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Paul's Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah

in

Romans 9-11

by

Ah Li Yang

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance
with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of Bristol Baptist College
validated by the University of Bristol

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Paul's reading and interpretation of Scripture, particularly of Isaiah in Romans 9-11, from the perspective of prophetic reapplication. 'Prophetic reapplication' denotes 'reading Scripture as prophecy which can be reapplied as new prophetic words to new situations.'

Scriptures for Paul may not have been what later became the canonical contents of the MT although 'the Law, the Prophets and the writings' were recognized as Scriptures. With the conviction that Scriptures are written divine oracles, and so can be adapted to, and are relevant for, every age. He also believed that the Holy Spirit played an important role in reading, interpreting and hearing of the words from Scriptures.

The wordings of some of Paul's Scriptural quotations are different from the present LXX although most of them are generally recognized as having cited from the LXX. This study points out these differences as due to such reasons as: the fluidity of the three part divisions of Hebrew writings, the possibility of proto-MT and proto-LXX texts and their revisions, the different exegetical methods of his day, memory citations, and cultural and theological adaptations.

This study also investigates how Paul understood his call and how that has influenced his reading, interpreting, communicating and reapplication of Scriptures. The use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 indicates that Paul understood his apostleship also includes a prophetic role.

Paul was convinced that Isaiah's oracles eschatologically referred to God's grace for Jews and Gentiles who believed in Christ, and to God's judgement for Jews who have rejected Christ. He communicated this conviction to Roman readers by reading, interpreting, and reapplying Isaiah's oracles as his own new prophetic message to warn both Jews and Christians.

This study suggests that Paul's prophetic reapplication of Isaiah's oracles is a possible model for modern Christian prophecy.

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I dedicate this work to my parents, eight brothers, five sisters, seven nephews, and three nieces as but a small token of a deep gratitude for their love and support through these many years.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ali'.

DATE: August 31, 2000.

Abbreviations

ABD: Anchor's Bible Dictionary
IDB: Interpreters' Dictionary of the Bible
IF: Introductory Formula
LXX: The Septuagint Version-Greek Bible
MT: The Masoretic Text-Hebrew Bible
NIV: The Holy Bible: New International Version
RSV: The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version
ZNW: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Bibles

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Introduction

Since about the second century CE the use of the Old Testament as Scripture has been a problem for some Christians. For instance, in the middle of the second century, Marcion of Sinope challenged the continuity of the Old Testament and the New Testament writings. He denied the God of Israel in the Old Testament was the Father of Jesus in the New Testament.¹ For some, the problem seems even more acute today because of the assumed gap between the world of the Old Testament and the modern world.

However, the New Testament writers seem to make use readily of the Old Testament to support what they say. This is true of Paul. His use of the Old Testament has been subjected to a number of scholarly studies.² Some have concluded that it is ‘idiosyncratic, fully time-conditional, and largely worthless as a contemporary model for Christian theology’³ whereas others have concluded that ‘Paul’s use of Scripture was intimately connected with his application of the text to the situations of his world.’⁴

It is not the purpose of this thesis to carry out another general study of Paul’s use of the Old Testament. It is directed to the more restricted aim of examining the possibility that Paul regarded himself not only as an apostle but also a prophet, and how that may have influenced his use of the Old Testament, particularly, the prophetic writings. This study intends to explore Paul’s use of the prophetic writings from a ‘prophetic reapplication perspective’. ‘Prophetic reapplication’, particularly in this study, means ‘reusing or reapplication of older prophetic materials as new prophetic oracles with new meanings for new situations.’ In other words, it means, ‘working the prophetic texts in order to produce new meanings and new prophetic words for new situations.’ Only a few scholars have recently begun to explore this possibility.⁵

¹ Baker 1976, 35.

² E.g. Ellis, E. 1957. *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*. Hays, R. 1989. *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. Evans and Sanders. eds. 1993. *Paul and the Scripture of Israel*. Stanley, CA. 1992. *Paul and the Language of God*. Smith, M. ‘The Pauline Literature’ in Carson and Williamson. eds. 1988. *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*. Aageson. 1993. *Written also for our Sake: Paul and the Art of Biblical Interpretation*.

³ It is Child’s summary of scholarly works on Paul rather than his own view (Childs 1992a, 243).

⁴ Ellis 1957, 143.

⁵ Sandnes. 1991. *Paul-one of the Prophets? A Contribution of the Apostle's self-understanding*. Hall. 1982. *Paul as a Christian Prophet in His Interpretation of the Old Testament in Romans 9-11*. Evans, ‘Paul and the Prophets: Prophetic Criticism in the Epistle to the Romans (with special reference to Romans 9-11)’ in Soderlund and Wright eds. 1999. *Romans and the People of God*. Ben Witherington III. 1994. *The Paul Quest: the Renewed Search for the Jew of Tarsus*. David Hill. 1979. *New Testament Prophecy*.

Since Paul's use of Scripture in a general sense can take many forms, such as quotations or citations, allusions, parallels and images, this study chose to focus only on Paul's direct quotations from the Old Testament in the undisputed letters. Because of a large number of quotations from the Old Testament in the undisputed Pauline letters, it was necessary to choose a restricted corpus of Pauline writings for detailed study.

Dahl noted that "no detailed investigation has been done on 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 translation."⁶ Thus the quotations from Isaiah in Rom 9-11 were chosen for three main reasons: (1) There is no major scholarly work on Paul's use of the Old Testament prophetic oracles in Romans yet. (2) Practically, most of the quotations from the prophets in Pauline letters are from Isaiah and most of them are found in Rom 9-11.⁷ (3) Paul's arguments in Rom 9-11 deal with his theology concerning the people of God. In Rom 9-11, Paul redefines the people of God on the basis of his reading and interpretation of Isaiah with 'a prophetic re-application perspective.' He also discusses the relation of the historical chosen people of Israel to the Gentile Christians in the framework of God's salvation history. Paul was convinced that God is mercifully in control of the salvation history of both Israel and Gentiles. He believed that both Jews and Gentiles are entitled to be the children of God through faith in Christ. Again, Paul's perception of universal salvation through faith in Christ is based on his reading of the Scriptures, especially, Isaiah.

A secondary aim of this study is to consider what applications might be drawn from Paul's use of Isaiah in Rom 9-11 for a Christian understanding and use of Old Testament prophecy.

Both intentions can only be reached by putting Paul's use of Isaiah into a wider context. So this thesis begins with a survey of the use of Scriptures in general by New Testament writers in order to understand the differences between them and Paul. Since there is no evidence in the New Testament that the word 'Scripture' is used for the Old Testament, as Christians today know it, how and when New Testament writers recognised the Old Testament as 'Scripture' needs brief consideration.

The consideration of Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 will be based on a general review of how Paul understood the nature of Scripture according to earlier scholarly works on Paul. Ten

⁶ Dahl 1977, 138.

⁷ There are 43 quotations from the prophets but 29 are from Isaiah in undisputed letters. In Romans, 27 quotations are from the prophets but 20 are from Isaiah. There are 15 from Isaiah in Romans 9-11. According to Smith's list, out of 49 quotations from Old Testament in Rom 9-11, 15 quotations are from Isaiah, 9 from the Torah, 3 from the Minor Prophets, and 6 are from the Writings. (Smith 1988, 269)

texts will be studied in finding out how Paul understood his apostleship and how that affects his reading of Scripture by examining the origin of the text, its context, and how Paul and his contemporaries generally understood and applied it to the situations of the time.

In conclusion, a brief discussion will be made based on previous studies about Paul's self-understanding of apostleship as both an apostle and a prophet. This study rests on the conviction that Paul's reading of Isaiah's oracles and his prophetic reapplication was one of the means by which Paul is portrayed as a prophet, who like Isaiah, reads and interprets Israel's sacred traditions from the perspective of universal salvation.

Finally, this thesis will present Paul's reading of prophetic materials as one of the models for reading and interpreting Old Testament prophecies as new prophetic oracles with new and relevant meaning for the current situation of the Church.

Chapter One: Scripture and Canon

A. Introduction

This chapter is a general survey of how ancient writings, particularly the Scriptures of Israel became sacred, and formed ‘Scriptures’ which influenced the lives of various religious Jewish people in the first century CE. This includes a consideration of the Hebrew canon and the Scriptural texts that were available in Paul’s days. Out of the many textual traditions, this chapter considers the Masoretic Text (the MT) as ‘the determinative text for the Hebrew Scripture.’⁸ The Septuagint (the LXX) will be included as the Scripture of the Jews in the first century CE.⁹

Every religion, which has ‘Scripture’ believes that the ‘Scriptures are sacred writings.’¹⁰ They are regarded as of divine origin or God-given and treated with great respect although when and how they became ‘sacred writings’ is sometimes ambiguous.¹¹ Generally, neither adding to nor removing words from Scriptures are allowed (*Against Apion* 1:8). Scriptures contain traditions and stories about the relationships between the deity, the universe and a particular religious community. They describe the characteristics of the deity and his/her relationship to and requirements of the people who believe in him/her and worship him/her. Thus, human reception, response, and preservation play important roles in the existence of one particular Scripture. Where does Scripture come from?

Smith has suggested that ‘Scripture needs to be understood as merely ‘a human activity’ because it is the people, who make texts and call it ‘Scripture’ by treating it with great respect as of superhuman origin and so in turn it affects them.’¹² He argues the importance of human involvement in a text becoming Scripture. For him, ‘the quality of being Scripture depends on the attitude of a particular group of people that makes a text to be Scripture, not on an attribute of texts because that text is still simply a text for those who are not in that particular group.’¹³ A text can become Scripture when a particular group of religious people recognises its sacredness and authority and makes it into Scripture, or keeps it as Scripture. Moreover, Scripture is

⁸ The MT is also called the ‘received text’ and was determined as the final form of the central text of the Hebrew Bible in the first century CE. But it is developed as a result of so called proto-Masoretic texts from the First and Second Temple period. (Tov 1992, 19)

⁹ The translation of the Hebrew Scripture into Greek was probably carried out in Egypt from the third to the end of second century BCE. (Tov 1992, 136)

¹⁰ Judaism, the Samaritans, Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Zoroasterism are regarded as ‘Scriptural religions’.

¹¹ For example, there is a Burmese’s saying, ‘God, the Scripture, the monks, the parents and the teachers must be worshipped as the same level.’

¹² Smith 1993, 18.

¹³ Smith 1993, 18.

regarded as an on-going historical process because ‘the people, who make the Scripture, keep making it as Scripture by reading and interpreting it timelessly’¹⁴ with the conviction that Scripture is meaningful for eternity, the past, the present and the future.¹⁵ Smith asserts that ‘from generation to generation, reading, interpreting and practising the ‘Scripture’ of a people makes that particular people what they are.’¹⁶

An argument can be made against Smith’s suggestion about ‘the quality of being Scripture depending on the attitude of those who make a text to be Scripture.’ Every text cannot become Scripture. Most Scriptures were records of the Deity and a particular group of society. Before there was a text, the traditions about the Deity and that particular group were carried on or transmitted as oral stories. Written texts were a later development of human civilisation. As Barton asserts ‘texts supposedly were carefully copied (textually) or scrupulously recited (orally) precisely because their contents were important- because of what they meant.’¹⁷ A text is less important than the content, that is the record of powerful traditions and stories about God-experiences, of a particular group of people. People who live in illiterate societies can understand how traditions of God-experiences in a society are treated with great respect and marked down as signs, and symbols and regarded as Scripture.

The Scriptures are therefore regarded as Scripture because of their contents or traditions. Thus, Smith does not emphasize enough how a text is made up from, that is the content of a text, though he puts much emphasis on human involvement in a text becoming Scripture. It is undeniable that there might have been many traditions of God- experience but some of the traditions are more adaptable, not only to a religious community as a whole, but also to individual spiritual needs. Those traditions might have been recalled, transmitted and adapted to different circumstances from generation to generation.

Presumably, the traditions of God-experience which seem to be more effectively adaptable for both individual and communal lives of a particular community were continuously transmitted and relevantly reused in different generations and finally written down as the record of a particular religious group. For Smith, those written records containing tradition of God-experience of a particular religious group are mere texts. However, those written records of God experience play an essential role for the continued existence of a particular religious community

¹⁴ Smith 1993, 19.

¹⁵ For example, in Rom 4:23, Paul says that the words, ‘it was credited to him as righteousness’ were written not for Abraham alone but also for all believers. According to Luke 4:17,18, Jesus proclaims that Isaiah’s prophecy (Isa 61:1-2a) is fulfilled in him.

¹⁶ Smith 1993, 19.

¹⁷ Barton 1997, 107.

and its influence on that particular people. Thus, one can rest on the fact that it is not purely a matter of human choice, which makes a text to become Scripture but also something in its nature.

Similarly, a written text might become sacred because it describes the traditions and stories about the Deity, its people and the relationship between them and the universe. Its authority would depend on its adaptable and effective influence on both individual and communal lives and most of all its life changing power. Sometimes the power and authority of the Scriptural texts that bring about change in human history cannot be easily understood or explained. Nevertheless, the authority of the ‘Scripture’ though beyond comprehension is able to change and transform miraculously both individual and communal life, which is why Smith describes it as an ‘unrivalled force.’¹⁸ For example, Lisu Christians believed that the ‘Lord’s prayer’ has the power to drive the evil Spirits away because it was taught by Jesus himself in the Gospels.¹⁹ Thus, it is possible to say that a particular text or Scripture can be respected and obeyed by different religious groups, with different understanding and it in return affects them.²⁰ This was probably true of the Scriptures of Israel in the first century CE.

B. Jewish View of Scripture in the First Century CE

The term ‘Old Testament’ as referring to the Scriptures of Israel is never used in any Christian Jewish writings of the first century CE. Terms like ‘books’ used by Josephus²¹ and ‘sacred Scriptures’ used by Philo²² describe the Scriptures of Israel. New Testament writers define the Scriptures of Israel as ἀγίας ἐντολῆς ‘sacred’ or ‘holy commandment’²³ and θεόπνευστος ‘God-breathed’²⁴ and thus describe not only as γραφή ‘Scripture’ but also as γραφαῖς ἀγίαις

¹⁸ Smith 1993, 9.

¹⁹ It was a real experience of my father and uncle. The whole village has been converted from animism into Christianity. They could not even read but they had learnt ‘The Lord’s Prayer’ by heart through an evangelist. One night, they were on the way to home from the Church that is about 3 miles far from our house. The distance between the Church and our house was covered by very deep jungle. They came back from singing practice. In the middle of the jungle they saw all the trees fell down in their ways. They realized that the evil Spirits were disturbing their way. They were told and taught to recite ‘The Lord’s prayer’ whenever difficulties come in their way. So they had done as they were told and it really worked. All the trees stood up again on their root. At that time, according to my father, they knew only Psalm 23, ‘the Lord’s Prayer’ and ‘Jn 3:16.’

²⁰ For example, the use of Hebrew sacred texts as ‘Scripture’ by Jews, Christians and the Samaritans is the evidence of the use of the same particular texts as ‘Scripture’ by the different religious groups.

²¹ Whiston 1852, 633.

²² Yonge 1993, 705.

²³ 2 Pet 2:21

²⁴ 2 Tim 3:16

‘the Holy Writings.’²⁵ In addition, phrases like γραφήν ταύτην ἀνέγνωτε ‘scripture which is read’²⁶ and γεγραμμένον ‘that which is written’²⁷ were also used to refer to γραφή ‘Scripture.’ Paul describes the Scriptures of Israel as γραφῶν ‘the writing’ (Rom 16:26), γραφαῖς ἁγίαις ‘holy writings’ (Rom 1:2), τῷ νόμῳ ‘the law’ (1Cor 14:21), τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ‘the law and the prophets’ (Rom 3:21), and γραφή ‘the Scripture.’²⁸ Paul also seems to refer to Scriptural materials as παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ‘old covenant’ in regard to the hardening of the hearts of the Jews (2 Cor 3:14-15).

In the Old Testament, the concept of ‘sacred writings’ is rarely used. The Hebrew word for ‘Scripture’, which is translated into the Greek, γραφή is כְּתָב. Its root is כָּתַב which primarily means ‘to engrave’ implying ‘to write’ (Ex 17:14; 2 Kgs 23:28; Isa 8:1; Jer 17:1). Thus, כְּתָב means ‘something written’ that is, ‘a writing (Daniel 5:7ff), a record (Isa 4:3), a script (Esther 1:22), a letter (2 Chr 2:10; Ezra 4:7), a register (Ezk 13:9).’²⁹ The Hebrew word סָפַר is also used to describe ‘to inscribe, to declare, to tell (Jos 2:23; Isa 52:15; Jer 23:27), to count (Isa 22:10), to number (Gen 15:5) or to write (Dt 24:1, 3). The noun of סָפַר usually means ‘a book (Ezra 4:15; Dan 7:10), a letter (Ezra 1:22), or a register (Ps 87:6), a scroll (Jer 36:11).’³⁰

The Greek word γραφή is exclusively used to designate ‘Scripture.’ The root γράφω- primarily means ‘to scratch on’, ‘engrave’, with reference to ‘ornaments, reports, letters, lists, and instructions.’³¹ The Greek word γράμμα is also used to describe ‘learning of Scriptures’ (Jn 7:15; Acts 26:24) and ‘the sacred writings’ (2 Tim 3:15).

The ‘Scriptures’ of some Jews in the first century CE probably contained ‘the law, the prophets and the writings.’³² According to Smith, ‘torah’ for the Jews means revelation, that includes both the act of revelation and what is revealed.’³³ The Hebrew word הִלְכוּת signifies ‘to instruct, to teach, and to guide and so the verbal noun could be rendered either instructing or instruction.’³⁴ The ‘torah’ probably referred to ‘the Mosaic revelation’ or ‘the torah of Moses.’ For the

²⁵ Rom 1:2 in Greek

²⁶ Mk 12:10

²⁷ Jn 2:17

²⁸ Rom 4:3; 9:17; 10:11; 11:2; Gal 3:8,16,22; 4:30

²⁹ Strong, 58 in ‘Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary’

³⁰ Strong, 84 in ‘Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary’

³¹ Brown 1999, 483.

³² For the Sadducees and the Samaritans the Pentateuch was their Scripture whereas the Pharisees and the Qumran community (probably Essenes) regarded both oral and written torah, the prophets and the writings as their Scriptures.

³³ Smith 1993, 104.

³⁴ Smith 1993, 103.

Pharisaic Jew, it included the oral torah along with the written torah since orality played an important communicative role in the first century CE. The use of different introductory formulae for Scriptural quotations, such as ‘it is written’,³⁵ ‘as it is written’, ‘that the Scripture might be fulfilled’³⁶, ‘as the Scripture says’³⁷, probably imply stories of traditions because in ancient times, traditions were believed to carry authority. For example, as Smith describes, ‘the story of the Exodus from Egypt and the reverberating revelation at Sinai were important before the book of Exodus.’³⁸ According to Josephus, it was true for the Pharisaic Jews, that both the written and oral torah were regarded as having the same level of authority. He describes that

The Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses, for which reason they are rejected by the Sadduceean group... (*Antiquities*. 13:294).

