant terms found in the Qumran literature -- e.g. רז, דעת, אמת, סתר, and ברית -- further substantiates the points we have been making. See these terms as listed by Karl Georg Kuhn, Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960).

<sup>80</sup> Elliger, Habakuk-Kommentar, p. 150. See also Osswald, "Zur Hermeneutik," pp. 247ff.

<sup>81</sup> See Bruce, Biblical Exegesis, pp. 8ff and Vermes, "Qumran Interpretation," pp. 44-46.

The manner in which this was carried out and the emphasis which the expositor placed on each aspect of the interpretative process have been a matter of debate.<sup>82</sup> While we cannot enter into this debate directly, we can assert that the inspired interpretation of scripture by the sectaries moved in two directions. First, the interpreter came to the biblical material with the conviction that the meaning of God's purposes had been revealed to the covenant community of which he was a part. Second, through a detailed and sometimes manipulative treatment of the text, the interpreter discovered that the truth of his religious understanding had been foretold by God's prophets. Hence, the interpreter saw the events of contemporary history, as well as of the future, set before him in the words of scripture.<sup>83</sup>

### Pesher

The word pesher has tended to become a technical term used to identify and describe the interpretative documents from Qumran which use the word "pēšer" to introduce the interpretations of biblical texts.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup>See e.g. the different perspectives exhibited by the following scholars: Elliger, Habakuk-Kommentar, pp. 149-65; Betz, Offenbarung, pp. 14ff, 82ff, 98ff and 140ff; Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 60-76; and Silberman, "Riddle," pp. 323-34. See also Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, supp. vol., s.v. "Interpretation, History of at Qumran," by G. Vermes. He identifies six forms of exegesis: 1) pesher, 2) mid-rashic paraphrase of larger units -- e.g. Genesis Apocryphon, 3) mid-rashic paraphrase of smaller units -- used to illustrate a specific issue, 4) a collection of proof-texts -- 4Q Test., 5) collection of "legal texts" arranged by subject matter -- e.g. CD, and 6) collection of doctrinal texts arranged according to themes -- e.g. 4Q Flor. In addition, he cites midrashic supplement, halakic interpretation, and the fulfilment of prophecy as methods of exegesis.

<sup>83</sup>The word study by Isaac Rabinowitz illustrates vividly the "presaged" aspect of the pesher documents. See Isaac Rabinowitz, "'Pēšer/Pittārōn': Its Biblical Meaning and Its Significance in the Qumran Literature," Revue de Qumran 8 (March 1973):219-32.

<sup>84</sup>The relationship between the term pesher and the genre of literature commonly identified by this term is still being debated. See e.g. George Brooke, "Qumran Pesher: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre," Revue de Qumran 10 (December 1981):483-503.

For our purposes only a few brief remarks regarding semantics and literary structure are required.

According to M.P. Horgan, the semitic root 𐤏𐤔𐤏 appears in Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Arabic and has the meaning "to loosen" or "to dissolve".<sup>85</sup> In Akkadian, this root appears in the first half of the second millenium B.C., and from it the Hebrew word "pēšer" is derived.<sup>86</sup> Together, the simple and intensive conjugations of the Akkadian verbal form of the root, 𐤏𐤔𐤏, convey various meanings: "loosen", "release", "report", "explain", "unravel", or "interpret". The Hebrew form of this root appears as a noun in Qoheleth 8:1 and Ben Sira 38:14. In the Qoheleth passage the word has the sense of "interpretation" or "loosen".<sup>87</sup> The term in Ben Sira appears to have a similar connotation, but in this context it refers to the "interpretation" of symptoms by a physician.<sup>88</sup>

In the Qumran literature, the root 𐤏𐤔𐤏 is used almost exclusively as a formula of introduction, and it is usually understood to convey the idea of "interpretation" or "explanation". It should be noted, however, that Isaac Rabinowitz has argued that "pēšer" does not convey primarily the notion of "meaning" or "interpretation"; and because of this, the so-called pesharim ought not to be regarded as exegetical or expositional writings.<sup>89</sup> From his examination of the various forms of 𐤏𐤔𐤏 and 𐤏𐤔𐤏

---

<sup>85</sup>Horgan, Pesharim, p. 231.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. the LXX which renders the Hebrew word as λύσις.

<sup>88</sup>In biblical Aramaic, the root occurs both as a verb and as a noun and, once again, the idea of "interpret" or "interpretation" is conveyed. It appears in Daniel in connection with the interpretation of dreams and of the cryptic message on the wall at Belshazzar's banquet (see Daniel, chaps. 2, 4, and 5). In Mishnaic Hebrew, the root appears only in the verbal form, but continues to convey the notion of "loosening" or "dissolving" (Horgan, Pesharim, p. 233).

<sup>89</sup>Rabinowitz, "Pēsher/Pittārōn," p. 219.

in Genesis 40-41 and Daniel, he concludes that "pēšer" ought to be rendered "presage".<sup>90</sup> According to him, the term never means simply an "interpretation" but rather a "presaged" reality.<sup>91</sup> Hence "pēšer", as a literary composition, sets forth the realities thought to be "presaged" by a part of scripture -- whether fulfilled or awaiting fulfilment -- and the person or epoch upon whom this reality had come or would come in the future.<sup>92</sup> Although Rabinowitz may have isolated an important dimension of the meaning of "pēšer", it does not seem that his conclusions exclude, as decisively as he has argued, the notion that the pesharim documents were also expository and were intended to uncover the true meaning of the prophetic words.<sup>93</sup>

As is well known, the most conspicuous structural feature of the pesharim is the stylized manner in which a portion of the prophetic text is quoted followed by an interpretation which is introduced by a "pēšer" formula. Significant modifications of this basic structure occur,<sup>94</sup> but only one needs to be discussed. In IQpHab 1:16-2:10 a vivid example of the way in which the interpreter has made explicit his application of the prophetic text is found. The structure of this interpretation includes a three-fold application of the scriptural passage (Habakkuk 1:5): 1) it concerns the unfaithful, along with the man of lies, who did not receive the words of the Teacher of Righteousness (a "pēšer" formula perhaps ought to be restored to the text), 2) it applies to those who were unfaithful to the new [covenant] (ויעל),

---

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 221ff.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., pp. 225-26.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>93</sup>Cf. Horgan, Pesharim, pp. 236-37, and see Brownlee, Midrash Peshar, pp. 23 and 28.

<sup>94</sup>See e.g. IQpHab 2:16-3:2, 5:12-6:8, and 9:12-10:5.

and 3) it concerns the traitors or the unfaithful of the "last days" ([על] וכן פשר הדבר). In this text, the writer has cited the biblical passage; and by the three-fold use of introductory formulae, he has applied the prophetic words directly to his own generation.<sup>95</sup>

Finally, reference must be made to the possible use of variant readings and the apparent manipulation of the biblical text by the Qumran writers.<sup>96</sup> A extended discussion of this issue, however, is not necessary for our purposes. Hence, we can confine ourselves to the identification of a few examples which appear to illustrate this feature of sectarian interpretation. The author, in IQpHab 8:3, has read הון (wealth) instead of הַיַּיִן (wine).<sup>97</sup> It is possible that the writer modified the reading of his text, but it is equally possible that he knew variant readings and chose the one which was most appropriate for his interpretation. This is perhaps substantiated by the fact that the textual tradition regarding this sentence is not undivided.<sup>98</sup> In IQpHab 6:8 the interpreter has dropped the "Hē" interrogative from his quotation of Habakkuk 1:17. Thus, the passage is to be rendered as a declarative sentence. The uncertainty implied in the interrogative has been removed; that which the prophet spoke shall indeed come to pass. Other examples of text manipulation can perhaps be identified in IQpHab 3:8-9 and 4:16-5:8.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup>The way the interpreter's view and anticipation of the "end-time" has influenced his use of Habakkuk's prophecy is seen perhaps best in IQpHab 6:12-7:5, 7:5-8, and 7:9-14. In this series of prophetic verses, the writer finds confirmation that his community is living in the "last days" and that the mysteries of God have been revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness and to the community.

<sup>96</sup>Cf. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 60-62.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. variant readings for Hab. 2:5.

<sup>98</sup>Cf. NEB, RSV, and Jerusalem translations of Hab. 2:5.

<sup>99</sup>See Brownlee, Midrash Peshar, pp. 69 and 88 respectively.

The Damascus, Community, and War Rules

In the Damascus Rule 6:3f, Numbers 21:18 is cited: "The well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with a rod." In the explanation which follows, the well is said to be the law and those who dug the well were the converts of Israel who went out of Judah into Damascus.<sup>100</sup> For the writer, Torah was something to be dug, unearthed, explained, interpreted.<sup>101</sup> The language is figurative, but the implication is clear. The meaning of Torah was to be uncovered by the interpreter.

Among the explicit scriptural quotations in the Qumran literature -- that is exclusive of the pesher documents and 4Q Testimonia -- Joseph Fitzmyer has identified four categories of usage: 1) literal and historical texts, 2) modernized texts, 3) accommodated texts, and 4) eschatological texts.<sup>102</sup> In the first category, the quotations are used in basically the same way as they were used in the Bible itself.<sup>103</sup> The writers in the modernized group, according to Fitzmyer, used scriptural passages which referred to specific events, but which were sufficiently vague to allow them to be reapplied easily to some new or contemporary event.<sup>104</sup> In the third category he has placed those texts in which the scriptural material has been accommodated to a new situation and in which the original context has been largely disregarded.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> See below, p. 266. Cf. Brownlee's explanation of how this connection was made, "Biblical Interpretation," pp. 55ff.

<sup>101</sup> See the various meanings of  $\text{רָחַף}$ -BDB., p. 343.

<sup>102</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," in Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), pp. 17-52. See also his discussion of introductory formulae, pp. 7ff. Cf. Fred L. Horton, "Formulas of Introduction in the Qumran Literature," Revue de Qumran 7 (December 1971):505-14.

<sup>103</sup> Fitzmyer, "Old Testament Quotations," pp. 17ff.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21ff. <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33ff.

Finally, the eschatological class of texts are those in which the Qumran writer has understood the biblical passages as finding their fulfilment in the end-time.<sup>106</sup> To be sure, the citations in these documents can be categorized according to the way in which the biblical text has been applied, as Fitzmyer has done, but for our purposes the structural and thematic relationship between the individual scriptural quotation and the literary context in which it has been placed by the author is perhaps more significant.

In this regard, the basic structure consists of an opening statement, an introductory formula, and a scriptural citation which is intended to substantiate the opening statement. In its simplest form, there is no direct application, interpretation, or thematic elaboration of the quotation.<sup>107</sup> The force of the citation is directed primarily towards the statement with which the writer has prefaced his scriptural reference. More often, however, the quotation is followed by an application, interpretation, or elaboration of the biblical material.<sup>108</sup> In these examples, the writer has attempted, as in the simple form, to substantiate an opening statement, but he has also included either a direct application of the citation or an elaboration of themes related to it. In another text from the Damascus Rule, the scriptural reference is followed immediately by what may be described as a hortatory or

---

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., pp. 46ff. It is noteworthy that the large majority of the explicit quotations appear in the Damascus Rule.

<sup>107</sup>See CD 6:11-14, 7:14-15 (this reference perhaps ought to be included among the citations in the following footnote), 9:7-8, 11:17-18, 11:20-21, 16:14-15, IQM 10:6-8, and 11:5-7.

<sup>108</sup>See (Application) CD 3:20-4:2, 5:7-9, 6:3-11, 7:15-16, 7:18-21, and 8:9-12 (cf. also CD 8:14-16, IQS 8:13-16); (Interpretation) CD 4:12-18; (Elaboration) CD 1:13-14, 4:19-5:2, 7:8-9, 7:10-12, 9:2, 9:5, 10:16-17, IQS 5:15, 5:17-18, and IQM 11:11-12 (cf. also CD 3:7, IQM 10:1-2). In some of these examples, more than one explicit citation has been brought to bear upon a particular discussion.

didactic statement.<sup>109</sup> The structural relationship between the citations in these documents and the quotations in the Pauline epistles will become apparent in chapter four.<sup>110</sup>

#### 4Q Florilegium and 4Q Testimonia

In the first section of 4Q Florilegium,<sup>111</sup> the text under consideration is II Samuel 7:10-14. Following the quotation of II Samuel 7:10 in the opening lines, the writer identifies the house (הַבַּיִת) which he will build in the "last days" with the sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדֹנָי) referred to in Exodus 15:17c-18. It is possible that the connection between II Samuel 7:10 and Exodus 15:17c-18 has come about by means of an association between בַּיִת and מִקְדָּשׁ. While בַּיִת does not occur in II Samuel 7:10, it appears a number of times in II Samuel 7:1-18, and one of the important themes in these verses is the interplay between the בַּיִת of the Lord and the בַּיִת of David. That the Qumran interpreter had the "house" in

---

<sup>109</sup>CD 16:6-7. Vermes translates the statement following the quotation: "... let no man, even at the price of death, annul any binding oath by which he has sworn to keep a commandment of the law."

<sup>110</sup>See below, pp. 86-95.

<sup>111</sup>4Q Flor 1-13. The title 4Q Florilegium is really a misnomer, because this document is neither in structure nor apparently in intent an anthology or a "testimonia" type of composition (cf. J.M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrāšim," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVII [December 1958]:350. See also J.M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXV [September 1956]:174ff and William R. Lane, "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVIII [December 1959]:343-46). William Lane concluded that the document may have included originally two or more independent interpretative works. In the fragments that have been preserved, however, we have only the conclusion of one interpretation and the beginning of another (Lane, "Commentary Structure," pp. 343-46). The two works contained in these fragments are different in manner of interpretation from the known pesharim; but in fact they may be a modified form of pesharim in which additional scriptural material has been used to elucidate the biblical text under examination. Whether or not it is helpful to identify the form of 4Q Florilegium in light of the pesharim (the expression [פ]שַׁר הַדְּבָר [ר] occurs in lines 14 and 19), it is evident that the writer has associated and interpreted the biblical passages in a midrashic manner (in line 11 the term דְּוֹרֵשׁ occurs, and in line 14 the word דְּרַשׁ [מ] appears).

mind is confirmed in line three where this connection is made explicit. The presence of מִקְדָּשׁ in Exodus 15:17c cannot be associated with תְּבֵינָה on the basis of a verbal tally, but it is possible, if not likely, that the connection has been made because the Qumran writer has understood both words as referring to the same thing, that is the temple/community of the "last days".<sup>112</sup> In the explanation which follows the citation from Exodus 15:17c-18, the writer has used both תְּבֵינָה (line three) and מִקְדָּשׁ (twice in line six). Hence, we can affirm the importance of words and images from the scriptural material in the development of the writer's interpretative statement.<sup>113</sup>

Following the explanation in 3b-7a, the writer introduces and cites II Samuel 7:11b. This is accompanied by an interpretation in lines 7b-9 after which the writer quotes from II Samuel 7:11c-14. The Qumran author has identified the promise of God to David -- that he would raise up descendants for him -- with the coming of the "branch of David" (צֶמַח דָּוִד) who will arise with the "interpreter of the Torah" (הַדּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה). In this section, the theme of the interpretation centres around the fulfilment in the "last days" of the promise to David that his "seed" would be raised up and that his throne would be established forever. In support of this interpretation, the writer cites Amos 9:11.<sup>114</sup> If Silberman's argument is correct, the interpreter has read סוּכָה (cf. צֶמַח -- "branch") instead of סוּכָה ("booth" -- "tabernacle") in Amos 9:11.<sup>115</sup> The reading of different vowels has allowed him to

<sup>112</sup>See the discussion about the "eschatological temple" by D. Flusser, "Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam VII," Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959):99ff.

<sup>113</sup>In the reference to 2 Sam. 7:11c (4Q Flor 10), the Qumran writer returns to the "house" theme.

<sup>114</sup>Cf. CD 7:15-16 and 4QP Bless.

<sup>115</sup>See Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, s.v. סוּכָה. The rendering "limb" or "branch" is supported here.

interpret the Amos passage, "And I will raise up the fallen branch (or shoot) of David."<sup>116</sup> Thus, the identification is made between זַרְעֵךְ in II Samuel 7:12 and the סוֹכַת דָּוִד (read instead of סוֹכַת דָּוִד) in Amos 9:11. And the writer has understood the סוֹכַת דָּוִד as the דָּוִד חַמָּץ in line eleven.<sup>117</sup> If in fact this was the procedure used by the Qumran interpreter, the reading of different vowels and the association of related words has resulted in a distinctive interpretation of the biblical material.

The second section of this document begins at line fourteen with a citation from Psalm 1:1. The interpretation which accompanies the quotation is introduced by פֶּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר [ר]; and following this interpretation, the writer quotes from Isaiah 8:11. With only a brief statement of application and introduction intervening, he continues the discussion by citing Ezekiel 44:10. In this section, the writer makes reference to Psalm 1:1; and by the inclusion of references to Isaiah and Ezekiel seeks to elucidate the meaning of the Psalm verse. Finally, in line eighteen, the Qumran writer quotes Psalm 2:1, and once again he accompanies the scriptural reference with a peshet interpretation. This discussion of 4Q Florilegium illustrates the importance of words and images, as well as the association of biblical passages, in the midrashic method of argumentation.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup>See Lou H. Silberman, "A Note on 4Q Florilegium," Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVIII (June 1959):158. In CD the "books of the Law" are identified as the "tabernacle". The point of contact between this text and CD 7:15-16 appears to be in the fact that the "branch" (or חֲבֵט?) is to be the "interpreter of Torah".

<sup>117</sup>Ibid., pp. 158-59.

<sup>118</sup>For further comparison see the "catenae" 4Q 177, 182, and 183 (especially 4Q 177). See J. Strugnell, "Notes en Marge du Volume V des <Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan>," Revue de Qumran 7 (April 1970):236-37. See also 11Q Melch (cf. the use of Is. 52:7 in Rom. 10:15 and 11Q Melch).

Arranged in four groups, 4Q Testimonia presents five scriptural quotations without accompanying interpretations. The basis for the connection between the scriptural references appears to be in the threat of destruction which concludes each of the sections: 1) to those not listening to the words of the prophet,<sup>119</sup> 2) to the enemies of the star and sceptre, 3) to the enemies and adversaries of the priests, and 4) to the one who rebuilds the city.<sup>120</sup> For our purposes, the significance of 4Q Testimonia is in the manner in which uninterpreted scriptural passages have been linked and in the fact that it provides evidence for the existence of a Jewish "testimonia" type of document prior to the composition of the New Testament.<sup>121</sup>

#### Selected Methods of Rabbinic Scriptural Use

##### Qal Waḥomer

The first principle of scriptural interpretation attributed to Hillel and one which is encountered frequently in Jewish literature is referred to as qal waḥomer.<sup>122</sup> In this form of interpretation, it is

---

<sup>119</sup>The reason for the combination of Dt. 5:28-29 and 18:18-19 is perhaps not evident, but it may be noteworthy that the expression הִיטִיבָה כָּל-אִשֶׁר דִּבְרָה in Dt. 5:28 also occurs in Dt. 18:17 (כִּי is omitted in the MT, but it is included in some versions) in the clause immediately preceding the verse (18:18) which the Qumran writer has quoted. We can only speculate, but this may have been the basis for the association of these two passages. For an apparent connection with the Samaritan Pentateuch (Ex. 20:21) see Patrick W. Skehan, "The Period of the Biblical Texts from Khirbet Qumrān," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 19 (October 1957):435.

<sup>120</sup>The final section includes a reference to Josh. 6:26 which is accompanied by a citation from the "Psalms of Joshua".

<sup>121</sup>See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'4Q Testimonia' and the New Testament," in Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), pp. 61ff. Note the composite citations in Romans: 3:10-18, 9:25-29, 10:15-21, 11:8-10, 11:26-27, and 15:9-12. Cf. also 11:33-36.

<sup>122</sup>The relationship between Hillel and the seven "middoth" has been discussed repeatedly by scholars (see e.g. John Bowker, The Targums, pp. 315-18; H. Grätz, "Hillel und seine sieben Interpretationregeln," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums [1851-1852]: 156-62; Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash

asserted that that which applies in a case of lesser importance will be valid also in a case of greater importance. The converse of this principle is also considered to be true. According to Genesis Rabbah 92:7, there are ten examples of this form of argumentation in the Jewish scriptures themselves.<sup>123</sup> All of these pericopae, with the exception of Numbers 12:14, are examples of "non legal" argumentation and illustration based on an "a fortiori" type of reasoning. In Numbers 12:14, a "legal" decision is apparently based on a qal wahomer form

---

[Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1931], pp. 93-94; and S. Zeitlin, "Hillel and the Hermeneutical Rules," Jewish Quarterly Review LIV [October, 1963]:161-73); and despite arguments to the contrary, it is probable that these methods of argumentation and interpretation were not simply the innovation of one person. The more likely explanation is that they developed gradually in certain Jewish circles as customary patterns of usage. At some point in the development of the tradition, they were compiled and ascribed to Hillel. Further support for the gradual development of these forms of biblical usage is provided by the fact that some of them appear already in scripture itself. If we are correct in our assertion that these "middoth" developed gradually, we can assert that they were the product of Judaism's concern with scripture and that they were considered, at least in some circles, to be the boundaries within which scripture was to be used. Although the seven "middoth" and subsequently the thirteen and thirty-two "middoth" received some kind of sanction within rabbinic Judaism, it would be inaccurate to assert that by the end of the first century A.D. they had become the commonly accepted standards by which interpretative conclusions were to be accepted or rejected. There were factions in Judaism, and disagreements over points of interpretation often centred around the methods which were used to expound the various points of view (cf. the schools of Shammai and Hillel). See also the differing accounts of Hillel before the bene Bathyra (PT. Pes. VI:1, BT. Pes. 66a, and Tos. Pes. IV:1-3).

<sup>123</sup>Gen. 44:8, Ex. 6:12, Dt. 31:27, Numb. 12:14, Jer. 12:5 (2), I Sam. 23:3, Prv. 11:31, Esther 9:12, and Ezek. 15:5. In Genesis 44:8, Exodus 6:12, and Jeremiah 12:5, the minor element is connected with the major element by the interrogative adverb הַכֵּן ("how?" In the LXX it is translated as ὡς); and the force of this word implies an "expostulation" or an "attempt to reason with someone" (BDB. p. 32). Deuteronomy 31:27, I Samuel 23:3, Proverbs 11:31, and Ezekiel 15:5 are also scriptural examples of "qal wahomer", but in these cases the argument is connected structurally by the use of the conjunction וְ. This word can denote "addition, especially of something greater" (BDB. p. 64. In Dt. 31:27, I Sam. 23:3, and Prv. 11:31, the LXX translates it ὡς/ὡς, whereas in Ezek. 15:5, which is an argument from the major to the minor, it is translated μὴ ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ), and in these contexts this appears to be the force of its meaning.

of deduction. In rabbinic literature, of course, qal wahomer is also employed as a method of argumentation.<sup>124</sup>

As we can see from the examples found in scripture itself, qal wahomer is not strictly a "legal" form of interpretation, but in some cases is a type of illustration or argumentation which does not relate directly to the interpretation of scriptural teaching. It can be a way of elaborating "legal" material, but it may also be a method of illustrating a story or making a religious point. The primary requirement of this manner of reasoning is that the initial element have some claim to being authoritative or to being accepted as true by the readers or hearers. Once this is established, the argument can be developed on the basis of an underlying connection between the two elements.<sup>125</sup>

#### Gezerah Shawah

Gezerah shawah means literally "equal laws",<sup>126</sup> but it came to

---

<sup>124</sup>To cite a few examples, in M. Aboth 1:5, M. Hullin 12:5, BT. Hullin 24a, BT. Bekoroth 4a, Genesis Rabbah 65:7, and the Mekilta to Exodus 18:21, the words קל וחומר serve to connect a minor element with a major one. Other examples of this form of interpretation also occur, but with different verbal combinations. In BT. Berakoth 48b and BT. Shabbath 63a, the words וכל שכן appear, and they have the connotation of "so much the more, a matter of course" (M. Jastrow, Dictionary, p. 638). A similiar form of argument is employed in M. Arakhin 8:4, M. Makkoth 3:15, M. Aboth 6:3, BT. Sanhedrin 9a, and BT. Kiddushin 31a, but here too a different combination of words structures the argument: על אחת כמה וכמה ... (ומה מי or מה כן) ... Finally in M. Yebamoth 8:3, BT. Yebamoth 46b, and the Mekilta to Exodus 19:10, the argument is constructed with the words ומה אם ... אינן דין (Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 5 vols. (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1922-1956), III:223-26).

<sup>125</sup>In the Pauline epistles examples of qal wahomer are found in Rom. 5:9, 5:10, 5:15, 5:17, 11:12, 11:24, II Cor. 3:8, 3:9, and 3:11. Modified forms of this type of argument perhaps appear in Rom. 6:4, 6:19, 8:17, 8:32; I Cor. 15:12, 15:22; Gal. 4:7, 4:29; I Thess. 4:4; Col. 2:20 and 3:1. See also Mt. 6:30, 7:11, 10:25; Lk. 11:13, 12:24, and 12:28.

<sup>126</sup>See Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. "Hermeneutics," by Louis Jacobs; Saul Lieberman, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs, and Manners of Palestine in the I Century BCE-IV Century CE, 2nd ed. Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, no. 18 (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962), pp. 58-59; and Zeitlin, "Hermeneutical Rules," p. 161.

apply to the comparison of similar verbal expressions.<sup>127</sup> If the same or similar words appear in two texts, the law which pertains in one applies also to the other. Once again, this form of interpretation and elaboration is present in the rabbinic literature.<sup>128</sup> Similar to *gezerah shawah* are two specific forms of interpretation based on analogy. "Hekesh" means the analogy of "equal subjects",<sup>129</sup> and "semukhim" pertains to the juxtaposition of laws in adjacent verses.<sup>130</sup> As we shall see in parts two and three, verbal and thematic links are integral to Paul's use of scripture and manner of argumentation.<sup>131</sup>

#### Other Methods Attributed to Hillel

The third and fourth "middoth" are related to each other. The first of these is the building up of a family from a single text.<sup>132</sup> When a similar expression is present in a number of passages, then a consideration that pertains in one of them applies to the others as well.<sup>133</sup> The second of these methods is the building up of a family

---

<sup>127</sup>See Bonsirven, Exégèse, pp. 88ff; Jacobs, "Hermeneutics,"; and Lieberman, Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, pp. 60f.

<sup>128</sup>In BT. Pesahim 66a, for example, it is argued that since the phrase "at its appointed time" occurs in Numbers 9:3 (the account of the "tamid") and 28:2 (the Passover account) the law which applies to the "tamid" applies also to the Passover (for further examples see M. Hul. 5:5 (Gen. 1:5 and Lev. 22:28), M. Ket. 4:6 (cf. M. Ket. 13:3), and M. Betzah 1:6 (Dt. 18:3 and Num. 15:17-21). This pericope, moreover, states that an argument based on *gezerah shawah* cannot be set forth on its own accord, but must be based on a tradition.

<sup>129</sup>Zeitlin, "Hermeneutical Rules," pp. 161ff.

<sup>130</sup>Jacobs, "Hermeneutics," p. 368.

<sup>131</sup>Cf. Mk. 2:25-28 (Ex. 23:12, Dt. 5:14, I Sam. 21:1-6), Mt. 21:3f (Is. 62:11, Zech. 9:9), Lk. 6:3-5 (Dt. 5:14, 23:25, Ex. 20:10, Lev. 24:5-9, I Sam. 21:1-6), Acts 2:25-35 (Ps. 16:8-11, Ps. 110.1), and Acts 13:34 (Is. 55:3, Ps. 16:10).

<sup>132</sup>See Bowker, Targums, p. 315 and Jan Willem Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1954), pp. 67-68.

<sup>133</sup>In Siphre to Deuteronomy 17:2, we find an example of the way this norm applies. Since "if there is found" occurs in the text of

from two texts. A principle derived from two passages can be applied also to other pericopae.<sup>134</sup>

The fifth method attributed to Hillel concerns the use of the general and the particular. In other words, a principle may be restricted or extended by its use in another verse. In the sixth norm, it is asserted that a difficult point of interpretation may be clarified by reference to another similar text. And the final method attributed to Hillel indicates that the context of a passage may be used to determine its meaning.<sup>135</sup> Since these last three "middoth" are straightforward, examples need not be cited for illustration. It suffices to say that reasoning by analogy plays an important role in these so-called rules of interpretation.<sup>136</sup>

#### Concluding Remarks

In his old but still instructive study on the use of scripture in the Mishnah with special emphasis on the way the rabbis understood שפ,<sup>137</sup> Samuel Rosenblatt set forth some of the assumptions with which

---

Deuteronomy 17:2 and is followed in 17:6 by the words, "on the evidence of two witnesses or of three witnesses", it is concluded that in every passage where "there is found" is used in the sense of detecting an offence, judgment can be administered only on the testimony of two witnesses.

<sup>134</sup>See Bowker, Targums, p. 315 and Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, pp. 67-68. In Exodus 21:26-27, it is stated that if a man strikes out the eye or tooth of his servant he shall allow that servant to go free. The Mekilta elaborates this principle and applies it to other limbs which do not regenerate themselves.

<sup>135</sup>See Bowker, Targums, p. 315 and Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, pp. 69-71. Jeremias has argued that the final three forms of interpretation attributed to Hillel can all be found in Paul (in Rom. 13:9, Gal. 5:14; Gal. 3:8; Rom. 4:10-11a, and Gal. 3:17 respectively). See J. Jeremias, "Paulus als Hillelit," pp. 93-94.

<sup>136</sup>The thirteen "middoth" of R. Ishmael and the thirty-two norms of interpretation attributed to R. Eliezer ben Jose haGelili are refinements and expansions of the earlier seven rules (Bowker, Targums, pp. 317-18).

<sup>137</sup>Samuel Rosenblatt, The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935).

the rabbis approached the use of biblical texts. Because they assumed that the Pentateuch was written by a single person, the rabbis were under compulsion to eliminate any contradictions which might appear in the material. Furthermore, since the Pentateuch was considered to be a unity, it was presupposed that one text could be used to interpret another.<sup>138</sup> Likewise, because no linguistic or conceptual development in scripture was recognized by the rabbis, the meaning an expression had in one context was normally considered to be the same as it had in another.<sup>139</sup> According to Rosenblatt, one of the principles of interpretation was that the stipulations of a law could not be made to go beyond the narrowest meaning implied in the phraseology.<sup>140</sup> They assumed that the meaning of biblical words was precise and that their broader meaning had to be indicated by repetition or some other form of expression.<sup>141</sup> He concludes that with certain reservations the rabbis of the Mishnah were engaged in what could be called "literal exegesis".<sup>142</sup> Regardless of whether or not Rosenblatt has overstated his case,<sup>143</sup> it is evident from his work that the rabbis were concerned with the "plain" sense of scripture.<sup>144</sup> Their interpretation was not simply arbitrary and fanciful, but it depended to a large extent on their assumptions about the nature of scripture. These presuppositions in turn determined how they set about to use and interpret the material before them.

---

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2.      <sup>139</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 3.      <sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 4. Cf. Raphael Loewe, "The 'Plain' Meaning of Scripture in Early Jewish Exegesis," in Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies London, vol. 1, ed. J.G. Weiss (Jerusalem: At the Magnus Press, 1964), pp. 181-84.

<sup>143</sup>The mishnah, of course, is not exegetical in the sense of being a commentary on the Bible.

<sup>144</sup>See, however, Porton's remarks regarding the difficulty in distinguishing between the "hidden" and "plain" meanings of scripture, "Defining Midrash," p. 59.

In conclusion, a few examples will be sufficient to illustrate the wider range of methods employed by the rabbis in their effort to discover the meaning of scripture, to ground tradition in the authority of the Bible, and to amplify halakah. The meaning of a text could be elaborated by the commentator simply to amplify what he perceived to be its message.<sup>145</sup> In some cases, the use of specific words was understood to imply the inclusion or exclusion of certain items;<sup>146</sup> and in other instances, the rabbis developed arguments from silence.<sup>147</sup> The development of a point sometimes turned on philological considerations,<sup>148</sup> and frequently texts were connected in order to elaborate an argument.<sup>149</sup> And as we find in the New Testament, scriptural references were often introduced with formulae.<sup>150</sup> Among the forms of interpretation identified by Z.H. Chajes,<sup>151</sup> it is worth noting that "common sense" was also a factor in the establishment of halakah.<sup>152</sup> Perhaps we can even say that to a certain extent rabbinic interpretation itself grew out of the trained observation or "common sense" of

---

<sup>145</sup> See e.g. Gen. Rabbah to Gen. 1:1 and BT. Pes. 22b (Lev. 17:12 and Dt. 12:23-24).

<sup>146</sup> See the Mekilta to Ex. 18:18. Here the particle  $\text{וְ}$  is used and is understood to imply the idea of "inclusion".

<sup>147</sup> See e.g. the Mekilta to Ex. 12:29. Cf. Rom. 4 and Paul's silence regarding the sacrifice of Isaac.

<sup>148</sup> See e.g. BT. Shab. 84b. Cf. Gal. 3:16.

<sup>149</sup> See e.g. BT. Shab. 20a (Ezek. 15:4 and Jer. 36:22) and BT. Ber. 18a (Prv. 19:17 and 14:31).

<sup>150</sup> See Bläser, "Schriftverwertung," pp. 155 and 163-64, and Bruce M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the NT and the Mishnah," Journal of Biblical Literature LXX (December 1951):297-307.

<sup>151</sup> Z.H. Chajes, The Student's Guide Through the Talmud, trans. Jacob Shachter (London: East and West Library, 1952), pp. 29ff.

<sup>152</sup> See e.g. BT. Baba Kamma 46b and BT. Ket. 22a.

the rabbis,<sup>153</sup> as they sought to apply their religious convictions and traditions to the world in which they lived.<sup>154</sup>

### Summary

It has been argued in chapter one that five developments are important for understanding the function of scripture in early Judaism: 1) the emergence of the synagogue, 2) the establishment of the "school" as a seat of Torah study, 3) the rise of scriptural authority and the conviction that the Bible is the Word of God, 4) the development of scriptural interpretation as an area of religious activity, and 5) the manner in which traditions were transmitted and became interwoven with the interpretation of scripture. In the synagogue, the Bible was read, translated, and expounded as the community gathered for prayer and worship. The need to nurture the faith of the people and to apply the Torah to varied life situations gave rise to halakah and haggadah; "legal" and "non-legal" material came to be distinguished in Jewish tradition. It has also been asserted that midrash as a method of interpretation normally, if not always, began with a scriptural text and proceeded to make it meaningful to people in the contemporary situation. But, as LeDéaut has indicated, Jewish interpreters appear not to have been as conscious of conforming their work to a literary genre as carrying out the task of actualizing a scriptural message within a developing tradition.

In chapter two it has been argued that in Ben Sira wisdom teaching and "legal" material from scripture have been brought together;

---

<sup>153</sup>Cf. David Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," Hebrew Union College Annual XXII (1949):256-57.

<sup>154</sup>Our comments regarding rabbinic methods of scriptural use have been limited to these brief remarks in part because of the considerable amount of scholarly literature which has already been devoted to Paul's use of rabbinic interpretative methods. See above, p.3.

the wisdom tradition frequently has been grounded in Torah. Furthermore, persons from Israel's history have been used in Ben Sira to serve as examples to be emulated by the writer's contemporaries. In Jubilees and LAB, biblical material has been paraphrased, amplified, clarified, and in some cases omitted in order to protect the image of God or a biblical person, to reflect doctrinal concerns, to avoid offending religious sensibilities, or to explain passages which might be unclear. It has been asserted that in I Enoch and IV Ezra the scriptural material has been used "structurally" and "anthologically". Moreover, for the writers of apocalyptic literature scripture was not the singular revelation of God; the biblical material was understood in light of the secret revelation which the author claimed to have received.

For the covenanters of Qumran, the words of the prophets pertained to the end-time which was thought presently to be on the verge of fulfillment. To the Teacher of Righteousness and to the community of "knowledge", God had unveiled the true meaning of scripture. Through the systematic interpretation of prophetic texts, the sectaries sought to uncover the message of God which until the present had remained hidden. This interpretation was governed in turn by the conviction that the community was the true covenant people of God. It has been noted that in the Damascus Rule the "well" is identified as the Torah and is something to be "dug". Furthermore, we have argued that in the Rules of the community the structure of the scriptural citations in relation to the contexts in which they have been placed by the writers displays a basic pattern: 1) opening statement, 2) introductory formula, and 3) quotation. In most cases, however, an application, interpretation, or elaboration of the biblical material also follows the citation. In addition, we have sought to show the manner in which words, images, and biblical texts have been used in the development of 4Q Florilegium. Finally, it has been noted that the linking of passages in 4Q Testimonia

appears to have taken place on the basis of the "threat" which concludes each section.

It has been asserted that in Jewish tradition qal wahomer can be a way of elaborating "legal" material but may also be a method of illustrating a story or developing a religious argument. Interpretation according to gezerah shawah is based on analogy, as are to some extent the other "middoth" ascribed to Hillel. It has been claimed that the use of scripture by the rabbis depended to a large degree on their assumptions about scripture and that in certain cases the rabbis amplified the message of a passage, excluded or included items according to the use of specific words, developed arguments from silence, used philological considerations, and associated texts in order to elaborate religious arguments. The use of scripture in early Judaism was diverse, but it was within this religious milieu that Paul learned the traditions of his people and developed his manner of using the biblical material. To him, we now direct the focus of our attention.

PART II

PAUL AND THE USE OF SCRIPTURE

### CHAPTER III

#### THE TEXT OF PAUL'S CITATIONS AND HIS MANNER OF QUOTING FROM SCRIPTURE

It is evident from the epistles that Paul has been influenced heavily by the Greek translation of the scriptures. The importance of the Hebrew Bible and the Targumim cannot be underestimated, but the influence of the Greek text on his use of language, scriptural allusion, and explicit quotations is impressive.<sup>1</sup> Yet the ways in which Paul has used the Greek text, both directly and indirectly, often make it difficult to distinguish clearly between the various levels of usage. As Ellis remarks, "The style and vocabulary of the apostle are such that it is often difficult to distinguish between quotation, allusion and language colouring from the OT."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Ellis has identified three basic forms of scriptural use: 1) "quotations proper", 2) "intentional and casual allusion", and 3) "dialectic and theological themes".<sup>3</sup> At this point, it is only the quotations that concern us. In the following discussion, the criteria for identifying the quotations have been the presence of an introductory formula and/or substantial verbal similarity with a Greek textual tradition. According to these criteria, ninety-nine instances have been designated

---

<sup>1</sup> Otto Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel, pp. 55-68.

<sup>2</sup> E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 10-11.

as quotations.<sup>4</sup> Among these, one hundred different scriptural passages can be identified.<sup>5</sup>

In the course of this discussion, we shall begin the process of determining the relationship between text and interpretation in Paul's use of scripture. Furthermore, this will illustrate Paul's method of quoting from the Bible and the degree to which he is free to adapt the text to the literary context of his epistles and the arguments which he sets before his readers.

Septuagint, Textual Tradition, and the Evidence  
of Hebrew Influence

Scholars have set forth a number of hypotheses concerning the origin and development of the LXX.<sup>6</sup> Throughout the early history of

---

<sup>4</sup>These quotations are found in Rom. (55), I Cor. (18), II Cor. (10), Gal. (10), Eph. (5), and Col. (1). See Appendix. Although there are no I.F., the quotations are short, and the Pauline contexts exhibit a casual style of use, I Cor. 15:25, Eph. 1:20, and Col. 3:1 (Ps. 110:1a and 1b) have been included in this number because of their verbal connection with the LXX. Those passages not included as quotations but exhibiting a degree of verbal similarity with the LXX are Rom. 3:20 (Ps. 143:2), 5:5 (cf. Ps. 22:6 and 25:20), 9:20 (Is. 29:16), 12:16 (Prv. 3:7), 12:17 (Prv. 3:4), II Cor. 3:16 (Ex. 34:33-35), 8:21 (Prv. 3:4), 9:7 (Prv. 22:8a), Eph. 5:2 (Ex. 29:18), 6:14 (cf. Is. 11:5 and 59:17), 6:15 (cf. Is. 52:7), Phil. 2:15 (Dt. 32:5), and Col. 2:22 (Is. 29:13).

<sup>5</sup>This figure reflects adjustments and judgments necessitated by the merged citations in the epistles and the double quotations in both testaments. Thirty-three are from the Pent., thirty-seven from the Prophets, twenty-seven are from the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (Ps. 110: 1a and 1b are counted separately), and three are from the Deuteronomic history. In all, seventeen books are quoted (sixteen if I Sam. is excluded. Cf. I Sam. 12:22, a double citation found in Ps. 93:14 LXX and cited by Paul in Rom. 11:2). Isaiah is the most frequently quoted book (twenty-eight passages cited thirty times) followed by the Psalms (twenty-one passages cited twenty-two times). See Appendix. Ellis' enumeration is slightly different because of the citations which he has not included and the way he has treated the double and questionable citations. Cf. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>E.g. see Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 1-73 and the following essays which have been collected and reprinted by S. Jellicoe, Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations-Selected Essays with a Prologomenon by Sidney Jellicoe, Library of Biblical Studies (New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1974); George Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," pp. 54-64; P. Katz, "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century:

scholarship on the origin of the LXX, and even until recent times, the "Letter of Aristeas" has been considered generally to be a reliable starting point. It has long been recognized that "Aristeas" contains legendary and apologetic material; but as a document which portrays the LXX as deriving from an archetypal text, it has had considerable influence on scholarship.<sup>7</sup> If the archetypal text model is adopted, then the task of scholarship is to work back critically from the major recensions of Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen in search of the primitive text. In this regard, the name of Paul Anton de Lagarde stands out. This nineteenth century student of the LXX devoted considerable effort to the reconstruction of the "trifaria varietas" as the initial phase in the retrieval of the archetypal text.<sup>8</sup> According to this hypothesis, the original text of the LXX passed through various recensions until eventually the text of scripture used by the early church was produced.<sup>9</sup>

---

Their Links with the Past and Their Present Tendencies," pp. 21-53; Harry M. Orlinsky, "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies," pp. 78-109; and J.W. Wevers, "Proto-Septuagint Studies," pp. 138-57. See also Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," Hebrew Union College Annual XLVI (1975): 89-114; Alexander Sperber, "The Problem of the Septuagint Recensions," Journal of Biblical Literature LIV (June 1935):73-92 and "New Testament and Septuagint," Journal of Biblical Literature LIX (June 1940):193-293 (especially p. 279); H. St. John Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, pp. 9ff; and Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text, ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 312. For a diagram of Cross' hypothesis see Carl Harris Marbury, "Old Testament Textual Traditions in the New Testament: Studies in Text-Types" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968), pp. 30-31. For further information on the study of the Septuagint, see also the entry by S.P. Brock in Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Band VI, Lieferung 1/2, pp. 163ff.

<sup>7</sup>Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 16-17 and Sidney Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study, pp. 29-58. See e.g. D.W. Gooding, "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies," Vetus Testamentum XIII (October 1963):357-79.

<sup>8</sup>Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup>See Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 17.

The study of LXX origins was largely confined to the archetypal model until Paul Kahle injected a new element into the discussion.<sup>10</sup> He argued that the origin of the LXX was analogous to the origin and development of the Targumim and the Vulgate. In other words, the origin of the LXX cannot be traced back to a single primitive text. The Greek translations of scripture emerged among the diaspora Jews originally as oral translations and were only subsequently written down.<sup>11</sup> It is fair to say, however, that Kahle's hypothesis has not found wide-spread support among students of the LXX.<sup>12</sup>

More recently, Emanuel Tov has set forth an hypothesis which he describes as a "theory of multiple textual traditions". On the basis of this theory, he has identified four stages in the development of the LXX text:

1. The original translation.
2. A multitude of textual traditions resulting from the insertion of corrections (mainly towards the Hebrew) in all known individual scrolls in the pre-Christian period, and to a lesser extent in the first century C.E.
3. Textual stabilization in the first and second centuries C.E., due to the perpetuation of some textual traditions and the discontinuation of others.
4. The creation of new textual groups and the corruption of existing ones through the influence of the revisions of Origen and Lucian in the third and fourth centuries C.E.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study, pp. 59-63 and Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 17-18. See also note 6 above.

<sup>11</sup> Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), pp. 209ff.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study, pp. 61-62; Howard, "The Septuagint," pp. 55-62; Orlinsky, "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies," pp. 78-109; Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ," pp. 89-114; and Wevers, "Proto-Septuagint Studies," pp. 138-57.

<sup>13</sup> Emanuel Tov, The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research (Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1981), pp. 41-42. Cf. Elias J. Bickerman, "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint," in Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, ed. Saul Lieberman (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), pp. 149-78.

Perhaps the merit of Tov's hypothesis is that it is able to account for the multiplicity of variant texts in the transmission of the LXX and at the same time account for any underlying affinity between them. It allows for diversity among the various books of the LXX as well as for the scribal impulse to correct the Greek when it is thought to be in error or at variance with the Hebrew text.

According to Tov's model, Paul's citations would have reflected manuscripts which had emerged from the diversity of the secondary textual traditions. Moreover, the texts which Paul used were most likely those which were available to him in the places from which he wrote his epistles.<sup>14</sup> But to the extent that Paul's quotations were from memory, his citations may also bear some resemblance to the texts which were used in his early study and worship.

Among Paul's scriptural quotations, thirty-four are absolutely or virtually identical with at least one extant Greek manuscript,<sup>15</sup> whereas sixty-five references are at variance with all of the preserved Greek texts.<sup>16</sup> Thirty-three of the quotations from this group of

---

<sup>14</sup>Mss. tended not to be the property of individuals. See Wevers, "Proto-Septuagint Studies," p. 152.

<sup>15</sup>Twenty-five are absolutely identical and nine exhibit minor variations (i.e. if I Cor. 9:9 and II Cor. 9:10 are determined to be absolutely identical). See also Appendix.

<sup>16</sup>According to our calculation, one hundred different scriptural passages are quoted by Paul one hundred and twelve times. Of these one hundred and twelve references thirty-nine are from the Pentateuch (34.8%), forty-one are from the prophets (36.6%), twenty-nine are from the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (25.9%), and three are from the Deuteronomic history (2.7%). Among the citations from the Pentateuch eighteen are absolutely or virtually identical with the LXX textual tradition (46.2%), whereas nine from the prophets (22%), ten from the Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (34.5%), and none from the Deuteronomic history are identical. These percentages compare with an average of 33% for Pauline citations from all parts of the scriptures. Among the most frequently cited books, the percentages of absolutely or virtually identical citations in comparison with the total number of citations from the respective book are as follows: Genesis 61.5%, Deuteronomy 35.7%, the Psalms 36%, and Isaiah 23.3%. These statistics indicate that the prophets are least often quoted in a form identical with the LXX manuscripts, whereas the citations from the Pentateuch (especially Genesis) are most frequently

sixty-five citations are at variance with the Greek and the Hebrew where the Greek translations are in substantial agreement with the Massoretic text. One appears to be in agreement with a non-LXX Greek translation,<sup>17</sup> and still three others are in agreement with the Massoretic text against the LXX.<sup>18</sup>

Among this group of sixty-five variant citations, there are ten and perhaps as many as twelve instances in which Paul's reading is either in agreement with LXX-A against LXX-B or in agreement with LXX-B against LXX-A. These are of particular importance, because in nine or perhaps ten of these citations Paul is in agreement with LXX-A against LXX-B;<sup>19</sup> and in seven of these, the reference is from the book of

---

in agreement. The quotations from the Psalms which are in agreement with the LXX are in approximately the same proportion as those Pauline quotations in agreement from all scriptural books. There appears to be a general correspondence between the percentage of Paul's variant citations for a given book and the number of manuscripts of that book which have been discovered at Qumran. In other words, the books which show the greatest degree of variation in Paul's usage tend to be the books of which more manuscripts were apparently available. See Geza Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective (Cleveland: Collins World, 1977), p. 201. The significance of this correlation is difficult to assess, but it is noteworthy.

<sup>17</sup>I Cor. 15:54 (Is. 25:8).

<sup>18</sup>See I Cor. 3:14 (Job 5:13), Rom. 11:35 (Job 41:3), and Rom. 11:4 (I Kgs. 19:18). There are two other citations that also appear to exhibit some influence on the Greek text by the Hebrew (Rom. 3:14 and 12:19). And Eph. 4:8 displays a connection with the Targum on the Psalms.

<sup>19</sup>LXX-A: Rom. 3:15-17 (Paul and LXX-A read ἔγνωσαν: LXX-B reads οὐδασιν), 9:17 (Paul and LXX-A read δύναμιν; LXX-B reads ἰσχύιν), 9:33 (ἐπ' αὐτῷ included in Paul and LXX-A, but omitted in LXX-B); 10:11 (same as 9:33), 10:20 (Pauline word order may be closer to LXX-B; but Paul and LXX-A read ἐγενόμην, whereas LXX-B reads ἐγενήθην), 11:3 (Evidence indicates that Paul was quoting from I Kgs. 19:10 rather than 19:14, and in agreement with LXX-A he reads τὴν ψυχὴν μου. In 19:10, LXX-B has transposed τὴν ψυχὴν and μου. LXX-B does, however, read τὴν ψυχὴν μου in 19:14), 11:34 (Paul and LXX-A read σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ, but LXX-B transposes the terms), 14:11 (Paul and LXX-A read τῷ θεῷ, but LXX-B reads τὸν θεόν), I Cor. 2:16 (cf. 11:34. Paul's orthography follows LXX-A. Variation is significant enough to indicate that Paul is in agreement with LXX-A), and II Cor. 13:1 (Paul and LXX-A read σταθήσεται, whereas LXX-B reads στήσεται.). LXX-B: Rom. 9:25 (Paul and LXX-B have forms of ἀγαπᾶν, whereas LXX-A uses forms of ἐλεεῖν) and 11:4 (LXX-A has omitted γόνυ, whereas Paul and LXX-B include it. The textual divergence between Rom. 11:3 and 4 places both of these in doubt.). Cf. also

Isaiah.<sup>20</sup> This correspondence has long been recognized,<sup>21</sup> but it confirms that there is a correlation between the book which Paul cites and the text represented by his quotations. This is especially true with respect to Isaiah, but there are traces which indicate that it is also true in other books.<sup>22</sup> In Galatians 3:12, Paul quotes Leviticus 18:5; and in agreement with LXX-F, his citation reads πολήσας αὐτά. In contrast, both LXX-A and LXX-B omit αὐτά. The same passage is cited in Romans 10:5, but in this case the New Testament textual evidence is divided.<sup>23</sup> Although we cannot engage in an attempt here to determine the original reading of this Pauline verse, we can assert that Paul's text resembles LXX-F in Galatians 3:12 and perhaps also in Romans 10:5.<sup>24</sup> And if Romans 10:5 should be read πολήσας αὐτά then this is further evidence that there is a correlation between the book cited and the textual tradition reflected in Paul's quotations.

---

Rom. 9:26-Hos. 1:10 (2:1) (LXX-A), 12:20-Prv. 25:21-22 (LXX-B), and 13:9-Lev. 19:18, (Ex. 20:13-17) Dt. 5:17 (LXX-B).

<sup>20</sup>Rom. 3:15-17 (Is. 59:7-8), 9:33 (Is. 28:16), 10:11 (Is. 28:16), 10:20 (Is. 65:1), 11:34 (Is. 40:13), 14:11 (Is. 45:23), and I Cor. 2:16 (Is. 40:13).

<sup>21</sup>Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 13 and Michel, Bibel, p. 62.

<sup>22</sup>See above in footnote 19, p. 69: Rom. 9:17 (Ex. 9:16), II Cor. 13:1 (Dt. 19:15), and perhaps Rom. 11:3 (I Kgs. 19:10ff). See also Rom. 9:25 (Hos. 2:23 [25]), 9:26 (Hos. 1:10 [2:1]), 12:20 (Prv. 25:21-22), and 13:9 (Dt. 5:17-27). Much of the orthographic evidence is not sufficiently reliable to confirm or deny that Paul was following a particular textual tradition. Thus it is not included at this point.

<sup>23</sup>The inclusion of αὐτά following πολήσας is supported by P<sup>46</sup>, D<sup>2</sup>, F, G, the Majority text, and most of the Syriac tradition. But the omission of this pronoun is supported by K\*, (A), (D\*), (33\*), 81, 630, 1506, 1739, (1881), and some coptic versions. The reading of Nestle 26 has included αὐτά unlike Nestle 25. Andreas Lindemann has argued recently that the reading preserved in Nestle 26 is probably the original, "Die Gerechtigkeit aus dem Gesetz Erwägungen zur Auslegung und zur Textgeschichte von Römer 10,5," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 73 (1982):231-50. Cranfield, however, has argued against the inclusion of αὐτά, Romans, pp. 520-21.

<sup>24</sup>See Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 13.

Another striking feature of Paul's scriptural text is the correspondence between his quotation of Isaiah 25:8 in I Corinthians 15:54 and the reading found in Theodotion. Both Paul and Theodotion read κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῦκος, whereas the LXX manuscripts read κατέπλεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας.<sup>25</sup> This connection has been recognized for a long time;<sup>26</sup> but it is still significant because it shows that Paul's text contained a tradition not found in the extant LXX manuscripts. Moreover, it indicates that there is a line of tradition which is represented by the texts of both Paul and Theodotion. For whatever reason, this particular reading dropped out or was not incorporated into the main-stream of LXX textual tradition. Perhaps it passed into Theodotion's translation through a proto-Theodotion tradition.<sup>27</sup> In any case, this reading was preserved and eventually appeared in Theodotion's text.

There is also evidence which indicates that Paul's citations have been influenced by the Hebrew. In I Corinthians 3:19, he cites Job 5:13. In contrast to the LXX manuscripts which read ἐν τῇ φρονήσει, Paul's text reads ἐν τῇ πανουργίᾳ. Since πανουργία is a more accurate rendering of אֲמָרָא than φρονήσει, it is possible that Paul corrected his text in accord with the Hebrew or that his text had already been corrected before him. But it could also indicate that there were divergent translations of Job available during this period and that Paul's quotation simply reflects one of these. Perhaps another example of correspondence between Paul's text and the Hebrew is found in his citation of Job 41:3 in Romans 11:35. In this case the Massoretic text

---

<sup>25</sup> Aquila reads καταποντίσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς νῦκος and Symmachus reads καταποθῆναι ποιήσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς τέλος.

<sup>26</sup> Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 15 and Michel, Bibel, p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of the evidence and various hypotheses see Jellicoe, Septuagint and Modern Study, pp. 83-94.

reads  $\text{מִי־הִקְדִּימֶנִי וְיִשְׁאַלֵנִי}$ . In contrast to the text of the LXX which reads  $\text{ἀντιστήσεται μοι καὶ ὑπομενεῖ}$ , Paul's quotation runs  $\text{προέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ}$ . Once again, the vocabulary of Paul's citation appears to be closer to the Massoretic text than the LXX. The fact that both of these examples come from Job may suggest that the textual tradition of this book was more diverse and less stable than that of some of the other writings.

But the correspondences between Paul's quotations and the Massoretic text are not limited to the book of Job. In Romans 11:4, he cites I Kings 19:18; and instead of representing the LXX reading ( $\text{καταλείψεις}$ ), he reads  $\text{κατέλιπον}$ . The agreement in the first person between  $\text{יְהִרְשֵׁשׁוּנִי}$  and  $\text{κατέλιπον}$  indicates the presence of either a textual emendation or a variant translation.<sup>28</sup> This and the other examples cited are sufficient to indicate that Paul's quotations reflect some apparent interaction between the Greek translations and the Hebrew texts.<sup>29</sup>

#### Variations in Paul's Quotations

The textual variations between Paul's quotations and the extant LXX manuscripts are diverse; they range from the addition of particles to scriptural paraphrases. But for the sake of classification, a number

---

<sup>28</sup>For other possible examples of correspondence between Paul's citations and the Hebrew text, compare also Rom. 3:14 and 12:19 (cf. the Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum).

<sup>29</sup>Aramaic and Syriac similarities with Eph. 4:8 have also been detected. See F.F. Bruce's reply in B.F.C. Atkinson, "The Textual Background of the Use of the Old Testament by the New," Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute LXXIX (1947):60-61; G.B. Caird, "The Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4, 7-11," in Studia Evangelica, vol. II, ed. F.L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), pp. 540-41; and Albert Vis, The Messianic Psalm Quotations in the New Testament: A Critical Study on the Christian 'Testimonies' in the Old Testament (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1936), p. 47. For evidence concerning the rendering of  $\text{נְצַלֵּךְ}$  as  $\text{νῦκος}$  in I Cor. 15:54f (Is. 25:8, Hos. 13:14) see G.B. Caird, "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint II," Journal of Theological Studies 20 (April 1969):24 and Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, s.v. "Quotations".

of categories can be identified. Some of the quotations display variations in more than one category, but the process of classification illustrates the kinds of differences there are between Paul's quotations and the LXX manuscripts.

#### Minor Words, Pronouns, and Prepositions

The first category includes those variations which involve articles, particles, conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositions. The omission or addition of an article is found infrequently in Paul's references.<sup>30</sup> More common are the variations which involve conjunctions. In seven cases, γάρ occurs within a scriptural citation for syntactical reasons, and in each text it functions as an introduction or transition to the quotation.<sup>31</sup> The addition, omission, or substitution of δέ, καί, ἤ, or ἀλλά is also a feature of his quotations.<sup>32</sup> And the omission of ἔνα in Ephesians 6:3 (Deuteronomy 5:16 and Exodus 20:12) appears to have occurred for stylistic reasons. In this passage, the second ἔνα recorded in the scriptural text has not been repeated, because grammatically it is not required.

Variations involving pronouns are a significant aspect of Paul's citations, and some of them are potentially important for understanding his use of scripture. In a number of quotations, a pronoun is omitted,<sup>33</sup> but most often a different form of the same pronoun is substituted.<sup>34</sup> We find examples in which a form of θεός has been substituted for a

---

<sup>30</sup>See Rom. 10:5, Gal. 3:12, and 3:13.

<sup>31</sup>Rom. 2:24, 10:13, 11:34, I Cor. 2:16, 6:16, 10:26, and 15:27. See also II Cor. 10:17 (δέ) and II Cor. 6:17 (δού).

<sup>32</sup>See Rom. 4:3, 11:34, 15:11, I Cor. 1:31, 2:16, and II Cor. 10:17.

<sup>33</sup>See Rom. 1:17 (LXX variants), 9:27-28, I Cor. 2:9, Gal. 3:11 (LXX variants), 4:30, and Eph. 5:31.

<sup>34</sup>See Rom. 3:18, 10:19, II Cor. 6:16, 6:17, 6:18, and Eph. 1:20.

pronoun;<sup>35</sup> and in Romans 11:4 a pronoun is included where none is found in the major Greek manuscripts.

The LXX textual witnesses are divided concerning the pronoun μου in Habakkuk 2:4.<sup>36</sup> But in Romans 1:17 and Galatians 3:11 the evidence indicates that μου should not be included in Paul's quotations of this verse.<sup>37</sup> While we cannot be certain that this omission is not due to Paul's fidelity to an unknown tradition, it is possible that it was omitted for a hermeneutical reason. Still it is also possible that he was aware of the divided Greek textual evidence and therefore left it out of his citation. In Ephesians 5:31, Genesis 2:24 is quoted; and as we observe, αὐτοῦ has been omitted following both πατέρα and μητέρα. In the context of Ephesians, these variations do not affect the meaning; the pronouns simply make explicit that which was already implied. Since they were unnecessary, they were perhaps dropped for stylistic reasons. Likewise, the pronoun αὐτῶν in Isaiah 10:22 was probably considered unnecessary and was thus omitted in Romans 9:27.<sup>38</sup> The reason for the omission of the pronouns in I Corinthians 2:9 is complicated by the paraphrastic and combined form of the quotation, but there is an indication that Paul's citation is related to an underlying Jewish tradition.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>Rom. 2:24 and Col. 3:1 (τοῦ θεοῦ for μου -- change from first person speech).

<sup>36</sup>μου precedes ἐκ πίστεως in LXX-A and LXX-C and is omitted in LXX-W<sup>c</sup>. The Hebrew text reads יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ and in Heb. 10:38 the text is quoted: ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται (cf. variants). Aquila reads δίκαιος ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ ζήσεται and Symmachus reads δίκαιος τῆ ἐαυτοῦ πίστει ζήσει. Because of the corrupt condition of the text IQpHab is of no assistance.

<sup>37</sup>In Rom. 1:17, C\* includes μου after δίκαιος, but there is no other support for the inclusion of the pronoun.

<sup>38</sup>Theodoret in Explanatio in Isaiam under 4:2 reads τὸ κατάλειμμα σωθήσεται.

<sup>39</sup>In LAB 26:13, Is. 64:3 and 65:16 are also combined: ex eo quod oculus non vidit nec auris audivit et in cor hominis non ascendit. This citation and Paul's reference may be related to a common Jewish tradition.

In Galatians 4:30, ταύτην, ταύτης, and μου are not included in Paul's quotation of Genesis 21:10.<sup>40</sup> To the extent that the textual evidence cannot account for these omissions, they appear to be the result of Paul's adaptation of the passage to the context of the epistle.

