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“There is no one righteous”: Paul’s Use of Psalms in Romans 3

1 Introduction

In this article, I will examine the catena of quotations from the Septuagint (LXX) Psalms found in Romans 3. I will use text criticism to evaluate the agreements and disagreements between the manuscript evidence for the psalms and the Pauline citations. In determining which reading should be attributed to Paul and which to his *Vorlage*, I will also analyze deviations in light of Paul’s argumentative aim and Pauline studies in general.

First, I will focus on Paul’s use of Psalm 116:11 (LXX: 115:2) and Psalm 51 (LXX: 50) in Romans 3:4, which serve as a part of his argumentation on God’s sovereignty. In this passage Paul struggles with how God’s salvation plan applies to both Jews and Gentiles: How is Paul able to explain from scripture that while God first made the covenant available to Israel, Gentiles have now been included without the requirement to fulfill the Law? I argue that by using the language of lamentation from Psalm 116(115) and repentance and atonement from Psalm 51(50), Paul aims to prove that the inclusion of the Gentiles into the covenant does not contradict God’s promises to Israel.

Second, I will analyze Romans 3:10–18, a passage in which Paul uses a catena composed of explicit quotations from various psalms (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [LXX 9:28]; 14[LXX 13]:1–3; 36[LXX 35]:2; 140[LXX 139]:4) and Isaiah 59:7–8. Understanding the function of the quotations in Romans 3:4 also reveals the argumentative aim of the catena in Romans 3:10–18 where Paul starkly illustrates the unfortunate

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plight of human beings. Throughout the entire passage (vv. 10–18), Paul attempts to tackle the problem emerging from the tension between particularism (God’s promises towards his chosen people) and universalism (salvation promised also to Gentiles through faith). Paul leads his audience to contemplate human sinfulness in order to reveal the general inability of human beings to carry out any good deeds without God’s mercy. By fostering a pessimistic view of humanity, Paul uses psalms that explicitly illustrate lamentation (Ps 116 [115]) and penitence (Ps 51 [50]). Since the psalms Paul uses (Pss 5; 10[9]; 14[13]; 36[35]; and 140[139]) are not concerned with universal sinfulness, but instead present a hostile and exclusive image of the “other,” Paul constructs an argument through employing only specific and selective portions of these psalms to present a prototypical and inclusive image of the sinful human. Third, I will claim that the LXX manuscripts have been harmonized with Paul’s composition in Romans 3:10–18 since verses 13–18 agree verbatim with the majority of the manuscript evidence from LXX Psalm 13:3. This harmonizing expansion does not appear in Codex Alexandrinus or the Lucianic Text.

Finally, it is worth already noting that the functions of the quotations in Romans 3:4 and the catena in 3:10–18 differ. Paul’s use of Psalm 51(50):6 in Romans 3:4 coincides with the text’s popularity during the late Second Temple period, and his audience would have recognized even a vague and partial reference to it. Yet, the catena in Romans 3:10–18 reveals that the quotes within the Pauline context serve as evidence of universal sinfulness, and thus a departure from the original textual context. Before proceeding to the specific passages, I will first provide a brief overall account of Paul’s use of psalms.

2 References to and Quotations from Psalms in Paul’s Letters

The four scriptural books Paul quotes explicitly and most frequently consist of Isaiah (28x), different Psalms (19x), Genesis (15x), and Deuteronomy (15x). Paul usually quotes scripture by adding the explicit citation formula “(as) it is written” or something similar prior to his use of the source text.¹ In some cases, he also

¹ The citation formula γέγραπται commonly appears in Jewish literature and represents a translated form of the Hebrew כָּתוּב. Paul uses the verb γράφω 34 times in his quotation formula; γέγραπται 29 times; καθώς γέγραπται (ὅτι) 18 times; γέγραπται (γάρ) 6 times; and the verb λέγω 19 times. For more on this issue, see, for example, Dietrich-Alexander Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*

specifies to which composition he refers. Concerning psalms, Paul mentions David twice,² indicating that he attributes the authorship of the psalms – at least in these two instances – to David. The letter to the Romans contains 15 explicit quotations from the now canonical Psalms;³ 1Corinthians contains four,⁴ and 2Corinthians two.⁵ Aside from the explicit quotations, Paul refers more subtly to psalms in 64 instances scattered throughout the genuine Pauline letters, with the exception of Philemon.⁶ In all, Romans and 1Corinthians contain the majority of the more subtle references (48 instances altogether) and explicit quotations (19 instances).⁷

des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1986), 25–30.

2 We find this in Rom 4:6 referring to Ps 31(32) and in Rom 11:9 referring to Ps 68(69). Ps 32 (MT) includes the Hebrew superscript לְדוֹד מִשְׁכִּיל translated in Greek Ps 31 (LXX) to τῷ Δαυὶδ συνέσεως; Ps 69 (MT) features the Hebrew superscript לְדוֹד עַל-יְשׁוּשִׁים לְמַנְצָח translated in Ps 68 (LXX) to εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων τῷ Δαυὶδ. David is mentioned in only six different psalms apart from the superscripts (Pss 18:50; 78:70; 89:3,20,35,49; 125:5; 132:10,11,17; 144:10).

3 Rom 3:4 (Ps 51[LXX 50]:6); Rom 3:10–12 (Ps 14[13]:1–3); Rom 3:13 (Ps 5:10); Rom 3:14 (Ps 140[139]:4); Rom 3:18 (Ps 36[35]:2); Rom 4:7–8 (Ps 32[31]:1); Rom 8:36 (Ps 44[43]:23); Rom 11:9–10 (Ps 69[68]:23–24); Rom 15:3 (Ps 69[68]:10); Rom 15:9 (Ps 18[17]:50); Rom 15:11 (Ps 117:2 [117:1]). Direct quotation without the quotation formula: Rom 2:6 (Ps 62:12[61:13]); Rom 3:4 (Ps 116:11 [115:2]); Rom 10:18 (Ps 19[18]:5); Rom 11:2 (Ps 94[93]:14).

4 1Cor 3:20 (Ps 94[93]:11); 1Cor 10:26 (Ps 24[23]:1); 1Cor 15:25 (Ps 110[109]:1),²⁷ (Ps 8:7).

5 1Cor 4:13 (Ps 116[115]:10); 2Cor 9:9 (Ps 112[111]:9).

6 This figure is based on Nestle-Aland's²⁸ marginal notes, literature reviews, and my own parallel reading of Paul and the Psalms. For the terminology and definition of scriptural citations, I follow Richard B. Hays' classification from *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–32, which allows for more subtlety with scriptural references. By explicit quotation, I refer to a citation marked with an explicit quotation formula; by implicit quotation, I refer to verbatim citation without a quotation formula. Hays uses the terms "echo" and "allusion" often interchangeably, which has caused some confusion. There have been later attempts to clarify these terms: see, for example, Stanley E. Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As It Is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley, SBLSymS 50 (Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 29–40.