Thus, as far as the authority of the Hebrew writings are concerned, it is probably based on the traditional view that God or God’s Holy Spirit inspired the individual writers and contributors in antiquity.³⁹ The traditions also hold that ‘all the contributors were prophets inspired by God.’⁴⁰ Moses is, therefore, regarded as a prophet (Num 12:6-8; Dt 18:15-18; Hos 12:13). Thus, the Mosaic Law is believed to be the divine Law (2 Kgs 22:8; Ezra 3:2). Josephus (37-100 CE)⁴¹ writes that

‘For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another [as the Greeks have,] but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine’ (*Against Apion* 1:8).⁴²

The writers of the New Testament regarded the Hebrew Scripture as authoritative and inspired by God’s Spirit. Jesus is portrayed as having recognised that Psalm 110 is a combination of man’s writing and the Spirit of God (Mk 12:36).

For Paul, the true meaning of the ‘Scripture’ is revealed to those who are guided and transformed by the ‘Spirit’ πνεῦμα. Apart from πνεῦμα, γραφή cannot be rightly understood.⁴³ Paul therefore uses γράμμα ‘the written word’ or ‘letter’ for ‘the text of Scripture.’ He, according to Aageson, uses γράμμα together with πνεῦμα to ‘distinguish

³⁵ In Sirach 48:10, the phrase ‘it is written’ is used even though none of Scriptural text has been quoted. Nevertheless, ‘it is written’ seems to refer to ‘Scriptural writings’ when it says, ‘*you who are ready at the appointed time, it is written, to calm the wrath of God before it breaks out in fury, to turn the heart of the father to the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob.*’

³⁶ John 17:12; 19:28; Acts 1:16

³⁷ John 7: 42; 1 Tim. 5:18; and James 4:5.

³⁸ Smith 1993, 121.

³⁹ *ABD*, 850.

⁴⁰ *IDB*, 1211.

⁴¹ Sanders 1992, 5.

⁴² Whiston 1852, 633.

⁴³ Aageson 1993, 33.

between the ‘written word’ γράμμα that kills and the ‘Spirit’ πνεῦμα that makes alive’ (Rom 7:6-11).⁴⁴ For Paul, the words of Scripture are simply script or written text, γράμμα. For Paul, the word, Γραφή means ‘the Spirit-carried letter, the Spirit-interpreted letter.’⁴⁵ Thus, ‘the Spirit’ takes an important role in Paul’s understanding of the Scriptures. Without the ‘Spirit’ the ‘writings’ are merely ‘letters.’

In Rom 4:3, Paul uses Gen 15: 6 in order to emphasise the important relationship between faith and righteousness.

Gen 15:6

And he believed the Lord; and he reckoned it to him as righteousness.

Rom 4:3

For what does the Scripture say? ‘Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.

Paul refers the comment made by the writer of Genesis to ‘Scripture.’ According to Rom 1:2, Paul says, ‘the gospel of God was promised beforehand through His prophets in the Scriptures.’ Thus, Paul would have believed the traditional view of the divine inspiration upon the authors of the Scriptures. In Rom 9:17, Paul says,

For the Scripture says to Pharaoh, ‘I have raised you up for the very purpose of showing my power in you, so that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth.’

His identification of Scripture with the voice of God to Moses concerning Pharaoh therefore demonstrates his unquestioned belief in the divine origin of the text.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls the Hebrew Scripture is mostly used with the formula ‘that is this’ or ‘this refers to this’ in the sense that the Hebrew texts are regarded as relevant for, and speaking authoritatively to current situations. For example, in the commentary on Habakkuk, 1QpHab. Col. 3.2-4 says,

‘For that is what it means when it says, “to seize dwellings not their own.” “Dire and dreadful are they; their law and their fame come from themselves alone” (1:7)

This refers to the Kittim, the fear and the [dread] of whom are on all nations. By intention their only thought is to do evil, and in deceit and trickery they conduct themselves with all the peoples.’⁴⁶

The Rabbinical tradition refers to ‘the authors of all the synagogal Scriptures as the prophets.’⁴⁷

In *Tosefta Sotah* 13:2, the Holy Spirit is believed to leave Israel when Haggai, Zechariah, and

⁴⁴ Aageson 1993, 33.

⁴⁵ Ellis 1957, 27.

⁴⁶ Wise 1996, 117.

Malachi died.⁴⁸ However, how the Hebrew writings- torah, prophets, and other writings- were recognised as Scriptures or how many writings were recognised and fixed to be used as authoritative Scriptures is obscure. Even, the rabbinical tradition cannot give a satisfactory answer to the question of when these writings began to be recognised as authoritative and sacred.

C. The Formation of the Canon of the Hebrew Scripture

Davies writes that ‘the Greek word κανών literally signifies ‘a straight rod’, and perhaps implies the quality of ‘straightness.’⁴⁹ It connotes ‘a physical ruler or an abstract norm or standard, and hence was primarily used to refer to the rules by which poetry or music could be composed, or geometrical shapes measured.’⁵⁰ The Christian understanding of ‘canon’ denotes ‘the authoritative collection of authoritative books’⁵¹ to ‘serve a normative function as sacred Scripture within the continuing religious community.’⁵² Davies asserts that it ‘probably derived from the use of the word ‘canon’ as collections of ancient authors by the scholars of the Alexandrian library.’⁵³ According to Leiman, ‘a canonical book was a book considered divinely inspired and so authoritative for religious practice and doctrine.’⁵⁴

According to the rabbinical tradition, the authors of the three-fold Scriptures of Israel were devoted to the prophets who were regarded as having received divine inspiration. Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are described as the last of the inspired prophets (*Tosefta Sotah* 13:2). Thus, the limited number of the three-fold divisions of twenty-four books was presumably decided with a focus on this tradition. In *Against Apion* 1:8 (probably after 93 CE), Josephus also remarks,

‘It is true, our history has been written since Artaxerxes, very particularly, but has not been esteemed of the like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there has not been an exact succession of prophets since that time; and how firmly we have given credit to those of our books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add any thing to them, or take any thing from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately

⁴⁷ According to Rabbinical tradition (flourished from about 20-500CE), Moses is believed to have written his own book (Pentateuch) and Job. Joshua wrote the book that bears his name and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch. Samuel wrote 1 and 2 Samuel as well as the Book of Judges and Ruth. Through including the work of the elders, David wrote Psalms. Jeremiah, 1 and 2 Kgs, and Lamentations are believed as being written by Jeremiah. Hezekiah and his colleagues wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Assembly wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel and the scroll of Esther. Ezra wrote the book that bears his name and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles up to his own time. (*IDB*, 1210.)

⁴⁸ Tosefta is one of the rabbinical writings, which flourished from about 70-220 CE. (*IDB*. 1211 & 26) Also see Sanders 1977, 63-69.

⁴⁹ Davies 1998, 7.

⁵⁰ Davies 1998, 7.

⁵¹ Metzger 1987, 283.

⁵² Childs 1992a, 67.

⁵³ Davies 1998, 7.

⁵⁴ Leiman 1976, 127.

and from their birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them.’⁵⁵

As far as the formation of the Hebrew Scripture is concerned, Sundberg insists that ‘there were recognised sacred writings in use in Judaism from at least the fifth century BCE even though the collection or the canon of Scriptural books was not yet completed until the Christian era.’⁵⁶

Concerning the sacredness and authority of a text or texts and the limitation of selective texts, Barton’s proposal is worth consideration. Barton starts from the point that ‘any collections of words are able to disclose some information.’⁵⁷ He states that

‘To say that a text is ‘canonical’ or ‘authoritative’ is to say (normally assume) that the content of the text’s message or meaning is being affirmed as important and definitive: to canonise a text is to declare that this content must be assented.’⁵⁸

He also suggests the importance of ‘the unity or coherence of all the texts to make up Scripture.’⁵⁹ For him, the ‘standardisation’ or ‘canonisation’ of a text or texts could not only be related to the content of individual text but rather, he asserts,

‘For the ‘canonical’ mind, the meaning of each book is as strongly determined by its juxtaposition with the other books of the canon as the meaning of individual chapters within a single work by their juxtaposition with each other.’⁶⁰

The canonical books, for Barton, are generally referred to the authoritative and sacred writings which ‘belonged in an official collection, and so were assumed not to contradict to each other but to be mutually illuminating.’⁶¹ What are the main factors, which transformed the ancient traditions and writings into sacred and authoritative writings?

Davies suggests that the emergence and formation of the canon in Judaism was ultimately due to the need ‘to define and preserve their identity as a nation.’⁶² The experience and disaster of the exile had made the people of Israel feel the necessity to reaffirm the ‘story’ of Yahweh’s dealing with His people. Davies asserts,

‘The exile experience had made the people of Israel to be convinced of themselves increasingly and emphatically as a ‘chosen people’ from the record of the origin and prescribed way of life and destiny they found in their ancient writings. Thus, they revered and tried to preserve and elevate those writings for the sake of their own continued existence. Hence, those ancient writings had been made as sacred and authoritative writings..... and later the reaffirmation of

⁵⁵ Whiston 1852, 633.

⁵⁶ Sundberg 1964, 109, 115.

⁵⁷ Barton 1997, 107.

⁵⁸ Barton 1997, 107.

⁵⁹ Barton 1997, 152.

⁶⁰ Barton 1997, 152.

⁶¹ Barton 1997, 155.

⁶² Davies 1993, 28.

Jewish identity had achieved through the development and ultimate fixation of the canon.⁶³

Thus, Davies agrees with Barton's view that the Scriptures are collections of written records of the relation of Israel to her God and other nations and have been regarded as Scripture and treated as sacred and authoritative. However, neither Barton nor Sundberg discuss the process by which the Hebrew canon has come into being although Davies does discuss its process in a later book (published in 1998).

Nevertheless, evidence of the formation of the Hebrew canon can be found within the Hebrew writings itself. The first hint about the existence of a normative document can be found in the Sinai Covenant with its 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 24:4, 7; Dt 31:9; Jos 24:26). There is no further mention of such a document until the book of the law found in the Temple during the time of Josiah (2 Kgs 23:3) in 621 BCE. However, the content of the document, that has been lost, was often brought back to the implied readers (Josh 8:30-31; 2 Kgs 14:6).⁶⁴

The mention of a missing document, for Conrad, indicates, that 'it is the written words not an oral tradition that was lost for the reader.'⁶⁵ However, the people of Judah did not seem to remember the content of 'the book of the Law' which was found in the Temple. Whether or not the content of 'the Law' was told to the people is therefore in some doubt. It is possible that the book was not lost, but not used by Kings of Judah before Josiah. It is also possible that like the prophetic oracles (Isa 8:1-2, 30:8; Jer 36:28), the oral traditions had been needed to be attested by what had written down in the records (Ezk 43:11). Nevertheless, it is obvious that in early post-exilic times the 'Book of the Law of Moses' which Ezra brought to Jerusalem became the normative document for the Jewish community there (Ezra 7:14, 25, 26; Neh 8:8).

Within Judaism early in the Second Temple period, the acceptance of the Pentateuch as the Scripture of the Samaritans, Pharisees and Sadducees indicates the normative authority of the Pentateuch. For the Samaritans, the Pentateuch was held to be authoritative for they took it with them when their schism with the Jews occurred.⁶⁶ There are two arguments concerning the date of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Pentateuch was, probably, recognised as canonical in the fifth century BCE when the Jews rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem to make a separation from foreigners (Ezra 4:7-24; Neh 4:1-9).⁶⁷ However, Beckwith assumes the date of the Samaritan Pentateuch to be around 122 BCE. Beckwith asserts that the complete separation of the Jews and Samaritans

⁶³ Davies 1993, 28.

⁶⁴ Conrad 1992, 51-2.

⁶⁵ Conrad 1992, 55.

⁶⁶ Beckwith 1985, 4.

happened when John Hyrcanus captured Shechem and destroyed Samaria and then had the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim destroyed (Josephus' *Antiquities*. 13:255f. 13:275-81; *War of the Jews* 1:63-5).⁶⁸

Thus, the Pentateuch was already accepted as Scripture at least before 122 BCE. It was also possible that other Hebrew writings might have been either selected or fixed to be used as sacred writings at the same time or later, though the Samaritans did not use them.⁶⁹ The Sadducees had certainly accepted the normative authority of the Pentateuch.⁷⁰ For this reason, one can assume that the writings concerning 'the Law' could possibly be the core of the content in the collection of sacred and authoritative writings. There are also other evidences that indicate the recognition of other Hebrew writings as Scripture.

The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, which seems to have been written in Hebrew about 180 BCE, was translated into Greek about 130 BCE. In his prologue to the Greek version, the translator acknowledges his grandfather, the original author, as a 'devotee to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers.' Ecclesiasticus chapters 44- 50 contain the great catalogue of 'famous men,' who are from these three parts of the Hebrew Scripture (the Law, the Prophets and other writings) and arranged in chronological order, extending from the patriarchal period onwards but ending with the high priest Simon the Just.⁷¹ From these instances, it is certain that the three-fold division of the Hebrew Scripture- the Torah, the Prophetic books, the Deuteronomic story, Nehemiah, and Job - have been already recognised and accepted as Scripture by early days of the second century BCE by some Jews.

The Dead Sea Scrolls, which were written between approximately second century BCE-second century CE contain Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek writings and also reflect the existing

⁶⁷ Beckwith 1985, 128-35.

⁶⁸ Beckwith 1985, 130.

⁶⁹ The Prophets and the writings are centered on the city of Jerusalem and its Temple where the people of Israel worshipped and offered their praises and sacrifices. For the Samaritan, the temple was located on the Mount Gerizim and so it was possible for them to reject the Prophets and the writings as their Scripture for this reason.

⁷⁰ According to early Christian writers like Josephus, Hippolytus, Origen, and Jerome, the Sadducees denied the permanent validity of any but the written laws of the Pentateuch. They opposed the legal regulations introduced by the Pharisees. (Elwell 1988, 1880-1) many of them were from the most powerful priestly families and enjoyed the favor of the Hasmonaean rulers until the reign of Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE). (Douglas 1962, 1124.

⁷¹ These famous men are from the books of Genesis (Ecclus. 44:16-23; 49:14-16), Exodus and Leviticus (Ecclus. 45:1-15), Numbers (Ecclus. 45:15-24; 46:7), Joshua (Ecclus. 46:1-10), Judges (46:11ff.), Samuel (Ecclus. 45:25; 46:13-47:8; 47:11), Kings (Ecclus. 47:12-48:9; 48:11-23; 49:1-6), Isaiah (Ecclus. 48:24ff.), Jeremiah (Ecclus. 49:6f.), Ezekiel (Ecclus. 49:8f.), the Twelve Minor Prophets (Ecclus. 49:10), Haggai (Ecclus. 49:11), Malachi (Ecclus. 48:10), Psalms and Proverbs (Ecclus. 44:4f.), Ezra-Nehemiah (Ecclus. 49:11-13) and Chronicles (Ecclus. 47:9f.).(Elwell 1988, 73.)

manuscripts of the later Hebrew Scripture except the scroll of Esther.⁷² The absence of the book of Esther in the Dead Sea Scrolls does not exclude Esther from one of the twenty-four recognised authoritative writings. It might have been accidentally excluded rather than for a particular reason. However, many suggestions are given to the question of why Esther may have been rejected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Leiman suggests that ‘the Qumran community probably rejected Esther because they did not observe the Purim festival.’⁷³ A suggestion has been made that ‘the Purim festival is not mentioned in the Books of Moses and so they did not observe it.’⁷⁴ This obviously implies the authoritative status of the Torah. The marriage of Esther as a Jew to a Persian king would be another possibility for their rejection of the Book because it was probably offensive to the conservative sensibilities of the community. Furthermore, the absence of any mention of God could also be another reason for their exclusion of Esther. Another possibility is that the plot against Haman in final chapters of Esther (7-9) is obviously contrary to the teachings of the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁷⁵ Concerning ethical behaviour, with a focus on the coming ‘Day of Vengeance’, 1 QS 10:17c-18b says,

‘To no man shall I return evil for evil, I shall pursue a man only for good; for with God resides the judgement of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense.’⁷⁶

The use of each part of three divisions of the Scriptures of Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls, therefore, implies that ‘they might have been recognized as sacred and authoritative writings.’

Similarly, the different translations of the Scriptures of Israel such as the Greek Septuagint and the Aramaic Targums contain all of the three parts of the later Hebrew Scriptures, that is the MT as well as some additional materials. It is believed that parts of the Septuagint were translated as early as the middle of the second century BCE.⁷⁷ According to the letter of Aristeas, the Pentateuch was translated into Greek in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246) and it was viewed as unalterable by the third century BCE (Ep. Aristeas 310f.).⁷⁸ The other books were probably translated over the next 100 years. The Qumran Targums on Job and Leviticus can be

⁷² In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy are all quoted with conventional formulas for quoting Scripture (Man. Disc. 5:15; Damasca. 5:1ff; 7:6, 8ff, 19ff., 16:6ff., 10; 9:2; 10:16ff.; 11:18). The books of Samuel, Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Nahum and Proverbs are also cited with the introductory formulas (Man. Disc. 5:17; 8:14; Damasc. Doc. 1:13f.; 4:20; 7:14-16; 8:3; 20:16; 16:15; 9:5, 8ff.; 11:20f.; 13:23-14:1; 4Q 174 Florilegium 1:7, 12; 11Q Melchizedek Doc. 23). In addition, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Malachi and Daniel are quoted as divine or prophetic writings (Damasc.Doc. 3:20-4:4; 4:13ff.; 6:13ff.; 7:10-12, 2off.; MS.B; 4Q 174 Florilegium 1:14-17; 2:3ff.). 4Q 175 Testimonia, a collection of proof-texts, includes one from Josh (Beckwith 1985, 72-75)

⁷³ Leiman 1976, 35.

⁷⁴ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 630.

⁷⁵ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 630-1.

⁷⁶ Wise 1996, 141.

⁷⁷ IBD 1952, 35. The Greek Pentateuch was the earliest translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch about 250 BCE. (Beckwith 1985, 131)

⁷⁸ Beckwith 1985, 20.

regarded as pre-Christian.⁷⁹ Therefore, it is quite clear that the Hebrew writings forming the three parts of the Hebrew Scripture (but not necessarily all 24 books) were already recognised by some Jews as an authoritative canon before the second century BCE.

In the New Testament, in Lk 11:51, Zechariah seems to be the High Priest of 2 Chr 24:20-21 who was stoned to death. Abel is mentioned in the first human story in Genesis 4:3-15. In this instance, the writer of Luke knew a form of the Hebrew Scriptures as beginning with Genesis and ending with Chronicles. According to Beckwith, 'this pattern was the traditional Jewish arrangement of the canonical books.'⁸⁰ According to Luke 24:44, the risen Christ reminds his disciples in Jerusalem that everything that happened to him was to fulfil what had been written about him in 'the Law of Moses, the prophets and the psalms.' Scholars assert that 'psalms' probably denotes the whole Hagiographa.⁸¹ Matthew the evangelist, also describes Jesus as having known the Hebrew Scripture from the beginning of the Law to the end of the Hagiographa (Mt 23:35).