The inclusion of ἐμαυτῷ in the quotation of I Kings 19:18 in Romans 11:4 finds no warrant in the Greek tradition, but it appears to be related to the change of καταλείφεις to κατέλιπον and the omission of ἐν Ἰσραηλ. There is no conclusive evidence to indicate that Paul did not make this change himself. The addition of the pronoun, however, is reflected in the Vulgate.<sup>41</sup> In other examples, plural pronouns have been substituted for singular ones. In Romans 3:18, Psalm 36:2 is quoted. In this Psalm, the "wicked" are referred to in the singular, whereas in Romans they are referred to in the plural. This change appears to have been effected by Paul's universalization of the Psalm verse in the context of Romans. He cites Isaiah 52:11-12 in II Corinthians 6:17; and here, too, a singular pronoun has been changed to a plural. This is another example in which the process of universalizing a particular scriptural statement appears to be the reason for the change to a plural pronoun.<sup>42</sup>

We also find instances in which there has been a change in the person of a pronoun. Paul quotes Deuteronomy 32:21 in Romans 10:19, and in this text the pronoun αὐτούς has been changed twice to ὑμᾶς. There is no reason to suspect that this change came about for any reason other than Paul's adaptation of the scriptural text in order to

---

<sup>40</sup>LXX-A omits ταύτης, and some N.T. manuscripts read μου Ἰσαακ instead of τῆς ἐλευθέρας. The variant N.T. manuscripts were perhaps corrected in light of the LXX.

<sup>41</sup>The Vulgate includes mihi.

<sup>42</sup>In this section of the epistle (6:14-7:1), the scriptural texts appear to reflect an extra-Pauline tradition.

achieve a desired rhetorical effect. But in the case of II Corinthians 6:16, the use of third person pronouns appears to have resulted from the merging of Leviticus 26:11-12 and Ezekiel 37:27.<sup>43</sup> In the prophetic passage, a modified form of Leviticus 26:11-12 occurs with third person pronouns. These pronoun forms do not correspond exactly with Paul's text, but they are close enough to indicate that II Corinthians 6:16 is a combined quotation. Finally, the change of μου to αὐτοῦ in Ephesians 1:20 has resulted from the direct form of speech exhibited in Psalm 110:1 being changed to a descriptive form in the epistle.

Variations involving prepositions are also found. In the LXX, Psalm 110:1 reads ἐκ δεξιῶν, whereas in Ephesians 1:20 and Colossians 3:1 the citation reads ἐν δεξιᾷ. As Atkinson has indicated, the preposition ἐν also appears in the references to this Psalm in I Peter 3:22, Hebrews 1:3, 8:1, and 10:12 (cf. variant).<sup>44</sup> This raises the question of how this form of the Psalm entered into the literature of the early church. It may be that there was a source or tradition from which it was taken independently by the different writers; or it may be that it entered into a single written tradition and was then transmitted to later documents through literary dependence. The fact that the writer of Hebrews records ἐκ δεξιῶν in 1:13 suggests that he was not dependent on a single tradition.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps a more significant prepositional variation occurs in Romans 11:26. In this text, Paul quotes from Isaiah 59:20-21; and instead of reading ἔνεκεν Σιών, his text reads ἐκ Σιών. It has been suggested that Paul has made this change for hermeneutical reasons,<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>In Lev. the pronouns are in the second person.

<sup>44</sup>Atkinson, "Textual Background," p. 52. See also Rom. 8:34, and cf. Mt. 26:64, 22:44, Mk. 12:36, 14:62, Lk. 20:42-43, 22:69, Acts 2:34, and Heb. 1:13.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>46</sup>Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 140.

and on the basis of the context this is perhaps the most likely explanation. But J. DeWaard has argued that this explanation is not convincing. He asserts that the variant reading לַעֲלֹא found in 1QIs<sup>a</sup> provides the clue for understanding the deviation between Paul's text and the LXX. Since לַעֲלֹא often occurs for לַעֲלֹא, the LXX reading ἔνεκεν goes back, according to him, to a Hebrew text which read לַעֲלֹא (לַעֲלֹא) instead of לַעֲלֹא. If the preposition ἐκ is understood in the sense of "because of", then Paul's text could stem from this same reading.<sup>47</sup> Although there is a considerable degree of supposition in DeWaard's explanation, it cannot be assumed without question that Paul has adapted the text to fit his argument. DeWaard has not been able to provide a satisfactory explanation of why ἔνεκεν is read ἐκ in Paul's text, but he has set forth a proposal which makes the LXX translation of the Hebrew text more understandable.<sup>48</sup>

#### Word Order

The second category in our classification concerns those quotations which exhibit a different sequence of words than the LXX. A number of these involve single words or minor phrases,<sup>49</sup> and we need not discuss them. There are two examples of variant sequence, however, which are noteworthy. The first, the quotation of Hosea 2:23 (25) in Romans 9:25, is at variance with LXX-A, LXX-B, and the other major manuscripts.

---

<sup>47</sup> J. DeWaard, A Comparative Study of the Old Testament in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), pp. 11-13. Theodoret follows closely the LXX tradition and reads ἔνεκεν. See Explanatio in Isaiam under 59:20. If variant textual traditions can account for this variation, it is apparent that Paul and Theodoret do not reflect the same tradition.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also Rom. 2:24, I Cor. 14:21, II Cor. 13:1, and Eph. 5:31 for more variations involving prepositions.

<sup>49</sup> See Rom. 2:24, 9:13, 10:21, 11:3, 14:11, 15:11, II Cor. 8:15, and Gal. 3:6. These variations are not supported by the major LXX manuscripts; and as we can see, they are a common feature of Paul's citations.

Paul: καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην

LXX-B: ἀγαπήσω τὴν οὐκ ἠγαπημένην καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαῷ μου λαός μου εἰ σύ<sup>50</sup>

And In Romans 10:20, Paul cites Isaiah 65:1.

Paul: εὐρέθην [έν] τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ζητοῦσιν ἐμφανῆς ἐγενομένην τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν

LXX-B: ἐμφανῆς ἐγενήθην τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν εὐρέθην τοῖς ἐμέ μὴ ζητοῦσιν<sup>51</sup>

In both of these examples, the LXX textual tradition is divided. This may indicate that the Hebrew textual tradition was also divided. If this was the case, it is also possible that there were other Greek textual traditions and that Paul's quotations reflect this. But the possibility that the parallel members have been transposed because of Paul's inaccurate quoting from memory cannot be excluded. The lack of a clear hermeneutical reason for the variations, except perhaps for emphasis, suggests that they are either the result of Paul's fidelity to a variant tradition or the result of his lack of precision in quoting.<sup>52</sup>

### Word Forms

The third category includes those citations which reflect variations in the forms of words. Differences in verbal forms are perhaps the most frequent. No consistent pattern is discernible among these, but variations in tense,<sup>53</sup> mood,<sup>54</sup> number and person are all found.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup>Cf. LXX-A and LXX-Q. See below, pp.178-79. Note that I Pet. 2:10 reads οὐ ποτε οὐ λαός νῦν δὲ λαός θεοῦ οὐ οὐκ ἠλεημένοι νῦν δὲ ἐλεηθέντες.

<sup>51</sup>Cf. LXX-A, LXX-N, and LXX-Q.

<sup>52</sup>See also the variant sequence in Rom. 11:9-10. This may support the argument that Paul's method of quotation lacked precision in terms of verbal sequence.

<sup>53</sup>See e.g. Rom. 10:11, 11:2, and 11:3.

<sup>54</sup>See e.g. Rom. 9:25, Eph. 1:20, and Col. 3:1. Cf. also Gal. 3:13.

<sup>55</sup>See e.g. I Cor. 2:9, I Cor. 14:21, and II Cor. 6:18. Variations

Nouns exhibit variations in number and case.<sup>56</sup> In some instances, it is difficult to account for these variations, but often they result from an alternative form of expressing the scriptural citation or from the adaptation of the reference to the context of the epistle. The change of tenses in Romans 10:11 and 11:2, however, appears to have resulted from a shift in historical perspective.

#### Omission, Addition, and Substitution

The fourth category concerns those quotations which involve the omission, addition, or substitution of words when compared with the LXX textual traditions. These variations range from the substitution of synonyms to the addition of words of apparent hermeneutical significance.<sup>57</sup> Words included in the LXX manuscripts, but omitted in Paul's text can be observed in a number of examples.<sup>58</sup> The omissions in Romans 11:4, 15:9, 15:12, Galatians 3:8, and 3:12 are not substantial; but in the case of Galatians 3:13, the variation is more interesting. In this passage, Paul cites Deuteronomy 21:23; and in contrast to most LXX witnesses, his text omits the words ὑπὸ θεοῦ. Although we cannot be certain that Paul was first responsible for the omission of these words, it is likely that they were omitted in order to avoid presenting an unacceptable image of the divine. Paul, for his part, would not have wanted to risk implying that Christ was accursed by God. That, of course, would have been unacceptable to him. Alterations of scriptural

---

involving the interchange of forms of εἰμί and γίνομαι are found in Rom. 9:27 and Eph. 6:2-3. Cf. also ὑπελείφθην in Rom. 11:3 and ὑπολέλειμμα I Kgs. 19:10 and 14 LXX.

<sup>56</sup>See e.g. I Cor. 2:9 and I Cor. 14:21.

<sup>57</sup>This category overlaps to some extent with the first category, but in these examples we are not primarily concerned with conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositions.

<sup>58</sup>See Rom. 11:4 (ἐν Ἰσραηλ), 15:9 (κύριε), 15:12 (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ), Gal. 3:12 (ἄνθρωπος), 3:13 (ὑπὸ θεοῦ), and perhaps Gal. 3:8 (τῆς γῆς).

material for the purpose of protecting or enhancing the image of God or for avoiding an unacceptable religious idea are not uncommon in Jewish interpretative tradition.<sup>59</sup> Another form of omission can be seen in Romans 10:6-8. Perhaps this can be described as a selective quotation because sections within the passages quoted have been omitted.<sup>60</sup>

Texts in which words have been added to the LXX are also found. In II Corinthians 6:18, θυγατέρας has been made coordinate with υιούς. And in Romans 10:15, ὥρατος has been included following ὡς in Paul's quotation of Isaiah 52:7. ὥρατος does not appear in most Greek textual traditions, but it does occur in Theodoret.<sup>61</sup> This might suggest that there was a variant Greek tradition; but in this case, the possibility of textual dependence on Romans cannot be excluded.<sup>62</sup>

Substitution is another feature of Paul's quotations. Frequently these involve synonyms or similar words,<sup>63</sup> but sometimes the substitution is more significant. In I Corinthians 3:20, Paul's text reads σοφῶν instead of ἀνθρώπων. According to the context of I Corinthians, it appears that Paul altered the text of Psalm 94:11 to fit his argument. Other possible explanations to account for this change cannot be excluded prematurely,<sup>64</sup> but the evidence favours this as the reason for Paul's

---

<sup>59</sup> See above, p. 36.

<sup>60</sup> See the discussion of the form of Rom. 10:6-8 below, pp. 95-96. Cf. Rom. 3:15-17 and 13:9.

<sup>61</sup> See Explanatio in Isaiam under 52:7. ὥρατος is listed also in Swete's edition under LXX-Q<sup>bmg</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. also Rom. 9:33 and 10:11 (Is. 28:16) LXX-B. See below, p. 83.

<sup>63</sup> See Rom. 11:8 (τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας for τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης), I Cor. 9:9 (κημώσεις for φιλώσεις, cf. variants), II Cor. 8:15 (ὀλίγον for ἔλαττον), and Gal. 3:8 (ἔθνη for φυλαί). Cf. also Rom. 9:17.

<sup>64</sup> The case of Eph. 4:8 (cf. Targum to Ps. 68:19) is an example which illustrates the difficulty involved in prematurely resorting to Pauline hermeneutics as the reason for a textual change.

reading of σοφῶν instead of ἀνθρώπων. The substitution of ἐν κυρίῳ for ἐν τούτῳ in the double citation of Jeremiah 9:23 in I Corinthians 1:31 and II Corinthians 10:17 involves a shift in the sense of the passage. But since this text is cited twice in virtually identical form, it may indicate that Paul's text is in accordance with a prior tradition. It is the type of saying which could have functioned in the oral tradition as a popular aphorism. In which case, Paul's citation could reflect an oral tradition rather than the literary text of Jeremiah. In Galatians 4:30, τῆς ἐλευθέρας has been substituted for μου Ισαακ, and it is clear that this variation has resulted from Paul's adaptation of the text to fit the context of his epistle. Finally, the substitution of καλέσω for ἐρῶ in the citation of Hosea 2:25 (23) in Romans 9:25 probably came about due to the influence of κληθήσονται in Hosea 2:1 (1:10) in Romans 9:26 or the use of other forms of this same word in 9:6-24.<sup>65</sup>

### Paraphrase

The final category in our system of classification concerns those variations which appear to have resulted from a paraphrastic method of quotation. This is necessarily an imprecise category because the line between quotation and allusion is not always clear. Moreover, it is sometimes difficult to establish a precise correspondence between Paul's text and the extant texts of the LXX. Nevertheless, this appears to be appropriate terminology to describe those citations in which the scriptural passage has been phrased or expressed in a different way. Some of these references preserve the strict sense of the scriptural text, whereas others are more markedly paraphrastic.<sup>66</sup> These variations

---

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:7, 9:12, and 9:24. See below, pp. 178-79.

<sup>66</sup>Quotations which can perhaps be included in this category are Rom. 3:14, 3:15-17, 9:9, 11:3, 11:4, I Cor. 2:16, 14:21, 15:55 (cf. Greek translations), and Gal. 3:10.

are not necessarily limited to this category, for they also correspond with variations included under the other headings. Yet in spite of the difficulty involved in establishing the limits of this category, it is evident that paraphrasing has resulted in variations between Paul's text and the LXX.

### Double Citations

Among the Pauline quotations, there are eleven double citations of the same scriptural passage. The texts of these quotations are important for establishing the consistency and precision with which Paul quoted scripture. Two of these texts are absolutely identical in both Pauline references.<sup>67</sup> They are both "legal" passages, and both are in agreement with the LXX and the Massoretic text. But the verbal correspondence in the reference from the Decalogue in Romans 7:7 and 13:9 consists of only two words, and that is insufficient for textual evaluation.

Six of these scriptural texts are virtually identical or exhibit only minor variations between the two references.<sup>68</sup> In Galatians 3:11, Paul quotes Habakkuk 2:4, and he omits the particle  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . In Romans 1:17, however,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is included as it is in the LXX. A variation involving  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is also found in the quotation of Jeremiah 9:23 in I Corinthians 1:31 and II Corinthians 10:17.<sup>69</sup> Genesis 2:24 is quoted in I Corinthians 6:16 and Ephesians 5:31; and the only difference between the two references

---

<sup>67</sup>Ex. 20:17-Dt. 5:21 (Rom. 7:7 and 13:9) and Lev. 19:18 (Rom. 13:9 and Gal. 5:14).

<sup>68</sup>Hab. 2:4 (Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11), Gen. 15:6 (Rom. 4:3 and Gal. 3:6), Lev. 18:5 (Rom. 10:5 and Gal. 3:12), Gen. 2:24 (I Cor. 6:16 and Eph. 5:31), Ps. 8:7 (I Cor. 15:27 and Eph. 1:22), and Jer. 9:23 (II Cor. 10:17 and I Cor. 1:31).

<sup>69</sup>See also Gen. 15:6 in Rom. 4:3 and Gal. 3:6. The particle is included in Rom. 4:3, but omitted in Gal. 3:6. In both Jer. 9:23 (LXX) and Gen. 15:6 (LXX), this particle is not included.

is that the introductory formula, γάρ φησίν, has been included for syntactical reasons as part of the reference in I Corinthians.<sup>70</sup> Psalm 8:7 is cited in I Corinthians 15:27 and Ephesians 1:22, and again the only variation is the insertion of γάρ in the first example. Paul quotes Leviticus 18:5 in Romans 10:5 and Galatians 3:12; and despite the conflicting textual evidence concerning ἄνθρωπος, it appears that this word should be included in Romans and omitted in Galatians.<sup>71</sup> And in the reference to Genesis 15:6 in Romans 4:3 and Galatians 3:6, the words ἐπίστευσεν and Ἀβραάμ have been transposed. The variations in the last two examples do not affect the sense of the texts, but they do indicate that Paul has not been entirely consistent in his quotations from scripture.

The last three double citations display more significant variations. In Romans 9:33 and 10:11, Paul cites Isaiah 28:16. In the second of these references, he inserts the word πᾶς. This addition probably came about as a result of the association of Isaiah 28:16 with Joel 3:5 (2:32),<sup>72</sup> and it demonstrates that Paul was not restrained from modifying the scriptural text. Moreover, these two references occur within a few lines of each other; it could hardly have been that Paul did not realize that he had cited the same text in two different ways. Variations in the text of Psalm 110:1a in Ephesians 1:20 and Colossians 3:1 involve not only the change in verbal form but also the interchange of αὐτοῦ and τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>73</sup> Neither of these citations is introduced by a formula, and both contexts display the easy, almost casual, manner in which this

---

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Mt. 19:5 and Mk. 10:7-8.

<sup>71</sup>In Romans, ἄνθρωπος is only omitted in F, G, and a few other witnesses, whereas in Galatians it is omitted in p<sup>46</sup>, κ. Avid, B, C. D<sup>4</sup>, F, G, P, ψ, as well as a number of other texts.

<sup>72</sup>Rom. 10:13. Πᾶς occurs in this text. See below, p. 183.

<sup>73</sup>Cf. the references in footnote 44.

passage has been woven into the epistles. Isaiah 40:13 is cited in both Romans 11:34 and I Corinthians 2:16; but only a portion of the scriptural passage is quoted in common in the two references. We need not discuss this text further, except to say that the two citations from Isaiah 40:13 illustrate the way in which Paul has used different forms of the same passage.

A comparison between the variations in Paul's double citations and the variations identified in the five categories above is instructive. In the double citations, we find variations involving conjunctions, the addition or omission of words, changed verbal forms, and a transposition of terms. These are some of the same kinds of variations which have been discovered in our examination of the relationship between Paul's text and the extant LXX texts. Despite the limited number of double citations, this comparison illustrates the extent to which Paul has been consistent in his quotations. And it also provides a standard by which to judge his degree of textual precision or imprecision in quoting from scripture. Furthermore, this comparison is fundamental if we are to understand the interaction between text and interpretation in Paul's use of scripture.

#### Summary

We have indicated that in some cases there is a correlation between the book which Paul has cited and the textual tradition reflected in his quotations. Furthermore, we have sought to show that some of Paul's citations bear evidence of Hebrew influence. It has been argued also that five categories of textual variations can be discerned in Paul's scriptural quotations: 1) those involving articles, particles, conjunctions, pronouns, and prepositions; 2) those exhibiting different word order; 3) those reflecting variant word forms; 4) those involving the omission, addition, or substitution of words; and 5) those resulting

from a paraphrastic manner of quoting. In addition, it has been argued that the double citations reflect some of the same types of variations between the two occurrences in the epistles as have been found between the LXX and the Pauline quotations.

Within the five categories which have been discussed, a significant number of variations appear to have been the result of intentional modification of the scriptural text. Although the possibility cannot be ruled out that Paul in some cases may have quoted from memory, it seems evident that many variations are the consequence of an attempt to conform the text of scripture to the context of the epistles. As gleaned from our discussion in this chapter, these modifications may be classified as follows: 1) stylistic modifications; 2) literary variations designed to introduce the text or to allow it to fit smoothly and meaningfully into the epistolary context; 3) modifications designed to achieve a desired rhetorical effect; 4) changes which reflect a shift in historical perspective; 5) variations resulting from the universalization of particular scriptural statements; 6) manipulation of the text in order to support and enhance an argument; and 7) adaptation of the text for the purpose of avoiding an unacceptable theological/christological idea.

## CHAPTER IV

### PAUL'S CITATIONS AND THE PROBLEM OF 'CONTEXT'

For the sake of organization, this chapter can be divided into four main sections. In the first, we shall be concerned with the epistolary context of the Pauline quotations. This involves both the structural and thematic features of the individual citations in relation to their respective epistolary contexts. In the second section, we shall investigate the scriptural context of the quotations. This will involve an examination of the degree to which Paul exhibits respect for the scriptural context and a consideration of the possible function of his quotations as "pointers" to their larger context.<sup>1</sup> The third part will be devoted to an examination of Paul's citations in relation to the developing exegetical traditions of the early church. And finally, we shall make some observations concerning Paul's method of transferring scriptural passages to epistolary contexts.

#### Epistolary Context

##### Structure

The literary relationship between scriptural quotation and epistolary context must be examined first in terms of structure and form. In this regard, the basic Pauline literary form consists of three elements: 1) opening statement, 2) introductory formula, and

---

<sup>1</sup>See C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 126.

3) scriptural text.<sup>2</sup> In its simplest manifestation, this type of reference includes neither an explanation of the scriptural text nor an elaboration of themes related directly to it. The citation functions as a source of religious authority and it serves to substantiate a statement which has been made. Its interpretative value is found in the connection which Paul sees between the scriptural passage and the opening statement.<sup>3</sup>

In Romans 1:16-17, Paul writes: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith". Following the statement of thanksgiving in verses eight to fifteen, Paul writes these words; and in their immediate context, they function as the first element of the literary form described above. Habakkuk 2:4 is introduced and quoted following this opening statement; and the purpose of this biblical passage is to confirm the assertion which Paul has made.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean that the reference from Habakkuk has no interpretative value for Paul. It does;<sup>5</sup> but in its immediate epistolary context, the force

---

<sup>2</sup>Following the scriptural quotation, there is no explication of the text. In general, the argument shifts to a different theme after the scriptural passage has been cited.

<sup>3</sup>This type of citation is sometimes referred to as "proof-text". The use of the term "proof-text" to describe this literary form is legitimate, if it is accompanied with the caveat that this expression can easily imply notions of scriptural authority which do not accurately reflect Paul's understanding. For Jews, scripture was sacred and holy (Rom. 1:2). In varying degrees, it was a source of inspiration for life, an expression of the will of God, and a basis for interpretation and religious argumentation (cf. above, pp. 9-11). Without this qualification, the term "proof-text" might imply that scripture was simply an authoritative record to which Paul turned to prove his religious arguments and not also a source of edification, verbal stimulation, and inspiration for himself and for those who shared his basic religious convictions.

<sup>4</sup>Note the verbal links between the opening statement (δικαιοσύνη, πίστῶς, πίστις) and the scriptural citation (δίκαιος, πίστῶς). These types of links illustrate the verbal interaction in Paul's use of scripture.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Gal. 3:11.

of its literary impact is directed towards the statement which has preceded it. Thus, there is no explication of Habakkuk 2:4 in Romans 1:18ff. On the contrary, the course of Paul's discussion shifts following the citation.

Another straightforward example of this literary form is found in II Corinthians 8:15. The larger context of this passage concerns the Jerusalem offering, but an examination of the immediate context indicates that all three elements of the literary structure are present. The proposition which Paul has set forth concerns equality between those who have much and those who have little.<sup>6</sup> In the literary context, this statement is followed by a formula of introduction and a quotation from Exodus 16:18: "He who had much did not have too much, and he who had little did not have too little." This citation serves to substantiate the statement which has been made, but it is neither elaborated nor explained. It is introduced into the argument mainly for its demonstrative and illustrative value.

In Romans 9:33, Paul quotes from Isaiah 8:14 and 28:16. This combined scriptural reference is preceded in the context by the Pauline statement: "They have stumbled on the stone of stumbling". The quotation from Isaiah illustrates for Paul's readers that indeed a stumbling stone has been placed in Zion. In terms of its content, the citation from Isaiah extends beyond the simple confirmation of the introductory statement.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the literary function of the quotation in its immediate context indicates that the combined citation was intended to

---

<sup>6</sup> II Cor. 8:14.

<sup>7</sup> In Rom. 9:33, the statement from Is. 28:16 that "he who believes in him shall not be put to shame" extends the thematic development of Paul's discussion beyond what would have been required to substantiate the introductory statement, "they have stumbled on the stone of stumbling". But the word πιστεύων from Is. 28:16 does relate to ἐκ πίστεως in 9:30 and 32.

establish the validity of Paul's assertion that the Jews have stumbled and that faith is the basis for salvation (for not being put to shame) and righteousness. In Romans 10:11, Paul again cites from Isaiah 28:16, and the quotation is part of the discussion in 9:30-10:21. But within this larger literary unit, the scriptural reference also functions as support for the statements in 10:9-10.<sup>8</sup> Immediately following this quotation from Isaiah, another proposition is set forth by Paul. He asserts that there is no distinction between Jew and Greek and that God's riches are bestowed on all who call upon his name. But instead of allowing this statement to go unsubstantiated, he quotes Joel 3:5 (2:32): "For everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved".<sup>9</sup> Thematically, the verses from 10:9-10:13 are connected, but structurally two individual scriptural arguments can be discerned.

Other examples of this basic literary form can be identified in the epistles,<sup>10</sup> but these are sufficient to illustrate the structure

---

<sup>8</sup>"For if you confess that Jesus is Lord with your lips and you believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved. For a person believes and is made righteous and confesses with his lips and is saved." As we can see, πιστεύων from Is. 28:16 relates to the words (πιστεύσης and πιστεύεται) found in the opening element of the literary form.

<sup>9</sup>As we have seen in Rom. 1:16-17, 9:30-33, and 10:9-11, there is often a verbal link between the opening statement and the scriptural citation. In Rom. 10:12-13, the connection is between ἐπικαλουμένου and ἐπικαλέσται. These verbal links indicate that the opening statement of the literary form may have been formulated in light of the scriptural passage which is used as substantiation. Hence, the interaction between Paul's manner of argumentation and his use of scripture is more subtle than the term "proof-text" used without qualification would tend to imply. Verbal associations provide vivid illustrations of the way scripture contributed formatively to Paul's manner of argumentation.

<sup>10</sup>Other references which exhibit this literary form are Rom. 2:24, 3:4, 15:21, and I Cor. 2:9. Although the citation in Rom. 10:5 does not conform precisely to the structure which has been described, it may serve as scriptural support for 10:2-4. Likewise, Gal. 4:27 is not as clearly a scriptural proof type of citation as those described; but through the combination of material from the Pentateuch and the Prophets, Paul has used Is. 54:1 to illustrate and support his argument in 4:21ff. (Cf. the use of the haftarah in the midrashic homilies.) Cf. also Rom. 10:18.

and function of this use of scripture. In each of these cases, the three structural elements of the form are discernible. Moreover, the correspondence between the introductory statements and the quotations are straightforward. And in none of these examples, save perhaps for Romans 10:9-13, has Paul set out to explain the scriptural reference. This is not intended to imply, however, that these texts have not been interpreted.

A variation of this basic form can be found in a number of examples. Instead of a single scriptural citation, a series of passages have been linked together.<sup>11</sup> The three elements are the same as in the examples already described, but in this case the literary force of the argument has been enhanced and developed by the addition of scriptural passages. There is no direct explication of the passages cited; they are summoned largely for their illustrative impact as the passages are thematically and/or verbally linked together. An example of this form is found in Romans 3:9-18. In order to substantiate and illustrate the assertion that both Jews and Greeks (all humankind) are under sin,<sup>12</sup> Paul quotes from Psalms 13:1-3 (LXX), 5:10 (LXX), 139:4 (LXX), 9:28 (LXX), 35:2 (LXX), and Isaiah 59:7-8. There is no direct explanation of these scriptural texts individually or as a whole; their interpretative value is found in the manner in which Paul considers them applicable to the statement which he seeks to demonstrate. Other examples related to this type of use occur in Romans 9:24-29,<sup>13</sup> 10:18-21,<sup>14</sup> 11:7-10,<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>These consist of both merged and chain (ἰσθ) quotations.

<sup>12</sup>Rom. 3:9. "... for we have already charged that both Jews and Greeks, all men, are under sin...."

<sup>13</sup>See Hos. 2:25 (LXX), 2:1 (LXX), Is. 10:22-23, and 1:9. The content of these scriptural texts extends beyond the establishment of the statement in Rom. 9:24, but the structure is basically a literary development of the form outlined above. Note also the verbal correspondence between ἐκάλεσεν in 9:24 and καλέσω and κληθήσονται in 9:25-26 and between ὑπόλειμμα in 9:27 and ἐγκατέλιπεν in 9:29.

<sup>14</sup>See Ps. 18:5 (LXX), Dt. 32:21, and Is. 65:1-2. In 10:18 and 19

and 15:8-12.<sup>16</sup>

Further modifications of the basic literary form can be identified and, for our purposes, ought to be described as mixed types. Among these, the simple form consisting of the three elements is usually preserved; but following the quotation, the scriptural passage is elaborated, interpreted, or applied. Thus, they are called mixed types because they exhibit the basic literary structure, but also include some form of scriptural elaboration or explanation. Three forms of mixed types can be identified: 1) scriptural text and elaboration, 2) scriptural text and interpretation or application, and 3) scriptural text and exhortation.

A brief discussion will suffice to indicate the way in which thematic elaboration follows and develops out of the basic form of scriptural use. This type of citation does not exhibit any identifying structural features,<sup>17</sup> but the force of the quotation is not directed only towards the opening statement. It also contributes to the development of the discussion following the citation. The elaboration that follows frequently involves the weaving together of words and ideas from the quotation into an exposition that in some respects resembles the

---

the sentences which lead to the citation of the scriptural references are interrogatives.

<sup>15</sup>See Dt. 29:3 (4), Is. 29:10, and Ps. 68:23-24 (LXX). The first two references are merged. Cf. the imagery in the opening statement in 11:7 and the quotations in 11:8-10.

<sup>16</sup>See Ps. 17:50 (LXX), Dt. 32:43 (LXX), Ps. 116:1 (LXX), and Is. 11:10. Note the verbal connection between the scriptural passages and the opening statement centring on the word ἔθνη. (Cf. also the quotations in Rom. 9:7ff.)

Regarding the use of formulae to introduce quotations from scripture, see: E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 22-25, 156-85; Fred L. Horton, "Formulas of Introduction," pp. 505-14; and Bruce M. Metzger, "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture," pp. 297-307.

<sup>17</sup>I.e. in addition to the basic literary form. See above, pp. 86-87.

Jewish midrashic homilies.<sup>18</sup> In I Corinthians 1:18, for example, Paul writes: "For the word of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God". This statement is followed by a formula of introduction and a quotation from Isaiah 29:14: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the cleverness of the clever I will confound". This theme is developed and elaborated in 1:20ff. Paul writes in verse twenty: "Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" And examination of 1:18-25 indicates that the scriptural citation is related not only to the opening statement but also contributes thematically and verbally to the discussion that follows.<sup>19</sup> This pattern is found frequently among Paul's citations;<sup>20</sup> and it illustrates that Paul's scriptural quotations were not used merely to establish a series of Pauline propositions, but were also used to develop his theological statements and expositions. This will become clearer in the following discussion.

---

<sup>18</sup>See the discussion above, pp. 20-21. In addition to the use of verbal associations to connect scriptural passages, the homilies exhibit a weaving together of words and themes for the purpose of fostering a religious attitude. The linking of passages from different parts of the scriptures is found in Paul (e.g. Rom. 4:1-8, 11:8-10, and Gal. 4: 21-27), but perhaps it is the use of scriptural passages and words to generate a religious discussion or homily that is the underlying feature which connects the use of scripture in this category and the midrashic homilies.

<sup>19</sup>Ellis has argued that I Cor. 1:18-31 and 2:6-16 were perhaps independent expositions originally. Thus Paul did not compose these sections himself. According to him, each of these midrashic sections is followed by an application to the Corinthian situation: 1) 1:18-31, midrash; 2) 2:1-5, application; 3) 2:6-16, midrash; 4) 3:1-17, application; and 5) 3:18-20, concluding section. If Ellis is correct, the structural form in 1:18ff cannot be attributed to Paul. Nevertheless, in the immediate context of 1:18-31, Isaiah 29:14 functions as scriptural support. See E. Earle Ellis, "Exegetical Patterns in I Corinthians and Romans," in Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978), pp. 213-20.

<sup>20</sup>See Rom. 2:6 (no I.F.), 4:3, 4:7-8 (verbal tally between Gen. 15: 6 LXX and Ps. 31:1-2 LXX), 4:17-18, 11:26-27, I Cor. 2:16 (perhaps it can be included in this category), 6:16, 15:45, II Cor. 9:9-10, and Eph. 4:8. In I Cor. 1:31 and II Cor. 10:17, Jer. 9:23 is cited, but this hortatory passage is only followed by an elaboration in the second of these Pauline references.

The second category of mixed types includes those citations which involve a short interpretation or application of the scriptural text. These can usually be identified structurally by the presence of a transition word which follows the quotation and introduces the exposition or application.<sup>21</sup> In Romans 11:4, Paul cites I Kings 19:18: "I have kept for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed a knee to Baal". Following this citation, the application is introduced with the words οὕτως οὖν: "So too in the present there is a remnant, chosen according to grace". Paul cites Psalm 68:10 (LXX) in Romans 15:3: "The reproaches of those who reproach you fell on me". The application follows: "For whatever (ὅσα γὰρ) was written beforehand was written for our instruction...." In I Corinthians 14:21, he quotes Isaiah 28:11-12, and he introduces his exposition with ὥστε: "Thus, tongues are not a sign for believers but for unbelievers". Finally, in I Corinthians 9:9-10 Paul quotes Deuteronomy 25:4; and following this citation, the expression (ἢ) δὲ ἡμᾶς is used twice as part of the application of the text: "Does he not speak completely for our sake? It was written for our sake...."<sup>22</sup> Each of these examples illustrates this second category of mixed type citations.

---

<sup>21</sup> See ἄρα (οὖν), Rom. 10:16f (perhaps an exposition of 10:14-16), 14:11f, and Gal. 3:6f. Cf. the use of ἄρα οὖν in Rom. 9:15f and 9:17f; these perhaps can be described as expository citations because the sense of the scriptural proof is obscured by the ambiguity in Paul's argument. ἄρα (οὖν) introduces the consequence or inference to be drawn from the citation (Kenneth Willis Clark, "The Meaning of APA," in Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich, eds. Eugene Howard Barth and Ronald Edwin Cocroft [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972], pp. 70-71). See οὕτως οὖν in Rom. 11:3ff, ὅσα γὰρ in Rom. 15:3f, τοῦτ' ἔστιν (ὅς ἐστιν) in Rom. 9:7f, and Gal. 3:16, and (ἢ) δὲ ἡμᾶς in I Cor. 9:9f. These expressions introduce the application of the scriptural texts. Finally, see ὥστε in I Cor. 3:19ff (introduces an exhortation), 14:21f, and Gal. 3:8f. See Liddell and Scott and Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich. In Gal. 4:29f, the application of the scriptural and religious imagery is made by means of the formula, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τότε... οὕτως καὶ νῦν. Cf. the use of δὲ (see N.T. variants) and δὲ ὑμᾶς in II Cor. 4:13ff and ἀλλὰ καὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς in Rom. 4:24. These types of words, however, do not always introduce the application of a scriptural passage. See I Cor. 10:7ff, 10:26f, and II Cor. 6:2f. Cf. also Eph. 4:8f.

<sup>22</sup> Rom. 9:7 and Gal. 3:16 are further examples in which Paul has applied scripture explicitly.

It may be interjected at this point that the midrash in Galatians 3:6ff is also related to these first two categories of mixed types. Perhaps the most conspicuous characteristic of this text is the development of verbal associations.<sup>23</sup> Paul uses scriptural words and ideas to connect passages and to illustrate his argument that justification and sonship are on the basis of faith and not works. The literary form of this argument is rooted in the structure of Jewish midrashic interpretation.<sup>24</sup> It is evident, however, from the situation of the epistle to the Galatians that this argument, based on the linking of words and scriptural passages, is intended to have a persuasive impact on the readers of the epistle.<sup>25</sup> Hence, there is an element of scriptural proof in this argument as well as an element of edification designed to instill a particular attitude with respect to justification and sonship, faith and works.

The third form of mixed type citations concludes with an exhortation following the scriptural passage. The imperative or hortatory subjunctive identifies this class of texts. Following the scriptural citations in Romans 12:19-20,<sup>26</sup> Paul exhorts his readers: "Do not be

---

<sup>23</sup>The key words are: Gen. 15:6 (ἐπίστευσεν, ἐλογίσθη, δικαιοσύνην); Gen. 18:18 and 12:3 (ἐνευλογηθήσονται, ἔθνη), cf. Gal. 3:9; Dt. 27:26 (ἐπικατάρατος); Hab. 2:4 (δίκαιος, πίστεως, ζήσεται); Lev. 18:5 (ζήσεται); and Dt. 21:23 (ἐπικατάρατος). For a discussion of the terminological character of Gal. 3:6ff see E.P. Sanders, Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 21-23. Cf. Rom. 4:3-8.

<sup>24</sup>See the discussion of 4Q Flor. above, pp. 50-52. Cf. also 11Q Melch.

<sup>25</sup>Gen. 15:6 serves as support for Gal. 3:1-5; and following the quotation of this passage, an exposition is introduced by ἄρα. In 3:8a a statement is set forth that is supported by a citation from Gen. 12:3 and 18:18 (3:8b). The exposition of this quotation begins with the word ὥστε. Following this exposition, Paul sets forth the proposition that "all who rely on works of the law are under a curse"; this is substantiated in 3:10b by a quotation from Dt. 27:26. The statement following this citation serves as an introduction to the quotation of Hab. 2:4 in 3:11. In 3:12 and 13, this same pattern is followed; an introductory statement is followed by a scriptural reference (3:12-Lev. 18:5 and 3:12-Dt. 21:23). Cf. Rom. 9:6-13.

<sup>26</sup>Dt. 32:35 and Prv. 25:21-22.

overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good". And in I Corinthians 3:19-21, he again quotes two scriptural passages; he follows these with the exhortation: "So let no one boast of men".<sup>27</sup> The series of scriptural texts in II Corinthians 6:16-18 is followed in 7:1 by the exhortation: "Therefore since we have these promises, beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from every defilement of body and spirit, and bring about sanctification in fear of God".<sup>28</sup> In each of these examples, the quotation is followed by a hortatory statement.<sup>29</sup> The scriptural passage relates not only to the opening statement of the basic literary form but also serves as a foundation for Paul's exhortation.

The use of scripture in Romans 10:6-8 deserves special consideration. In this section of the epistle, Paul distinguishes between righteousness by faith and righteousness by law, and he relates this distinction to the situation of Israel. In 10:5, Paul quotes Leviticus 18:5. This citation is followed immediately by an introductory formula: "But the righteousness by faith says". The introduction of the scriptural material in 10:6-8 with these words suggests that these verses are intended to relate to the discussion in 9:30ff. But the manner in which Paul uses Deuteronomy 8:17/9:4 and 30:12-14 indicates that the scriptural material does not function in these verses as a simple scriptural proof. Paul begins his use of Deuteronomy by citing the words recorded in both 8:17 and 9:4.<sup>30</sup> Following this injunction, he quotes selectively from Deuteronomy 30:12-14. Perhaps the most significant feature of Romans 10:6-8 is the structural pattern of the text: 1) scriptural citation, 2) τοῦτ'

---

<sup>27</sup> Job 5:12-13 and Ps. 93:11 LXX. Cf. note 19.

<sup>28</sup> Lev. 26:11-12 (Ezek. 37:27), Is. 52:11-12, and II Sam. 7:14. This section apparently has been inserted into the epistle.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. I Cor. 1:31, 5:13, 15:32, II Cor. 10:17, 13:1, and Gal. 4:30.

<sup>30</sup> "Do not say in your heart".

ἔστιν, and 3) exposition. This form is repeated three times in these verses; and in each case, τοῦτ' ἔστιν serves as an introduction to the explanation of the scriptural words.<sup>31</sup> The biblical material in this Pauline text is not used primarily for its value as proof. Rather, Paul uses it as a foundation upon which to base a christological statement.<sup>32</sup>

In the epistles, other forms of the use of scripture are also displayed. There are examples in which it is used for its rhetorical or literary value;<sup>33</sup> and in other instances, the language of scriptural texts is woven into the context of the epistles without explicit acknowledgment.<sup>34</sup> Still in other cases, scripture itself is used by Paul to make a didactic or hortatory statement.<sup>35</sup> Finally, in I Corinthians 15:54f we find a case in which Paul explicitly uses scripture eschatologically; the words of the text are expected to be fulfilled in the future: "... then shall come to pass the word that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory! O Death, where is your victory? O Death, where is your sting?'"<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Cf. the use of τοῦτ' ἔστιν in Rom. 9:7-8.

<sup>32</sup>See below, pp. 160-61.

<sup>33</sup>See Rom. 7:7, 10:15, 13:9, I Cor. 15:32, Gal. 5:14. Cf. also Rom. 8:36, 11:34-35, and Eph. 5:31; in these examples, scripture appears to function as a source of authority and perhaps also as a proof.

<sup>34</sup>See e.g. I Cor. 15:25, 15:27, Eph. 1:20, 1:22, and Col. 3:1. Scriptural allusion is common in the epistles. In Rom. 11:2, Paul cites Ps. 94:14 and I Sam. 12:22 without an I.F. In this context, the passage functions as a statement to be substantiated. Thus, the quotation from I Kgs. 19:10ff in Rom. 11:3-4 serves as confirmation of the assertion in 11:2.

<sup>35</sup>See e.g. I Cor. 5:13, II Cor. 13:1, and Eph. 6:2-3. Cf. also Gal. 4:30.

<sup>36</sup>See the interpretation which follows in I Cor. 15:55. Cf. also Rom. 2:6, 10:11, 10:13, 11:26-27, 14:11, II Cor. 6:2, and 9:10.

## Content

Considered thematically, scriptural quotations appear in a variety of contexts in the Pauline epistles.<sup>37</sup> To this point, we have been concerned with the structural features of these citations in relation to their immediate epistolary contexts, but now our attention is turned to the thematic characteristics of these references. Throughout, the relationship between Paul's thematic use of the individual scriptural passages and the larger contexts of the epistles must remain in view.

Perhaps the most readily identifiable thematic characteristic of Paul's use of scripture is the large number of quotations that are used in contexts which pertain to justification by faith, sonship, freedom from the law, and in general the soteriological relationship between Jews and Gentiles. In Romans 4:1-25, 9:6-11:33, and Galatians 3:1-4:31, the major blocks of material which deal with these issues, Paul makes use of at least forty-two scriptural citations.<sup>38</sup> In addition, he cites Habakkuk 2:4 in Romans 1:17. Hence, more than forty percent of Paul's quotations are used in connection with this group of interrelated issues.<sup>39</sup>

Within this general thematic category, a number of more specific themes can be identified. In Romans 1:17, 4:3, 4:17-18, 9:7, 9:9, Galatians 3:6, 3:8, 3:11, 3:16, 4:27, and 4:30, Paul uses scriptural material to develop and establish his argument that righteousness and sonship are on the basis of faith and not works of law. In the story of Abraham's

---

<sup>37</sup> Among the citations which have been identified as explicit quotations, there are fifty-five in Rom.; eighteen in I Cor.; ten in II Cor.; ten in Gal.; five in Eph.; and one in Col.

<sup>38</sup> Twenty-nine are in Rom. 9-11, nine are in Gal. 3-4, and four are in Rom. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the discussion by Philipp Vielhauer, "Paulus und das Alte Testament," pp. 33-62.

two sons in Galatians 4:21-31, he argues that sonship is passed through the line of Isaac and not the line of Ishmael; but also woven into this account is the antithesis between slavery and freedom. Sarah is referred to as ἐλευθέρα and Hagar as παιδίσκη. In Galatians 4:30f Paul writes: "But what does scripture say? 'Cast out the slave and her son, for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman'. Therefore brethren we are not children of the slave but of the free woman".<sup>40</sup> This illustrates the interconnection in this text between Paul's understanding of sonship on the basis of the promise made to Abraham and his distinction between slavery and freedom.

The election of the Gentiles is another theme which Paul seeks to illustrate and confirm by means of direct reference to scripture. In Romans 9:10ff, he makes use of scripture in order to establish the assertion that God shows mercy to whomever he wills.<sup>41</sup> In the larger context of Romans 9-11, however, this point is related to the argument that God has called his people from both the Jews and the Gentiles.<sup>42</sup> In Romans 9:25-26, Paul cites from Hosea 2:23 (25) and 1:10 (2:1), and this combined reference serves to substantiate the claim that the Gentiles are included among God's chosen people. Against the background of the quotations from Isaiah 28:16 and Joel 3:5 in Romans 10:11 and 10:13, Paul cites Isaiah 65:1 in 10:20: "I have been found by those who did not seek me, I have shown myself to those who did not ask for me". And although the context in Romans 15:1-13 is different, the scriptural quotations in this text establish a connection for Paul between Christ, the promises to the patriarchs, and the election of the Gentiles.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup>The scriptural citation is from Gen. 21:10.

<sup>41</sup>Rom. 9:15.      <sup>42</sup>Rom. 9:24.

<sup>43</sup>Rom. 15:9 (Ps. 17:50 LXX), 15:10 (Dt. 32:43), 15:11 (Ps. 116:1 LXX), and 15:12 (Is. 11:10).

Another theme related to the general category identified above has to do with the salvation of Israel. In Romans 9:27-29 and 11:2-4,<sup>44</sup> Paul uses remnant imagery from scripture to make a statement about the judgment of Israel and also to affirm that God has not rejected his people. He uses scriptural statements in Romans 11:8-10 to argue that those who have been hardened against the gospel have been given a "spirit of stupor", that "their table has become a trap and a snare", and that "their eyes have been darkened so that they cannot see".<sup>45</sup> And he cites Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9 in Romans 11:26-27 to illustrate the statement: "... and so all Israel shall be saved". Paul uses Deuteronomy 32:21 in Romans 10:19 to introduce the idea that the Gentiles are being used to make the Jews jealous;<sup>46</sup> and related to this is his use of scripture in 10:14-18 in order to assert that the word of faith has been proclaimed: "Their voice has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world".<sup>47</sup> It is apparent from this discussion that Paul has used scriptural citations from a variety of contexts for the purpose of establishing a number of different assertions concerning Israel's salvation.

There are, however, many quotations in the epistles which pertain to themes other than those already identified. In Romans 3:10-18, Paul uses a scriptural catena to demonstrate that all people, both Jews and Greeks, are under sin.<sup>48</sup> Two citations, Psalm 32:1-2 in Romans 4:7-8 and Isaiah 27:9 in Romans 11:27 speak about the forgiveness

---

<sup>44</sup>See Hos. 1:10 (2:1), Is. 10:22-23, 1:9, and I Kgs. 19:10-18. Cf. Ps. 94:14 and I Sam. 12:22. Cf. also Rom. 2:6.

<sup>45</sup>See Is. 29:10, Dt. 29:3, and Ps. 68:23-24 LXX.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:11ff.

<sup>47</sup>Rom. 10:18 (Ps. 18:5 LXX). See also Is. 52:7 and 53:1.

<sup>48</sup>See Pss. 13:1-3 LXX, 5:10 LXX, 139:4 LXX, 9:28 LXX, 35:2 LXX, and Is. 59:7-8.

of sins, though the larger Pauline contexts of these quotations are primarily about issues other than forgiveness. In Romans 7:7 and 10:5, Paul uses quotations to illustrate statements about the use and function of the law;<sup>49</sup> and in as many as eighteen instances, he cites scripture in contexts which have to do with ethical behaviour and conduct.<sup>50</sup> Paul also cites scripture in order to make general eschatological or soteriological statements;<sup>51</sup> and in some cases, he uses it to make a theological statement.<sup>52</sup> In I Corinthians 1:18-3:23, he cites scripture six times and in each case it is related to the wisdom theme of the section.<sup>53</sup> In addition to these topics, there are dispersed through the epistles a variety of less prominent issues to which Paul also relates scripture. He uses quotations in connection with the sharing of material wealth,<sup>54</sup> his own apostleship and ministry,<sup>55</sup> suffering,<sup>56</sup> speaking in tongues,<sup>57</sup> and congregational adjudication.<sup>58</sup>

This leads us to a discussion of one of the most significant thematic characteristics of Paul's quotations from scripture. In I Corinthians 15:3ff, Paul records the familiar kerygmatic statement with

---

<sup>49</sup>See Ex. 20:17, Dt. 5:21, and Lev. 18:5. Cf. also Gal. 3:10-12.

<sup>50</sup>See Rom. 12:19, 12:20, 13:9, 14:11, 15:9, 15:10, 15:11, 15:12, I Cor. 5:13, 6:16, 10:7, 10:26, II Cor. 6:16, 6:17, 6:18, Gal. 5:14, Eph. 5:31, and 6:2-3. Cf. I Cor. 15:54ff.

<sup>51</sup>See Rom. 2:6, I Cor. 15:32, 15:54-55, and II Cor. 6:2. Cf. Rom. 10:11, 10:13, and 14:11.

<sup>52</sup>See Rom. 3:4, 11:34, 11:35, and I Cor. 2:16. Cf. Rom. 9:12-15.

<sup>53</sup>1:19 (Is. 29:14), 1:31 (Jer. 9:23), 2:9 (see Is. 64:3 and 65:16), 2:16 (Is. 40:13), 3:19 (Job 5:13), and 3:20 (Ps. 93:11 LXX).

<sup>54</sup>II Cor. 8:15 and 9:9-10.

<sup>55</sup>Rom. 15:21, I Cor. 9:9, and II Cor. 10:17. Cf. II Cor. 3:4-4:18.

<sup>56</sup>Rom. 8:36 and see also II Cor. 4:13.

<sup>57</sup>I Cor. 14:21.

<sup>58</sup>II Cor. 13:1.

its two-fold assertion that "Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures" and that "he was raised on the third day according to the scriptures". In Acts, Luke makes three explicit statements about Paul's use of scripture. In 17:2-3, he writes: "... and for three sabbaths he argued with them from the scriptures; and he explained and demonstrated that it was necessary for Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead and that 'this Jesus whom I proclaim to you is the Christ'". Likewise, in 18:28 he states: "... for he vehemently refuted the Jews in public and showed by the scriptures that Jesus was the Christ". And finally, in 28:23, Luke writes: "... he explained and testified to the kingdom of God and tried to convince them concerning Jesus from the law of Moses and the prophets from morning until evening".<sup>59</sup> There is no compelling reason to think that Paul did not do this during the course of his missionary work;<sup>60</sup> but in the epistles, he does not use scriptural quotations in this way.<sup>61</sup> The addressees of the epistles were already followers of Christ. When compared with the total number of citations in the epistles, those direct quotations which can be considered to be explicitly christological in terms of content are limited. This, however, should not be understood to imply that Paul does not use scriptural allusion or language christologically.<sup>62</sup>

In Romans 9:33, the "stone of stumbling" is probably intended to be understood as Christ;<sup>63</sup> and in 10:6-8 a statement is made about

---

<sup>59</sup> See the use of scripture in the speech at Antioch Pisidia, Acts 13:16ff.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the discussions by Traugott Holtz, "Zur Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament," pp. 19-31 and Barnabas Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology," pp. 59-66.

<sup>61</sup> Contrast the use of quotations christologically in Hebrews.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. Rom. 5:12-21, I Cor. 10:1ff, 15:20ff, Phil. 2:5-11, and Col. 1:15-23. See also J. Lambrecht, "Paul's Christological Use of Scripture," pp. 502-27.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. also Rom. 10:11 and 10:13. In these two references, Paul is referring to belief in Christ. See also below, p. 117.

Christ's death and resurrection. Deuteronomy 21:23 is quoted in Galatians 3:13, and this reference is used to illustrate the statement that Christ has become a curse. In Galatians 3:16, the off-spring of Abraham is identified as Christ. And in I Corinthians 15:25ff, christological references to Psalms 8:7 and 110:1b are made.<sup>64</sup> In Romans 15:3 Paul writes: "For Christ did not please himself, but as it is written, 'the reproaches of those who reproached you fell on me'". This statement also provides the background for the citations in 15:9-12. In the context of the discussion concerning the proclamation of the gospel in Romans 15:21, Paul has an indirect reference to Christ in mind when citing Isaiah 52:13ff.<sup>65</sup> And finally, the word *ῥυόμενος* from Isaiah 59:20 in Romans 11:26 also appears to refer to Christ.<sup>66</sup> In addition there are citations in Ephesians 1:20, 1:22, 4:8, 5:31, and Colossians 3:1 which also display explicit christological themes; but apart from these two epistles, the direct quotations that have christological content are confined largely to the ones which have been mentioned. Even in these texts, however, Paul does not display an interest in developing christological arguments from biblical quotations; the epistolary contexts frequently pertain primarily to other topics. Furthermore, it often appears that the scriptural texts that do display an explicit christological imprint may have entered into Paul's use from the tradition of the early church.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup>Cf. also I Cor. 15:45.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. also Rom. 10:16 (Is. 53:1). See below, pp. 120-24.

<sup>66</sup>That this word most likely refers to Christ/messiah is the conclusion of W.D. Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," pp. 25-27 and Dieter Zeller, Juden und Heiden, p. 259.

<sup>67</sup>This may be the case in Rom. 9:33 (Is. 28:16 and 8:14), 10:6-8 (Dt. 30:12-14), 15:3 (Psalm 69:10), 15:12 (Is. 11:10), 15:21 (Is. 52:15), and I Cor. 15:25-27, Eph. 1:20-22, and Col. 3:1 (Pss. 8:7 and 110:1). It is perhaps also the case in Rom. 5:12-21, I Cor. 15:20ff, and Phil. 2:5-11. Koch argues that Phil. 2:6-11, Rom. 9:33, 15:12, and 11:25-26a are the four texts which exhibit a "pre-Pauline" christological use of scripture; "Schriftgebrauch," pp. 174-91.

Presumably, the primary reasons Paul would have had for using scriptural citations to develop explicit christological arguments would have been if he himself were unsure about Christ's identity or if he had encountered questions or objections concerning his understanding of Christ. There is no reason to suspect that Paul himself was uncertain about the significance of Christ. Moreover, among the undisputed Pauline epistles,<sup>68</sup> there is no compelling evidence to suggest that Paul's christological convictions were under direct attack. Hence, Paul nowhere in the epistles appears to be compelled by necessity to elaborate his understanding of Christ on the basis of explicit references.

Five texts, however, require further discussion. In Romans 5:12-21 and I Corinthians 15:22, 45-50, Paul develops arguments concerning the relationship between Adam and Christ. The reference to scriptural persons and images in these texts is of course indisputable. Nevertheless, in both passages Paul has confined himself largely to the use of words and images from the biblical material rather than developing his arguments on the basis of explicit citations. These are not discussions in which Paul has sought to bring the full force of scripture's authority to bear through the express introduction and quotation of biblical passages. In I Corinthians 10:4, Christ is identified as the "rock". This text will be discussed more fully in chapter eight,<sup>69</sup> but it is necessary to note at this point that the connection between Christ and the "rock" appears to have come about through a technique of substituting Christ for Torah. Thus, the most prominent characteristic of this passage may not be Paul's attempt at christological elaboration but rather his technique of relating Christ

---

<sup>68</sup>If. Col. is a genuinely Pauline epistle, it could be argued that Paul in Colossae encountered a problem which was fundamentally christological.

<sup>69</sup>See below, pp. 264-67.

to a scriptural image. Moreover, in 10:5ff Paul's discussion focuses on ethical rather than christological issues.

It is common to identify scriptural allusions and references in the so-called Christ hymn of Philippians 2:6-11.<sup>70</sup> It is by no means certain, however, that these verses were composed originally by Paul.<sup>71</sup> The fact that the christological material has been placed in an epistolary context which is largely ethical may argue against Pauline authorship.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the vocabulary and the emphasis of these verses have been alleged not to be characteristic of Paul.<sup>73</sup> In any case, Philippians 2:6-11 is not an exegetical discussion based on the explicit introduction and quotation of biblical texts. The author has not attempted to elaborate and substantiate his christological understanding in this manner. The material in Colossians 1:15-20 must also be mentioned in this regard. Christological references to creation images are evident in this text,<sup>74</sup> but once again the matter of authorship is unclear.<sup>75</sup> And, although there may be an exegetical argument at work in this text,<sup>76</sup> it is apparent that direct quotations have not been

---

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. Morna D. Hooker, "Philippians 2:6-11," in Jesus und Paulus, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Erich Gräßer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), pp. 151-64 and Koch, "Schriftgebrauch," pp. 176-78.

<sup>71</sup> Hooker, "Philippians 2:6-11," pp. 151ff.

<sup>72</sup> For a brief discussion of the use of the term "pre-Pauline" with respect to this text see F.W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), pp. 77-78.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 77. See also G. B. Caird, Paul's Letters from Prison, The New Clarendon Bible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 100-104.

<sup>74</sup> See W.D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism (London: SPCK, 1948), pp. 150-52 and Eduard Lohse, Colossians and Philemon, trans. William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris, Hermeneia Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 46.

<sup>75</sup> See the discussion by Caird, Letters from Prison, pp. 174-82.

<sup>76</sup> Lohse disputes (Colossians, pp. 46-47) the exegetical hypothesis set forth by C.F. Burney, whereas Davies subscribes to it (Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 151-52).

summoned to substantiate the author's remarks.

In conclusion, we can say that while there is considerable christological material in the Pauline epistles, it is not an issue which prompts Paul to engage in direct scriptural argumentation. On the contrary, this aspect of his manner of arguing from scripture is extremely limited.

### Scriptural Context

#### Content

The content of the Pauline quotations is varied; nevertheless, four basic categories of scriptural material can be identified. Paul uses both "narrative" and "legal" passages,<sup>77</sup> but most of his citations are taken from the prophets and Psalms.<sup>78</sup> The "narrative" material is taken mainly from the patriarchal stories in Genesis twelve through twenty-five,<sup>79</sup> but passages from Genesis 2:7, 2:24, Exodus 9:16, 16:18, 32:6, 33:19,<sup>80</sup> Deuteronomy 29:4,<sup>81</sup> II Samuel 7:14, and I Kings 19:10-18 are also quoted explicitly.<sup>82</sup> In Romans 9:13, Paul cites Malachi 1:2-3; in this text, the prophet makes reference to the account of Jacob and Esau in Genesis. Although Paul's quotation of this passage is from the

---

<sup>77</sup>The terms "narrative" and "legal" are used to correspond with what, in doctrinal language, is usually described as haggadah and halakah.

<sup>78</sup>Almost two-thirds of Paul's quotations are taken from the prophets and Psalms. A strict distinction, however, cannot be made between the "narrative" and "legal" texts and the material from the prophets and Psalms.

<sup>79</sup>Gen. 15:6 (Rom. 4:3 and Gal. 3:6), 17:5 (Rom. 4:17), 15:5 (Rom. 4:18), 21:12 (Rom. 9:7), 18:10 and 14 (Rom. 9:9), 25:23 (Rom. 9:12), 12:3 (Gal. 3:8), 22:18 et al. (3:16), and 21:10 (4:30). Cf. also Mal. 1:2-3.

<sup>80</sup>The references from Ex. are from contexts which have to do with the plagues, the manna from heaven, the worship of the golden idol, and the tent of meeting.

<sup>81</sup>The context of this passage is an historical résumé by Moses.

<sup>82</sup>This reference is from the story of Elijah's revelation on Mt. Horeb.

prophet, it is evident from the context in which he uses the text that he has the patriarchal background of the material in mind.<sup>83</sup>

The "legal" texts from Leviticus and Deuteronomy among Paul's citations all relate to the ethical conduct of Israel. Three references are from the Decalogue,<sup>84</sup> and three are from the "holiness code" in Leviticus.<sup>85</sup> Leviticus 18:5 is part of an introduction to a section that concerns forbidden sexual relations; and 19:18 is in a context that deals with the ethical and cultic conduct of the people of Israel. The context of Leviticus 26:11-12 has to do with the consequences that accrue from the observance of God's commandments.<sup>86</sup> From Deuteronomy, Paul cites 17:7,<sup>87</sup> 19:15, 21:23, 25:4, 27:26, and 30:12-14 (8:17 and 9:4).<sup>88</sup> The first four of these references come from passages of which the immediate contexts concern the religious, ethical, and juridical conduct of Israel. Deuteronomy 27:26 contains the final curse recorded in the account of the covenant ceremony on Mount Ebal; and Deuteronomy 30:12-14 is from a Mosaic discourse in which the people of Israel are exhorted to keep the commandments and to renew the covenant.

The prophetic material among the Pauline quotations is too diverse to be categorized easily, but an examination of these references yields a number of observations. Paul cites two passages from the oracles delivered against the religious and civil leaders in chapter twenty-eight;<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup>Cf. also I Sam. 12:22 (Ps. 94:14).

<sup>84</sup>See Ex. 20:17-Dt. 5:21 (Rom. 7:7), Ex. 20:13-17-Dt. 5:17-21 (Rom. 13:9), and Ex. 20:12-Dt. 5:16 (Eph. 6:2-3).

<sup>85</sup>See Lev. 18:5 (Rom. 10:5 and Gal. 3:12), 19:18 (Gal. 5:14), and 26:11-12 (II Cor. 6:16).

<sup>86</sup>Cf. Ezek. 37:27.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Dt. 13:6, 17:12, 19:19, 21:21, 22:21, 22:22, and 22:24.

<sup>88</sup>See I Cor. 5:13, II Cor. 13:1, Gal. 3:13, I Cor. 9:9, Gal. 3:10, and Rom. 10:6-8.