7 No comprehensive study exists regarding Paul's use of Psalms in his letters, which is rather striking due to its clearly important status in his argumentation. My doctoral thesis on Paul's use of Psalms aims to fill this gap. See, for example, Matthew Scott's recently published doctoral dissertation, *The Hermeneutics of Christological Psalmody in Paul: An Intertextual Enquiry*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 158 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Alan Harmon's ["Harman" appears on the title page of his dissertation] dissertation "Paul's Usage of the Psalms" from Westminster Theological Seminary (1968) is not comprehensive and focuses on both Pauline letters and the representation of Paul from Acts. This dissertation remains unpublished, although an abridged, yet more extensive study appeared in, idem, "Aspects of Paul's use of the Psalms," *WTJ* 32 (1969): 1–23. A fair number of articles have been

The use of certain psalms alongside the Torah and the Prophets as source material to interpret Israel’s history represents a well-established phenomenon from the latter half of the second century BCE onwards among new Jewish groups emerging after the Maccabean revolt. During this period, the use of psalms as prophecy increased, which is particularly evident in the texts found at Qumran.⁸ Correspondingly, in addition to the Prophets and the Law, Paul also refers to certain psalms in order to gain authority for his arguments.⁹

written dealing with the influence of Psalms on New Testament writers. See, for example, Moisés Silva, “The Greek Psalter in Paul’s Letters: A Textual Study,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 277–288; Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, ed., *Psalms in the New Testament*, New Testament and Scriptures of Israel (London: T&T Clark International, 2004); Richard B. Hays, “Christ Prays the Psalms: Israel’s Psalter as Matrix of Early Christology,” in *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel’s Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 101–118. In addition, some monographs have appeared regarding the entire New Testament. See, for instance, Ulrich Rösen-Weinhold, *Der Septuagintapsalter im Neuen Testament: Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Wuppertal: Neukirchner Verlag, 2004). In these, however, the view of Paul’s usage remains rather narrow.

8 On the changing function of psalmody during the Second Temple period, see, for example, Mika S. Pajunen, “The Influence of Societal Changes in the Late Second Temple Period on the Functions and Composition of Psalms,” in *Material Philology in the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Approaches for New Text Editions: Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Copenhagen, 3–5 April, 2014*, ed. Kipp Davis and Trine Björnung Hasselbalch, STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

9 On the correlation between the authorial and referential status of a text, see, for example, George J. Brooke, “Scripture and Scriptural Tradition in Transmission: Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scrolls and Biblical Traditions: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Helsinki*, ed. George J. Brooke, Daniel K. Falk, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 11: “(...) in representing what they depend on they confer authority on their hypotexts, the texts that lie underneath them (...)”

Furthermore, whether the tripartite division – Torah, Prophets, Writings – of scripture already existed at the time when Paul wrote his letters remains disputed. Compare also Rom 1:1, where Paul mentions “prophets” promising the gospel; but since he further refers likewise to the Torah and Psalms, he appears to also include other biblical books in “prophets.” The tripartite distinction is often attributed to the Greek expansion of Ben Sirach’s prologue: (...) διὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθηκόντων δεδομένων (...), and thus dated to the second century BCE; but see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Die Septuaginta als Kanon,” in *Kanon in Konstruktion und Dekonstruktion: Kanonisierungsprozesse religiöser Texte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, Ein Handbuch*, ed. Eva-Marie Becker and Stefan Scholz (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 315–327, who argues that only the Torah (i.e., the five books of Moses) can be granted a fixed status with any certainty by the middle of the third century BCE on the basis of the Greek translation. For other books, however, their status and stage during which their translations first appeared in the first century BCE remain unclear (see, in particular *ibid.*, pp. 315–316,

3 God's Sovereignty through Psalm 116:11 (LXX 115:2) and Psalm 51 (LXX 50):6

In Romans 1–2, Paul appears to blur the distinction between Jews and Gentiles: he claims that Jews cannot fulfill the Law (2:17–24) and that Gentiles may occasionally do so (2:14–15, 26), thus turning the assumptions of his readers upside down. His aim is to show that both ethnic groups are equally incapable of fulfilling the requirements of the Law. In chapter 3, Paul moves on to argue from scripture that universal sin applies to all human beings (as stated in v. 9, “both Jews and Gentiles are under the sin”). In verse 1, he asks, “What advantages do Jews have or what is the value of circumcision?” (Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς;). Paul responds to this rhetorical question with, “Much in every way!”¹⁰ (πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον), and continues by stating that the words of God (τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 2) were first entrusted to the Jews. In verse 3, Paul poses a further rhetorical question: “How so? If some have not believed, does their disbelief destroy God’s faithfulness?” This question is answered through a strong diatribic denial, “By no means!” (μὴ γένοιτο, v. 4a), and followed with an explicatory exclamation: “Let God become true, but every person a liar!” (γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθής,¹¹ πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης, v. 4b–c).

The latter part (πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης, v. 4c) of this exclamation represents an implicit quotation from LXX Psalm 115:2 (MT 116:11).¹² The arrangement

322). Furthermore, Mika S. Pajunen, “Perspectives on the Existence of a Particular Authoritative Book of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period,” *JSOT* 39 (2014): 140–163, criticizes the claim that the *book* of Psalms, i.e., the MT Psalter, already enjoyed authoritative status due to references to Psalms in the manuscripts found at Qumran. Pajunen argues that the primary reason for the vast quantity of different psalmic manuscripts found in the Judean Desert suggests many different applications of the psalms that are related to their arrangement.

¹⁰ Joseph Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 326.

¹¹ Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 328, notes that the word and its cognates are often used in the LXX to refer to God’s covenantal fidelity (e.g., Ps 89:2, 6, 9, 15, 25, and 34).

¹² Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 204 n. 33, classifies this as an echo. According to Bernd Janowski, “Dankbarkeit. Ein anthropologischer Grundbegriff im Spiegel der Toda-Psalmen,” in *Ritual und Poesie: Formen und Orte religiöser Dichtung im Alten Orient, im Judentum und im Christentum*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 36 (Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 91–136, the psalm can be attributed to the temple cult and more specifically to the todah celebration which represented an offering of thanks to the nation. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 215, apply more cautious labeling to the psalm, as a “thanksgiving song drawing on the ritual of a thanksgiving sacrifice.” See also Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150*, WBC 21 (Waco: Word Books,

of Psalm 116 (MT) differs from its representation in the LXX, as verse 10 introduces a new psalm in the Greek translation (LXX 115:1). Most commentators consider the LXX version as secondary.¹³ Evaluating whether Paul knew the psalm in its MT or LXX form remains difficult to determine on the basis of his quotations.¹⁴ Paul’s quoted exclamation, “(...) every human being is a liar,” encapsulates the theological emphasis of the psalm according to its MT form. According to the psalmist, human beings remain unreliable and their lives are full of danger and anguish (v. 3), while God stands as trustworthy and will redeem the speaker (vv. 5–9). If Paul knew the psalm in its MT form, the surrounding context (vv. 1–9), which contains elements of lamentation and thanksgiving, as well as the themes of God’s sovereignty, served well to support Paul’s argumentation.¹⁵ In Psalm 116:5, the confession of God’s mercy is reformulated from Exodus 34:6, a theological motif central to Paul’s thinking (compare also Pss 111:4; 112:4).¹⁶ Still, we must note that a characteristic of Paul’s style of argumentation is to take a biblical text out of context in order to support his claims.

Finally, Paul quotes explicitly from LXX Psalm 50(51):6 marking it with the quotation formula “as it is written”:

Romans 3:4d–f : (...) καθὼς γέγραπται· ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσεις¹⁷
ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

1983), 114, who concludes that, on the basis of vv. 14,18, and 19, the psalm was “(...) evidently composed for recitation at a service offering thanks in the temple courts during one of the great festivals (...)” Walter Brueggemann and William H. Bellinger, *Psalms*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 501–502, note that, as a Hallel psalm used during Passover, the elements of deliverance (from Egyptian bondage in the Jewish context) became appropriate for New Testament writers. The cup of salvation (Ps 116:13) “came to be associated with the Eucharist in the Christian tradition.”

13 For example, see Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, HTKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 300–301; Emilie Grace Briggs, *The Book of Psalms II*, CEC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907), 398.

14 He refers to this psalm twice: in Rom 3:4 to Ps 116:11b (LXX 115:2b) and in 2Cor 4:13 to Ps 116:10a (LXX 115:1a). Among other early Christian writers, Jerome divides the psalm according to the LXX: from verse 10 onward the new psalm begins.

15 Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 294, consider v. 10 as a summary of vv. 1–9 and a lead into the entire psalm.

16 Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150*, 300.