The works of Jewish writers like Philo and Josephus evidently witness to the existence of the Scriptures of Israel forming the three divisions. According to Leiman, Philo Judaeus's work, which can be dated about 30 BCE-40 CE, refers to almost every book of the Hebrew Scripture except Ezekiel, Daniel, Ruth, Esther, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. He speaks of the Hebrew Scripture as inspired, 'most Holy Scriptures', 'sacred oracles', and 'sacred words.'⁸² In his description of a community called *Therapeutae*, Philo, as Davies writes, mentions that 'laws, and oracles delivered through the mouths of prophets, and psalms and anything else that promotes and perfects their knowledge and piety were in their sacred room.'⁸³ Thus, Philo also witnesses the three parts of the Scriptures of Israel in his days though it is not certain how he regarded the authority of psalms and the other books.

The work of Josephus (ca. 93-95 CE) is contemporary with some of the New Testament writings. His work was based on the Septuagint. Strikingly, his work proves the existence of the recognised Hebrew Bible. In his *Against Apion* 1:8, he writes of the Scripture of Israel as containing 22 books in number. The first five books of Moses contain the laws and traditions. There are thirteen books written by the prophets after Moses' death. The remaining four books

⁷⁹ Beckwith 1985, 21.

⁸⁰ Beckwith 1985, 115.

⁸¹ Bruce 1988, 32; Leiman 1976, 40.

⁸² Leiman 1976, 31.

⁸³ Davies 1998, 108.

contain hymns to God and maxims of life for men. He probably included Ruth with Judges and Lamentations with Jeremiah.⁸⁴

According to 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 14:19-48 (late First century CE), Ezra rewrote by divine inspiration the twenty-four books of the public canon. His reference to 24 books reflects the present Synagogal Scripture. The Holy Scriptures of the Synagogue consist of 24 books, divided into three groups:

- (a) The Torah, 'Law' (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy);
- (b) The prophets are divided into two sub-groups: the Former prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) and the latter prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the 12 of Minor Prophets as one);
- (c) The writings: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the 5 scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastics and Esther), Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

At least three different views concerning the process of the formation of the canon of the Hebrew Scripture can be drawn from the studies, which have already been done on the canon of Old Testament.⁸⁵ Modern discussions of the canon of the Old Testament began with a theory that the writings of the Old Testament or the Hebrew Scripture were recognised as authoritative in three different stages of time according to the three divisions. The Pentateuch was probably recognised as canonical in the fifth century BCE when Jews enforced racial separation from the Gentiles during Nehemiah's time.⁸⁶ It is suggested that the recognition of the Prophets did not happen until after the close of the Pentateuch. The oracles of the prophets were written down and collected as a section but recognized as canonical after most of them had been translated into Greek.⁸⁷ The Prophets are therefore believed to have been recognised in the third century BCE, whereas the writings (the Hagiographa) were not formally recognised as canonical until the synod of Jamnia about CE 90.⁸⁸

However, according to Sundberg, although there were sacred writings in Judaism from at least the fifth century BCE, no writings were actually canonised to a limited number until the Christian era.⁸⁹ His assertion was made with reference to different quotations from the writings of different religious communities. He accepts that the Law and the Prophets were already fixed

⁸⁴ Whiston 1852, 633; Leiman 1976, 31-4.

⁸⁵ H.E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, London, Macmillan, 1892; F.P.W. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, E.T., Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1892; Gerrit Wildeboer, *The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament*, E.T., London, Luzac, 1895; W. H. Green, *General Introduction to the Old Testament: the Canon*, London, Murry, 1899; A.C.A. Sundberg, *The Old Testament of the Early Church*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1964; and R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New testament Church*, London, SPCK, 1985.

⁸⁶ See above about the Samaritan Pentateuch and the canon of the Pentateuch

⁸⁷ Beckwith 1985, 140

⁸⁸ However, the synod of Jamnia is questioned and most scholars do not believe that there was a council for the closed canon in the first century.

⁸⁹ Sundberg 1964, 115.

as a form from the second century BCE but there were many sacred writings of Hagiographa.⁹⁰ For him, 'Scriptures' are books accepted, holy and authoritative by the community but 'canon' is an exclusive list of the books having such a status.

All the quotations from the Pentateuch and the Prophets are more or less the same in religious writings of Jewish sects. However, the use of other writings apart from the Pentateuch and the Prophets shows variation from the present canonical writings. For example, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain several versions of the book of Psalms differing greatly from Psalms in the Old Testament.⁹¹ The different order and version of the book of Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls seems 'to suggest on the one hand that at least the precise order and content of the book of Psalms was not yet fixed when the scrolls were written.'⁹² On the other hand, it could be 'a hymn book' compiled with paraphrased psalms for the purpose of liturgical worship. In addition, the considerable diversity in the texts of Hebrew manuscripts found at Qumran seems to show that the Hebrew text of the Jewish Scriptures was by no means fixed during the period when the biblical manuscripts were being copied for the Qumran library.

In the New Testament references to, or reminiscences of, 1 Maccabees, Enoch, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Assumption of Moses, and the Apocalypse of Elias occur though usually there is neither a hint of quotation nor an introductory formula.⁹³ Sundberg drew his open-canon view from this obscurity. He insists that 'it was not until the second or third century CE that Jews began to understand Scripture as a closed category.'⁹⁴

However, Beckwith argues against both the three stages of the canonisation of the Hebrew Scripture and Sundberg's open-canon. He argues that the three divisions of the Hebrew Bible were already recognised as canonical before the second century BCE. He uncovers many pieces of evidence that witness to the existence of the standardised or fixed form of Hebrew writings used by different religious communities in the second Temple period.⁹⁵ He insists that within the Hebrew Scripture itself, part of the Mosaic and prophetic literatures are recognised as

⁹⁰ Sundberg 1964, 82.

⁹¹ 4Q88 is a copy of the book of Psalms, but in additions to the psalms known from the Bible, it includes other new psalms such as Apocryphal Psalms, Address to Zion. The order of 4Q88 comes like this: Psalms 109, Address to Zion, Psalm on the Last Days, and address to Judah. (Wise 1996, 11-12, 198.)

⁹² Wise 1996, 198.

⁹³ Mt 24:3ff. // 2 Esd. 4:51-5:19; Mt 24:15 // 1 Macc. 1:54; 6:7; Mt 25:35-6 // Sirach 7:32-36; Mt 27:43// Wis. 2:18-20; and 1 Cor 2:9 is introduced with the Introductory Formula 'as it is written'. But Paul seems to get the idea both from Isaiah 64:4 and Sirach 1:10.

⁹⁴ Barton 1997, 9.

⁹⁵ Beckwith 1985, 16-48.

authoritative and so already recorded and reflected upon.⁹⁶ However, according to the prologue of Ecclesiasticus, it is clear that the three divisions of the Hebrew sacred writings- the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings-were a well-known term for 'the Scriptures' of the Jews in the first Christian era.

However, the selective use of different religious communities suggests the uncertainty and disagreement about the number of books of the Hebrew Scripture. Particularly, Paul and the other New Testament writers themselves do not limit their use of quotations only to the later Masoretic canon of the Hebrew Scripture. Luke portrays Paul as using a Greek poetry.⁹⁷ Paul sometimes alludes to the stories from the Hebrew writings and traditions.⁹⁸ More often, he does not quote the Hebrew text accurately but only takes the idea of the text and seems having in mind different texts.⁹⁹ However, Luke does not use any of the introductory formula when he describes Paul's use of a Greek poetry. Thus, it might be possible that if Paul actually used a Greek poem, his audience supposedly also knew it. Paul used it as descriptive and supportive to his ideas and arguments. There are two possibilities for the use of quotations apart from the three parts of the later Hebrew Scripture in different religious communities.

Firstly, it is probable that the three parts of the Scriptures of Israel was strictly meant for the main stream Judaism but not for all the small religious communities within Judaism itself (Sir 1:1). For the small religious communities like Qumran and the Christians, all the sacred and authoritative writings were still acceptable and quotable in their writings. Whether or not there was an agreed canon of Hebrew Scripture in Paul's days must be, however, dependent on a particular community of faith. The normative use of the Pentateuch by Pharisees and Sadducees was a good example for this view.¹⁰⁰

Secondly, it is possible that there were no restrictions and rules in selecting and using those writings for religious teachings. It was perhaps common to cite sayings and traditions of famous people both religious and non-religious like Greek poets and philosophers. The evidence of the

⁹⁶ The references of the Book of the Law in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the use of Exodus tradition in the Prophets can be taken the Pentateuch and its tradition as regarded to be authoritative.

⁹⁷ According to Acts 17:28, Paul uses two lines of Greek poetry in his support: 'for in him we live and move and have our being' (Epimenides), and 'for we are his offspring' (Phenomena of Aratus).

⁹⁸ Rebecca's two sons in Rom 9:10-13 and the story about Hagar and Sarah in Gal 4:21-31.

⁹⁹ Gal 3:22 says, 'But the Scripture declares that the whole world is a prisoner of sin, so that what was promised, being given through faith in Jesus Christ, might be given to those who believe.' But, there is no Hebrew text that exactly declares that the whole world is a prisoner of sin. Lightfoot, Burton, and Longenecker argued that the use of 'the Scripture' as the subject of the sentence suggest that Paul had a particular passage in mind. Paul would have been thinking of the passage he has cited earlier, probably either Dt 27:26, used in 3:10 or Ps 143:2, alluded to in 2:16. (Longenecker 1990, 144)

letters of Paul and the work of Philo, shows that writers were free to cite any kind of writings that were highly revered and familiar for the people of the time even though those writings were not regarded as Scripture. Here, it is necessary to consider the way in which people learned and carried out not only ideas and thoughts but also religious teachings.

In Israel, all the messages in the texts were transmitted by words of mouth until they were written down. The written materials were particularly preserved in the sacred places like the Ark, the Sanctuary, and the Temple as the witness of the 'message.' Thus, the message was mostly carried by the memorisation of the content of the message. The exodus story became the core content of the overall message that always needs to be remembered.¹⁰¹ In Deuteronomy 31:19, Moses is told to write down a song about the exodus story and teach the people of Israel as a witness of God's deliverance. From the time of Moses, the law of Covenant was transmitted by words of mouth and then written down and kept as a witness. For example, from Deuteronomy 5:1 Moses is portrayed as declaring the decrees and laws before the people of Israel. He requires the people to listen, hear and obey all the decrees and laws. Joshua is also portrayed as declaring the exodus story before he writes it down (Jos 24:26). Thus, it is clear that in pre-exilic times some of the records were regarded as authoritative for hearing and practising. The requirement of reading the Law of Moses every seven years, according to Deuteronomic traditions, also means that it is authoritative and sacred and so needed to be revered and kept in the holy place (Dt 31:10-11).

According to Conrad, the book of the Law is not mentioned anywhere between the time of Joshua (Joshua 24:26) and Amaziah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 14:6).¹⁰² With the awareness of the fact that there are many different interpretations concerning the Book of the Law in Josiah's time, a consideration of Conrad's view is chosen for discussion. For Conrad, 'it might have been kept in the sacred place to be the witness of God's message to the people of Israel. It was never lost but rather kept hidden because of its sacredness and authority because it was found again in the Temple during Josiah's reign (2 Kgs 22:8).'¹⁰³ Conrad seems to be wrong when he says that 'the content of the book was kept in people's mind by oral tradition'¹⁰⁴ because both king Josiah and the people of Judah did not seem to know or be familiar with the content of the Law (2 Kgs

¹⁰⁰ According to Josephus, the Pharisees were 'considered the most accurate interpreters of the Laws' (*War* 2:162). They were regarded as 'precise' in defining and interpreting the Law and 'strict' in keeping it (Acts 22:5). (Davies 1998, 421).

¹⁰¹ (Jos 24; Jdg 6:8,9,13; 1 Sam 12: 8; 1 Kgs 8:16,21,51,53; Neh 9:9,18; Ps 78:12,43,51; Isa 19:20,22; Jer 2:6; 32:20,21; Ezk 20:5,9,10; Dan 9:15; Hos 2:15; Am 2:10; Mic 6:4; Hag 2:5). For example, the Sabbath command of Dt 5:15 differs in several important points from Ex 20:8. Israel observes the Sabbath in order to remember her slavery and deliverance from Egypt. (Childs 1992b, 52-3)

¹⁰² Conrad 1992, 50

¹⁰³ Conrad 1992, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Conrad 1992, 52-3

22:8-23:3). Presumably, the 'oral tradition' had been neglected or even omitted 'the traditions' concerning the details of celebrating the Passover festival, worshipping of Yahweh in high places, offering sacrifices to idols and the roles and responsibilities of the priests (2 Kgs 23:4-225) which were unique to the people of the Northern Kingdom.

However, Conrad is right in asserting that the messages were primarily preserved in people's memory by listening to those who were responsible for reading to the people and from those who proclaim the message.¹⁰⁵ In Mal 2:6-9, God's covenant with Levi is described in terms of the leadership role as priests who instruct from his mouth. According to 2 Kgs chapters 22 and 23, Josiah and the people of Judah pledged to the covenant by hearing all the words of the book of covenant that is the book of the Law. The content of the book of the law was renewed in the memory of the people of Judah again. Thus, one could say that the transition of oral tradition has missed the detail of the content of the book of the law. In this respect, Beckwith might be right to say that the writings were the result of the unreliability of the oral traditions.¹⁰⁶

It is also possible that when the writers of different religious writings decided to compose their messages down, they would depend on their memory. All the records were of what they have experienced or what their teachers or founders had been taught and experienced. The method they used in their writings was not only to record the mere histories but also to tell the stories which they heard from others. Thus, they would write down in terms of oral message, which means they would compose the message as they were speaking to someone. This might be a possible reason why various quotations depart from the written texts of the Hebrew Scripture. The concern or interest of a particular religious community might be also one of the reasons for the difference in using the Hebrew Scripture. The use of Isa 61:1 in Luke 4:17-20 and 11Q13 2:4 is a good example for this. In Luke, Jesus is described as claiming himself to be the one who proclaims the acceptable year of the Lord whereas Melchizedek is identified with the one 'who proclaims the Jubilee to the captives.'¹⁰⁷

From the above survey, it is clear that the Hebrew canon was a collection of authoritative and sacred writings, which had already been recognized as a process. The authoritative writings might be regarded as the writings, which were preserved in the holy places after the messages were spoken or read to the people. Mostly, the sacred writings were transmitted by words of mouth just as in the case of the Law of the Covenant. For example, all the prophecies were delivered as oracles. Exceptionally, in the case of the prophecy of Jeremiah, his secretary read

¹⁰⁵ Conrad 1992, 55.

¹⁰⁶ Beckwith 1985, 66.

¹⁰⁷ Wise 1996, 456.

his prophecy to the king because Jeremiah's life was in danger. Thus, it is more likely that the sacred writings were those which were preserved whether they were read or not. There are evidences in the Bible itself that in the times of the wicked Kings and whenever the people of Israel became prosperous; the reading of the Law of the Covenant during the celebrations of the festivals was not carried out. The writings being kept could be the Law, the events of the history, the annals of the Kings, the thanksgiving for the victories and harvest, etc. All those writings were preserved in the safe place but mostly preserved in daily oral traditions. Thus, the oral traditions were also regarded as sacred and authoritative and so later became the Scripture.

After the Babylonian exile, the people of Israel needed to recollect their sacred writings. The Temple was destroyed. The city was in ruins. The people were scattered. With the permission of Cyrus, the exiled Jews came back to their homeland. They needed to rebuild their identity as a chosen people. The traditions, which were well kept, then became the sources to trace their identity. Whether the writings were also destroyed or not is obscure. The responsibility for the recollections of the sacred writings and reproducing the writings, which had been missing or destroyed when Jerusalem was destroyed was, therefore, assigned to Ezra and the Great men of Assembly. It is also suggested that Artaxerxes I had assigned Ezra the responsibility of regeneration and reworking of Israel's legal and religious traditions according to Persian policy.¹⁰⁸ Darius is known as the one who assembled 'the wise among the adversaries, the priests and scribes' of Egypt and requested a collection of their known laws.¹⁰⁹ Thus, it is possible to say that 'the law as well as some religious traditions' of Israel were recollecting and compiled during Ezra's time.

Thus, on the one hand, the people of Israel had been used to hearing the oral messages rather than reading out the messages in the Old Testament time. Thus, the more they heard traditions, the less they forgot and so the content of the traditions might have been well kept in their memory. Those memories were later recorded into writings. On the other hand, it might be possible that 'the writings' originated from the prophets, who wrote down their message, particularly, the prediction for the future of Israel to prove whether the prophecy is fulfilled in the future (Isa 8:1; 30:8; Jer 30:2; 36:2, 28). It is noteworthy that the prophets in the Old Testament times did not actually look at their future as a distant time. Instead, they saw the future as close and personal in a short time. The futuristic interpretation is a later development produced by the major theological changes in Judaism.

¹⁰⁸ Fishbane 1985, 37. 107.

¹⁰⁹ Fishbane 1985, 37 n. 54.

In summary, as far as the canon of the Hebrew Scripture is concerned, it is possible to say that the three divisions of Hebrew writings were recognised as sacred and authoritative by the oral transmission first and then written down and kept for preservation as a witness. Thus, the recognition of sacred writings had been taken as a process because the sacred writings were reinterpreted, edited and rewritten down with new modifications and interpretations sometimes when they were read to the people.

D. Different Scriptural Texts available in Paul's Day

The issue of the nature of the biblical text used by the New Testament writers has been a subject of serious and intense debate and so becomes an important topic for researchers. For Pauline scholars the studies of the origin of Paul's biblical texts, the way they are used or modified also became a major subject for textual critics. Hence, comparisons between Paul's biblical texts and both the Septuagint versions (the LXX itself, the great uncials A, B, and \aleph) and non-LXX texts (the Masoretic texts, the Aramaic Targum, the Samaritan Pentateuch and The Qumran scrolls) were made.

As mentioned above, the canon of the Hebrew Scripture in a fixed number of books might have not been closed in Paul's time. Moreover, since the translating the Hebrew into Greek and Aramaic, and the modification and adaptation of Hebrew sacred writings by different Jewish sectarians had been carried out from the second century BCE, several commentaries and editions of the original Hebrew texts could be available in Paul's days.

However, because of the central position of the Masoretic Text in later Judaism, it is necessary to consider its formation briefly. Furthermore, since it was common for the Diaspora Jews to use the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scripture, the brief study of the formation of the LXX and its contemporary Scriptural texts needs to be done. Even though the Dead Sea Scrolls were found in Judea, it is included in this study with the assumption that the texts or oral traditions in Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic found in the Dead Sea Scrolls might have also been available in Paul's day. The Aramaic Targums will be briefly considered as the written records of the oral translations and explanations of the Hebrew Scripture.

The Masoretic Text, sometimes called the 'received text,' is strictly speaking a medieval representative of an ancient text of the Hebrew Scripture.¹¹⁰ In fact, there never existed any one single text that could be named the Masoretic Text but there was a group of Masoretic texts.