<sup>89</sup>Is. 28:16 (Rom. 9:33 and 10:11) and Is. 28:11-12 (I Cor. 14:21).

and two are taken from the material concerning the spiritual blindness of the people in chapter twenty-nine.<sup>90</sup> And in Isaiah 1:9 and 10:22, "remnant" imagery is found.<sup>91</sup>

Paul cites passages from Isaiah 52:5, 52:7, and 52:11-12;<sup>92</sup> the context of these references has to do with the restoration of Jerusalem. Isaiah 52:3-6 appears to be an interpolation, but it is clear that these words are part of a larger literary context in which the restitution of Jerusalem is announced. The theme of hope and assurance is continued in Isaiah 54:1-55:13; and from this, Paul cites 54:1 and 55:10.<sup>93</sup> Between the two sections 52:1-12 and 54:1-55:13, the fourth of the so-called "servant songs" is found. From this section, Paul quotes explicitly 52:15 and 53:1.<sup>94</sup> This cluster of references from Isaiah fifty-two through fifty-five indicates that this material was exegetically important for Paul, as it was for other writers of the New Testament.<sup>95</sup> Material from this context supplied Paul and others in the early church with scriptural passages which were found to be useful in developing and substantiating their religious claims.

The quotations from Hosea 2:23 (25) and 1:10 (2:1) are taken from sections within the prophetic book which announce that Israel's judgment will not be final.<sup>96</sup> These two sections, 1:10-2:1 and 2:14-3:5, are contained within a larger context in which Israel is portrayed as playing the role of a harlot. The passages which have been used by

---

<sup>90</sup>Is. 29:10 (Rom. 11:8) and Is. 29:14 (I Cor. 1:19).

<sup>91</sup>Cf. also Is. 10:22-23 (Rom. 9:27), Is. 8:14 (Rom. 9:33), Is. 11:10 (Rom. 15:12), Is. 22:13 (I Cor. 15:32), Is. 25:8 (I Cor. 15:54).

<sup>92</sup>See Rom. 2:24, 10:15, and II Cor. 6:17.

<sup>93</sup>See Gal. 4:27 and II Cor. 9:10.

<sup>94</sup>See Rom. 15:21 and Rom. 10:16.

<sup>95</sup>Cf. e.g. Mt. 8:17 and I Pet. 2:24-25. See below, pp. 120-24.

<sup>96</sup>See Rom. 9:25-28.

Paul are parts of sections which stand out thematically from the remainder of Hosea. Finally, the citation from Joel 3:5 is taken from the prophet's account of the "day of Yahweh";<sup>97</sup> and Habakkuk 2:4 is recorded in a literary context in which the prophet receives a reply from God to his question.<sup>98</sup>

Among the Psalm quotations, those which are from contexts which contain a plea for deliverance or protection from one's enemies comprise the largest group. Paul makes reference to eleven of these Psalm passages, and all but one of them is in Romans.<sup>99</sup> Because of the frequency with which Paul has quoted from this type of Psalm, there can be little doubt that these themes were important for him. Paul also cites Psalms which contain statements of blessing and thanksgiving,<sup>100</sup> pertain to the king,<sup>101</sup> reflect a setting in Israelite worship,<sup>102</sup> and set forth a hymn in which the glory of God is extolled by the heavens and in the Torah.<sup>103</sup> From the wisdom tradition, Paul quotes Proverbs 24:12 and 25:21-22;<sup>104</sup> and two passages, 5:12-13 and 41:3, are taken from Job.<sup>105</sup> Finally, from the so-called "song of Moses" in Deuteronomy

---

<sup>97</sup> See Rom. 10:13.

<sup>98</sup> See Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11. See also J.A. Sanders, "Habakkuk in Qumran, Paul, and the Old Testament," Journal of Religion XXXIX (1959): 232ff.

<sup>99</sup> Ps. 51:6 (Rom. 3:4), Ps. 14:1-3 (Rom. 3:10-12), Ps. 5:10 (Rom. 3:13a), Ps. 140:4 (Rom. 3:13b), Ps. 10:7 (Rom. 3:14), Ps. 36:2 (Rom. 3:18), Ps. 44:23 (Rom. 8:36), Ps. 94:14 (Rom. 11:2), Ps. 69:23-24 (Rom. 11:9-10), Ps. 69:10 (Rom. 15:3), and Ps. 94:11 (I Cor. 3:20).

<sup>100</sup> Pss. 32:1-2 (Rom. 4:7-8), 18:50 (Rom. 15:9), and 116:10 (II Cor. 4:13). Cf. also Ps. 117:1.

<sup>101</sup> Ps. 110:1ff.

<sup>102</sup> Pss. 24:1 (I Cor. 10:26) and 68:19 (Eph. 4:8).

<sup>103</sup> Ps. 19:5 (Rom. 10:18).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. also Ps. 112:9 (II Cor. 9:9).

<sup>105</sup> I Cor. 3:19 and Rom. 11:35. Cf. the quotations from Is. 40:13 in Rom. 11:34 and I Cor. 2:16.

31:30-32:47, Paul makes reference to 32:21, 32:35, and 32:43. The three citations from this context suggest that it, too, was a section of some hermeneutical importance for Paul.

To this point, it has been established that certain scriptural contexts and types of passages provide a disproportionately high number of Pauline quotations. Moreover, the number of quotations from these contexts -- Genesis twelve through twenty-five, Deuteronomy 31:30-32:47, Isaiah fifty-two through fifty-five, Psalms containing a plea for deliverance and protection, and perhaps also the "legal" material from Deuteronomy and Leviticus -- suggests not only that these were blocks of material with which Paul was especially familiar but also that he considered them to be useful in developing and substantiating individual arguments within his epistles.<sup>106</sup> Except for the almost exclusive use of the material from Genesis twelve through twenty-five in epistolary contexts which have to do with sonship and justification by faith and the use of five Psalms in the catena concerning sin in Romans three,<sup>107</sup> there is no clear thematic pattern regarding Paul's use of these blocks of material.

#### Use of Context

But did Paul use his quotations from these sections as "pointers" to the larger scriptural contexts? From our examination of the form and function of Paul's citations, it is evident that allusion to the larger scriptural context was not necessary for his use of scripture to be effective. The scriptural words cited had authority in themselves. They represented the holiness and power of scripture. To the extent

---

<sup>106</sup> That a Jew of Paul's education would have been thoroughly familiar with these sections of scripture is hardly surprising.

<sup>107</sup> It cannot be asserted with certainty that Paul was responsible for the construction of this catena. It may have been part of his received tradition in which case this series of passages does not reflect his selection of scriptural material.

that Paul's citations functioned as scriptural proofs, there is no formal or literary reason why the larger biblical context necessarily would have been important for Paul or his readers.

Still there is a difference between asserting that a citation was not intended formally as a "pointer" and asserting that it did not function in that way. Considering Paul's familiarity with the blocks of material which have been identified, it is difficult to think that he was not conscious of the larger scriptural contexts when he cited individual passages from these sections. Likewise, the readers of the epistles may have read individual quotations and had brought to mind the larger scriptural contexts of these passages. The most likely examples of this would have been among the quotations from the patriarchal stories and the Exodus narratives; but it is also possible that it happened with the quotations from Isaiah fifty-two through fifty-five, the "legal" material, the "song of Moses", and perhaps also other individual texts.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, this is difficult to establish with any degree of precision.

Paul's citations, however, do not function only as scriptural proofs. In Romans 7:7, for example, Paul writes: "But if it had not been for the law, I should not have known sin. For I should not have known what it is to covet if the law had not said, 'you shall not covet'". This reference is used for the purpose of making a statement about the function of the law. In this context, it is evident that Paul is not concerned fundamentally about coveteousness. The commandment, "you shall not covet", serves for Paul as an example or illustration. In Paul's argument, this commandment represents the law; and it is used to make a statement about the law and its function. As an example, it points beyond itself.

---

<sup>108</sup>Cf. also e.g. Gen. 2:7 (I Cor. 15:45) and I Kgs. 19:10ff (Rom. 11:3-4).

In Romans 13:9, Paul again quotes from the Decalogue. He writes: "For the commandments 'You shall not commit adultery, You shall not kill, You shall not steal, You shall not covet', and any other commandment are summed up in this...." These specific commandments illustrate the totality of the commandments of the law. These and "any other commandment can be summed up, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself'".<sup>109</sup> Instead of an impulse towards greater legal casuistry, this reflects an attempt to simplify and to capture the fundamental purpose and significance of the law.<sup>110</sup> The command, "to love your neighbour", is a summary of the Decalogue which itself is a summary of the law. In both of these examples, the specific commandments have a larger frame of reference than the meanings of the individual words themselves.

Among the explicit quotations which have not been taken from the blocks of material identified above or from other historical narratives in scripture,<sup>111</sup> we discover that there appears to be little or no direct evidence that the larger scriptural contexts were thematically important for Paul. For example, in Romans 15:9 Paul quotes Psalm 18:50; and he uses the passage to substantiate the claim that Christ became a servant to the circumcised in order to confirm the promises given to the patriarchs and in order that the Gentiles might glorify God. The scriptural verse, however, is part of a statement of praise that concludes a psalm in which the king has given thanks for his victory in battle. There does not appear to be any thematic material in this psalm which would enhance Paul's discussion. Rather, the use

---

<sup>109</sup> Lev. 19:18. Cf. Gal. 5:14.

<sup>110</sup> See Geza Vermes' comment concerning Jesus and the law in "The Gospel of Jesus the Jew," Riddell Memorial Lectures (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1981), p. 40.

<sup>111</sup> I.e. the sections of scriptural material that are prominent in Paul's usage and those that are prominent in the usage of the developing tradition of the early church.

of this scriptural passage by Paul hinges on the presence of the word ἔθνη (LXX) which serves as a linking term in Romans 15:9-12. Hence, the use of Psalm 18:50 has probably been suggested to Paul by the verbal and thematic connection and not by the larger scriptural context of the passage. This also appears to be the case with respect to the quotation of Psalm 117:1 in Romans 15:11. Further, the quotations in Romans 9:25-29 are governed largely by the verbal and thematic links between the respective passages rather than by their scriptural contexts.<sup>112</sup> This is most likely the case also in Romans 1:17, 4:7-8, I Corinthians 3:19, II Corinthians 10:17, and Galatians 3:11.<sup>113</sup> Finally, in Romans 12:20, 14:11, I Corinthians 5:13, 6:16, 10:26, II Corinthians 6:16, Ephesians 5:31, and 6:2-3, Paul uses scriptural texts to make statements regarding ethical behaviour and conduct; but there is no firm evidence to indicate that Paul had the scriptural contexts of the individual passages in view.<sup>114</sup> Thus, on the basis of the evidence of the epistles there is no solid indication that Paul's quotations were intended to function formally or literarily as "pointers" to the larger scriptural context.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup>See below, pp. 178-79.

<sup>113</sup>Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11 (δικαίος), Rom. 4:7-8 (λογίζηται), I Cor. 3:19 (σοφία), and II Cor. 10:17 (καυχάομαι).

<sup>114</sup>Other citations which exhibit no express connection between Paul's use of the individual passage and the larger scriptural context are Rom. 2:6 (Prv. 12:24, Ps. 62:13), 10:18 (Ps. 19:5), 10:20-21 (Is. 65:1-2), 11:26-27 (Is. 59:20), 11:34 (Is. 40:13), 11:35 (Job 41:3), I Cor. 1:31 (Jer. 9:23), 2:9 (Is. 64:4 and 65:16), 2:16 (Is. 40:13), II Cor. 4:13 (Ps. 116:10), 6:2 (Is. 49:8), and 9:9 (Ps. 112:9).

<sup>115</sup>Cf. the results which have been obtained by Albert C. Sundberg, "On Testimonies," Novum Testamentum III (1959):271-74. His evidence appears to refute Dodd's hypothesis. As we have indicated, the citations in Rom. 7:7 and 13:9 concerning the law point beyond themselves, but it is doubtful that they were intended to function literarily as "pointers".

### Respect for Context

The degree to which Paul exhibits respect for the scriptural contexts of his quotations is a separate but related topic; and without examining each citation individually, it is difficult to be precise. Still some patterns can be observed which further illustrate the relationship between Paul's use of individual citations and their larger scriptural contexts. Among the thirteen "legal" passages from the Pentateuch cited by Paul, six are used in the epistles in contexts which pertain primarily to conduct.<sup>116</sup> Four are used to make statements about the law and faith;<sup>117</sup> two are applied to Christ;<sup>118</sup> and one is used in a context which concerns Paul's apostolic rights.<sup>119</sup> This illustrates that Paul was not restrained from using "legal" passages in literary contexts other than those pertaining to moral and ethical conduct. To this extent, Paul's respect for the scriptural contexts of these citations was incidental.

Paul's use of "narrative" material, too, displays varying degrees of correspondence between the quotation of the individual passages and the scriptural contexts. The citations from Genesis twelve through twenty-five have been applied by Paul to his argument concerning righteousness and sonship. Although he has applied this material to the circumstances of his Gentile mission, he has not disregarded necessarily the larger literary context of the individual citations. In Romans 4:9ff, Paul makes a point of referring to the chronology of the Genesis

---

<sup>116</sup>Rom. 13:9 (Dt. 5:17-21, Ex. 20:13-17), I Cor. 5:13 (Dt. 13:6 et al.), II Cor. 6:16 (Lev. 26:11-12, cf. Ezek. 37:27), 13:1 (Dt. 19:15), Gal. 5:14 (Lev. 19:18), and Eph. 6:2-3 (Dt. 5:16, Ex. 20:12).

<sup>117</sup>Rom. 7:7 (Ex. 20:17, Dt. 5:21), 10:5 (Lev. 18:5), Gal. 3:10 (Dt. 27:26), and 3:12 (Lev. 18:5).

<sup>118</sup>Rom. 10:6-8 (Dt. 30:12-14, cf. Dt. 9:4) and Gal. 3:13 (Dt. 21:23).

<sup>119</sup>I Cor. 9:9 (Dt. 25:4).

narrative. Abraham was reckoned as being righteous before he was circumcised. Hence, his righteousness was on the basis of faith. In this example, Paul makes explicit reference to the larger context because it appears to support his argument and because it serves as a way of uncovering another aspect of the text. Among the citations from the "narrative" material other than the patriarchal stories, Paul's respect for the scriptural contexts is, once again, largely incidental. In four instances, "narrative" passages are used in contexts which pertain to ethics;<sup>120</sup> and in Romans 11:2-4, citations are used to indicate that a remnant will remain.<sup>121</sup> Two passages from the Exodus narrative are used by Paul to affirm the sovereignty and freedom of God.<sup>122</sup> In both of these examples, Paul has focused on only one aspect of the larger story. Likewise, he has used Exodus 16:18 in order to make a statement about the Jerusalem offering;<sup>123</sup> and in this case, too, he has isolated one aspect of the story and used it to substantiate his argument. In each of these citations from Exodus, a single passage has been extracted from its context, and it has been used without concern for its larger scriptural background.<sup>124</sup> This is not an uncommon feature of Paul's use of scriptural quotations.<sup>125</sup>

The psalm citations which are taken from scriptural contexts that contain a plea for deliverance and protection are also used in a

---

<sup>120</sup>I Cor. 6:16 (Gen. 2:24), 10:7 (Ex. 32:6), II Cor. 6:18 (II Sam. 7:14), and Eph. 5:31 (Gen. 2:24). David Daube has asserted that there were instances in Judaism in the first century in which haggadic material came to be understood as halakah. See David Daube, The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (London: Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 67ff.

<sup>121</sup>I Kgs. 19:10-18 and I Sam. 12:22. Cf. Ps. 94:14.

<sup>122</sup>Rom. 9:15 (Ex. 33:19) and 9:17 (9:16).

<sup>123</sup>II Cor. 8:15.

<sup>124</sup>Cf. the use of Gen. 2:7 in I Cor. 15:45.

<sup>125</sup>Cf. e.g. the quotations from Hos. 2:23 (25) and 1:10 (2:1) in Rom. 9:25-26.

manner which indicates that respect for the context of an individual passage was extrinsic to Paul's manner of using biblical quotations. Five of these psalms are used in a context which has to do with sin;<sup>126</sup> and one each is used in contexts which pertain to the justice of God,<sup>127</sup> the distress involved in being a follower of Christ,<sup>128</sup> God's faithfulness to Israel,<sup>129</sup> God's judgment of Israel,<sup>130</sup> the abasement of Christ,<sup>131</sup> and the futility of wisdom.<sup>132</sup> This distribution is further evidence that Paul's respect for the scriptural context of his quotations was, in the main, circumstantial.

#### Context of the Early Church's Developing Tradition

Paul used scripture within the context of a developing tradition of interpretation. In the early church and in Judaism, scripture was interpreted; and religious traditions often developed in connection with the interpretation of biblical texts.<sup>133</sup> Thus, the problem of "context" has implications which pertain not only to the epistolary and scriptural contexts but also to the place of individual passages and texts within the developing interpretative tradition. The important point for our purposes is the question of how, if at all, Paul's use of specific scriptural references has been influenced by the passages' wider context in history and tradition. We shall not undertake an exhaustive

---

<sup>126</sup>Rom. 3:10-12 (Ps. 14:1-3), 3:13a (Ps. 5:10), 3:13b (Ps. 140:4), 3:14 (Ps. 10:7), and 3:18 (Ps. 36:2).

<sup>127</sup>Rom. 3:4 (Ps. 51:6).

<sup>128</sup>Rom. 8:36 (Ps. 44:23).

<sup>129</sup>Rom. 11:2 (Ps. 94:14). Cf. I Sam. 12:22.

<sup>130</sup>Rom. 11:9-10 (Ps. 69:23-24).

<sup>131</sup>Rom. 15:3 (Ps. 69:10).

<sup>132</sup>I Cor. 3:20 (Ps. 94:11).

<sup>133</sup>See above, p. 11.

investigation of these passages and traditions but shall examine a number of examples which illustrate the way that Paul has used the respective pieces of material. The selection of examples has been made in anticipation of the discussion concerning Romans 9-11 in part three. Moreover, the texts have been chosen in order to illustrate a range of significant characteristics displayed in Paul's use of scripture.

Romans 9:33 --Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14

The significance of this Pauline text for the development of early Christian tradition has been discussed repeatedly;<sup>134</sup> but because of the importance of the material for understanding the way Paul has used scripture and developed his argument in Romans 9-11, it is necessary that we, too, devote attention to it. The combined form of the citation is illustrated most vividly by a synopsis of the three passages.

Paul:	ἴδου	τίθημι	ἐν	Σιῶν	<u>λίθον</u>	
Isaiah 28:16:	ἴδου	ἐγὼ	ἐμβαλῶ	(εἰς τὰ θεμέλια)	Σιων	<u>λίθον</u>
Isaiah 8:14:						<u>λίθου</u>
Paul:	προσκόμματος			καὶ πέτραν	σκανδάλου καὶ ὁ	
Isaiah 28:16:					... καὶ ὁ	
Isaiah 8:14:	προσκόμματι	(συναντήσεσθε οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι				
		αὐτῶ)				
Paul:	πιστεύων	ἐπ' αὐτῶ	οὐ	κατασχυνηθήσεται		
Isaiah 28:16:	πιστεύων	ἐπ' αὐτῶ	οὐ	μὴ κατασχυνηθῆ		
Isaiah 8:14:						

This comparison indicates that Isaiah 28:16 is the leading text and that 8:14 has been incorporated into it. Furthermore, it shows that the term λίθος serves as the verbal link between the two passages. In the epistolary context, the reference is used to confirm the assertion that the Jews have stumbled and that faith is the basis for salvation and

<sup>134</sup> See e.g. Rendel Harris, Testimonies, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1916 and 1920), passim; Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 41-43; Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 169-81; Koch, "Schriftgebrauch," pp. 178-84; and Edward Gordon Selwyn, The First Epistle of St. Peter (London: Macmillan and Co., 1946), pp. 268-77.

righteousness.<sup>135</sup> More specifically, the image of the "stone" in the citation corresponds to Paul's claim that "they have stumbled on the stone of stumbling". Considered literarily, the citation functions as scriptural confirmation for Paul's argument; and the image of the "stone" serves to ground the discussion in 9:30-32 christologically.<sup>136</sup> Although the "stone" is not explicitly identified as Christ, it is probable in light of the expression ἐπ' αὐτῷ in 9:33 and 10:11 that Paul does have Christ in mind.<sup>137</sup> This is also supported by the way in which the image of the "stone" is used elsewhere in the New Testament.<sup>138</sup>

In I Peter 2:6-8, Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 are also associated with each other; but in this context, the two passages are linked together by Psalm 118:22. The textual similarities between Romans 9:33 and the citations in I Peter 2:6-8 are striking;<sup>139</sup> but the fact that Psalm 118:22

---

<sup>135</sup> See above, pp. 88-89.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Barrett's argument that the "stone" is to be understood primarily as the law, "Romans 9:30-10:21," p. 144. See also in this regard Meyer, "Romans 10:4," p. 64.

<sup>137</sup> It may be argued perhaps that Paul does not have Christ exclusively in mind, because there is a close technical connection between Christ and the law in Rom. 9:30ff. But in Eph. 2:20, Christ is explicitly identified as the "cornerstone". Hence, it is doubtful that the "stone" in 9:32-33 refers solely or even primarily to the law.

<sup>138</sup> In Mt. 21:42, Mk. 12:10-11, and Lk. 20:17-18, Ps. 118:22-23 (vs. 23 is not included in Lk.) is recorded in conjunction with the parable of the "wicked tenants", a story which has clear christological implications (see also Acts 4:11). See Matthew Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," New Testament Studies XVIII (October 1971):11-14. In IQS 8:7-8, Is. 28:16 is referred to in the context of the holiness of the council of the community. The "elect" are the precious cornerstone (cf. I Pet. 2:5). In BT Sanh. 38a, the "stone" is associated with the "son of David" (i.e. messiah). For other images associated with the "stone" or with stumbling, see Ben Sira 31:7, 34:16, Ps. 91:12, Prv. 3:23 (connected with keeping wisdom), and IQH 6:26. Cf. the use of σκάνδαλος in Rom. 11:9, 14:13, 16:17, I Cor. 1:23, and Gal. 5:11.

<sup>139</sup>

Is. 28:16 --	LXX: ...	ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια	Σιων λίθον
	Paul:	ἰδοὺ τῆθημι ἐν	Σιων λίθον
	Peter:	ἰδοὺ τῆθημι ἐν	Σιων λίθον

is included in I Peter and that I Peter does not reproduce the combined quotation of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14, as found in Romans, suggests that this connection is not attributable to the literary dependence of I Peter on Romans. It seems more likely that there was a source or tradition in the early church in which these passages were combined and that this common tradition is reflected in both Romans and I Peter.<sup>140</sup> The precise form of this tradition perhaps cannot be ascertained, but the textual similarities between the two epistles suggest that it was either a written source or a stable oral tradition. There are no LXX variants in the extant texts which can adequately account for this textual similarity between Romans and I Peter.

In I Peter, the citations are used in a parenetic context.<sup>141</sup> The writer invites his readers to come to the living stone which has been rejected by men but in the sight of God is chosen and precious. He continues by exhorting them, as living stones, to be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, and to bring spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. Following this hortatory introduction,<sup>142</sup> Isaiah 28:16 is quoted. From the context, it is evident

---

LXX:	πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια
Paul:	. . .
Peter:	ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον

LXX:	αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ κατασχυνηθῆ
Paul:	καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυνηθήσεται
Peter:	καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ κατασχυνηθῆ

Is. 8:14 -- LXX:	...λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι.
Paul:	λίθον προσκόματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου .
Peter:	<u>λίθος προσκόματος</u> καὶ <u>πέτρα σκανδάλου</u>

The underlined sections are those in which Paul and I Peter are in agreement against the LXX.

<sup>140</sup>Cf. the Epistle of Barnabas 6:2-4. For a reconstruction of the way the "stone" passages were used in the early church, see Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 169-86.

<sup>141</sup>I.e. Is. 28:16, 8:14, and Ps. 118:22.

<sup>142</sup>I Pet. 2:4-5.

that the "stone" is to be understood as Christ; but it is also clear that the writer calls upon his readers, as "living stones", to be built into a spiritual house. In this discussion, the citation from Psalm 118:22 relates to the attitude toward the "stone" which is shared by those who believe; whereas the citation from Isaiah 8:14 corresponds to what happens to those who do not believe. In 2:8, the writer states: "For they stumbled because they disobeyed as they were destined...."<sup>143</sup> For those who believe, however, the "stone" is precious. The "stone" is Christ and the readers are exhorted to come to him. As Paul often does,<sup>144</sup> the writer of I Peter has used verbal associations in the construction of his discourse; and in this regard, scripture has played an instrumental role.<sup>145</sup>

The examination of I Peter 2:4-8 indicates that, though there is a difference between "believers" and "unbelievers" and their attitudes towards the "stone", the distinction between "works" and "faith" is not at issue. Unlike Paul, the writer of I Peter exhorts his readers to put off all manner of wickedness and to come to the Lord.<sup>146</sup> He is concerned with holiness but not with two different ways of pursuing righteousness. In Romans, the scriptural quotations are used in a context which concerns the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. According to Paul, "Israel" has pursued righteousness in the wrong way. She has sought it by ἔργα and not by πίστις. To "Israel", Christ has become a stumbling block. For the writer of I Peter, the stumbling over the "stone" occurs because of "unbelief" and disobedience, whereas for Paul it is, in large part,

---

<sup>143</sup>I Pet. 2:8b.

<sup>144</sup>See above, pp. 87-94.

<sup>145</sup>See the verbal connections between ἔντιμον (2:4), ἔντιμον (2:6, Is. 28:16), and τιμὴ (2:7). See also λίθος in 2:4 and 5. Cf. also οἰκοδομοῦντες (2:7, Ps. 118:22) and οἰκοδομεῖσθε (2:5).

<sup>146</sup>I Pet. 1:13-2:10.

the result of pursuing the law and righteousness by "works" and not by "faith".<sup>147</sup> In Romans 10:2, Paul concedes that the Jews have zeal for God, but it is not according to ἐπίγνωσις. Because they have misunderstood the law and Christ, says Paul, they have stumbled.

Although Paul and the writer of I Peter have used Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 in a manner which indicates that there was a common textual and christological tradition which was shared by them, it is evident that the authors have used the scriptural texts in quite different ways. Neither these texts nor this early Christian tradition have restrained Paul from using the material to support his own particular argument. By the way he has inserted Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 into the discussion in Romans 9:30-9:33, it is apparent that Paul has placed an early Christian interpretative tradition in the service of a specific message which he seeks to communicate to his readers in Rome.<sup>148</sup>

Romans 10:16 and 15:21 -- Isaiah 52:13-53:12

Isaiah 52:13-53:12 is a block of scriptural material from which Paul has taken two explicit quotations.<sup>149</sup> In Romans 10:16, the statement is made that "not all have heeded the gospel". This assertion is followed by a quotation from Isaiah 53:1: "Lord, who has believed our report?" The context of this citation in the epistle indicates that the passage has been applied to the response of the Jews to apostolic preaching; the quotation has not been applied explicitly to Christ. The second citation, Isaiah 52:15 in Romans 15:21, follows the statement: "Thus, making it my ambition to preach the gospel where Christ has not

---

<sup>147</sup> Cranfield argues that the Jews pursued the law which was given to Israel to bring her to righteousness but they pursued it in the wrong way; "Some Notes on Romans 9:30-33," in Jesus und Paulus, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Erich Gräßer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), pp. 35-43. Cf. also Barrett, "Romans 9:30-10:21," pp. 139-44.

<sup>148</sup> See below, pp. 223-25.

<sup>149</sup> See above, p. 107.

yet been named, lest I might build on the foundation of another...." He then quotes: "They shall see, to whom it has not been announced concerning him, and those who have not heard shall understand." Although the pronoun αὐτοῦ in the citation must be a reference to Christ, the context of this quotation indicates that the main theme of the passage, as in Romans 10:16, concerns preaching. While it cannot be denied that there is a christological element in Paul's use of these two citations,<sup>150</sup> it is evident that they have not been applied to Christ for the purpose of substantiating or elaborating a christological argument.

Though only one of these two passages is quoted elsewhere in the New Testament,<sup>151</sup> it is instructive to see the way in which other writers have used citations from this block of scriptural material. In Matthew 8:17, a quotation from Isaiah 53:4 has been inserted into an account in which Jesus is portrayed as a man who heals the sick and exorcises demons. As Matthew writes: "... that the word which was spoken by the prophet Isaiah might be fulfilled, 'he took our weaknesses and bore our diseases.'" Matthew has identified Jesus the healer and exorcist with the figure of the servant by announcing that in Jesus the word of the prophet Isaiah has been fulfilled.<sup>152</sup>

In his account of the last supper, Luke, too, quotes from this section of scripture;<sup>153</sup> and as in Matthew 8:17, the citation is introduced with a formula in which Jesus is portrayed as fulfilling or completing the words of scripture.<sup>154</sup> Luke writes: "For I tell you that this

---

<sup>150</sup>The content of this preaching has to do with Christ.

<sup>151</sup>Is. 53:1 in Jn. 12:38.

<sup>152</sup>By identifying this passage with Jesus, it is evident that Matthew has understood the servant as pertaining to an individual and not as a collective representation.

<sup>153</sup>Is. 53:12-Lk. 22:37. Cf. the textually uncertain reading in Mk. 15:28.

<sup>154</sup>In Mt. πληρωθῆ is used, whereas in Lk. τελεσθῆναι is used.

scripture must be fulfilled (completed) in me, 'and he was reckoned with transgressors'; for what is written about me has its fulfilment (completion)". In Luke, the introduction and citation are recorded as being spoken by Jesus, whereas in Matthew the formula and the quotation are represented as an editorial comment. But in both gospel passages the scriptural references have been applied to Jesus. Luke again quotes from this block of material in Acts 8:32-33 as part of the story of the Ethiopian eunuch.<sup>155</sup> Following the citation which is depicted as being read by the eunuch, Luke writes: "And the eunuch said to Philip; 'I pray you, about whom does the prophet say this, about himself or about someone else?' Then Philip opened his mouth and beginning with this scripture spoke to him about the good news of Jesus." From this it is clear that Luke intends the saying in Isaiah 53:7-8 to apply directly to Jesus.

The writer of I Peter also uses material from Isaiah 52:13-53:12. In 2:21-25, Christ is set forth as an example in language which is clearly reminiscent of Isaiah 53:4-12.<sup>156</sup> The context in the epistle concerns steadfastness in suffering, and the scriptural material is used to illustrate what happened to Jesus as a way of exhorting the readers to be patient in their time of trial. The writer of I Peter has identified the language and imagery of Isaiah fifty-three with Christ; and he has used the figure of Christ, as illustrated by this scriptural material, to sustain his readers in the midst of their suffering.

John is the only New Testament writer other than Paul to quote Isaiah 53:1.<sup>157</sup> He writes: "Though he had done many signs before them, they did not believe him in order that the word of the prophet Isaiah

---

<sup>155</sup>Is. 53:7-8.

<sup>156</sup>I Pet. 2:22 (Is. 53:9), 2:24 (Is. 53:4, 5, 12), and 2:25 (Is. 53:6).

<sup>157</sup>Jn. 12:38.

might be fulfilled: 'Lord, who has believed our report and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?'" As in the synoptic gospels, the material from Isaiah is introduced as being fulfilled; but its fulfillment, according to John, is in the fact that Jesus' signs have not been believed. And as claimed by the gospel writer in 12:39, they could not be believed because it was necessary that scripture be fulfilled. Both John and Paul have used Isaiah 53:1 in relation to "unbelief"; but in the gospel "unbelief" is a response to Jesus' signs, whereas in Romans it is a response to apostolic preaching.

In addition to these examples, there are a number of allusions to Isaiah 52:13-53:12 in the New Testament.<sup>158</sup> Nevertheless, the explicit references provide us with sufficient comparative material.<sup>159</sup> In Matthew, Luke, Acts, and I Peter the citations are applied to Jesus; and in John, Isaiah 53:1 is used to illustrate the claim that scripture has been fulfilled in the people's refusal to believe in Jesus. In each of these examples, the scriptural reference is applied to Jesus or to something that Jesus has done. It is against the background of this tradition that Paul's use of Isaiah 52:15 and 53:1 begins to stand out.

As we have already indicated, both of the passages cited by Paul are used in contexts which pertain to preaching. In Romans 10:14-16, Paul claims that there is a connection between "belief" and the sending of preachers; and although preachers have been sent, not all have believed. As in John 12:38, Isaiah 53:1 is used by Paul in connection with "unbelief".

---

<sup>158</sup> Cf. e.g. Mt. 20:28, Mk. 9:12, 10:45, 14:49, 14:61, Jn. 1:29, Phil. 2:7, I Jn. 3:5, and Rev. 5:6. See also Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 77-88.

<sup>159</sup> For the use of Is. 53 in the history of Jewish interpretation, see S.R. Driver and A.D. Neubauer, The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters, 2 vols., The Library of Biblical Studies (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969, first published 1877). Cf. also J. Carmignac, "Les citations de l'ancien testament et spécialement des poèmes du serviteur, dans les hymnes de Qumran," Revue de Qumran 2 (June 1960):357-94.

For Paul, however, "unbelief" is not portrayed as a response to Jesus' signs. It is a response to the preaching of the apostles. There is no question that the figure of Christ was central in Paul's understanding of missionary preaching, but it is evident that this scriptural citation is understood by him as relating to the Christ of apostolic proclamation and not specifically to the life and ministry of Jesus. It might be argued that this distinction, in part, is attributable to the difference between an epistle and a gospel as forms of literature. While this is a factor that must be taken into account, it appears that the distinction is more substantial than this. For Paul, Christ is represented in the act of preaching.

In Romans 15:17-21, Paul writes about his ministry among the Gentiles. He claims that it has been his ambition to preach the gospel where Christ has not yet been named so that he might not build on the work of another man. As a way of illustrating this, he cites Isaiah 52:15. The point of Paul's discussion is to show, with the aid of scripture, that he has desired to proclaim the gospel to those who have never heard about Christ. In this example, too, Paul understands the scriptural passage as relating to the Christ of apostolic preaching. Hence, Paul has used both Isaiah 52:15 and 53:1 christologically in a kerygmatic sense; but he has not applied the passages in the epistles to the life and ministry of Jesus. This discussion illustrates that, although Paul's selection and use of Isaiah 52:15 and 53:1 has been influenced by the early church's association of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 with Christ, he has used the two passages in conformity with his own understanding of christology, preaching, and the Gentile mission.

Romans 11:9-10 and 15:3 -- Psalm 69

In Romans 11:9-10, Paul cites Psalm 69:23-24, and it is used as scriptural support for the claim that the *λοῦποι* have been hardened.

The text has been applied to "unbelieving" Israel as a way of accounting for the fact that most Jews have refused to believe in Christ and have continued to live according to the law. In Romans 15:3 Paul quotes 69:10b; and he relates this scriptural passage to Christ as a way of affirming his claim that the strong ought to bear the weaknesses of those who are not strong.

The application to Christ of Psalm 69:22 in the passion narratives does not need be discussed here,<sup>160</sup> but it is noteworthy that in John 2:17 the first part of verse ten is quoted.<sup>161</sup> The second part of this same verse is cited in Romans 15:3. In both John and Romans, the references have been applied to Christ. But Paul has sought to use the passage to illustrate that Christ did not please himself and is thus worthy of serving as an example to the readers; whereas John has used the first part of the verse as a "remembrance" by the disciples in the context of the cleansing of the Temple.<sup>162</sup> Paul's selection of material from this psalm probably came about under the influence of the early church's developing tradition, but in Romans 11:9-10 and 15:3 the scriptural passages have been used in the context of distinctly Pauline missionary and pastoral discussions.

Romans 10:13 -- Joel 3:5

Joel 3:5 is cited by Paul in Romans 10:13, and it also appears in Acts 2:21 as part of Peter's speech at Pentecost.<sup>163</sup> The passage is

---

<sup>160</sup>See Mt. 27:48, Mk. 15:36, Lk. 23:36, and Jn. 19:28-30. Cf. Acts 1:20. See also Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 99-108 and Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 57-59.

<sup>161</sup>Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 103-7.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., p. 103. It appears doubtful that Ps. 69:10b has been used in Rom. 15:3 to prove that everything that happened to Jesus did so according to a plan. In the context of the pastoral discussion in 15:1-13, it appears to be more a case of the "instructive" nature of scripture being used to support and illustrate the exemplary character of Christ for Paul's Roman readers.

<sup>163</sup>Acts 2:14-36.

used by Paul to confirm the assertion that "there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches on all who call upon him." In this context, the use of the passage serves to substantiate two Pauline claims: 1) there is no distinction between Jews and Greeks, and 2) those who call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. The two words, πᾶς and ἐπικαλεῖσθαι are key words for Paul, and they assist him in developing an argument concerning the salvation of both Jews and Greeks.<sup>164</sup> In Acts, Luke quotes Joel 3:1-5, and the citation serves to describe, in the words of the prophet Joel, what has taken place among the disciples at Pentecost.<sup>165</sup> Hence, Joel 3:5 has been used by Luke in this text in a manner which bears little resemblance to the way Paul used it.<sup>166</sup> If Joel 3:1-5 had come to be understood in the early church primarily as a prophecy about Pentecost, it is evident that Paul has not used 3:5 in conformity with this tradition. It would appear that verbal and specific thematic considerations have informed Paul's use of this text in Romans and not a Pentecost tradition.<sup>167</sup> The allusion to Joel 3:5 in Acts 2:39 may suggest, however, that this passage had a wider frame of reference than Acts 2:17-21 would indicate.

Romans 13:9 and Galatians 5:14 -- Leviticus 19:18

Another tradition reflected in the epistles and in other New Testament writing concerns the summation or fulfilment of the law. As we have already seen,<sup>168</sup> Paul in Romans 13:9 cites a series of individual

---

<sup>164</sup> See σωθήση in 10:9, σωτηρίαν in 10:10, and οὐ καταλοχυνθήσεται in 10:11. Cf. Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 37-38, 244-245.

<sup>165</sup> Acts 2:1-13.

<sup>166</sup> In Acts, Joel 3:5 must be seen in the context of the whole quotation from 3:1-5.

<sup>167</sup> See above, p. 89.

<sup>168</sup> See above, p. 111.

commands from the Decalogue and announces that these and any other commandments are summed up in the statement, "you shall love your neighbour as yourself."<sup>169</sup> In the context of Romans, this follows the exhortation not to owe anything to anyone except to love one another.<sup>170</sup> In Galatians 5:14, Paul also cites the command to "love your neighbour as yourself." He writes to the Galatians that in this one statement the whole law is fulfilled.<sup>171</sup> In this context, Paul calls upon his readers not to use their freedom as an opportunity for the "flesh" but to be servants of one another through love.<sup>172</sup> The command to love one's neighbour is for Paul the summation and fulfilment of the law; and it represents an important aspect of his ethical understanding.

As is well known, Paul is not alone in the use of Leviticus 19:18. In Matthew 22:34-40 and Mark 12:28-34, Jesus is asked which is the great or first commandment, and he replies that the first is to love God fully and the second is to "love your neighbour as yourself." In Luke 10:25-28, a lawyer asks Jesus what he must do to inherit eternal life; but instead of answering, Jesus asks his questioner, "what is written in the law?" To this, the lawyer replies with a statement parallel to that found in Matthew 22:37-39 and Mark 12:30-31.<sup>173</sup> And in the epistle of James, the writer in 2:8 states: "if you really fulfil the royal law according to scripture, 'you shall love your neighbour as yourself.'" Despite the differences between the way Paul has used Leviticus 19:18 and the way it has been used in the gospel accounts, it is clear that he represents

---

<sup>169</sup> Lev. 19:18.

<sup>170</sup> Rom. 13:8.

<sup>171</sup> In this context, Paul uses *πεπλήρωται*, whereas in Romans 13:9 he uses the word *ἀνακεφαλοῦται*.

<sup>172</sup> Gal. 5:13.

<sup>173</sup> See Vermes, "Gospel of Jesus the Jew," p. 40. Cf. also Mt. 5:43, 19:19, and Rom. 12:9-10.

an ethical tradition that was prominent in the early church's teaching. In the epistles, Leviticus 19:18 is not portrayed as a statement of Jesus or as a statement connected with the attainment of eternal life, but it is possible that Paul thought of it as part of Jesus' teaching about the law. In any case, it is evident that in the sphere of ethical teaching Leviticus 19:18 functioned as a summarizing legal statement. This is seen in Romans 13:9, Galatians 5:14, James 2:8, and in the words recorded by Matthew: "On these two commandments, all the law and the prophets depend."<sup>174</sup> Paul does not connect Leviticus 19:18 with Deuteronomy 6:5, but he does use this passage from Leviticus in a manner not inconsistent with the other references to it in the New Testament.

#### Acts 13:16-41

The so-called "Antioch Pisidia speech" recorded by Luke in Acts 13:16-41 requires a brief comment.<sup>175</sup> Luke portrays Paul as standing up in the synagogue recounting Israel's history and announcing that the good news promised to the fathers has been fulfilled. In 13:27, Paul according to Luke states that in Jesus' condemnation the words of the prophets have been fulfilled. Again in 13:29 Luke writes: "And when they had fulfilled all that was written concerning him, they took him down from the tree and placed him in a tomb." And in verse thirty-three, it is stated that the good news promised to the fathers has been fulfilled.<sup>176</sup> The idea of fulfilment, as represented by Luke, is clearly emphasized in the christological use of Psalms 2:7, 16:10, and

---

<sup>174</sup>Mt. 22:40. Mt. uses the word κρέματα.

<sup>175</sup>For an extensive treatment of this text see C.A. Joachim Pillai, Apostolic Interpretation of History: A Commentary on Acts 13:16-41 (Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1980) and Early Missionary Preaching: A Study of Luke's Report in Acts 13, 1979.

<sup>176</sup>In 13:27 and 13:33 ἐπλήρωσαν and ἐκπεπλήρωκεν are used, whereas in 13:29 ἐτέλεσαν is used.

Isaiah 55:3.<sup>177</sup> From the point of view of the use of scripture in the epistles, it is noteworthy that Paul does not cite these specific passages and that nowhere does he develop the kind of christological discussion, based on explicit quotations, found in the speech at Antioch Pisidia.<sup>178</sup> This does not necessarily call into question the historical accuracy of Luke's account. It might be that this difference is attributable to the literary and historical differences between the writing of Acts and the writing of the epistles. Even if, however, these differences can be explained as the result of different literary circumstances, this brief discussion illustrates a significant divergence between the use of scripture found in the Pauline epistles and that attributed to Paul in Acts 13:16-41.<sup>179</sup>

#### Concluding Remarks

The discussion in this section illustrates various aspects of the relationship between Paul's use of scripture and the early church's developing tradition of interpretation.<sup>180</sup> The pattern which has emerged indicates that Paul has exercised considerable freedom in his use and application of this material; and, while there is clear evidence that

---

<sup>177</sup> Cf. II Sam. 7 and also Dt. 4:37-38 (13:14ff) and Hab. 1:5 (13:41).

<sup>178</sup> For a listing of all of the scriptural material used in this speech see Pillai, Missionary Preaching, pp. 40-44. Cf. the use of Pss. 2:7 and 16:10 in other New Testament contexts. See above, pp. 101-5.

<sup>179</sup> See the comparison between the use of scripture in this text and the synagogue homilies by J.W. Bowker, "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form," New Testament Studies XIV (October 1967): 96-111. Cf. Rom. 4 and Gal. 3:6-14. Cf. also Evald Lövestam, "Son and Savior: A Study of Acts 13:32-37," trans. Michael J. Petry, in Coniectanea Neotestamentica XVIII (Lund and Copenhagen: C.W.K. Gleerup and Ejnar Munksgaard, 1961), pp. 5-137.

<sup>180</sup> Other comparative examples which have not been discussed include e.g. Hab. 2:4 in Rom. 1:17, Gal. 3:11, and Heb. 10:38. See Sanders, "Habakkuk in Qumran, Paul, and the Old Testament," pp. 232-44. Cf. also the Abrahamic material in Rom. 4 and James 2:14-26, II Sam. 7:14 in II Cor. 6:18 and Heb. 1:5, Rev. 21:7, as well as other N.T. references and allusions to II Sam. 7, and Ps. 68:19 (see Caird, "Descent of Christ," pp. 535-45 and Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 51-59).

Paul has been influenced by the developing tradition,<sup>181</sup> his primary achievement appears to be the way he has placed specific passages in the service of his manner of argumentation and the message which he seeks to communicate. Thus, both scripture and the early traditions of interpretation have contributed formatively to Paul's selection and use of biblical texts, but they have not restrained him from applying the material to quite varied circumstances and arguments. The occasional, and to a large degree independent, nature of Paul's use of scripture cautions against ascribing his use of specific traditions to precise stages in the development of early Christian interpretative tradition.

#### From Scriptural Context to Epistolary Context

From the perspective of the discussion in this chapter, the focal point for understanding Paul's use of quotations is found in the nexus between the epistolary, scriptural, and interpretative contexts of the individual passages. Paul's interpretation of these texts has occurred, for the most part, in the change from a scriptural context to an epistolary context. To a large extent, the individual scriptural passages have taken on the meaning of the contexts into which they have been placed in the epistles. With this in mind, what further can be said about Paul's use of scriptural quotations and the matter of context?

---

<sup>181</sup>The question of a so-called "Testimonia" tradition has been and continues to be discussed. In addition to Harris, Testimonies, Dodd, According to the Scriptures, and Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, see e.g. Rendel Harris, "St. Paul's Use of Testimonies in the Epistle to the Romans," The Expositor 8th XVII (1919): 401-14; Albert C. Sundberg, "On Testimonies," Novum Testamentum III (1959):268-81; Barnabas Lindars, "Second Thoughts IV. Books of Testimonies," The Expository Times 75 (1963-1964):173-75; C.H. Dodd (intro. by T.F. Glasson), "Old Testament Testimonies and Their Transmissions: A Letter from C.H. Dodd to Dr. T.F. Glasson," The Expository Times 87 (1975-1976):21-22; and Robert Hodgson, "The Testimony Hypothesis," Journal of Biblical Literature 98 (September 1979):361-78.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of Paul's use of scripture is found in Romans 4:3ff. In this text, Paul's emphasis on the literary sequence of the Genesis narrative has enabled him to use scripture to support his distinction between righteousness by faith and circumcision. By emphasizing one aspect of the literary narrative, he has attempted to extract a point of principle from the biblical text. The scriptural material is related to the Gentile mission and to Paul's understanding of who in fact constitutes the descendants of Abraham; but at issue in this argument is a religious principle. Being a descendant of Abraham, for Paul, depends upon faith; and it is this which he seeks to substantiate by appealing to the patriarchal narrative. This is not to cast doubt on the assumption that Paul really believed that he had discovered the correct meaning of the scriptural text, but it illustrates the manner in which emphasis on one aspect of the narrative has resulted in a significantly altered understanding of the material.<sup>182</sup>

A characteristic of Paul's use of scripture is that he often uses particular biblical statements to set forth universal or general religious principles. In the scriptural catena in Romans three, for example, Paul has used a variety of passages from the Psalms and one from Isaiah (cf. Qoh. 7:20) to build on the statement in Psalm 14:1ff that "no one does good, not even one." Statements, which in their scriptural contexts have a particular frame of reference, are universalized in their epistolary context; they are used to establish a general principle. This method of establishing or developing a general statement of truth from a particular scriptural passage can be identified in Paul's use of the material from Genesis twelve through twenty-five, as well as many of the other passages cited from the Pentateuch.<sup>183</sup> It is, however, also

---

<sup>182</sup>See Peter Bläser, "Schriftverwertung," p. 166 and Cohn-Sherbok, "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis," p. 130.

<sup>183</sup>See e.g. Rom. 4:3, 4:17, 4:18, 7:7, 9:7, 9:9, 9:12, 9:15, 9:17, 10:5, I Cor. 15:45, Gal. 3:6, 3:8, 3:10, 3:12, and 3:13.

found among citations from the prophets and Psalms.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, this form of interpretation is related to Paul's use of particular scriptural statements to illustrate and substantiate his soteriological and eschatological claims. Individual scriptural passages are applied directly to epistolary contexts in which statements are made about salvation and judgment.<sup>185</sup>

Paul's identification of Christ as the seed of Abraham in Galatians 3:16 has resulted from a Jewish interpretative convention.<sup>186</sup> By focusing on the singular form of σπέρμα, Paul has identified a philological consideration which has assisted him in applying the scriptural material to a new religious context.<sup>187</sup> The result has been an application of the Genesis statement which clearly would have been contrary to a Jewish common sense understanding of the text. Nevertheless, a single word in the text has served as the agent through which Paul has sought to change the referent of the biblical statement from the Jews to Christ. In this example, Paul has applied the scriptural statement more specifically than is suggested by the biblical words and their context.

#### Summary

It has been argued that in terms of literary structure Paul's scriptural citations, in relation to their immediate epistolary contexts, conform to certain patterns. The basic literary form consists of three elements: 1) opening statement, 2) introductory formula, and 3) scriptural

---

<sup>184</sup>See e.g. Rom. 1:17, 3:4, 9:13, 10:11, 10:13, II Cor. 6:2, and Gal. 3:11.

<sup>185</sup>See e.g. Rom. 2:6, 9:27-29, 10:11, 10:13, 11:2-4, 11:26-27, 14:11, I Cor. 15:25, 15:27, 15:45, 15:54f, and II Cor. 6:2. Cf. also Rom. 12:19.

<sup>186</sup>See Bläser, "Schriftverwertung," pp. 166-67; Cohn-Sherbok, "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis," pp. 121-22; Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 70-73; and Hanson, Paul's Technique, p. 147.

<sup>187</sup>Cf. Gen. 12:7, 13:15, 17:7, and 22:18.

quotation. Among the texts which conform to this pattern, the scriptural reference is intended to substantiate the opening statement, and there is no attempt to state or elaborate the meaning of the quotation. In certain texts, this same literary structure is displayed, but instead of a single scriptural reference Paul has linked a series of passages together. Three modifications of this literary form have been identified: 1) scriptural text and elaboration, 2) scriptural text and interpretation or application, and 3) scriptural text and exhortation. In each of these, the basic literary form is supplemented by a statement or a discussion following the quotation. In the first form, there are no identifying structural features, but the discussion following the quotation is an elaboration of themes and/or words found in the scriptural passage. The second form is identified by the presence of a transition word which introduces a point of explanation or application following the citation. Finally, the third form contains an exhortation following the quotation and is identified by the presence of an imperative or hortatory subjunctive. Only a few Pauline quotations do not conform to the basic pattern or one of its modifications.

It has been shown that scriptural references often produced themes and words which have been woven into Paul's literary presentation. Hence, scripture functions constructively in the epistles in two ways: 1) it serves as a source for the substantiation of religious claims and assertions and 2) it generates themes and words which contribute literarily and conceptually to Paul's manner of presentation. Therefore, Paul's use of scripture often moves in two directions. On the one hand, the text is applied to the argument which Paul wants to substantiate and communicate; and on the other, it contributes by stimulating ideas which in turn mould the way Paul develops the opening statement and the ensuing discussion.

In terms of the content and application of Paul's citations, it has been argued that christology plays a limited role. In contrast, issues related to righteousness, sonship, and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles are predominant among his references. Despite the considerable amount of confessional, christological material reflected in the epistles, there is little direct attempt by Paul to elaborate or substantiate his doctrine of Christ scripturally. He apparently assumed that the things he had to say about Christ would be accepted on his own authority, unlike issues related to righteousness, sonship, and the Jew-Gentile question which provoked considerable scriptural development. This feature of the content of Paul's citations may also suggest that scripture was a means by which Paul himself sought to understand certain particularly troublesome and difficult issues. The Jew-Gentile relationship was not only a contentious social issue but a theological problem as well; and scriptural argumentation and study was a way for Paul of trying to understand this relationship. The result of this process is reflected in Paul's epistles to the churches in Galatia and Rome.

Paul has selected a high proportion of his quotations from certain blocks of scriptural material, but there is, with perhaps a few exceptions, little solid evidence to suggest that the quotations from these or other sections were intended as "pointers" to their larger scriptural context. Furthermore, it has been shown that Paul's respect for the scriptural context of a passage depended on the circumstances of his argument. In most cases, he appears to have disregarded it. Paul was not concerned, in the main, with the larger literary or historical context of scripture but with the way individual scriptural passages supported and contributed to his presentation.

In our examination of passages which Paul has used in common with other New Testament writers, it has been argued that he was influenced

by the early church's developing tradition of interpretation but that this tradition, like the text of scripture itself, was given the unique imprint of his manner of presentation and of his religious perspective. Paul's interpretation of scripture was moulded by four factors: 1) the text of scripture and infrequently its context, 2) the way the text was understood in the developing tradition, 3) his religious perspective, and 4) the specific occasion which provoked him to use scripture and to write his epistles.<sup>188</sup> These are all related to Paul's use of scripture in "context". In the next chapter, Paul's understanding and use of the Bible will be examined under six headings: 1) Scripture and the Gospel, 2) Scripture and the Uncovering of Its Meaning, 3) The Application and Interpretation of Scripture, 4) The Didactic and Edifying Function of Scripture, 5) Typology and Correspondence, and 6) Allegory.

---

<sup>188</sup> See below, pp. 231-38.

## CHAPTER V

### PAUL'S UNDERSTANDING AND USE OF SCRIPTURE

Having examined, in terms of text and context, Paul's method of using quotations, we shall now devote our attention to the wider aspects of his understanding of scripture. This will involve the bringing together of various Pauline statements pertaining to his view of scripture and will also involve a discussion of appropriate terminology for describing his application of biblical material. The purpose of this chapter is to see the textual and contextual features of Paul's quotations within this larger framework of his understanding and use of scripture. We shall then conclude this chapter with a comparative summary of Pauline and Jewish methods of using the Bible.

#### Scripture and the Gospel

##### Romans 1:1-7

In Romans 1:1-2 Paul writes: "Paul, slave of Christ Jesus, apostle by calling, set apart for the gospel of God which he promised beforehand through his prophets in the holy scriptures...." In this introductory statement, Paul brings together the "gospel of God" promised beforehand, prophets, and the holy scriptures. These three elements provide a point of reference for understanding the connection in Pauline thought between scripture and the gospel. The genitive θεοῦ identifies the originator of the gospel,<sup>1</sup> and the genitive αὐτοῦ designates the

---

<sup>1</sup>See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. and revised Robert W. Funk (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1961),

prophets as prophets of God.<sup>2</sup> The gospel originates with God, and it is through his prophets that it has been promised.<sup>3</sup> The verb προεπαγγέλλεσθαι illustrates a temporal sequence in Paul's statement;<sup>4</sup> and, for some commentators, this suggests that Paul viewed all of scripture as a prophetic witness to Christ.<sup>5</sup> Romans 1:1-2 does in part support this conclusion, because Paul believed that the gospel had been promised through Israel's prophets and that this promise is found in scripture.<sup>6</sup> Thus, from Paul's point of view and from the point of view of the coming of Jesus, the gospel has been promised beforehand. There is indeed a prospective element in Paul's understanding of scripture as it relates to the gospel.<sup>7</sup>

Jesus, the messiah and gospel of God, was promised beforehand in the holy scriptures.<sup>8</sup> Paul makes this claim, but he neither

---

p. 90. In Rom. 15:16, II Cor. 11:7, I Thess. 2:2, 2:8, and 2:9, Paul also uses θεοῦ to designate the originator of the gospel.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the use of "prophets" in Rom. 11:3 and I Thess. 2:15.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. I Cor. 12:28, 12:29, 14:29, 14:32, 14:37, Eph. 2:20, 3:5, and 4:11. In these texts, Paul speaks of contemporary prophets.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. the use of προεπηγγελμένην in II Cor. 9:5.

<sup>5</sup>See Ulrich Wilckens, Der Brief an die Römer, Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, 3 vols. (Zurich, Einsiedeln, Cologne: Benziger and Neukirchener Verlag, 1978-1982):I:63-64. See also the remarks by Ernst Käsemann, Romans, pp. 9-10. Cf. II Cor. 1:20.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Lk. 4:17-21, 18:31, 24:27-44, Acts 8:35, 17:2-3, 18:28, Jn. 1:45, 5:39, and I Pet. 1:10-12.

<sup>7</sup>Paul's use of words with a προ-prefix indicates that there is a prospective quality to his understanding of scripture and divine activity. See προγινώσκω, προεσαγγελλίζομαι, προετοιμάζω, προγράφω, προκυρόω, προοράω, προορίζω, and πρόθεσις. Oscar Cullmann, however, has exaggerated the schematic nature of Paul's understanding of redemption-history as displayed in the epistles, Salvation in History, trans. Sidney G. Sowers, the New Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1967), pp. 248-68.

<sup>8</sup>Rom. 1:2 is the only place in the Pauline corpus where scripture is referred to as being holy. In Rom. 7:12, Paul refers to the law as being holy, but it is unlikely that he has the scriptures primarily in mind in this text. See above, p. 87, note 3.

substantiates it nor gives the biblical texts which he has in mind. As we have already argued,<sup>9</sup> the number of scriptural quotations in the epistles which have been used explicitly in connection with Christ is not large when compared to the total number of citations. It has often been argued that Paul has incorporated into Romans 1:3-4 an early christological tradition or formula.<sup>10</sup> The main arguments in support of this assertion are linguistic and thematic. It has been claimed that a number of the terms, grammatical constructions, and theological ideas in these verses are not typical of Paul.<sup>11</sup> While we cannot discuss in detail the evidence for these arguments, it is clear that the statements which have been made in Romans 1:1-7 have not been substantiated exegetically in this text. The significance of this fact is difficult to determine, but it may be that the christological ideas and traditions contained in this Pauline text carried sufficient authority and were widely enough recognized in the early church that it was not necessary for Paul to develop and substantiate them by citing specific biblical passages. Paul may also have assumed that the appropriate scriptural material would have been known to his readers. In any case, Paul has not been compelled to elaborate and substantiate his remarks in Romans 1:1-7 with the aid of direct biblical quotations.

#### Romans 3:21-26

In 3:21, the scriptures are referred to as the law and the

---

<sup>9</sup>See above, pp. 101-5.

<sup>10</sup>See e.g. Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, 2 vols., trans. Kendrick Grobel (London: SCM Press, 1952-1955), I:50; Cranfield, Romans, pp. 57-58; Käsemann, Romans, pp. 10-11; V.S. Poythress, "Is Romans 1:3-4 a Pauline Confession?" The Expository Times LXXVII (March 1976):180-83; and A.M. Hunter, Paul and His Predecessors (London: Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 1940), pp. 25ff.

<sup>11</sup>For an outline of the evidence see Poythress, "Pauline Confession?" pp. 180-81.

prophets.<sup>12</sup> In this text, it is claimed that the "righteousness of God", which is testified to by the law and the prophets, has been manifested apart from the law.<sup>13</sup> Without discussing the relationship between the "righteousness of God" and the "gospel of God", it is important to note that both are connected with Christ. In Romans 1:2-4, however, Christ is the descendant of David who has been designated son of God, whereas in 3:21-22 he is the object of faith and the means by which God reveals his righteousness. Thus, according to Romans 1:1-2 and 3:21-22, the "gospel of God" has been promised beforehand through the prophets in the holy scriptures and the "righteousness of God" has been witnessed to, but only now revealed, by the law and the prophets.

The expression  $\nu\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  in 3:21 undoubtedly has a temporal dimension.<sup>14</sup> For Paul, there is an historical distinction between the present time in which righteousness has been manifested apart from the law and the time before Jesus' coming. This, however, does not necessarily support the assertion that Paul's theological arguments and by implication his use of scripture have been conformed to a system of redemption-history.<sup>15</sup> But it does indicate, according to the statement in 3:21, that the testimony of scripture is connected with the "present" manifestation of the "righteousness of God". Furthermore, it has been alleged that Romans 3:21-26 reflects elements from a "pre-Pauline" christological

---

<sup>12</sup>For other N.T. examples in which the "prophets" are used with the "law" to refer to the scriptures see Mt. 5:17, 7:12, 11:13, 22:40, Lk. 16:16, 24:44, Jn. 1:46, Acts 13:15, 24:14, and 28:23. Cf. Rom. 16:26.

<sup>13</sup>The use of  $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in Rom. 3:21 in two different ways is perhaps a deliberate play on words.

<sup>14</sup>See C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), p. 72; Cranfield, Romans, p. 201; Käsemann, Romans, p. 92; and Wilckens, Römer, vol. I, p. 184.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Cullmann, Salvation in History, pp. 248-68.

tradition.<sup>16</sup> The evidence for this suggestion is largely linguistic and theological, but owing to the limitations of our work we are not able to pursue this matter further. It is noteworthy, however, that in Romans 1:1-7 and 3:21-26, texts which have been alleged to contain elements from an early Christian formula or tradition, Paul does not quote specific biblical passages to support the christological statements which are made. Once again, the significance of this may be that Paul's statements in 3:21-26 and the traditions which he reflects in this text are widely acknowledged in the early church and in no need of exegetical support in an epistle written to Christians.

#### I Corinthians 15:3-4

In this text, Paul records that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures and that he was buried and was raised on the third day according to the scriptures. This early tradition,<sup>17</sup> which Paul says he received, makes the claim that Jesus' death and resurrection were in accordance with scripture. Paul himself presumably shared this view, developed in the early tradition of the church, but he makes no attempt to summon passages to illustrate it. This is not to imply that Paul could not have done so, but a recognition that he was not under compulsion to argue on the basis of specific texts that Jesus' death and resurrection were in accordance with scripture.<sup>18</sup> It is, however,

---

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Bultmann, Theology, vol. I, p. 46; Käsemann, Romans, pp. 92-101; and Wilckens, Römer, vol. I, pp. 183-84.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hans Conzelmann, I Corinthians, trans. James W. Leitch, Hermeneia Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), pp. 251-56; Hans Conzelmann, "On the Analysis of the Confessional Formula in I Corinthians 15:3-5," trans. Mathias Rissi, Interpretation 20 (January 1966):15-25; Traugott Holtz, "Zur Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament," pp. 19-31; John Kloppenborg, "An Analysis of the Pre-Pauline Formula I Cor. 15:3b-5 in Light of Some Recent Literature," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 40 (July 1978):351-67; Barnabas Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament," pp. 59-66; Paul Winter, "I Corinthians XV 3b-7," Novum Testamentum 2 (April 1957):142-50.