17 N-A²⁸ reads the verb in future indicative according to ⲛ A D K 81. 2464 pm (*incert.* 33. 1506). The verb form is in aorist subjunctive in B G L Ψ 365. 1175. 1505. 1739. 1881 pm. Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 87, states that the future indicative suits the Pauline context better than the aorist subjunctive “emphasizing the absolute certainty

(...) just as it is written: “so that you may be justified in your words and **will** be victorious when you go to court”¹⁸

LXX Psalm 50(51):6: σοὶ μόνῳ ἤμαρτον καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα ὅπως ἄν δικαιωθῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου¹⁹ καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε²⁰

Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you I did, so that you may be justified in your words and **may** be victorious when you go to court

While Paul does not quote verse 6 in its entirety, he does emphatically scrutinize the fundamental difference between a human being and God in this passage. Paul leaves out the confession of sin lead-in: “Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you, I did.” Instead, Paul moves directly to the final clause (ὅπως ἄν + subj.): “so that you may be victorious when you go to court” It seems to me that Paul expects his reader to recognize this quotation and, therefore, to add the confession of human sinfulness (“Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you I did”) before the cited line.²¹ In this way only, they can agree with Paul that God’s righteousness is at stake here: *God* may be justified and victorious in law. Without knowing the quotation’s origin, confusion becomes likely, since a change in the reference point to the second person singular emerges without any explanation and returns to address Paul’s (imagined) interlocu-

of God’s victory over those who would seek to question his ways.” He proceeds by weighing the possibility that the future indicative reading would originate from an LXX *Vorlage* that Paul used – if he used some text – and thus the Pauline reading would attest to an older form. Stanley still points out that the aorist subjunctive fits better in the psalmic context. Similarly, Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 328, argues that the reading in the aorist subjunctive (νικήσῃς) harmonizes Paul’s modification (indicative future) according to the LXX and the former verb (δικαιωθῆς).

18 I have modified the NET translation in order to show the Greek tense changes as well as the word choices for the latter part.

19 According to Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 (Dallas: Word Books, 1990), 6, several Hebrew manuscripts, LXX, Symmachus, Vulgata, and Rom 3:4 read or assume the form בְּדַבְרֶיךָ “in your words.” In MT, the form is qal infinitive with the second singular masculine suffix. The reading in the LXX (and other witnesses) could represent the original based on *lectio difficilior*, since it violates the parallelism with the following expression: “blameless in giving judgment.” But, according to Tate, a similar treatment exists concerning this word: some Hebrew manuscripts read “in your judgments”; the LXX changes the verb into the passive or middle voice, but the meaning of the verb is the same “in judging.”

20 Variant: με in MS 2013.

21 Compare this to Stanley, *Paul and the language*, 87, who claims that “Paul eliminates entirely the self-abasement theme that figured so prominently in the original” textual context. Paul twists a humble acknowledgement that God is also just in judging sin, asserting that even if someone seeks to challenge him, God will be vindicated. According to Thomas Tobin, *Paul’s Rhetoric in Its Contexts: The Argument of Romans* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 119, Paul points out, by quoting this psalm, that even when judging sinners, God is proven just (δικαιώω).

tor in verse 5. Paul demarcates the first part based on rhetorical reasons since the confessional exclamation would interrupt his treatment.²² He then continues his diatribe with the reader: his denial in verse 4 requires scriptural justification which he accomplishes by conflating LXX Psalms 115:2 (MT 116:11) with 50(51):6.

Psalm 51(50) is perhaps the best known of the so-called traditional seven penitential psalms (Pss 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; and 143).²³ The superscript of Psalm 51(50) hints at its consideration as a penitential psalm by attributing it to David’s confrontation with the prophet Nathan after committing adultery with Bathsheba, an act that prompted David to arrange for the death of her husband Uriah (cf. 2Sam 11–12).²⁴ It is not surprising that the superscript originates from the Hel-

²² According to Stanley K. Stowers, “Paul’s Dialogue with a Fellow Jew in Romans 3:1–9,” *CBO* 46 (1984): 707–722, the denial in verse 3 should be understood as Paul’s voice, whereas verse 4 represents the interlocutor’s phrasing. Stowers views vv. 1–9 as following a sharply planned rhetorical structure and not a digression, contrary to many other commentators.

²³ Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 8, adds that the “full confession of sin (in Ps 51:3–7) is without parallel in any other biblical psalms (though such confession in the past is recalled in Ps 32:5; also note Pss 38:19; 41:5; 69:6; 130:1–8).” Nevertheless, recent studies have criticized the assertion that all of these psalms can be classified as penitential prayer. For different ways of defining and classifying penitential prayers, see Rodney A. Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution*, SBLEJL 13 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), who argues that penitential prayer “(...) is a direct address to God in which an individual or group confesses sins and petitions for forgiveness. Frequently, the petitioner hopes that the prayer will also be the first step toward removing the problems facing the community or the petitioner. (p. 2)”; Mark J. Boda, *Praying the Tradition: The Origin and Use of Tradition in Nehemiah 9*, BZAW 277 (New York: de Gruyter, 1999), 28, defines six characteristic elements that identify penitential prayer: 1) praise, 2) supplication (a. depiction of need, b. muted lament, c. implicit request), 3) confession of sin (a. admission of culpability, b. declaration of solidarity with former generations, c. consistent use of the hitp. of הִתְפַּלֵּל) 4) history (a. anthological use of historical sources, b. use of the contrast motif [divine grace/Israel’s disobedience], 5) themes (a. covenant, b. land, c. law), and 6. purpose. See also the discussion on the definition of penitential prayer in Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, ed., *Seeking the Favor of God, vol. 1: The Origins of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, SBLEJL 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Samuel Balentine, *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993). Using these criteria, the above-mentioned psalms do not fit into the category; but, instead, Daniel 9, Nehemiah 9, and Ezra 9 more clearly represent penitential elements.

²⁴ The psalm composition consists of different parts dated in the following way: vv. 19–20 are thought to postdate the erection of the Second Temple (520–515 BCE), since the building of the wall in Jerusalem and the sacrificial practice is presupposed in these verses. This addition is thus attributed to a later liturgical context with an eschatological emphasis. The critical view of the temple cult in vv. 18–19 that creates tension with the sacrificial theology in v. 21 added

lenistic period, to a time when historical explanations were sometimes added to certain psalms, and the number of penitential prayers in circulation increased.²⁵ Furthermore, verse 6 contains sin-confessional language. Thus, I conclude that Paul's use of Psalm 51(50) indicates that the psalm was well known and, therefore, easily related to themes dealing with sin and redemption. In the section that follows, I will show how Paul develops the theme of human sinfulness he introduced in Romans 1–2 with a climactic catena of quotations in Romans 3:10–18.

4 The Catena of Quotations in Romans 3:10–18

When one encounters deviations between the psalms and epistle, the following questions arise: Should the deviations be attributed to (a) quoting from memory (and, hence, to memory lapses)²⁶ or (b) deliberate modification? I argue the latter by showing that Paul intentionally changed the text on lexical, compositional, grammatical, and conceptual levels. This argument stems from the hypothesis that when we find a reading suitable to Paul's argumentation from his quotations and which further deviates from the LXX reading (in parallels, not in the expansion of Psalm 13:3), such modifications can be attributed to Paul. Thus, by detecting Paul's motivation behind such modifications, we may trace the direction of deviations between the texts – that is, either a Pauline original or an earlier reading. I argue that Paul's use of LXX Psalms in Romans 3:10–18 lead to a harmonization between the two texts at a later date. I base this conclusion on

later is particularly noteworthy. In addition, the older part of the psalm dates to the exilic or post-exilic period. (Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, HTKAT [Freiburg: Herder, 2000], 45, 48).

25 Pajunen “The Influence of Societal Changes.” Ps 51(50) features a superscript both in its masoretic and Septuagint forms. Still, since some psalms (LXX Pss 24; 48; 81; and 94) add the superscript, some scholars suggest that the liturgical use of the psalms increased during the Hellenistic period.