Thus, the name ‘Masoretic Text’ refers to a group of manuscripts and other sources, all of which are close to each other. The name ‘Masoretic Text’, according to Tov, was given to refer to ‘a group called Masoretes who were involved with the components of vocalisation, accentuation, and consonantal base, developed from earlier traditions in the seventh to the eleventh centuries CE.’¹¹¹

Tov also suggests that ‘Proto- Masoretic texts differ from other texts and its texts contain the accuracy and quality of most of the biblical books.’¹¹² ‘The consonantal framework of the proto-Masoretic texts is, for Tov, more or less identical with that of the medieval manuscripts.’¹¹³ However, Tov asserts, ‘the differences between the early texts are greater compared with those of later texts, because of the desire to transmit the texts with precision increased in the course of the years.’¹¹⁴ ‘After the proto-Masoretic text had become the accepted Text known as Masoretic Text in Judaism, Tov asserts, no further changes were inserted into it and no additions or omissions were allowed, not even in small details.’¹¹⁵

However, there were many copies and translations which had already been copied, modified and edited from the Proto-Masoretic texts. Thus, textual differences of the Masoretic texts had also influenced modern editions of the traditional Masoretic Text, since these editions are based on different manuscripts or various parts of Masoretic texts.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, there are discrepancies in consonants as well as vocalisation and the Masoretic notes made by the Masoretes.¹¹⁷ According to Tov, ‘until the destruction of the Second Temple there also existed a relatively large number of differences between the members of the Masoretic group in matters of content and orthography, but the differences in content were usually limited to single words and phrases.’¹¹⁸ Fortunately, since the latter half of the nineteenth century many fragments of the Hebrew Scripture have become available for wider research concerning the textual problems of the Old Testament. The Cairo manuscripts¹¹⁹ and Judean desert manuscripts¹²⁰ became the major sources for the study of textual problems.

¹¹⁰ Tov 1992, 19.

¹¹¹ Tov 1992, 19, 22.

¹¹² Tov 1992, 24.

¹¹³ Tov 1992, 27.

¹¹⁴ Tov 1992, 27.

¹¹⁵ Tov 1992, 25.

¹¹⁶ Tov 1992, 2.

¹¹⁷ Tov 1992, 25.

¹¹⁸ Tov 1992, 30.

¹¹⁹ ‘The fragments were from the sixth to the eight centuries CE and found in an Old Cairo synagogue. They were discovered in the Geniza, a kind of storage room where worn or faulty manuscripts were kept hidden until they could be disposed of formally (Aramaic גִּזְיָא ‘to hide’) to avoid misusing or profaning a manuscript containing the holy name of God. Actually the contents of a Geniza would be periodically buried in the ground with due ceremony. It was only by accident that the Cairo manuscripts escaped this fate: at some time the Geniza was walled over and its existence forgotten.’ (Wurthwein 1988, 11)

The witnesses for this period are Hebrew texts from Qumran dating from the middle of the third century BCE until the second century CE, the texts from the Masada,¹²¹ written before 73 CE, and several ancient translations such as the Greek Septuagint and its revisions and the Aramaic Targums. The discovery of approximately 670 of non-Masoretic (biblical) texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls¹²² indicates that many Hebrew sacred writings excluded in Masoretic Text had been used. This gives a clue that Paul could also know a similar textual tradition.

Regarding the translations of the Scripture of Israel, Paul and his readers had, Stanley assumes, ‘relatively free access to the Greek translation and could study and consult them whenever they wished.’¹²³ However, like the Masoretic Text, the name Septuagint denotes both the original translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek and the collection of sacred Greek Writings in its present form. However, the Septuagint at the present printed form is a collection of versions which contains, in addition to the original translation, late revisions of that translation as well as compositions written in Greek. Apparently, the versions were made by various writers who differed greatly in their translation methods, their knowledge of Hebrew, their styles, and in other ways.¹²⁴ Thus, it is impossible to formulate the value of the version as a whole and so the need to consider each book of the Septuagint is the essential requirement for those who work on textual criticism.

It is believed that the translation of the Torah into Greek was carried out in Egypt in the third century BCE. According to the Book of Ecclesiasticus, most of the books of the Prophets and Hagiographa were translated in the beginning of the second century BCE or somewhat earlier. There are different suggestions concerning the original Hebrew Text of which the Septuagint was translated because of its divergent wordings from the Masoretic Text. It has been suggested that whereas the Masoretic texts offer a careful recension,¹²⁵ the differences of Septuagint from them also suggest that the translators of the Septuagint worked from a Hebrew text transliterated into Greek letters.

¹²⁰ Some of the Hebrew manuscripts, that were found in Judean desert, especially in the vicinity of the Essene settlement of Khirbet Qumran near the Dead Sea, were from the first and second centuries CE. Among them are found the biblical book of Isaiah in its entirety, the first two chapters of Habakkuk, and fragments of all the other Old Testament books except Esther. (Tov 1992, 25)

¹²¹ The texts from Masada contain Leviticus [2], Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Psalms [3?]. (Tov 1992, 29 n 3)

¹²² Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, xv.

¹²³ Stanley 1999, 126.

¹²⁴ Wurthwein 1988, 53-54.

The similarity between the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch suggests that they were derived from early popular (mostly used) Hebrew texts in use among the Jews of the Diaspora.¹²⁶ However, Wurthwein suggests that ‘in a few instances it might well apply, but on the whole the Septuagint was apparently based on texts written in the new Aramaic script which in many forms already anticipated the square script.’¹²⁷

The discovery of the Qumran texts in agreement with the Septuagint has raised the possibility of a Hebrew text-form different from the Masoretic Text. Some of texts which both The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint commonly use might be from either Proto-Masoretic texts or one of the Masoretic texts groups. However, Tov rightly suggests that ‘the great mass of variants from the Masoretic Text found in the Septuagint deserve individual consideration and are not susceptible to generalised judgements.’¹²⁸

Each book of the Pentateuch seems to be the work of a single translator or a group of translators whereas no two books appear to be the work of the same author in the Prophets and other writings. The books of Job and Daniel are quite free translations though many books can be seen as almost literal translations. The order of the book of Jeremiah in Septuagint is different from the Masoretic Text but similar to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, it indicates that the Masoretic Text was not the only source for the Greek translation.¹²⁹

Moreover, it is also certain that the Septuagint is not a version but a collection of versions (late revisions) and some of them were translated from non-Masoretic texts. According to the Letter of Aristeas¹³⁰ at the end of the second century BCE, the Greek translation of the Torah already existed but needed a new revised version of it as a standard text to replace earlier translations. The letter also mentions earlier unreliable ones. Thus, it is possible that there were earlier revisions already done as early as 300 BCE. Perhaps revisions were made through comparison of

¹²⁵ It was claimed that the Masoretes treated the Proto-Masoretic texts with reverence, and they did not alter its orthography and morphology as did in the Samaritan Pentateuch and many of the Qumran scrolls. (Tov 1992, 28)

¹²⁶ It is Nyberg’s suggestion stated by Wurthwein. (Wurthwein 1988, 67)

¹²⁷ Wurthwein 1988, 67.

¹²⁸ Tov 1992, 272.

¹²⁹ According to Tov, the differences are the order of the verses and chapters and the length of the book. The Jeremiah texts though fragmentary in 4Q Jer (b) and (c) reflect the two main recessional characteristics of the Septuagint (Tov 1992, 320).

¹³⁰ The Letter of Aristeas has been generally regarded as legendary. A heathen did not write courtier as it professes. It was written by a Jew who praises the wisdom and the Law of his people through the lips of a heathen king. The writer did not live in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphas, but more than a century later. Further, the Jewish Law was not translated to satisfy the curiosity of a royal patron of the arts, but because the Egyptian Jews no longer understood Hebrew and were in need of just a translation. The translators were not Palestinian Jews either, but members of the Alexandrian Diaspora for whom Greek was the

the translations and the Hebrew text. The comparison might reveal the inadequacies of the translations and inspire efforts to bring the Greek text more into conformity with the Hebrew original.¹³¹ The revisions of the Septuagint were continuously carried out until the beginning of the second century CE. The oldest manuscripts of the Septuagint fragmentary found are John Rylands Papyrus 458 (second century BCE) and Papyrus Fouad 266 (ca. 100 BCE). The complete manuscripts of the Septuagint are Codex Sinaiticus (fourth century CE), Codex Vaticanus (fourth century CE), and Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century CE). Thus, it is no wonder that some of Paul's quotations do not agreed with the extant Septuagint. He could have used any of the available Greek versions or revisions of the Old Testament.

It is generally believed that Hebrew became the language of the intellectuals, especially among the scribes and Aramaic became the spoken language for common people after exile. The interpretation and explanation of Scriptures has therefore been carried out according to the theological temper of the time, relating the text to contemporary life and political circumstances although the texts were still read in Hebrew. In Aramaic, 'the translating was called *targem*, the translator, *turgeman (a)* or *meturgeman (a)* and the translation *Targum*.'¹³² It appears to be that the interpretation and explanations of the Hebrew texts were made orally after rolling up the scroll (Lk 4:20-21), presumably to preserve its distinction from the truly sacred Hebrew text. The *Targum* is therefore a record of the precise wording of the oral interpretations of the Hebrew texts that has developed as a process and finally written down. According to Wurthwein, Jewish tradition associates the origin of *turgeman* with Ezra (cf. Neh 8:8).¹³³

According to Paul Achtemeier, Graeco-Roman society in New Testament time was mainly 'a culture of high residual orality which nevertheless communicated significantly by means of literary creations.'¹³⁴ For the Jews in those days a longstanding tradition allowed for repeated reinterpretation and even rewriting of certain portions of the biblical record- that is probably commentaries of traditions- so as to draw out its significance for a later time. However, the expositions or interpretations of biblical texts were mostly read and heard in the synagogue. Thus, the users or translators of biblical texts mostly shaped the 'interpretative renderings' with the expectations of the illiterate listeners even though they would have understood the notion of 'inner-biblical exegesis'. The body of the interpretative traditions and legal rulings that circulated orally alongside the written text was known as 'oral Torah.' Thus, this 'oral Torah'

language of everyday life. The Letter itself is only concerned about the translation of the Pentateuch rather than the whole three sections of the Hebrew Scripture. (Wurthwein 1988, 51-2)

¹³¹ Wurthwein 1988, 54.

¹³² Wurthwein 1988, 75.

¹³³ Wurthwein 1988, 79-80.

¹³⁴ Achtemeier 1990, 3.

was also another source available for Paul in his use of the Hebrew Scripture and could no doubt reinforce the blurring of the lines between text and interpretation in Paul.¹³⁵

The Jews would also be influenced by the cultural and sociopolitical tendency of their times such as the Gentile view of cosmos,¹³⁶ the use of rhetoric in speeches and writings,¹³⁷ and the use of images and motifs in Greco-Roman religion, particularly, the Mystery Religions.¹³⁸ All these sources could be possible factors in what the scholars call 'Paul's free or loose quotations of the Scripture.' There are parallels between Paul's 'free' or 'loose' approach to the Scriptural text and the apocryphal writings before and rabbinic sources after his days. Especially, according to Humphrey, the 'apocalyptic motifs such as seeing and hearing mysteries, glory, personal and cosmic transformation, judgement, ages, hidden wisdom, and knowledge are found in Romans.'¹³⁹ Humphrey's work on Rom 10:6-8 is a good example of Paul's use of 'apocalyptic' motifs.

Rom 10:6-8

But the righteousness based on faith says, do not say in your heart, 'Who will ascend into heaven?' (That is, to bring Christ down) or 'Who will descend into the abyss?' (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what does it say? The word is near you, on your lips and in your heart (that is, the word of faith, which we preach).

According to Hays, Rom 10:6-8 echoes Dt 30: 11-14,

'For this commandment which I command you this day is not too hard for you, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that you should say, Who will go up for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?' Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say, Who will go over the sea for us, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?' But the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it.'

Hays asserts that 'the gospel Paul preaches is concealed or hidden in Dt 30:11-14. Thus, the gospel turns out to be the hermeneutical key that unlocks all the mysteries of God's revelation in the past.'¹⁴⁰ However, Humphrey argues that in Rom 10:6, the personified Righteousness is described as the speaker rather than Moses (Dt 30:11). Thus, for Humphrey, Paul seems to be

¹³⁵ Stanley 1992, 19-20.

¹³⁶ See Details in Stowers' 'Gentile culture and God's impartial justice' where Stowers discusses how Paul weaves the 'decline of civilization' narratives from Greek cultural code (Horace, Virgil, and Livy) and 'the Jewish story of the fall (Gen chap. 3) to emphasize his era as 'the Age of sin' (Rom 1:18-2:16). (Stowers 1994, 83-125)

¹³⁷ See B. W. Winter's 'Rhetoric' where he suggests that 'Paul received his training in rhetoric in his early years.' (Hawthorne 1993, 820-2) Concerning Paul's use of persuasive rhetoric, G.W. Hansen asserts that 'Paul's letters are examples of the Aristotelian's definition of rhetoric, 'faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion.' (Hawthorne 1993, 822-6)

¹³⁸ See D. E. Aune's 'Religions, Greco-Roman' in the 'Dictionary of Paul and his letters' edited by Hawthorne. (Hawthorne 1993, 786-96)

¹³⁹ Humphrey 1999, 130.

¹⁴⁰ Hays 1989, 155.

not only influenced by Deuteronomic text but also by Wisdom and Apocryphal texts. particularly Baruch 3:29-30,32, 35-36:

‘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? No one knows the way to her, or is concerned about the path to her. But he who knows all things knows her; no other can be compared to him! He found the whole way to knowledge, and gave her to Jacob his servant and to Israel whom he loved.’

The author of Baruch seems to associate Dt 30:12-13 with a feminine figure, which signifies Wisdom which is sometimes identified with Israel’s Torah (Bar 4:1; Sir 24:5-6) whereas Paul associates ‘Scripture’ with ‘righteousness.’ It might be possible that the different readings and interpretation of Scripture was influenced by the cultural and socio-religious tendencies of the days.

E. Conclusion

In summary of ‘Scripture and Canon’ in the first century CE, the Scripture of Israel can be regarded as the collection of the stories about Israel’s experience of her God. Those stories were firstly recalled, retold and heard time and again as witnesses of God-experiences. Gradually, these stories became traditions, which were believed to be adapted to and relevant for every age. Such a belief or conviction affected the lives of the people and the traditions were finally regarded as authoritative and sacred. It is noteworthy that the traditions of God-experiences of Israel were firstly told and retold as oral traditions and finally written down as witnesses of God-experiences of different ages.

In the First Century Jews generally used the terms ‘the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa’ as ‘the writings’ originated from God who inspired its authors. They believed that the authors of the three parts of the Scriptures of Israel were prophets who were inspired by the divine Spirit. Moreover, the divine Spirit was believed to play an important role in reading, interpreting and hearing of the words from Scriptures.

Concerning the canon of the Scripture of Israel, it is possible to draw a conclusion that in Paul’s days there was no fixed and standardised number of the writings of the Scriptures of Israel which had been already recognised as authoritative and holy. A lack of uniformity between the MT, the LXX and the Dead Sea Scrolls indicates the possibilities of the different MSS of the original Hebrew texts. The culture and sociopolitical tendencies might also have influenced the translators and interpreters who copied and modified at the same time.

The possible Scriptural text-forms available to Paul were therefore more than the present printed Bibles such as the MT, the Septuagint, the Samaritan Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Aramaic Targums. The Proto-Masoretic texts, the non-Masoretic Texts, different 'Masoretic' texts, which were not recognized to be the Standardized texts, were possibly available to Paul. Moreover the hearing and memory of oral translations and interpretations of the Scriptural texts were also available to Paul for his use of Scriptures of Israel.

Chapter Two: Jewish Exegetical Methods in the First and Second Century CE

A. Introduction

This chapter intends to examine the exegetical methods as one of the reasons why New Testament writers, particularly Paul, are perceived as strange to modern readers in their reading and interpreting of scriptural texts.

For the Jews, the Scriptures are extremely rich in content and weighty in meaning. Thus, there was a common conviction that the Scriptures must be interpreted in order to make the Words of God meaningful and relevant to their present situations. For example, in the time of Nehemiah, the written law was orally translated into explanations so that the people could understand (Neh 8:8). The translation or interpretation of the Scripture itself requires exegesis. Thus, the amplification, expansion, reworking, or rewording of an earlier formulation were common within Scripture.

For example, the Ten Commandments in Exodus (Ex 20:2-17) are reworked by the author of Deuteronomy (Dt 5:6-21).

Ex 20:8

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy

Dt 5:12

"Observe the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy, as the Lord commanded you."

The author of Deuteronomy uses the word "observe" שָׁמַר instead of "remember" זָכַר, and adds the phrase "as the Lord your God commanded you." In Deuteronomy the reason for the need to observe the Sabbath day is traced back firstly to the command of the Lord and secondly to the deliverance of God for the people of Israel from Egyptian slavery. In Exodus the seventh day, on which God rested from His creation is to be remembered. In Exodus it says "*For in six days the Lord made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy*" (Ex 20:11). In Deuteronomy 5:15, it says "*Remember that you were slaves in Egypt and that the Lord your God brought you out of there with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. Therefore the Lord your God has commanded you to observe the Sabbath day.*" The changes can be understood as an exegetical interpretation, which has been influenced by the author's culture and sociopolitical situations of his day. The intention of the Deuteronomic writer seems to be to emphasise 'observing the Sabbath' as one of the commands from Yahweh and explains why they must do it. With the intention that Yahweh's sanctuary must be revered, the author of Leviticus also

follows Exodus 20:8 by using the Deuteronomist's term, "observe" and adding his emphasis, that is reverence of God's sanctuary (Lev 26:2).

Ex 20:8

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy."

Lev 26:2

You shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord.

The differences between Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, therefore, indicate the use of exegesis and make clear how a writer received and amplified the work of a prior writer or set of writers.¹⁴¹ Another simple example of how one writer was drawn on making use of exegeses can be found in Ps 106:32-33 where the psalmist amplifies the narrative account of Num 20:2-13.

According to the account in Numbers, God instructed Moses to tell the rock to yield its water before the eyes of the people of Israel (Num 20:8). Moses struck the rock twice with his rod instead of speaking to the rock (Num 20:11). The author of Numbers does not mention why Moses struck the rock instead of speaking to it as God said. However, the psalmist received this information and answered the question of why Moses struck the rock twice. For the psalmist, the people of Israel angered Moses at the waters of "Meribah". That's why Moses struck the rock twice with his rod. Fishbane asserts that 'Ps 106:32-3 further sharpens the nature of Moses' lack of faith on the basis of Num 20:10b.'¹⁴² Therefore, the interpretation or amplification of Scripture within Scripture can be seen as the result of making the Word of God meaningful and relevant in every situation and time. Throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, different interpretations of Scripture, particularly the Torah, show how the writers try to relate the Word of God to their new events.

Therefore, the use of the scriptural texts and traditions within the Hebrew Scripture itself indicates the different interpretations of Scripture. There are changes of words and sometimes a text is used thematically rather than literally (Gen 15:6 in Hab 2:4; Rom 1:17; Gal 3:6,11). The Hebrew Scriptures were also translated into vernacular languages such as Aramaic Targums and the Greek Septuagint in order to "give the sense and make the people understand the meaning" of the Scripture.¹⁴³ However, every translation inevitably involves interpretations relevant to the situations of the times and reflects the translator's understanding of the Hebrew Text as Scripture. Mostly the translators state their own understanding of the text and their own

¹⁴¹ Neusner 1987, 18.

¹⁴² Fishbane 1985, 284 n 4.