<sup>18</sup> Rom. 10:6-8, 15:3, and Gal. 3:13 are the Pauline quotations

another example of a text that contains christological material which Paul has not supported by citing specific biblical passages, despite a reference to the scriptures being made.

### Galatians 3:8

Paul writes in Galatians 3:8: "And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, proclaimed the good news (gospel) beforehand to Abraham...." Immediately following this statement Paul cites Genesis 18:18 (12:3). In Galatians 3:6-9, the argument focuses primarily on justification and sonship. Thus, the "good news" in this text does not refer directly to Christ but to righteousness and faith.<sup>19</sup> As in Romans 1:2, the prospective character of Paul's understanding of scripture is illustrated; scripture is portrayed as foreseeing. Presumably, Paul means that it can be seen already in scripture that God would justify the Gentiles by faith. The "good news" was announced beforehand to Abraham. The manner in which Paul refers to scripture implies that it is an active force and an agent of God's power;<sup>20</sup> and it is suggested by this that the prospective element in Paul's understanding of the biblical material is related to scripture's dynamic character as he has perceived it.

Unlike Romans 1:1-7, 3:21-26, and I Corinthians 15:3-4, Galatians 3:8 is in an immediate context in which scriptural passages have been quoted. In contrast to the other three Pauline texts, Galatians 3:8 is part of a scriptural argument concerning faith, sonship, righteousness,

---

which relate directly to Christ's death and/or resurrection. In Phil. 2:6-11, Paul appears to be dependent on a tradition current in the early church; but, as Paul in Philippians uses the tradition and the scriptural material reflected in it, the text is given primarily an ethical rather than a christological focus. Cf. Acts 13:16-41 and II Cor. 8:9.

<sup>19</sup>In Gal. 3:13, however, the quotation from Dt. 21:23 does refer to Christ.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Gal. 3:22.

and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Moreover, it is unlikely that Paul is relying directly on an early christological formula in this argument. It is probable that the issues regarding the Jews and the Gentiles which are uppermost for Paul in the discussion in Galatians 3:6-14 have prompted him to turn to scripture and to develop his argument on the basis of explicit biblical quotations.<sup>21</sup>

### Scripture and the Uncovering of Its Meaning

#### II Corinthians 3:4-4:6

In 3:15-16, Paul writes: "But their minds were hardened; for to this very day, upon the reading of the Old covenant, the same veil remains unlifted, because only in Christ is it taken away. To this day whenever Moses is read a veil lies upon their heart. 'But when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed.'"<sup>22</sup> The exegesis of II Corinthians 3:4-4:6 is complicated,<sup>23</sup> and we shall make no attempt to

---

<sup>21</sup>See above, p. 97.

<sup>22</sup>Ex. 34:29-35 is the scriptural material upon which the discussion is based in II Cor. 3:7-18. It appears that the translation included in the text of the NEB, "whenever he turns to the Lord the veil is removed," tends to obscure the contemporary character of what Paul is saying and that the reading in the note should be adopted, "when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed." It would seem that ἀλλ' ἕως σήμερον governs the temporal sense of the text. Paul is playing on the image of turning as a means to describe a present reality; viz., when a person turns to the Lord the misunderstanding is removed. Thus κάλυμμα is the subject of περιαιρεῖται. But it is true as C.K. Barrett has pointed out, Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973), p. 122, that περιαιρεῖται can be translated in the middle voice in which it should be rendered, "he removes the veil." This suggestion, however, is not accepted by most translators.

<sup>23</sup>See e.g. Ragnar Bring, "Paul and the O.T.," pp. 21-60; Anthony Tyrrell Hanson, Paul's technique, pp. 139ff; Morna D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things That are Written?" pp. 295-309; Ulrich Luz, "Der Alte und der neue Bund bei Paulus und Hebräerbrief," Evangelische Theologie 27 (June 1967):318-28; E. Richard, "Polemics, Old Testament, and Theology: A Study of II Cor., III, 1-IV, 6," Revue Biblique 88 (July 1981):340-67; Herbert Ulonska, "Die Doxa des Mose: zum Problem des Alten Testaments in 2 Kor. 3, 1-16," Evangelische Theologie 26 (July 1966):378-88; W.C. Van Unnik, "'With Unveiled Face', An Exegesis of 2 Cor. 3:12-18," Novum Testamentum 6 (1963):153-69.

explicate the entire text. Our interest focuses on Paul's statement that the minds of the Israelites have been hardened and that the *κάλυμμα*,<sup>24</sup> at the reading of the "old covenant", remains in the present time unlifted. This is the only place in which Paul refers to the scriptures as the "old covenant"; but if this statement is to be understood, it must be viewed in light of the discussion in 3:1-11. In these verses, Paul distinguishes the *διακονία τοῦ θανάτου* from the *διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, and he does this by distinguishing between the *γράμμα* which kills and the *πνεῦμα* which makes alive. In this discussion, *γράμμα* signifies the Mosaic Torah in its written manifestation.<sup>25</sup> But it does not signify the mere letters of scripture; it refers, according to Paul, to a system of law.<sup>26</sup> For Paul, the *γράμμα* kills; and as a system of law, he claims that it belongs to the age of sin and death. The "new covenant", in contrast, is not written on stone but in human hearts.<sup>27</sup> Apart from *πνεῦμα*, the words of scripture are, for Paul, *γράμμα*.<sup>28</sup> Scripture rightly understood, however, is for him

---

<sup>24</sup>See Rom. 11:7-10.

<sup>25</sup>See Ernst Käsemann, "The Spirit and the Letter," in Perspectives on Paul, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 143.

<sup>26</sup>See Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 26. Cf. Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written?", p. 303.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Jer. 31:31-34.

<sup>28</sup>In Romans 2:27-29, the distinction between *γράμμα* and *πνεῦμα* is also made. In this text, Paul develops two themes: 1) circumcision of the heart, and 2) the identity of the true Jew. He distinguishes between those who are physically uncircumcised but keep the law and those who have circumcision and the "written code" but transgress the law. Thus, the true Jew, according to Paul, is not the one outwardly but the one whose circumcision is a matter of the heart in *πνεῦμα* and not *γράμμα*. In this text, too, *γράμμα* is used in a depreciatory sense; it belongs to the age of sin and death (Käsemann, "Spirit and Letter," p. 142). In Rom. 7:6 Paul writes: "But now (*νοῦν δέ*) we are released from the law, being dead in that which held us captive, so that we serve in the newness (new life) of the spirit and not in the oldness (old life) of the written code." These examples illustrate the way Paul uses *πνεῦμα* and *γράμμα* to differentiate two modes of religious life.

γραφῆ; but it cannot be rightly understood apart from πνεῦμα. As Ellis writes: "γραφῆ is the spirit-carried letter, the spirit-interpreted letter".<sup>29</sup> Hence, when Paul in the course of this argument connects scripture with the "old covenant", he is not implying that scripture is obsolete. He is arguing that to understand scripture as γράμμα is to misunderstand it, to have a veil over one's mind. This is a theological argument in which the biblical material is summoned in order to develop a distinction between the "new" and the "old" covenants.

Paul, in II Corinthians 3:4-18, uses the word κάλυμμα in two different ways. In 3:7-11, the implied function of the veil is to conceal the splendour and glory of Moses' face.<sup>30</sup> But in 3:12-18, the veil serves as an image to show that Moses attempted to conceal from the Israelites the fading glory of his face and also to illustrate that the "unbelieving" Jews are hardened.<sup>31</sup> When the "old covenant" is read, the veil covers their hearts and minds. Thus, according to Paul, the true meaning of the covenant is hidden from the "unbelieving" Jews.<sup>32</sup> There is a question about whether καταργεῖται in 3:14 refers to κάλυμμα or to παλαιὰ διαθήκη;<sup>33</sup> but in either case, Paul in 3:16 makes it clear that in turning to the Lord the veil is removed. As Moses in Exodus 34:33-34 removed the veil when he went before the Lord, so now when one turns to the Lord the veil is lifted. Although Paul does not explicitly say this in 3:12-16, he clearly implies that only

---

<sup>29</sup>Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, p. 27.

<sup>30</sup>Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written?", p. 299.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 300. Cf. Ps. 119:18.

<sup>33</sup>Bring, "Paul and O.T.," p. 35, asserts that it is the veil; whereas Hanson, Paul's Technique, p. 139, argues that it is the old covenant. A targumic tradition may have influenced Paul's use of this material. See R. LeDéaut, "Traditions targumiques dans le corpus Paulinien," Biblica 42 (1961):43-46.

through belief in Christ and life in the spirit can scripture be correctly understood.<sup>34</sup> The "true" understanding of scripture involves the uncovering of its meaning.<sup>35</sup> In II Corinthians 4:3-4, he relates this to his ministry and to the gospel: "And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled only to those who are perishing. In their case, the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God." For Paul, those who do not believe in Christ are "blinded" and the gospel remains veiled.<sup>36</sup> This has clear implications for the way Paul understands the interpretation of scripture.

#### I Corinthians 2:6-10

In 2:7-10, Paul writes: "But we speak in a mystery a wisdom of God which has been hidden, which God decreed before the ages for our glory. None of the rulers of this age understood this, for if they had understood they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is written: 'which things eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor come upon the heart of man....' But God has revealed to us through the spirit." In these verses, Paul juxtaposes a combined scriptural citation with the claim that he speaks a secret and hidden wisdom which God revealed to him through the spirit.<sup>37</sup> The citation serves to substantiate

---

<sup>34</sup>Cf. the rather curious statement in 3:17 that the Lord is the spirit. For Paul there is clearly a connection between belief in the Lord, the spirit, and freedom. See also Rom. 8:9-11, I Cor. 15:45, and Eph. 3:16-17.

<sup>35</sup>See Bring, "Paul and the O.T.," pp. 29-35; Hooker, "Beyond the Things that are Written?", pp. 305-6; and Unnik, "With Unveiled Face," pp. 164-65. Ulonska, "Die Doxa des Mose," pp. 378ff, provides a needed reminder that II Cor. 3 is not primarily a statement about Paul's scriptural hermeneutic; it concerns letters of recommendation, and it involves a polemic against opponents in Corinth. Hooker acknowledges this (p. 303-4), but she asserts correctly that the role of scripture is important in this discussion.

<sup>36</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:7-10.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Conzelmann, I Corinthians, p. 65.

the assertion that the "rulers of this age" did not understand. The eye, ear, and heart imagery pertains to religious understanding;<sup>38</sup> and because this imagery is found in the epistles in explicit quotations and in arguments which are related to scriptural material, it can perhaps be inferred that Paul saw a direct connection between "unbelief" and "hardness of heart" on the one hand and revelation and the "true" understanding of scripture on the other. In Romans 11:7-10, I Corinthians 2:7-10, and II Corinthians 3:4-4:6, Paul has applied the imagery of "hardness", "blindness", and "deafness" to those who do not believe the gospel.<sup>39</sup>

Romans 16:25-27 and 1:17

Although Romans 16:25-27 is probably a post-Pauline addition to the epistle, it is stated explicitly in these verses that the mystery which has been hidden has now been revealed through the prophetic writings.<sup>40</sup> The mystery which has been bound in silence has now been made known through the scriptures. The scriptures testify to the mystery; they are bearers of revelation.<sup>41</sup> The word *vñv* connotes the temporal distinction between the present time of revelation and the time before the gospel was made known.<sup>42</sup> In apocalyptic language, the prophetic scriptures are portrayed as an agent of revelation.

---

<sup>38</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:7-10 and II Cor. 3:15. See also e.g. Eph. 4:17-18, Col. 1:9, and 2:2-3.

<sup>39</sup>See Dt. 29:3, Is. 29:10, 64:3, 65:16, Ps. 69:23-24, and Ex. 34:29-35.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. Eph. 1:9-10, 3:3-12, and Col. 2:2-3. See L.-M. DeWailly, "Mystère et silence dans Rom. XVI.25," New Testament Studies 14 (October 1967):111-18.

<sup>41</sup>Ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀποκάλυψις together appear twenty-six times in the Pauline corpus. In addition to being used in conjunction with μυστήριον, these terms are used to denote the revelation of Christ (e.g. I Cor. 1:7, II Cor. 12:1, Gal. 1:12, 1:16, II Thess. 1:7 and Eph. 3:5), righteousness (Rom. 1:17), wrath (Rom. 1:18), faith (Gal. 3:23), and glory (Rom. 8:18).

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Rom. 3:21.

And in Romans 1:17 Paul writes: "For in it (gospel) the righteousness of God has been revealed through faith for faith."<sup>43</sup> This assertion is followed by a citation from Habakkuk 2:4. Regardless of the way in which the expression ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν is to be translated,<sup>44</sup> there is the impression that πίστις is in some way an agent or means of revelation and at the same time an object of the revelation of God's righteousness. The notion that "faith" is both a means and an object in the process of revelation indicates that "faith" is also a factor in partaking of the gospel's power: "it (gospel) is the power of God for salvation to all who believe...." And, it may be argued, the gospel itself cannot be understood outside the sphere of faith in Christ.<sup>45</sup> If this argument is correct, it may also be asserted that scripture as a witness to the gospel and to the righteousness of God cannot be rightly understood, for Paul, apart from "faith".<sup>46</sup> Although II Corinthians 3:4-4:6 and I Corinthians 2:6-10 are not primarily about "faith" and the "righteousness of God", it would seem that our proposal regarding Romans 1:17 is consistent with these texts.

#### Application and Interpretation

As we have observed,<sup>47</sup> Paul in a number of examples makes explicit his application of the scriptural material. At the conclusion of the discussion in Romans four, Paul in 4:23-24 writes: "But the words, 'it

---

<sup>43</sup>Cf. the expressions ἐκ θανάτου εἰς θάνατον (II Cor. 2:16), ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν (II Cor. 3:18), and καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν (II Cor. 4:17). These parallels suggest that Rom. 1:17 reflects a rhetorical idiom; but this does not mean that the expression is without meaning.

<sup>44</sup>"Through faith for faith" (RSV); "starts from faith and ends in faith" (NEB); "faith leads to faith" (JB).

<sup>45</sup>Käsemann states: "The revelation of God's righteousness, because it is bound to the gospel, takes place always only in the sphere of faith", Romans, p. 31.

<sup>46</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:14-17. In Rom. 10:2, Paul distinguishes between knowledge (understanding) and zeal for God.

<sup>47</sup>See above, p. 93.

was reckoned to him', were not written for his sake alone, but for ours also". The words ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ, which in scripture are depicted as being spoken to Abraham, are applied by Paul to those who believe in the one who raised Jesus from the dead. And the patriarchal material, which Paul uses in Galatians 4:21-31, is applied in 4:29 to the situation which confronts him in Galatia. He writes: "But just as at that time the one who was born according to the flesh persecuted the one who was born according to the spirit, so also now." This statement is followed by a citation from Genesis 21:10: "Cast out the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman." To make explicit his application of this scriptural material, he continues: "Therefore, brethren, we are not children of the slave but of the free woman."

Following the reference to I Kings 19:10 and 18 in Romans 11:2-4, Paul states: "So too in the present time there is a remnant chosen according to grace."<sup>48</sup> The meaning which Paul derives from the scriptural material is used as a basis for asserting that God in the present situation has kept a remnant for himself. And in I Corinthians 9:9-10 Paul writes: "For in the law of Moses it is written, 'you shall not muzzle an ox when he is treading out the grain'. Is it for the oxen that God cares? Does he not speak completely for our sake? It was written for our sake...." The context of this statement in I Corinthians concerns Paul's apostolic right to receive material support, and it is to this situation that Paul has applied the scriptural citation.<sup>49</sup> Though in many ways very different from the texts already cited, this is another example of the way in which

---

<sup>48</sup>Rom. 11:5.

<sup>49</sup>For the more specific context of the use of this quotation see A.E. Harvey, "'The Workman is Worthy of His Hire': Fortunes of a Proverb in the Early Church," Novum Testamentum XXIV (July 1982):211-12.

Paul has explicitly applied a scriptural reference to a contemporary controversy.<sup>50</sup>

Paul, of course, did not engage in the systematic interpretation of scripture; but there is linguistic evidence, as we have shown,<sup>51</sup> which demonstrates that he did view the biblical material as a source from which to extract or infer a religious message. In Romans 9:8, 9:16, 9:18, 10:6-8, 10:17, 14:12, I Corinthians 3:21, 14:22, Galatians 3:7, and 3:9, Paul draws from scriptural texts implications or consequences which assist him in the development of the respective discussions. These brief interpretative or explanatory remarks are introduced by a transition word; and in each case, they follow the scriptural citation. In these texts, Paul perhaps displays most clearly evidence of having used scripture in an exegetical manner. This is an important aspect of the constructive role which scripture plays in the Pauline epistles.

#### Didactic and Edifying Function of Scripture

Following the quotation of Psalm 69:9 in Romans 15:3-4, Paul writes: "For whatever was written previously was written for our instruction in order that through steadfastness and through the encouragement of the scriptures we might have hope."<sup>52</sup> The advice which Paul gives to the Romans is that the strong should bear the failings of the weak; and he exhorts his readers to build up their neighbours.<sup>53</sup> As an example, Christ did not please himself. On the contrary, he suffered reproach, as it is written in scripture.<sup>54</sup> In this text, scripture is

---

<sup>50</sup> See also Rom. 15:4, I Cor. 10:6, and 11, and Gal. 3:16. Cf. also II Cor. 6:2.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 93, note 21.

<sup>52</sup> Paul uses διδασκαλία; cf. Rom. 12:7, Eph. 4:14, and Col. 2:22. Cf. also Mt. 15:9 and Mk. 7:7.

<sup>53</sup> Rom. 15:1-2 (οἰκοδομή). Cf. I Cor. 9:10 and also Rom. 5:3-5.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Phil. 2:5-11. For the evidence that Ps. 69 was part of an

portrayed as having both an instructive and an edifying function. The things which were written in former times serve in the present time to encourage the community and to engender hope.

In I Corinthians 10:1-13, Paul reminds his readers of Israel's experience in the wilderness. He announces that the things which happened in Sinai are examples or warnings for them in the present.<sup>55</sup> The discussion in 10:6-13 is primarily ethical, as Paul warns the Corinthians against idolatry, immorality, putting the Lord to the test, and grumbling.<sup>56</sup> He relates the wilderness stories to his ethical concern by stating: "And these things happened to them as a warning, but they were written for our instruction upon whom the end of the ages has come."<sup>57</sup> The scriptural material functions as a source of instruction and guidance for those who live in the "end-time". Paul's view that scripture is instructive for the people of the τέλη τῶν αἰώνων indicates that his perspective of the "end-time" was also a factor in discerning the ethical significance and value of scripture for his religious community.<sup>58</sup>

The precise meaning of I Corinthians 4:6 is difficult to ascertain; but if the expression τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται refers to scripture,<sup>59</sup> it

---

early "testimonia" see Dodd, According to the Scriptures, pp. 57-59; and Lindars, New Testament Apologetic, pp. 99-108.

<sup>55</sup>I Cor. 10:6. See Andrew J. Bandstra, "Interpretation in I Corinthians 10:1-11," Calvin Theological Journal 6 (April 1971):14-21 and Wayne Meeks, "'And Rose Up to Play': Midrash and Paraenesis in I Corinthians 10:1-22," Journal for the Study of the New Testament 16 (October 1982):64-78.

<sup>56</sup>See Meeks, "Midrash and Paraenesis," pp. 67ff.

<sup>57</sup>Paul uses τυπικῶς and νοουθεσία.

<sup>58</sup>Cf. I Cor. 15:54-55.

<sup>59</sup>This is the position taken by Morna Hooker, "'Beyond the Things Which are Written': An Examination of I Cor. IV. 6," New Testament Studies 10 (October 1963):127-32. P. Wallis, however, argued against viewing this expression as a reference to scripture, "Ein neuer Auslegungsversuch der Stelle I Kor. 4,6," Theologische Literaturzeitung 75 (August 1950):506-8. On this passage see also Hans Conzelmann, I Corinthians.

would seem that Paul has ascribed to it a regulatory function. Paul writes that he has applied "these things" to himself and Apollos that the Corinthians may learn in them (by their example) "not (to go) beyond the things which are written". And in Romans 3:2, Paul states that the Jews' first advantage is that they have been entrusted with the λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. A number of commentators, following the lead of J.W. Doeve, have asserted correctly that this expression refers to God's revelation in holy scripture.<sup>60</sup> The Jews possessed the testimony of the Torah and the righteousness of God; and in this, they possessed the revelation of God.<sup>61</sup> The scriptures were a source of revelation and instruction for Paul; and in the epistles, the texts in which the didactic character of scripture is most evident are those which pertain to his ethical and pastoral concerns. In the final section of this chapter, we shall note a remote connection between this feature of Paul's use of scripture and Jewish halakah.

#### Typology and Correspondence

In theological discussion, typology often has been used as a term for expressing a category of scriptural use found in the New Testament. Ellis, writing in the forward to the English translation of Goppelt's Typos, states:

Unlike allegorical exposition, the typology of the NT writers represents the OT not as a book of metaphors hiding a deeper meaning but as an account of historical events and teachings from which the meaning of the text arises. Unlike a Judaizing hermeneutic, typology views the relationship of OT events to those in the new dispensation not as a "one-to-one" equation or correspondence, in which the old is repeated or continued, but rather in terms of two principles, historical

---

<sup>60</sup>J.W. Doeve, "Some Notes with Reference to TA ΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ in Romans III.2," in Studia Paulina: in Honorem Johannis DeZwaan (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1953), pp. 111-23. See also Wilckens, vol. I, p. 164; Käsemann, Romans, p. 78; and C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), p. 62.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:4.

correspondence and escalation.... In typology, however, the OT type not only corresponds to the NT antitype but also is complemented and transcended by it.<sup>62</sup>

And writing in 1976, David L. Baker sought to provide working definitions of "type" and "typology":

A type is a biblical event, person or institution which serves as an example or pattern for other events, persons or institutions; typology is the study of types and the historical and theological correspondences between them; the basis of typology is God's consistent activity in the history of his chosen People.<sup>63</sup>

Many scholars have contributed to the discussion concerning typology, but only one further reference is required for our purposes. Gerhard von Rad has written: "Indeed, one must see the basic ideas of typology less in the notion of 'repetition' than in that of 'correspondence'."<sup>64</sup> In addition, he asserts that the New Testament in many ways testifies to the impulse towards a heightening between "type" and "antitype".<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>Leonhard Goppelt, Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1982), p. X.

<sup>63</sup>David L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament," Scottish Journal of Theology 29 (April 1976):153.

<sup>64</sup>Gerhard von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," in Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, ed. Claus Westermann (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 20.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 21. See also Walther Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" In Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, ed. Claus Westermann (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), pp. 224-45; G.W.H. Lampe, "Typological Exegesis," Theology LVI (June 1953):201-8 (He argues that the assumption which underlies typology is the recognition that the history of God's people and his dealings with them is a 'single continuous process'); K.J. Woollcombe, "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," in Essays on Typology (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1957):39-75 ("Typology, considered as a method of exegesis, may be defined as the establishment of historical connexions between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament and similar events, persons, or things in the New Testament", p. 39.); Goppelt, Typos, pp. 127-52; James Barr, Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966), pp. 103-48; R. T. France, Jesus and the Old Testament (London: The Tyndale Press, 1971), pp. 38-43; Horace D. Hummel, "The Old Testament Basis of Typological Interpretation," Biblical Research IX (1964):38-50; and Hanson, Paul's Technique, pp. 151-58.

But does the language of "type" and "antitype" and of historical linkage and escalation provide an adequate basis for understanding the framework with which Paul approached the use of scripture?<sup>66</sup> There is evidence for the typological use of biblical material in the Pauline epistles but it is limited to only a few texts. In Romans 5:14, Paul uses the word τύπος. He writes: "... Adam who is the type of the one who is to come." In this context, τύπος means "model" or "pattern";<sup>67</sup> and it is used to indicate the relationship between Adam and Christ and their respective representations of humanity. The element of historical linkage often associated with definitions of typology does appear to be present in Romans 5:12-21.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the element of escalation is also present. Paul writes in 5:17: "For if by the trespass of one man death reigned through the one, much more (πολλῷ μᾶλλον) shall those who receive the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one Jesus Christ."<sup>69</sup> But to what extent is this element of escalation simply inherent in the qal wahomer method of argumentation? And to what extent does it reflect Paul's view of history?<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> It ought to be noted at the outset that Goppelt, whose work on typology and the New Testament was published in 1939 and which is still the most thorough treatment of the subject, has recognized that typology is limited in the Pauline epistles: "But typology is not prominent in his epistles because they contain the doctrine of redemption primarily and include little redemptive history.... The typology that is present is there for the sake of his doctrine..." (pp. 128-29). But writing a quarter of a century later in an essay on "Apocalypticism and Typology in Paul," Goppelt appears to have concluded that typology is more fundamental to Paul's use of scripture than his earlier statements may have suggested: "Of the many references to the OT in the Pauline epistles, the typologies are only a small portion numerically, but they are characteristic of his overall use of scripture and set a pattern for it" (Eng. trans. p. 225).

<sup>67</sup> Woollcombe, "Typology," pp. 60-65. Cf. the use of τύπος in Rom. 6:17, I Cor. 10:6, (10:11), Phil. 3:17, and I Thess. 1:7.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. especially Rom. 5:18-19.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Rom. 5:15-16. See Goppelt, Typos, pp. 129-36.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the discussion by Heinrich Müller, "Der rabbinische Qal-Wachomer," pp. 73-92.

Perhaps these questions cannot be sharply differentiated, but they suggest that Paul's manner of argumentation has worked in tandem with his religious viewpoint to produce a typological statement which involves both analogy and contrast.<sup>71</sup> Yet even in this text, perhaps the most vivid example of typology in the epistles, the use of scripture is limited to the use of names and allusions to the trespass of Adam and the giving of the Mosaic law. Goppelt may be right that the comparison between Adam and Christ is a basic element in Pauline theology,<sup>72</sup> but it cannot be argued meaningfully that it governs or is characteristic of his use of scripture.<sup>73</sup>

Furthermore, Paul's use of the Abrahamic material appears to reflect Jewish concepts of corporate solidarity and patriarchal descendency rather than a typological view of scripture based on notions of redemption-history. Likewise, the use of τύπος and τυπικῶς in the sense of "warning" or "example" in I Corinthians 10:6-13 provides little support for the view that Paul's use of scripture is fundamentally typological. In this text, the scriptural material is used didactically and the "end-time" view point which is expressed does not necessarily imply notions of historical linkage.<sup>74</sup> There is perhaps a eucharistic and baptismal typology in 10:1-4, but Paul does not elaborate this imagery. Other cases of alleged typology, for example the cult imagery in I Corinthians 3:10-17 and II Corinthians 6:16,<sup>75</sup> are equally vague

---

<sup>71</sup>See I Cor. 15:21-23, 45-49.

<sup>72</sup>Goppelt, Typos, p. 223. Cf. Eph. 4:22-23 and Col. 3:9-10.

<sup>73</sup>See above, note 66.

<sup>74</sup>See the remark by Hanson regarding the connection between typology and παράκλησις, Paul's Technique, p. 158.

<sup>75</sup>Goppelt, Typos, p. 225. Goppelt says that Gal. 4:21-31 is a typology that passes over into allegory (p. 224). Hanson's statement that Rom. 9-11 is replete with typology (e.g. 9:17) is highly questionable and does not seem to be to the point as far as Paul's use of scripture in these three chapters is concerned (see below, pp. 171ff); Paul's Technique, p. 158.

and undeveloped. They indicate the limited role that typology, understood historically, plays in Paul's epistles. Apart from Romans 5:12-21 and perhaps I Corinthians 10:1-13 the language of "type", "antitype", and historical linkage is not adequate to describe the basic framework with which Paul came to the use of scripture.

If the term typology with its historical implications is inadequate,<sup>76</sup> what is appropriate terminology to describe the connection between scriptural persons or things and contemporary persons or things without implying some kind of historical linkage? Before answering this question, it ought to be stated that in the epistles scripture is virtually always applied, and it is applied in basically two ways: 1) it is applied in order to illustrate and establish a religious principle and 2) it is applied to contemporary individuals or groups. Most often these are interwoven; but within the structure of the literary context of Paul's citations, these two aspects of scriptural application can usually be differentiated.<sup>77</sup> Paul's use of scripture is primarily theological, but it is almost always related to people and circumstances in his ministry.

In this discussion of terminology, it is primarily the second aspect of scriptural application which concerns us. It is in this dimension that the issue of linkage comes to the fore. The connection between scriptural and contemporary persons or things, which we seek to describe, is not made necessarily on the basis of a view of historical linkage, as is frequently implied in the term typology. Paul often appears to have used scripture verbally and thematically to make an ethical or theological statement without linking scripture to the present

---

<sup>76</sup>Barr has shown the difficulty in using a view of history as a criterion in defining and identifying typology and allegory, Old and New, pp. 103-15.

<sup>77</sup>See below, pp. 212-30.

according to a notion of redemption-history. Rather than a view of history, the underlying assumption of Paul's application of scripture appears often to be that that which is "true" in scripture (understood in light of his special religious understanding) is also "true" in the present. The task for Paul is to discern (uncover) the verbal and thematic links between scripture and the circumstances of the present and thus bring the "truth" of scripture to bear both pastorally and theologically. In this process, connections and links are made or implied between scriptural persons and things and contemporary persons and things. It is this feature which we wish to describe by the term "correspondence",<sup>78</sup> As a technical term, it is neutral regarding the issue of linkage based on a notion of history and the role this notion may have played in Paul's use of scripture. "Correspondence" neither presupposes it nor precludes it. This term describes one significant aspect of Paul's application of scripture and from now on "correspondence" will be used in this sense.

#### Allegory

Though other Pauline texts have been described as being allegorical,<sup>79</sup> only in Galatians 4:24 does Paul actually use the word "allegory".<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup>The interpretations which the pesher commentators gave often involved an element of "correspondence" expressed in disguised language.

<sup>79</sup>E.g. I Cor. 9:1ff and 10:1ff. See Hanson, Paul's Technique, pp. 159-68.

<sup>80</sup>Paul uses the expression ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα. The first word, ἅτινα, is an indefinite relative pronoun and should be translated, "which things" -- Betz suggests "these things"; Galatians, Hermeneia Series (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 243. It is neuter, nominative, plural and in this context refers to the scriptural traditions in 4:22-23 which Paul interprets in 4:24-27. The participle, ἀλληγορούμενα, is in the present tense and corresponds to ἅτινα in number, gender, and case. Since there are no definite articles to assist in the determination of the grammatical function of this participle, its use must be determined by the context. On this basis, the participle appears to function adjectivally. The word agrees with ἅτινα, but because it stands in the predicate, it is used substantively as an adjectival participle -- Ernest De Witt Burton, Epistle to the Galatians, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1921), p. 253.

From the context of the argument in Galatians 4:21-31, it is evident that Paul uses this term in 4:24 to indicate that he intends to draw out the meaning and significance of the biblical material regarding Sarah, Hagar, and their two sons to which he has referred in 4:22-23. Paul states in 4:24-25 that one of the women is from Sinai and gives birth into slavery. She is Hagar, a mountain in Arabia, who stands in the line (συστοιχέω) of the present city of Jerusalem. According to Paul, the present Jerusalem and her children are in slavery and stand in the same line as Hagar, Sinai, and bondage. Paul clearly wishes to emphasize the relationship between Hagar and the various elements which stand in her line, but he intends to do so primarily in the context of a contrast between her and Sarah. Paul only develops the line of Sarah incompletely in 4:26, but he undoubtedly presupposes that she stands in opposition to the line of Hagar. Hence, Paul introduces the scriptural material in 4:22-23, indicates in 4:24 that he intends to interpret this material "allegorically", and in 4:24-26 draws from the patriarchal narrative the interpretation which he wishes to convey to the Galatians. The use of ἀλληγορέω may also suggest that Paul was aware that the interpretation of the biblical material which he was about to set forth (4:24-27) would not have been considered by his Jewish contemporaries as the obvious or literal meaning of the Genesis narrative. Nevertheless, Paul undoubtedly believed that he had uncovered the correct meaning of the biblical material.<sup>81</sup>

Regarding the linguistic evidence Burton has argued that ἀλληγορούμενα is a general present participle which is equivalent to a noun and should be translated in this context, "which things are allegorical utterances".<sup>82</sup> He goes on to argue that the implication

---

<sup>81</sup>Cf. TDNT, I:263. See above, pp. 142-45.

<sup>82</sup>Burton, Galatians, pp. 253-55. Betz suggests "these things have an allegorical meaning" as the correct translation, Galatians, p. 243.

of this construction is that Paul is speaking of what the passage means in its present context and not what it meant originally.<sup>83</sup> According to Burton, the word ἀλληγορέω in 4:24 can mean "... to utter something which has another meaning than that of the words taken literally -- the object of the verb or subject in the passive being the words uttered."<sup>84</sup> He says the only other possibility in this context is "... to draw out the spiritual meaning supposed to underlie the words in their literal sense."<sup>85</sup> Hans Dieter Betz in his recent commentary on Galatians indicates that the term ἀλληγορέω comes from ἄλλο ἀγορεύω which means "say something else".<sup>86</sup> Betz also asserts that although the term ἀλληγορέω is a "hapax legomenon" in early Christian literature, the method which Paul intends to apply in 4:22-26 is clear from other sources.<sup>87</sup> Both the linguistic evidence and the nature of the argument in 4:21-31 indicate that Paul has approached the use of the scriptural material in this text "allegorically". He has intended to draw out the correct interpretation which he believes underlies a superficial reading of the biblical narrative.

Whether or not the term "allegory" is adequate to describe Paul's use of scripture in texts other than Galatians 4:21-27 is not pertinent to our thesis. It must be said, however, that in Galatians 4:21-27 Paul has not extracted, as did Philo, elaborate cosmological or religious lessons from the scriptural words and events.<sup>88</sup> He has uncovered what

---

<sup>83</sup>Burton, Galatians, p. 256.      <sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 254.

<sup>86</sup>Betz, Galatians, p. 243.      <sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>88</sup>TDNT, I:263. Space does not permit us to undertake a comparison of Philo's allegorical use of scripture and Paul's use of scripture, but for further reference see e.g.: F.H. Colson, "Philo's Quotations from the Old Testament," Journal of Theological Studies XLI (1940):237-51; Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament, pp. 51-54; W.L. Knox, "Philo's Use of the Old Testament," Journal of Theological Studies XLI (1940):30-34; Burton L. Mack, "Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus," in Studia Philonica (Missoula: The Philo Institute, 1977), pp. 71-112; Samuel Sandmel, Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) and

he considers to be the "true" meaning of the Abrahamic material, and he has applied this specifically to the conflict in Galatia.<sup>89</sup> We shall now conclude part two with a comparison of Pauline and Jewish uses of scripture.

#### Comparative Summary of Pauline and Jewish Uses of Scripture

Certain characteristics of Paul's manner of quoting from scripture suggest that he and the writers of Jubilees and LAB share a number of related hermeneutical impulses or tendencies. It has been shown that in Jewish haggadic writing the author often adapts the scriptural narrative in order to avoid an unacceptable religious or theological idea. There is evidence which indicates that this may also have been a consideration in Paul's method of citing scriptural texts.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, it has been argued that certain textual variations in Paul's quotations are due to a shift in historical perspective and the attempt to enhance a theological argument. These features of Paul's use of biblical texts may be related to the tendency found in Jubilees and LAB to rewrite portions of scripture in light of certain theological or doctrinal concerns.<sup>91</sup> The manipulation of the scriptural text for the purpose of enhancing the argument of the writer also appears to be a feature of some Qumran passages.<sup>92</sup> In addition, both Paul and the authors of Jubilees and LAB have paraphrased portions of the biblical material.<sup>93</sup>

The structural patterns displayed by individual quotations in relation to their immediate literary contexts, which have been identified

---

"Philo's Environment and Philo's Exegesis," Journal of Bible and Religion XXII (October 1954):248-53; and Harry Austryn Wolfson, Philo, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), I:87-199.

<sup>89</sup>Gal. 4:28-31.

<sup>90</sup>See above, p. 79.      <sup>91</sup>See above, pp. 34-38.

<sup>92</sup>See above, p. 47.      <sup>93</sup>See above, pp. 35 and 81-82.

in the epistles, have comparable forms in the Damascus Rule, the Community Rule, and the War Rule. The simple form consisting of an opening statement, an introductory formula, and a scriptural text can be found in both sets of documents.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, in many examples from both the epistles and the Qumran Rules, the scriptural citation is followed by some type of elaboration, interpretation, or application of the passage. The purpose of these Qumran documents is, of course, different from the purpose of the epistles,<sup>95</sup> but this does not obscure the similarity, in structural and literary terms, of the use of scripture found in the two sets of writings. The scriptural quotations serve to substantiate statements which have been made. They bring the interpretative and authoritative value of scripture to bear on statements which are set forth in the course of the writer's literary presentation.

It has been suggested that the structure of Paul's use of scripture in Romans 10:6-8 with its three-fold pattern of scriptural citation, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, and exposition is similar to the "pēšer" form of interpretation.<sup>96</sup> While there may be a general connection between Romans 10:6-8 and the Qumran commentaries in the fact that the explanatory remarks follow the biblical quotation and are introduced by a specific word or expression which is repeated before each interpretative statement, it must be stressed that Paul has not provided his readers with a continuous commentary on Deuteronomy 30:12-14. The scriptural text has been quoted selectively. But this alone does not rule out a comparison between Romans 10:6-8 and the Qumran documents. For in the Damascus Rule 4:12-18, a single scriptural passage is quoted,<sup>97</sup> and it is followed by a form of

---

<sup>94</sup> See above, pp. 49 and 86-95.

<sup>95</sup> These Qumran documents are intended to have a regulatory function and many of the biblical citations in them have an halakic purpose.

<sup>96</sup> See e.g. the discussion by Richard N. Longenecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period, pp. 121-23. Cf. also, Käsemann, Romans, p. 284.

<sup>97</sup> Is. 24:17.

of the word "pēšer" and an interpretation. In this example, the passage functions as scriptural support for the statement in 4:12b-4:13a and also as a source for the interpretation in 4:15ff.<sup>98</sup> This text from the Damascus Rule illustrates the way in which a single scriptural citation could be used with a "pēšer" form of interpretation.<sup>99</sup> In both the Qumran documents and Romans 10:6-8, scriptural texts are applied, in light of the writers' religious perspectives, to the circumstances of their own time. But the expression τοῦτ' ἔστιν is not by itself a sufficient basis upon which to develop a connection between Romans 10:6-8 and the Qumran writings. For, as can be seen in Romans 7:18, 9:8, Hebrews 2:14, 7:5, and 10:20, τοῦτ' ἔστιν is a simple literary device used to introduce a point of explanation.<sup>100</sup>

It has also been shown that Paul uses words other than τοῦτ' ἔστιν following a quotation to introduce a statement of interpretation or application.<sup>101</sup> Instead of being formal or technical terms, however, these transition words enable Paul either to introduce an inferential comment based on the citation or to apply the citation directly to a contemporary situation. They are not words which have been used consistently enough by Paul or other writers of the New Testament in connection with biblical quotations to indicate that they had become in any sense technical terms associated with scriptural hermeneutics.<sup>102</sup> It is, however, important to emphasize that the direct application of biblical material, as found in Paul's epistles, can be compared with the direct application of scriptural material in the Qumran commentaries. For

---

<sup>98</sup>Cf. the language of Is. 24:18 and CD 4:16ff.

<sup>99</sup>Cf. also 4Q Flor.

<sup>100</sup>Cf. ὅς ἐστιν in Gal. 3:16. See also e.g. Jn. 1:41.

<sup>101</sup>See above, pp. 93-94.

<sup>102</sup>See above, pp. 45-46, 93-94, and 147-49.

example, we have shown that in IQpHab 1:16-2:10 the writer has developed a three-fold application of Habakkuk 1:5 in order to relate the prophetic words directly to his own generation.<sup>103</sup> The substance of the Qumran commentator's discussion and his use of terminology cannot be paralleled with examples from the Pauline epistles, but the technique employed by the author of explicitly applying a biblical citation directly to contemporary individuals is comparable with examples found in the epistles.<sup>104</sup> Both Paul and the Qumran commentator have interpreted biblical texts by applying them directly to their own religious circumstances.

Paul's use of scripture has been recognized for a long time as having affinities with Jewish haggadah,<sup>105</sup> but it is necessary to note that in terms of literary structure his use of biblical material is comparable only with the pattern of haggadah which proceeds from short scriptural excerpts. Paul does not rewrite extensive sections of biblical narrative.<sup>106</sup> The links between Paul's use of scripture and Jewish halakah, however, are difficult to assess. It has been shown that Paul uses both "legal" and "non-legal" passages from scripture and that he uses them to develop theological arguments as well as to give ethical instruction and guidance.<sup>107</sup> But Paul stands in a peculiar position with respect to Jewish halakah. For Paul, Christ is the *τέλος* of the law; and circumcision, cultic regulations, and food restrictions are not considered by him to be universally binding upon the church.<sup>108</sup>

---

<sup>103</sup> See above, pp. 46-47.      <sup>104</sup> See above, pp. 147-49.

<sup>105</sup> See Henry St. John Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), pp. 180-240 and D. Windfuhr, "Der Apostel Paulus als Haggadist," Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 44 (1926):327-30.

<sup>106</sup> See above, pp. 22-23.      <sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 100, 105-6, and 149-51.

<sup>108</sup> See Rom. 2:25-29, 4:1-12, 10:4, 14:1-23, I Cor. 8:1-13, and Gal. 3:15-4:11.

Salvation does not depend on the law, for Paul. And he has produced nothing in the epistles which is directly comparable to the legal development and content of the Mishnah. Still Paul does use scripture to instruct and to guide his readers. To be sure, this is not related formally to the halakic traditions preserved in the Mishnah, but it suggests that Paul's desire to guide the behaviour of his readers and to use scripture as a tool in their instruction may be due to the general influence of certain strands of halakic teaching. The precise relationship between Pauline ethics and Jewish halakah, however, is highly problematic, and since it is not central to our thesis we are able only to raise this issue without pursuing its many implications.<sup>109</sup>

A fundamental characteristic of Paul's midrashic use of scripture is the development of verbal and thematic links in the association of biblical passages and the construction of theological arguments.<sup>110</sup> The role of analogy is important not only according to *gezerah shawah* but also *qal wahomer*. It has also been argued that terminological and thematic considerations have played a significant part in the development of 4Q Florilegium and 4Q Testimonia.<sup>111</sup> At this point, it is important to be reminded of LeDéaut's assertion that midrash is a way of thinking and reasoning.<sup>112</sup> As midrash has been represented by Paul, it is a way of thinking and reasoning in which the association of words, expressions, and themes is basic. Analogy is a fundamental aspect of Paul's use of scripture; it has enabled him to connect biblical texts, to elucidate his understanding of selected passages, and to shape his theological arguments. This will become clearer in chapter six.

---

<sup>109</sup>Cf. however the discussions regarding Ben Sira's connection between wisdom and Torah (above, pp. 28-32) and Paul's substitution of Christ for Torah (below, pp. 259-63). But more importantly see the significant work by E.P. Sanders on Paul and the law in Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People. He addresses many of these issues in a detailed and provocative manner.

<sup>110</sup>See above, pp. 86-94.      <sup>111</sup>See above, pp. 50-53.

<sup>112</sup>See above, p. 27.

Paul's understanding of the "veil", "hardness of heart", "revelation", and perhaps also "faith" must be seen in the context of Jewish apocalyptic thought and literature.<sup>113</sup> In Jubilees 1:4, the writer makes reference to the revelation which God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is claimed that Moses was taught the meaning of history and that this revelation has been written in the book of Jubilees. In I Enoch, too, scriptural paraphrases, images, allusions, and language are woven into the literary presentation and are understood in light of the secret revelation which the apocalypticist claims to have received.<sup>114</sup> But by far the most complete picture of the relationship between revelation and scriptural interpretation is found in the Qumran literature. From his sectarian perspective, the Qumran interpreter saw the events of present and future history set before him in the words of scripture. He believed that he possessed understanding of the meaning of God's purposes and that his task as a scriptural interpreter was a matter of uncovering the "true" message of the prophet's words for his community.<sup>115</sup>

In IQpHab 2:8-9, the commentator says that the Teacher of Righteousness has received understanding to interpret the words of the prophets; and in IQpHab 7:4-5, he writes that to the Teacher of Righteousness God made known the mysteries of the prophets. And in IQpHab 7:6-7 (holy spirit), 17:26 (holy spirit), 14:25 (spirit of knowledge), and 13:18-19 (spirit), the psalmist is portrayed as a man upon whom the spirit has been bestowed. Paul does not explicitly portray himself as an enlightened interpreter of scripture, but the use of πνεῦμα in II Corinthians 3:4-18 and I Corinthians 2:10 exhibits a clear parallel with Qumran. For Paul and the Qumran sectaries, the correct understanding of God's purposes and the scriptures is connected with the spirit.<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup>See above, pp. 38-44.      <sup>114</sup>See above, p. 39.

<sup>115</sup>See above, pp. 41-44.

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Rom. 8:1-19.

Furthermore, Paul's discussion of the two ministries and his reference to the "new covenant" in II Corinthians 3:4-11 are apparently from a conceptual framework similar to that displayed in the use of covenant terminology in the Qumran literature.<sup>117</sup> In IQpHab 2:4, for example, reference is made to the "new covenant". Whether this means, in fact, a "new covenant" or the "true covenant" is not important for our purposes; but it is significant that this terminology arises among Jews who claim for themselves a special religious status. Paul, like the Qumran covenanter, claims for himself a special understanding which is shared only by those who are part of his religious community. Those outside have a "veil" over their minds.<sup>118</sup>

Many features of the use of scripture in the Pauline epistles and in the Qumran literature, however, are very different. While the Qumran sectaries searched the scriptures in order to uncover the mysteries of God's purposes and to regulate their communal life, Paul wrote epistles dealing with theological and pastoral matters to selected churches. To what extent, then, is the model of Qumran biblical interpretation appropriate for understanding Paul's use of scripture? In approaching this question, a clear distinction between the literary features of the use of biblical material at Qumran and the religious framework of the interpreter must be kept in view. As we have argued, certain structural features of Paul's use of scripture can be paralleled in the Qumran documents. Moreover, there is an underlying sectarian religious viewpoint which is shared by Paul and the Qumran interpreter. In addition to this, the literature of the sectaries is indispensable for tracing the way individual interpretative traditions were developing in Judaism

---

<sup>117</sup> See נְרִיָּת in Kuhn, Konkordanz. See also Vermes, Dead Sea Scrolls in English, pp. 35-38.

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. Rom. 11:7-10, I Cor. 2:6-10, and II Cor. 3:4-4:6.

and the early church. But the theological perspectives represented in the Pauline and Qumran writings are fundamentally different. The centre of Qumran religious life is to a large extent cultic and "legal", whereas for Paul it is basically a matter of faith in Christ. Another dimension of this is that for Paul the dividing line between Jew and Gentile has been removed through God's action in Christ. This undoubtedly places Paul and the covenanters in different religious categories and affects the way they have applied biblical material. Thus, the literary and religious comparisons which have been made between the Pauline and Qumran uses of scripture cannot be allowed to obscure the substantial differences between them. It is with this proviso that we are able to use the Qumran literature as a model for understanding Paul's attempt to uncover the "real" meaning of scripture.

Though definitions of typology and allegory may vary and there may not be unanimity of opinion about which Pauline texts can be described by these terms, it has been argued that a small number of examples in the epistles can be rightly called typological or allegorical.<sup>119</sup> Examples of typology and allegory can also be identified in Jewish sources.<sup>120</sup> And as we can see from the Epistle of Barnabas, typology was also employed by an early Christian writer outside of the New Testament.<sup>121</sup> In addition, we have argued that the term "correspondence" ought to be used to describe a significant aspect of Paul's application of scripture. This feature of Paul's use of biblical material can perhaps be compared with, among other examples,<sup>122</sup> the many references to the

---

<sup>119</sup> See above, pp. 153-59.

<sup>120</sup> See above, pp. 158-59. See also Cohn-Sherbok, "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis," pp. 122-24 and Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash," Jewish Quarterly Review 1 (1911):291-333.

<sup>121</sup> See e.g. Epistle of Barn. 7:3, 7:7, 7:10, 8:1, 12:2, 12:5, 12:6, 12:10, and 13:5.

<sup>122</sup> E.g. IQpHab 1:16-2:10.

"Kittim" in the Habakkuk commentary. In the application of the prophet's words, the Qumran interpreter has seen lines of "correspondence" between aspects of the biblical text and the "Kittim". Finally, Paul's explicit use of the scriptural context of a passage as a factor in the interpretation of a text and his use of a linguistic detail in the application of a biblical word are comparable to examples found in Jewish literature.<sup>123</sup>

The influence of synagogue worship on Paul and his use of scripture is not to be doubted. For example, it has been indicated that there is a connection between Paul's linking of passages and the midrashic homilies.<sup>124</sup> But it is difficult to know in detail if Paul's selection and use of scriptural texts reflect the influence of early Jewish lectionaries. In part, the difficulty arises because the origins and development of these lectionaries are not entirely clear.<sup>125</sup> The presence, in the proposed lectionaries of the first century, of texts which Paul has cited is not sufficient to establish that his arguments have been conformed to a lectionary or that his selection of passages has depended on a liturgical pattern. It may be in many cases that Paul's selection of texts has been influenced by the familiarity with scripture and interpretative tradition which he gained in synagogue worship but is actually governed by the verbal and thematic links that he is able to develop in support of his arguments.

One further point regarding Paul's use of scripture must now be highlighted. The use of the Bible by Paul is not simply a matter of scriptural interpretation but perhaps more significantly in many cases a matter of scriptural argumentation and discussion. The primary goal of Paul's use of scripture is not the straightforward elucidation of

---

<sup>123</sup>See above, pp. 57 and 59.

<sup>124</sup>See above, pp. 20-21. Cf. also below, p. 191.

<sup>125</sup>See above, pp. 19-20.

the text. Rather, it is the religious and ethical demands, as he perceives them, of Christian missionary work among the Gentiles. For Paul, scripture is an instrument; and as an instrument, it contributes to his manner of arguing and doing theology. In the epistles, scriptural argumentation is often a way of developing and articulating a response to a real or perceived religious problem; and, as such, it is not a systematic theological discussion. Argumentation based on scripture is governed frequently by verbal and thematic association, as the discussion progresses from one point to the next and as Paul's religious perspective interacts with the scriptural material.

Romans 9-11 is the most vivid example of scriptural argumentation in the Pauline epistles. It will be argued in the next chapter that the underlying feature which holds together the discourse in Romans 9-11 is Paul's method and manner of discussion based on the use of biblical quotations. It is this which gives Romans 9-11 its structure and coherence, as opposed to a single theological concept. Therefore, our point of departure in part three will not be the conclusions which Paul has drawn but the manner in which he has derived and presented his arguments. The purpose of the final part of our thesis is two-fold: 1) to demonstrate the way scripture has undergirded and informed the discussion in Romans 9-11 and 2) to illustrate in greater detail certain features of Paul's use of scripture which have been identified already in part two.

PART III

PAUL AND THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN ROMANS 9-11

## CHAPTER VI

### SCRIPTURE AND LITERARY STRUCTURE

From the perspective of literary composition and the use of scripture, the task of establishing the structure of Romans 9-11 is not primarily a matter of identifying the major theological junctures in Paul's argument.<sup>1</sup> It is rather a process of using the methodological, stylistic, and thematic features of Paul's discourse to highlight the individual units of the discussion and to see these units as, in some measure, discrete scriptural arguments. Thus, the literary character and structure of Romans 9-11 is not to be understood in terms of a theologically coherent composition but in terms of a series of interconnected individual arguments which in their own way relate to the larger development of the discourse. By literary structure, we mean those stylistic features and those verbal and thematic links which are reflected in Paul's composition and which serve as the components from which the discourse has been constructed. In this regard, scriptural citations function prominently in the structure of Romans 9-11. Our method of inquiry, therefore, is to examine chapters 9-11 from the perspective of the relationship between Pauline composition and the use of scripture. These three chapters will then be examined in light of the larger literary context of the epistle to the Romans.

---

<sup>1</sup>Cf. above, pp. 4-7.

Method and Manner of Presentation

The literary structure of Romans 9-11 is determined, in large measure, by two stylistic features: 1) questions designed to allow Paul to address the objections of an imaginary interlocutor,<sup>2</sup> to summarize an argument,<sup>3</sup> or to prevent misunderstanding<sup>4</sup> and 2) statements which either introduce individual segments of the argument or derive from the argument and serve to direct the thematic development of the discussion.

Between the introduction in 9:1-5 and the theological doxology in 11:33-36, there is a complex relationship between interrogatives, declarative statements, and scripture; and it is the interaction between these elements that determines the direction of the scriptural arguments in each of the individual units.<sup>5</sup> In addition to supplying information regarding Paul's manner of using scripture to develop a theological statement, the stylistic features in Romans 9-11, along with the abundant use of scriptural material, may also allow us to draw some conclusions concerning the religious and literary background of these chapters.

9:1-5

In the introduction to the discussion in 9-11, Paul's motivation for developing his argument can perhaps be seen. Without exaggerating

---

<sup>2</sup>See Rom. 9:14, 9:19, 9:20, 9:21, 9:22, 10:18, and 10:19. Cf. also Rom. 10:14-15 and 11:15. There is no reason to think that the questions were directed toward any particular individual or group, but it is certainly possible that Paul had encountered these types of questions before and therefore was acutely aware of the religious objections which could have been raised against him. On the diatribe as a stylistic form, see James Hardy Ropes, The Epistle of St. James, International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1916), pp. 10-16.

<sup>3</sup>See Rom. 9:30 and 11:7. Cf. also Rom. 9:14.

<sup>4</sup>See Rom. 11:1 and 11:11. Cf. also Rom. 9:30.

<sup>5</sup>See outline below, p. 200.

Paul's sense of anguish at the refusal of most Jews to believe the message which he preached, it is reasonable to conclude that the statements in 9:1-3 are accurate expressions of the way he felt about his kinsmen and that these feelings were in part responsible for his addressing the issue of Israel's salvation. But as indicated in 9:4-6, the issues at stake for Paul were more fundamental than his own sense of anguish. Paul's kinsmen were Israelites. To them belonged the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the law, the worship, the promises, and the patriarchs. And Christ according to the flesh, too, was an Israelite. The messiah, born according to the promise of the prophets, belonged to the elect people of God.<sup>6</sup> Any personal feelings Paul may have felt for his fellow Jews were compounded by the theological incongruity and the religious dislocation caused by the Jews' rejection of the gospel. The integrity of Paul's gospel and his mission to the Gentiles were at stake in this issue.

#### 9:6-13

Paul writes in 9:6: "But it is not as though the word of God has failed". This is the thesis which Paul sets out to establish in 9:6-13;<sup>7</sup> and the scriptural argument which is developed in support of it is the material from which the interrogatives in 9:14 and 9:19 derive.<sup>8</sup> To vindicate his understanding of God's purposes and to demonstrate that God is true to his promises, Paul turns to scripture and embarks on an attempt to develop a persuasive and satisfying explanation concerning Israel's rejection of the gospel and her place in God's plan of salvation.

---

<sup>6</sup>See Rom. 1:2-3 and Gal. 3:16.

<sup>7</sup>See Dahl, "Future of Israel," p. 143 and Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 191.

<sup>8</sup>This statement also provides the background for the scriptural argument in 10:6-21.

In 9:6-13, Paul's argument is based on the patriarchal narratives;<sup>9</sup> and as we have indicated, the assertion which is being established is the claim that God's word has not failed. The way Paul seeks to accomplish this is by setting forth a series of individual assertions,<sup>10</sup> each of which is substantiated by appeal to scripture.<sup>11</sup> The reference to Genesis 21:12 is the only citation in this section which is the subject of a direct explanation;<sup>12</sup> but this explanation is itself illustrated by reference to scripture. In 9:6-9, the words σπέρμα, τέκνα, and υἱός are all used to refer to the "sons" of Abraham. Paul in 9:7 distinguishes σπέρμα from τέκνα; and while a distinction is still apparent in 9:8, it is evident that Paul's differentiation between these terms is neither entirely consistent nor precise.<sup>13</sup> He writes: "... it is not the children (τέκνα) of the flesh who are children (τέκνα) of God but the children (τέκνα) of the promise are reckoned as descendants (σπέρμα)". In 9:8 Paul uses τέκνα to designate not only the children of the flesh but also the children of God and the children of the promise. For Paul, however, the children of the promise are reckoned as descendants; and the use of σπέρμα in this context reflects a deliberate connection with Genesis 21:12 LXX, as does λογίζεσθαι with Genesis 15:6 LXX.<sup>14</sup> The verbal link is changed in 9:9 as Paul relates υἱός in the citation from Genesis 18:10, 14 LXX to the child of promise. Isaac, the son born according to the promise of God, is the σπέρμα. Paul has used these

---

<sup>9</sup>The citation from Mal. 1:2, although taken from a prophetic writing, refers to the Genesis narrative.

<sup>10</sup>See Rom. 9:6b-7a, 9:8, and 9:10-11.

<sup>11</sup>See Rom. 9:7b, 9:9, and 9:12b-13.

<sup>12</sup>See Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Römer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955), p. 201. See also above, p. 93, note 21.

<sup>13</sup>See below, p. 213.

<sup>14</sup>See Rom. 4:1-8 and Gal. 3:6.

terms, all referring to the progeny of Abraham, to distinguish between two understandings of Israel; and it is apparent that Paul thinks this distinction to be evident already in the story of Isaac and Ishmael.<sup>15</sup>

In 9:10-13, Paul's argument moves to the next generation in the patriarchal account. By focusing on the notion that Jacob was chosen apart from the merit of his own actions,<sup>16</sup> Paul concludes that election is not because of works but because of the call of God. In 9:6-9, the discussion focuses on God's promise to Abraham, whereas in 9:10-13 it centres on the distinction between works and the call of God. The obvious link between Isaac and Jacob is that both are bearers of God's promise, but the verb *καλεῖν* in the citation from Genesis 21:12 LXX in 9:7 and the participial form of the same verb in 9:12 illustrates the reason why Paul has differentiated works and the call of God rather than works and faith. Through Isaac shall Abraham's descendants be called; therefore, Jacob's election is because of the call of God and not because of anything he had done to merit it. It is evident that the verb *καλεῖν* and the image of God's call of Isaac have been influential in shaping the distinction in 9:12.<sup>17</sup> Verbal links based on *καλεῖν* are taken up once again in 9:24-26.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>See Gal. 4:21-31. Paul distinguishes lines of descent through Sarah and Hagar, Isaac and Ishmael. But in Gal. 4:21-31 Paul does not focus on two understandings of the term Israel.

<sup>16</sup>Paul ignores the tradition which affirms enmity between Jacob and Esau in the womb. Cf. Gen. 25:22 and Gen. Rabbah to 25:22.

<sup>17</sup>See also the use of *ἐκλογή* in Rom. 9:11, 11:5, 11:7, and 11:28. This, too, is a word which Paul has used to shape his argument in 9-11.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Robin Scroggs, "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1-11," in Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity, ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp. 271-98. He argues that Paul, in Rom. 1-4 and 9-11, offers a radical reinterpretation of Israel's history supported by scriptural arguments. While there are a number of examples of attempts in Judaism to rewrite scripture and thereby reinterpret history, it would be incorrect to argue that Rom. 9:6-13 is part of a larger historical discussion. It is primarily a theological argument and the scriptural/historical material serves to substantiate certain religious claims, i.e. God's

The discussion in 9:6-13 culminates with citations from Genesis 25:23 and Malachi 1:2; and, as a result, Paul is faced with the theological dilemma of holding together divine election and divine justice. God is portrayed as loving Jacob but hating Esau. Paul, in distinguishing between election because of works and because of the call of God, has placed himself in a difficult theological position.

#### 9:14-18

In order to prevent his readers from drawing the unacceptable conclusion that God is unjust, Paul must show that this is not the case. In 9:14, he poses the question and emphatically denies that God is unjust. The underlying motivation for the discussion in 9:14-18 appears to be the same as the motivation for omitting ὁπο θεοῦ from the text of Deuteronomy 21:23 LXX in Galatians 3:13;<sup>19</sup> an unacceptable theological idea must not be allowed to stand uncorrected or unexplained. In the case of Deuteronomy 21:23 the text is modified, whereas in this context a scriptural argument is developed to address the issue and hopefully thereby to resolve the difficulty.

In this argument, Paul makes no attempt to reinterpret the Exodus narratives, although he brings into his discussion two separate passages.<sup>20</sup> The citations are intended to substantiate the notion that God is sovereign and thereby not unjust. To each of the quotations, Paul appends a statement in which he states the lesson to be drawn

---

word has not failed, not all Israel are Israel, and election is not because of works but the call of God. To argue that in Rom. 1-4 and 9-11 Paul is offering primarily a reinterpretation of Israelite history is at best questionable. Paul's concern is theological, and scripture is used to relate primarily to this concern. Hence, it is not possible to get a clear picture of Israel's history from reading these sections of Romans.

<sup>19</sup> See above, pp. 79-80.