26 Favoring the memory thesis, see John T. A. Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans* (London: SCM, 1979), 36; Otto Michel, *Paulus und seine Bibel*, BFCT 18 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), 80, who claims that Paul *thought* about Pss 13(14); 5; 139(140); and 9 when dictating Rom 3:10–18 (“Offenbar hat Paulus diese ganze Komposition *aus dem Gedächtnis* zusammengestellt und nicht aus einem Florilegium” [italics mine]). Compare with Dietrich-Alexander Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 94. Later, in his commentary on Romans, Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955), 143, argues that such catenae existed for different purposes, but does not say explicitly that Paul used a fixed composition.

the observation that verses 13–18 emerged in most LXX manuscripts at Psalm 13:3, which (vv. 1–3) Paul uses as a starting point in the quotation catena. The expansion appears broadly in various textual streams (B; D; R; S*, U; 286) as well as in daughter translations of the LXX (Aeth; Arab^{ParRom}; Boh; Lat; Sah; Syr) and in seven minuscule manuscripts (115, 174, 180, 189, 191, 227, 273);²⁷ it is missing only from A (with 55), the Lucianic, and Theodoret Texts.

Some scholars have claimed that the catena represents a later interpolation also in Romans and should not be attributed to Paul.²⁸ This, in my view, remains unsubstantiated, since Paul’s argumentation does not work without the catena of quotations, and the text would not flow smoothly without it. Second, it is possible that Paul quoted verbatim from his *Vorlage*, which, in theory (though highly doubtful), could have appeared in the expanded form of the later LXX manuscripts (excluding A and the Lucianic Text). Thus, these scholars argue that we cannot claim that he changed anything at all. I find this option highly improbable, since the expansion in LXX Psalm 13:3 – according to the witnesses above – follows Paul’s composition verbatim, whereas the wordings in parallel instances (Pss 5:10; 10:7 [9:28]; 14[13]:1–3; 36[35]:2; 140[139]:4; and Isa 59:7–8) deviate from the Pauline quotations. A third possibility is that the catena represents a pre-Pauline Jewish composition which Paul could have used as such. Yet, no pre-Pauline or contemporary witnesses exist in which the same composition appeared. Thus, I argue that Paul composed the catena on his own, possibly using an anthology he collected beforehand at which point he used a written source.²⁹ Previous

27 Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien II: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), 42, 52. In addition, the enlargement is preserved in MS 2019 (Lond²³⁰ = London, British Museum Papyrus 230) containing Pss 11:7–14:4, which dates to the end of third century CE, found at Fayum. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien II*, 15–16, groups the papyrus into the B, S, and the Bohairic text. See also Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and the Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 228.

28 Hans-Martin Schenke, “Aporien im Römerbrief,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 92 (1967): 882–887, esp. 885: “Nach alledem erhebt sich für mich die Frage, ob das Problem der Sphinxgestalt des Schriftzitats sich nicht am besten literarkritisch lösen läßt, d. h., ob nicht ursprünglich V 19b die direkte Fortsetzung von V 9b ist und ob entsprechend das Schriftzitat (V 10–18) samt V 19a nicht als eine sekundäre Einschaltung angesehen werden sollte.”

29 Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 74–77, lists several parallel phenomena in ancient literature – both in Greek and Latin as well as in Jewish religious texts. For instance, in Xenophon’s *Memorabilia* (1.6.14: καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνελίττων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι, καὶ ἄν τι ὀρώμεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκλεγόμεθα) the verb ἐκλέγω means to “collect.” Aristotle, *Topics* 1.14, encourages taking notes from written sources. Plutarch, *Peri Euthymias* 464f, explicitly describes his practice of using notebooks (ὑπομνήματα) to compose a literary work. In the Latin-speaking world,

scholars have suggested that the catena served a liturgical function;³⁰ if this were the case, it would fit with Paul's use suspiciously well. Justin Martyr (c. 100–165 CE), who uses the catena in *Dialogue with Trypho* 27,2ff, represents the earliest preserved witness quoting the catena in its Pauline form. We find three options: 1) Justin depends on Paul; 2) Justin used the already extended LXX–Ps *Vorlage*; or 3) Justin used the same source, either Jewish or Christian in origin, possibly behind Paul's catena. I conclude that Justin most likely used Paul's composition in Romans 3:10–18.³¹ Furthermore, the context of Justin's use hints at a reliance on Paul, since Justin uses the passage in a polemical context: the entire dialogue is written in an apologetic and polemical tone against Judaism.³² The accusations leveled at Jews in Paul's Letter to the Romans (Rom 2:17–24; 9:31–33; 10:14–11:11) more directly inspires this type of use than those accusations used in the plain composition of the specified psalms.

The most plausible explanation for these deviations is thus that Paul modified the text he quoted, whereby a later copyist inserted Paul's wording into some recensions of LXX Psalm 13. However, we must bear in mind that we lack direct

Cicero, *De Inventione* 2.4, similarly describes how he first collected all of the works on a particular subject and then excerpted (*excerpimus*) “what seemed the most suitable precepts from each.”

30 Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 143, formulates his claim cautiously. It depends on whether the composition in Rom 3:10–18 reflects similar compositions in Judaism for catechetical, liturgical, or apologetic purposes or whether the composition that Paul uses is his own or an example of a suggested liturgical composition: “Es besteht die Möglichkeit, daß schon das Judentum Zitatenskompositionen zu katechetischen und apologetischen Zwecken geschaffen hat und daß die alte Kirche solche übernommen und ähnliche neu geschaffen hat. Die besondere Kunstform unseres Psalmes weist mehr auf eine liturgische als auf katechetische Abzweckung.”

31 Similarly, Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 182, points out that Justin depended on Paul: either Justin quoted Paul directly or used the text form of the psalm already influenced by the Pauline reading: “Umfangreichere Zitatengestaltungen, die nicht auf Paulus zurückgreift, liegen nicht vor.” Contrary to Leander A. Keck, “The Function of Rom 3:10–18: Observations and Suggestions,” in *God's Christ and His People: Studies in Honour of Nils Alstrup Dahl*, ed. Jacob Jervell and Wayne A. Meeks (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), 150, who claims that Justin's parallel “provides evidence that Rom 3:10–18 once existed independently. “(...) Since it is not clear why Justin would have abbreviated Rom 3:10–18, it appears that he relies on a shorter (earlier?) version of the same catena.” On Justin Martyr's quotation techniques, see Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study of Justin Martyr's Proof Text Tradition*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

32 For more on this discussion, see Oskar Skarsaune, “Judaism and Hellenism in Justin Martyr,” in *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag. III Frühes Christentum*, ed. Hubert Cancik, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 585–611.

access to the Greek texts circulating in the first century CE and, thus, comparisons remain impossible without an evaluation of the direction of the textual influences. In order to proceed cautiously, I will deal with the passage verse by verse, discussing each of the deviations in detail and weighing whether they should be attributed to Paul or to his *Vorlage*.³³

Table 1: Rom 3:10b compared to its source text and parallels

Romans 3:10b	Psalm 13(LXX):1	Ecclesiastes 7:20 ³⁴
	εἰς τὸ τέλος ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ εἶπεν ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν θεός διέφθειραν καὶ ἐβδελύχθησαν ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν <u>οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα</u> οὐκ ἔστιν <u>ἕως ἑνός</u>	ὅτι ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος ἐν τῇ γῆ ὅς ποιήσει ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται
οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδέ εἷς ,	Psalm 13:3c–d οὐκ ἔστιν <u>ποιῶν χρηστότητα</u> οὐκ ἔστιν <u>ἕως ἑνός</u>	

33 I have indicated the differences between the texts by placing in bold those words appearing in both Paul and the psalms. Verbatim agreement is underlined in the Septuagint text. The English translations are modified from NET and NETS and the most important changes are in bold. I have altered the word choices or tenses in order to indicate when Paul’s quotation follows LXX and when Paul deviates from it.