¹⁴³ Longenecker 1975, 19-21

adaptation and interpretations in their translations. For example, the targumist of *Targum Neofiti* translates Gen 2:15 word-for-word, but he states his emphasis by adding four words:¹⁴⁴

Gen 2:15

The Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to till it and keep it.

Targum Neofiti 2:15

And the Lord took the man and caused him to dwell in the Garden of Eden in order to work in the Torah (i.e., to study), and to keep its commandments.

The Targum translator changes the responsibility of man from tilling the Garden of Eden and keeping it to studying the Torah and keeping it. Thus, the result is not simply a translation but a contextual commentary on Gen 2:15.

Longenecker, quoting Asher Finkel, mentions how the exegetical *middoth*- of which the literal meaning is measurement or extent but here 'rule'- affects the wording of the texts themselves in five possible ways. He writes,

‘There were some instances where the rabbis employed dual readings of a text and dual meaning of a word for exegetical purposes:

(1) By reading different vowels with the consonants: e.g., Isa 54:13, reading כְּבִיכָה “your builders” for בְּנֵיכָה “your sons”;

(2) By inserting or omitting a weak consonant: e.g., Isa 26:2, reading שְׂאֵמֶר “the one who reads” for שֹׁמֵר “keeper”;

(3) By the transposition and change of gutturals: e.g., Num 11:2, reading עַל instead of אֶל and Ps 29:2, reading בְּהִרְדָּת “with trembling of” for בְּהִרְדָּת “in the splendour of”;

(4) By the alteration of letters that sound alike or look alike: e.g., Num 11:32, reading וַיִּשְׁטוּ “they slaughtered” for וַיִּשְׁטְוּ “they spread”;

(5) By even allowing the Greek to determine the Hebrew text: e.g., Lev 23:40, reading ὁδω for הָדָר “goodly”.¹⁴⁵

Thus, the Scriptures were translated differently according to the individual interests and concerns of a particular translator. Some cases, like geographical names,¹⁴⁶ and particular renderings in order to point the reader to a specific understanding of the passage as a whole,¹⁴⁷ are also the sources of differences in the use of Scripture. Small glosses, the removal of ambiguities; euphemisms; avoidance of phraseology considered inappropriate; specialisation of vocabulary; and the identification of cultural equivalence, etc,¹⁴⁸ are other reasons for diversity

¹⁴⁴ Neusner 1987, 28.

¹⁴⁵ Longenecker 1975, 35-37 and also see, Ellis 1957, 42.

¹⁴⁶ For example, Ararat in Gen 8:4; 2 Kgs 19:37 (LXX [Ararat]; Peshitta [Ararat]; Vulgate [Armenia]; Targum Jonathan [Qardu which is in N Iraq]). (Carson and Williamson 1988, 88)

¹⁴⁷ The Peshitta translated Gen 22:12 “I know” יָדַעְתִּי in the MT into “Now I have made known” that you are a fearer of God...”, in order to point the readers the fact that it is to the angels or to the people of the world that God *makes known* Abraham’s faith. (Carson and Williamson 1988, 89)

¹⁴⁸ Carson and Williamson 1988, 89.

in translating, retelling or commenting on the Old Testament. However, there were some common exegetical methods among all the translators of the Hebrew Text regardless of ambiguities and differences in interpretations. Neusner classifies three types of *Midrashic-processes* (Here, Neusner takes the word *Midrash* as exegesis or the interpretation of the Scripture): (1) Prophecy; (2) Paraphrase; and (3) Parable. In prophecy, Neusner writes, ‘the exegete will read the Scripture as an account of things that are now happening or are going to happen that is the, “This refers to that event” approach to Scripture. Scripture was taken to provide an account of the present and near-term future. In paraphrase, the exegete will state in other words the self-evident and ordinary sense of the Hebrew. In parable, the exegete will read the Scripture as an account of what the words say in a deeper meaning.’¹⁴⁹ Jewish exegesis of the first century is generally classified under five categories: literalist, midrashic, peshet, allegorical,¹⁵⁰ and typological interpretations.

B. Literalist Interpretation

Judaism often took the words of Scripture quite literally, that means plain interpretation of Scripture based mainly upon a literal or grammatical understanding. Tannaitic literature (the product of Hillel and Shammai schools) contains a number of examples where Scriptures were understood in a straightforward fashion, resulting in the plain, simple and natural meaning of the text being applied to the lives of the people- particularly in the application of Deuteronomic legislation.

For example, the teaching of the School of Shammai that “in the evening all should recline when they recite [the Shema], but in the morning they should stand up, for it is written, “*when you lie down and when you get up*” [Dt 6:7]. But the House of Hillel says, “Everyone may recite according to his own manner [either reclining or standing], “as it says, “*when you walk along the road* [Dt 6:7]”¹⁵¹ Paul also uses the literalistic interpretation of Scriptures concerning witnesses in a court.

Dt 19:15 says,

‘A single witness shall not prevail against a man for any crime for any wrong in connection with any offense that he has committed only on the evidence of two witnesses, or of three witnesses, shall a charge be sustained.’

2 Cor 13:1 says,

‘This is the third time I am coming to you. Any charge must be sustained by the evidence of two or three witnesses.’

¹⁴⁹ Neusner 1987, 1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Longenecker 1975, 28.

¹⁵¹ Longenecker 1975, 28; See also Neusner 1988, 3.

It is also possible that Paul may simply be reflecting the general custom of his day. Nevertheless, it can be understood that concerning legal rules and property cases,¹⁵² Scriptural texts are taken with a literal understanding through the ages.

C. Midrashic Interpretation

The Hebrew root *פִּשַׁט* has been associated with the interpretation as opposed to any more elaborate type of exegesis. 'The verb *פִּשַׁט* in the Old Testament designates 'to strip off' (a garment), 'flatten,' or 'to make a dash' (either 'from' or 'against'). In association with Aramaic, it came to mean 'to stretch out, extend, make plain,' and was employed more or less synonymously with the word '*Midrash*', the central concept in rabbinic exegesis.'¹⁵³

The word comes from the verb *שָׁרַף* ('to resort to,' 'seek'; figuratively, 'to read repeatedly,' 'study,' or 'interpret'), and strictly denotes an interpretative exposition however derived and irrespective of the type of material under consideration. Later, '*Midrash*' denotes 'an exegesis which, going more deeply than the mere literal sense, attempts to penetrate into the spirit of Scripture, to examine the text from all sides, and thereby derive interpretations which are not immediately obvious.'¹⁵⁴ Thus, '*Midrash*' means 'interpretation and explanation' and, the essence of the midrashic procedure is a contemporisation of Scripture in order to apply or make it meaningful to the current situations.¹⁵⁵ It must be noted that '*Midrash*' always starts from the scriptural texts and so regardless of the interpretive expositions its contents are fairly standard. For example, in the commentary on Dan: 3-7 in *Leviticus Rabbah*, the great four beasts are identified with four great nations of the time. The lion is identified with Babylonia (Jer 4:7; 49:22); the bear with Media (Jer 5:6); the leopard with Greece (Jer 5:6); and the fourth beast with Edom (Jer 5:6) or Rome (Ezk 21:14-15).¹⁵⁶

Thus, for Longenecker, midrashic interpretation may be briefly characterised by the maxim: 'That has relevance to This'; i.e., 'what is written in Scripture has relevance to our present situation.' It, he writes, seems to take its point of departure from the biblical text itself (though psychologically it may be motivated by other factors) but seeks to explicate the hidden meanings contained in the text. In order to contemporize the revelation of God for the people of God, it

¹⁵² Neusner 1988, 583.

¹⁵³ Longenecker 1975, 31.

¹⁵⁴ Neusner 1987, 32-33.

¹⁵⁵ Marshall 1985, 201-2.

¹⁵⁶ Neusner 1987, 62-64.

interprets the biblical text by means of agreed hermeneutical rules.¹⁵⁷ Longenecker, quoting the late Renee Bloch, describes:

- ‘1. Its point of departure is Scripture; it is a reflection or meditation on the Bible.
2. It is homiletical, and largely originates from the liturgical reading of the Torah.
3. It makes a punctilious analysis of the text, with the object of illuminating obscurities found there. Every effort is made to explain the Bible by the Bible, as a rule not arbitrarily but by exploiting a theme.
4. The biblical message is adapted to suit contemporary needs.
5. According to the nature of the biblical text, the *Midrash* either tries to discover the basic principles inherent in the legal sections, with the aim of solving problems not dealt with in Scripture הלכה; or it sets out to find the true significance of events mentioned in the narrative sections of the Pentateuch הגדה.¹⁵⁸

Longenecker also quotes Birger Gerhardsson’s definition of “*Midrash*”:

‘*Midrash* is normally composed out of already-existing material, accepted as authoritative because it comes from the Scripture or the tradition. Using this raw material, the new is evolved. Naturally new terms, new phrases, new symbols and new ideas are introduced but the greater part is taken from that which already exists in the authoritative tradition. *Midrash* starts from a text, a phrase or often a single word; but the text is not simply explained- its meaning is extended and its implications drawn out with the help of every possible association of ideas.’¹⁵⁹

Neusner, citing Gary G. Porton, gives the best definition of *Midrash*:

‘Midrash is “a type of literature, oral or written, which has its starting point in a fixed, canonical text, considered the revealed word of God by the Midrashist and his audience, and in which this original verse is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to.” . . . For something to be considered Midrash it must have a clear relationship to the accepted canonical text of revelation. Midrash is a term given to a Jewish activity that finds its locus in the religious life of the Jewish community. While others exegete their revelatory canons and while Jews exegete other texts, only Jews who explicitly tie their comments to the Bible engage in Midrash.’¹⁶⁰

For Neusner, the word “*Midrash*” stands for different things. He mentions three ways of “*Midrash*.”

1. *Midrash-exegesis* refers to the types of scriptural exegesis carried on by diverse groups of Jews from the time of ancient Israel to nearly the present day. This way tries to explain the meaning of the individual verses of Scripture and inclusive of a unit of discourse or thought.
2. *Midrash-compilations* refer to a compilation of scriptural exegesis in the sense of a sustained and sizeable set, sequence, or group of exegeses, or even for a whole book made up of exegeses of Scripture. It is also called *Midrash-document*.
3. *Midrash-method* or Midrash-process stands for the written composition. It refers to a paragraph or a unit of exegetical exposition, in which a verse of the

¹⁵⁷ Longenecker 1975, 37.

¹⁵⁸ Longenecker 1975, 37-38.

¹⁵⁹ Longenecker 1975, 38.

¹⁶⁰ Neusner 1987, 9-10.

Hebrew Scriptures is subjected to some form or principles of exegesis. It refers to a particular way of reading Scripture in general or a discrete verse.¹⁶¹

Midrash-exegesis is derived from within the Scripture itself. For example, Paul's use of the tradition about Abraham (Gen 15: 6, 12:3, 18:18, and 22:18) in his letter to the Galatians (3:6-9) can be seen as fitting into this category.

Gen 15:6 says,

And he believed the LORD; and he reckoned it to him as righteousness.

In Gal 3:6-7, concerning faith Paul says,

'Does he who supplies the Spirit to you and works miracles among you do so by works of the law, or by hearing with faith? Thus Abraham "*believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.*" So you see that it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, "*In you shall all the nations be blessed.*" So then, those who are men of faith are blessed with Abraham who had faith.' (Italic- Scriptural quotation)

Paul starts from the scriptural text, which focuses on Abraham's faith in order to argue faith as the means in one's justification and that through faith Gentiles were justified. God had already foretold Abraham that the nations (Gentiles in Greek translation) shall be blessed. Paul interprets 'in you' as meaning the kind of faith Abraham has. For Paul, both Jews and Gentiles, who have the same faith as Abraham are justified because of their faith.

Leviticus Rabbah 27:3 is an example of the *Midrash-document* in which many scriptural exegeses are collected concerning God's righteousness by which God rules not only humanity but also beasts and they are also concerned with God's mercifulness. God's righteousness extends to the mercy of not mentioning sins of the past, such as that of the golden calf.

XXVII: III.

(A) R. Jacob b. R. Zabedi in the name of R. Abbahu opened [discourse by citing the following verse:] "And it shall never again be the reliance of the house of Israel, recalling their iniquity, [when they turn to them for aid. Then they will know that I am the Lord God] (Ezk 29:16).

(B) "It is written, Above him stood the seraphim: [each has six wings, with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew] (Isa 6:2)

(C) "With two he flew—singing praises.

(D) "With two he covered his face—so as not to gaze upon the Presence of God.

(E) "And with two he covered his feet --so as not to let them be seen by the face of the Presence of God.

(F) "For it is written, And the soles of their feet were like the sole of a calf's foot (Ezk 1:6)

"And it is written, They made for themselves a molten calf (Ex 32:8)

(H) "So [in covering their feet, they avoided calling to mind the molten calf,] in accord with the verse, And it shall never again be the reliance of the house of Israel, recalling their iniquity (Ezk 29:16)."¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Neusner 1987, 9; Neusner 1989, 5.

In this sense, Neusner is right when he points out three elements from Porton's definition: (1) exegesis, (2) starting with the Scripture, and (3) ending in community.¹⁶³ He would classify this type of exegesis as paraphrase of Scripture. He also classifies translations of Scripture into Aramaic and Greek as midrashic paraphrasing of the Scripture because of the changes they make in reading and translating the Scripture. For example, bearing in mind that seeing the Deity directly was a serious issue for ancient Israel, the Septuagint translates Ex 24:10 with a slight change of words and by doing so the meaning seems to be also changed:

Ex 24:10 (MT)

They (Moses and those with him) saw the God of Israel.

Ex 24:10 (LXX)

They (Moses and those with him) saw the place where the God of Israel stood.

Seeing the Deity directly was a serious issue for ancient Israel and thus, the Greek translator changed the phrase, 'they saw the God of Israel' to 'they saw the place where the God of Israel stood.'¹⁶⁴ By doing so, the meaning of the Hebrew text is changed. To the modern mind, seeing a person or only seeing the place where that person stood is a huge difference. Another example is targumist's translation of Gen 3:15 in which the targumist makes some points within the structure set by the Hebrew verse in order to introduce his own issue.¹⁶⁵

Gen 3:15

I will put enmity between you and the woman,
And between your seed and her seed;
He shall bruise your head,
And you shall bruise his heel.

Targum Neofiti to Gen 3:15

1. And I will put hostility between you and the woman,
2. And between your children and her children.
3. And when her children guard the Torah and keep the commandments, they will aim against you and strike you on your head and kill you.
4. And when they forsake the commandments of the Torah, you will take aim and bite them on their heels and cause them to sicken.
5. However, there will be a cure for her children, but for you there will be no cure. For in the future they will find relief in the Remnant [of Israel?] in the day of the King Messiah.

Within Scripture itself, the Chronicler reworked or compiled Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. The interest of the Chronicler was to inform the theological aspects of the

¹⁶² Neusner 1989, 142.

¹⁶³ Neusner 1989, 9-10.

¹⁶⁴ Neusner 1987, 25.

¹⁶⁵ Neusner 1988, 25-30.

reason for exile and to point out the plan of God in which the people of Israel were participants. Thus, the history of Israel in Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings is rewritten in terms of his theological point of view. Thus, the midrashic interpretation takes its model from within the Scripture itself.

There were, for Ellis, two major basic types of exegetical methods: '*Midrash Halakah*' הלכה and '*Midrash Haggadah*' הגדה.¹⁶⁶ The Word, הלכה, means to 'walk' or 'behave' and so refers to how things are done in the community. Thus, *Midrash halakah* which, having to do with behaviour and the regulation of conduct, in which tradition was more firmly rooted, was largely used in the Talmud, related to the exposition of legal provisions.¹⁶⁷ The word הגדה meaning 'lore' comes from the root verb means 'to tell, to report, to narrate' and thus *Haggadah* commonly means 'narrative or story' and bears the secondary meaning of 'fable'. Therefore *Midrash Haggadah* generally concerns the illustration of Scriptural texts and edification, encompassed everything else such as parables, legends, homiletical illustrations and ethical teachings and was more dependent upon later development.¹⁶⁸ It is an encompassing code of laws which presents a very particular construction, one proposing to form Israel into a holy community in accord with the exegesis of God's Holy Scripture, revealed in the Torah given to Moses at Mount Sinai.¹⁶⁹

Both types of '*halakah*' and '*haggada*' can be found in the exposition of Lev 19:3 (*Mishnah Keritot* 6:9):¹⁷⁰

Lev 19:3: You shall fear every man his mother, and his father, and keep my Sabbaths: I am the Lord your God.

Halakic exposition: 'man' (אִישׁ) not only means male but also includes woman;

Haggadic explanation: 'mother' stands before 'father' to counterbalance the natural tendency of a child to fear his father.¹⁷¹

There were developments in methodology as well as terminology in midrashic interpretation.

According to Longenecker, 'the changes, from Hillel's seven rules of exposition (ca.30 BCE) to Rabbi Ishmael's thirteen '*Middoth*', then to the much later thirty-two ascribed to Rabbi Eliezer ben Jose ha-Galili, were a good illustration in the progression of interpretation and a matter of

¹⁶⁶ Longenecker 1975, 32.

¹⁶⁷ Ellis 1957, 41.

¹⁶⁸ Longenecker 1975, 33.

¹⁶⁹ Neusner 1987, 21.

¹⁷⁰ Neusner 1988, 851. The *Mishnah* is the basic "*halakic* document" which contains 63 tractates (מסכתות) of material not necessarily attached to a text of Scripture and organized under six major headings (סדרים): (1) The first division: Agriculture; (2) The second division: Appointed Times; (3) The third division: Women; (4) The fourth division: The Order of Damages; (5) The fifth division: Holy Things; (6) The sixth division: Purities. vii-viii

common sense and sound judgement.¹⁷² However, there were other types, like casuistry, weighty with possibilities for abuse. For example, no Israelite could suffer in Gehenna: The gold plate on the altar resisted fire, how much more a transgressor in Israel. Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha's thirteen rules (ca. 110-130 CE) were produced against the extravagances or fanciful treatments in rabbinic exegesis, especially, in opposition to the innovations in exegesis of Rabbi Akiba who extended exegetical casuistry to previously unknown lengths after the destruction of the Temple in CE.

Neusner's view of the philosophers who interpreted the Scripture and produced the *Mishnah*, is right in saying that 'in the end, their interpretations, what they chose to hear, within the authoritative statements of Scripture, formed a statement of its own. In other words, the interpreters came to Scripture when they had reason to. They brought to Scripture a program of questions and inquiries framed essentially among them. So, the use of Scriptural texts was highly selective. Thus, their program itself constituted a statement upon the meaning of Scripture.'¹⁷³ There are obviously passages independent of Scripture though the *Mishnah* itself demands the Scriptural base. For example, *Mishnah- Berakhot* chapter 8 seems to be based on the observance of the Sabbath. Nevertheless, it deals with rules, made by the House of Shammai and the House of Hillel, for a meal. However, there is no specific scriptural quotation.¹⁷⁴

In summary, Midrashic interpretation means translating or interpreting the scriptural texts literally (word by word) or theologically (rewriting from the theological point of view) or ideologically (taking only the scriptural idea without reciting or mentioning the scriptural text) in order to be relevant to the contemporary situations of the time.