<sup>20</sup> Ex. 33:19 and 9:16.

from the passage.<sup>21</sup> The structure of the scriptural argument in 9:14-18 is a double interrogative followed by an emphatic denial, an introductory formula followed by a citation and an explanation, and a second introductory formula followed by a second citation and explanation. In Exodus 33:19 LXX the word ἐλεεῖν appears, and this term or a cognate is used by Paul in the explanatory statements in 9:16 and 18. He uses it to indicate that God is not unjust but merciful. As in 9:7 and 12, Paul in 9:15, 16, and 18 has taken a scriptural word and used it to develop thematically his discussion. The parallel between 9:7 and 12 and 9:15 and 16 can be developed even further. In 9:7 and 9:15, indicative forms of the respective verbs are used in the citations from Genesis 21:12 LXX and Exodus 33:19 LXX (κληθήσεται and ἐλεήσω);<sup>22</sup> but in 9:12 and 16 participial forms of the scriptural words (or cognates) are used (καλοῦντος and ἐλεῶντος). In both examples, Paul has used a participial form of the word to make a theological statement in which works or human effort are distinguished from an act or attribute of God.<sup>23</sup> God calls and God is merciful; he is the one who in his mercy elects. In 9:12 and 16, Paul has used a participial form of a scriptural term in order to enunciate a theological principle. This illustrates one aspect of Paul's technique of verbal association and the role it plays in his use of scripture.

It is evident from the statement in 9:18, "Now therefore he has mercy on whom he wills and he hardens the heart of whom he wills", that Paul has not succeeded in eliminating the theological difficulty.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup>The inferential comments in 9:16 and 18 are both introduced by ἄρα οὖν. See Michel, Römer, pp. 208-9 and above, p. 93, note 21.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. also ἐλεῶ in 9:15.

<sup>23</sup>I.e. "calling" and "showing mercy".

<sup>24</sup>Dahl, "Future of Israel," pp. 144ff.

Arguing that God is sovereign does not establish that he is just. The distinction between the God who loves and who hates in 9:13 is thematically parallel to the God who shows mercy and who hardens in 9:18. The repetition of forms of the verb  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  in 9:16, 18, and 22 serves to enhance the value of this word as a key term in this section of the discourse; and in each of these verses, it is used to illustrate an aspect of Paul's understanding of divine sovereignty.<sup>25</sup>

### 9:19-29

Because Paul has not resolved satisfactorily the distinction between divine sovereignty and divine justice, his theological dilemma remains. Recognizing this, Paul proceeds by means of a series of questions and scriptural allusions to illustrate that God has the right to do with his "vessels" as he chooses;<sup>26</sup> and in the course of this discussion, he challenges man's right to question God: "Who are you, a man, to answer back to God?" Instead of answering the questions which he himself has posed in 9:19, "Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?", Paul challenges the validity of the questions themselves. To illustrate humankind's humble position before God, he uses the images of the potter and his clay; as a potter, God has the right to make vessels for any purpose he chooses. What began in 9:14-18 as an argument to illustrate God's mercy and to exonerate him of the charge of being unjust has become in 9:19-21 an attempt to dismiss the legitimacy of the question and in that way to eliminate the theological problem.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>Cf. Michel, Römer, p. 209. In 9:16 it is indicated that for Paul divine mercy and compassion are not matters of human will. This negative assertion, too, serves to enhance the idea of divine sovereignty in Paul's argument.

<sup>26</sup>See Is. 13:5 (Symmachus), 29:16, 45:9, 64:8, Jer. 18:6, 27:25 (LXX), Job 10:9, Wisdom 15:7ff, Ben Sira 33:10-13, IQS 3:15-17, 11:22, IQH 1:21-22, 3:24, 4:29-30, and 12:24-26.

<sup>27</sup>See the more detailed treatment of this section below, pp. 249-54.

In 9:22-23, God's power and forbearance are related to the distinction between "vessels of wrath" and "vessels of mercy". Once again the term ἔλεος in 9:23 indicates the way Paul has used this verbal idea to weave together the argument in 9:14-23. The "vessels of mercy" have been prepared beforehand; and this leads, in 9:24, to the claim that God has called not only Jews but Gentiles.<sup>28</sup> This poses Paul's fundamental challenge to Israel's prerogative as a national entity before God. A bold assertion such as this required authoritative endorsement; and for this, Paul turned to a series of prophetic texts.<sup>29</sup> The plan of election referred to in 9:11 is brought to Paul's mind again in 9:23 with the words, "which he prepared before hand for glory"; and as in 9:12, this is related in 9:24 to the verb καλεῖν. It is this word which relates the opening statement in 9:24 to Hosea 2:25 LXX and 2:1 LXX. The substitution of καλέσω for ἐρῶ in the citation from Hosea 2:25 LXX, has resulted in a verbal connection in Paul's text between the two Hosea passages in 9:25-26 which is not found in the text of the LXX.<sup>30</sup> It appears that the use of καλεῖν in 9:24 and 25 has been suggested to Paul by the use of this word earlier in the argument in chapter nine or by the presence of κληθήσονται in the citation from Hosea 2:1 LXX in 9:26.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, it may be that Hosea 2:1 LXX itself was suggested to Paul by the verbal connection between κληθήσονται and κληθήσεται in the citation from Genesis 21:12 LXX in 9:7. Through Isaac the descendants of Abraham shall be designated (called) and through the call the "not my

---

<sup>28</sup> See Rom. 3:21ff and 10:12f.

<sup>29</sup> Hos. 2:1 (1:10), 2:25 (23), Is. 10:22-23, and 1:9.

<sup>30</sup> Ἐρῶ appears in Hos. 2:25 LXX and κληθήσονται in 2:1 LXX. See above, p. 81. The most obvious link between Hosea 2:25 and 2:1 is the expression "not my people".

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 199 and Michel, Römer, p. 215. We cannot be certain but the use of καλέσω in 9:25 may have been part of a deliberate attempt to emphasize the connection between Hos. 2:1 and 2:25.

people" shall be designated "my people": "they shall be called sons of the living God." Paul has used the verbal idea represented by καλεῖν in the construction of the argument in 9:6-13; and after allowing it to recede into the background in 9:14-23, he has reintroduced it into his discussion in 9:24-26. This illustrates that, in Paul's manner of using scripture and developing an argument, verbal and thematic links need not be immediately adjacent in the text.

The verbal and thematic connections between Isaiah 10:22-23 LXX and Hosea 2:1 LXX in 9:27-28 are immediately apparent. In both there is a reference to Israel and the "sand of the sea". It is probable that since Hosea 2:1 LXX is quoted in 9:26 and is linked verbally with Isaiah 10:22-23 LXX Paul considered it legitimate to juxtapose these two prophetic passages in 9:26-28. Moreover, the fact that Paul has chosen the reading υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ from Hosea 2:1 LXX in 9:27 rather than λαὸς Ἰσραήλ from Isaiah 10:22 LXX suggests that he intended the citations in 9:27-28 to be understood as complementary to those in 9:25-26.<sup>32</sup> The verbal link is between υἱοῦ θεοῦ ζῶντος in 9:26 and υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ in 9:27.

The selection of the citation from Isaiah 1:9 LXX has apparently been made on the basis of the concept of a remnant as this is represented by the words ὑπόλειμμα and ἐγκαταλείπειν.<sup>33</sup> It may also be that Paul saw a verbal connection between σπέρμα in this text and Genesis 21:12 LXX in 9:7. Though the content of the citations in 9:27-29 goes beyond the simple confirmation of the statement in 9:24, it is clear that through the linking of words and ideas Paul's line of argumentation has moved from the substantiation of the claim that God has called

---

<sup>32</sup>The citations in 9:27-28 are introduced as having been spoken by Isaiah, though it is clear that the references themselves are from Hosea and Isaiah. Cf. also Is. 28:22.

<sup>33</sup>Cranfield, Romans, p. 502.

both Jews and Gentiles to the introduction of the notion that a remnant of Israel shall be saved. The assertion that God chooses both Jews and Gentiles is reaffirmed in 10:12-13, as is in 11:1-5 the claim that God shall keep a remnant. In each case, these claims are substantiated scripturally; and this illustrates the way, in Paul's method of argumentation, scripture has functioned as a stimulus. Furthermore, it is evident once again that the association between similar words and ideas is not confined in Paul's manner of argumentation to the immediate context of a particular part of the discussion. They can be reintroduced as the circumstances of the presentation require. This is also evident, for example, in the double citation of Isaiah 28:16 in 9:33 and 10:11. Hence, there is a network of verbal and thematic links in 9:6-11:32 which draws the argument together and provides the literary cohesiveness of the presentation.

#### 9:30-33

The cumulative effect of the argument in 9:6-29 causes Paul, in 9:30-33, to raise the issue of the relationship between Israel and the Gentiles in terms of righteousness by faith and righteousness by works. The interrogative in 9:30 serves as a summarizing question.<sup>34</sup> And the discussion that it initiates in 9:30-33 cannot be isolated from the arguments in 9:6-29; to do so is to ignore the progressive character of the individual segments in the development of the literary presentation.<sup>35</sup> The distinction between Jews and Gentiles (ἔθνη) in 9:24 is developed in 9:30-33 between Israel and Gentiles (ἔθνη); but instead of arguing that God has chosen both Jews and Gentiles, Paul

---

<sup>34</sup>See Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. 278. Cf. also the discussion by Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, pp. 210-11.

<sup>35</sup>Dahl is also right, however, that 9:30-33 functions as a transition to the following section, "Future of Israel," p. 147. See also Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 210.

distinguishes between "faith righteousness" and "law righteousness" (or the "righteous law").<sup>36</sup> The argument in 9:30-32 culminates in a statement which elicits scriptural substantiation: "They have stumbled on the stone of stumbling". The merging of Isaiah 28:16 LXX and 8:14 LXX has taken place on the basis of the term λίθος, and the connection between the citation and the opening statement is seen in the words λίθος and προσκόμμα.<sup>37</sup> The argument in 9:30-33 is introduced by an interrogative, culminates in a statement concerning the stumbling of those who have pursued the law according to works, and concludes with scriptural substantiation.

#### 10:1-8

In 10:1-4 Paul makes a series of statements: 1) "... my heart's desire and plea to God on their behalf is that they may be saved",<sup>38</sup> 2) "... they have zeal for God, but it is not according to knowledge", 3) "... seeking to establish their own righteousness they did not submit to the righteousness of God", and 4) "For Christ is the τέλος of the law in order that all who believe may be justified." The autobiographical statement in 10:1 is reminiscent of 9:1-3,<sup>39</sup> and the assertion concerning the righteousness of God in 10:3 relates thematically to 9:30-32, as well as to the introductory formula in 10:6. The statements in 10:2 and 10:4, however, are unique in this discourse.

---

<sup>36</sup> Barrett argues that νόμον δικαιοσύνης should be understood as "righteous law"; "Fall and Responsibility of Israel," pp. 139-42. Israel pursued the right law but pursued it in the wrong way, i.e. according to works. Cranfield argues along a similar line; "Some Notes on Romans 9:30-33," pp. 35-43.

<sup>37</sup> πιστεύειν in 9:33 also appears to have contributed to the formulation of the discussion in 9:30-32 in which πίστις is used twice. See above, pp. 88-89.

<sup>38</sup> There appears to be a conceptual connection between σωθήσεται (9:27), οὐ κατασχυθήσεται (9:33), and σωτηρίαν (10:1). Cf. also 10:9, 10, 11, and 13.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Rom. 11:1 and 11:13-14.

Notwithstanding the interpretation of scripture in 10:6-8, these two assertions are neither substantiated by direct appeal to scripture nor are they explained or elaborated. Still the scriptural argument in 10:5-8 does indicate that the distinction between righteousness by faith and righteousness by works is based on Paul's conviction that in Christ humankind is made righteous by faith. Furthermore, scripture assists him in illustrating this religious distinction; but as we have argued above,<sup>40</sup> Paul does not normally use scriptural quotations in the epistles to elaborate his messianic understanding. Although the discussion in 9:30-10:8 presupposes and is rooted in a christological conviction,<sup>41</sup> the argument is not concerned primarily with establishing messianic claims. Paul is differentiating righteousness by faith and righteousness by works and trying to account for the fact that the Jews, for the most part, have not believed in Christ; they have stumbled, says Paul, over the stone of stumbling. Since the literary form and function of 10:6-8 has been discussed elsewhere, we need not reiterate our remarks here.<sup>42</sup>

### 10:9-13

The word ὅτι in 10:9 functions as a transition word; it introduces Paul's claim that, "... if you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and you believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved." The repetition of the words στόμα and καρδία from the reference to Deuteronomy 30:14 LXX in 10:8 illustrates the way Paul has taken the scriptural words and incorporated them into a statement in which the confession that Jesus is Lord and the belief that God raised Jesus from the dead are related to salvation. Furthermore, the

---

<sup>40</sup>See above, pp. 101-5.

<sup>41</sup>Christ is the τέλος of the law.

<sup>42</sup>See above, pp. 95-96 and 160-61.

verbal and thematic links between 10:9 and 10:10 connect in an indirect way the citation from Deuteronomy 30:14 LXX and its interpretation in 10:8 with Isaiah 28:16 LXX quoted in 10:11.<sup>43</sup>

The word  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in 10:11 and 13 illustrates the universal aspect of Paul's understanding of salvation; he connects belief and confession with the notion that there is no distinction between Jews and Gentiles. The inclusion of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in the text of Isaiah 28:16 has probably come about due to the influence of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in the text of Joel 3:5 which is cited in 10:13.<sup>44</sup> The term  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  in 10:12 and 13 links the citation from Joel with the opening statement of the scriptural proof; and it is used to begin the series of interrogatives in 10:14-15,<sup>45</sup> in which the final word of the preceding question is repeated.<sup>46</sup> The verbal connections between 10:8 and 10:9-10 and between 10:12, 13, and 14 illustrate, once again, the progressive character of Paul's composition.<sup>47</sup> They also illustrate another way in which scriptural words have been used by Paul to advance the discussion.

#### 10:14-21

Following the series of interrogatives in 10:14-15, Paul cites Isaiah 52:7 LXX. The quotation is introduced by a formula; but from the character of the reference and the manner in which it has been interjected into the discourse, it is evident that it is not simply a scriptural proof. There is a sense in which it serves to substantiate the point which Paul is making in 10:14-15; apostles and preachers have

---

<sup>43</sup> καρδία, στόμα, and πιστεύειν/πίστις.

<sup>44</sup> The addition of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  may also have been a way for Paul of emphasizing the connection between Is. 28:16 and Joel 3:5. Cf. also Rom. 11:26 and 11:32.

<sup>45</sup> Deliberative questions.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the use of  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$  in 9:7, 12, 24, 25, and 26.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 218.

indeed been sent. But it also serves to contrast the commission to preach, which Paul relates to the gospel,<sup>48</sup> with the fact that "not all" have obeyed the word which has been proclaimed. The citation from Isaiah 53:1 LXX completes this contrast; and from it and the preceding discussion,<sup>49</sup> Paul concludes that "faith comes from what is heard and what is heard comes from the word of Christ".<sup>50</sup> In 10:17, Paul uses the expression διὰ ῥήματος χριστοῦ; and because the context in 10:14-17 has to do with preaching and faith, it is probable that this expression is to be understood in connection with the citation from Deuteronomy 30:14 LXX and its interpretation in 10:8: "The word (ῥῆμα) is near you, on your lips and in your heart; that is, the word (ῥῆμα) of faith which we preach." The word of faith is connected with the word of Christ and both are linked to preaching.<sup>51</sup> Even if this connection was not the result of a deliberate attempt to relate 10:14-18 to 10:8, it demonstrates that Paul's manner of argumentation and of using scripture developed according to a pattern of verbal and thematic associations. Paul rarely repeats exactly an idea or set of images which has been introduced previously in the presentation, but he often picks up a word or an idea previously discussed and casts it in a new way. And as we have seen in 9:7, 9:15, 9:24-28, 9:30-33, and 10:8-14, it is frequently the scriptural text which generates the words and ideas which Paul then develops and weaves into his discussion.<sup>52</sup> This illustrates the instrumental role of

---

<sup>48</sup>Note the presence of εὐαγγελιζομένων (ου) in Is. 52:7 (10:15) and the use of εὐαγγελίῳ in 10:16.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:14ff.

<sup>50</sup>The explanation is introduced by ἄρα.

<sup>51</sup>See above, p. 89.

<sup>52</sup>In Rom. 9:25 and 10:11 key words from the discussion or other citations have been introduced into the text of the scriptural quotations, and this confirms that the direction of influence in some cases is not only from the biblical quotation to Paul's argument but also from Paul's argument to the text of his quotation. See the section above on Paul's manner of quoting.

scripture in Paul's method of argumentation, but it also indicates that the structure of Romans 9-11 cannot be determined solely, or perhaps even primarily, on the basis of the theological organization of the presentation. To understand the structure of these chapters, the network of links, both verbal and thematic, must be seen in relation to the way the discussion is advanced from one point to the next and the way individual scriptural arguments serve to substantiate and to generate the presentation.

The scriptural arguments in 10:18 and 10:19-21 are introduced by interrogatives. In the first argument, the scriptural reference is used to confirm Paul's affirmative reply to the question: "... have they not heard?" The citation from Psalm 18:5 LXX is introduced following this opening question because it illustrates thematically what Paul wants to say; but the presence of the term ῥῆμα in the scriptural reference is also significant. What appears to have occurred in 10:16-18 is that the words ἀκοή and πιστεύειν (for πίστις) from the quotation of Isaiah 53:1 LXX have been repeated by Paul in the explanation in 10:17.<sup>53</sup> And either in anticipation of the citation from Psalm 18:5 LXX in 10:18 or due to the influence of the term ῥῆμα in 10:8, Paul in this same explanation has used the expression δὲ ῥήματος χριστοῦ. It may also have been that the presence of ῥῆμα in Psalm 18:5 LXX was instrumental in Paul's selection of this text.<sup>54</sup> This term provides a verbal connection between Deuteronomy 30:14 LXX and Psalm 18:5 LXX, and it may be that Paul had this in mind when he cited the words of the psalmist. In any case, the scriptural citation in 10:18 substantiates the affirmative reply to the opening interrogative of this verse and at the same time shares a verbal link with the statement

---

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Michel, Römer, p. 231.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. Col. 1:23.

in 10:17. The literary result of Paul's method of argumentation has been to make verse seventeen a connecting link between Isaiah 53:1 LXX and Psalm 18:5 LXX. What appears, in 10:17, to be an explanation of Isaiah 53:1 and the preceding verses is also a way of uniting the two scriptural passages and in a sense a way of interpreting one in light of the other.

In 10:19-21, the scriptural references function as a type of scriptural proof or illustration in which the quotations from Deuteronomy and Isaiah effectively complete, if not answer, the opening question: "... did Israel not know?" In this example, the line between proof and illustration is not entirely clear; yet it is possible to assert that the citation from Deuteronomy serves as a way of substantiating the discussion. It completes or provides an answer to the opening question and brings the force of scripture to bear on the argument. The reason for the selection of Deuteronomy 32:21 LXX in 10:19 is not clear, but it is possible that Paul perceived some kind of connection between οὐκ ἔθνευε and οὐ λαόν in 9:25-26.<sup>55</sup> This suggestion must remain tentative, but the expressions τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν and τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν in the reference from Isaiah 65:1 LXX in 10:20 indicate that there might have been a connection made on the basis of the negatives found in the scriptural passages.<sup>56</sup> Apart from the thematic similarities, there appears to be no other link which would account for the association between Deuteronomy 32:21 LXX and Isaiah 65:1 LXX. It must be acknowledged, however, that it is possible that Paul knew a Jewish or early Christian tradition in which these passages had been juxtaposed. In which case, the basis on which the initial link was made

---

<sup>55</sup> See Cranfield, Romans, p. 539.

<sup>56</sup> The expressions μὴ ζητοῦσιν and μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν are reminiscent also of μὴ δώκοντα in 9:30. In the part of Is. 65:1 that Paul does not cite, the verb καλεῖν appears (cf. 9:25-26).

may have disappeared; thus the passages have been brought together in Romans with no direct verbal connection.

The fact that Isaiah 65:1 LXX and 65:2 LXX have been used together is, of course, because they are adjacent scriptural passages. Paul, however, has not cited the final part of 65:1; hence, he has not quoted consecutively from the scriptural text. The fact that Paul has introduced separately the two adjacent passages may be accounted for by this omission of a part of the scriptural text. Furthermore, the second introductory formula serves to make explicit the people to whom Paul is applying the words of Isaiah. The words of the prophet are spoken about Israel.

The term παραζηλοῦν in the citation from Deuteronomy 32:21 LXX provides the verbal connection with the discussion in 11:11-15. Furthermore, the word ἔθνη which appears in the citation from Deuteronomy also figures prominently in 11:11-15.<sup>57</sup> As we have observed,<sup>58</sup> it is not uncommon for Paul to introduce a word and then later in the discussion to reintroduce the same word as a way of developing his discussion. But the connection between this text from Deuteronomy and the discussion in 11:11-15 extends beyond a direct verbal connection. Paul has taken the scriptural text and used it as a basis for a new understanding of the order of salvation. The "jealousy" motif in the Deuteronomy passage is used in 11:11-15 to enunciate a soteriological principle. Israel has stumbled, and because of her stumbling salvation has come to the

---

<sup>57</sup>See Hanson, Paul's Technique, pp. 104-16. Hanson is correct in asserting that Paul had Dt. 32 in mind in 11:11-15, but it need not be asserted that Paul had more than 32:21 in mind. The citation in 10:19 provides sufficient verbal and thematic links with 11:11-15 to suggest that this passage alone was the basis for the discussion. To argue on the basis of 10:19 and 11:11-15 that Paul was bringing to bear the larger context of 32:21 or had derived his theology from this context is to assert something that is unnecessary.

<sup>58</sup>See above, p. 180.

Gentiles.<sup>59</sup> And by this, Israel herself shall be made jealous. By the qal wahomer method of argumentation, Paul has used the Deuteronomy passage as a basis for constructing a distinctive view of redemption-history; and in so doing, tries to give positive value and purpose to the "unbelief" of Israel. This also relates back thematically to the assertion in 9:6. Even in Israel's "unbelief", God's purposes have not failed.

The argument in 11:11-15 is perhaps one of the most conspicuous examples in Romans 9-11 of the way a scriptural verse has functioned as a tool in the development of a theological statement. This example suggests that Paul in Romans 9-11 is not simply presenting a written statement of his theology, but is in some measure developing his theology as the discussion progresses. Scripture provides Paul with a way of approaching an issue, and it generates ideas which in turn are moulded into a religious statement. This does not mean that Paul has not intended his argument in these three chapters to have a persuasive impact on the readers of the epistle. He does intend this, but the manner in which he has approached scripture displays the extemporary aspect of his method of constructing a religious statement. Whether Paul wrote Romans 9-11 at the same time as the other parts of the epistle does not concern us at this point. In any case, it is probable that many of the verbal, thematic, and scriptural links evident in the material had been stirring in Paul's mind long before he wrote these chapters. Therefore, when he set out to write, he undoubtedly had many ideas and possibilities already in mind. With these, he set out to develop, substantiate, elaborate, and present in a literary fashion his response to the issue of Israel's "unbelief".

---

<sup>59</sup>Cf. 9:32-33.

11:1-6

In 11:1, Paul poses yet another question: "... has God rejected his people?" On the basis of the preceding discussion, the reader might conclude mistakenly that this has happened; but Paul strongly denies this. He points to his own lineage as evidence to support his conviction that Israel has not been rejected,<sup>60</sup> and he substantiates this by citing I Kings 19:10 (14) and 18. The scriptural narrative is divided by Paul into two parts: 1) Elijah's plea to God against Israel and 2) God's reply to Elijah. The point which Paul intends to establish is that Israel has not been rejected; and on the basis of the scriptural witness, this leads to the assertion that a remnant has been allowed to remain.<sup>61</sup> In 11:5, the application of the citation is made explicit; the remnant in the present has been chosen according to χάρις and not ἔργα. In 9:12, ἔργα are placed in contrast to the call of God, whereas in 9:32 ἔργα are contrasted with faith. This change in words illustrates the manner in which Paul has exercised flexibility in his choice of terms depending on the context of his argument. While it is not clear why Paul has used χάρις in 11:5-6, it is almost certain that καλεῖν in 9:7 and πιστεῦειν in 9:33 have been responsible for shaping the contrasts in 9:12 and 9:33 respectively. Furthermore, the remnant imagery from 9:27-29 has enabled Paul to highlight, on the basis of the Elijah story, the preservation of a remnant according to grace. It is apparent that for Paul the citations from Hosea 2:1, Isaiah 10:22-23, 1:9, and I Kings 19:10-18 are connected on the basis of common remnant imagery; this motif has served as the link between them.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup>Cf. Paul's other references to his physical descent and lineage in Rom. 9:1-3, II Cor. 11:22, Gal. 1:13-14, and Phil. 3:4-6. Contrast the discussion in I Thess. 2:14-16.

<sup>61</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:27-29. In 11:5 Paul uses the word λεῖμμα, whereas in 9:27 the term ὑπόλειμμα appears in the citation.

<sup>62</sup>See below, pp. 254-59.

Finally, if Hanson is correct that the term χρηματισμός in 11:4 is used to emphasize the localization and awesomeness of divine communication,<sup>63</sup> it is possible that Paul perceived some thematic connection between the word of God to Elijah and the call of God in 9:24-26. This, however, must remain tentative, as must the suggestion that a connection in Israelite tradition between the Elijah story and the theophany granted to Moses in Exodus 33-34, from which Paul has cited in 9:15, has informed the argument in Romans 9-11.<sup>64</sup> These may be additional links in Paul's discussion in these three chapters, but the evidence does not appear to be conclusive.

#### 11:7-10

The composition continues in 11:7-10 with another scriptural argument. The discursive statement, "What Israel sought it did not obtain; the elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened...", is introduced by an interrogative; and for substantiation, Paul appeals to Isaiah 29:10 LXX, Deuteronomy 29:4 LXX, and Psalm 68:23-24 LXX. The question and its completing statement in 11:7 do not emerge directly from the discussion in 11:1-6, but they do serve to continue the discourse by stating what the reader already may suspect to be the case on the basis of the previous discussion. The quotations are intended to confirm that God has hardened the hearts of the "unbelievers". They have been made blind and deaf and have been given a spirit of stupor. The emphasis on divine action and on the inability of those outside Paul's religious community to believe the message which he preaches is a way of accounting for Israel's "unbelief".<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the contrast

---

<sup>63</sup>Anthony Hanson, "The Oracle in Romans 11:4," New Testament Studies 19 (April 1973):301.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., pp. 301-2.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:20-23. See below, pp. 268-75.

between 11:1-6 and 11:7-8 illustrates the way Paul struggles to maintain the efficacy of God's word, to hold together divine sovereignty and divine mercy, and to preserve the distinction between works and grace. The use of scripture cannot disguise the difficulty which he finds inherent in this problem. The scriptural passages which Paul has cited relate to each other thematically, and the presence of ὀφθαλμός in each of the scriptural texts provides an obvious verbal link between them.<sup>66</sup> It must be noted also that in this argument Paul has brought together passages from all three parts of scripture. This is a technique also displayed in certain Jewish sources.<sup>67</sup>

#### 11:11-24

Paul's theological difficulty appears once again in the question which he asks in 11:11: "... have they stumbled so as to fall?"<sup>68</sup> Paul's emphatic denial that Israel has fallen culminates in the assertion that Israel will be made jealous by seeing that salvation has come to the Gentiles.<sup>69</sup> Following the discussion in 11:7-10, Paul in 11:11 is compelled to address himself to the conclusion which the reader might reasonably but mistakenly draw, that the hardness of heart of the λουπού is final and irrevocable.<sup>70</sup> To allow this impression to stand unexplained would call into question God's justice and confront Paul with the same difficulty which he sought to address in 9:14-23. For Paul, the discussion in 11:11-14 is an attempt to explain Israel's "unbelief" by attributing

---

<sup>66</sup>Cf. references and allusions to Ps. 68 LXX in Rom. 15:3, Jn. 2:17, Heb. 11:26, Mt. 27:34, 48, Mk. 15:23, 26, Lk. 23:36, and Acts 1:20.

<sup>67</sup>See above, p. 20.

<sup>68</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:32-33.

<sup>69</sup>See J. Christiaan Beker, Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1980), pp. 328-47; and Munck, Christ and Israel, pp. 116-22.

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:29. The subject of ἔπαισαν is λουπού in 11:7. See Munck, Christ and Israel, p. 116.

it to a phase in God's plan of salvation. Israel's hardness of heart serves a positive purpose, according to Paul; it is part of a larger plan. Because of this, the justice of God cannot be impugned. As part of God's plan, Paul sees the purpose of his own apostleship as a matter of stirring up jealousy so that some of his people might be saved.<sup>71</sup> According to Paul, not only is Israel's "unbelief" part of divine activity but so is his own ministry.

In contrast to other parts of the discourse, the lack of scriptural quotations in 11:11ff is conspicuous. As Käsemann, referring to 11:11, states: "Surprisingly he adduces no scripture to back this up, as one might have expected in view of the many preceding quotations...."<sup>72</sup> Deuteronomy, as we have argued, provides the impetus for the discussion in 11:11-15, but it is striking that no citations have been adduced to substantiate Paul's argument. It is difficult to draw conclusions from this because the absence of citations may not be the result of an identifiable motive. Or it may simply be that he considered Deuteronomy 32:21 and the argument derived from it to be sufficiently straightforward and conclusive to require no additional substantiation. But are there other reasons which may account for the lack of scriptural quotations in this part of the discourse?

In 11:13, Paul specifically addresses his remarks to the Gentiles.<sup>73</sup> It would seem improbable perhaps that Paul would have refrained from using citations simply because he intended his remarks in this part of the presentation primarily for his Gentile readers, who may have been less

---

<sup>71</sup>Rom. 11:13-14.

<sup>72</sup>Käsemann, Romans, p. 304. See also Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 242.

<sup>73</sup>See Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 75; Cranfield, Romans, p. 559; Wilckens, Römer, vol. II, p. 244; and Zeller, Juden und Heiden, p. 239. Cf. the remarks by W.S. Campbell, "The Place of Romans IX-XI within the Structure and Thought of the Letter," in Studia Evangelica, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), p. 126.

familiar with scripture. There is no evidence that the rest of the argument in Romans 9-11, in which considerable scriptural material is used, was not intended for Gentiles as well as Jews.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, the possibility that Paul considered the analogies in 11:16-24 to be suitable instead of scriptural citations, because his remarks were directed primarily to Gentiles, cannot be excluded completely.

It also seems rather improbable that the lack of quotations can be attributed to Paul's limited use of scripture in relation to an explicit view of redemption-history. It would be highly tendentious to argue, in light of the link with Deuteronomy 32:21 in 11:11-15 and in light of Isaiah 59:20-21 in 11:26, that Paul has not used explicit scriptural references because he is not interested in relating scripture to his view of redemption-history. While it is true that Paul is concerned more often with using scripture to enunciate religious and ethical principles than with using it to establish a view of redemption-history, it does not seem probable that he refrained from using citations on this basis.

It is difficult to establish any meaningful conclusions concerning this feature of Romans 9-11; and perhaps the most that can be said is that Deuteronomy 32:21 functioned as a stimulus and that Paul in 11:11-15 elaborated what he considered to be the implication of this passage. No other scriptural associations came to mind; and since he had made his point about the purpose of Israel's "unbelief", he was not compelled to pursue the matter further. The analogies and traditions in 11:16-24 came to mind and served as adequate illustrations of the way Paul understood the relationship between Jews and Gentiles; and therefore, the images of the "dough", "root", "branches", and "olive trees"

---

<sup>74</sup>Campbell, "Place of Romans IX-XI," p. 126.

became the material which he used to advance the discussion.<sup>75</sup> The reason 11:11-24 is devoid of explicit scriptural quotations may have more to do with the way the pattern of thematic associations developed in Paul's mind than anything else.

The statement in 11:16 concerning the "first fruits" reflects a sacrificial and cultic background whereas the reference to the "root" appears to be related to a type of "legal" discussion.<sup>76</sup> And the analogy of the wild and the tame olive trees is used to illustrate Paul's understanding of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in God's plan of salvation.<sup>77</sup> Paul contrasts the mercy and severity of God, and he counsels the Gentiles not to be haughty because they are the wild branches who have been grafted into the tame olive tree.<sup>78</sup> Contrary to nature they have been included and so receive the richness of the tree. While the discussion in 11:11-15 served to give purpose to Israel's "unbelief", the result of that argument has become the stimulus for the analogies in 11:16-24. The imagery of these analogies allows Paul to make a statement about the soteriological relationship between Jews and Gentiles and at the same time to advise his Gentile readers against assuming that salvation has come to them apart from Israel. The discussion makes it clear that Paul did not perceive Gentile Christianity to be a new and independent religion. The Gentiles have been incorporated into God's plan of salvation; they have been incorporated

---

<sup>75</sup> See the discussion by K.H. Rengstorf, "Das Ölbaum - Gleichnis in Röm 11,16ff.: Versuch einer weiterführenden Deutung," in Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube, eds. E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett, W.D. Davies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 127-64. He argues that in these verses Paul is working with an Adamic tradition and an Abrahamic tradition and that throughout he is moving in the area of Jewish haggadah.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 147. See also Num. 15:17-21.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the imagery in Jn. 15:1-11. See below, pp. 246-48.

<sup>78</sup> For a brief discussion of arboricultural practice, see Cranfield, Romans, pp. 565-66.

into Israel, and by their inclusion will bring Judaism to its full expression at the parousia.<sup>79</sup>

11:25-32

It is arguable whether 11:25-32 can be described as the culmination of the discourse in Romans 9-11; but it is clear from the manner in which it is introduced that Paul considers what he has to say especially important.<sup>80</sup> The words *πῶρως* and *πλήρωμα* are reminiscent of similar expressions in 9:18, 11:7, and 11:12; and it is evident from the term *ἀδελφοί* in 11:25 that Paul is no longer addressing his remarks specifically to the Gentiles. The combined citation from Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9 serves as scriptural substantiation for the statement in 11:26; and, although we cannot be certain, the connection between *πᾶς Ἰσραήλ* and *πᾶς* in the citations in 10:11 and 13 appears to be more than incidental.<sup>81</sup> All three verses have a soteriological element, and it seems reasonable to conclude that 11:26 has been formulated in light of the citations in 10:11 and 13. Thus, the universal implication as well as the element of corporateness present in the discussion in 10:9-13 may be present also in 11:26. The primary difference between 10:9-13 and 11:26 is that in the latter there is no explicit emphasis on faith and belief as there is in the former. Paul may presuppose this, but he does not make it explicit in 11:25-32.

If, as seems probable, Paul himself has modified the text of Isaiah 59:20 LXX to read *ἐκ* rather than *ἐνεκεν*,<sup>82</sup> this is another example

---

<sup>79</sup>See Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," pp. 20-27. He emphasizes the point that Paul did not think in terms of moving into a new religion but of having discovered the "final expression and intent" of Judaism.

<sup>80</sup>As W.D. Davies has indicated in this regard, the words, "I do not want you to be ignorant, brethren...", frequently introduce something significant; "Paul and the People of Israel," p. 27. Cf. Rom. 1:13, I Cor. 10:1, II Cor. 1:8, and I Thess. 4:13.

<sup>81</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:32. See below, pp. 270-72.

<sup>82</sup>See above, pp. 76-77.

in which the argument and the way Paul desires to direct his discussion have influenced a citation. And, in turn, this modified citation has served to enhance the argument. Käsemann asserts that the reference to the saviour in this text is to the return of Christ from the heavenly Jerusalem; and he may be correct.<sup>83</sup> But it is difficult to think in light of 9:5 and the reference to Zion in this quotation that Paul does not have Jesus the Israelite also in mind.<sup>84</sup> From Zion the saviour has come and from Zion (heavenly) he will return. The thematic connection between the reference to Jacob in 9:13 and the reference to him in this quotation illustrates that Israel is beloved and shall be turned from ungodliness. In the first reference, Paul is distinguishing two understandings of the term Israel, and Jacob represents those who are elected according to the call of God. In the second, Jacob represents national Israel who will be turned from ungodliness and have her sins taken away.<sup>85</sup>

In 11:28-32, Paul asserts that the *χαρίσματα* and *κλησεις τοῦ θεοῦ* of Israel have not been revoked;<sup>86</sup> and in this discussion, disobedience is set opposite the mercy of God.<sup>87</sup> Paul writes: "For God has closed together all men in disobedience in order that he might have mercy on all".<sup>88</sup> God's word has not failed; Israel's call is still valid argues Paul. God's mercy will prevail; for the sake of the patriarchs,<sup>89</sup> Israel

---

<sup>83</sup>Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 314. For a discussion of apocalyptic imagery and Rom. 11:11ff see below, pp. 268-75.

<sup>84</sup>See Zeller, *Juden und Heiden*, pp. 259-61.

<sup>85</sup>See below, p. 270.

<sup>86</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:7, 9:12, 9:24-26, and 11:5-6.

<sup>87</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:14-18.

<sup>88</sup>Rom. 11:32.

<sup>89</sup>Cf. Rom. 15:8.

is beloved. In 9:13, Paul has recorded the words of scripture: "Jacob I loved...." So, too, in the present are his descendants still beloved.

11:33-36

Paul concludes his discourse in 11:33-36 with a theological doxology. By recalling the words of Isaiah, Job, and Psalms, Paul brings the scriptural argument to an end.<sup>90</sup> And by appealing to the unsearchable judgments and inscrutable ways of God, he reminds his readers of human-kind's humble position before the divine. Further questions need not be asked, and further objections need not be raised.<sup>91</sup> This is Paul's way of bringing his discussion to a conclusion. W.D. Davies writes:

... although Paul's christology cannot be rigidly set against his theology ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἦν ἐν χριστῷ it is not an accident that this doxology, uniquely in Paul, is not christological but strictly theological (Rom. XI. 33-6). Paul's very experience in Christ interpreted in the light of the scriptures of his people leads him to rest in an over-arching monotheism of grace which can embrace the differences that now separate Jews and Christians and hold them together.<sup>92</sup>

In 9:1, Paul claims to speak the truth in Christ, and at various points in the discourse his christology is apparent.<sup>93</sup> Hence, christology cannot be separated from the discussion in Romans 9-11. But the scriptural argument in these chapters is designed to address what is fundamentally a theological problem. The gospel which Paul preached among the Gentiles called into question the religious prerogative of Israel and in turn the credibility of God. The reliability of God's word to Israel was at stake; and it was to God's word, the scriptures, that Paul turned to argue that it has not failed. God's promise to

---

<sup>90</sup>Is. 40:13, Job 41:3, and Ps. 76:20 LXX.

<sup>91</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:20.

<sup>92</sup>Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," p. 34. Cf. Rom. 8:37-39 and 9:5.

<sup>93</sup>Rom. 9:5, 9:30-33, 10:4, 10:6-8, 10:15-17, and 11:26. Cf. 10:10-13.

Israel has not been revoked. When the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, "all Israel" will be saved. For Paul, this is the "mystery" hidden in the wisdom of God.

#### Concluding Remarks

We have argued that Paul's use of scripture and the literary structure of the discussion in Romans 9-11 are inseparable and that together they form the interlacing that binds the discourse into a unity. As we have demonstrated, Paul has used verbal and thematic links to develop and to advance his argument; and in this regard, the text of scripture has functioned constructively. It has generated ideas and words which Paul has elaborated and incorporated into his literary presentation. These links provide the basis for connecting different scriptural passages and for connecting different parts of the discourse. Furthermore, in the literary structure of the individual scriptural arguments, the citations frequently serve to substantiate and confirm specific Pauline statements.<sup>94</sup>

To approach the investigation of Romans 9-11 by identifying first the major theological divisions in the presentation or by isolating a single theme from the larger context of the discussion is to obscure Paul's manner of scriptural argumentation and the way this binds the discourse together. Paul's argument, of course, is governed by his theological and religious presuppositions, but his manner of developing and presenting his argument proceeds according to a pattern of verbal links, thematic associations, connecting interrogatives, as well as theological convictions.

From the perspective of Paul's manner of argumentation, Romans 9-11 is a literary exercise designed to develop a response to a

---

<sup>94</sup>This is evidenced perhaps by the preponderance of explicit scriptural citations.

theological problem. But we submit that it is also in part intended to inspire an attitude. The dialogic character of these chapters manifested in the abundant use of interrogatives illustrates that Paul frequently in the course of the discussion is concerned about being misunderstood. To prevent this, he develops individual arguments -- most often based on scripture -- designed to meet in advance objections from his readers or to elaborate elements in the presentation. In so doing, Paul advances his discussion, attempts to demonstrate that God's word has not failed, and seeks to inspire among his readers a way of understanding the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in God's plan of salvation. This inspirational aspect of Romans 9-11 is too often overlooked. Paul is not writing as a dispassionate theologian to a dispassionate audience.<sup>95</sup> He is writing as an evangelist to those who have been evangelized.<sup>96</sup> The motivation for developing the discussion in these chapters is Israel's "unbelief" and the question this raises about God's faithfulness to his promise; but this is primarily a Christian problem. It is a problem for those who believe that salvation has been made available to Jews and Gentiles alike on the basis of faith and those who are faced with Israel's rejection of the gospel. As Paul has framed the discussion, few if any non-Christian Jews would have been concerned about the issue or perhaps even have sensed the problem. Hence, the presentation in Romans 9-11 by its nature presupposes that it is an internal Christian discussion. And, as an internal discussion, it is to a certain degree designed to inculcate a way of thinking about the issues involved. Paul's frequent repetition of words and ideas, as well as his method of weaving together related concepts, undoubtedly contributed to this purpose.

---

<sup>95</sup>Cf. Rom. 1:8-15.

<sup>96</sup>See below, pp. 231-38.

Structural Outline

- I. Literary structure and scriptural argument in Romans 9-11
  - A. 9:1-5 Introduction
  - B. 9:6-13
    1. 9:6a Introductory statement
    2. 9:6b-13 Scriptural argument
  - C. 9:14-29
    1. 9:14-18 Sub-unit one
      - a. 9:14 Interrogative
      - b. 9:15-18 Scriptural argument
    2. 9:19-29 Sub-unit two
      - a. 9:19 Interrogative
      - b. 9:20-29 Argument
        1. 9:20-23 Interrogatives: scriptural allusion and illustration
        2. 9:24-29 Scriptural argument
          - a. 9:24 Opening statement
          - b. 9:25-29 Scriptural citations
    - D. 9:30-33
      1. 9:30a Interrogative
      2. 9:30b-32a Summarizing discourse
      3. 9:32b-33 Scriptural argument
    - E. 10:1-13
      1. 10:1-8 Sub-unit one
        - a. 10:1-4 Introductory statements
        - b. 10:6-8 Scriptural argument
      2. 10:9-13 Sub-unit two
        - a. 10:9 Introductory statement
        - b. 10:10-13 Scriptural argument
    - F. 10:14-21
      1. 10:14-17 Sub-unit one
        - a. 10:14-15a Deliberative questions
        - b. 10:15b Scriptural citation
        - c. 10:16-17 Scriptural argument
      2. 10:18-21 Sub-unit two
        - a. 10:18a Introductory question
        - b. 10:18b Scriptural citation
        - c. 10:19a Introductory question
        - d. 10:19b-21 Scriptural citations
    - G. 11:1-6
      1. 11:1a Interrogative
      2. 11:1b Autobiographical confirmation
      3. 11:2-6 Scriptural argument
    - H. 11:7-10
      1. 11:7a Interrogative
      2. 11:7b-10 Scriptural argument
    - I. 11:11-24
      1. 11:11-15 Sub-unit one
        - a. 11:11a Interrogative
        - b. 11:11b-15 Explanatory discourse
      2. 11:16-24 Sub-unit two
    - J. 11:25-32
      1. 11:25 Introductory statement
      2. 11:26-27 Scriptural argument
      3. 11:28-32 Elaboration
    - K. 11:33-36 Doxology

Chapters 9-11 in the Context of Romans

The literary and theological relationship between chapters 9-11 and the remainder of the epistle have long been debated,<sup>97</sup> but there is no doubt that these chapters represent a discrete argument within the larger context of Romans. This section of the epistle is introduced in 9:1-5 with an autobiographical statement in which the reader is reminded of the special relationship that the Israelites have with God, and it concludes with a doxological statement in which the awesomeness of God's ways is acknowledged.

In terms of the thematic development of Romans, the connection between 1:3 and 9:5 is noteworthy. In the first text, Christ is portrayed as descending physically from David, and in the second it is announced that Christ is an Israelite.<sup>98</sup> In both texts, reference is made to Christ *κατὰ σάρκα*. But apart from the common reference to Christ "according to the flesh" and the fact that both are included in introductory statements, 1:3 and 9:5 bear little resemblance. In 1:1-6, Paul introduces himself as a servant of Christ who has been set apart for the gospel of God; and for Paul, the gospel of God is the good news about Christ. Jesus was descended from David, and he has been designated son of God according to the spirit of holiness. In 9:1-5, however, Paul is not introducing himself and he is not giving a capsule statement of the Christian message. He is acknowledging the anguish he feels on account of his kinsmen; and he reminds his readers of the special privileges which have been given to them. At the end of this list, Paul states that Christ himself was an Israelite. The special relationship between God and Israel is acknowledged, and this serves as the basis for the discussion that follows.

---

<sup>97</sup> See e.g. Cranfield, *Romans*, pp. 445-50; Käsemann, *Romans*, pp. 253-56; and Campbell, "The Place of Romans IX-XI," pp. 121-25.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Rom. 11:26.

Since these two texts function differently in the epistle and since, except for the common reference to Christ "according to the flesh",<sup>99</sup> there is little thematic similarity between them, it is difficult to argue that, in the literary structure of Romans, 1:3 and 9:5 are integrally or formally related. There is a link, but it is in terms of Paul's method of using similar or related words and images and not in terms of the outline of the epistle. The statements in 9:1-5 do not direct necessarily the reader's attention back to the epistolary introduction; and it cannot be argued meaningfully that because of this verbal connection 1:3 and 9:5 are part of a unitary composition. Based on our investigation of Paul's manner of presentation in chapters 9-11, it is evident that Paul thought and wrote according to a pattern of verbal repetition and association. But, when the expression Christ "according to the flesh" is used in two different and widely separated passages, it is because the context triggers for Paul a way of expressing a particular idea. In this case, κατὰ σάρκα is a way of denoting Jesus' physical descent. Without corroborating evidence to indicate that Paul is explicitly using this verbal connection to link his epistle together, it is not possible to establish a structural connection between 1:3 and 9:5. Paul may simply be drawing upon a common expression to designate related ideas without intending an explicit connection between the two contexts.

The thematic and theological connections between 1:16b-17 and chapters 9-11 are significant.<sup>100</sup> The Pauline notions of righteousness and faith are integral to the arguments in 9:6-13 and 9:30-10:21, and it is noteworthy that in chapters 9-11 as well as in 1:16b-17 scripture is cited by Paul. We need not debate the issue of whether or not

---

<sup>99</sup>Cf. II Cor. 5:16.

<sup>100</sup>See Cranfield, Romans, pp. 445-46 and Käsemann, Romans, pp. 253-56.

1:16b-17 sets forth the primary theme of the epistle, but it is evident that in 9-11 Paul has developed a number of the implications of this passage in connection with the question of Israel's place in God's plan of salvation.

Another link in Romans is between 3:1-2 and 9:4. In 3:2, Paul writes that the first advantage of the Jews is that they have been entrusted with the oracles of God. And in 9:4 he acknowledges that the Israelites possess the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the law, the worship, and the promises. In both passages, Paul recognizes the special status enjoyed by the Jews. Paul also emphasizes in 3:3-4 the faithfulness of God to his promises; and, as we have seen, this theme is also part of the discussion in 9-11. The word of God has not failed; God has not rejected his people. And in 3:5-7 issues are raised which in a different way are raised also in 9:14-21. The words and images regarding the justice of God are different in the two contexts but thematically it is apparent that Paul is working with related concepts. Finally, connections between 3:21-26 and 9:30-10:8 are also recognizable.<sup>101</sup> The thematic and theological parallels between chapter three and chapters 9-11 indicate that Paul is operating in both contexts with a set of theological concepts and principles that are applied uniquely to the circumstances of the individual discussions.

Except for 3:4 and the scriptural catena in 3:10-18, Paul does not rely on scriptural quotations in chapter three as he does in chapters 9-11. In 3:21, he makes reference to the righteousness of God being testified to by the law and the prophets,<sup>102</sup> but it is evident in chapter three that Paul is not engaged in a discussion in which scriptural citations provide the framework for the presentation. Despite

---

<sup>101</sup> See above Rom. 10:12-13.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. also Ps. 143:2 and Rom. 3:20.

the thematic and theological similarities between these sections of Romans, there is an important difference between them in the manner of developing and substantiating the respective discussions. Because chapter three exhibits thematic parallels with chapters 9-11 but displays a manner of presentation that in many ways is different, it provides a gauge to assess the way scripture has contributed to Paul's method of argumentation.

In 3:3-7, Paul claims that God is just and truthful despite the "unfaithfulness" of some of the Jews. Paul writes: "Let God be true though every man be false...."<sup>103</sup> In 9:6, Paul begins his discussion by asserting that God's word has not failed; and in 11:1 he emphatically denies that God has rejected the people whom he foreknew. Both of these assertions in 9-11 are accompanied by scriptural argumentation. In the first of these arguments, the distinction which Paul draws is between Israel according to the flesh and Israel according to promise. Election, says Paul, is because of the call of God. As we have shown,<sup>104</sup> this assertion is based on Genesis 21:12 LXX. God's word has not failed; his plan of election remains because of his call. The role scripture has played in the development of the argument in 9:6-13 is clear. Although Paul's discussion in 3:3-7 is not about the success of God's word, he nevertheless defends God's faithfulness. In this context, the faithfulness of God is explicitly contrasted with the unfaithfulness of some of his people. The unfaithfulness of God's people does not nullify God's faithfulness, argues Paul. There is no reason why the discussions in 3:3-7 and 9:6-13 should be identical; but our comparison indicates that Paul, in 9:6-13, has used scripture as a framework around which to construct his argument, whereas in 3:3-7 the issue of God's faithfulness

---

<sup>103</sup>Rom. 3:4. This is substantiated by a reference to Ps. 50:6 LXX.

<sup>104</sup>See above, p. 173.

is substantiated by a single scriptural citation.<sup>105</sup> Except for Psalm 50:6 LXX in 3:4, he has developed his discussion in 3:3-7 apart from scriptural argumentation. Paul had available to him different ways of presenting a discussion; but, as in 9:6-13, when he chose to develop his argument according to scripture he used it often to direct the discussion and to substantiate his theological claims. In 9:6-13, scripture has functioned as a catalyst; it has assisted him verbally and thematically in making his point.

In 11:1, Paul claims that in spite of Israel's disobedience God has not rejected his people. To demonstrate this, he cites from I Kings 19:10 (14) and 18. God saved for himself seven thousand men, according to the scriptural account; and this for Paul is the basis of the assertion that a remnant has been elected according to grace in the present. The remnant as a concept is the means by which Paul is able to claim that God has not rejected his people. Once again, the notion of God's faithfulness to his people and his promise and the way Paul has presented his argument are shaped by the scriptural account. And finally, Paul in 11:29 writes: "For the gifts and call of God are irrevocable." The thematic connections between 3:3-7 and 10:21-11:6, 11:29 are evident, but the ways Paul has developed the respective discussions are in many respects quite different.

In 3:5-7, Paul raises the issue of God's justice in relation to human wickedness. He writes: "But if our unrighteousness serves to show the justice of God, what shall we say? That God who inflicts wrath is unjust?... But if through my falsehood God's truthfulness abounds to his glory, why am I still being condemned as a sinner?" In 9:14-21, Paul again raises the issue of divine justice. In this context, however, it is perhaps fair to say that Paul is concerned primarily with election

---

<sup>105</sup>Cranfield, Romans, p. 183.

and only secondarily with the relation between divine justice and human wickedness. Thus, the two texts probably cannot be compared in detail. But in both texts Paul has used interrogatives as a means to develop his discussion and in both he portrays man as questioning God's justice; but only in 9:14-21 does he use scriptural citations and allusions to substantiate and illustrate his argument.

Paul uses a scriptural catena in 3:10-18 to confirm the statement that both Jews and Greeks are under sin; and in 3:21, he claims that God's righteousness has been manifested apart from the law. The thematic parallels between 3:21-22 and 9:30-10:8 are evident; but in 9:33, 10:5, and 10:6-8 Paul has quoted scripture. Perhaps the most direct parallel is between 3:22b and 10:12a. Both passages begin with the same words: "For there is no distinction (διαστολή)". In 3:22b, Paul argues that all are under sin; and although there are no scriptural citations used in 3:22ff, it is probable that Paul has in mind the statement in 3:9, which is substantiated by a series of quotations. He writes: "... for all men, both Jews (Ἰουδαῖου) and Greeks (Ἕλληνας), are under sin".<sup>106</sup> This corresponds to Paul's use of Ἰουδαῖος and Ἕλληνας in 10:12a. As in 3:9-18 (3:22b), Paul in 10:12-13 uses scriptural material to substantiate his claim. In terms of the manner of presentation, there is a clear connection between the two texts. Though theologically related, the respective claims which Paul appeals to scripture to support, however, are quite different. In 3:9, it is that all are under sin; whereas in 10:12, it is that "the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches on all who call upon him". It appears that the statement, "there is no distinction between Jew(s) and Greek(s)", is a formulaic type of expression; and it is one which Paul has used to introduce different religious

---

<sup>106</sup>Rom. 3:9. Cf. also Rom. 2:10-11 and the argument by Sanders regarding the peculiar nature of 1:18-2:29, Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People, pp. 123-35.

propositions. It may be that it was the radical nature of this statement that compelled Paul to quote scripture to substantiate the claims which he has introduced by it. Nevertheless, it is this connection which exhibits the most striking methodological link between chapter three and chapters 9-11.

Except for the connection between 3:9-18 (3:22b) and 10:12-13, our comparison illustrates that despite the thematic links and the use of interrogatives the principal difference between the methods of presentation in the two contexts concerns the use of scripture. In 9-11, Paul is engaged in a scriptural argument, but in 3:1-26 most of the statements and claims are not substantiated by appeal to scripture. A comparison of the material in these two contexts illustrates from another perspective the way scripture has contributed to Romans 9-11. But it also raises the question: why is scripture in one context integral to the discussion while in the other it plays more a limited role? What is it about the discussion in Romans 9-11 that causes Paul to base his argument so heavily on scripture?

Although there are individual exceptions, a number of basic patterns can be observed in Romans and to some extent in the other epistles which relate to these questions. First, as we have demonstrated above,<sup>107</sup> the issue of the Jews and their theological relationship to the Gentiles frequently evokes a scriptural argument. Second, discussions concerning Christ and the gospel tend not to invite scriptural argumentation, unless the context also involves matters of Jew-Gentile concern.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, the christological traditions upon which Paul is drawing in 3:21-26 may account for the lack of direct scriptural quotations in this section. Third, the question of God's faithfulness

---

<sup>107</sup> See above, pp. 97-99.

<sup>108</sup> See above, pp. 101-5 and 136-41.

elicits scriptural support in the epistle when it is coupled with the issues of God's rejection of the Jews and his faithfulness to his promise to Abraham.<sup>109</sup> Fourth, the issue of divine justice tends to invite scriptural argumentation when it is related to election.<sup>110</sup> Fifth, the extent to which a particular theological issue is discussed on the basis of scripture often depends on how directly it is related to the question of God's relationship to the Jews and their relationship with the Gentiles. And sixth, Paul's method of scriptural argumentation may be influenced not only by the religious issue at stake in a particular discussion but also by the audience to whom it is directed and the way Paul expects that audience to react to the discussion. This final point will require further examination below.<sup>111</sup> Among the various theological issues at stake in Romans 9-11, God's relationship with Israel and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles are issues which predominate; and in large measure these are the concerns which account for Paul's extensive use of scripture.

Paul's use of scripture in chapter four is related to 9:6-13 on the basis of the fact that he uses material from the patriarchal narratives in both. Furthermore, the statements in 9:11-12, 9:30-32, 11:5-6 and 11:27 are related theologically to the discussion in chapter four. Apart from these connections, however, the discussions in the two

---

<sup>109</sup>The role of Ps. 50:6 LXX in Rom. 3:4 is difficult to assess. The citation is used to substantiate the statement, "Let God be true though every man be false...", but the content of the quotation does not appear to clarify the argument. The question of God's rejection of the Jews is not stated as sharply as it is in 11:1, but it is evident that this is what Paul has in mind in 3:1-4. The discussion in 9:6-13 is based on scripture, but the argument in 3:3-7 uses only a single citation. This suggests that the more sharply the matter of God's faithfulness to Israel is stated the more significant is Paul's use of scripture.

<sup>110</sup>In Rom. 9:14-23, the Jew-Gentile issue is also involved in the discussion concerning election.

<sup>111</sup>See below, pp. 231-38.

contexts are quite different. If we recognize that the issues of sonship, righteousness by faith, and circumcision are related to the larger issue of the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, the reason for the scriptural form of argumentation in chapter four becomes clear. In 3:28-30 Paul writes: "For we consider that a man is justified by faith apart from works of law. Or is God the God of the Jews alone? Is he not also the God of the Gentiles? Yes, also of the Gentiles, since God is one; he will justify the circumcised by faith and the uncircumcised through faith." To the extent that this concern provides the motivation for the discussion in chapter four, it also accounts for the reason why Paul has used a scriptural method of argumentation.<sup>112</sup>

Except for the Adam-Christ typology in 5:12-21, a brief reference to the Decalogue in 7:7, and a citation from Psalm 44:23 in 8:36,<sup>113</sup> chapters five through eight are conspicuous for their lack of scriptural argumentation. Considering the content of these chapters, it may not be surprising that scriptural citations play only a limited role. Issues related to the Jew-Gentile question are being addressed at most only indirectly. Hence, by itself the lack of scriptural argumentation in chapters five through eight cannot be used as a basis for arguing that Romans is a composite document.<sup>114</sup> According to the patterns we have identified, it would have been unusual for Paul to have relied on scriptural argumentation when addressing the issues which are discussed in these chapters. As we have indicated, he does use a limited number of citations in chapters five through eight, but clearly his arguments are not based on the type of scriptural argumentation found in 9-11.

---

<sup>112</sup>Cf. Rom. 3:9-18, 9:6-11:32, and Gal. 3:6-4:31. See also W.S. Campbell, "Romans III as a key to the structure and thought of the Letter," Novum Testamentum XXIII (January 1981):33.

<sup>113</sup>Cf. also Pss. 22:6 and 25:20 and Rom. 5:5.

<sup>114</sup>Cf. e.g. Scroggs, "Paul as Rhetorician," pp. 271-98.

In 8:29-30, Paul writes: "For those whom he foreknew he also predestined.... And those whom he predestined he also called; and those whom he called he also justified; and those whom he justified he also glorified."<sup>115</sup> The theological connection between these verses and the discussion in 9:14-23 is evident.<sup>116</sup> Both are highly predestinarian; but only in 9:14-23 is scriptural material used. It is clear that predestination as a theological issue by itself did not prompt Paul in Romans to quote scripture; it was only as this issue pertained to election and to the relationship between Jews and Gentiles that a scriptural argument was evoked.

In chapters twelve through fifteen, the content of the discussion is primarily ethical and pastoral. Therefore, the use of scripture in these chapters is governed by Paul's pastoral concern rather than by issues of theological principle. For Paul, theology and ethics are not separate, but the use of scripture to influence behaviour and to advise concerning pastoral matters clearly makes these chapters distinct from the use of scripture in 9-11.

That scripture is used to address the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in Romans 9-11 does not make this section unique; but the extent to which explicit scriptural references are used does set it apart from the remainder of the epistle. Furthermore, the variety of individual theological and religious issues which are related to the Jew-Gentile issue on the basis of scripture is also unparalleled in Romans. Finally, the internal integrity of the discussion, the extent to which scripture generates verbal and thematic links in the development of the argument, and the way the discourse progresses from one scriptural argument to another sets chapters 9-11 apart from their larger context in the epistle.

---

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the method of repeating the final word of the preceding sentence in Rom. 10:14-15.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. the use of *καλεῖν* in Rom. 8:30, 9:7, 9:12, and 9:24-26.

## CHAPTER VII

### SCRIPTURE AND SCRIPTURAL APPLICATION

In this chapter, the two aspects of Paul's application of scripture referred to above will be distinguished: 1) the correspondence between scriptural persons or things and persons or things from Paul's own time and 2) the religious principles which are inferred from scripture or are supported by reference to it.<sup>1</sup> In Romans 9-11, these are connected so closely that to isolate one from the other diminishes the integrity of the presentation and obscures the way scripture functions.<sup>2</sup> Fundamental to the interaction between these two aspects of scriptural application is the relationship between the quotation and its immediate epistolary context.<sup>3</sup> Following our discussion of this feature of Paul's application of the biblical material, we shall examine the historical background of the presentation and the notion of special religious "understanding" as these pertain to the use of scripture in these three chapters of Romans.

---

<sup>1</sup>See above, pp. 155-56.

<sup>2</sup>Commenting on Rom. 9:14-15, Romans, p. 267, Käsemann states that the justice of God is not discussed abstractly but in terms of concrete acts; Moses is not spoken about as the mediator of revelation but as the opponent of Pharaoh. This comment illustrates the subtle interaction, for Paul, between scriptural persons and religious principles. An examination of Paul's citations in these three chapters makes it clear that these two features of his use of scripture cannot be separated; they are intimately connected.