34 Others have also suggested that Paul might have conflated the psalm texts with Eccl 7:20, where the word δίκαιος occurs. See, for example, Otfried Hofius, “Der Psalter als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Die Verwendung der Septuaginta-Psalmen in den ersten beiden Hauptteilen des Römerbriefes,” in *Paulusstudien II*, WUNT 143 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 38–57, esp. 47 n. 37; George Brooke, “Weak or Sinful? Body of Rhetoric – on the Use of Physical Metaphors in Romans 3 and the *Hodayot*,” in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, ed. Jörg Frey and Enno Edzard Popkes, WUNT 390 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 251–262, esp. 255,257. If Paul here refers to Eccl, this is the only instance in the NT where a reference to Eccl appears. James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word Books Publisher, 1988), 150, also mentions the parallels to Rom 3:10 appearing in the Qumran texts regarding the confessional element in 1QH 4:30–31 [in the DJD 40 numbering 12:31–2]: “But as for me, I know that the righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal. To God Most High belongs all the work of righteousness [...]”; 7:17,28–29 [DJD 40: 15:21,32–34]; 13:16–17 [DJD 40: 5:31–36]; 16:11 [DJD 40: 8:28]; 11QPs^a Ps 155:8.

	1 Regarding completion. A Psalm. Pertaining to David. The fool says in his heart, “There is no God.” They caused corruption and were abominable in their practices; <u>there is no one practicing kindness;</u> there is <u>not even one.</u>	For as to humanity, there is no one righteous in the earth who will do good and will not sin.
There is no one righteous , not even one,		
	3 All turned away, as well they became useless; there is no one practicing kindness; there is not even one.	

At the beginning of the quotation, Paul leaves out the first part of the LXX Ps 13:1; thus, he diminishes the distinction between ἄφρων (“foolish,” v. 1) and συνίω (“the one who understands,” v. 2). While not explicit, the Psalmist identifies himself as wise.³⁵ Crucial to note here is that the psalm itself does not make the claim that no human being does good. Instead, “the foolish says in his heart ‘there is no God’” (v. 1) and “God peers down from the heaven on the sons of men to see *if there were* any who understands or who seeks God” (v. 2). But, Paul delimits the quotation: he leaves out the distinction between “the one who understands” and the “foolish” present in the psalm. By doing so, Paul focuses on the sinfulness of all humanity before God, rather than making a group distinction between the righteous and foolish.

In addition, Paul makes lexical changes. He applies the adjective δίκαιος (“righteous”) instead of the expression ποιῶν χρηστότητα (“the one who does good”), the first specifically characterizing Pauline language. Paul uses the expression ποιῶν χρηστότητα, however, later in the catena, namely in verse 12. In addition to the lexical modification (δίκαιος instead of ποιῶν χρηστότητα) in verse 10, Paul also changes the expression ἕως ἐνός (“not even one”) into the form οὐδέ εἷς (“not even one”), which semantically correspond with one another.³⁶

³⁵ Compare to Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, WBC 19 (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 148–149.

³⁶ Concerning verse 1e, some LXX witnesses (Lucianic text, Tht, Sy, 55) omit the words οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός, and Ga marks them with *obelus* indicating a deviation from the Hebrew text. However, none of these LXX manuscripts follow the wording in Rom 3:10 (οὐδέ εἷς).

Table 2: Romans 3:11–12 compared to its source text

Romans 3:11 οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν.	Psalm 13:2 κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἰοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν <u>εἰ ἔστιν συνίων ἢ</u> <u>ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν</u> The Lord peered down from the sky on the sons of men to see if <u>there was any who had under-</u> <u>standing or who sought after God.</u>
there is no one who understands, there is no one who seeks God.	Psalm 13:3a–d <u>πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν, οὐκ</u> <u>ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως</u> <u>ἑνός.</u> All turned away; as well they became useless; there is no one practicing kindness; there is <u>not even one.</u>
Romans 3:12 πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ποιῶν χρηστότητα, ³⁷ [οὐκ ἔστιν] ³⁸ ἕως ἑνός. All have turned away, as well they became useless, there is no one who practices kind- ness, [there is] not even one.	

Romans 3:11 appears to be heavily modified: Paul disregards the first part of Psalm 13:2 and begins his quotation from verse 2b. He replaces the infinitive construction τοῦ ἰδεῖν (“to see”) with a negation: “there is no one,” substituting the particle εἰ (connected to the infinitive construction) with the negation οὐκ. Thus, Paul adds the repetition οὐκ ἔστιν, which occurs twice, whereas in Psalm 13:2 it does not appear. Paul also applies the definite articles before the participles in verses 11 and 12. As such, the latter represents a verbatim quotation from Psalm 13:3a, after which the passage becomes intriguing, particularly from a text critical perspective.

³⁷ In Rom 3:12 χρηστότητα according to MSS B; S; U; L; A; R; Ga (as in Ps 52:4) read ἀγαθόν.

³⁸ MSS B 6; 1739 omit. Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 91–93, considers the expression οὐκ ἔστιν – which appears in N-A(27th and 28th) brackets – should be attributed to Paul: “The omission of the initial οὐκ ἔστιν from part of the Pauline tradition for v. 12c would represent a deviation to be investigated here only if it proved to be original, which is highly doubtful. (...) The reading that includes these words [οὐκ ἔστιν] is therefore secure, despite the C rating and brackets assigned to it by the UBS Committee.” Stanley considers it most plausible that Paul modified the verse for rhetorical purposes by placing the closure ἕως ἑνός after the repetition of οὐκ ἔστιν. In particular, we must note that, in this verse, Paul renders the expression ποιῶν χρηστότητα, following the psalm’s wording, not replacing it with δίκαιος as in verse 10. Stanley further mentions that uncial R and the Gallican Psalter of Jerome read ἀγαθόν instead of ποιῶν χρηστότητα. A similar variation with lexemes also appears in the twin psalm, Ps 52:1–4. See also Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 55–56.

Table 3: Romans 3:13a–b compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:13a–b	Psalms 13:3e–f	Psalms 5:10c–d
τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν,	<u>ἰτάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ</u> <u>αὐτῶν ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν</u> <u>ἐδολιοῦσαν]</u>	ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἀλήθεια ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν ματαία <u>τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ</u> <u>αὐτῶν ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν</u> <u>ἐδολιοῦσαν</u>
Their throats are an opened grave, with their tongues they deceive, [...]	<u>Their throats are an opened</u> <u>grave, with their tongues they</u> <u>deceive</u>	Because there is no truth in their mouth, their heart is vain; <u>their throat are an opened</u> <u>grave; with their tongues they</u> <u>would deceive.</u>

In Romans 3:13a–b, Paul shifts to quote Psalm 5:10. He demarcates the first two parallel cola (“Because there is no truth in their mouths; their heart is vain”). He inserts the second parallel expression into his catena (“Their throats are an opened grave; with their tongues they would deceive”). While the New Testament manuscripts remain uniform, the case becomes more complex when all the available witnesses to Psalms are taken into consideration: Psalm 5:10c–d (= Rom 3:13a–b) – along with everything that follows in Paul’s catena until verse 18 – appears as an expansion to LXX Psalm 13:3. This expansion does not appear in the Masoretic Text of the psalm (Ps 14:3). Furthermore, it is altogether absent from 11QPs^c (11Q7), of which fragments 4–7 attest to Psalm 12:5–14:6.³⁹ Regarding the Greek manuscripts, A (with 55), the Lucianic text, and Theodoret all lack this expansion in verse 3. Comparatively, the expansion remains preserved in all other codices (B; D; R; S*, U), in 286, and in the daughter translations of the LXX (Aeth; Arab^{ParRom}; Boh; Lat; Sah), as well as in seven minuscule manuscripts (115; 174; 180; 189; 191; 227; 273).⁴⁰ The Psalter of Jerome (Psalterum Gallicanum) attests to the expansion by marking it with *obelus* indicating a deviation from the Hebrew text. The earliest witness to trace back the Pauline addition in the LXX manuscripts is found in a papyrus (Rahlf’s *siglum* 2019) dating to the end of the third

39 See Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31, DJD 23* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 55. The manuscript dates to the first half of the first century CE.