D. Peshar Interpretation

Another way of Jewish exposition of Scripture found in the Qumran Scrolls was 'peshar', a word that comes from the Aramaic פִּשְׁרָא, meaning, 'solution' or 'interpretation'. In Qumran, there are instances where Midrash is employed in the texts (e.g., Ps 1:1 and 2:1-2) but the use of the word seemed to be different from the rabbinic exegesis. The Qumran community interpreted some particular prophecies as being exclusively concerned with them. They regarded themselves as living in the days of 'messianic travail' before the eschatological consummation. Their responsibility, therefore, was to prepare for the coming of the messianic age and/or the age to come. Therefore, a large number of prophetic passages were cited with the expression פִּשְׁרוֹ צֶלֶק,

¹⁷¹ Ellis 1957, 41.

¹⁷² Longenecker 1975, 33.

¹⁷³ Neusner 1987, 43.

and may be variously translated ‘the interpretation of this is,’ ‘this refers to,’ or ‘this means’, and these translations can be summed up in the formula, ‘This is That.’ This formula is mostly used in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament, while the rabbinic exegesis spoke of ‘That has relevance to This’.

In Peshet interpretation, the Scriptures were looked upon from the perspective of imminent apocalyptic fulfilment while the ‘midrashic exegesis’ was used as a contemporizing method which sought to make God’s Word relevant to the present circumstances. Peshet interpretation attempts to determine the application of certain Old Testament prophecies to current and contemporary events. In Neusner’s classification, it is the type of exegesis as prophecy in which the exegete would ask Scripture to explain meanings of events near at hand, and Scripture would serve as a means of prophetic reading of the contemporary world. Thus, peshet interpretation is considered as the η (Mystery)- פְּשֵׁט (interpretation).¹⁷⁵ This kind of revelational motif is found in the Dead Sea Scroll commentary on Hab 2:1-2:

‘God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to the generation to come; but when that period would be complete He did not make known to him. When it says, ‘so that with ease someone can read it,’ this refers to the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysterious revelations of his servants the prophets.’¹⁷⁶

And this is echoed in the treatment of Hab 2:3a:

‘This means that the Last Days will be long, much longer than the prophets had said; for God’s revelations are truly mysterious.’¹⁷⁷

The Qumran community, which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls, believed that the true message of Scripture was heard only when prophecy and interpretation were brought together but no one could understand the true meaning of certain prophecies until the Teacher of Righteousness was given the interpretive key.¹⁷⁸ For them, the prophetic oracles are specifically made to refer to the historical person, the Teacher of Righteousness as the author of the interpretation and the historical circumstances he brings about, including the final redemption of all those who believe in him.¹⁷⁹ According to the commentary on Hosea in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the prophetic saying in Hosea is interpreted as referring to the Essene community of Qumran and the events that surround it. In the interpretation of Hosea, the unfaithful wife is the Jewish people, and her lovers are the Gentiles who have led the nation astray.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ Neusner 1987, 26-27; See also Neusner 1988, 12-13.

¹⁷⁵ Neusner 1987, 38-45.

¹⁷⁶ Wise 1996, 119.

¹⁷⁷ Wise 1996, 119.

¹⁷⁸ Longenecker 1975, 44.

¹⁷⁹ Longenecker 1975, 41-44.

¹⁸⁰ Neusner 1987, 33.

The prophetic emphasis and the peculiar character of their exegesis make the Qumran community especially interesting from the Christian point of view because the historical Jesus and the New Testament writers are inclined to use more *peshet* type of interpretation than the midrashic interpretation. The historical Jesus and his followers interpreted the Hebrew Scripture as referring to Jesus himself. They read the prophecy and events of Scripture as pointing out Jesus' coming. Especially, the formula used in the quotations of Matthew can be seen as parallel with the Habakkuk commentary in the Dead Sea Scroll. For example,

‘In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness Of Judea, ‘*Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*’ For this is he who was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah when He said, ‘*The voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.*’ (Mt 3:1-3, *italics-Scriptural quotation*)¹⁸¹

Matthew, the evangelist regarded John as the one whose coming was foretold by Isaiah. For him, John is the one who is crying in the wilderness. By doing so, he is seen as using *peshet* interpretation of Isa 40:3. According to Matthew, although Jesus regards himself as fulfilment of what was said and predicted in the Scripture, ‘his interpretation of the Scripture, Barr asserts, went beyond its literal meaning, whether by heightening and deepening, or striking out in a new direction altogether.’¹⁸² Especially, as far as the Law is concerned, the historical Jesus verbally claimed that he came not to abolish the law and the prophets but to fulfil them (Mt 5:17-18). However, in some cases he puts an entirely new complexion on the Old Testament text (Dt 19:21 // Mt 5: 38-39)

E. Allegorical Interpretation

The fourth source of Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures in the first century was allegorical interpretation. Most scholars admit that allegorical interpretation is to approach a text with the understanding that the text says something ‘other’ (αλλῆ) than its strict or original sense. It interprets the Scripture allegorically by subordinating the literal sense and elaborating an additional meaning that speaks to the situation addressed. Thus, it is ‘the search for a secondary and hidden meaning underlying the primary and obvious meaning of the scriptural passage.’¹⁸³

Philo of Alexandria is mentioned as the most prominent Jewish allegorist in the first century. He was known to be prepared to allegorically interpret anything that might derogate the dignity of the inspired words of God: anything that is nonsensical in the creation accounts, that is

¹⁸¹ Neusner 1987, 38.

¹⁸² Barr 1966, 158-9.

reprehensible in the legal portions, or that is trivial in the historical narratives of the Pentateuch.¹⁸⁴ According to Longenecker, ‘Philo had endeavoured to vindicate Jewish theology before the court of Grecian philosophy. His desire was to contemporize the sacred writings in order to make them relevant to present circumstances and experiences. Thus, Philo usually treated the Old Testament as a body of symbols given by God for man’s spiritual and moral benefit, which must be understood other than in a literal and historical fashion.’¹⁸⁵ For example, his comment on Gen 3:14, ‘You shall eat earth all the days of your life’, is representative (*Legum Allegoriae iii*). Having cited the passage, Philo observes that earthly food is appropriate to the body, while the soul requires the divine food of understanding. The food of the soul, belongs to the heavenly realm, and is attested by the ‘sacred word’ of Scripture in the episode of the manna in Ex 16. The worthy aim of seeking the manna during the day in Ex 16:4, for Philo, is an instance of the soul’s willingness to walk in the divine Law, which is its proper purpose. Thus, the soul’s food, then, is God’s word, whose delicacy Philo described by way of comparison to the manna. The divine word attracts the soul as much as the manna attracted the people of Israel, prompting the question, ‘What is it?’ (Ex 16:15).

Another example is the interpretation of Genesis by the sages who are regarded as Holy men, lawyers, philosophers, and theologians. They are the founders of the authority of Judaism of the dual Torah, and composers of its writings and staffs of its institutions.

Genesis Rabbah XX: I-1

- A. ‘Then the Lord God said to the serpent, ‘Because you have done this, cursed are you above all cattle and above all wild animals’ ‘ (Gen 3:14):
- B. ‘A slanderer shall not be established in the earth; the violent and wicked man shall be hunted with thrust upon thrust’ (Ps, 140:12)
- C. Said R. Levi, ‘In the world to come the Holy one, blessed be he, will take the nations of the world and bring them down to Gehenna. He will say to them, ‘Why did you impose fines upon my children?’
- D. ‘They will say to him, ‘Some of them slandered others among them.’ ‘
- E. ‘The Holy one, blessed be he, will them take these [Israelite slanderers] and those and bring them down to Gehenna.’

Genesis Rabbah XX: I-2

- A. Another interpretation: ‘A slanderer’ refers to the snake, which slandered his creator.
- B. ‘Will not be established [standing upright] on earth’: ‘Upon your belly you shall go’ (Gen 3:14)
- C. ‘*The violent and wicked man shall be hunted*’: *What is written is not ‘with a thrust’ but ‘with thrust after thrust*, [since not only the serpent was cursed]. What is written is ‘thrust after thrust’ for man was cursed, woman was cursed, and the snake was cursed.

¹⁸³ Longenecker 1975, 126-7.

¹⁸⁴ Longenecker 1975, 45.

¹⁸⁵ Longenecker 1975, 45-48

And therefore, as far as Jewish hermeneutics in the first Christian century was concerned, there was, in Palestine at least, a commonality of exegetical tradition in which each adopted and modified the Scriptures for one's own purposes, in order to relate the living words of God to the current circumstances.

F. Typological Interpretation

'Typology' as an interpretation sees in 'persons, events, or places' the 'prototype, pattern, or figure of historical persons, events, or places.' It was a famous and widespread view in Jewish literature that 'all that happened to the fathers was a sign for their sons.'¹⁸⁷ However, since every event has its historically unique character, no new event could be merely a 'type' of the older one except the homological 'likeness' of two events.¹⁸⁸ Thus, typological interpretation, as Fishbane asserts, 'observes new historical events in so far as they can be associated with the older ones.'¹⁸⁹ Thus, Fishbane continues, 'it reveals the unexpected unity in historical experience and providential continuity in its new pattern and shapes.'¹⁹⁰ It is, for Fishbane, 'a disclosure of the plenitude and mysterious workings of divine activity in history.'¹⁹¹

In Hebrew Scripture, the clause *כַּז . . . כַּאֲשֶׁר* 'just as . . . so' and its variants are frequently used to indicate typological relations. For instance, Yahweh says to Joshua that he will exalt him during the crossing of the Jordan, and '*כַּאֲשֶׁר* as I was with Moses [so] shall I be with you' (Jos 3:7). Comparison of the terms like *קִדְמוֹנִיּוֹת* and *רֵאשִׁוֹנוֹת*, which indicate 'first' or 'former' things, over and against *אֲחֵרֹנוֹת* or *חֲדָשׁוֹת*, which indicate 'new' or 'latter' things are exclusively used in Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah in various contexts (Isa 43:18-19; 65:16-17).¹⁹² In Jeremiah, a fixed rhetorical style . . . *לֹא כִּי* 'not be like' the older one *כִּי זֹאת* 'but rather' of a different type is used (31:30-2; 31:28-9; 31:3).¹⁹³

Fishbane therefore categorises four different types of inner-biblical typologies. First, typologies of a historical nature as found in Jos chaps 3-5, where one historical event is described as serving as the prototype for the descriptive shaping of another. Before the crossing of the Jordan River,

¹⁸⁶ Neusner 1987, 81.

¹⁸⁷ Fishbane 1985, 350.

¹⁸⁸ Fishbane 1985, 351.

¹⁸⁹ Fishbane 1985, 352.

¹⁹⁰ Fishbane 1985, 352.

¹⁹¹ Fishbane 1985, 352.

¹⁹² Fishbane 1985, 352.

¹⁹³ Fishbane 1985, 353.

Yahweh says to Joshua that *‘כֹּאשֶׁר as I was with Moses, so I will be with you.’* Thus, in 4:14, it says, *‘On that day the LORD exalted Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they stood in awe of him, כֹּאשֶׁר as they had stood in awe of Moses, all the days of his life.’* Twelve stones erected as a commemoration of the miraculous crossing of Jordan was intended for the future Israelites to proclaim, *‘the Lord your God dried up the waters of the Jordan for you until you passed over, כֹּאשֶׁר as the Lord your God did to the Red Sea, which he dried up for us until we passed over’* (Jos 4:22-24).

Second, typologies of a cosmological-historical nature as found in Isa 65:17 where God promises *‘For behold, I create new heavens and a new earth; and the רֵאשִׁיטוֹת former things shall not be remembered or come into mind.’* For Trito-Isaiah, the new heavens and a new earth, almost Eden-like, where long life and peaceful behavior will be the norm even among raptorial animals, and which Yahweh will create, is continuous with Eden, the older one.¹⁹⁴

The third is typologies of a spatial nature. Fishbane chooses the notable typological reapplication in different biblical genres of the archaic imagery of Eden to Canaan, Zion, and the Temple in Jerusalem as an example. From his careful research, one can make a chart of how the later writers reapply the imagery of Eden to the city of Jerusalem.¹⁹⁵

Eden	Jerusalem
Located in the primordial past	located on the ‘mountain of Yahweh’(Ps 43:1)
Set on a mountain	set over the cosmic deep (Ezk 47:1-12)
Four stream flow from it	‘rejoicing’ and ‘living’ water flow from it (Ps 46:4; Ezk14:8-11)
Symbol of harmony and order	the centre of order and harmony (Isa 28:16)

The fourth is typologies of a biographical nature, which applies the character of an individual person to another person. In Gen 9:1-9, Noah, Fishbane asserts, is described as a new Adam who presides over a restored world, a renewal of creation depicted in the language and imagery of Gen 1:26-31. According to Gen 12:1-3, Adam and Noah can be understood as prototypes of Abram in terms of Yahweh’s gifts of land, seed, and earthly blessing, which are also Yahweh’s blessings for Adam and Noah.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, Abraham became the prototype of David in terms of the fulfilment of Yahweh’s promise which says, ‘Kings shall come forth from you’ (Gen 17:6). Such an example is, Fishbane continues, ‘an implied typology, designed to emphasise spiritual-

¹⁹⁴ Fishbane 1985, 354.

¹⁹⁵ Fishbane 1985, 368-371.

¹⁹⁶ Fishbane 1985, 372.

historical continuities.¹⁹⁷ The story of Jacob, particularly, serves as the typological prototype for all Israelites and their various covenantal transgressions in Hosea chapter 12 and Jer 9:3-5.¹⁹⁸ In 3 Macc 6:4-5, Pharaoh is depicted as the prototype of Sennacherib in boasting and insolence upon their subjects. Abraham was also regarded as the prototype for those who have total faith in Yahweh (4 Macc 16-17).

G. Conclusion

In summary, a Jew might have been influenced by at least five ways of interpretation on his/her reading, translating, interpreting and relating Scripture to his/her listeners or readers. A legal Haggadah is translated and interpreted with literal meaning and put into practice. Most of Tannaitic interpretations can be seen as midrashic interpretation. In such an interpretation, a scriptural text is cited and the meaning explained for the present situation. Peshet interpretations can be found mostly in Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament where they interpret a historical figure or event as referring to a present event or a person of the present time. In allegorical interpretation, the historical events and figures were believed to be carrying more meanings than they seem to. Typological interpreters read a scriptural figure or an historical event as either anti-type or proto-type of the present figure or event. In the first century CE, the Jewish translators and interpreters used all these exegetical methods in their reading and interpreting of the Scripture of Israel.

As a Jew with some rabbinic training, Paul might also be familiar to Jewish exegetical methods and used them in his reading, interpreting and reapplying Scriptures to his day as the very oracles of God which were written as witnesses to the Gospel of Christ he proclaimed. The study on how Paul used the Jewish exegetical methods in his communicating the Gospel to Roman readers will be carried out in chapter five.

¹⁹⁷ Fishbane 1985, 373.

¹⁹⁸ Fishbane 1985, 376-9.

Chapter Three: A Survey of the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament

A. Introduction

This chapter is a general survey of how the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament has become an important issue for theological studies. Throughout the history of Christianity, Christian scholars, without realizing Christian supersessionism, had thought of the Old Testament in terms of a supportive role for Christianity. However, the focus of this chapter is to trace the use of the Old Testament both within the Old Testament itself, and the New Testament, and also the use of Jewish exegetical methods in them, in order to acknowledge the authority of the Old Testament.

Around the time of Jesus, the Hebrew Scripture was the basis of faith for all the Jews. The 'Hebrew Scripture' simply designates not only Hebrew 'sacred writings', but also oral adaptations and explanations of traditions. They were considered as 'authoritative for religious practice and doctrine for all generations.'¹⁹⁹ Jews held a high view of Scripture's authority but also commonly believed at the same time that Scriptures need to be explained and understood in terms relevant to contemporary situations.²⁰⁰ Thus, most messages in the Scripture were relevantly interpreted with regard to new events and situations. These new events opened a new understanding of Scripture and its relevance for their own contemporary situations. However, they also recognised that at some time only some passages of Scripture were relevant to some particular contemporary situations.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, for the Jews, 'Scripture stands central, and logic, reason, analytical processes of classification and differentiation are secondary.'²⁰² Scripture is basic and fundamental for reasoning. Therefore, the Scriptures were interpreted and translated into languages according to the contemporary social and cultural context with the intention that the contemporary circumstances might be shaped accordingly with the Scripture. For this purpose, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into different common languages such as Greek (*Septuagint*), and Aramaic (*Targumim*) of the time.

¹⁹⁹ Leiman 1976, 19.

²⁰⁰ Baker 1976, 43.

²⁰¹ According to Matthew, although Jesus regarded himself as the fulfillment of what was said and predicted in the Scripture, His interpretation of the Scripture went beyond its literal meaning, whether by heightening and deepening, or striking out in a new direction altogether (Barr 1966, 158-9). Especially, as far as the Law is concerned, Jesus verbally claimed that he came not to abolish the law and the prophets but to fulfil them (Mt 5:17-18). However, in some cases he puts an entirely new complexion on the Old Testament text (Dt 19:21 // Mt 5: 38-39)

²⁰² Neusner 1987, 43,89.

Furthermore, the Hebrew Scriptures were also interpreted differently by the different sectarians within Judaism, such as the Qumran community of Essenes and the Christians, the followers of Jesus of Nazareth. The New Testament writers interpreted the Hebrew Scriptures and the oral traditions about the history of Israel with a new understanding about the God of Israel. Therefore, the Hebrew Scriptural texts were verbally and allegorically cited frequently both in their exhortations, arguments and writings. For them, the God of Israel is the Creator of the universe and the God who loves the world. The historical Jesus was regarded as the one who came to fulfil many prophecies in the Hebrew Scripture. It is therefore obvious that there was, for the New Testament writers, scarcely the problem of relationship between the Hebrew Scripture and their teachings about Jesus.²⁰³

However, in the middle of the second century, Marcion of Sinope challenged the continuity of Hebrew Scripture and the Christian writings.²⁰⁴ With careful and attentive study of both the Hebrew Scripture and the Christian writings, the greatest theologians of the early Church defended the continuity of the two.²⁰⁵ The use of the Old Testament in the New Testament, therefore, becomes an important field for research in order to defend the relevancy and authority of the Old Testament - which is particularly the record of the history of the people of Israel and her God - for the Christians. As a result, many works have been written on how the Old Testament is used in the New Testament and the place of the Old in the New from different critical, analytical and methodological study approaches to the Bible. However, the objective of this research is to reconsider how Old Testament prophecies were interpreted relevantly into the situations of the early churches in order to meet their spiritual and moral needs at that time. Before considering how Old Testament prophecies are interpreted as having been fulfilled in the birth, life, death and resurrection of the historical Jesus, the use of the Old Testament within the Old Testament, especially the use of the former prophecies by the latter prophets needs to be considered.

²⁰³ Baker 1976, 44.