<sup>3</sup>See above, pp. 86-105.

Application and Correspondence

In Romans 9-11, the term Ἰσραήλ is used eleven times;<sup>4</sup> and the fact that it occurs nowhere else in the epistle is an indication of the significance which Paul attaches to it in these chapters. It is the key term for understanding scriptural application in this section of the epistle.<sup>5</sup> In 9:6 Paul writes: "... not all those descended from Israel are (really) Israel". He differentiates Israel as the historical people of God from Israel as the "people of promise"; and this involves a theological distinction which enables Paul to differentiate two groups of people in the present.<sup>6</sup> The Jews who do not "believe" are distinguished from the Jews and Gentiles who do. But since Paul uses the term Ἰσραήλ to designate in the present both the historical people of God and the "people of promise", the lines of correspondence which are developed must be examined individually.

The first set of passages involving the term Ἰσραήλ concerns Israel as "seed" and as "children".<sup>7</sup> In this discussion, the pattern of scriptural correspondence is developed according to two incomplete but parallel lines.

---

<sup>4</sup>Cf. the use of the term in I Cor. 10:18, II Cor. 3:7, 3:13, Gal. 6:16, Phil. 3:5, and Eph. 2:12. Ἰσραηλίτης also occurs in Rom. 9:4 and 11:1. Cf. II Cor. 11:22.

<sup>5</sup>See Rom. 9:6 (2), 9:27 (2), 9:31, 10:19, 10:21, 11:2, 11:7, 11:25, and 11:26.

<sup>6</sup>In Rom. 9-11, the term Ἰουδαῖος occurs only in 9:24 and 10:12; whereas in the remainder of Romans and the other Pauline epistles, it is used frequently to refer to the people of Israel. See Rom. 1:16, 2:9, 2:10, 2:17, 2:28, 2:29, 3:1, 3:9, 3:29, I Cor. 1:22, 1:23, 1:24, 9:20, 10:32, 12:13, II Cor. 11:24, Gal. 2:13, 2:14, 2:15, 3:28, I Thess. 2:14, and Col. 3:11. The different contexts in which Paul uses the terms Ἰσραήλ and Ἰουδαῖος reinforces the assertion that Ἰσραήλ is a theological concept with social and historical implications.

<sup>7</sup>Rom. 9:6-13.

οὐ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ -- historical  
Israel

Ἰσραήλ -- Israel according to  
promise, faith

τέκνα -- Israel according to  
promise, faith

σπέρμα -- Israel by physical  
descent<sup>8</sup>

σπέρμα -- children of God

τέκνα τῆς σαρκός -- Israel  
by physical descent

τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας -- Israel  
according to promise, faith<sup>9</sup>

υἱός -- Sarah's son/Israel  
according to promise, faith

ὁ μείζων -- historical  
Israel

τῷ ἐλάσσονι -- Israel according  
to the call of God

Ἰσααὺ -- historical  
Israel

Ἰακώβ -- Israel according to  
the love of God, faith

At the beginning of each column, we find a different use of the term Ἰσραήλ;<sup>10</sup> and implicit in each line is the connection between scriptural persons and persons (groups) from Paul's own time and situation. Israel according to the flesh and Israel according to promise are intended to correspond in the present to Israel according to physical descent and Israel according to "faith".<sup>11</sup> There is no suggestion in 9:6-13

---

<sup>8</sup>If, as Cranfield argues, Romans, p. 473, σπέρμα in 9:7a corresponds to οὐ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ, then it refers to historical Israel whereas σπέρμα in the citation from Gen. 21:12 (9:7b) is clearly used to refer to Israel according to promise. Hence, Paul has used the word σπέρμα in two different senses. The syntax of 9:7a favour Cranfield's argument; but if Paul's use of Gen. 21:12 in its context in Rom. 9:6-7 is to be consistent, σπέρμα in both 9:7a and 7b would be required to correspond with Ἰσραήλ in 9:6. Cf. Barrett's translation, Romans, pp. 179-80. Despite this apparent inconsistency, σπέρμα in 9:7a has been included in the same line as οὐ ἐξ Ἰσραήλ. Cf. Gal. 3:16.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. note 8. The word σπέρμα is in the quotation from Gen. 21:12, whereas τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας is part of the inference which Paul draws from the scriptural citation.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. the development of lines of correspondence in Gal. 4:21-31.

<sup>11</sup>To argue, as Gaston has done, that it is impossible that Isaac and Jacob could refer to anybody but Israel (historical Israel) or that Ishmael (not introduced here), Esau, and Pharaoh could refer to anyone but the Gentiles is, to say the least, a forced interpretation of Rom. 9; "Israel's Enemies in Pauline Theology," New Testament Studies 28 (July 1982):411-18. It is more consistent with Paul's argument in Rom. 9 and Gal. 4:21-31 to argue that Ἰσραήλ as a religious and historical concept is being expanded to include not only Jews but also Gentiles. See Rom. 11:16-24.

that Paul understood the Christian community as having superseded Israel; on the contrary, he argues that the Christian community is Israel, that is Israel understood as the "people of promise".<sup>12</sup> For Paul, the two groups designated by the term Ἰσραήλ correspond to Jacob and Esau. Only Jacob bears the promise; and to confirm this, Paul in 9:13 cites two scriptural passages.<sup>13</sup> In scripture, Israel is designated by the promise and the call of God; so too in the present Israel is designated by the promise and the call.<sup>14</sup> Behind Paul's play on the term Ἰσραήλ stands a religious conviction, and this conviction determines the way he draws the lines of correspondence. According to Paul, God has called both Jews and Gentiles.<sup>15</sup>

In 9:6-13, Paul infers from the scriptural material two religious principles: 1) the children of God are the children of the promise and not the children of the flesh and 2) God's plan of election remains not because of works but because of the call of God.<sup>16</sup> The first of these is drawn from Genesis 21:12, and the second is inferred from the story of Rebekah and the birth of her two sons.<sup>17</sup> The statement that the plan of election remains not because of works but because of God's call is the claim that the citations from Genesis 25:23 and Malachi 1:2-3 are

---

<sup>12</sup>See Davies, "Paul and the People of Israel," pp. 14-20 and Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 330-33.

<sup>13</sup>Gen. 25:23 and Mal. 1:2-3. Käsemann's comment on Rom. 9:12b-13, Romans, p. 264, that "... Paul is no longer concerned with two peoples and their destiny... but timelessly... with the election and rejection of two persons who are elevated as types..." tends to obscure the basis which underlies the entire argument in 9:6-13. Paul's passing comment in 9:10 -- Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν -- suggests that Paul in this segment of the argument is indeed concerned with historical individuals and not simply with timeless types (even in 9:12b-13).

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Rom. 4.

<sup>15</sup>See Rom. 3:29-30, 9:24, 10:10-13, and Gal. 3:28-29.

<sup>16</sup>Rom. 9:8 and 9:11. Cf. Rom. 9:32 and 11:6.

<sup>17</sup>Gen. 25:23.

intended to substantiate. The elder shall serve the younger because God loved Jacob but hated Esau. According to Paul, the implication of these passages is that election depends on divine rather than human action. As a religious principle found in scripture, this is applied to the present situation between Israel as a national and religious entity and the Christian community. In 9:6-13, both elements of Paul's application of scripture are present; he has drawn from scripture religious and theological principles which have been understood to correspond to contemporary circumstances. These principles which Paul has discovered in scripture enable him to account for the present division in Israel between "believers" and "unbelievers". From another perspective, it is the present situation that enables him to see in the patriarchal narratives features which appear to correspond to his experience as apostle to the Gentiles. In 9:6-13, Paul deals with religious concepts; but for him these are inseparable from the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the present day.

The second set of texts associated with the term Ἰσραήλ pertains to the use of remnant imagery. In 9:27, the words of Isaiah are said to be addressed to Israel;<sup>18</sup> and the scriptural citation which follows asserts that "even though the sons of Israel be as numerous as the sand of the sea (only) a remnant will be saved." The next citation in this series of references is from Isaiah 1:9;<sup>19</sup> and although the term ὑπόλειμμα does not occur,<sup>20</sup> it is evident that Paul has used this citation to indicate that a remnant indeed has been allowed to remain.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>The citation in Rom. 9:27-28 is taken, however, from Is. 10:22-23 and Hos. 2:1.

<sup>19</sup>Rom. 9:29.

<sup>20</sup>Σπέρμα is used instead. Cf. Rom. 9:7-8 and 11:1.

<sup>21</sup>The assertion by Gaston, "Israel's Enemies," p. 416, that the citation in 9:27-28, as well as the reference in 9:29, is used in a positive sense to indicate that God will never abandon his people may

The introductory formula in 9:29, καὶ καθὼς προεῖρηκεν Ἡσαΐας, suggests that Paul understood the words of Isaiah prophetically; the words of the prophet spoken beforehand apply to the present.<sup>22</sup>

The citations in 9:25-29 are used within the context of Paul's argument that both Jews and Gentiles have been called and prepared beforehand for glory. The remnant imagery, however, serves to make a distinction between Israel as the whole people of God and that group within Israel which will be saved. For Paul, the demarcation of a remnant within Israel as described in scripture corresponds to the present division between those in Israel who "believe" and those who do not. In the immediate context of 9:14-29, the issue is discussed in terms of divine sovereignty, but the distinction between "believing" Israel and "unbelieving" Israel undoubtedly provided the historical and social background for this argument. The discussion which began as an attempt to demonstrate that both Jews and Gentiles have been called concludes with a distinction between Israel as the whole people of God and the remnant.<sup>23</sup>

In 11:1-5, Paul again uses remnant imagery.<sup>24</sup> The scriptural statement that God kept for himself seven thousand men is applied explicitly to the present; and it is used to substantiate the claim that God has not rejected his people.<sup>25</sup> God has preserved a remnant. The

---

have some merit when viewed in light of 9:23-24. But to make sense of the quotation itself, a contrast between the whole of Israel and the remnant is necessary. Hence, the citation cannot be taken only in a positive light. Furthermore, a sense of threat appears to be intended by the use of the word κρᾶζειν; see Cranfield, Romans, p. 501.

<sup>22</sup>See Cranfield, Romans, p. 502.

<sup>23</sup>See also the pattern of scriptural correspondence in 10:19-21 in which the passages are also applied successively to the Gentiles and then to Israel.

<sup>24</sup>I Kgs. 19:10 (14) and 18.

<sup>25</sup>In 11:1-2, Paul is speaking of the people of Israel as a whole. See Cranfield, Romans, p. 545 and Käsemann, Romans, p. 299. See also Dahl, "Future of Israel," p. 149.

correspondence between the remnant in the scriptural statement and the remnant in the present, the Jews who believe in Christ, confirms for Paul that God has not abandoned the people whom he foreknew.

Paul has used the concept of a remnant and the scriptural citations associated with it in two different contexts. In 9:25-29, the quotations are part of an argument which is intended to substantiate the claim that both Jews and Gentiles have been called by God.<sup>26</sup> The scriptural material in 9:27-28 has been linked with the combined citation in 9:25-26 on the basis of the textual similarity between Hosea 2:1 LXX and Isaiah 10:22 LXX.<sup>27</sup> The remnant imagery in 9:27-28 is intended as a sign that God has placed Israel under judgment. Though the people of Israel be as many as the sand of the sea only a remnant shall be saved. In 9:29, however, the message of the citation is different from 9:27-28; Israel has not been entirely destroyed. She has not been made like Sodom and Gomorrah; descendants have been preserved. In 9:27-28, the contrast is between the vastness of the sand of the sea and the remnant; whereas in 9:29 it is between the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the preservation of descendants. In the former, the contrast conveys a message of judgment, while in the latter it issues a message of assurance.<sup>28</sup> From a scriptural argument designed to substantiate the claim that both Jews and Gentiles have been called and prepared for glory, Paul has developed a remnant theology based on scriptural citations from Hosea 2:1, Isaiah 10:22-23, and 1:9.

In 11:1-6, the scriptural material is used to substantiate an explicit assertion: "God has not rejected his people whom he foreknew". Furthermore, the application of the Elijah story also includes the

---

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:12.

<sup>27</sup>See above, pp. 178-80.

<sup>28</sup>See note 21 above.

claim that the remnant in the present has received election by grace. In 9:27-29, the discussion of the remnant is incorporated into the presentation through the linking of scriptural passages; it is derived from the argument in 9:23-26. In 11:1-6, however, the discussion focuses on Paul's denial that God has rejected his people and on the claim based on scripture that a remnant has been preserved. The material from I Kings 19:10 (14) and 18 is included directly into the discussion; it is not derived through the juxtaposition of scriptural passages. The fact that the scriptural material in 11:1-6 is integral to Paul's argument and not derived from it may be the reason that Paul has chosen to elaborate the discussion by applying the material explicitly to the present day and by interpreting it to mean that the remnant has been chosen by grace and not works.<sup>29</sup> In addition to support for his claim that God has not rejected his people, Paul apparently saw in the scriptural material ideas which he thought could be exploited to illustrate his conviction that election is by χάρις and not ἔργα. A remnant has been preserved, argues Paul, and it has been preserved because of χάρις. Despite the fact that the people killed the prophets and destroyed the altars, seven thousand men who have not worshipped Baal have been kept by God. That God did not respond to Elijah's denunciation of the people by destroying Israel but kept for himself a remnant is interpreted as evidence that the election of a remnant is according to grace. From the scriptural story, Paul has derived a theological concept and applied this concept to the relationship between Jews and Jewish Christians in the contemporary situation.

The third set of passages associated with Ἰσραήλ has to do with faith, proclamation, confession, and salvation made available to Jews and Greeks without distinction. In 10:10-13, Paul uses scripture to

---

<sup>29</sup>See also Rom. 9:12, 9:16, and 9:32.

confirm two statements: 1) "For a person believes with his heart and is justified and confesses with his lips and is saved" and 2) "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows riches on all who call upon him".<sup>30</sup> The scriptural citations used to support these statements are understood by Paul to apply universally to Jews and Greeks. The religious conception which underlies 10:10-13 is the relationship between the universal promise of salvation and the confession and belief that Jesus is Lord;<sup>31</sup> and the scriptural correspondence focuses on the claim that there is no distinction between Jews and Greeks in the present day, as far as the promise of salvation is concerned.<sup>32</sup> It may perhaps be argued that in 10:9-13 the theological dimension of Paul's scriptural argument predominates, but it cannot be argued that this segment of the discourse is not grounded also in his experience as apostle to the Gentiles.<sup>33</sup> For Paul, the soteriological dividing line between Jews and Greeks may have been removed; but the social and religious dividing line still remains. In social and religious affairs, Jews and Greeks most often

---

<sup>30</sup>Rom. 10:10 (Is. 28:16) and 10:12 (Joel 3:5).

<sup>31</sup>See also Rom. 10:9.

<sup>32</sup>See Rom. 3:21-23, 9:23-24, and Gal. 3:27-29. The claim that there is no distinction in a soteriological sense between Jews and Greeks had definite social, and therefore historical, consequences for the Christian communities in Paul's area of missionary activity. In these communities, there were both Jews and Gentiles, and the practical as well as the religious consequences of this were undoubtedly manifold. Paul's claim that there is no distinction between Jews and Greeks, however, did not make it a social reality (cf. e.g. Gal. 3-4 and I Cor. 12-14). The very fact that Paul was compelled to engage in an extended discourse (Rom. 9-11) which involved the relationship between Israel and the Gentiles testifies to the fact that this relationship was not only a matter of abstract, religious concern but was also a matter of profound practical concern. The historical fact was that the vast majority of Jews did not believe in Christ and did not believe that salvation had been extended to the Gentiles without distinction.

<sup>33</sup>This is true even if, as Käsemann has suggested, Romans, p. 291, 10:9 is from a baptismal setting. See also Barrett, Romans, p. 200.

are separated, and it is this reality that provides the background against which Paul's use of scripture in this context must be understood.<sup>34</sup> The universal character of salvation as a theological concept must be contrasted with Israel's historic claim that she has a special relationship with Yahweh.<sup>35</sup> In 9:4-5, Paul himself acknowledges this relationship.

In 10:14-18, the focus of the discussion is on hearing and believing the "word of Christ". The word has indeed gone forth, says Paul; preachers have been sent to proclaim the "good news".<sup>36</sup> Still it remains a fact that "not all" (Israel) have believed: "Lord, who has believed our report?"<sup>37</sup> From the argument in 10:14-16 and in particular from the quotation of Isaiah 53:1, Paul infers that "faith comes from the message heard and the message comes through the word of Christ."<sup>38</sup> And, as can be seen in the introductory formula in 10:18, Israel's "unbelief" cannot be attributed, according to Paul, to having never heard the "word of Christ". In light of 9:6, it can be said that her "unbelief" must not be ascribed to the failure of God's word. In 10:18, Paul cites Psalm 19:5: "Their voice has gone out to all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world."

Behind the theological argument in 10:14-18 stands the missionary work of the early Christian evangelists. Preachers have taken the message of Jesus to Jews as well as to Gentiles;<sup>39</sup> and this has enabled

---

<sup>34</sup>Dahl's comments on Rom. 10:4-17 support this observation; "Future of Israel," p. 148.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Rom. 3:9-18, 22-23.

<sup>36</sup>Rom. 10:14-15 and 10:18 (Ps. 19:5). Cf. 10:19-21 (Dt. 32:21 and Is. 65:1-2). The deliberative questions in 10:14-15 are, from a literary point of view, important in leading to this assertion.

<sup>37</sup>Is. 53:1. See above, pp. 183-86.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. 10:6-8 and 10:18.

<sup>39</sup>Based on Rom. 9:30-10:13 and 10:19-21, it is reasonable to conclude that the argument in 10:14-18 refers to the Jews (Israel),

Paul to see in Isaiah 52:7, 53:1, and Psalm 19:5 a series of ideas which appeared to correspond to this early Christian mission.<sup>40</sup> First, preachers have proclaimed the "good news". Second, not all Jews have believed the message which these preachers have heralded. And third, preachers have taken the word of Jesus to many parts of the world. Allowing for the hyperbole involved in Paul's use of Psalm 19:5, it is evident that this passage has been applied to the work of the early Christian apostles. By means of a perceived correspondence between the scriptural texts and the present circumstances, Paul has constructed a theological argument designed to deprive "unbelieving" Israel of an excuse for her "unbelief".

The next set of texts concerns the disobedience or hardening of Ἰσραήλ. As part of the scriptural argument in 10:19-21, Paul cites Isaiah 65:2. The introductory formula explicitly directs the words of Isaiah to Israel; and on the basis of the epistolary context, it is evident that Paul has in mind that part of Israel which has rejected the "word of Christ".<sup>41</sup> In Paul's application of Isaiah 65:2, the scriptural passage is understood to correspond to the disobedience of contemporary Israel, as this has been expressed in the rejection of the gospel. In this text, the disobedience of the people is accompanied by the claim, stated in the first person, that God has stretched out his hand "all the day". In light of the discussion in 10:14-18, it is evident that the message of this citation is not understood by Paul to be an abstract theological point. For him, the scriptural statement

---

specifically in 10:16-18 to those who do not believe in Christ. See Barrett, Romans, p. 205; Cranfield, Romans, p. 533; Dinkler, "Israel," pp. 114-15; and Sanday and Headlam, Romans, pp. 295 and 298.

<sup>40</sup>Dahl has emphasized the way scriptural passages and contemporary events have influenced each other in 10:4-17; "Future of Israel," p. 148.

<sup>41</sup>See Rom. 10:16-19.

has come to expression in the missionary work of the Christian apostles.<sup>42</sup>

In 11:7-10, the issue of Israel's rejection of the gospel is expressed in a different way. The distinction within Ἰσραήλ between the "elect" and the "rest",<sup>43</sup> implicit throughout the discourse, is here made explicit: "Israel failed to obtain what it sought. The elect obtained it, but the rest were hardened."<sup>44</sup> This religious distinction, which for Paul has social manifestations in the present, is placed firmly in a theological context by reference to Isaiah 29:10 and Deuteronomy 29:3. God gave the λοιποῖ a spirit of stupor.<sup>45</sup> In 11:9-10, the citation from Psalm 69:23-24 continues the scriptural argument, but the change to third person speech changes its theological impact. From a statement of what God has done in 11:8, it shifts in 11:9-10 to a statement of imprecation.

In 10:21, the emphasis is on the disobedience of Israel in the face of God's summons; in 11:8, it is on the hardening of those within Israel who do not believe. These are religious concepts which Paul has applied to the present; and they are designed to explain why some Jews believe the "word of Christ" and others do not. The citations in 10:21 and 11:7-10 are intended to give a theological account of Israel's "unbelief"; from Paul's perspective, they provide a theological description of the λοιποῖ and their rejection of the gospel. As one who claimed for himself special insight into the purposes of God, Paul used scripture to explain theologically the "unbelief" of those outside his Christian

---

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Rom. 1:1-6, II Cor. 11:22-33, and Gal. 1:11-21.

<sup>43</sup>As Barrett says, Romans, p. 210, the "rest" means Israel less the remnant. Käsemann also remarks that ἐκλογή and λεῖμμα (11:5) are synonymous; Romans, p. 301.

<sup>44</sup>This distinction is present in a different way in 9:6-13; but in 11:7, it is given added force because of the differentiation between ἐκλογή and λοιποῖ. Cf. Rom. 9:14-23, 9:30-33, and 10:16-21.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. Rom. 9:30-33 and 10:19.

community, especially the "unbelief" of the Jews who themselves claimed a special relationship with God.

The final set of texts pertaining to Ἰσραήλ involves a connection between Israel and Christ (Torah).<sup>46</sup> In 9:32, Paul makes the claim that Israel has stumbled on the stone of stumbling.<sup>47</sup> As indicated above,<sup>48</sup> Barrett among others has suggested that in speaking of the stone of stumbling and the rock of offence Paul has Torah primarily in mind. Israel mistakenly pursued the law by works instead of by faith, and so stumbled.<sup>49</sup> Barrett, however, recognizes that there cannot be an unqualified equation drawn between the "stone" and Torah, because αὐτῷ in 9:33b and 10:11 must refer to Christ. Nevertheless, the close connection between Christ and Torah in 9:32-10:8 is evident. In 10:4, for example, Christ is described as the τέλος of the law that those who believe may be justified. In light of the tradition which developed in the early church, however, it seems almost certain that Paul intended his readers to see Christ in the figure of the "stone". In Christ, righteousness is shown to be according to "faith" and not "works". Apart from Christ, this distinction is not perceived and "stumbling" results.

For our purposes, however, this issue must be sharpened. What is the connection between Christ, stumbling, and the "unbelief" of the Jews? Was belief in Christ as messiah the "stumbling block" for the Jews or was belief in Christ which included a different understanding of the law the "stumbling block"? At the outset, it must be said that

---

<sup>46</sup>Rom. 9:30-33, 10:4-8, and 11:26-27.

<sup>47</sup>The subject of προσέκοψαν is Ἰσραήλ in 9:31.

<sup>48</sup>See above, p. 117.

<sup>49</sup>Barrett, "Fall and Responsibility," p. 144 and Cranfield, "Some Notes on Romans 9:30-33," pp. 35-43.

Paul's understanding of Christ is not separated from his conviction that both Jews and Gentiles have been called and prepared beforehand for glory. Likewise, Paul does not perceive "righteousness" and "faith" to be separated from his understanding of Christ. In 9:33b he quotes the prophet Isaiah: "... and he who believes in him shall not be put to shame." For Paul, faith in Christ is distinguished from works of law. In the discussion in 9:30-33, the issue is not "belief" versus "unbelief". It is "faith" versus "works". Hence, when Paul claims that Israel has stumbled over the stone of stumbling, he is not saying simply that she has refused to believe in Christ. Rather, Israel has not pursued righteousness according to "faith" but according to "works". In 9:33b, the discussion is also given a soteriological dimension. Those who believe in Christ will be saved.<sup>50</sup> Unlike 10:16, the focus of the discussion in 9:30-33 is not Israel's refusal to believe in Christ; it is her failure to distinguish two approaches to righteousness. According to Paul, Israel has stumbled because, apart from Christ, she did not understand that she pursued righteousness in the wrong way.<sup>51</sup> This is clearly a religious argument and not an historical description; but, when the primary issue for Paul is understood to be Israel's relationship to the law and her pursuit of righteousness, the Sitz-im-Leben in which this discussion appears to have emerged becomes clearer. The situation which precipitated the issues in 9:30-33 would have involved contention between Jews and Gentiles over the issue of obedience to Torah. It would not have been simply a matter of "belief" or "unbelief" but of the way belief in Christ was alleged to have affected a person's

---

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:10-11.

<sup>51</sup>It is not evident that in 9:30-33 Paul is speaking of the Jews during the early life of Jesus, as Munck has argued; Christ and Israel, p. 81. In the context of 9:30-10:5, Paul is arguing against those who demand obedience to Torah.

stance before the law and before God.<sup>52</sup> According to Paul, Christ has brought to expression the true approach to the law and righteousness; and it was the consequence of this religious claim that caused tension between Jews and Gentiles. It was this that constituted a "stumbling block" for many Jews. For Paul, the discussion in 9:30-33 was not simply a matter of whether or not Jesus was to be believed and confessed as the messiah who had been promised in the holy scriptures. The citation in 9:33 was used by Paul against the background of a particular kind of controversy. It was applied to Jews who rejected Christ and Paul's understanding of the law.

In 10:5 and 6, the introductory statements or formulae illustrate once again the religious distinction which Paul has in mind in 9:30-10:8. Righteousness based on law is contrasted with righteousness based on faith. By citing Leviticus 18:5, Paul argues that those who do the law shall live by law. This quotation, which in its scriptural context encourages obedience to God's commands, has been used by Paul to argue against the necessity of observing the law.<sup>53</sup> Paul's use of Leviticus 18:5 reflects a situation in the early church in which obedience to Torah is at issue; it reflects Paul's polemic against those who object to his understanding of the law. If a person observes the requirements of the law, argues Paul, that person will live according to law. For him, life according to the law is in opposition to life according to faith. Once again, the controversy reflected in Paul's use of Leviticus 18:5 is not simply about belief in Christ; it is about belief in Christ and the way this affects a person's observance of the law. Paul's use of Leviticus 18:5 reflects a particular kind of situation in the early

---

<sup>52</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:4.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Gal. 3:11-12 and Rom. 1:17. Because of the verbal link between Hab. 2:4 and Lev. 18:5 (ζήσεται), Paul has juxtaposed the two passages in Gal. In them he has seen a contrast between life based on faith (or life as the result of faith) and life based on law.

church. It was in the context of this type of situation that Paul developed a scriptural argument to support his contention that "faith" is opposed to "works". Paul's application of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 in 10:6-8 also involves a connection between Christ and the law, but the technical method and its background which Paul employed in this text will be discussed below.<sup>54</sup>

In 11:26-27, Paul uses scripture to make another reference to Christ.<sup>55</sup> In the epistolary context, the combined citation from Isaiah 59:20-21 and 27:9 serves as substantiation for the claim or expectation that "all Israel" will be saved.<sup>56</sup> The fact that Jesus was a Jew serves as the link between the scriptural text and the statement which Paul intends to substantiate. And the future tense of the verbs in Isaiah 59:20-21 LXX enables Paul to project the message of the text into the future: "... he will turn ungodliness from Jacob, and this will be my covenant with them when I take away their sins." From the perspective of the prophet, the coming of the saviour was to take place in the future. But now Christ has come. In the future, Christ will turn Jacob from ungodliness and their sins will be forgiven. For Paul, the salvation of "all Israel" is a future expectation.<sup>57</sup> This will take place when the πλήρωμα of the Gentiles has come in. Paul's application of the scriptural passages in this text involves a correspondence between ὁ ῥυόμενος and Christ and between Ἰακώβ and contemporary Israel.

Another group of applied scriptural texts pertains directly to the Gentiles. In 9:25-26, the combined reference from Hosea 2:25 and 2:1 is intended to confirm the assertion that God has also called the

---

<sup>54</sup>See below, pp. 259-67.

<sup>55</sup>See the discussion by Davies, "Paul and People of Israel," pp. 23-29.

<sup>56</sup>See below, pp. 269-72.

<sup>57</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:10-13.

Gentiles. In this discussion, Paul intends the readers of his epistle to make the connection between ἔθνη in 9:24 and οὐ λαόν μου/οὐκ ἠγαπημένον in the quotation from Hosea 2:25.<sup>58</sup> The sense of the scriptural argument requires that the term Gentiles be understood as only those who have been called. It refers to those Gentiles who believe or will believe in Christ. Since "not my people", too, "shall be called 'sons of the living God'", it follows according to Paul's manner of argumentation that God has not only called the Jews but also the Gentiles. In 9:23-26, the theological principle at stake for Paul is the recognition that election is not restricted to the Jews. By inviting his readers to see the correspondence between "Gentiles" and "not my people"/"not beloved", Paul has attempted to confirm this theological assertion. The historical situation reflected in this scriptural argument is the debate in the early church concerning the place of the Gentiles in the plan of God and how they might obtain salvation. This, of course, is inseparable from the issue of Israel's place in the divine plan.

The citations in 10:19-20 are part of a scriptural argument in which the term Ἰσραήλ is included in the opening interrogative. The pronoun ὑμᾶς in 10:19 also refers to Israel.<sup>59</sup> But Paul intends the term ἔθνη, as well as the expressions "those who did not seek" and "those who did not ask", to correspond to the Gentiles. As understood by Paul, the scriptural references establish two religious principles:

---

<sup>58</sup>Dahl states that this citation refers to both Jews and Gentiles; "Future of Israel," pp. 145-46. While this cannot be ruled out (see also Cranfield, Romans, p. 500), it appears more likely that 9:25-26 refers to the Gentiles and 9:27-29 to Israel. Furthermore, it was the claim that God had called the Gentiles which needed scriptural substantiation and not that he had called the Jews. Thus, it would seem that this reference has been placed first in order to establish the most contestable part of Paul's claim. But if Paul did intend the reference to apply to the Jews as well as the Gentiles, then, of course, the term Ἰουδαίων (perhaps referring to the Jews who do not presently believe in Christ) also corresponds to οὐ λαόν μου/οὐκ ἠγαπημένον.

<sup>59</sup>Dt. 32:21.

1) God will use the Gentiles to make Israel jealous and angry and  
 2) the Gentiles have come to know God. There is an important element of corporateness in Paul's use of the terms "Israel" and "Gentiles"; but to make sense of his argument in this context "Israel" must refer specifically to those in Israel who do not "believe" and "Gentiles" must refer to those among the Gentiles who do. As groups within Israel and the Gentiles, Paul has used them to represent their respective segments of humanity. The Jews' present resistance to the gospel has been interpreted by Paul to be a phase which will lead eventually to the salvation of "all Israel".<sup>60</sup> And, argues Paul, acceptance of the gospel by some Gentiles makes the "Gentiles" an agent in this process. This is part of God's plan.

The scriptural argument in 9:14-18 is primarily a theological discussion, but Paul's application of Exodus 33:19 and 9:16 may also reflect a correspondence between Pharoah and Israel. Although Moses and Pharoah are referred to in the introductory formulae in 9:15 and 17, Paul does not develop the antitheses between these two figures.<sup>61</sup> But it is improbable that this contrast would have escaped the attention of a Jewish reader or perhaps a Gentile familiar with the Exodus narratives. It is difficult to establish whether Paul intended a correspondence between Pharoah and Israel,<sup>62</sup> as the sense of 9:17-18 may suggest; but, if he did, it presumably would not have had a conciliatory impact on his Jewish readers.<sup>63</sup> It may be, however, that in 9:14-18 Paul is focusing primarily on the theological implications

---

<sup>60</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:11-15.

<sup>61</sup>See Cranfield, Romans, p. 485.

<sup>62</sup>See Barrett, Romans, pp. 186-87.

<sup>63</sup>This, however, does not rule out the possibility that Paul intended or implied this correspondence.

of the Exodus texts and does not intend his readers to connect them with any specific group of people in the present day. This is supported by the observation that 9:16 and 18, the two explanatory statements, are theological assertions which do not emphasize the application of the scriptural texts to contemporary groups or individuals. Thus, in the scriptural accounts relating to Israel's history, Paul discerns a theological message, and he relates this message to the present without identifying directly the people about whom he is speaking. To see a line of correspondence between Pharaoh and Israel in 9:17-18 may imply more than Paul intends.

In 10:15-18, the scriptural references display a connection with those who proclaim the gospel. The emphasis in these verses is on the fact that the gospel has been proclaimed, but there is also a correspondence between the scriptural citations and those responsible for this proclamation. It is not clear whether Paul is referring only to those who have proclaimed the gospel to the Jews or is also including himself, as an evangelist, who has worked among Jews in his missionary activity.<sup>64</sup> In either case, there are lines of correspondence between the quotations in 10:15, 16, and 18 and those who proclaim the gospel. Furthermore, Käsemann and Munck have argued that in 11:2-4 Paul sees a correspondence between Elijah's situation and his own.<sup>65</sup> This possibility cannot be excluded, but it seems unlikely. In 11:1-4, Paul is concerned with establishing the claim that God has not rejected his people; it is not

---

<sup>64</sup> Munck asserts that in 10:16 those who are portrayed as speaking are those who have been sent to the Jews; Christ and Israel, p. 93. This interpretation fits the sense of the discussion best, but because Paul also worked among Jews in the diaspora it cannot be ruled out that he included himself among those who had proclaimed the "good news" to Israel. In 10:18, it is probable that Paul includes himself among those who have preached the gospel to the "ends of the earth".

<sup>65</sup> Käsemann, Romans, p. 301 and Munck, Christ and Israel, pp. 107-9.

apparent that he intends his readers to see a connection between himself and Elijah.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, an examination of Paul's use of analogy and metaphor in Romans 9-11 indicates that correspondence also plays a role in these texts. In 9:20-24,<sup>67</sup> 11:16a, 11:16b, and 11:17-24 Paul uses analogies to develop and illustrate his argument.<sup>68</sup> Implicit in the use of analogy, of course, is the similarity or correspondence between words and images in the analogy and the situation which the writer is describing or illustrating.<sup>69</sup> Herbert Gale argues that Paul's analogies and the traditions from which they appear to be taken are subordinate to his argument. The traditions are shaped to fit the point which Paul intends to make.<sup>70</sup> To the extent that these analogies and metaphors have generated religious themes and images, they, too, have contributed to the development of the discourse.

---

<sup>66</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:5-6.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Is. 29:16 (LXX), 45:9, Jer. 18:1-12, Ben Sira 33:12-13, and Wisdom 15:7. See below, pp. 249-54.

<sup>68</sup>See Herbert M. Gale, The Use of Analogy in the Letters of Paul (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 198-215; Hanson, Paul's Technique, pp. 104-25; and Shozo Fujita, "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," Journal for the Study of Judaism VII (June 1976):30-45.

<sup>69</sup>Rom. 9:20-24: "moulder" and "potter" = God; "moulded", "clay", and "lump" = man; "vessels for honourable use" = those called and prepared for glory; and "vessels for menial use" = those not called and not prepared for glory. Rom. 11:16a: "dough"/"first fruits" = patriarchs (only Abraham?) or Adam (cf. various options and Hanson's own suggestion, Paul's Technique, pp. 104ff); and "lump" = Israel (totality?). Rom. 11:16b: "root" = patriarchs (only Abraham?) (cf. Hanson, Paul's Technique, pp. 117ff); and "branches" = Israel (totality?). Rom. 11:17-24: "cultivated olive tree" (root) = Israel; "wild olive tree" = Gentiles; "branches cut off" = "unbelieving" Jews; and "branches grafted in" = "believing" Gentiles. Rengstorf argues that the "first fruits" in 11:16a reflects Num. 15:20f and that in Jewish tradition this image is related to Adam and not Abraham, "Ölbaum," pp. 128-32.

<sup>70</sup>Gale, Analogy, pp. 204-5 and 213-14.

### Application and the Occasion of the Presentation

Another factor related to the application of scripture concerns the occasion and, in particular, the purpose of the epistle. This is a much debated issue in the study of Romans,<sup>71</sup> and it is not possible to involve ourselves in a detailed discussion of the proposals which have been made. Nevertheless, it is necessary to look at the issue of scriptural application in chapters 9-11 from the perspective of the occasion and purpose of the epistle and to place these chapters within a more specific historical context than has been possible to this point.<sup>72</sup>

In this debate concerning the occasion, purpose, and nature of the epistle, two basic positions have tended to predominate. Paul

---

<sup>71</sup>See the essays which have been collected and edited by Karl P. Donfried, The Romans Debate (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977). See also e.g. Robert Jewett, "Romans As An Ambassadorial Letter," Interpretation XXXVI (January 1982):5-20 and F.F. Bruce, "The Romans Debate - Continued," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 64 (Spring 1982):334-59.

<sup>72</sup>Two aspects of this topic must be acknowledged at the outset. First, the question of the literary integrity of the epistle bears on any attempt to identify the occasion and the purpose of chapters 9-11. Despite the arguments of those who have sought to demonstrate that the epistle as it has been preserved is a composite document (see e.g. Scroggs' essay published in 1976 entitled, "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1-11," pp. 271-98 and also the discussion by Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 63-64), it appears to us that the burden of proof still rests upon them to show satisfactorily that the alleged variations or breaks in the flow of chapters one to fifteen (or perhaps sixteen) are in fact such and that they cannot be explained without positing a composite view of the epistle (cf. the discussion by Cranfield, Romans, pp. 819-20. He admits to an increasing sense of the unity of the epistle, especially 1:16b-15:13). We shall proceed on the assumption that chapters 9-11 are an integral part of the epistle which Paul addressed to "God's beloved in Rome" (despite the omission of ἐν Ρώμῃ in 1:7 and 15 in some mss., it appears that it should be included as part of the original text. There is not sufficient ms. evidence to warrant omission of the reference to Rome. Cf. Manson's essay, "St. Paul's Letter to the Romans -- And Others," reprinted in The Romans Debate, pp. 1-16). The second aspect of our topic which must be mentioned before proceeding concerns the method of scriptural argumentation employed in 9-11 and the influence which the addressees and the occasion of the epistle may have had on Paul's manner of presentation. We have argued that certain themes or combinations of themes prompt Paul to turn to scripture to develop his discussions (see above, pp. 207-8). But have the circumstances surrounding the writing of the epistle also been instrumental in Paul's use of scripture? This question must be kept in view throughout this section.

is seen either as being occupied with his own concerns as he anticipates his forthcoming journey to Jerusalem or he is seen primarily as addressing the Christians in Rome and the situation which prevails there.<sup>73</sup> The arguments set forth in defence of the respective positions have succeeded in clarifying a number of issues, but it is fair to say that a consensus has not yet been achieved.<sup>74</sup> There is evidence which supports both positions, and for our purposes it would be unwarranted to present them as rigid alternatives. Paul's use of scripture in chapters 9-11 ought to be viewed against the background of his previous arguments and discussions concerning the relationship between Jews and Gentiles;<sup>75</sup> in light of his prospective visit to Jerusalem and his uncertainty about the reception which awaits him;<sup>76</sup> and within the context of his intention to visit Rome and to address in advance the situation which prevails among the Christians there, in so far as he may have received information about this.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup>See the essays in The Romans Debate, especially those by Bornkamm, Donfried, Jervell, and Karris. Cf. also Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 56-76.

<sup>74</sup>E.g. Wilhelm Wuellner has argued that the way forward in the debate is to turn away from the preoccupation with form and genre and with the social and political situation of Romans and to examine the rhetorical nature of the argumentation; "Paul's Rhetoric of Argumentation in Romans: An Alternative to the Donfried-Karris Debate over Romans," in The Romans Debate, pp. 152-74. He recognizes that both positions have some value (p. 152), but he argues that they have failed to establish a convincing methodology.

<sup>75</sup>Cf. Bornkamm's essay, "The Letter to the Romans As Paul's Last Will and Testament," reprinted in The Romans Debate, pp. 17-31. Cf. also Karris' essay, "Romans 14:1-15:13 and the Occasion of Romans," also reprinted in The Romans Debate, pp. 75-99.

<sup>76</sup>See Jervell's essay, "The Letter to Jerusalem," reprinted in The Romans Debate, pp. 61-74. Cf. also M. Jack Suggs, "'The Word is Near You': Romans 10:6-10 Within the Purpose of the Letter," in Christian History and Interpretation, eds. W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, R.R. Niebuhr (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), pp. 289-312.

<sup>77</sup>See the essays by Donfried, "A Short Note on Romans 16," and "False Presuppositions in the Study of Romans," pp. 50-60 and 120-48 respectively; Wiefel, "The Jewish Community in Ancient Rome and the Origins of Roman Christianity," pp. 100-119, all in The Romans Debate; and Paul S.

In Romans 15:19-31 Paul writes:

... in the power of signs and wonders, in the power of the spirit, so that from Jerusalem and around until Illyricum I have fulfilled the good news of Christ, and so making it my ambition to preach the good news not where Christ has been named, in order that I might not build upon another man's foundation.... Wherefore I also have been hindered many times from coming to you. But now since I no longer have room in these regions, and since I have desired to come to you for many years whenever I should go to Spain, I hope to see you as I pass through and to be helped on my journey by you there.... But now I am going to Jerusalem to minister to the saints. For Macedonia and Achaia are pleased to make some contribution to the poor among the saints in Jerusalem.... Thus, when I have completed this task and sealed for them this fruit I shall set out for Spain by way of you.... I exhort you (brethren) by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the spirit to join with me in prayers on my behalf to God, in order that I might be delivered from the disobedient in Judea and my ministry in Jerusalem might be acceptable to the saints....

It is clear from this statement that Paul is looking forward to his journey to Jerusalem with some concern and anxiety. He knows that he is under threat from the "disobedient", and he is unsure how his ministry will be received by the saints in Jerusalem. In anticipation of this journey, Paul beseeches the Christians in Rome to pray on his behalf. In light of his work among the Gentiles, his former persecution of the Christians, and his stance with respect to the Torah, it is understandable that Paul had reason to expect an arduous journey ahead.<sup>78</sup> Before he could visit Rome on the way to Spain, Paul had one important but difficult task to complete; he must deliver the offering to Jerusalem.

With this journey before him, Paul presumably sought to prepare himself for the questions and issues which he knew he would face.<sup>79</sup> Above all, Paul must have known that he would be required to explain, perhaps in greater detail than ever before, the relationship between

---

Minear, The Obedience of Faith: The Purpose of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, Studies in Biblical Theology, 2nd series, no. 19 (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1971).

<sup>78</sup> See Acts 21:7-28:31.

<sup>79</sup> See the argument by Jervell, "The Letter to Jerusalem," pp. 61-74.

Israel and the nations in the plan of God.<sup>80</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the saints in Jerusalem would have demanded that Paul respond to these issues and defend once again his Gentile ministry. The Jerusalem offering itself may have symbolized the issues at stake; and its delivery may even have provided the occasion which would provoke debate or conflict. If the offering were not received by the Jerusalem saints, it would be an affront to Paul and a threat to the unity of the church. With such a serious task before him, Paul must have devoted considerable attention to the way he would defend himself and present his case.<sup>81</sup>

The assertion that the Israelites have a special relationship with God and that the present "unbelief" of Israel is serving a positive function in redemption-history, as well as the arguments concerning election, the remnant, the Jews' response to the proclamation of the gospel, and the salvation of "all" Israel, would be particularly understandable as part of a larger concern for issues that may confront him in Jerusalem.<sup>82</sup> This does not mean that the arguments, as preserved in Romans 9-11, ought to be understood as statements prepared in advance of the writing of the epistle, but it suggests that the issues and the situation which Paul was facing may have provided the impetus for the presentation. Hence, Paul's use and application of scripture in 9-11 appears to be related to the circumstances of his impending Jerusalem visit, at least to the extent that he anticipated having to defend and

---

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp. 68-69.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>82</sup>It cannot be assumed necessarily that the extensive use of scripture in 9-11 indicates that the arguments were addressed solely or even primarily to Jews. Many Gentiles, too, were probably familiar with the Jewish scriptures. But it does stand to reason that in anticipation of his Jerusalem visit he would have been especially concerned with the way certain ideas could be shown to be contained in scripture.

explain his understanding of Israel's salvation and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in God's plan of redemption.

But the epistle itself is not addressed to the saints in Jerusalem.<sup>83</sup> It is not clear what links there may have been between the churches in Jerusalem and Rome, but it is certain that Paul was looking beyond the Jerusalem visit towards his anticipated journey to Rome. He earnestly desired the prayers of the Christians in Rome, in view of the difficulties which faced him; but he also longed to visit them. He writes in Romans 1:11-15:

For I desire to see you in order that I might impart to you some spiritual gift to strengthen you, that is to be mutually encouraged in your midst each through the other's faith, both yours and mine. I wish you not to be ignorant, brethren, that many times I have intended to come to you (and until now have been prevented) in order that I might gather some fruit also among you as even among the rest of the Gentiles. I am under obligation both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish. So I am eager to preach the good news to you also who are in Rome.

Paul has not completed his missionary work; he desires to preach the good news in Rome, to be edified as well as to edify, and to "gather fruit".<sup>84</sup> It is reasonable to think that the epistle was intended to lay the foundation for this work. The gospel which he has preached and the theology which he has developed are set forth in the epistle. Robert Jewett argues that Paul in effect presents himself as an ambassador of God's power who extends the sovereign's "foreign policy" through the preaching of the gospel.<sup>85</sup> His forthcoming missionary journey is intended to extend the Gentile mission; and the epistle is designed to contribute to that end by strengthening and encouraging the Christians in Rome.

---

<sup>83</sup> See the reference to the textual variant in Rom. 1:7 and 15 in note 72 above.

<sup>84</sup> See Rom. 1:9-10 and our suggestion that chapters 9-11 were intended to inspire an attitude, above, p. 199.

<sup>85</sup> Jewett, "Romans As An Ambassadorial Letter," p. 15.

The extent to which Paul is addressing a specific situation in Rome has provoked considerable discussion.<sup>86</sup> And the difficulty involved in relating the history of the Jewish community in Rome to the text of Romans continues to present many problems. Perhaps the foremost of these concerns the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the Christian community and the way this relationship has been affected by the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius in 49 A.D.<sup>87</sup> Despite the importance of these issues, we must confine our discussion to the evidence which can be discerned from chapters 9-11.

As we have indicated,<sup>88</sup> Paul in 11:13-24 addresses his remarks specifically to the Gentiles. Hence, it can be assumed perhaps that the other parts of the presentation in 9-11 are intended for both Jews and Gentiles.<sup>89</sup> The opening in 9:1-5 is a reaffirmation of historical Israel's special relationship with God. This no doubt served as a source of encouragement to the Jews, but it may also have served as a needed reminder to the Gentiles. It is difficult to know for sure if Paul's warning to the Gentiles in 11:20 not to be "high minded" reflects an actual situation; but if it does, it suggests that there had been a problem with Gentile Christians assuming an attitude of religious superiority.<sup>90</sup> It may be, however, that Paul is making this warning simply because he recognizes that some of the arguments in 9:6-11:10 could be construed in a way that would encourage divisive behaviour. The statement regarding the salvation of "all Israel" in 11:26 also makes particular sense if it is understood in the context of an attempt

---

<sup>86</sup> See e.g. the essays by Donfried, Karris, and Wiefel in The Romans Debate; Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 59-76; and Minear, Obedience of Faith.

<sup>87</sup> Bruce, "Romans Debate," p. 339. <sup>88</sup> See above, pp. 192-93.

<sup>89</sup> See Rom. 11:25. See Cranfield, Romans, pp. 16-22.

<sup>90</sup> Beker thinks it does, Paul the Apostle, pp. 70 and 75.

to encourage and strengthen the Jewish Christians in their life in the church and their relations with the larger Jewish community in Rome. Paul's emphatic claim that God has not rejected his people, too, would appear to serve this function. Although the presentation in 9-11 does not give a great deal of information about the situation in Rome, it is probable that Paul was concerned to a large extent about strengthening the unity of the mixed Jew-Gentile Roman Christian community.<sup>91</sup> If this is correct, it is evidence that Paul's missionary and pastoral concerns underlie his manner of presentation in 9-11. In 10:12 Paul writes: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches on all who call upon him." The scriptural arguments in these chapters are developed theologically, but an important concern for Paul is the way they will affect pastorally the Roman community.

It is highly probable that the interrogatives characteristic of 9-11 owe more to the style of argumentation than to the specific details of the situation in Rome.<sup>92</sup> Thus, it is difficult to derive meaningful information from these interrogatives regarding the historical situation of the Roman community. The manner in which some of the interrogatives are woven into the presentation suggests, however, that Paul was concerned about being misunderstood or having his remarks misconstrued; and this may support the contention that he was concerned about promoting the social as well as the theological unity of the community.

In describing the occasion of Romans, Beker writes: "It is impossible to pinpoint one decisive cause. The motivation of the letter lies both in Paul's concrete situation and in that of the Roman church. In other words, there is a convergence of several factors behind the

---

<sup>91</sup>Cf. Rom. 12:1-15:13. See Beker, Paul the Apostle, pp. 69-76.

<sup>92</sup>See above, pp. 171ff.

occasion for the letter...."<sup>93</sup> These statements also appear to apply specifically to the presentation and the application of scripture in chapters 9-11. Paul is setting forth his arguments in anticipation of a difficult journey to Jerusalem, and he is writing to a Christian community which he hopes to visit. To establish the foundation for his future missionary work, he seeks to encourage, strengthen, and unify the Christians in Rome. The arguments in 9-11, too, are intended to contribute to that end.

#### Application and Special Religious 'Understanding'

In 10:2, Paul makes the claim that while Israel has zeal for God it is not according to "knowledge".<sup>94</sup> The discussion in 10:2-3 concerns righteousness, and it is based on the distinction between works and faith in 9:32. Hence, when Paul argues that the Jews who pursue righteousness according to ἔργα and not πίστις have zeal for God but that it is not according to "knowledge", he implicitly makes a distinction between those who have ἐπίγνωσις and those who do not. This distinction is drawn specifically in terms of Paul's differentiation between submitting to the righteousness of God and the attempt to establish one's own righteousness. For Paul, this distinction is the focal point of the term ἐπίγνωσις in 10:2.

It is reasonable, however, to infer from the argument in 9:30-10:8 that the ἐπίγνωσις of which Paul speaks is also understood in connection with the use of scripture. In 10:5-6, Paul introduces Leviticus 18:5 and Deuteronomy 30:12-14 by distinguishing between righteousness by law and righteousness by faith. Implicit in 10:5-6 is the conviction that scripture can be seen to support his argument

---

<sup>93</sup>Beker, Paul the Apostle, p. 71.

<sup>94</sup>Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich translate the expression κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν as "in accordance with (real) knowledge".

concerning the righteousness of God. The theological focal point of Paul's use of the word ἐπίγνωσις is the same as the focal point of his use of scripture in 10:5-8.<sup>95</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that the ἐπίγνωσις of which Paul speaks relates also to his use of the scriptural passages in 10:5, 10:6-8, and perhaps also 9:33.

In order to sharpen this discussion, another aspect of Paul's use of ἐπίγνωσις must be identified. In Romans 1:28, Paul writes: "... they did not see fit to acknowledge (ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει) God...."<sup>96</sup> The implication of this text is that the "wicked men" about whom Paul is speaking in 1:18-32 did not see fit to take God into account and obey him.<sup>97</sup> The emphasis on acknowledgment in Paul's discussion can be seen in 1:21 and 32. In 1:21 Paul writes: "... for although they knew God they did not honour or give thanks to him as God...." The "wicked" knew God but they did not acknowledge him as God. And in 1:32 Paul writes: "Though they know the requirement of God that those who do such things are worthy of death, they not only do them but also approve those who do them". The people of whom Paul is speaking know the requirement of God, but they do not practise it. In 1:21 and 32, Paul distinguishes knowledge of God and of his requirement from the refusal to honour him and his requirement. Paul's use of δοκιμάζειν in 1:28 also implies acknowledgment or approval.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the expression ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει undoubtedly conveys the notion of acknowledging

---

<sup>95</sup>In 10:8, the theme of Paul's argument shifts to the "word of faith", but it is still related to the distinction between law and faith.

<sup>96</sup>Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich translate the passage "... to have true knowledge of God". The RSV however translates ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει as "to acknowledge". Cranfield, too, asserts that the passage conveys the idea of not knowing God in the sense of not acknowledging him, Romans, p. 128.

<sup>97</sup>See Cranfield, Romans, p. 128. Cf. Rom. 1:22-23 and 1:25.

<sup>98</sup>Käsemann writes that δοκιμάζειν means to test and then to make up one's mind. As in I Cor. 16:3 and II Cor. 8:22, it means in 1:28 to learn to value; Romans, p. 49. Cf. Rom. 2:18.

or approving of God; the "wicked" did not acknowledge God, so God gave them up to a base mind and improper conduct. But there is also a sense in which ἐπίγνωσις in this context means understanding and perception.<sup>99</sup> Acknowledgment is connected with understanding and perception.<sup>100</sup> Together they comprise "knowledge" of God. Hence, it is probable that ἐπίγνωσις in 10:2 also implies acknowledgment as well as insight and understanding.<sup>101</sup>

If this is the case, and the context in 9:30-10:8 suggests that it is, Paul has distinguished the zeal for God of the Jews who do not believe in Christ from the insight and conviction of those who do believe in Christ. Through their understanding of God's righteousness, the "believers" possess insight into the nature of righteousness by faith. They do not seek to establish their own righteousness by ἔργα, because they understand and acknowledge the difference between righteousness by works and righteousness by faith.<sup>102</sup> Implicit in the argument is that those who live by πίστις do not live by ἔργα. For Paul, life according

---

<sup>99</sup>See TDNT, vol. I, p. 704. Bultmann argues that the general meaning of ἐπιγινώσκω is "to perceive" but that it can also mean "to learn", "to understand", and "to know". The ideas of perception and understanding contained in Rom. 10:2 are perhaps conveyed most clearly by the translation of Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich. See note 94 above.

<sup>100</sup>Bultmann argues that although ἐπίγνωσις is not used in a technical sense in Rom. 1:28 it has become almost a technical term for conversion to the Christian faith. The verb, too, is used in this way according to Bultmann. TDNT, vol. I, p. 707.

<sup>101</sup>See TDNT, vol. I, p. 707. In connection with his statement that ἐπίγνωσις as well as γινώσκω can imply "obedient recognition" (TWNT, gehorsamer) as well as insight into the will of God, Bultmann cites Rom. 10:2. If Bultmann is correct, there is an element of obedience in the use of ἐπίγνωσις in this passage. For Paul, ἐπίγνωσις is not an abstract theological concept but a religious conviction which involves a person's manner of life. See also Kathryn Sullivan, "Epignosis in the Epistles of St. Paul," in Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), p. 407; Michel, Römer, pp. 222-23; and Meyer, "Romans 10:4," p. 77, note 90.

<sup>102</sup>Käsemann argues that ἐπίγνωσις in Rom. 10:2 is not a "theoretical attitude but an insightful grasping of reality".

to faith is not compatible with life according to works. This is not simply a theoretical issue; it is a matter of the way a person lives with respect to the Jewish Torah. Those who acknowledge Christ and the "word of faith" do not live by ἔργα because "the man who does them shall live by them".<sup>103</sup> The application of scripture in 10:5-8 is related to Paul's understanding and elaboration of κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν in 10:2-4. And, if our argument is correct, the use of scripture by Paul in these verses presupposes that he has "knowledge" of God's purposes and that this "knowledge" enables him to discern the "true" meaning of Leviticus 18:5 and Deuteronomy 30:12-14.<sup>104</sup> The "knowledge" of which Paul speaks involves not only an attitude but a manner of life, and it is this attitude and this manner of life which functions as a hermeneutical key for his use of the scriptural material.

Though not related directly to Paul's understanding of scriptural application, it may be inferred from 11:7-10 that Paul understood the spiritual perception of the λοιποὶ to have been dulled and that this relates to their failure to understand correctly God's purposes.<sup>105</sup> The λοιποὶ are outside Paul's religious circle; and, for Paul, they are outside because God has given them a spirit of stupor. Scripture itself illustrates this, according to Paul. Behind Paul's use of scripture in chapters 9-11 is the conviction that scripture applies to the present and that correctly understood it assists a person in discerning the purposes of God and establishing the religious principles which characterize these purposes.

---

<sup>103</sup>Rom. 10:5. Cf. the variant readings and Cranfield's translation, Romans, p. 504.

<sup>104</sup>See Rom. 9:30-32. The terms ἐπίγνωσις and ἐπιγινώσκειν in Rom. 3:20, I Cor. 13:12, II Cor. 1:13-14, 13:5, Phil. 1:9-10, Eph. 1:17, 4:13, Col. 1:6, 1:9-10, 2:2, 3:10, emphasize the ideas of "understanding" and "insight" as these pertain to theological and Christian "knowledge". See the discussion above, pp. 142-45.

<sup>105</sup>Cf. above, pp. 145-46.

The prospective element in Paul's theology which has been identified above is present also in the argument in 9-11.<sup>106</sup> In 9:23 Paul writes: "... upon vessels of mercy which he prepared beforehand (προητοίμασεν) for glory...." In 11:2 he denies that God has rejected Israel: "God has not rejected the people whom he foreknew (προέγνω)."<sup>107</sup> And in 9:29 Paul introduces the citation from Isaiah 1:9: "And as Isaiah foretold (προεῖρηκεν)...."<sup>108</sup> Commenting on this verse Cranfield writes: "Paul regarded the words of Isaiah's oracle which referred to what was happening at the time of its utterance as a foretelling (προεῖρηκεν) of the circumstances in which, in his own time, a small number of Jews was included in the Church."<sup>109</sup> The words of the prophet are about present circumstances. They apply to the Jews in Paul's own day. The implication is that Paul as one of God's "elect" has discovered in the present the meaning of Isaiah's words.

Against the background of our discussion in chapter five,<sup>110</sup> it can be argued that Paul's manner of argumentation and application of scripture in 9-11 presupposes special religious "knowledge" and conviction. Paul writes as one of God's "elect". His heart has not been hardened; he has not been given a spirit of stupor. Concerning the righteousness of God he has "knowledge"; he does not attempt to establish his own righteousness. The manner of argumentation in Romans 9-11, of which scriptural application is an important part, is based

---

<sup>106</sup> See above, pp. 137 and 141.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Rom. 8:29.

<sup>108</sup> The RSV translates προεῖρηκεν as "predicted". This may emphasize the prospective quality too much, but the translation by Barrett, "said earlier", does not adequately reflect this sense; Romans, p. 191. See Cranfield, Romans, p. 502 and Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich, p. 711 (s.v. προεῖρηκεν).

<sup>109</sup> Cranfield, Romans, p. 502.

<sup>110</sup> See above, pp. 142-47.

implicitly on the assumption that Paul possesses special religious status and understanding. This sets Paul apart from those who do not share his religious convictions and his understanding of scripture.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION IN PAUL'S PRESENTATION

In this section, we shall examine specific aspects of the presentation in chapters 9-11 in light of the wider background of Jewish language, imagery, and religious concepts. Our contention is that in order to understand the roots of these individual features of the respective scriptural arguments, it is necessary to compare Paul's discussion and use of scripture with the pertinent Jewish sources. In this way, the religious roots of Paul's presentation, as well as its dynamic and creative character, can be identified.

#### Not All Those Descended from Israel are Really Israel

The distinction which Paul seeks to make in 9:6-13 between those descended from Israel and Israel is rooted in the notion that there is a difference between Israel defined as a physical entity and Israel defined theologically.<sup>1</sup> Israel as a theological concept is not identical, according to Paul in this argument, with Israel as a body of people who claim common ancestry. To understand some of the implications of this distinction, reference must be made to particular elements in Jewish religious experience.

It has been argued that Paul's use of scripture is related hermeneutically to the use of scripture displayed in the writings of the Qumran covenanters.<sup>2</sup> As does the Qumran interpreter, Paul claims

---

<sup>1</sup>See above, p. 213

<sup>2</sup>See above, pp. 164-65.

for himself and for his religious community special understanding of God's purposes and of scripture; in this regard, both writers reflect a sectarian religious experience. Another aspect of this sectarian impulse is related to the assertion that not all those descended from Israel are really Israel. In the Damascus Rule 3:13-14, for example, the writer states: "But with the remnant which held fast to the commandments of God, He made His covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray."<sup>3</sup> According to the Qumran writer, God has made his covenant with those among Israel who have heeded the commandments. Implicit in this statement is a distinction between those who are "obedient" and "all Israel".<sup>4</sup> The "obedient" make up the religious community of the writer; and, for him, they as a group are distinguishable from the nation of Israel. It is this covenant community which is set apart theologically and religiously from Israel as a national and physical entity. In the theology and religious practice of the Qumran community, there is reflected an impulse to circumscribe from within the people of Israel the true and obedient people of God.<sup>5</sup>

In a peculiar way Paul, too, reflects this impulse. His claim that there is a distinction between those descended from Israel and Israel is based on a word play and on the assumption that Israel defined according to lineage is not synonymous with Israel as the people of God. Paul's use of the term Israel is not consistent throughout Romans 9-11, but in 9:6 and in the ensuing scriptural argument it is evident that Paul seeks to emphasize the theological value of this term by

---

<sup>3</sup>Vermes' translation.

<sup>4</sup>See below, pp. 270-72.

<sup>5</sup>This impulse is not limited to the Qumran covenanters, but it is perhaps reflected most vividly in the writings which have emerged from their community.

focusing on the distinction between physical descent and the promise of God. Although Paul in 9-11 retains the term Israel to describe the "unbelieving" Jews and affirms his conviction that God has not forsaken the people whom he foreknew, it is evident that for him the term Israel can have a special sense. Those who believe in Christ are in the restricted sense of the term "real" Israel.