40 Alfred Rahlf, *Septuaginta-Studien II*, 42, 52; idem, *Psalmi cum Odis: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. X, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 67 (§76).

century CE.⁴¹ I will deal with the origin of the catena in more detail in the discussion section of this article below.

Table 4: Romans 3:13c compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:13c	Psalm 13:3g	Psalm 139:4
ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν·	<u>[ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν]</u>	ἠκόνησαν γλώσσαν αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ὄφεως ἰὸς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν διάψαλμα They made their tongue sharp as a snake’s;
the poison of snakes is under their lips.	<u>the poison of snakes is under their lips.</u>	<u>poison of snakes is under their lips.</u>

In verse 13, the quotation from Psalm 139(140):4b fully agrees with the LXX manuscripts, appearing rather uniform.⁴² Paul modifies the quotation by leaving out the first part of the parallel expression from verse 4: “They made their tongue sharp as a snake’s.” Furthermore, from a text critical perspective, it is fascinating that the cola quoted from Psalm 139(140):4 in Romans 3:13c is copied to the Sahidic version of Psalm 5:10. Cumulatively with the above-mentioned example, this shows that New Testament quotations may have – deliberately or by accident – influenced or even been harmonized with in the manuscript of the quoted texts during the transmission process.

Table 5: Romans 3:14 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:14	Psalm 13:3h	Psalm 9:28
ῶν τὸ στόμα ⁴³ ἄρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει	ῶν τὸ στόμα ἄρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει	οὔ ἄρᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ κόπος καὶ πόνος

⁴¹ Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 14. See also idem, *Septuaginta-Studien II*, 15–16, in which he uses a *siglum* Lond²³⁰.

⁴² Only MS U reads the singular ἀσπίδος instead of the plural in LXX Ps 13:3. Furthermore, concerning other translations of this psalm, i.e., LXX Ps 139:4, Latin versions La⁶ Aug Uulug disagree by using “linguam” (sg. acc. according to the singular Hebrew noun לִשָּׁה) instead of “linguas” (pl. acc.) as in La⁸, which corresponds to the plural in the LXX.

⁴³ MSS B and 33 (Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 94, mentions also MS 17 and Cyp) add αὐτῶν.

Their mouths are full of cursing and bitterness.

Their mouths are full of cursing and bitterness

him whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness and deceit;
under his tongue are grief and hardship.

The changes in verse 14 concern vocabulary, word order, and person. Paul omits the possessive pronoun (despite it appearing in B and 33) and the noun δόλος (“guile” or “treachery”) – the latter word is omitted perhaps because Paul uses the verb δολώω in a previous verse.⁴⁴ The word order in Romans 3:14 appears less ambiguous than in Psalm 9:28: the nouns ἀρά (“curse”) and πικρία (“bitterness”) appear next to each other,⁴⁵ connected by καί.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Paul applies the third person plural pronoun ὧν, instead of the third person singular οὗ.

Table 6: Romans 3:15–16 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:15 ὄξεις οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα,	Psalm 13:3i ὄξεις [οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα]	Isaiah 59:7a(–b) οἱ δὲ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίαν τρέχουσιν <u>ταχινοὶ ἐκχέαι αἷμα</u> (καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ ἀφρόνων) [...]	Proverbs 1:16 οἱ γὰρ πόδες αὐτῶν εἰς κακίαν τρέχουσιν καὶ <u>ταχινοὶ τοῦ ἐκχέαι αἷμα</u>
"Their feet are fast to shed blood,	<u>Their feet are fast to shed blood</u>	<u>And their feet run to evil,</u> <u>swift to shed blood,</u> (and their reasonings are reasonings of fools)	<u>For their feet run to evil</u> <u>and they are quick to</u> <u>shed blood.</u>

44 This is also suggested by Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 116 n. 3. Yet, Paul characteristically uses the same word root in the same passage.

45 The LXX deviates from the MT. Following the Hebrew word order, the LXX translates הָלַף (“oath,” “curse”) using ἀρά (“curse”), while the LXX adds the noun πικρία (“bitterness”) before הַמְרֵרָה (“fraud,” “deceit”) translated as δόλος (“guile,” “treachery”), which is not attested to in Paul’s oeuvre. Rahlfs does not mention this deviation between the MT and LXX. Since the word ἀρά (“curse”) is used most often (21 occurrences out of 27) in the LXX to correspond to the Hebrew “oath” (הָלַף), and πικρία (“bitterness”) normally corresponds to various Hebrew words, it is probable that the Greek equivalent πικρία was secondarily written in the margin as a close semantic equivalent and later accidentally added to the text.

46 Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 95, points out that shifting the finite verb γέμω (“to be full of something,” “contain”) to the end of the verse agrees with the entire structure of the catena, where the finite verb – aside from the emphatic οὐκ ἔστιν – appears at the end of the clause (compare to vv. 12a, 13b, and 17).

In addition to the word changes, Paul inserts the adjective at the beginning, making the verse shorter by omitting the expression ἐπὶ πονηρίαν / εἰς κακίαν τρέχουσιν. Furthermore, it is rather clear that Paul (one way or another) consulted the text form of Isaiah 59:7, since what follows in Romans is from Isaiah 59:8, which is unparalleled in Proverbs.⁵¹

Dietrich-Alexander Koch points out that the omission of the middle part of Isaiah 59:7 (καὶ οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν διαλογισμοὶ ἄφρόνων) finds a parallel in Paul's handling of Psalm 13(14). That is, he avoids any reference to the foolish (ἄφρων) by omitting the first part of verse 1.⁵² In this manner, Paul emphasizes the universality of misbehavior. He does not deal with the misbehavior of a particular group, as in Psalm 13(14) and Isaiah 59:7. This omission represents a solid example of Paul's selective use of scripture. His scriptural proof of universal human culpability becomes sustainable only with these deliberate modifications.

Table 7: Romans 3:17 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:17 καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν	Psalm 13:3k καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν	Isaiah 59:8 καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ οἶδασιν ⁵³ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κρίσις ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν αἱ γὰρ τρίβοι αὐτῶν διεστραμμέναι ἄς διοδεύουσιν καὶ οὐκ οἶδασιν εἰρήνην
and the way of peace they have not known.	<u>and the way of peace they</u> <u>have not known.</u>	<u>And a way of peace they do not</u> <u>know,</u> and there is no judgment in their ways, for their paths, through which they travel, are crooked, and they do not know peace.

⁵¹ Compare to Enno Edzard Popkes, “Essenisch-qumranische und paulinische Psalmen-Rezeptionen. Ein Beitrag zur frühjüdischen Schrifthermeneutik,” in *Jesus, Paulus und die Texte von Qumran*, ed. Jörg Frey and Enno Edzard Popkes, WUNT 390 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 248, who believes Paul cited Prov 1:16.

⁵² Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 119. Thus, also Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 97–98.

⁵³ Alexandrian text group (A 106 Q 26 86); Q^{ms} –oI’ (88-Syh-109–736²); 403; Clem.; Eus.; Hi. read ἔγνωσαν. According to Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias*, Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 341, it seems that Rom 3:17 influenced this.