²⁰⁴ Like Gnosticism, Marcion's thought was dualistic in emphasis: flesh and spirit. For him, the material world was originally and incurably evil. Thus, the Father and God of Jesus Christ cannot be the Old Testament God who created this material world. Thus, the Old Testament has nothing to say to the Christian of his God and of Christ. (Baker 1976, 35)

²⁰⁵ Justin Martyr (ca. 100-65), a leading apologist, rejected dualism and argued for the unity of God's revelation: the Old Testament looks forward to the Messiah and the new covenant. Irenaeus (ca. 130-200) considered Christ to be the link between the Testaments, and the Old Testament, though subordinate in the scheme of progressive revelation: to be of real value for complete understanding of God's activity in history. Tertullian (ca. 160-220) systematically refuted Marcian's dualism; showing that Marcian's own version of the Bible presented a Christ as the fulfillment of the law and the prophets. Origen (ca. 185-154) and Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150-220) added their voices to the defense of the Old Testament against Marcion, dealing with many of its difficult texts by means of allegorical or spiritual interpretation. (Baker 1976, 35)

B. The Use of the Old Testament within the Old Testament

Not only in the New Testament but also within the Old Testament itself, the Old Testament is obviously cited and alluded to. The interpretations and applications of the Law of Moses had been used in most of the Old Testament writings.²⁰⁶ The Chronicler's selective use of Samuel and Kings as a source rather than as a text is also a prominent indicator that both the 'oral and written' traditions were reapplied into new circumstances.²⁰⁷ The later prophets sometimes allude to earlier scriptural texts or messages of former prophets but at other times, they take up themes from the traditions. For example, Trito-Isaiah and Malachi appear to allude to Deuteronomy²⁰⁸ and Jeremiah whereas Deutero-Isaiah shows evidence of familiarity with the priestly tradition of creation and other primeval traditions.²⁰⁹ Historical and legendary traditions are also alluded to in the latter prophets. The most extended patriarchal references in the prophets are the verses about Jacob in Hos 12:3ff, 13.²¹⁰ Isaiah chapter 51 alludes to the tradition of creation (v. 13) and primeval traditions such as Eden (v. 3), the legend of stirring up the sea (v. 15), and cutting Rahab and the dragon (v. 9) from 'Canaanite-Babylonian cosmogony.'²¹¹ The traditions about Abraham and Sarah, (v. 2) and Exodus (v. 10) are alluded to the coming salvation of God's people. The prophets were also seen as being indebted to the tradition of psalmody in ancient Israel. Isaiah, in particular, had a theology that was firmly rooted in the Zion (e.g. Ps 46 is echoed in Isa 7:14 and 17:12-14) and Enthronement Psalms (Isa 52:7; cf. Ps 47:8).²¹² Jeremiah's 'confessions' might possibly originate from the individual lament Psalms (Jer 17:7-9; cf. Ps 1:1-3; Jer 17:10; cf. Ps 62:12; Jer 20:10; cf. Ps 31:13).

²⁰⁶ The historical books like Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles and even Deuteronomistic History refer to the book of the 'Law of Moses'. For examples: Ezra 3:2; 7:6 (the Law of Moses), Ezra 6:18; Neh 13:1 (the book of Moses), and etc. In Hos 4:2, the prophet seems to echo the third, ninth, sixth, eighth and seventh commandments respectively when he talks about 'swearing, lying, killing, stealing, and committing adultery'. In Am 2:8, the Prophet condemns the practice of taking a man's garment in pledge, which is the subject of a specific law in Ex 22: 25-7. (Williamson 1988, 25, 39-40)

²⁰⁷ Williamson 1988, 31-34.

²⁰⁸ In Isa 56:3-8, the prophet is seen as opposing the exclusion of eunuchs and foreigners from the temple worship which is mentioned in Dt 23:2ff. In Mal. 3:5, the prophet commends justice to the widow, orphan and sojourner which echoes Dt 14:29; 16:11; 24:17, and etc. (Day 1988, 39-40)

²⁰⁹ Jer 4:23 recalls the description of primeval chaos in Gen 1:2. However, Deutero-Isaiah's use of the creation story is seen as being negative. For examples, the prophet's question about God's need to be assisted when He created the world in Isa 40: 13f and 44:52, which is mentioned in Gen 1:26. In Isa 40:18 and 46:5, the prophet also opposed the notion that Yahweh had a physical image by echoing Gen 1:26ff. (Day 1988, 41.)

²¹⁰ In Hos 12:4b-5a, Jacob is said to have striven with God or an angel which is mentioned in Gen 32:22-32. God's meeting Jacob at Bethel in Hos. 12:5b presumably refers to the story in Gen 28:10-22 (J). (Day 1988, 43-44).

²¹¹ Motyer 1993, 408.

²¹² In this respect, John Day believes that Psalms, especially, Zion and Enthronement Psalms were pre-exilic. (Day 1988, 47).

There is also evidence of the use of earlier prophetic materials by the later prophets. For instance, Trito-Isaiah cites Deutero-Isaiah on a number of occasions. Trito-Isaiah, sometimes, used Deutero-Isaiah as proof text for God's power to give freedom to those who are in the bondage of oppression. For example, Isaiah 58:8c re-interprets 52:12c.²¹³

Isa 58:8c

Then shall your light break forth like the dawn, and your healing shall spring up speedily; your righteousness shall go before you, the glory of the Lord shall be your rear guard.

Isa 52:12c

For you shall not go out in haste, and you shall not go in flight, for the Lord will go before you, and the God of Israel will be your rear guard.

Clearly, in order to call out the people of Israel to depart from Babylon for Jerusalem, Deutero-Isaiah uses the Exodus tradition and the oppression of Assyrians. For Deutero-Isaiah, God as their King, who had saved and walked before them in the past, is going to be their guide to Jerusalem. Then, he also uses cultic imagery to encourage the people to be purified because they are the bearers of the vessels of Yahweh (Isa 52:11 cf. 2 Chr 36:7, 10, 18f.). However, Trito-Isaiah again uses Deutero-Isaiah's saying with a new sense. He changes words in order to make clear what he is saying. Thus, when he uses Isaiah 52:12, he omits the first part (for you shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight) and changes from 'the Lord' to 'your righteousness' and from 'the God of Israel' to 'the glory of the Lord'.

It is clear that both Deutero and Trito Isaiah emphasise that God is the King and Guard of the people of Israel. However, the contexts of the sayings were not the same. Trito-Isaiah is talking about the nature and purpose of fasting which the people of Israel offered to God as confession for their transgressions while Deutero-Isaiah is calling the people of Israel out of Babylon to return to Jerusalem. For Trito-Isaiah, God is righteous and just and so wants His people to be just and righteous rather than offering sacrifices to Him without justice to the weak and the poor. For Trito-Isaiah, to be just to the weak and the poor, is a true fast or true worship to God. Thus, if they treat the weak and the poor with justice, the glory of the Lord, which had guided them in the wilderness, will be their guide. The glory of the Lord will lead them into a prosperous life. Thus, thematically, the passages indicate that the God of Israel, who is righteous and just, does not want injustice among humankind.²¹⁴ Isaiah 62:11b is verbally used from Isaiah 40:10b without changing any words.

Isa 62:11

Behold, the Lord has proclaimed to the end of the earth: Say to the daughter of Zion, 'Behold, your salvation comes; behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him.

²¹³ Isa 52:12b is misprinted as Isa 52:15c in John Day 's 'Prophecy.' (Day 1988, 48)

²¹⁴ Watts 1987, 214-217, 275; Smith 1984, 123, 134.

Isa 40:10

Behold, the Lord God comes with might, and his arm rules for him; behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him.

Here both Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah encourage the people of Israel who felt neglected by God (Isa 40:10) and thought of God as inactive and unresponsive to their needs (Isa 62:11). ‘The arm of the Lord’ and ‘might’ are the metaphors used to describe the ‘salvation of the Lord.’ Thus, although the wordings are different, encouragement is the same comforting message. The encouragement is that God will come with victory, and will provide for their needs and care for them.

Thus in the book of Isaiah itself, there is evidence that indicates the use of former materials by later writers. Furthermore, the book of Isaiah is also used in other prophetic writings. Zech 12:1b echoes Isa 42:5 (cf. 48:13) in order to testify to the power of God, who, as the Creator of the world and man, is the sovereign over creation and the Lord of history.²¹⁵ Or they might be using a common liturgical language of the time.

Zech 12:1

The word of the Lord concerning Israel: Thus says the Lord, who stretched out the heavens and founded the earth and formed the spirit of man within him.

Isa 42:5

Thus says God, the Lord, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread forth the earth and what comes from it, who gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to those who walk in it.

Zechariah 9:12 also reflects Isaiah 40:2. In Isaiah, the announcement that Jerusalem has received a full, even a double portion that atoned for all her sins,²¹⁶ and in Zechariah God promised the returned captives that they would have twice as much as before.²¹⁷ The book of Isaiah is not the only book used by later prophets but there is also other evidence of the use of one prophet by the other.

Joel chapter 3 (chap. 4 in MT & LXX) cites twice from Amos initially from the first chapter and then from the last chapter. Joel 3:16 sounds like a reversal of Am 1:2 where God’s roar is a thunder producing devastation and drought for Israel’s disobedience to God rather than the thunder which claims and affirms that God has won the battle in Joel. God’s roar, in Joel, is not against Israel anymore but to restore Jerusalem and with that restoration blessing goes freedom from destruction.

²¹⁵ Smith 1984, 275.

²¹⁶ Watts 1987, 80.

²¹⁷ Smith 1984, 259.

Joel 3:16

And the Lord roars from Zion, and utters his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shake. But the Lord is a refuge to his people, a stronghold to the people of Israel.

Am 1:2

"The Lord roars from Zion, and utters his voice from Jerusalem; the pastures of the shepherds mourn, and the top of Carmel withers."

In the same way, Joel 3:18 also seems to allude to Am 9:13 in order to testify that God is the Lord of nature and the Giver of agricultural bounty.

Joel 3:18

'And in that day the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the stream beds of Judah shall flow with water; and a fountain shall come forth from the house of the LORD and water the valley of Shittim.

Am 9:13

'Behold, the days are coming,' says the LORD, 'when the plowman shall overtake the reaper and the treader of grapes him who sows the seed; the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills shall flow with it.

Isaiah 2:4, Micah 4:3 and Joel 3:10 (4:10 in MT & LXX) seem to use a common source of tradition about men beating their swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks and vice versa.²¹⁸ Sometimes, the earlier traditions are used with thematic in emphasis.

Proverbs 8 also shows a grammatical dependence on the written Priestly account of creation in Gen 1:1-2:4a. In Proverbs 8, God is described as the One who made the earth (v 26). The phrases, such as 'prepared the heavens', 'drew a circle on the face of the deep' (v 27), 'established the clouds above', 'assigned to the sea its limit' (vv 28,29) and, furthermore, 'God as a master craftsman' (v 30), obviously show its wording dependence on Genesis 1:1-2-4a. However, it does not quote word for word from Genesis text.

In Job 38:1- 40:2, that is the speech of God to Job, a poetic elaboration of Israelite creation tradition as a manifestation of the range, skill and unfathomable grandeur of wisdom is also found. Further reflections from Israel's wisdom tradition about the nature of creation and its meaning is to be found in the book of Ecclesiastes (e.g. Eccl. 3:2-9; 3:20f.; 12:1, etc.).²¹⁹ The use of the Old Testament within the OT itself shows that they believed the earlier traditions and writings were authoritative.

²¹⁸ Carson and Williamson 1988, 48-49.

²¹⁹ Clement 1988, 67-81.

C. The New Testament Writers' Use of the Old Testament

At the beginning of the Christian era, there was no Old Testament except the Jewish Scriptures that were the written Law, Prophets, Writings, and apocryphal books, though Paul seems to speak of the law of Moses as the Old Covenant (2 Cor 3:14). However, for the New Testament writers, the Jewish Scriptures were the only Scripture that was a true, authoritative, inspired message from God. To them, the God of the Jewish Scriptures was the living God and thus, the teachings of the Scriptures are the teachings of the living God. To them, what the Scripture said was what God said. Following the historical Jesus, they did not question the historicity of the many persons and events in the Scriptures. For example, in the Gospels, there are many references of Scriptural characters such as Abel (Lk 11:5), Noah (Mt. 24:37-39; Lk 17:26, 27), Abraham (Jn 8:56). The institution of circumcision (Jn. 7:22), the story about Sodom and Gomorrah (Mt 10:15; 11:23, 24; Lk 10:12), Lot (Lk 17:28-32), Isaac and Jacob (Mt 8:11; Lk 13:28), the manna in the wilderness (Jn 6:31,49,58) are also regarded as historical events.

The New Testament writers believed that the persons and events in the OT happened in the history of the Jews.²²⁰ For example, Abel reappears, along with his brother Cain in Heb 11:4; 12:24; 1 Jn 3:12; Jude 11. Noah is mentioned in Heb 11:7; 1 Pet 3:20; 2 Pet 2:5. The name Abraham occurs thirty-nine times outside the Gospels; many details about his life and about his wife and family are given. Sodom and Gomorrah and Lot appear again in Rom 9:29; 2 Pet 2:6,7; Jude 7. Thus, it is clear that New Testament writers treated the OT as being equal with history. With regard to the authority of Old Testament teaching, the same position was taken in matters of doctrine and ethics. For example, Paul in the epistle to the Romans, his most systematic exposition of Christian doctrine, establishes crucial points in the argument by extended scriptural quotations (Rom 3:10-20; 5:12-21; 4:3-25; chapters 9-11; 15:9-12). The divine Sonship and High Priesthood of Jesus are interpreted from the Old Testament (Heb 1:5-2:9; 5:6-7:28). In order to establish ethical principles, appeal is also made to the Old Testament. Lev 19:18 is used in Rom 13:8-10 and Jas 2:8 in order to encourage the Churches to love one another. The Words of God 'Vengeance is Mine and recompense' in Dt 32:35 is used by Paul in Rom 12:19 to encourage the Romans not to take revenge on their enemies but to repay good for evil. The author of Hebrews uses the same text in Heb 10:30 as a warning to Christians not to sin after knowing the truth. God will judge his people who are not faithful to Him. Jas 4:6 cites Prov 3:34 in order to encourage Christians to be humble rather than proud. Hebrews 11:4-12:1 recalls

²²⁰ Enoch (Heb. 11:5; Jude 14), Melchizedek (Heb. 5:6ff.), Joseph (Acts 7:9ff.; Heb. 11:22), Korah (Jude 11), Aaron's rod that budded (Heb. 9:4), Balaam (2 Pet. 2:15; Jude 11), Balak (Rev. 2:14), Joshua (Acts 7:45; Heb. 4:8), the fall of the walls of Jericho (Heb. 11:10), Rahab (Heb. 11:31; Jas. 2:25), God's

many Old Testament characters and passages to encourage the Christians to be faithful to God and steadfast in times of trial. Eph 5:31 and 1 Cor 6:16 cite Gen 2:24 to point out the importance of faithfulness in marriage. Concerning, the abstention from idolatry, Ex 32:6 is quoted in 1Cor. 10:7, and 2 Cor 6:17 cites Isa 52:11, and Ezk 20:34, 41. The freedom of Christians from the ceremonial law mentioned in Gal 4:21-30 echoes combinations of the Old Testament passages in Genesis chapter 16 (the story of Sarah and Hagar, her maid), Gen 21:10 and Isa 54:1. The author of Ephesians encourages children to be obedient to their parents by quoting Dt 5:16. All these ethical principles are obviously upheld by scriptural quotations. Thus, the use of the Jewish Scripture manifests how much New Testament writers valued the authority of that Scripture. For New Testament writers, God is the One who inspires the Scriptures and so it has authority for the history of Israel and their doctrine of God and their ethical life. However, New Testament writers only used or quoted mostly from the Pentateuch that is the Law, certain of the Prophets, especially Isaiah, and the Psalms. They rarely used non- canonical books except for the use of Apocryphal Enoch in 2 Pet 2:4 and in Jude 4,6 and 9 and Jubilees in Acts 17 which is possibly a hymn directed to Jesus.

Regarding the inspiration of the Scripture, God is believed to be the ultimate Author although the human authors are sometimes acknowledged. It was God, who spoke through Moses, the prophets and the Psalm-writers, and it was God, who inspired their words to become Scripture. For the author of 2 Timothy, Scriptures are ‘God-breathed’ (3:16) and thus originate from God. It does not express God’s breathing into the Scriptures but it affirms that the Scriptures owe their origin to an activity of God. The Greek word, θεόπνευστος ‘God-breathed’ means ‘the product of divine expiration.’ For New Testament writers, prophecy is not something which proceeds from the human will, but comes directly from the very mouth of God (2 Pet 1:21; 1 Pet. 4:11; Heb 5:12; Acts 7:38). Human beings are carried along when they prophesy to a destination of God’s choosing, not theirs. For Paul, the Scriptures are the oracles of God (Rom 3:2). The expression נאם יהוה which literally means ‘the utterances of the Lord’, is a repeated oracular formula in the Prophets, preceding or following an utterance directly given by God. It was Philo’s favourite term for the Scriptures that included the whole of the Scripture-narrative and words of men, as well as words uttered directly from the mouth of God.²²¹

In the Gospels, Jesus is presented as regarding the Hebrew Scripture as an authoritative and divinely inspired text. Thus, he is portrayed using the Old Testament texts in his teachings by direct quotations or by indirect allusions. According to Luke, Jesus saw himself as the one who

destruction of the nations of Canaan (Acts 13:19), the Judges- Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah (Acts 13:20; Heb. 11:32), Samuel, Saul (Acts 13:20,21; Heb. 11:32), etc.,. (Wenham 1993, 91)

²²¹ Efrid 1972, 91-94.

came to fulfil the OT prophecies (Lk 4:17-21). The evangelists do not question the historicity of the many OT persons or events but sometimes they even apply the OT types or persons to Jesus. For examples, in Mt. 12:39-41 and Lk 11:29-32 compares Jesus with Jonah. Mt 12: 17-21 describes Jesus as identifying himself with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah's prophecy in Isa 42:1-4; 49:3. Likewise, the New Testament writers had summed up the relationship between the New Testament and the Old Testament as the 'fulfilment of the prophecy'. Thus, New Testament writers often used the Old Testament as evidence to support their view of Jesus.²²²

Paul, Peter and other New Testament writers also regarded the OT as foretelling about Jesus as the Messiah. For them, Jesus was the fulfilment of the OT prophecies. They believed that those who believe in Jesus are God's new chosen people who can inherit all the blessings that God had promised to Abraham, the father of Israel, the chosen people of God. Thus, without the Old Testament, it is not possible to interpret the coming of Jesus as God's saving plan for the world.²²³ Some writers used the Old Testament in an apologetic way as legitimating testimony for the message they proclaimed and others in a dogmatic way to affirm the priority of their own conceptions by imposing them on the earlier traditions, that is the Old Testament.²²⁴

D. The Use of the Jewish Exegetical Methods in the New Testament

Some Old Testament citations differ in wording from the Hebrew Scripture, the MT. Most of the citations from the Old Testament are in agreement with the LXX, the Greek version commonly used in the first century. The New Testament writings also reflect other Greek versions, Aramaic *Targums*, or independent translations of the Hebrew Text. Some diverge from the LXX because of deliberate alteration that is by *ad hoc* translation and elaboration or by the use of a variant textual tradition to support the purpose of the writer.²²⁵ The variations of the OT passages in the NT are dependent not only on the writer's perspective or view on the OT as a whole but also his or her interpretation of the individual OT passage. Thus, textual problems like using different versions of Scripture such as the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, the problem of intention and attention given to the original context of the text by those who cited it and the commentaries they used, are apparent.