Though Paul shares with the Qumran community a similar sectarian impulse, it is evident that his claim that God has called not only Jews but Gentiles requires that a clear distinction be made between him and the covenanters. Moreover, the foundation of Qumran religious life is Torah obedience, whereas for Paul faith in Christ apart from "works of law" and circumcision is fundamental.<sup>6</sup> The claim that the theological dividing line between Jews and Gentiles has been broken down and that observance of the Mosaic law is not mandatory for the inclusion of Gentiles into the Christian community places Paul in a special category as far as Jewish religious experience of the period is concerned.

Having said this, it does appear, however, that the language and imagery of Romans 11:16-24 is related conceptually to Jewish notions of proselytism. The wild olive branch is grafted into the tame olive tree. Behind the figurative language of these verses, the Pauline theological implication is that the Gentile Christians have been incorporated into God's people, Israel. Despite the apparent inconsistencies in the presentation in 9-11,<sup>7</sup> it is clear that Paul has not abandoned the theological significance of historical Israel. To this extent, Gentile Christians are brought into Israel, and they experience the mercy of God.

---

<sup>6</sup>See Rom. 4; 9:11-12, 16; 9:30-10:5; 11:5-6; Gal. 3; and 4:21-31.

<sup>7</sup>See above, pp. 170-200. See also Is. 45:14-25 (Rom. 14:11, Phil. 2:10-11), 56:1-8, and Eph. 2:13-17.

According to Jewish tradition, three rites were normally observed in the process of admitting a convert: 1) circumcision, 2) baptism, and 3) the presentation of an offering at the Temple.<sup>8</sup> There was presumably some preliminary instruction of the candidate prior to admission;<sup>9</sup> but fundamental in the act of becoming a proselyte was the acceptance of the Torah and the obligations which it entailed.<sup>10</sup> A convert to Judaism was incorporated into the religion of Israel.

Paul's polemics against the necessity of submitting to circumcision set him apart from the common Jewish practice associated with proselytism.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, Paul's arguments about the law and the acceptance of its obligations set him at odds with the expectation which was placed upon a convert to Judaism.<sup>12</sup> While we cannot compare the practice of baptism in Judaism and the early church, it is evident in light of Romans 6:3-4 that Paul's understanding of baptism was based on a christological premise.<sup>13</sup> This undoubtedly set Paul apart from Jewish understandings of this practice, and it points up yet another difference between Pauline theology and Jewish proselytism. Thus, it is difficult to compare in specific terms the Jewish practice of admitting a convert and the discussion in Romans 11:16-24.

---

<sup>8</sup>See Bernard J. Bamberger, Proselytism in the Talmudic Period (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1968, first published 1939), pp. 41-42; Kirsopp Lake, "Proselytes and God Fearers," in The Beginnings of Christianity, eds. Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933), Part I, vol. V, pp. 77-79; and Moore, Judaism, vol. I, pp. 331-32. Moore has asserted that the offering of a sacrifice was not actually a condition of becoming a proselyte.

<sup>9</sup>Lake, "Proselytes," p. 77.

<sup>10</sup>Bamberger, Proselytism, pp. 31-32. Cf. Gal. 5:2-3.

<sup>11</sup>See e.g. Rom. 3:27-31, 4:9-12, Gal. 2:1-10, Eph. 2:11, Col. 2:11-13, and 3:11.

<sup>12</sup>See e.g. Rom. 4, 14:1-23, I Cor. 8:1-13, and Gal. 3-4.

<sup>13</sup>See also Eph. 4:4-7 and Col. 2:11-12.

But it is important to note that in rabbinic tradition Abraham was a figure associated with proselytism. Not only was he a model for converts to Judaism, but he was a person who sought converts.<sup>14</sup> It is commonly recognized that Abraham figures prominently in the traditions which have been preserved by Paul in 11:16bff,<sup>15</sup> and it is possible that the traditions and imagery which have been moulded into his argument in these verses have been influenced by an early association of the figure of Abraham with conversion to Judaism. This argument may be enhanced by the fact that Abrahamic tradition plays a crucial role in Paul's discussions concerning the admission of Gentiles into the Christian community. In Romans four, Abraham clearly serves as a model of "faith". In Romans 9:6-13, however, his function seems to be limited more strictly to his role as the progenitor of Israel.

It has not been our purpose in this discussion to examine the history of the specific traditions associated with Jewish missionary efforts or with Romans 9:6-13 and 11:16-24, but we have sought to identify within the presentation in chapters 9-11 an impulse towards sectarianism on the one hand and a conceptual connection with Jewish proselytism on the other. If our argument is correct, we can assert that Paul's claims that not all those descended from Israel are really Israel and that the "believing" Gentiles have been grafted into Israel are related to two different Jewish impulses and traditions. Paul reflects both a sectarian impulse which tends towards particularism and a missionary impulse which invites incorporation into Israel.<sup>16</sup> The development of chapters 9-11 has been marked by both of these influences.

---

<sup>14</sup>See Bamberger, Proselytism, pp. 175-79 and Samuel Sandmel, Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956), pp. 76-95.

<sup>15</sup>See Rengstorf, "Ölbaum," pp. 127-64 and above, p. 230, note 69.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Bamberger, Proselytism, p. 17 and Rom. 10:12-13 and Gal. 3:28.

The 'Potter' and His 'Clay'

In 9:20-23, Paul has incorporated into his argument figurative language concerning the potter, the clay, and the vessels which are moulded from the clay. There is evidence in this discussion that Paul has connected two distinct elements from the Jewish tradition associated with this language and imagery. First, God is the creator and man is the created; and as the creature, man has no right to question the ways of his creator. The thing which is made does not say to the one who made it, "why have you made me thus?" The emphasis is on the relationship between God (potter) and man (clay). In 9:14-20, this figurative language is used to address a specific issue. Paul writes: "What shall we say therefore? Is there not injustice on God's part?"<sup>17</sup> And following the claim in 9:18 that God has mercy on whom he wills and hardens the heart of whom he wills, Paul asks the question which might reasonably be raised by an objector: "Why does he still find fault? For who can resist his will?"<sup>18</sup> For Paul, the issue at stake is the relationship between God's justice and his sovereignty; and one function of the language of the potter and the clay is to illustrate that questioning God concerning election is tantamount to asking, "why have you made me thus?" It is inappropriate for the one who is created to question the creator about his handiwork.

The second element which Paul has incorporated into his discussion focuses on God's authority to make from the "lump" one vessel to be treasured and another for common use. In this part of the discussion, the imagery centres on the potter and his right to make vessels for different purposes. In 9:21, Paul distinguishes the treasured vessels from

---

<sup>17</sup>These questions relate back to the citations from Gen. 25:23 and Mal. 1:2-3 in 9:12-13.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Wis. 12:12.

the vessels made for common use though he acknowledges that both are formed from the same lump of clay. In 9:22-23, however, the distinction is between "vessels of wrath" and "vessels of mercy". In these verses, there is no explicit reference to the potter or the clay.

Religious language is used by Paul in 9:20-23 to illustrate the distinction between God and man and between those who "believe" and those who do not; and it is developed from images and figurative language found in Jewish literature. The two elements which have been identified in Paul's argument can be differentiated also in the Jewish sources. Although these two elements are clearly part of the same conceptual framework, they represent different emphases and perhaps also different lines of development within this framework. Or, as seems quite possible, the second element is an outgrowth of the first.

The language of the potter and the clay stems from the tradition in Genesis 2:7. God formed man from the dust of the earth. And in Isaiah 29:16, the prophet portrays the people of Judah who hide their purposes and who keep their deeds in darkness as people who have confused the relationship between the potter and the clay. Isaiah writes: "Shall the thing made say to the one who made it, 'you did not make me'?"<sup>19</sup> Presupposed is that God is the creator, and those who question God have confused the relationship between the creator and the created. In Isaiah 45:9, figurative language is used once again. In this text, "woe" is pronounced upon those who contend with their creator. Isaiah writes: "Does the clay say to him who fashions it, 'what are you making'?" And in 64:7 (8), Isaiah confesses: "... Lord you are our father; we are the clay, and you are our potter; we are all the work of your hand."

---

<sup>19</sup> Translation follows the LXX. The textual connection between Rom. 9:20 and Is. 29:16 LXX indicates that in this part of his argument Paul is building on the words of the prophetic text. Note also that in Rom. 11:8 Paul has cited from Is. 29:10.

In the prophecy of Isaiah, the images of the potter and the clay are used to illustrate the relationship between God and his people by emphasizing the subordinate position occupied by the clay. In Romans 9:20, Paul clearly reflects the language and imagery of Isaiah.

Related imagery is also used in Job 10:9 and 33:6; both Job and Elihu are portrayed as being formed of clay.<sup>20</sup> And in the Qumran psalms, the image of the clay is used frequently to characterize the humbleness and wickedness of the psalmist. From the dust of the earth, the psalmist has been formed.<sup>21</sup> This imagery is used as a way of portraying the worthlessness and lowliness of the psalmist in comparison with God. Despite the psalmist's sinfulness, God has done marvelous things to him.<sup>22</sup> As in Isaiah, the imagery in the passages from Job focuses on the relationship between God and man; and in the Qumran psalms, this language is a way for the psalmist to confess his lowliness. There is no suggestion in these texts that God has fashioned the clay into vessels for different uses. Except for IQH 12:24-28, man is not depicted in these texts as being unable or unworthy to question his creator; yet it appears that these passages reflect in general a connection with the imagery in Romans 9:20, Isaiah 29:16, 45:9, and 64:7 (8). The emphasis is on the relationship between the creator and the created.

In Jeremiah 18:1-12, the imagery is developed in a way different from Isaiah, Job, or the Qumran psalms. In this text, the word of the Lord is portrayed as coming to Jeremiah and instructing him to go to the house of the potter. Jeremiah sees the potter at his wheel moulding a vessel; and because the vessel is ruined in the potter's

---

<sup>20</sup>Cf. Ps. 33:15.

<sup>21</sup>IQH 12:24-28.

<sup>22</sup>See IQH 1:21-22, 3:23-24, 4:29-30, 10:2-12, 11:1-3, 12:24-28, and 18:12. Paul in 9:20-21 does not develop or appear to imply the notion of man's worthlessness.

hands, he reshapes it into a vessel that suits him. Again the word of the Lord is portrayed as coming to the prophet, and it is announced that as the potter has dealt with the clay so God deals with nations. The prophecy is directed specifically towards Israel. If the nation is evil, it will be destroyed;<sup>23</sup> but if it turns from its wickedness God will turn from the evil which he intended. In this text, the relationship between God and his people is characterized as the relationship between a potter and his clay; but in contrast to Isaiah, what God does with his people depends on whether or not they are evil. It is evident that Paul's use of this imagery is not similar to the way it is used in Jeremiah; but in this prophetic text it can be observed that the character of the vessel is an important dimension of the story. The point of the story is not cast simply in terms of Israel's subordinate position before its creator.

The second element which we have identified in Paul's discussion can be seen most vividly in two texts from the Jewish wisdom tradition. In Ben Sira 33:10, the writer announces that all men are from the ground and that Adam was created of the earth. The imagery in this verse reflects Genesis 2:7. But in 33:11-13, the point of Ben Sira's discussion becomes clear. God has appointed different men for different purposes. Some of them he blessed and raised up, and some he cursed and brought low. In 33:13 he writes: "As clay in the potter's hand -- all his ways are according to his pleasure -- so men are in the hand of him who made them, to give them according to his decision."<sup>24</sup> Not only does God create men, but he appoints them for different purposes. Although there is no discussion in this text of two types of vessels being formed for different purposes, it is evident that the theology

---

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Ps. 2:9 LXX. The expression σκεῦος (ἡ) κεραμέως is used in this text (Ps. 2:9 LXX) as well as in Ben Sira 27:5.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Ben Sira 38:29-30, 39:17, and 21. Cf. also Test. of Naph. 2:1-4.

and to some extent the religious language reflected in these verses are related to Romans 9:21.

In Wisdom 15:7-17, the discussion concerns the making of idols; the text is not primarily about the relationship between God and man. The language and imagery in 15:7, however, are related to Romans 9:21. The sage writes: "... he fashions from his clay both the vessels that serve clean uses and those for contrary uses, making all in the same manner. But which shall be the use of each of these the worker in clay decides".<sup>25</sup> The potter fashions two types of vessels; and for the writer of Wisdom, this relates to the issue of making and worshipping idols. But in light of Ben Sira 33:10-13 and the other texts associated with the language of the potter and his clay, it is not difficult to see how this imagery came to be applied to the creation of man for different purposes. In 9:21, Paul's question focuses on God's authority to make vessels for different uses and this relates back to 9:20;<sup>26</sup> but the differentiation between two types of vessels and the claim that God creates man for different purposes, reflects language and theology preserved in Wisdom 15:7 and Ben Sira 33:10-13. It is the tradition which distinguishes between different types of vessels that is reflected by Paul in 9:22-23.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>In this text, the terms κεραμεύς, πηλός, and σκεῦος all occur as they do in Rom. 9:21.

<sup>26</sup>Is. 29:16.

<sup>27</sup>For a discussion of the meaning and background of the expression "vessels of wrath" see Hanson, "Vessels of Wrath or Instruments of Wrath? Romans IX.22-23," Journal of Theological Studies XXXII (October 1981):433-43. Hanson's argument that σκεῦη ὀργῆς does not mean persons who are destined to become recipients of God's anger but instruments by which his wrath is to be manifested (p. 441) appears perhaps in light of the argument in Rom. 9:14-20 to be questionable. But if Paul is anticipating the line of thought developed in 10:19 and 11:11ff (cf. φύραμα in 11:16), this interpretation may make more sense. If the expression εἰ θέλων is translated in a 'causative' or a 'modal' (with the purpose) sense, it would seem to support this anticipatory implication. For a discussion of the translation of this verse, see Käsemann,

While it cannot be argued with any degree of certainty that Paul was unique in bringing together these two elements of Jewish "potter-clay" language and theology,<sup>28</sup> it is evident that his argument in 9:20-23 does reflect two related but distinguishable strands in Jewish tradition. The first element he uses to dismiss the legitimacy of the questions which cast doubt on God's justice; and the second he uses as a basis for the distinction between "vessels of wrath" and "vessels of mercy". Although Paul has adapted the material to his argument, both elements contribute to the development of his discussion by supplying language and imagery which he considers appropriate to the point which he wishes to make.

#### A 'Remnant'

By including in his argument scriptural texts which contain remnant language and imagery,<sup>29</sup> Paul is drawing upon ideas well established in Jewish tradition and theology. It is not our purpose to survey the development of these concepts but to examine briefly Paul's use of

---

Romans, pp. 270-71. Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich suggest three possible translations of the expression σκεύη ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν: 1) vessels of wrath, created for destruction, 2) vessels of wrath, ready (ripe) for destruction, or 3) vessels of wrath, having prepared themselves for destruction (κατηρτισμένα is taken as a middle voice participle). In light of the emphasis on mercy in 9:15-18, Paul does not appear to mean that God capriciously created the "vessels (instruments) of wrath" for the purpose of destroying them. If κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν is not understood as reflexive (and this translation suits Hanson's argument best, p. 441), it appears to have the sense of "fit for destruction" or "ready (ripe) for destruction". In any case, this text does not appear to support the strict concept of "double predestination" as developed by Calvin. Cf. Is. 13:5 (Symmachus) and Jeremiah 27:25 (LXX); the expression σκεύη ὀργῆς appears in these texts. In the Jeremiah text, God is portrayed as bringing out his σκεύη ὀργῆς against Babylon. In Isaiah, too, the imagery concerns war against Babylon.

<sup>28</sup>Cf. II Tim. 2:20-21. In this text, the distinction between two types of vessels is also made. This text, however, appears to refer to different types of people within the church (the great house).

<sup>29</sup>Rom. 9:27-29 and 11:1-5.

remnant imagery in light of certain prominent elements from this Jewish tradition. As we have indicated,<sup>30</sup> the argument in 9:25-29 is developed according to a pattern of verbal links. The scriptural texts containing remnant terminology and imagery are not introduced directly into the discussion. They are derived through a process of analogy and verbal association. When discussing what Paul intends to convey by his use of remnant imagery in 9:27-29, his method of argumentation must be kept in view.

In 9:27-28, the combined citation from Hosea 2:1 LXX and Isaiah 10:22-23 LXX serves in the development of Paul's discussion to illustrate that historical Ἰσραήλ has been separated into two groups. In light of 9:24, it is evident that for Paul the Jews whom God has called (elected) constitute the remnant which will be saved. In this discussion, the historical nation of Israel is not identical with those who have been called. It is those Jews who constitute the remnant who are among the elect. Hence, Israel has been separated into those who are included in the remnant and those who are not included in it. In this context, as in the scriptural context itself, the words of Isaiah 10:22-23 announce judgment: "Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea (only) a remnant will be saved...."<sup>31</sup> Against the background of the Assyrian conquest, the prophet presents his words in the form of a contrast.<sup>32</sup> The people of Israel, though they be as many as the sand of the sea, will be reduced to a remnant.<sup>33</sup> In the prophecy

---

<sup>30</sup>See above, pp. 178-79.

<sup>31</sup>Cranfield is correct when he writes (Romans, p. 502): "... the LXX must be translated 'only a remnant', and this is no doubt the force of τὸ ὑπόλειμμα here." Cf. Rom. 11:26.

<sup>32</sup>See Gen. 22:17 and 32:13. Cf. Is. 10:19.

<sup>33</sup>In Is. 10:24-27, however, the prophet announces that God will direct his wrath against the Assyrians.

of Isaiah, this contrast serves to enhance the impact of the judgment imagery. After Israel's destruction, a remnant is all that will return.<sup>34</sup> In Isaiah 17:6, remnant imagery is used once again to convey the threat of judgment upon Israel.

In light of Romans 9:22, it is evident that Paul, too, intends to convey a word of judgment upon Israel, that is "unbelieving" Israel.<sup>35</sup> Paul cites: "For a sentence complete and decisive will the Lord accomplish upon the earth."<sup>36</sup> In light of the first part of the citation, these words from Isaiah quoted by Paul announce a word of judgment upon those who are not among the remnant. Paul, however, in 9:22-24 had distinguished "vessels of wrath" from "vessels of mercy" and has made the claim that both Jews and Gentiles have been called. Thus, the application of Isaiah 10:22-23 in the context of Romans 9:22-29 is framed by Paul's claim that the Jews have been separated into two groups and that election is not limited only to the Jews. For Paul, it is not a matter of judgment coming upon all Jews but a matter of judgment coming upon those who do not "believe".<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Paul recognizes a future dimension in the words of Isaiah. God will save his elect people and execute his judgment. According to Paul, it is the present situation of the church and the vision of the impending judgment about which the prophet Isaiah was speaking.

While the message of Isaiah 10:22-23 is essentially judgment, the message of Isaiah 1:9 in 9:29 is reassurance in the midst of judgment

---

<sup>34</sup>MT לְשׁוֹבֵי - LXX σωθήσεται (cf. Is. 7:3).

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Rom. 11:7.

<sup>36</sup>Here I follow the translation of Cranfield.

<sup>37</sup>In a number of examples from Jewish literature, remnant imagery is used to announce the complete destruction of the writer's enemies or opponents. See e.g. Is. 14:22 (Babylon), Is. 14:30 (Philistia), Jer. 50:26 (Babylon), IQS 4:14 (those who walk in the spirit of falsehood), 5:13 (men of falsehood), IQM 1:6 (kingdom of the Kittim), 4:2 (men of satan's company), 14:5 (assembly of nations), IQH 6:32 (guilty of heart), and CD 2:6 (those who depart from the 'way'). Hence, the use of remnant imagery is not an uncommon way of announcing judgment and destruction.

and destruction. The people of God have not been betrayed as Sodom and Gomorrah. Israel's line of descendants continues. In this passage, Paul sees his own situation. Israel is under judgment, but she has not been abandoned or destroyed. In the church, the remnant prepared for glory continues Abraham's line of descendants. This message of reassurance is emphasized once again by Paul in 11:1-5. Despite Elijah's words against the people, God has kept seven thousand men who have not worshipped Baal. On the basis of remnant imagery from scripture, Paul has sought to announce both judgment and reassurance.

The scriptural prophets are not alone in the use of remnant language to announce the preservation of God's people from complete destruction and to proclaim a message of hope;<sup>38</sup> these themes are found in Apocryphal and Qumran literature as well.<sup>39</sup> For example, Ben Sira writes: "... he will never blot out the descendants of his chosen one, nor destroy the posterity of him who loved him. So he gave to Jacob a remnant and to David a root of his stock."<sup>40</sup> But it is perhaps with the use of this imagery at Qumran that Paul's use of remnant language ought to be compared. In IQH 6:6-8, the Qumran psalmist writes: "And I know there is hope for those who turn from transgression and for those who abandon sin.... I am consoled for the roaring of the peoples, and for the tumult of k[ing]doms when they assemble; [for] in a little while, I know, Thou wilt raise up survivors among Thy people and a remnant within Thine inheritance."<sup>41</sup> And in IQM 14:8-9 the Qumran writer states: "But we, the remnant [of Thy people shall praise] Thy name, O God of mercies, who has kept the covenant with our fathers. In all our generations Thou hast

---

<sup>38</sup>See e.g. Is. 4:2-3, 7:3, 11:10-16, 28:5, 37:32; Micah 4:7, and 5:6-7.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. II Bar. 40:2, I Enoch 83:8, 90:30, Sib. Oracles 5:384, II Esdras 9:7-8, 12:34, and 13:48.

<sup>40</sup>Ben Sira 47:22. <sup>41</sup>Vermes' translation. Cf. also CD 1:4.

bestowed Thy wonderful favours on the remnant [of Thy people] under the dominion of Satan."<sup>42</sup> Against the background of their sectarian religious perspective, these Qumran writers use remnant language; and implicit in their use of this imagery is the differentiation between those who are part of their religious community and those who are not. The remnant will be comprised of those who are part of a particular religious group and who hold certain religious convictions.<sup>43</sup> For these sectarian writers, inclusion in the remnant depends on being within a specific religious circle; the remnant within Israel will survive because it is made up of God's elect. Not only will a remnant be preserved, but this remnant is identified presently with a particular community within Israel.<sup>44</sup>

Paul, too, identifies the remnant with a specific community. For him, as for the two Qumran writers cited above, the remnant serves to differentiate groups within historical Israel. In this regard, the fundamental difference between Paul and the Qumran writers is that the religious communities which are thought to constitute the remnant are different. Paul argues that the Jewish Christian community is evidence that God has not rejected the people whom he foreknew. In the present, a remnant has been elected by God according to grace.<sup>45</sup>

As we have argued, in 9:27-28 Paul uses the scriptural text containing remnant imagery to announce judgment. Upon those Jews who are outside the church, the judgment of God rests. In language more strident than that used by Paul, the Qumran writers also use remnant imagery to announce judgment upon their religious opponents.<sup>46</sup> Those outside the community of the covenanters will be destroyed. No remnant will remain. Unlike the Qumran sectaries, however, Paul claims that

---

<sup>42</sup>Vermes' translation. Cf. IQM 13:8

<sup>43</sup>Cf. CD 2:11.

<sup>44</sup>The expectation of the writer of the War Rule in IQM 14 is portrayed literarily as an accomplished reality in 14:4bff.

<sup>45</sup>Rom. 11:1-5. <sup>46</sup>See above, note 37.

God has not only called Jews. For him, the remnant is part of the larger community of God's elect. Furthermore, it must be noted that Paul does not attempt to develop his remnant theology apart from scripture. It is incorporated into his argument through explicit reference to biblical passages.

#### Christ and the Commandment of God

In the interpretation of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 in 10:6-8, it is evident that Paul has substituted Christ for the commandment of God. "Faith righteousness" is connected with Christ, and together they are contrasted with "law righteousness". By substituting Christ for the commandment of God, Paul has transformed a text about the law into a text about Christ;<sup>47</sup> and through the connection between Christ and righteousness by faith, he has developed a contrast between Deuteronomy 30:12-14 and Leviticus 18:5. The specific circumstances associated with Paul's use of this text in the early church may not be entirely clear, but certain points can nevertheless be made. First, this interpretation of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 may have entered into the tradition of the early church as the result of an association between ascending into heaven and descending into the abyss and the death and resurrection/ascension of Christ.<sup>48</sup> Second, the connection in 10:8 between the "word" which is near and the "word of faith" which is preached and in general Paul's use of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 display similarities with the wisdom tradition.<sup>49</sup> Third, the "word" which is preached is

---

<sup>47</sup> See above, pp. 95-96.

<sup>48</sup> See Codex Neophyti and the Fragment Targums. Sanday and Headlam state that the words of this scriptural passage had become "proverbial"; Romans, p. 289. Cf. Eph. 4:9-10, Mt. 12:40, Jn. 1:51 and 3:13. See also the discussion by Stanislas Lyonnet, "Saint Paul et l'exegese Juive de son Temps," pp. 494-506.

<sup>49</sup> See Rom. 10:9-18. For a discussion of the association between this text and the wisdom tradition see M. Jack Suggs, "The Word is Near You," pp. 305-12. Cf. e.g. Baruch 3:29-30, IV Ezra 4:8, BT'Erub. 54a and 55a, Jn. 3:13, and Eph. 4:8-9.

understood by Paul to relate to the early Christian mission. And fourth, though by no means clear, the use of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 may reflect a polemical situation.<sup>50</sup>

In the context of Romans 9:30-10:21, verses six through eight serve as a transition. Deuteronomy 30:12-14 is introduced as a text about righteousness by faith; the passage is used as part of the argument which Paul has developed in 9:30-10:5. In 10:8, however, the interpretation of Deuteronomy 30:14 focuses on the "word of faith" which is preached. In 10:9-21, the discussion is no longer primarily about "faith" versus "works" but about proclamation, faith, and obedience. The "word" in Deuteronomy 30:14 is used by Paul to change the focus of the discussion; the "word" of the scriptural text relates to the "word of faith" of apostolic proclamation. And the "word of faith", for Paul, is about Jesus whom God raised from the dead.

From the perspective of Paul's method of using scripture and scriptural imagery, the aspect of 10:6-8 which requires further elaboration is the manner in which Christ has been substituted for the "word" of God's commandment. Implicit in Paul's use of Deuteronomy 30:12-14 is the connection between Christ and the commandment of God; and, as a result of this connection, Paul in his interpretative comments on the scriptural text replaces the legal imagery with christological imagery. As we have indicated,<sup>51</sup> the argument in 9:30-10:8 displays a close connection between Christ and the law; and it is this feature of Paul's argument and his theology which enables him to use Deuteronomy 30:12-14

---

<sup>50</sup> See the suggestion by Arnold M. Goldberg, "Torah aus der Unterwelt? Eine Bemerkung zu Röm. 10, 6-7," Biblische Zeitschrift n.f. 14 (1970):127-31. If there is a polemical situation reflected in 10:6-8, it need not be of immediate concern to Paul in the writing of Romans. It may reflect a situation from another time and place in which Paul had used Deuteronomy 30:12-14. Cf. Suggs, "Word is Near You," pp. 289-312.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 223.

christologically. The change of referent in Paul's interpretation of this scriptural passage can be compared with examples from Jewish tradition and also with I Corinthians 10:4.

It is common for those who comment on Romans 10:6-8 to make reference to the connection between the law and wisdom in Jewish tradition.<sup>52</sup> Without a doubt, the tendency towards personification of wisdom in Jewish language and imagery and the connection between wisdom and law in this tradition can be compared with the connection between Christ and the commandment of God in 10:6-8.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the most striking Jewish wisdom text in this regard is I Baruch 3:9-4:4. In 3:29-32, he writes concerning wisdom: "Who has gone up into heaven and taken her and brought her down from the clouds? Who has gone over the sea and found her and will buy her for pure gold? There is no one who knows the way to her or is concerned about the path to her. But he who knows all things knows her; he found her by his understanding." The writer in 3:9 calls upon Israel to hear the commandments of life and to pay attention to wisdom; and in 4:1 wisdom is identified as the book of the commandments of God and the law which exists into eternity. In language which clearly reflects Deuteronomy 30:12-13, the writer announces that God has brought wisdom to Israel; and in this context, wisdom is defined implicitly in terms of the Torah.<sup>54</sup> For our purposes, the significance of this text is that in the wisdom tradition not only is wisdom identified as the Torah, but also in a context in which a reference to Deuteronomy 30:12-13 is included, God is portrayed as having

---

<sup>52</sup>Note e.g. Käsemann, Romans, p. 289; Suggs, "The Word is Near You," pp. 305-12; and Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 153-54.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. Wis. 6:4, 9; I Bar. 3:9-4:4; II Bar. 38:1-4, 48:24, 51:3-7; and Ben Sira 24 with I Cor. 1:24, Mt. 11:19, and Jn. 1:14.

<sup>54</sup>See Suggs, "The Word is Near You," pp. 305-12. Cf. I Bar. 3:36 and Rom. 9:5, 13, and 11:28.

made wisdom accessible in the Torah. In the giving of the Torah, God has given wisdom to Israel. The figurative language represented by the terms "heaven" and "across the sea" serve to portray the hiddenness or inaccessibility which has been overcome in the giving of wisdom/Torah.<sup>55</sup> Because the writer of I Baruch affirms a connection between wisdom and Torah, it follows naturally for him that Deuteronomy 30:12-13 refers to wisdom, though in the scriptural context it refers to the commandment of God.

In Ben Sira 24, the imagery of personified wisdom is even more striking than in I Baruch. Wisdom is portrayed as coming out of the mouth of God and covering the earth.<sup>56</sup> She was created by God and was commanded to dwell in Jacob.<sup>57</sup> In 24:5 Ben Sira writes: "Alone I have made the circuit of the vault of heaven and I have walked in the depths of the abyss." Furthermore, in 24:23, it is announced that the things which have been written are the book of the law: "All these things are the book of the covenant of the most high God, the law which Moses commanded to us." As we have argued above,<sup>58</sup> Ben Sira's wisdom teaching is grounded at many points in the legal traditions of scripture. This close connection between wisdom and Torah is implicit also in 6:30. According to Numbers 15:38-39, the "tassel" is to be worn as a reminder of God's commandments, whereas in Ben Sira it is evidence of wisdom.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 310. Cf. the language and imagery in Prov. 30:3-4, Ben Sira 24:5, Qoh. 7:23-24, Job 28:12-14, and Rom. 11:33. See also in this regard the readings of Dt. 30:12-14 in the Fragment Targums and in Codex Neophyti and the discussion of Rom. 10:6-7 by Goldberg, "Torah aus der Unterwelt?," pp. 127-31. Davies' comment that I Bar. 3:29ff refers to the "undiscoverability of wisdom" is technically correct, but in light of 3:35-4:4 it is evident that the inaccessibility of wisdom has been overcome by God, Rabbinic Judaism, p. 154.

<sup>56</sup>Ben Sira 24:2-3.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 24:8-9.

<sup>58</sup>See above, pp. 28-32.

<sup>59</sup>See also Ben Sira 6:37. See above, p. 31.

The connection between wisdom and Torah in Ben Sira has allowed this change to take place without any apparent contradiction. Not only does Ben Sira represent wisdom in personified terms, but the close connection in his thought between wisdom and the commandments of God allows him to portray wisdom as representing Torah.<sup>60</sup>

This discussion illustrates that within a part of Jewish tradition there was an impulse to view wisdom in personified terms, to allow wisdom to assume the character and role of Torah, and to apply to wisdom scriptural passages and language which in their scriptural contexts pertain to the commandments of God. In the interpretative comments which Paul appends to the three parts of the scriptural citation in 10:6-8, the person of Christ appears to function in a related manner. In 9:30-10:8, Christ is portrayed in religious as well as personal terms, he is described as the τέλος of the law, and Deuteronomy 30:12-14 is understood as pertaining to him. In Paul's interpretation of this passage, the person of Christ assumes in a figurative way the role of God's commandment as represented in the scriptural text. The "word of faith" is near rather than the "word" of the commandment. Romans 10:6-8 shares with the Jewish wisdom tradition a similar or at least a related technique of interpreting Torah.<sup>61</sup>

It is not certain that Paul was the first to relate Deuteronomy 30:12-14 to Christ. He may have been relying on an early Christian interpretation of this text. But the traditions surrounding I Corinthians

---

<sup>60</sup>See above, pp. 28-32.

<sup>61</sup>There has been considerable discussion of Paul's christology and its relation to Jewish wisdom thought (see e.g. Davies, Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 147-76) and there is evidence in Col. 1:15-20, I Cor. 1:24, 1:30, and perhaps 10:1-4 which suggests that his christology has been shaped under the influence of Jewish wisdom speculations (see Davies, pp. 150-76 and Lohse, Colossians and Philemon, pp. 46-61). But it would be difficult to argue meaningfully that Paul's use of a specific technique (also found in the wisdom tradition) implies that 10:6-8 reflects a fully developed "wisdom christology".

10:4 present evidence which may suggest that this impulse towards relating Christ and the Torah was in fact part of Paul's own interpretative technique. To understand the implications of this suggestion, the traditions which stand behind I Corinthians 10:4 must be examined.

In I Corinthians 10:4 Paul writes: "For they drank from the spiritual rock which followed, and the rock was Christ." It has been recognized for a long time that 10:1-4 is related to certain Jewish haggadic traditions;<sup>62</sup> and so, for our purposes, only the salient features of these traditions and their scriptural background need to be rehearsed. In Exodus 17:1-7, the people of Israel are encamped at Rephidim but there is no water for them to drink. Because of their thirst, the people grumble against Moses, and Moses calls out to God. He is instructed to strike the rock at Horeb, whereupon water will flow from the rock. Having done this and received the water, Moses names the place Massah and Meribah. In Numbers 20:1-13, a related story is recorded. On this occasion, the people of Israel are at Kadesh, but once again they are without water. Moses is instructed to tell the rock to bring forth its water. He strikes the rock with his rod and water comes forth; in the scriptural text, it is announced that these are the waters of Meribah. That the waters from the rock at both Rephidim and Kadesh are called Meribah has apparently suggested that water from the same rock is present in both places:<sup>63</sup> "And so the

---

<sup>62</sup>As long ago as 1889, S.R. Driver addressed the issue of the traditions related to I Cor. 10:4; "Notes on Three Passages in St. Paul's Epistles," The Expositor, third series 9 (1889):15-23. See also E. Earle Ellis, "A Note on I Corinthians 10:4," Journal of Biblical Literature 76 (March 1957):53-56 (reprinted in 1978 in his collection of essays entitled Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity, pp. 209-12); Caird, "Descent of Christ," pp. 541-43; Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, pp. 110-13; and Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, pp. 205-8.

<sup>63</sup>See Doeve, Jewish Hermeneutics, p. 111. Cf. Dt. 8:15 and 32:13.

well which was with the Israelites in the wilderness was a rock....

Wherever the Israelites would encamp, it made camp with them".<sup>64</sup>

The image of the well or water following Israel in the wilderness appears to stem from Numbers 21:16-18: "And from there they continued to Beer; that is the well of which the Lord said to Moses, 'Gather the people together, and I will give them water.' Then Israel sang this song: 'Spring up, O well! -- Sing to it! -- the well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the scepter and with their staves.'"<sup>65</sup> And in Midrash Rabbah on Numbers 1:1 it is written:

And the well was due to the merit of Miriam. For what does scripture say? 'And Miriam died there, and was buried there.' And what is written after that? 'And there was no water for the congregation.' How was the well constructed? It was rock-shaped like a bee-hive, and wherever they journeyed it rolled along and came with them. When the standards (under which the tribes journeyed) halted and the tabernacle was set up, that same rock would come and settle down in the court of the Tent of Meeting and the princes would come and stand upon it and say, 'Rise up, O well', and it would rise.<sup>66</sup>

It is evident from these texts that a number of different elements can be identified within these traditions: 1) the rock which brings forth water, 2) the well which brings forth water, 3) the rock which follows the people, and 4) the stream of water which follows the people.<sup>67</sup> But for our purposes, the one feature which must be emphasized is the connection between the rock and the well.<sup>68</sup> In the Targum of Onkelos on

---

<sup>64</sup>Tos. Sukkah 3:11 (Neusner's trans.). Cf. Targum Onkelos on Num. 21:16-20 and Thackeray, Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought, p. 208.

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Ex. 15:23-25 and Tos. Sukkah. 3:11-12. For a synthetic reconstruction of the "well" tradition, see Ellis, "Note on I Cor. 10:4," pp. 53-54.

<sup>66</sup>See Midr. R. and Targum Onkelos on Num. 21:16-20, LAB 10:7, and Is. 48:21. Cf. Driver's translation, "Notes on Three Passages," p. 16.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Ellis, "Note on I Cor. 10:4," pp. 53-54.

<sup>68</sup>See Midr. R. on Num. 1:1, and compare the Lord's word to Moses in Num. 21:16, "... that is the well of which the Lord said to Moses, 'Gather the people together, and I will give them water'", with Num. 20:8.

Numbers 21:16-20, it is implied that the well was also present on the occasion recounted in Numbers 20:1-13. And according to Midrash Rabbah on Numbers 1:1, the connection is made between the well and the "rock shaped like a bee-hive". Hence, there is no doubt that there was a connection between the rock and the well in the development of these traditions; and there is no reason to suppose that this connection did not emerge early in the development of these interpretative traditions. At least, it is evident from I Corinthians 10:4 that Paul was familiar with the tradition of the "following" rock which brought forth water to Israel.

The final, and perhaps most interesting, link in our discussion is supplied by the Damascus Rule in 6:3-4. It is written: "And they dug the well: 'the well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the stave'. The well is the Law...." Not only does the writer quote Numbers 21:18, but he identifies the well as the law. This demonstrates that the covenanters had equated the well with the law and had related Numbers 21:18 to the task of Torah interpretation.<sup>69</sup> While it cannot be established with certainty that this identification was known at an early date beyond the confines of the Qumran community, there are indications which suggest that it was.<sup>70</sup> What we do know for certain, however, is that by Paul's day the connection between the well and the interpretation of the Torah was suggested, at least among the covenanters, by Numbers 21:18. And, as we have indicated, there is considerable evidence to show that the well and the

---

<sup>69</sup>Cf. CD 3:16. See above, p. 48.

<sup>70</sup>It is noteworthy that in Dt. 1:5 it says: "... Moses undertook to explain (בְּאֵר) the Torah". בְּאֵר is, of course, related to בְּאֵר (cf. Dt. 27:8); and this suggests that there was a cognate verbal connection between the "well" and Torah interpretation by the time Dt. was written. Also, Philo equates the "rock" with the wisdom of God, "Leg. Alleg." II.86 and "Quod Deter." 115-19. In light of the association between Torah and Wisdom, this is an important connection.

rock had come to be associated in the language and imagery of Jewish tradition. Therefore, it is quite possible, even probable, that Paul was aware of a figurative connection or association between the rock from which water flowed and the Torah. This must remain an hypothesis; but if this was the case, it may be argued that Paul's identification of the rock as Christ also reflects an association between the law and Christ, as has been observed to be the case in Romans 10:6-8. It must be admitted that the language and imagery of I Corinthians 10:1-4 is related most directly to the exodus, baptism, and the Eucharist, but this does not preclude the possibility that Paul was aware of a connection between the rock, the well, and the Torah and that Christ as the source of spiritual drink assumed in a figurative sense the role of the Torah by being identified with the rock. If this was the case, the impulse to connect Christ and the law is not only found in Romans 10:6-8 but also in I Corinthians 10:4. Unlike Romans 10:6-7, however, there is an identification or equation expressed in figurative language in I Corinthians 10:4: "... the rock was Christ".<sup>71</sup>

What Romans 10:6-8 and I Corinthians 10:4 indicate in any case is that Paul has associated the figure of Christ with a scriptural concept (commandment of God) or object (rock) and has used the scriptural language and imagery to illustrate what he considers to be a contemporary reality or religious truth.<sup>72</sup> In neither of these texts does he elaborate extensively his messianic understanding;<sup>73</sup> he appears to be interested largely in playing on the scriptural imagery, using this imagery to develop his argument, and in this way applying the scriptural material to his own religious circumstances in the early church.

---

<sup>71</sup>The question of Christ's pre-existence need not be discussed because it is not directly relevant to the point which we are making.

<sup>72</sup>Cf. also Rom. 5:12-21 and Gal. 3:16.

<sup>73</sup>See above, pp. 101-5.

The Gentiles and the Salvation of 'All Israel'

The focus of our discussion in this section is the paradigm of salvation and history which Paul has set forth in 11:11-32, as well as a number of the concepts which he appears to use in the development of his argument concerning the Gentiles and the salvation of "all Israel". The manner in which Paul develops his argument is without parallel, but certain ideas which are included in it can be shown to resemble, at least in a general way, concepts reflected in Jewish and other New Testament literature.

The claim that the message of salvation has been directed away from the Jews and has gone forth to the Gentiles is a Pauline theme which is recurrent in Acts. In 13:46 Luke records his version of Paul's words to the crowds at Antioch of Pisidia: "It was necessary that the word of God be spoken to you first. Since you thrust it away and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles." In the preceding verse, Luke has written that when the Jews saw the crowds they were filled with jealousy (ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου).<sup>74</sup> In 18:6, Luke recounts a remark alleged to have been spoken by Paul to the Jews in Corinth: "I am innocent. From now on I shall go to the Gentiles." And in 28:28 he writes: "Let it be known to you that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles. They will listen."<sup>75</sup> In the Pauline mission and in the traditions which developed concerning Paul's preaching, it is evident that the mission to the Gentiles was thought to be in part the result of the "Jews'" disobedience and their rejection of the Christian message.<sup>76</sup> In Romans 11:11 Paul writes:

---

<sup>74</sup>Cf. Rom. 10:19, 11:11 and 14.

<sup>75</sup>In Acts 28:26-27, Luke cites Is. 6:9-10. Cf. Rom. 11:8-10.

<sup>76</sup>See Rom. 10:16-21, 11:8-12, and 11:30-31.

"But by their trespass salvation has come to the Gentiles...." That Paul preached the "gospel of salvation" to the Gentiles and justified this on the basis of the "Jews'" trespass and their "unbelief" is clear in both Romans and Acts. What is characteristic of the argument in chapters 9-11, however, is the manner in which Paul has described Israel's "unbelief" as a phase in the economy of salvation.<sup>77</sup>

While the argument in Romans 11:11-15 cannot be paralleled in the Jewish sources, there are texts in which the Gentiles are portrayed as being instrumental in the judgment of Israel and in which the punishment of Israel is envisaged as being temporary. In the Testament of Benjamin 10:8-11, it is written that the Lord will judge Israel first for their unrighteousness and then he will judge all the Gentiles. Furthermore, it is written that God will convict Israel through the chosen Gentiles; and finally it is stated that if the people walk in holiness "all Israel shall be gathered to the Lord".<sup>78</sup> Not only are Gentiles portrayed as having a role in the punishment of Israel, but it is implied that this judgment is temporary provided that the people walk in holiness.<sup>79</sup> Though Paul does not argue explicitly in 9-11 that the Gentiles have been used by God to punish the Jews, it is evident in the citation from Deuteronomy 32:21 in 10:19 and from the discussion in 11:11-15 that he envisages the Gentiles being used to provoke a response among the Jews within the sphere of his apostolic mission. Moreover, it is apparent in light of 11:11-15 and 11:25-27

---

<sup>77</sup> See above, pp. 187-88.

<sup>78</sup> καὶ συναχθήσεται πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς κύριον. See the text published by M. DeJonge, Testamenta XII Patriarcharum, Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece, no. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964). There is evidence of Christian interpolation in the text of T. Benj. 10:8-11 in some manuscripts, but not in the parts that are significant for our purposes.

<sup>79</sup> Some manuscripts read "... walk in holiness before the face of the Lord..." instead of "... walk in holiness according to the commandments of the Lord...."

that Paul expects the present rejection of the gospel by the "unbelieving" Jews to be temporary and not final. This does not mean necessarily, however, that Paul expects every individual Jew to be saved.

Both Paul and the writer of the Testament of Benjamin, as reflected in the Greek manuscripts, use the expression  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  Ἰσραήλ. Paul uses it to refer to the salvation of Israel, whereas the writer of the Testament of Benjamin refers to the gathering of Israel to the Lord. Among interpreters of Paul, this expression has provoked considerable discussion; and according to Cranfield, four main interpretations have been set forth: 1) all the elect, Jews and Gentiles alike, 2) all the elect of the nation of Israel, 3) the entire nation of Israel including every individual Jew, and 4) the nation of Israel as a whole but not necessarily every individual Jew.<sup>80</sup> Cranfield has correctly dismissed the first two proposals as improbable and has suggested that the last one is most likely.<sup>81</sup> As an expression pertaining to the salvation of Israel but not necessarily every individual Jew,  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  Ἰσραήλ in 11:26 suggests that the nation is to be understood as a corporate entity, in which the present division between Jewish "believers" and "unbelievers" as groups within Israel will be removed. Although the writer of the Testament of Benjamin does not explain what he means by the use of this expression, it appears that he, too, may understand "Israel" in 10:11 primarily as a corporate body. If this is correct, the emphasis is on the corporateness rather than the individuality of

---

<sup>80</sup>Cranfield, Romans, p. 576. The main lines of interpretation identified by Ferdinand Hahn are similar to those listed by Cranfield except that Hahn specifies the argument that Paul envisaged a special route to salvation for Israel as an individual line of interpretation; "Zum Verständnis von Römer 11:26a '... und so wird ganz Israel gerettet werden'," in Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett, eds. M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson (London: SPCK, 1982), p. 221.

<sup>81</sup>Cranfield, Romans, pp. 576-77. See also Hahn, "Verständnis von Römer 11:26a," p. 221.

the members of the nation and on the extensiveness of that which is being described. This may be reflected also in the frequently cited reference to Mishnah Sanhedrin 10:1.<sup>82</sup> In this text, "all Israel" (כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל) is said to have a share in the world to come;<sup>83</sup> but following this statement a list of those who do not have a share is given.<sup>84</sup> As this tradition has been included in the Mishnah, there is apparently thought to be no contradiction between the claim that "all Israel" has a share in the world to come and the listing of those who are excluded.<sup>85</sup>

It need not be argued that Paul meant exactly the same thing by this expression as the writers of the Testament of Benjamin and the Mishnah in order to suggest that the expression "all Israel" was a way for Paul of referring to the nation of Israel as a corporate entity and a way of describing the extensiveness of Israel's salvation without assuming that every individual Jew will be saved. This suggestion is supported by the statements in Romans 10:10-13 in which it is indicated that salvation (not being put to shame) depends upon calling on the name of the Lord ("belief"). If Paul is consistent at this point, "all Israel" could not mean automatic salvation for every individual Jew.

---

<sup>82</sup> See e.g. Barrett, Romans, pp. 223-24 and Cranfield, Romans, p. 577.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל in CD 3:14, 15:5, and 16:1.

<sup>84</sup> Those who will not share are those who say there is no resurrection from the dead prescribed in the law (Sadducees), those who say the law is not from heaven, an Epicurean, those who read heretical books, those who speak charms over a wound (magicians), and those who pronounce the "name" with its proper letters.

<sup>85</sup> Joachim Jeremias has correctly noted the literary development of this text; "Einige vorwiegend sprachliche Beobachtungen zu Röm 11, 25-36," in Die Israelfrage nach Röm 9-11, ed. Lorenzo De Lorenzi (Rome: 1977), pp. 199-200. If as he suggests the oldest kernel of this tradition is the statement that "all Israel has a share in the world to come" and the citation from Is. 60:21, it is evident that early in the history of this tradition there was some concern about the expression "all Israel" and there was a tendency to list exceptions.

Furthermore, as we have suggested,<sup>86</sup> there may be a verbal link between  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in 11:26 and  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in 10:11 and 13. If Paul was familiar with "all Israel" as an expression pertaining to the "world to come", these words may have been brought to mind because of the theme which he was developing in 11:25-27 and because of the use of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  in 10:10-13. On the other hand, he may have simply added  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  to  $\text{'I}\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$  in light of 10:10-13 without any association with wider Jewish usage. It is difficult, however, to be more precise than this about the technique which resulted in Paul's use of  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$   $\text{'I}\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ .<sup>87</sup>

In the Testament of Zebulon 9:5-9, the Gentiles are portrayed as playing a part in the subjugation of Israel. Furthermore, the people of Israel are depicted as repenting, turning again to wickedness, and finally being cut off from God until the consummation. The implication is that at the consummation Israel will be brought back to God. The manner in which this is to occur, however, is not stated. According to this writer, the Gentiles are instrumental in the subjugation or judgment of Israel, but he expects that this situation will be only temporary. In Daniel 9:24-27, the one who makes desolate is depicted as carrying out his abomination until the "decreed end is poured out" on him.<sup>88</sup> And in the Assumption of Moses 12:10-12, it is said that those who fulfil the commandments shall increase and prosper, but those who do not do the commandments shall be punished by the nations. The

---

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 195. The expression  $\text{כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  may have been influenced verbally by the citation from Is. 60:21 in M. Sanh. 10:1. The term  $\text{כָּל}$  appears in the scriptural text.

<sup>87</sup> For a discussion of the translation of  $\text{καὶ οὕτως}$  see Peter Stuhlmacher, "Zur Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32," in Probleme biblischer Theologie, ed. Hans Walter Wolff (Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971), pp. 559-61. The consideration of whether or not this expression has a temporal dimension may have a bearing on the literary relationship between 11:25b and 26a. Cf. also Hahn, "Verständnis von Römer 11:26a," p. 227.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Zech. 12:3.

writer concludes by stating that nevertheless they shall not be destroyed completely.

The point of referring to these three texts and the Testament of Benjamin is not to suggest that they reflect an historical paradigm identical to that developed by Paul in Romans 11:11-32. It is to illustrate a Jewish conceptual framework in which the relationship between God and Israel is assumed, the Gentiles are portrayed as having a role in the subjugation or punishment of Israel, and the "judgment" of Israel is represented as being either temporary or not complete; and it is to suggest that some of these concepts stand in the background of Paul's argument in these verses. Throughout Romans 9-11, historical Israel's relationship with God is presupposed. Furthermore, the Gentiles in 11:11-15 and 11:25-26 are claimed by Paul to have a role in Israel's redemption-history. The manner in which Paul develops his argument, however, emphasizes that they are instrumental in bringing about the salvation of "all Israel". In this argument, the Gentiles are not finally agents of judgment but of salvation. They are used to make Israel jealous.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, according to Paul salvation has now come to the Gentiles; it is no longer limited to historical Israel. Nevertheless, Paul's description of the Gentiles as having a role in Israel's redemption-history appears to be related at least indirectly to the Jewish concepts which we have identified.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the present situation of "unbelieving" Israel is presented by Paul as not being final.<sup>91</sup> In 11:11 he writes: "... have they stumbled so as to fall? By no means!" And in 11:25-26 he claims: "... that a hardening

---

<sup>89</sup> See above, p. 192.

<sup>90</sup> II Esdras 1:35-37 and III Baruch 16:2 (reflects Dt. 32:21) resemble parts of Paul's argument in Rom. 9-11, but it is evident that these texts display Christian influence.

<sup>91</sup> Rom. 11:11-15 and 25-26.

has come upon a part of Israel until the fullness of the Gentiles comes in, and so all Israel will be saved". At some future time, the situation prevailing in the present regarding "unbelieving" Israel will be changed, argues Paul.

In addition, it has been argued that Revelation 11:1-13 contains elements which can be compared with Paul's argument in Romans 11:11-32.<sup>92</sup> It is evident that Revelation 11:1-13 is a fundamentally different kind of text from Romans 11:11-32, but it may be that ideas contained within it reflect a conceptual framework related to that which has been identified in certain Jewish texts and in Paul's argument. In apocalyptic language, the writer of Revelation records the command to measure the temple. The outer court of the temple is not to be measured, however, because it has been given to the Gentiles (nations) who shall trample over the holy city for forty-two months. It is then announced that two witnesses shall be given the ability to prophesy; and these two witnesses are described as two olive trees. When the two witnesses have finished their testimony, the beast which ascends from the abyss shall kill them. But they do not remain dead; the spirit of life from God after three days enters into them, and they are taken up into heaven in the cloud. And following this, an earthquake is said to have killed a tenth of the city, while those left are described as being fearful and as giving glory to God.<sup>93</sup> In this apocalyptic text, the Gentiles (nations) are depicted as playing a role in the destruction of the holy city, the judgment brought against the city is limited, and following the earthquake those who remain are represented as giving glory to God.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup>See Müller, Gottes Gerechtigkeit, pp. 38-42.

<sup>93</sup>Rev. 11:11-13.

<sup>94</sup>See Müller, Gottes Gerechtigkeit, pp. 38-39.

It cannot be argued meaningfully that there is a direct connection between Romans 11:11-32 and Revelation 11:1-13, but there does appear to be an indirect conceptual link between Paul's argument and the apocalyptic imagery of Revelation. And as we have argued,<sup>95</sup> a related framework of ideas is reflected also in certain Jewish texts. Furthermore, it has been claimed with some justification that Romans 11:25 is related to an early Christian tradition found also in Mark 13:10.<sup>96</sup> The statement, "And the gospel must first be preached to all the nations", in the context of Mark is clearly related to apocalyptic themes and to the "end of the age".<sup>97</sup> Thus, it can be asserted that, while Paul's argument in 11:11-15 receives its impetus from Deuteronomy 32:21 LXX and the use of the word παραζηλοῦν, his arguments in 11:11-15 and 11:25-27 are developed against the background of a conceptual framework and tradition which can be identified in Jewish and other New Testament sources. Paul's argument is rooted in a conceptual understanding of the Gentiles and their role in Israel's history, is connected with certain ideas regarding the nature and limitation of judgment, and is based on the conviction or hope that "Israel" will be restored.

Another aspect of Paul's discussions in 11:11-15 and 11:25-27 involves his use of the word πλήρωμα. In 11:12 he writes: "But if their trespass means riches for the world and their defeat riches for the Gentiles, how much more shall their fullness (πλήρωμα) mean." As Barrett, Cranfield, and others have indicated,<sup>98</sup> πλήρωμα probably

---

<sup>95</sup>Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-42.

<sup>96</sup>Stuhlmacher, "Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32," pp. 565-67.

<sup>97</sup>Cf. Rev. 14:6.

<sup>98</sup>Barrett, *Romans*, p. 214 and Cranfield, *Romans*, p. 558. Cf. Käsemann, *Romans*, p. 305.

means "full and completed number", "full strength".<sup>99</sup> In this passage, Paul uses πλήρωμα to denote the "full and completed number" of Jews. In 11:25, however, he refers to the πλήρωμα of the Gentiles. He writes: "... that hardening has come upon part of Israel until the fullness (πλήρωμα) of the Gentiles comes in...." If the meaning of πλήρωμα in this context is similar to its meaning in 11:12, this verse indicates that the "full and completed number", "full strength" of the Gentiles comes in and so "all Israel" will be saved.<sup>100</sup> This probably implies that those Gentiles who are the "elect" constitute the πλήρωμα of the Gentiles.<sup>101</sup> For Paul, the concept of the πλήρωμα is bound up with the expectation that at some future time the salvation of the "Gentiles" and "Israel" will be brought to completion.<sup>102</sup> As Jewish apocalyptists before him, Paul anticipates the consummation of history. It is within the framework of this expectation that Paul develops his argument concerning the relationship between Jews and Gentiles in the economy of salvation and history.

---

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Rom. 13:10 and Gal. 4:4.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Hahn, "Verständnis von Römer 11:26a," p. 229.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Rom. 11:7 and 11:28.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Munck's interpretation, Christ and Israel, pp. 132-35. He asserts that the fullness of the Gentiles refers to the goal toward which Paul is striving during his preaching to the Gentiles; it refers to the completion of Paul's preaching to the Gentiles at which time the end can come. It is evident in light of Rom. 11:13-14 that Paul sees himself involved in the history which he describes, but it is unlikely that he understands the term πλήρωμα solely in terms of his own mission. It is clear, however, that he does view his mission as contributing to the consummation of history and the salvation of Israel. In this regard, he also contributes to the πλήρωμα. Cf. also the argument by Roger D. Aus, "Paul's Travel Plans to Spain and the 'Full Number of the Gentiles' of Rom. XI. 25," Novum Testamentum XXI (July 1979):232-62. As Aus himself anticipates, an objection can be raised to his argument that Is. 66 stands behind the statement in Rom. 11:25 because in none of the epistles generally accepted as Pauline does a quotation or an allusion to the pertinent part of Is. 66 occur. Thus, it is difficult to establish the claim that the full number of the Gentiles will only come in when Paul has brought Christian representatives from Spain to Jerusalem.

## CONCLUSION

In part three, we have argued that Romans 9-11 ought to be understood as a series of individual scriptural arguments each of which contributes to the larger development of the discourse. We have begun our examination of these three chapters by identifying the stylistic, verbal, and thematic features of Paul's manner of argumentation in order to highlight his method of using scripture. In this regard, we have argued that scripture functions instrumentally in the development of the discussion in 9-11 and that terminology plays a significant role in the way Paul advances his argument thematically.

Furthermore, we have shown that chapters 9-11 are bound together by a network of scriptural correspondence and that it is this which assists Paul in relating his theological and religious principles to the readers of the epistle. Thus, there is an interaction between scriptural correspondence and the establishment of religious principles as Paul seeks to develop his individual arguments and to apply scripture. In addition, it has been argued that the occasion and purpose of the presentation as well as special religious "understanding" play a part in the application of the biblical material in these chapters.

In the concluding chapter of part three, we have sought to demonstrate that some of the language and interpretative techniques as well as some of the theological conceptions in 9-11 can be compared with examples from Jewish literature. These religious and interpretative traditions serve as the background against which Paul has developed his presentation in chapters 9-11; and it is these traditions which

bring into focus a number of the elements of Paul's argument and his use of scripture in this section of the epistle to the Romans.

Our contribution to the investigation of Paul's use of scripture in relation to Jewish hermeneutics is to be found primarily in four areas: 1) the textual and contextual features of Paul's quotations, 2) the significance of verbal and thematic analogy in his use of scripture, 3) sectarian hermeneutics and special religious 'insight' in Paul's application of biblical material, and 4) the Pauline use of scripture in connection with interpretative tradition. By now the main lines of our argument should be clear and should require no further elaboration. In conclusion, however, a few remarks must be made about some of the implications of this work for Pauline studies in general.

First, the importance of verbal association and the use of scriptural terminology in Paul's method of theological argumentation has been established and illustrated. Further study will show, however, that Paul's technique of using key words in the development of an argument is not limited to contexts in which scripture has been cited. Paul in the epistles frequently plays on important terms and uses them to generate his literary presentation even when scripture is not cited. The terminological character of Paul's method of argumentation is a significant feature of his epistles, and it is an aspect of his literary technique which undoubtedly stems from Jewish midrashic methods.

Second, we have argued that Paul's use of quotations is not normally governed by notions of typology defined according to concepts of historical linkage. This, along with the terminological character of Paul's method of scriptural argumentation, requires that the language of Heilsgeschichte be strictly qualified if it is to be used at all in connection with the Pauline epistles. It is clear that Paul saw within the Bible a prospective element and that he understood the gospel to be

in accord with the promises of scripture. Furthermore, Paul in Romans eleven has argued for a reversal of the normally expected sequence of redemption-history as far as the salvation of the Jews and Gentiles is concerned. But Paul does not conform in most cases his use of biblical quotations to a system of redemption-history according to concepts of historical linkage between "type" and "antitype". Thus, if the language of Heilsgeschichte is to be used -- and there is some question whether or not it ought to be used at all -- it must be limited to that which is exegetically demonstrable and be used in accord with Paul's method of citing scriptural material.

Third, although scholars have not yet had time to evaluate fully E.P. Sanders' recent book, Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People, it is probable that the issue of the relationship between Jewish halakah and Pauline ethics has not been finally settled. From the perspective of Paul's use of scripture, the issue at stake is whether or not the quotation of biblical material for didactic and ethical purposes bears any substantive relationship with halakah. The investigation of this relationship, however, necessarily extends beyond the issue of Paul's use of scripture and goes directly to his understanding of the law and its function.

Fourth, we have argued that Paul's use of scriptural citations to elaborate and substantiate his christological claims is not extensive in the epistles. There are examples of the christological use of individual quotations, but these are limited when compared to the total number of Pauline citations. The issue that arises from this feature of the epistles concerns the nature of the early christological traditions and their authority within the religious and social life of the Pauline churches. It is apparent that when addressing christological issues directly Paul does not for the most part feel compelled to substantiate

his arguments exegetically. Does this mean that christological matters were not a major source of contention in the Pauline churches? Or does it mean that within the Pauline communities there were already well developed and authoritative christological traditions which required little additional exegetical development in the epistles? The implications of these questions are important and are worthy of renewed examination.

Finally, modern students of scriptural interpretation in the New Testament and in the early post-New Testament period may find it worthwhile to investigate further the changes which have occurred in the use of scripture among the early Christians as the Jewish influence on the church has receded further and further into the background. This may provide from another perspective a way of observing the formative influence of Judaism on the New Testament and the primitive church, and at the same time it may allow us greater insight into the process of divergence which has characterized much of the history of Judaism and early Christianity.