In verse 17, Paul deviates from the wording in Isaiah 59:8 applying ἔγνωσεν instead of οἶδασιν. In addition, Paul changes the tense of the verb to an aorist. This deviation appears again in Psalm 13:3k through the influence of Romans 3:17. Is this change Pauline in origin? The difference between οἶδα and γινώσκω is slight: the former bears the meaning “to have knowledge of,” whereas the latter, which Paul uses, means “to comprehend.” Thus, since the semantics between these words overlap in several cases, illustrated by their interchangeability appearing in Greek manuscripts in general, perhaps γινώσκω should be attributed to Paul’s *Vorlage*, from which he adopted it.⁵⁴

Table 8: Romans 3:18 compared to its possible source texts and parallels

Romans 3:18	Psalm 13:3l	Psalm 35:2
οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν	[οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν]	φησὶν ὁ παράνομος τοῦ ἀμαρτάνειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ
There is no fear of God before their eyes.	<u>there is no fear of God before</u> <u>their eyes.</u>	Says the transgressor of the law in himself, in order to sin: <u>there is not fear of the divine</u> <u>before his eyes</u>

In verse 18, Paul returns to quote the psalms. He uses Psalm 35(36):2 with a minor change: he renders the third person plural possessive pronoun (“their eyes”) instead of the third person singular (“his eyes”) as in the psalm. In the context of this psalm, the reference point of the possessive pronoun (or suffix in Hebrew) remains rather ambiguous. Grammatically, it could refer either to a wicked one (ὁ παράνομος / *נשׂר*) or to God; in the Pauline context, however, as well as in LXX Psalm 13:31, the pronoun clearly refers to the previously described evil-doers: there is no fear of God before *their* eyes.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Thus, Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 98, who still acknowledges the possibility that γινώσκω, which refers to personal responsibility, suits Paul’s argumentation better. This view is supported by Koch, *Schrift als Zeuge*, 143. See also the preceding footnote on the textual variant and Ziegler’s verdict on its Pauline origin.

⁵⁵ The preposition ἀπέναντι occurs 91 times in the LXX. In Deut 28:66, its function comes close to the Pauline usage: καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου καὶ φοβηθήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ οὐ πιστεύσεις τῇ ζωῇ σου. In Josh 24:1, it appears as an expression of the relationship with God: ἀπέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ (compare to similar uses, e.g., in 1Chr 13:10; 17:16). With

5 Discussion of the Origin of the Catena in Romans 3:10–18

George Brooke has identified five approaches used by modern interpreters of the catena.⁵⁶ First, there are those who focus on the catena as proof from scripture that it applies to everybody – particularly those who fall under the authority of scripture.⁵⁷ Second, there are those scholars who concentrate on the notion that humans’ universal vulnerability to the power of sin is central to Paul’s argument.⁵⁸ Third, others view the use of the catena as possessing rhetorical force as serving as “a kind of list of prosecution witnesses.”⁵⁹ Fourth, some scholars claim that the catena enables Paul to make a hermeneutical move distinguishing between the righteous and the wicked to argue that all are sinful.⁶⁰ Finally, the last approach focuses on the shift within the catena away from the original quoted texts.⁶¹ While Brooke utilizes the anthropological terms within these scriptural texts as a rhetorical key to understanding the catena (see below for further discussion), I concentrate on the origin of the catena – and its afterlife in textual transmission. Since I argue that Paul himself arranged the texts into the catena, I concentrate on text-critical questions, on the one hand, and Paul’s argumentative aim on the other.

As I have shown above, the most plausible explanation for the origin of the catena in Romans 3:10–18 is that Paul himself composed it. Other evidence for the compilation of catenae from the late Second Temple period exists, suggest-

regard to the so-called anthropomorphic use referring to God, compare to, for example, Jdt 11:13 (ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν); Hos 7:2 (ἀπέναντι τοῦ προσώπου μου); Isa 1:16 (ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου); Jer 16:17 (ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐκρύβη τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῶν ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου); and Lam 2:19 (ἀπέναντι προσώπου κυρίου).

56 Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 254, where he refers to Steve Moyise, “The Catena of Romans 3:10–18,” *ExpTim* 106 (1994–1995): 367–370, making such a distinction between modern approaches to the catena. Moyise’s classification deviates slightly from Brooke’s. But, since Moyise does not provide such a compact list of approaches, I followed Brooke’s classification.

57 William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), 74–75; Charles K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, BNTC (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), 69–70.

58 Robinson, *Wrestling with Romans*, 36.

59 Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 254, referring to Nils Alstrup Dahl, “Romans 3:9: Text and Meaning,” in *Paul and Paulinism* (London: SPCK, 1982), 184–204.

60 Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, 149.

61 S. L. Edgar, “Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament,” *NTS* 9 (1962–1963): 56. Similarly, Käsemann and Stanley pay attention to the original context of the quotations, but emphasize that the shift was not a concern of ancient authors (see Moyise, “The Catena of Romans 3:10–18,” 368).

ing that Paul composed a similar sort of compilation from a number of sources. At Qumran, we find numerous examples: Florilegium (4Q174)⁶² as well as 4Q158, 4Q177, and 4Q176.⁶³ Philo of Alexandria provides another example of practices among Paul’s contemporaries to quote the psalms. Similarly to Paul, also Philo compiles different psalms under one quotation formula.⁶⁴

Paul’s composition in Romans 3:10–18 later appeared in one LXX manuscript of Psalm 13, possibly initially in the margin, which a later copyist could have inserted into the text. This provides an example of how that composition eventually spread more broadly into various textual streams (B; D; R; S*; U; 286) as well as in daughter translations (Aeth; Arab^{ParRom}; Boh; Lat; Sah; Syr) and in minuscule manuscripts (115; 174; 180; 189; 191; 227; 273). At which point during the textual transmission this addition emerged in LXX Psalm 13 remains difficult to determine, but it must have occurred at a very early stage in order to be distributed so widely. The earliest evidence (MS 2019) attesting to this addition dates to the end of the third century CE, by which time the Pauline expansion had emerged in the manuscript.

The Codex Alexandrinus (with 55), dating to the fourth or fifth century, lacks the Pauline expansion.⁶⁵ The expansion appears in neither the Lucianic Text⁶⁶

62 For further details, see George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985).

63 Stanley, *Paul and the Language*, 76–77, lists these as a parallel to Paul’s method for creating excerpts. For basic editions of the manuscripts, see John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

64 In *Somn.* II 245–246, Philo uses a quotation formula “one of the disciples of Moses says” (τις τῶν ἐταίρων Μωυσέως ἐν ὕμνοις εἶπεν) introducing Ps 64(65):10, and then simply adds “another song” (καὶ ἕτερον ᾠσμα τοιοῦτον) before the next quotation from Ps 45(46):5. In *Deus.* 74–82, he quotes Pss 100(101):1; 74(75):9; 61(62):12. Only the first quotation is marked by the quotation formula (“the psalm-singer says somewhere”; καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ὕμνωδὸς εἶπέ σου), whereas the second more vaguely “elsewhere it says” (ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται), as well as the third (καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν). For further details on Philo’s use of psalms, see Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, TSAJ 84 (Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2001). Yet, she does not argue whether the deviation in the wording between Philo’s quotations and the LXX text should be traced back to quotations from memory, with deliberate changes or a different text (compare pp. 152–153).

65 Codex Vaticanus (B) appeared much earlier. Alfred Rahlfs, “Alter und Heimat der vaticanischen Bibel-handschrift,” *JTS* 9 (1907–1908): 77–78, predates B to 367 CE, since the order and extent of the biblical books that it includes correspond to the list of Athanasius’s 39th Festal Letter written in 367 CE. Furthermore, Rahlfs situates B to Egypt, since Athanasius resided with the bishop in Alexandria and the festal letter served as the only authority in that region.

66 Rahlfs includes about 150 younger minuscule manuscripts collated by Holmes and Parsons with the Lucianic text. In total, 96 of these attest to Ps 13 and lack the expansion. The earliest

nor the Theodoret.⁶⁷ The Lucianic text became the most common text by the fifth century.⁶⁸ Only fragments of Origen's Hexapla remain preserved and, thus, we possess no material from it concerning Psalm 13(14). Jerome marks the expansion in LXX Psalm 13:3 under *obelus* in his *Psalterum Gallicanum*.⁶⁹

From the point of view of Paul's argumentative habits, we observe that this represents the only example in which he inserts such a long catena of quotations into his letter without interrupting the quotation with explanatory notes.⁷⁰ One reason for not doing so could stem from Paul's use of an exegetical method or principle later appearing in the rabbinic literature known as *gēzērāh šāwāh*.⁷¹ This method is characterized by conflating various biblical passages based on lexical correspondence. While the texts that Paul uses in Romans 3:10–18 do not contain the same lexemes, the anthropological terms describing the “other” form a semantic bridge. Paul appears to use them as catchwords as follows:

Psalm 13(14) heart, ἡ καρδία (v. 1 which Paul does not quote)

Psalm 5:10 throat, ὁ λάρυγξ – tongue, ἡ γλῶσσα

Psalm 139(140):4 lip, τὸ χεῖλος

(39 / E) of these minuscule manuscripts dates to the ninth century CE. See Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien II*, 7. The Lucianic text bears the martyr Lucian's (died in 312 CE) name, since the Antiochian Church Fathers Chrysostom and Theodoret cite according to the Lucianic text.

67 Concerning the Hebrew witnesses to Ps 14, evidence from Qumran exists that manuscript 11QP^s (11Q7) dated to the first century CE attests to Ps 14(MT):3 without the expansion.

68 Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 60 (§ 7.1)

69 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien II*, 140, claims that it implies that he used Origen's Hexapla, where the same place was marked under an *obelus* as well.

70 Paul also uses combined quotations in Rom 9:25–29; 10:18–21; and 11:8–10. These instances differ from Rom 3:10–18, however, because Paul inserts a quotation formula (“Hosea says”; “But Isaiah cries out about Israel”; “And as Isaiah has said before”) at the beginning of each quotation. I do not consider the lack of interpretive quotation formulae as proof of a non-Pauline origin of the catena. The argument *ex silentio* – namely, the lack of interpretive formulae – does not undermine the Pauline origin of the catena.

71 For the different instances in Paul, see Friedrich Avemarie, “Gab es eine vorrabbinische Gezera schawa? Schriftauslegung durch lexematische Assoziation in Qumran, bei Paulus und in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur,” in *Neues Testament und früh-rabbinisches Judentum*, ed. Jörg Frey and Angela Standhartinger, WUNT 316 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 345–391, esp. 375–376. In addition, Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 138–139, 147–148, points out that the method called *gēzērāh šāwāh* in later rabbinic literature is used in the Qumranic texts: 4QFlorilegium 1:10–13 alludes to the word הַקִּימוֹתִי in Amos 9:11 and 2Sam 7:11, since the word occurs in both instances. And similarly, in 4QFlorilegium 1:14, the method allows us to make a connection between Ps 1 and Isa 8:11 through their analogical use of דָּרַךְ, and between Ps 1 and Ezek 37:23 through the analogical use of מוֹשֵׁב.

Psalm 10:7 mouth, τὸ στόμα
 Isaiah 59:7 (Prov 1:16) foot, ὁ πούς
 Psalm 35(36):2 eye, ὁ ὀφθαλμός

Brooke among others⁷² analyzed this element of the Pauline catena.⁷³ He identified the character of different body parts mentioned in the catena portraying various emotions – more specifically, either as active or passive aspects of the subject. In the Hebrew Bible, body parts, such as bones and inner organs, are used more often to describe the state of the passive self as under threat from “the other” rather than in an emotional state.⁷⁴ By contrast, visible body parts (facial parts such as the lips, mouth, eyes, nose, and ears, as well as the hands and feet) represent the active role of the self – that is, the deeds and intentions of both the wicked and the righteous. At times the same body part represents either the passive or the active aspect. For instance, the heart may illustrate a loss of courage in a passive role or it can function as the seat of cognition in an active role.⁷⁵ Furthermore, anthropological terminology forms a group identity – not only Jewish or Gentile, but an identity before the divine. Thus, in the Pauline catena, by using the terminology of active body parts, Paul creates an image of a person that – in contrast to the quoted psalms – generically qualifies all humanity as inclined to sinful actions. As Brooke concludes, “That all humans share the same identity before God is an important part of Paul’s argument.”⁷⁶

6 Conclusions

In the context of Romans 3, it is central to Paul that he convinces his audience that all humans sin and lack God’s righteousness. Paul did not invent this theology; but, instead, he used the material from lamentation (Ps 116) and penitential (Ps 51) psalms supporting his point of view. At the same time, he attempts to show that his proclamation of the Gospel does not contradict God’s faithful-

⁷² Fitzmyer, *Romans*, 333–340; cf. also, e.g., Albl, ‘*And Scripture Cannot Be Broken*,’ 172.

⁷³ Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 255, further clarifies that the anthropological terms do not function as pure catchwords since this rhetorical device would require the repetition of the same or a similar word, not thematically similar words.

⁷⁴ Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 251.

⁷⁵ Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 251.

⁷⁶ Brooke, “Weak or Sinful,” 258.

ness to Jews. In addition, I argue that Psalm 51(50) must have been well known among those believers in Christ with a Gentile background. This stems from the assumption that Paul assumes his audience recognizes the surrounding context of the psalm text, in particular, its sin confessional lead-in: “Against you alone did I sin, and what is evil before you, I did.” Paul quotes only the latter part of this verse, emphasizing the essential difference between humans and God as his central pursuit.

Concerning the origin of the catena in Romans 3:10–18, I find it improbable that Paul quoted an already existing enlarged text present in LXX Psalm 13:3 as some scholars claim.⁷⁷ My assertion is supported by the following: first, no other parallel phenomenon exists. Paul does not quote such an extensive passage from scripture anywhere else in his letters, but instead he conflates quotations from different sources as he did in Romans 3:10–18. Second, the enlargement in LXX Psalm 13 follows Paul’s composition verbatim, whereas wordings in parallel instances deviate from the Pauline quotation. The most plausible explanation for these deviations suggests that Paul modified the text he was quoting, and Paul’s wording was later copied in the manuscripts of LXX Psalm 13.

The deviations between the LXX and the catena are in many cases characteristic of Paul; when Paul quotes selectively, the quoted portions are well-suited with the context. This, in my view, shows that the catena does not carry a pre-Pauline origin. I must admit that Paul could have modified a fixed composition of these psalms if we presume that such a composition was at his disposal. Nevertheless, as long as we do not possess any evidence of such a pre-Pauline composition, we cannot substantiate this hypothesis. Furthermore, since the composition seems to fit precisely with Paul’s argument, it supports the notion that he most probably created it. Finally, one must bear in mind that we do not have direct access to the text that a) Paul wrote or b) that he (one way or another) cited. What renders the task even more difficult is that in some cases, the LXX manuscripts were harmonized with Paul’s wording, as I have demonstrated in this article. Thus, the catena of quotations in Romans 3 serves as an example of a case in which the LXX was harmonized according to a New Testament writing.

By compiling the different psalms into a catena, it is possible that Paul exercised exegetical methods developed later within rabbinic exegetical traditions, such as *gēzērāh šāwāh*. The catena in Romans 3:10–18 shows that Paul conflated Isaiah with psalms, which comprise lamentation language and imagery of the wicked other depicted using body parts. I disagree with the view that all these texts were already compiled together and used for specific purposes in the

77 Albl, *‘And Scripture Cannot Be Broken’*.

late Second Temple period. Instead, I find it plausible that Paul arranged them himself. Within the context of Romans 3 and Paul’s overall aim in the epistle, the hostile imagery served as proof of universal sinfulness.