APPENDIX

Citations in Absolute or Virtual Agreement with at Least One LXX  
Manuscript Tradition

Romans:	3:13a	Ps. 5:10
	3:13b	Ps. 140:4
	4:3	Gen. 15:6
	4:7-8	Ps. 32:1-2
	4:17	Gen. 17:5
	4:18	Gen. 15:5
	7:7	Ex. 20:17, Dt. 5:21
	8:36	Ps. 44:23
	9:7	Gen. 21:12
	9:12	Gen. 25:23
	9:15	Ex. 33:19
	9:26	Hos. 2:1 (1:10)
	9:29	Is. 1:9
	10:13	Joel 3:5 (2:32)
	10:16	Is. 53:1
	10:18	Ps. 19:5
	12:20	Prov. 25:21-22
	13:9	Ex. 20:13-17, Dt. 5:17-21
	15:3	Ps. 69:10
	15:10	Dt. 32:43
	15:21	Is. 52:15
I Corinthians:	6:16	Gen. 2:24
	9:9	Dt. 25:4
	10:7	Ex. 32:6
	10:26	Ps. 24:1
	15:32	Is. 22:13
II Corinthians:	4:13	Ps. 116:10
	6:2	Is. 49:8
	9:9	Ps. 112:9
	9:10	Is. 55:10
Galatians:	3:6	Gen. 15:6
	3:16	Gen. 12:7, 13:15, 22:18 (cf. 17:7)
	4:27	Is. 54:1
	5:14	Lev. 19:18

Citations in Disagreement with the Extant LXX Manuscript Traditions

Romans:	1:17	Hab. 2:4
	2:6	Prov. 24:12, Ps. 62:13
	2:24	Is. 52:5
	3:4	Ps. 51:6
	3:10-12	Ps. 14:1-3 (cf. Ps. 52:2-4, Qoh. 7:20)
	3:14	Ps. 10:7
	3:15-17	Is. 59:7-8
	3:18	Ps. 36:2
	9:9	Gen. 18:10, 14
	9:13	Mal. 1:2-3
	9:17	Ex. 9:16
	9:25	Hos. 2:25 (23)
	9:27-28	Is. 10:22-23, Hos. 2:1
	9:33	Is. 8:14, 28:16

	10:5	Lev. 18:5
	10:6-8	Dt. 8:17, 9:4, 30:12-14
	10:11	Is. 28:16
	10:15	Is. 52:7
	10:19	Dt. 32:21
	10:20	Is. 65:1
	10:21	Is. 65:2
	11:2	Ps. 94:14, I Sam. 12:22
	11:3	I Kgs. 19:10, 14
	11:4	I Kgs. 19:18
	11:8	Is. 29:10, Dt. 29:3
	11:9-10	Ps. 69:23-24
	11:26-27	Is. 59:20-21, 27:9
	11:34	Is. 40:13
	11:35	Job 41:3
	12:19	Dt. 32:35
	14:11	Is. 45:23, 49:18
	15:9	Ps. 18:50
	15:11	Ps. 117:1
I Corinthians:	15:12	Is. 11:10
	1:19	Is. 29:14
	1:31	Jer. 9:23
	2:9	Is. 64:3, 65:16
	2:16	Is. 40:13
	3:19	Job 5:13
	3:20	Ps. 94:11
	5:13	Dt. 13:6, 17:7, 19:19, 21:21, 22:24, (cf. 17:12 and 22:22)
	14:21	Is. 28:11-12
	15:25	Ps. 110:1b
	15:27	Ps. 8:7
	15:45	Gen. 2:7
	15:54	Is. 25:8
	15:55	Hos. 13:14
II Corinthians:	6:16	Lev. 26:11-12, Ezek. 37:27
	6:17	Is. 52:11-12
	6:18	II Sam. 7:14
	8:15	Ex. 16:18
	10:17	Jer. 9:23
	13:1	Dt. 19:15
Galatians:	3:8	Gen. 18:18, (12:3), (cf. 22:18)
	3:10	Dt. 27:26
	3:11	Hab. 2:4
	3:12	Lev. 18:5
	3:13	Dt. 21:23
	4:30	Gen. 21:10
Ephesians:	1:20	Ps. 110:1a
	1:22	Ps. 8:7
	4:8	Ps. 68:19
	5:3	Gen. 2:24
	6:2-3	Ex. 20:12, Dt. 5:16
Colossians:	3:1	Ps. 110:1a

Introductory Formulae

## (Verbs)

<u>γέγραπται</u>	<u>λέγει</u>	<u>προεΐρηκεν</u>
Romans 1:17	Romans 4:3	Romans 9:29
2:24	4:7-8	<u>εἶπεν</u>
3:4	9:15	II Corinthians 6:16
3:10-18	9:17	<u>κράζει</u>
4:17	9:25-26	Romans 9:27-28
8:36	10:6-8	<u>προϋδοῦσα</u>
9:13	10:11	Galatians 3:8
9:33	10:16	<u>γράφει</u>
10:15	10:19	Romans 10:5
11:8	10:20	<u>φησὶν</u>
11:26-27	10:21	I Corinthians 6:16
12:19	11:3	<u>γεγραμμένος (ον)</u>
14:11	11:4	I Corinthians 15:54-55
15:3	11:9-10	II Corinthians 4:13
15:9	15:10	<u>πεπλήρωται</u>
15:21	15:12	cf. Galatians 5:14
I Corinthians 1:19	II Corinthians 6:2	
1:31	Galatians 3:16	
2:9	4:30	
3:19	Ephesians 4:8	
9:9	<u>εἰρημένον</u>	
10:7	Romans 4:18	
14:21	<u>ἐρρέθη</u>	
15:45	Romans 9:12	
II Corinthians 8:15	<u>ἔλεγεν</u>	
9:9	Romans 7:7	
Galatians 3:10		
3:13		
4:27		

## (Nouns: Subjects and Objects)

<u>γραφὴ</u>	<u>Ἰσοῦτας</u>	<u>χρηματισμός</u>
Romans 4:3	Romans 9:27-28	Romans 11:4
9:17	9:29	<u>νόμος (ψ)</u>
10:11	10:16	Romans 7:7
11:3	10:20	I Corinthians 9:9
Galatians 3:8	cf. 10:21	14:21
4:30	15:12	cf. Galatians 5:14
<u>Δαυὶδ</u>	<u>φαραῶ</u>	<u>θεός</u>
Romans 4:7-8	Romans 9:17	II Corinthians 6:16
11:9-10	<u>Ἰωσή</u>	cf. Romans 9:15
<u>Μωϋσῆς</u>	Romans 9:25-26	cf. 9:25
Romans 9:15	<u>Ἰηλίας</u>	cf. II Corinthians 6:2
10:5	Romans 11:3	cf. Ephesians 4:8
10:19	<u>Ἰαβραάμ</u>	<u>Ἰσραήλ</u>
I Corinthians 9:9	cf. Galatians 3:6	Romans 9:27
	3:8	cf. 10:19
		10:21
		11:3

λόγος

I Corinthians 15:54-55

ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη

Romans 10:6-8

τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου

Romans 10:5 -- cf. variant readings

Λέγει Κύριος Formulae

Romans 12:19 - Formula concludes Paul's citation; not in scriptural text.

14:11 - Formula in Is. 49:18 LXX.

I Corinthians 14:21 - Formula concludes Paul's citation; not in scriptural text.

II Corinthians 6:17 - Formula included within Paul's citation; not in scriptural text.

6:18 - Formula, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, concludes Paul's citation; not in II Sam. 7:14 but in II Sam. 7:8 LXX.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Texts, Versions, and Reference Works

- Aberbach, Moses and Grossfeld, Bernard. Targum Onkelos to Genesis. KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1982.
- Allegro, John M. Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan: Qumrān Cave 4. Vol. V. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Arndt, William F. and Gingrich, F. Wilbur. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. 4th revised and augmented Edition, 1952. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Avigad, Nahman and Yadin, Yigael. A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judea. Translated by Sulamith Schwartz Nardi. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1956.
- Bacher, Wilhelm. Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur. 2 Teile. T.1: Die bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten. T.2: Die bibel-und traditionsexegetische Terminologie der Amoräer. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899-1905.
- Bauer, Walter. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and adapted from the 4th rev. and augmented German ed., 1952, by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Bible. "The Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha: Revised Standard Version." Edited by Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Biblia Hebraica. Textum Masoreticum curavit P. Kahle. Edited by Rudolf Kittel. 7th Edition. Stuttgart: Privileg. Wurtt. Bibelanstalt, 1951.
- Black, M. Apocalypsis Henochi Graece. Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece, no. 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970.
- Blass, F. and Debrunner, A. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Translated and revised by Robert W. Funk. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Brooke, Alan England; McLean, Norman; and Thackeray, Henry St. John, eds. The Old Testament in Greek. 3 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1906-1940.
- Brown, Francis; Driver, S.R.; and Briggs, Charles A. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament; With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, as translated by Edward Robinson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

- Charles, R.H. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: With Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books. Volumes I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Book of Enoch or I Enoch. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908.
- De Jonge, M. Testamenta XII Patriarcharum. Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece, no. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964.
- Díez Macho, Alejandro. Neophyti I: Targum Palestinense Ms. De La Biblioteca Vaticana. 5 vols. Madrid and Barcelona: 1968-1978.
- Drazin, Israel. Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy. KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1982.
- The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament: With Indexes, A List of the Proper Names, and Their Occurences, Etc. Fifth Edition. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, Ltd., 1963.
- Epstein, I., ed. The Babylonian Talmud. 37 vols. London: Soncino Press, 1935-1965.
- Etheridge, J.W. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch; with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum. 2 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862-1865.
- Field, Fridericus, ed. Origenis Hexaplorum. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study. Society of Biblical Literature Sources for Biblical Study, no. 8. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977.
- Freedman, H. and Simon, Maurice. Midrash Rabbah. 10 vols. London and Bournemouth: Soncino Press, 1951.
- Gall, August Freiherrn von, ed. Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner. Leipzig: W. Drugulin.
- Goldschmidt, Lazarus. Der Babylonische Talmud. 9 vols. Haag: Martinus Nijoff, 1933-1935.
- The Greek New Testament. Edited by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini et al. 2nd ed. London: United Bible Societies, 1968.
- Harrington, Daniel J.; Cazeaux, Jacques; Perrot, Charles; and Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice. Pseudo-Philon: Les antiquités bibliques. 2 vols. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1976.

- Hart, J.H.A., ed. Ecclesiasticus: The Greek Text of Codex 248. Cambridge: University Press, 1909.
- Hatch, Edwin and Redpath, Henry A. A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.
- Holmes, Robert and Parsons, Jacob, eds. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1798-1827.
- James, M.R. The Biblical Antiquities of Philo. Prolegomenon by Louis H. Feldman. The Library of Biblical Studies. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1971 (First published without prolegomenon in 1917).
- Jastrow, Marcus. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. 2 vols. New York: Pardes Publishing House, Inc., 1950.
- Jongeling, B.; Labuschagne, C.J.; and Woude, A.S. van der. Aramaic Texts from Qumran. Semitic Study Series, no. 4. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976.
- Kisch, Guido. Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum. Publications in Mediaeval Studies. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1949.
- Klein, Michael L. The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources. 2 vols. Analecta Biblica, no. 76. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980.
- Kuhn, Karl Georg. Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1960.
- Lauterbach, Jacob Z. Mekilta. 3 vols. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933-1935.
- Lévi, Israel, ed. The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. Semitic Study Series, no. 3. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1904.
- Liddell, Henry George and Scott, Robert. The Greek-English Lexicon. Revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Lohse, Eduard. Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964.
- Metzger, Bruce M. A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament. London: United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Moule, C.F.D. An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek. 2nd ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1959.
- Moulton, James Hope and Milligan, George. The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1914-1929.
- Moulton, W.F. and Geden, A.S. A Concordance to the Greek Testament. 5th rev. ed. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1978.

- Neusner, Jacob. The Tosefta. 6 vols. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1977-1981.
- Novum Testamentum Graece. Edited by Erwin Nestle and Kurt Aland et al. 25th and 26th eds. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1968.
- Ottley, R.R., ed. The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus). 2 vols. London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1904-1906.
- Philo. Translated by F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker. Loeb Classical Library. 10 vols. London and New York: William Heinemann Ltd. and G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1929-1953.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. Septuaginta. 2 vols. 9th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1935.
- Septuaginta. Edited by Alfred Rahlfs. 2 vols. 7th ed. Stuttgart: Wurt. Bibelanstalt, 1962.
- Swete, Henry Barclay, ed. The Old Testament in Greek. 3 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1887-1894.
- The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Vols. 1-4 edited by Gerhard Kittel; vols. 5-9 edited by Gerhard Friedrich; vol. 10 compiled by R.E. Pitkin. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976.
- Vattioni, Francesco. Ecclesiastico: Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriana. Naples: Istituto Orientale Di Napoli, 1968.
- Vermes, Geza. The Dead Sea Scrolls in English. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975.
- Wernberg-Møller, P. The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction. Studies on the Texts of the desert of Judah, no. 1. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957.
- Wevers, John William, ed., vol. I, Genesis 1974; Wevers, John William, ed., vol. III (2), Deuteronomium, 1977; Rahlfs, A., ed., vol. X, Psalmi cum Odis, 1931; Ziegler, Joseph, ed., vol. XIII, Duodecim Prophetae, 1943; Ziegler, Joseph, ed., vol. XIV, Isaias, 1939. Septuaginta. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

#### Books and Commentaries

- Bamberger, Bernard J. Proselytism in the Talmudic Period. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1968, first published 1939.
- Barr, James. Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1966.
- Barrett, C.K. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957.

- Barrett, C.K. A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1973.
- Barth, Markus. Ephesians. 2 vols. The Anchor Bible. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The People of God. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, no. 5. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983.
- Beare, F.W. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959.
- Beker, J. Christiaan. Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark Ltd., 1980.
- Betz, Hans Dieter. Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia. Hermeneia Series. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979.
- Betz, Otto. Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, no. 6. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960.
- Black, Matthew, ed. The Scrolls and Christianity: Historical and Theological Significance. Theological Collection II. London: SPCK, 1969.
- Bonsirven, Joseph. Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse Paulinienne. Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1939.
- Bowker, John. The Targums and Rabbinic Literature: An Introduction to Jewish Interpretation of Scripture. Cambridge: University Press, 1969.
- Braun, Herbert. Qumran und das Neue Testament. 2 vols. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966.
- Brownlee, William H. The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, no. 24. Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Bruce, F.F. Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts. Exegetica Series. The Haag: Uitgeverij Van Keulen N.V., 1959.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls. London: The Paternoster Press, 1956.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. Theology of the New Testament. 2 vols. Translated by Kendrick Grobel. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1952-1955.
- Burrows, Millar. More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls. London: Secker and Warburg, 1958.

- Burton, Ernest De Witt. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1921.
- Caird, G.B. Paul's Letters From Prison. The New Clarendon Bible. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Carrington, Philip. The Primitive Christian Calendar: A Study in the Making of the Marcan Gospel. Cambridge: University Press, 1952.
- Cerfaux, L. Christ in the Theology of St. Paul. Translated by Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker. Edinburgh and London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1959.
- Chajes, Z.H. The Student's Guide Through the Talmud. Translated by Jacob Shachter. London: East and West Library, 1952.
- Charles, R.H. Religious Development Between the Old and the New Testaments. London: Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1914.
- Conzelmann, Hans. I Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Translated by James W. Leitch. Hermeneia Series. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The International Critical Commentary. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, vol. I, 1975 and vol. II, 1979.
- Cullmann, Oscar. Salvation in History. Translated by Sidney G. Sowers. The New Testament Library. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1967.
- Daube, David. The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism. London: The Athlone Press, 1956.
- Davies, W.D. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology. London: SPCK, 1948.
- Deissmann, G. Adolf. Bible Studies. Translated by Alexander Grieve. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History. Translated by William E. Wilson. London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1926.
- DeWaard, J. A Comparative Study of the Old Testament in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Vol. IV. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966.
- Dietzfelbinger, Christian. Paulus und das Alte Testament: Die Hermeneutik des Paulus untersucht an seiner Deutung der Gestalt Abrahams. Theologische Existenz Heute. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961.
- Dodd, C.H. According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology. London: Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans. The Moffatt New Testament Commentary. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932.
- Doeve, Jan Willem. Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Assen: Van Gorcum and Comp., 1954.

- Donfried, Karl P. The Romans Debate. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977.
- Driver, S.R. and Neubauer, Ad. The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters. The Library of Biblical Studies. 2 vols. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1969, first published 1877.
- Dunn, James D.G. Christology in the Making: A New Testament Inquiry into the Origins of the Doctrine of the Incarnation. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1980.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. The Essene Writings from Qumran. Translated by G. Vermes. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961.
- Elliger, Karl. Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom toten Meer. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, no. 15. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953.
- Ellis, E. Earle. Paul's Use of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957.
- . Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity: New Testament Essays. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978.
- Finch, R.G. The Synagogue Lectionary and the New Testament: A Study of the Three-Year Cycle of Readings from the Law and the Prophets as a Contribution to N.T. Chronology. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary. Biblica et Orientalia, no. 18. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966.
- Frost, Stanley Brice. Old Testament Apocalyptic: Its Origins and Growth. London: The Epworth Press, 1952.
- Gale, Herbert M. The Use of Analogy in the Letters of Paul. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964.
- Gaster, Theodor H. The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect. London: Secker and Warburg, 1957.
- Gerhardsson, Birger. Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity. Translated by Eric J. Sharpe. Copenhagen and Lund: Ejnar Munksgaard and C.W.K. Gleerup, 1961.
- . The Testing of God's Son: An Analysis of Early Christian Midrash. Translated by John Toy. Lund, Sweden: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1966.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New. Translated by Donald H. Madvig. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982, first published 1939.
- Goudoever, J. van. Biblical Calendars. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959.

- Goulder, M.D. The Evangelists' Calendar: A Lectionary Explanation of the Development of Scripture. London: SPCK, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Midrash and Lection in Matthew. London: SPCK, 1974.
- Guignebert, Ch. The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus. Translated by S.H. Hooke. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1939.
- Guilding, Aileen. The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship: A Study of the Relation of St. John's Gospel to the Ancient Jewish Lectionary System. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Guttmann, Alexander. Rabbinic Judaism in the Making. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrrell. Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. London: SPCK, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology. London: SPCK, 1974.
- Hanson, Paul D. The Dawn of Apocalyptic. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Harris, Rendel. Testimonies. 2 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1916 and 1920.
- Hatch, Edwin. Essays in Biblical Greek. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.
- Hengel, Martin. Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period. Translated by John Bowden. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1974.
- Héring, Jean. The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Translated by A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock. London: Epworth Press, 1962.
- Horgan, Maurya P. Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 8. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979.
- Hunter, A.M. Paul and His Predecessors. London: Nicholson and Watson Limited, 1940.
- Jacobs, Louis. Studies in Talmudic Logic and Methodology. London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1961.
- Jellicoe, Sidney. The Septuagint and Modern Study. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Jeremias, Joachim. Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period. Translated by F.H. and C.H. Cave. London: SCM Press, 1969.
- Johnson, Franklin. The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old Considered in the Light of General Literature. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896.

- Käsemann, Ernst. Commentary on Romans. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1980.
- Kahle, Paul E. The Cairo Geniza. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959.
- Kilpatrick, G.D. The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946.
- Kuss, Otto. Der Römerbrief. 3 vols. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1957-1978.
- Leenhardt, Franz J. The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary. Translated by Harold Knight. London: Lutterworth Press, 1961.
- Levy, Isaac. The Synagogue: Its History and Function. London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co. Ltd., 1963.
- Lieberman, Saul. Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs, and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E.-IV Century C.E. 2nd ed. Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, no. 18. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962.
- Lindars, Barnabas. New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1961.
- Lohse, Eduard. Colossians and Philemon: A Commentary on the Epistles to Colossians and Philemon. Translated by William R. Poehlmann and Robert J. Karris. Hermeneia Series. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.
- Longenecker, Richard N. Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975.
- Lövestam, Evald. Son and Savior: A Study of Acts 13:32-37. Translated by Michael J. Petry. Coniectanea Neotestamentica, no. 18. Lund and Copenhagen: C.W.K. Gleerup and Ejnar Munksgaard, 1961.
- Luz, Ulrich. Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus. Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, no. 49. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1968.
- McNamara, Martin. The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Analecta Biblica, no. 27. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966.
- Mann, Jacob. The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue: A Study in the Cycles of Readings from Torah and Prophets, as well as from Psalms, and in the Structure of the Midrashic Homilies. Cincinnati: Press of the Jewish Publication Society, vol. I, 1940, vol. II, ed. by I. Sonne, 1966.
- Marxsen, W. Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to its Problems. Translated by G. Buswell. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968.
- Metzger, Bruce M. An Introduction to the Apocrypha. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.

- Michel, Otto. Der Brief an die Römer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Paulus und seine Bibel. Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1929, reprint 1972.
- Milik, J.T., ed. with collaboration by Matthew Black. The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Minear, Paul S. The Obedience of Faith: The Purpose of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans. Studies in Biblical Theology, second series, no. 19. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1971.
- Moore, George Foot. Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim. 3 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, vols. 1-2, 1927, vol. 3, 1930.
- Morris, Leon. The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries. London: The Tyndale Press, 1964.
- Müller, Christian. Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9-11. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964.
- Munck, Johannes. Christ and Israel: An Interpretation of Romans 9-11. Translated by Ingeborg Nixon. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Paul and the Salvation of Mankind. Translated by Frank Clarke. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1959.
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1968.
- Neusner, Jacob. The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees before 70. 3 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. There We Sat Down: Talmudic Judaism in the Making. Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1972.
- Nickelsburg, George W.E. Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1981.
- Oesterley, W.O.E. An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha. London: SPCK, 1935.
- Patte, Daniel. Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine. Dissertation Series, no. 22. Missoula, Montana: Published by Society of Biblical Literature, 1975.
- Pillai, C.A. Joachim. Apostolic Interpretation of History: A Commentary on Acts 13:16-41. Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Early Missionary Preaching: A Study of Luke's Report in Acts 13. Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1979.

- Plag, Christoph. Israels Wege zum Heil: Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9 bis 11. Arbeiten zur Theologie, no I, 40. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1969.
- Rad, Gerhard von. Wisdom in Israel. Translated by James D. Martin. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Ridderbos, Herman. Paul: An Outline of His Theology. Translated by John Richard de Witt. London: SPCK, 1977.
- Ropes, James Hardy. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1916.
- Rosenblatt, Samuel. The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935.
- Russell, D.S. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1964.
- Ryle, Herbert Edward. Philo and Holy Scripture or the Quotations of Philo from the Books of the Old Testament. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1895.
- Sanday, William and Headlam, Arthur C. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.
- Sanders, E.P. Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion. London: SCM Press, 1977.
- Sandmel, Samuel. Judaism and Christian Beginnings. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956.
- Schechter, S. and Taylor, C. The Wisdom of Ben Sira. Cambridge: University Press, 1899.
- Schürer, Emil. The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ. Revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark Ltd., vol. 1, 1973, vol. 2, 1979.
- Selwyn, Edward Gordon. The First Epistle of St. Peter. London: Macmillan and Co., 1946.
- Shires, Henry M. Finding the Old Testament in the New. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974.

- Smith, W. Robertson. The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. 2nd ed. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1892.
- Stendahl, Krister. The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968, first published 1954.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. The Scrolls and the New Testament. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1957.
- Strack, Hermann L. Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash. Translation. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1931.
- Strack, Hermann L. and Billerbeck, Paul. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch. 5 vols. Munich: Oskar Beck, 1922-1956.
- Swete, Henry Barclay. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. Cambridge: University Press, 1914.
- Tasker, R.V.G. The Old Testament in the New Testament. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1946.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John. The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought. London: Macmillan and Co., 1900.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins. London: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- Torrey, Charles Cutler. The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Tov, Emanuel. The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research. Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 1981.
- Toy, Crawford Howell. Quotations in the New Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.
- Turpie, David McCalman. The Old Testament in the New. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1868.
- Vanderkam, James C. Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees. Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 14. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977.
- Vermes, Geza. The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective. London: Collins, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Gospel of Jesus the Jew. Newcastle upon Tyne: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies. 2nd ed. Studia Post Biblica. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973.
- Vis, Albert. The Messianic Psalm Quotations in the New Testament: A Critical Study on the Christian 'Testimonies' in the Old Testament. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1936.
- Vollmer, Hans. Die alttestamentlichen Citate bei Paulus. Freiburg and Leipzig: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1895.

- Whiteley, D.E.H. The Theology of St. Paul. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974.
- Wilckens, Ulrich. Der Brief an die Römer. 3 vols. Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament. Zurich, Einsiedeln, Cologne: Benziger and Neukirchener Verlag, 1978-1982.
- Wolfson, Harry Austryn. Philo. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.
- Wright, Addison G. The Literary Genre Midrash. New York: Society of St. Paul, 1967.
- Zeller, Dieter. Juden und Heiden in der Mission des Paulus. Forschung zur Bibel. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973.

#### Articles and Essays

- Allegro, J.M. "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrāšîm." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVII (December 1958):350-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXV (September 1956):174-87.
- Allen, L.C. "The Old Testament Background of (προ) 'OPIZEIN in the New Testament." New Testament Studies 17 (October 1970):104-8.
- Amusin, Joseph. "4Q Testimonia 15-17." In Hommages a André Dupont-Sommer, pp. 357-61. Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971.
- Atkinson, B.F.C. "The Textual Background of the Use of the Old Testament by the New." Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute LXXIX (1947):39-70.
- Atkinson, K.M.T. "The Historical Setting of the Habakkuk Commentary." Journal of Semitic Studies 4 (1959):238-63.
- Aus, Roger D. "Paul's Travel Plans to Spain and the 'Full Number of the Gentiles' of Rom. XI.25." Novum Testamentum XXI (July 1979):232-62.
- Bacher, W. "The Origin of the Word Haggada (Agada)." Jewish Quarterly Review 4 (April 1892):406-29.
- Baird, William. "What is the Kerygma?: A Study of I Corinthians 15:3-8 and Galatians 1:11-17." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVI (1957):181-91.
- Baker, David L. "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament." Scottish Journal of Theology 29 (April 1976):137-57.
- Bandstra, Andrew J. "Interpretation in I Corinthians 10:1-11." Calvin Theological Journal 6 (April 1971):5-21.
- Barnes, W.E. "The Recovery of the 'Septuagint'." Journal of Theological Studies XXXVI (April 1935):123-31.

- Barrett, C.K. "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New." In The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. I, pp. 377-411. Edited by P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans. Cambridge: University Press, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Romans 9:30-10:21: Fall and Responsibility of Israel." In Essays on Paul, pp. 132-53. London: SPCK, 1982.
- Batey, Richard. "So All Israel Will Be Saved: An Interpretation of Romans 11:25-32." Interpretation 20 (April 1966):218-28.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M. "Form Criticism and the Oral Law." Journal for the Study of Judaism V (June 1974):34-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period." Journal for the Study of Judaism III (October 1972):7-29.
- Beasley-Murray, George. "The Righteousness of God in the History of Israel and the Nations: Romans 9-11." Review and Expositor LXXIII (Fall 1976):437-50.
- Bickerman, Elias J. "The Historical Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism." In The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion, pp. 70-114. Edited by Louis Finkelstein. London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Notes on the Transmission of the Septuagint." In Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, pp. 149-78. Edited by Saul Lieberman. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950.
- Bindley, T. Herbert. "A Study in I Corinthians XV." The Expositor, 8th Series 7 (1914):174-83.
- Black, Matthew. "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." New Testament Studies XVIII (October 1971): 1-14.
- Bläser, Peter. "Schriftverwertung und Schrifterklärung im Rabbinentum und bei Paulus." Theologische Quartalschrift (1952):152-69.
- Bloch, René. "Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique." Recherches de science religieuse XLIII (1955): 194-225.
- Boers, Hendrikus. "The Problem of Jews and Gentiles in the Macro-Structure of Romans." Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 47 (1982): 184-96.
- Bogle, M.M. "Τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων: I Corinthians X.II, A Suggestion." Expository Times 67 (1955-1956):246-47.
- Bowker, J.W. "Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form." New Testament Studies XIV (October 1967):96-111.
- Box, G.H. "The Value and Significance of the Old Testament in Relation to the New." In The People and the Book, pp. 433-67. Edited by Arthur S. Peake. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.

- Bring, Ragnar. "Paul and the Old Testament: A Study of the Ideas of Election, Faith, and Law in Paul, with Special Reference to Romans 9:30-10:13." Studia Theologica 25 (1971):21-60.
- Brock, Sebastian P. "Die Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments ins Griechische." In Theologische Realenzyklopädie, VI. 1/2: 163-72.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation in Antiquity." In Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations, pp. 541-71. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1974
- Brooke, George. "Qumran Peshet: Towards the Redefinition of a Genre." Revue de Qumran 10 (December 1981):483-503.
- Brown, J.R. "Peshet in the Habakkuk Scroll." Expository Times LXVI (1954-1955):125.
- Brown, Raymond. "The Messianism of Qumrān." Catholic Biblical Quarterly XIX (January 1957):53-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Semitic Background of the New Testament 'Mysterion'." Biblica (I.) Vol 39 (1958):426-48, (II) Vol. 40 (1959):70-87.
- Brownlee, William H. "Biblical Interpretation Among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls." The Biblical Archaeologist XIV (September 1951):54-76.
- Bruce, F.F. "The Dead Sea Habakkuk Scroll." The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society I (1958-1959):5-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Romans Debate-Continued." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 64 (Spring 1982):334-59.
- Büchler, A. "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle." Jewish Quarterly Review V and VI (1893 and 1894):420-468; 1-73.
- Burrows, Millar. "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran." In Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg, pp. 223-32. Edited by Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1962.
- Caird, G.B. "The Descent of Christ in Ephesians 4, 7-11." In Studia Evangelica, vol. II, pp. 535-45. Edited by F.L. Cross. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Predestination-Romans IX-XI." Expository Times LXVIII (1957):324-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint, II." Journal of Theological Studies XX (April 1969):21-40.
- Callan, Terrance. "Pauline Midrash: The Exegetical Background of Gal. 3:19b." Journal of Biblical Literature 99 (December 1980): 549-67.
- Campbell, W.S. "The Place of Romans IX-XI within the Structure and Thought of the Letter." In Studia Evangelica, pp. 121-31. Edited by Elizabeth A. Livingstone. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982.

- Campbell, W.S. "Romans III as a Key to the Structure and Thought of the Letter." Novum Testamentum XXIII (January 1981):22-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Why Did Paul Write Romans?" Expository Times 85 (1973-1974):264-69.
- Carmignac, J. "Les citations de l'ancien testament et spécialement des pœmes du serviteur, dans les hymnes de Qumran." Revue de Qumran 2 (June 1960):357-94.
- Chadwick, Henry. "St. Paul and Philo of Alexandria." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 48 (1966):286-307.
- Childs, Brevard S. "Midrash and the Old Testament." In Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings, pp. 45-59. Edited by John Reumann. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1972.
- Clark, Kenneth Willis. "The Meaning of APA." In Festschrift to Honor F. Wilbur Gingrich, pp. 70-84. Edited by Eugene Howard Barth and Ronald Edwin Cocroft. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972.
- Coffey, David M. "Natural Knowledge of God: Reflections on Romans 1:18-32." Theological Studies 31 (December 1970):674-91.
- Cohen, Boaz. "Note on Letter and Spirit in the New Testament." Harvard Theological Review XLVII (July 1954):197-203.
- Cohen, Naomi. "Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus' Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar throughout the 'Antiquities' I-XI?" Jewish Quarterly Review LIV (1963-1964):311-32.
- Cohn, L. "An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria." Jewish Quarterly Review X (1898):277-332.
- Cohn-Sherbok, Dan. "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis." Scottish Journal of Theology 35 (1982):117-32.
- Colson, F.H. "Philo's Quotations from the Old Testament." Journal of Theological Studies XLI (1940):237-51.
- Conzelmann, Hans. "On the Analysis of the Confessional Formula in I Cor. 15:3-4." Translated by Mathias Rissi. Interpretation 20 (January 1966):15-25.
- Cranfield, C.E.B. "The Significance of  $\delta\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  in Romans 11,10." In Studia Evangelica, vol. II, pp. 546-50. Edited by F.L. Cross. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Notes on Romans 9:30-33." In Jesus und Paulus, pp. 35-43. Edited by E. Earle Ellis and Erich Gräßer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975.
- Crenshaw, James L. "The Problem of Theodicy in Sirach: On Human Bondage." Journal of Biblical Literature 94 (March 1975):47-64.
- Crockett, L. "Luke IV.16-30 and the Jewish Lectionary Cycle: A Word of Caution." The Journal of Jewish Studies XVII (1966):13-46.

- Cross, Frank Moore. "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts." In Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text, pp. 306-20. Edited by Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Dahl, Nils Alstrup. "The Future of Israel." In Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission, pp. 137-58. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1977.
- Dahood, Mitchell J. "Two Pauline Quotations from the Old Testament." Catholic Biblical Quarterly XVII (1955):19-24.
- Daube, David. "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric." Hebrew Union College Annual XXII (1949):239-64.
- Davies, Llynfi. "'I Wrote Afore in Few Words' (Eph. 3:3)." Expository Times 46 (1934-1935):568.
- Davies, W.D. "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit." In The Scrolls and the New Testament, pp. 157-82. Edited by Krister Stendahl. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Paul and the People of Israel." New Testament Studies 24 (October 1977):4-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Romans 11:13-24. A Suggestion." In Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme, pp. 131-44. Paris: Editions E. De Boccard, 1978.
- DeJonge, M. and Woude, A.S. van der. "IIQ Melchizedek and the New Testament." New Testament Studies 12 (July 1966):301-26.
- DeWailly, L.-M. "Mystère et silence dans Rom. XVI.25." New Testament Studies 14 (October 1967):111-18.
- Dinkler, Erich. "The Historical and the Eschatological Israel in Romans, Chapters 9-11: A Contribution to the Problem of Predestination and Individual Responsibility." Journal of Religion 36 (1956):109-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Prädestination bei Paulus." In Signum Crucis, pp. 241-69. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1967, essay first published 1957.
- Dodd, C.H. The Old Testament in the New. London: Athlone Press, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Old Testament Testimonies and Their Transmission: A Letter from C.H. Dodd to Dr. T.F. Glasson." Expository Times 87 (1975-1976):21-22.
- Doeve, J.W. "Some Notes with Reference to TA ΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ in Romans III 2." In Studia Paulina: in Honorem Johannis de Zwaan, pp. 111-23. Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1953.
- Edgar, S.L. "Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament." New Testament Studies 9 (October 1962):55-62.
- Eichrodt, Walther. "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?" In Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, pp. 224-45. Edited by Claus Westermann. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963.

- Ellis, E. Earle. "How the New Testament Uses the Old." In New Testament Interpretation: Essays on Principles and Methods, pp. 199-219. Edited by I. Howard Marshall. Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Note on I Corinthians 10:4." Journal of Biblical Literature 76 (March 1957):53-56.
- Encyclopedia Judaica. S.v. "Hermeneutics," by Louis Jacobs.
- Filson, Floyd V. "The Septuagint and the New Testament." The Biblical Archaeologist 9 (1946):34-42.
- Finkel, Asher. "The Peshet of Dreams and Scriptures." Revue de Qumran IV (October 1963):357-70.
- Finkelstein, Louis. "The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halaka." Harvard Theological Review XVI (January 1923):39-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Origin of the Synagogue." Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research (1930):49-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Examples of the Maccabean Halaka." Journal of Biblical Literature XLIX (1930):20-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sources of the Tannaitic Midrashim." Jewish Quarterly Review XXXI (1940-1941):211-43.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Transmission of the Early Rabbinic Traditions." Hebrew Union College Annual XVI (1941):115-35.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "'4Q Testimonia' and the New Testament." In Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, pp. 59-89. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament." In Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, pp. 3-58. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971.
- Flusser, D. "Two Notes on the Midrash on 2 Sam. VII." Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959):99-109.
- France, R.T. Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of the Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission. London: Tyndale Press, 1971.
- Fujita, Shozo. "The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period." Journal for the Study of Judaism VII (June 1976):30-45.
- Garnet, Paul. "Qumran Light on Pauline Soteriology." In Pauline Studies: Essays Presented to Professor F.F. Bruce on his 70th Birthday, pp. 19-32. Edited by Donald A. Hagner and Murray J. Harris. Exeter: Paternoster Press Ltd., 1980.
- Gaston, Lloyd. "Israel's Enemies in Pauline Theology." New Testament Studies 28 (July 1982):400-423.

- Genung, J.F. "The Righteousness which is of Faith: Romans 10:4-11." Journal of Biblical Literature (June and December 1884):29-36.
- Gertner, M. "Midrashim in the New Testament." Journal of Semitic Studies VII (1962):267-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation: A Study in Hebrew Semantics." Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 25 (1962):1-27.
- Giblin, Charles H. "Three Monotheistic Texts in Paul." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 37 (1975):527-47.
- Glombitza, Otto. "Apostolische Sorge." Novum Testamentum 7 (1964-1965):312-18.
- Goldberg, Arnold M. "Torah aus der Unterwelt? Eine Bemerkung zu Röm 10, 6-7." Biblische Zeitschrift n.f. 14 (1970):127-31.
- Goldenberg, David. "The Halakha in Josephus and in Tannaitic Literature: A Comparative Study." Jewish Quarterly Review LXVII (July 1976):30-43.
- Goodenough, Erwin R. with A.T. Kraabel. "Paul and the Hellenization of Christianity." In Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, pp. 23-68. Studies in the History of Religions. Volume XIV. Edited by Jacob Neusner. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968.
- Gooding, D.W. "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies." Vetus Testamentum XIII (October 1963):357-79.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. "Paul and Heilsgeschichte: Conclusions from Romans 4 and I Corinthians 10:1-13." Translated by Mathias Rissi. Interpretation 21 (July 1967):315-26.
- Gordis, Robert. "Quotations as a Literary Usage in Biblical, Oriental, and Rabbinic Literature." Hebrew Union College Annual XXII (1949):157-219.
- Gore, C. "The Argument of Romans IX-XI." Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica III (1891): 37-45.
- Gottstein, M.H. "Bible Quotations in the Sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls." Vetus Testamentum III (January 1953):79-82.
- Gould, E.P. "Romans IX-XI." Journal of Biblical Literature (June and December 1883):22-41.
- Grätz, H. "Hillel und seine sieben Interpretationsregeln." Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums (1851-1852):156-62.
- Greenfield, Jonas C. and Stone, Michael E. "The Enochic Pentateuch and the Date of the Similitudes." Harvard Theological Review 70 (January-April 1977):51-65.
- Gutmann, Joseph. "Synagogue Origins: Theories and Facts." In Ancient Synagogues: the State of Research, pp. 1-6. Edited by Joseph Gutmann. Chico: Scholars Press, 1981.

- Guttmann, Alexander. "Foundations of Rabbinic Judaism." Hebrew Union College Annual XXIII (1950-1951):453-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Problem of the Anonymous Mishna." Hebrew Union College Annual XVI (1941):137-55.
- Hahn, Ferdinand. "Genesis 15:6 im Neuen Testament." In Probleme biblischer Theologie, pp. 90-107. Edited by Hans Walter Wolff. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zum Verständnis von Römer 11:26a '... und so wird ganz Israel gerettet werden'." In Paul and Paulinism: Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett, pp. 221-36. Edited by M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson. London: SPCK, 1982.
- Hall, David R. "Romans 3.1-8 Reconsidered." New Testament Studies 29 (April 1983):183-97.
- Hamerton-Kelly, R.G. "Some Techniques of Composition in Philo's Allegorical Commentary with Special Reference to 'De Agricultura': A Study in the Hellenistic Midrash." In Jews, Greeks, and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity, pp. 45-56. Edited by Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976.
- Hanson, Anthony. "The Oracle in Romans 11:4." New Testament Studies 19 (April 1973):300-302.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Vessels of Wrath or Instruments of Wrath? Romans IX.22-3." Journal of Theological Studies XXXII (October 1981):433-43.
- Harnack, Adolf von. "Das Alte Testament in den Paulinischen Briefen und in den Paulinischen Gemeinden." Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (1928):124-41.
- Harvey, A.E. "The Use of Mystery Language in the Bible." Journal of Theological Studies XXXI (October 1980):320-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'The Workman is Worthy of His Hire': Fortunes of a Proverb in the Early Church." Novum Testamentum XXIV (July 1982):209-21.
- Hauptert, Raymond S. "The Transcription-Theory of the Septuagint." Journal of Biblical Literature LIII (October 1934):251-55.
- Heinemann, J. "The Proem in the Aggadic Midrashim -- A Form Critical Study." In Studies in Aggadah and Folk Literature, pp. 100-122. Edited by Joseph Heinemann and Dov Noy. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Triennial Lectionary Cycle." Journal of Jewish Studies XIX (1968):41-48.
- Heller, Jan. "Himmel-und Höllenfahrt nach Römer 10,6-7." Evangelische Theologie 32 (September/October 1972):478-86.
- Hodgson, Robert. "The Testimony Hypothesis." Journal of Biblical Literature 98 (September 1979):361-78.

- Holtz, Traugott. "Zur Interpretation des Alten Testaments im Neuen Testament." Theologische Literaturzeitung 99 (1974):19-31.
- Hooker, Morna D. "'Beyond the Things Which Are Written': An Examination of I Cor. IV 6." New Testament Studies 10 (October 1963): 127-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Beyond the Things That Are Written? St. Paul's Use of Scripture." New Testament Studies 27 (April 1981):295-309.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Philippians 2:6-11." In Jesus und Paulus, pp. 151-64. Edited by E. Earle Ellis and Erich Gräßer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975.
- Horton, Fred L. "Formulas of Introduction in the Qumran Literature." Revue de Qumran 7 (December 1971):505-14.
- Howard, George E. "Christ the End of the Law: The Meaning of Romans 10:4ff." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXXVIII (September 1969):331-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 54-64. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1974, essay first published 1970.
- Hruby, K. "La synagogue dans la littérature rabbinique." L'Orient Syrien IX (1964):473-514.
- Hummel, Horace D. "The Old Testament Basis of Typological Interpretation." Biblical Research IX (1964):38-50.
- Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. S.v. "Interpretation, History of at Qumran and in the Targums," supplemental vol., by G. Vermes.
- Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. S.v. "Midrash," supplemental vol., by M.P. Miller.
- Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. S.v. "Synagogue," by I. Sonne.
- Jeremias, Joachim. "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu." In Abba: Studien zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte, pp. 121-32. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966, essay first published 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Einige vorwiegend sprachliche Beobachtungen zu Röm 11, 25-36." In Die Israelfrage nach Röm 9-11, pp. 193-205. Edited by Lorenzo De Lorenzi. Rome: 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Paulus als Hillelit." In Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black, pp. 88-94. Edited by E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1969.
- Jewett, Robert. "Romans as an Ambassadorial Letter." Interpretation XXXVI (January 1982):5-20.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Bible Canon," by Ludwig Blau.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Mishnah," by J.Z. Lauterbach.

- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Mnemonics," by J.Z. Lauterbach.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Synagogue," by Lewis N. Dembitz.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Talmud Hermeneutics," by J.Z. Lauterbach.
- Jewish Encyclopedia. S.v. "Triennial Cycle," by Joseph Jacobs.
- Johnson, Sherman E. "The Septuagint and the New Testament." Journal of Biblical Literature LVI (December 1937):331-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Paul and the Manual of Discipline." Harvard Theological Review XLVIII (July 1955):157-65.
- Käsemann, Ernst. "The Faith of Abraham in Romans 4." In Perspectives on Paul, pp. 79-101. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Righteousness of God in Paul." In New Testament Questions of Today, pp. 168-82. Translated by W.J. Montague. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1969.
- Kahle, P. "Problems of the Septuagint." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 67-77. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1974, essay first published 1945.
- Katz, P. "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century: Their Links with the Past and Their Present Tendencies." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 21-53. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1974, essay first published 1956.
- King, E.G. "St. Paul's Method of Quotation." Expositor 3rd series X (1889):233-38.
- Klein, Günter. "Heil und Geschichte nach Römer IV." New Testament Studies 13 (October 1966):43-47.
- Kloppenborg, John. "An Analysis of the Pre-Pauline Formula I Corinthians 15:3b-5 in Light of Some Recent Literature." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 40 (July 1978):351-67.
- Knibb, M.A. "The Date of the Parables of Enoch: A Critical Review." New Testament Studies 25 (April 1979):345-359.
- Knox, W.L. "Philo's Use of the Old Testament." Journal of Theological Studies XLI (1940):30-34.
- Koch, Dietrich-Alex. "Beobachtungen zum christologischen Schriftgebrauch in den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft 71 (1980):174-91.
- Kohler, K. "The Pre-Talmudic Haggada." Jewish Quarterly Review V (1893):399-419.
- Kümmel, Werner Georg. "Die Probleme von Römer 9-11 in der gegenwärtigen Forschungslage." In Die Israelfrage nach Röm. 9-11, pp. 13-33. Edited by Lorenzo De Lorenzi. Rome: 1977.

- Lake, Kirsopp. "Proselytes and God-Fearers." In The Beginnings of Christianity, part I, vol. V, pp. 74-96. Edited by Kirsopp Lake and Henry J. Cadbury. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933.
- Lambrecht, J. "Paul's Christological Use of Scripture in I Cor. 15: 20-28." New Testament Studies 28 (October 1982):502-27.
- Lampe, G.W.H. "Typological Exegesis." Theology LVI (June 1953): 201-8.
- Lane, William R. "A New Commentary Structure in 4Q Florilegium." Journal of Biblical Literature 78 (December 1959):343-46.
- Lauterbach, Jacob Z. "The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash." Jewish Quarterly Review 1 (1911):291-333.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Midrash and Mishnah: A Study in the Early History of Halakah.(1915)" In Rabbinic Essays, pp. 163-256. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1951.
- LeDéaut, Roger. "Apropos a Definition of Midrash." Interpretation 25 (July 1971):259-82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Traditions targumiques dans le corpus Paulinien?" Biblica 42 (1961):28-48.
- Lee, G.M. "Studies in Texts: I Cor. 9:9-10." Theology LXXI (March 1968):122-23.
- Lehmann, Manfred R. "IQ Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim." Revue de Qumran I (October 1958):249-63.
- Lincoln, Andrew T. "The Use of the OT in Ephesians." Journal for the Study of the New Testament 14 (1982):16-57.
- Lindars, Barnabas. "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology: Prolegomena." New Testament Studies 23 (October 1976):59-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Second Thoughts IV. Books of Testimonies." Expository Times 75 (1963-1964):173-75.
- Lindemann, Andreas. "Die Gerechtigkeit aus dem Gesetz Erwägungen zur Auslegung und zur Textgeschichte von Römer 10,5." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 73 (1982):231-50.
- Loewe, Raphael. "The 'Plain' Meaning of Scripture in Early Jewish Exegesis." In Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies London, vol. 1, pp. 140-85. Edited by J.G. Weiss. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1964.
- Lowy, Simeon. "Some Aspects of Normative and Sectarian Interpretation of the Scriptures." The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society VI (1969):98-163.
- Luz, Ulrich. "Der alte und der neue Bund bei Paulus und im Hebräerbrief." Evangelische Theologie 27 (June 1967):318-36.

- Lyonnet, Stanislas. "Saint Paul et l'exégèse Juive de son temps." In Melanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de Andre Robert, pp. 494-506. Paris: Bloud and Gay.
- Mack, Burton L. "Exegetical Traditions in Alexandrian Judaism: A Program for the Analysis of the Philonic Corpus." In Studia Philonica, pp. 71-112. Missoula: The Philo Institute, 1977.
- Macpherson, P. "Τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων: I Corinthians 10:11." Expository Times 55 (May 1944):222.
- Maillot, Alphonse. "Essai sur les citations vétérotestamentaires contenues dans Romains 9 a 11." Etudes théologiques et religieuses 57 (1982):55-73.
- Marmorstein, A. "Paulus und die Rabbinen." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 30 (1931):271-85.
- Maurer, Christian. "Der Schluss 'a minore ad majus' als Element paulinischer Theologie." Theologische Literaturzeitung 85 (February 1960):149-52.
- Mead, R.T. "A Dissenting Opinion About Respect for Context in Old Testament Quotations." New Testament Studies 10 (1964):279-89.
- Mearns, Christopher L. "Dating the Similitudes of Enoch." New Testament Studies 25 (April 1979):360-69.
- Meeks, Wayne. "'And Rose Up to Play': Midrash and Paraenesis in I Corinthians 10:1-22." Journal for the Study of the New Testament 16 (October 1982):64-78.
- Metzger, Bruce M. "The Formulas Introducing Quotations of Scripture in the New Testament and the Mishnah." Journal of Biblical Literature LXX (December 1951):297-307.
- Meyer, Paul W. "Romans 10:4 and the 'End' of the Law." In The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God's Control of Human Events, pp. 59-78. Edited by J.L. Crenshaw and S. Sandmel. New York: KTAV, 1980.
- Millar, Fergus. "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism'." Journal of Jewish Studies XXIX (Spring 1978):1-21.
- Miller, Merrill P. "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." Journal for the Study of Judaism II (1972):29-82.
- Morris, A.E. "Note on I Corinthians 15:3-4." Expository Times 45 (1933-1934):43-44.
- Müller, Heinrich. "Der rabbinische Qal-Wachomer-Schluß in paulinischer Typologie: Zur Adam-Christus-Typologie Rm. 5." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 58 (1967):73-92.
- Murphy, Roland E. "B'SR in the Qumran Literature and SARKS in the Epistle to the Romans." In Sacra Pagina: Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Internationalis Catholici de Re Biblica, vol. 2, pp. 60-76. Edited by J. Coppens, A. Descamps, and É. Massaux, 1959.

- Murphy, Roland E. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament Comparisons." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 18 (July 1956):263-72.
- Neusner, Jacob. "Exegesis and the Written Law." Journal for the Study of Judaism V (December 1974):176-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Written Tradition in the Pre-Rabbinic Period." Journal for the Study of Judaism IV (July 1973):56-65.
- Noack, Bent. "Current and Backwater in the Epistle to the Romans." Studia Theologica 19 (1965):155-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Qumran and the Book of Jubilees." Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok 22-23 (1957-1958):191-207.
- Okeke, G.E. "I Thessalonians 2:13-16: The Fate of the Unbelieving Jews." New Testament Studies 27 (October 1980):127-36.
- Oppenheim, A. Leo. "The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East." Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (n.s.) 46 (1956):179-373.
- Orlinsky, H.M. "Current Progress and Problems in Septuagint Research." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 1-20. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1974, essay first published 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 78-109. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1974, essay first published 1941.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators." Hebrew Union College Annual XLVI (1975):89-114.
- O'Rourke, John J. "Pistis in Romans." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 35 (April 1973):188-94.
- Osswald, Eva. "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentars." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 68 (1956):243-56.
- Pollard, T.E. "Colossians 1:12-20: A Reconsideration." New Testament Studies 27 (July 1981):572-75.
- Porter, J.R. "The Pentateuch and the Triennial Lectionary Cycle: An Examination of a Recent Theory." In Promise and Fulfilment, pp. 163-74. Edited by F.F. Bruce. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1963.
- Porton, Gary G. "Defining Midrash." In The Study of Ancient Judaism, vol. I, pp. 55-92. Edited by Jacob Neusner. KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Midrash: Palestinian Jews and the Hebrew Bible in the Greco-Roman Period." In Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, II. 19:2:103-38.
- Poythress, V.S. "Is Romans 1:3-4 a Pauline Confession?" The Expository Times LXXXVII (March 1976):180-83.

- Rabinowitz, Isaac, "'Pēsher/Pittārōn': Its Biblical Meaning and its Significance in the Qumran Literature." Revue de Qumran 8 (March 1973):219-32.
- Rabinowitz, L. "The Synagogue and Its Worship." In A Companion to the Bible, pp. 453-61. Edited by T.W. Manson. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1939.
- Rad, Gerhard von. "Faith Reckoned as Righteousness." In The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, pp. 125-30. Translated by E.W. Trueman Dicken. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament." In Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, pp. 17-39. Edited by Claus Westermann. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963.
- Rengstorf, K.H. "Das Ölbaum-Gleichnis in Röm 11,16ff.: Versuch einer weiterführenden Deutung." In Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube, pp. 127-64. Edited by E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett, W.D. Davies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Reumann, John. "The Gospel of the Righteousness of God." Interpretation 20 (October 1966):432-52.
- Richard, E. "Polemics, Old Testament, and Theology: A Study of II Cor., III,1-IV,6." Revue biblique 88 (July 1981):340-67.
- Roberts, Bledwyn J. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Old Testament Scriptures." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 36 (1953-1954):75-96.
- Roberts, C.H. "The Codex." Proceedings of the British Academy XL (1954):169-204.
- Rosenthal, Judah M. "Biblical Exegesis of 4QpIs." Jewish Quarterly Review LX (1969-1970):27-36.
- Roth, Cecil. "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis." Vetus Testamentum X (January 1960):51-68.
- Sanders, J.A. "Habakkuk in Qumran, Paul, and the Old Testament." Journal of Religion XXXIX (1959):232-44.
- Sandmel, Samuel. "The Haggada within Scripture." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXX (June 1961):105-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Philo's Environment and Philo's Exegesis." Journal of Bible and Religion XXII (October 1954):248-53.
- Scroggs, Robin. "Paul as Rhetorician: Two Homilies in Romans 1-11." In Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity, pp. 271-98. Edited by Robert Hamerton-Kelly and Robin Scroggs. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976.
- Siebeneck, Robert T. "May Their Bones Return to Life! -- Sirach's Praise of the Fathers." Catholic Biblical Quarterly XXI (October 1959):411-28.

- Silberman, Lou H. "A Note on 4Q Florilegium." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXVIII (June 1959):158-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (IQpHab)." Revue de Qumran 3 (November 1961):323-64.
- Skehan, Patrick W. "The Period of the Biblical Texts from Khirbet Qumrān." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 19 (October 1957):435-40.
- Slomovic, Elieser. "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls." Revue de Qumran 7 (December 1969):3-15.
- Slonimsky, Henry. "The Philosophy Implicit in the Midrash." Hebrew Union College Annual XXVII (1956):235-90.
- Smith, D. Moody Jr. "The Use of the Old Testament in the New." In The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays, pp. 3-65. Edited by James M. Efird. Durham: Duke University Press, 1972.
- Smith, Morton. "A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition." Journal of Biblical Literature LXXXII (June 1963): 169-76.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Dead Sea Sect in Relation to Ancient Judaism." New Testament Studies 7 (July 1961):347-60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century." In In Israel: Its Role in Civilization, pp. 67-81. Edited by Moshe Davis. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956.
- Sonne, Isaiah. "The Schools of Shammai and Hillel Seen from Within." In Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, pp. 275-91. New York: The American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945.
- Sperber, Alexander. "New Testament and Septuagint." Journal of Biblical Literature LIX (June 1940):193-293.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Problem of the Septuagint Recensions." Journal of Biblical Literature LIV (June 1935):73-92.
- Spiro, Abram. "Samaritans, Tobiads, and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo." Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research XX (1951):279-355.
- Staerk, W. "Die alttestamentlichen citate bei den Schriftstellern des Neuen Testaments." Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie 35, 36, 38, 40 (1892, 1893, 1895, 1897):464-85, 70-98, 218-30, 211-68.
- Stendahl, Krister. "Paul Among Jews and Gentiles." In Paul Among Jews and Gentiles: and Other Essays, pp. 1-77. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976.
- Strugnell, J. "Notes en marge du Volume V des <Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan>." Revue de Qumran 7 (April 1970): 236-37.

- Stuhlmacher, Peter. "Zur Interpretation von Römer 11:25-32." In Probleme biblischer Theologie, pp. 555-70. Edited by Hans Walter Wolff. Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1971.
- Stuhlmüller, Carroll. "The Influence of Oral Tradition Upon Exegesis and the Senses of Scripture." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 20 (July 1958):299-326.
- Suggs, M. Jack. "'The Word is Near You': Romans 10:6-10 Within the Purpose of the Letter." In Christian History and Interpretation, pp. 289-312. Edited by W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, R.R. Niebuhr. Cambridge: University Press, 1967.
- Sullivan, Kathryn. "Epignosis in the Epistles of St. Paul." In Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, vol. 2, pp. 405-16. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963.
- Sundberg, Albert C. "On Testimonies." Novum Testamentum III (1959): 268-81.
- Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. S.v. "Midrash," by R. Bloch.
- Talmon, S. "DSIa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah." Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute I (1962): 62-72.
- Taylor, C. "Studies in Ben Sira." Jewish Quarterly Review X (1898): 470-88.
- Trever, John C. "The Qumran Covenanters and Their Use of Scripture." The Personalist 39 (1958):127-38.
- Treves, Marco. "On the Meaning of the Qumran Testimonia." Revue de Qumran II (November 1960):569-71.
- Trinidad, John T. "The Mystery Hidden in God: A Study of Eph. 1, 3-14." Biblica 31 (1950):1-26.
- Ulonska, Herbert. "Die Doxa des Mose: Zum Problem des Alten Testaments in 2 Kor. 3, 1-16." Evangelische Theologie 26 (July 1966): 378-88.
- Unnik, W.C. Van. "'With Unveiled Face', An Exegesis of II Corinthians 3:12-18." Novum Testamentum 6 (1963):153-69.
- Vermes, Geza. "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis." In The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. I, pp. 199-231. Edited by P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans. Cambridge: University Press, 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum." Journal of Semitic Studies 8 (1963):159-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament." Journal of Jewish Studies XXVII (1976):107-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology." Journal of Jewish Studies XXXIII (Spring and Autumn, 1982):361-76.

- Vermes, Geza. "Jewish Studies and New Testament Interpretation." Journal of Jewish Studies XXXI (Spring 1980):1-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A propos des commentaires bibliques découverts à Qumrān." Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses XXXV (1955): 95-102.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in its Historical Setting." In Post-Biblical Jewish Studies, pp. 37-49. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, no. 8. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975.
- Via, Dan O. "A Structuralist Approach to Paul's Old Testament Hermeneutic." Interpretation 28 (April 1974):201-20.
- Vicent, Rafael. "Derash homilético en Romanos 9-11." Salesianum XLII (1980):751-88.
- Vielhauer, Philipp. "Paulus und das Alte Testament." In Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation, pp. 33-62. Edited by Luise Abramowski und J.F. Gerhard Goeters. Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.
- Vischer, Wilhelm D. "Das Geheimnis Israels: Eine Erklärung der Kapitel 9-11 des Römerbriefs." Judaica 6 (June 1950):81-132.
- Vogt, E. "'Mysteria' in Textibus Qumran." Biblica 37 (1956):247-57.
- Wallis, P. "Ein neuer Auslegungsversuch der Stelle I Kor. 4,6." Theologische Literaturzeitung 75 (August 1950):506-8.
- Wedderburn, A.J.M. "The Purpose and Occasion of Romans Again." Expository Times 90 (1978-1979):137-41.
- Weingreen, J. "The Rabbinic Approach to the Study of the Old Testament." Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 34 (September 1951):166-90.
- Wernberg-Møller, P. "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline." Studia Theologica IX (1956):40-66.
- Wevers, J.W. "Proto-Septuagint Studies." In Studies in the Septuagint, pp. 138-57. Edited by Sidney Jellicoe. New York: KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1974, essay first published 1964.
- Wilcox, Max. "On Investigating the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black, pp. 231-43. Edited by Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson. Cambridge: University Press, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Promise of the 'Seed' in the New Testament and the Targumim." Journal for the Study of the New Testament 5 (October 1979):2-20.
- Windfuhr, D. "Der Apostel Paulus als Haggadist." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 44 (1926):327-30.
- Winter, Paul. "I Corinthians XV 3b-7." Novum Testamentum II (April 1957):142-50.

- Woollcombe, K.J. "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology." In Essays on Typology, pp. 39-75. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1957.
- Wright, Addison G. "The Literary Genre Midrash." Catholic Biblical Quarterly XXVIII (1966):105-38; 417-57.
- Yadin, Yigael. "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews." In Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 36-55. Edited by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin. Scripta Hierosolymitana, no. 4. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Midrash on 2 Sam. VII and Ps. I-II (4Q Florilegium)." Israel Exploration Journal 9 (1959):95-98.
- Zeitlin, Solomon. "The Apocrypha." Jewish Quarterly Review XXXVII (1946-1947):219-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and its Significance." Jewish Quarterly Review XXX (1939-1940):1-31.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Hillel and the Hermeneutical Rules." Jewish Quarterly Review LIV (October 1963):161-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jewish Apocryphal Literature." Jewish Quarterly Review XL (1949-1950):223-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Midrash: A Historical Study." Jewish Quarterly Review XLIV (1953-1954):21-36.
- Zeller, Dieter. "Israel unter dem Ruf Gottes (Röm. 9-11)." Internationale katholische Zeitschrift 2 (1973):289-301.

#### Dissertations and Theses

- Dinter, Paul E. "The Remnant of Israel and the Stone of Stumbling in Zion According to Paul (Romans 9-11)." Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1979.
- Garrison, James A. "Certain Aspects of the Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1969.
- Hammill, Leroy Richard. "Biblical Interpretation in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1950.
- Marbury, Carl Harris. "Old Testament Textual Traditions in the New Testament: Studies in Text-Types." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968.
- Spiro, Abram. "Manners of Rewriting Biblical History From Chronicles to Pseudo-Philo." Ph.D. dissertation. Columbia University, 1953.
- Ulonska, Herbert. "Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den paulinischen Briefen." Th.D. dissertation, Münster, 1963.

Wadsworth, Michael Philip. "The 'Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum' of Pseudo-Philo: Doctrine and Scriptural Exegesis in a Jewish Midrash of the First Century A.D." D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1974.

Zink, James Keith. "The Use of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha." Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1963.