²²² Carson and Williamson 1988, 3.

²²³ Baker 1976, 44.

²²⁴ Hays 1989, 156.

²²⁵ Dodd argued that the appearance of the same OT texts independently in different writers but often with the same peculiarities of wording suggested the use of a common stock of textual materials, and that these texts appeared to have been drawn from various specific areas or 'fields' in the OT which were systematically exploited for what they might yield, due attention being paid to context. (Carson and Williamson 1988, 3)

The use of Old Testament phraseology and the idea about God and His chosen people and individual texts in the New Testament indicates that New Testament writers were influenced by the Hebrew Scripture. Most often, it appears in the form of citations or intentional allusions or reminiscences. Scriptural texts are cited to obtain the support of an authority (Mt 4:14) or to call forth a cluster of associations (Mk 12:1ff), or to achieve a literary or stylistic effect (Tit 1:12).²²⁶ In the New Testament, the historical Jesus and his followers interpreted Old Testament prophecies as fulfilled in the coming of Jesus. According to the Gospels, Jesus regarded himself as the fulfilment of what was said and predicted in the Scriptures, although his interpretation of the Scriptures went beyond its literal meaning, whether by heightening, deepening, or striking out in a new direction altogether.²²⁷ Similarly, the Qumran community also believed themselves to be God's righteous remnant preparing the way for the Lord in those days of final travail. For them, God had revealed the interpretation of the prophetic mysteries to their Teacher. Therefore, they consciously and overtly based their interpretations on a revelational perspective.²²⁸ Thus, the Old Testament that is the Hebrew Scriptures is obviously used in the New Testament and in the Dead Sea Scrolls in terms of a 'fulfilment theory'. For New Testament writers, many prophecies in the Old Testament referred to Jesus and so were fulfilled in his coming. Thus, except the Dead Sea Scrolls, the use and interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament is different from the use of other Jewish writers although the same exegetical methodologies may have been used.

Most of the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are found with the Introductory Formula which generally engages verbs of 'saying' or 'writing', and are also found in other Jewish writings: the Qumran scrolls, Philo and the rabbis. However, the historical Jesus and most of the New Testament writers shared the common Jewish belief that all the Scriptures are inspired by God. Thus, whoever used the Scriptures believed that they were dealing with the very words of God and these words are of significant meaning for the people in their present circumstances.²²⁹ As far as the interpretive methodologies of the NT writers were concerned, they also shared with the Jewish interpreters a commonality of exegetical traditions even though they adopted them and modified for their own purposes.

In the Gospels, Jesus is portrayed as interpreting the Old Testament in a literal sense, particularly in matters of basic religious and moral values. For example, when a scribe asked him concerning

²²⁶ Ellis writes 'Old Testament phraseology in the New Testament occurred occasionally as the idiom of a writer whose own patterns of expression have been influenced by the Scriptures' (1 Thess 2:4; 4:5). (Marshall 1985, 199).

²²⁷ Barr 1966, 158-9

²²⁸ Longenecker 1975, 49-50.

²²⁹ Longenecker 1975, 50.

the greatest of the commandment, the historical Jesus gave the answer quite straightforwardly by quoting Dt 6:4, ‘Hear, *שמע* O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. And you shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart, and with your whole soul, and with your whole mind, and with your whole strength’ (Mt 22:37; Mk 12:29f; Lk 10:27).²³⁰ In countering the devil’s suggestions in the wilderness, Jesus is portrayed replying to the devil with a Scriptural text based on a literal rendering of Dt 8:3; 6:16 and 6:13.²³¹ If John, the evangelist understood Isa 53:1 as having individual messianic significance, his quotation of it in John 12:38 can be considered as a literal fulfilment.²³² The author of Hebrews also takes the details of law-giving literally in 12:18-29 by citing a wide variety of Scriptural passages drawn from Ex 19-20 and Dt 4-5.²³³ In Acts 3:25, Peter employed the covenant promise to Abraham mentioned in Gen 12:3, 18:18, 22:18 quite literally, acknowledging that his hearers were ‘the sons of the prophets and of the covenant which God made with our fathers.’²³⁴ The passages quoted in James are also treated in quite a literalist fashion. For example, the word, πληρόω (Jas 2:23 cf. Gen 15:6), points out that the ‘sacrifice’ of Isaac in Gen 22:1-19 elaborates on the meaning of Abraham’s faith (Gen 15:6). So the idea of fulfilment in James is in accord with the rabbinic treatment of Abraham’s faith rather than an expression of a distinctively Christian fulfilment theme.²³⁵ James also interpreted Lev 19:18 literally concerning loving each other (2:8). In 1 Pet 1:16, Lev 11:44 is literally used in order to encourage Christians to be holy as God who called them is holy. It says, ‘it is written, ‘You shall be holy, for I (God) am holy.’’²³⁶ In Rev 13:10, John, by echoing Jer 15:2 quite literally, calls for the endurance and faithfulness of the saints.²³⁷

The New Testament writers also used the midrashic interpretation of the Scriptures, especially the use of Hillel’s rules in Jesus’ sayings in the gospels and in the sayings of the Apostles in Acts. For example, Mark and Luke present Jesus as employing Hillel’s גזירה שוה (*analogy*) fashion. When the Pharisees objected to his disciples plucking and eating grain on the Sabbath, Jesus alluded to the incident of David who ate the bread of the Presence in the house of God. According to the rule, only the priest was permitted to eat that particular bread. It was permitted to David in that particular case because of the greater importance of David’s life. The historical Jesus, by using David’s incident as an *analogy*, argued that ‘the Son of man is Lord of the

²³⁰ Longenecker 1975, 66.

²³¹ Longenecker 1975, 66-67.

²³² Longenecker 1975, 155.

²³³ Carson and Williamson 1988, 294.

²³⁴ Carson and Williamson 1988, 115.

²³⁵ Carson and Williamson 1988, 199.

²³⁶ Carson and Williamson 1988, 200; See also Longenecker 1975, 96.

²³⁷ Bauckham 1993, 92

Sabbath' (Mk 2:25-28; Mt 21:3-8; Lk 6:3-5).²³⁸ In Acts 1:20, Peter quotes Ps 69:25 and 109:8 in order to assert Judas as wicked.

According to the gospels, *Pesher* interpretation is Jesus' most characteristic employment of Scripture. In Luke's Gospel, Jesus is portrayed as expounding the Scripture in terms of a fulfilment theme very early in his ministry (Lk 4:16-21).²³⁹ In Jn 5:39-47, the theme of fulfilment is just as explicitly stated in the denunciation of the Pharisees. In Mk 14:27 and Mt 26:31, after the Last Supper, in regard to his approaching death and the disciples' reaction, the historical Jesus cites Zech 13:7 with the formula 'it is written' γέγραπται and directly invokes the 'this is that' *pesher* motif. There are many other passages in the Gospels in which Jesus is portrayed as using *pesher* interpretation of the Scripture.²⁴⁰ In Jn 13:18, Jesus is presented applying David's lament in Ps 41:9 to his betrayal by Judas: 'He who ate my bread lifted up his heel against me.' In the text itself, verbal similarities are employed such as 'he who ate', 'he lifted up', and 'his heel.' The historical Jesus introduces the quotation by the fulfilment formula: 'in order that the Scripture might be fulfilled.' In the case of Acts 2:25-28, for Longenecker, the midrashic understanding has brought the two scriptural passages (Ps 16:8-11 & 110:1) together but it is a *pesher* understanding that evokes the introduction as 'David said concerning him' and applies the passage directly to Jesus' resurrection and ascension. In 1 Pet 1:24f., Pet quotes Isa 40:6-8 and then he says, in typical *pesher* fashion, 'this is the word τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ ῥῆμα that was preached to you.'²⁴¹

As far as allegorical interpretation is concerned, Mk 12:1-11 is the closest the parables of Jesus get to the allegorical form even though not all the details have an inner meaning. In Mk 12:1-11, the details and the language of Isa 5:1-7 and Ps 118:22-23 are used. The parable is obviously an allegory. According to the parable, the vineyard refers to the people of Israel, the owner of the vineyard to God, the cultivators stand for the rulers of Israel and the servants whom the owner sent, stand for the prophets and the son of the owner refers to Jesus himself.²⁴²

The author of Hebrews sees the slaughter and burning of the goat and the bullock on the Day of Atonement in Lev 16:27 as a foreshadowing of the Cross (13:10-11). For the author of Hebrews, Melchizedek was important because he represented an eternal priesthood, distinct from Levi's

²³⁸ Longenecker 1975, 69.

²³⁹ In Lk 4:16-21, Jesus entered the synagogue at Nazareth and is called upon to read the lesson from prophet Isaiah. He reads Isa 61:1f., rolls up the scroll, hand it to the attendant, sits down to speak, and proclaims: 'Today this Scripture is fulfilled in your ears.' (Longenecker 1975, 70)

²⁴⁰ Longenecker 1975, 70-75.

²⁴¹ Longenecker 1975, 203.

²⁴² Barclay 1975, 281; See also, Marshall 1985, 245.

lineage. He regarded the action of the high priest, Melchizedek as the prototype of the work of Christ (7:2-5, 27; 8:1-3; 9:7-12, 24-26; 10:1-4).²⁴³

Typological interpretation in the New Testament reflects the 'basic attitude of the early Christians toward the Hebrew Scriptures.'²⁴⁴ For example, in Jn 3:14, Jesus interpreted Num 21:9 as foreshadowing his death and resurrection. He compares his death, resurrection and exaltation with Moses' lifting up the bronze snake on a pole in the desert. All four categories of Fishbane can be found with a christological focus.²⁴⁵ The spatial correlation between a new heaven and a new earth in Rev 21 and the old Jerusalem, which again reflect the Eden as mentioned above.²⁴⁶ In Lk 17:26-37, the primordial cosmological event of Flood in Noah's day and the destruction of Sodom in Abraham's time became a prototype for God's eschatological judgement.²⁴⁷ Isaac and Sarah also became the prototype of the Church in terms of God's promise and freedom (Gal 3:16; 4:23).

E. Conclusion

From the above survey, it is clear that the re-use of Old Testament passages and traditions can be found both within the Old Testament itself, and the New Testament. New Testament writers regarded the Scriptures of Israel as the divine oracles, which require an explanation and an interpretation to be relevant to contemporary situations. The Evangelists portrayed Jesus as making interpretations and giving explanations to Scriptural texts. Jesus, according to the Gospels, interprets Scriptural texts, particularly prophecies, as being fulfilled in him. New Testament writers commonly held a view that all Scriptural passages are eschatologically fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Thus, they read and interpreted Scriptures with a christological focus. They also believed themselves to be the eschatological people of God. So with an ecclesiastical view, they read and interpreted the Scriptural passages, which were meant for the people of Israel but also they believed referred to them.

It is also clear that New Testament writers were familiar with most of the Jewish exegetical methods and used them in different contexts with a christological and an ecclesiastical focus. Paul's use of the Old Testament will be considered in the next chapter.

²⁴³ Lane 1991, 540

²⁴⁴ Marshall 1985, 210.

²⁴⁵ Marshall 1985, 211.

²⁴⁶ See the above comparison between the similarity of Eden and Jerusalem in p. 44.

²⁴⁷ Marshall 1985, 212.

Chapter Four: A Survey of Paul's Use of the Scriptures

A. Introduction

Paul is accused of having a habit of quoting scriptural texts rather loosely from memory.²⁴⁸ Thus, this chapter will focus on the possible reasons for this apparent looseness in his quotations.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has provided evidence of different versions of the Hebrew Text. Moreover, the acceptable practice of interpreting or translating scriptural texts according to contemporary issues as mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Aramaic versions might also be a reason for Paul's free scriptural quotations. It would also be possible for Paul to adapt the wording of the scriptural texts for his own purposes to meet the situations required. Various Hebrew texts, their translations and revisions, Paul's Pharisaic training and studies, the contextualized oral translations of the Hebrew Text he had heard in the synagogue, and other variant sources of Scriptural adaptations would certainly be the main sources for Paul's use of the scriptural texts. This chapter therefore intends to argue that Paul's understanding of Scripture and of his apostleship might have been two possible reasons for the way he used Scripture.

The minimising of the apparent discrepancies between the language of the New Testament quotations or citations and modern editions of the Greek and the Hebrew Bibles is also reflected in the scholarly studies of Paul's use of the Scriptures. Common to researchers before the Reformation was the notion that Paul remained faithful at all times to the original sense of the verses he cited, even if he did occasionally diverge from their precise wording.²⁴⁹ Most of the studies have specifically discussed how faithfully Paul coheres to the wording and sense of his scriptural quotations although the diversity of the wording is noticed.

As a result the question of whether Paul drew his texts from a Greek or Hebrew Text or both sources was settled in favour of a Greek *Vorlage* for the core of Paul's quotations by the mid-nineteenth century. Clearly all these questions come from a close encounter with Paul's use of Scripture and there are, as a result, many studies that have been done on the issue of the disparities between the wording of Paul's citations and present Greek and Hebrew Texts from different approaches. C. Stanley sums up all the studies on the disparities between the wording of the same text of the Hebrew text (the Masoretic text), the LXX and of Paul and then he draws some proposed solutions from them. 'The most radical and consistent proponent of the issue' is,

²⁴⁸ Stanley 1992, 16-17.

²⁴⁹ Stanley 1992, 10.

he states, the view that ‘the problem does not exist.’²⁵⁰ Stanley asserts that the differences of wordings in the New Testament citations from the Masoretic and the Septuagint texts were generally attributed to a wilful corruption of the Hebrew Bible by Jewish leaders under the guidance of Rabbi Akiba in the second century CE.²⁵¹ The overall closeness of the New Testament citations to the language of the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch had justified the differences between the New Testament citations and the Masoretic Text.²⁵² The question of how many texts were available for Paul, is another field for researchers. In general, Paul’s biblical quotations are mostly from Greek versions of the Scriptures of Israel.

However, Stanley makes an important point when he notes that ‘all the issues, which come out from Paul’s citations, appear in a series of letters addressed to Christian Churches of diverse backgrounds and varying levels of maturity. Moreover, each church had its own special relation to the apostle and each was facing a unique set of problems. Thus the reasons behind Paul’s appeals to Scripture also vary, from offering authoritative grounding for a specific theological pronouncement, illustrating a type of behaviour that the readers are encouraged to imitate or to avoid, to emphasising a key element in developing argument. It would, therefore, be to oversimplify the issues at stake if one fails to consider the differences.’²⁵³ Stanley is also right in stating that ‘one must not forget that Paul was the first person who deals with the problems of the Churches of the time by writing letters.’²⁵⁴ According to Stanley’s summarization, Paul’s perception of God, as a Jewish Christian, could be one of the main factors in the way he uses the scriptural texts. He would read them with the ‘Christian meaning’. Then, he would use the words that are relevant for the Christian understanding of God.

Paul’s variant wordings of Scripture compared with both the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint might be explained by the fact that Paul, with a deep understanding of the Scripture, would choose a scriptural text and expound it by using the available Jewish exegetical methods. It is also possible that Paul chose to use the different Greek translations of Proto-Masoretic texts available to him. The fluid state of the canon might also have been one of the reasons why Paul uses scriptural quotations from outside what later became the Christian Scripture.

²⁵⁰ Stanley 1992, 8.

²⁵¹ Whiston’s work is not available. According to Stanley, he had introduced the radical view about the different wordings of Scriptural texts between Paul and the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. (Stanley 1992, 9)

²⁵² Stanley 1992, 9.

²⁵³ Stanley 1992, 5.

²⁵⁴ Stanley 1992, 18-21.

Paul quotes from or alludes to, sixteen Scriptural books²⁵⁵ whether he is giving a dogmatic proof,²⁵⁶ an analogy,²⁵⁷ an illustration²⁵⁸ or merely using the language to clothe his own thought.²⁵⁹ The citations appear both singly (Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11 are quotation from Hab 2:4) and in combination (Rom 3:10-18).²⁶⁰ There are also a number of allusions to the Scripture (Rom 5:12-14; 1 Cor 10:1-5; 2 Cor 3:7- 18; Gal 4:21-31). The majority of Scriptural passages occur in the four *Hauptbriefe* (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians), and over half appear in the letter to the Romans. Some of Paul's quotations and allusions are not confined to the Scriptures. For example, 'the workman is worthy of his pay (1 Cor 9:14)', probably reflects the teaching of Jesus (Mt 10:10 and Lk 10:7) rather than the Scriptural text. 1 Cor 11: 23ff alludes to the words of Jesus in Mt 26:26-28.²⁶¹ There are some quotations which are used neither purely for illustration nor for proof, but somewhere between that is expressed as a 'shift in application' (e.g. Rom 15:21 quoted from Isa 52:15) or 'borrowed language'. Sometimes, the Scriptural texts are used purely for emotional impact (e.g. 2 Cor 13:1, 11:5; Gal 5:12) rather than a theological or ethical point. Some passages are used as a reflection of an opponent's position (e.g. Gal 3:11-12 quoted from Hab 2:4 and Lev 18:5).²⁶² Thus, maybe it is right in Paul's case when Moises Silva writes,

'It is possible that the New Testament writers may in some instances quote the Scriptures, not because they understand their use of it to correspond with the original writer's intention, but because their minds would naturally turn to passages that might have some kind of association, even a purely formal one, with the subject at hand.'²⁶³

B. Paul's Understanding of Apostleship and Scripture

Paul's attitude towards the Scriptures of Israel and how he thought of himself might have been a reason for the way he uses Scriptures. According to his letters, Paul held a high view of

²⁵⁵ Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Habakkuk and Malachi. 2 Cor 6:16 reflects the language of Leviticus 26:12 but the same idea can also be found in Ezekiel 37:27. Thus, if 2 Cor 6:16 is cited from Ezekiel, Paul's use of the Scriptures writings would be seventeen. Most of Paul's OT quotations, fully eighty per cent are from the Pentateuch (about three dozen quotations), Isaiah (at least two dozen) and the Psalms (twenty) even though his quotations show that he is familiar with Jeremiah, the Twelve, probably Ezekiel, the book of Samuel, Kgs, Proverbs, and Job (Carson and Williamson 1988, 273).

²⁵⁶ e.g. Rom 3:10-18 in which he cites from Ps 14:1-3, 5:9, 140:3, 10:7; Isa 59:7f.; Ps 36:1 to justify his view that all human beings, both Jews and Gentiles alike are under the power of sin.

²⁵⁷ e.g. Rom 2: 24 in which he quotes from Is. 52:5 in order to emphasize the failure of Jews to obey the Law to be the light of the nations.

²⁵⁸ e.g. Rom 10:6-8 where he uses the illustration of Moses in order to testify to the fact that Jesus as God's word which is near to those who turn to the Lord.

²⁵⁹ Rom 12:20; 1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 10:17; 13:1 (Ellis 1957, 10).

²⁶⁰ Ellis 1957, 11.

²⁶¹ Longenecker 1975, 111.

²⁶² Carson and Woodbridge 1983, 156-159.

²⁶³ Carson and Woodbridge 1983, 158-9.

Scripture and believed that Scriptures were also written for the sake of the people in his day. He interprets Scriptures and applies their meaning to the situation of his day. Paul was also convinced of his call to be an apostle to the Gentiles. Thus, his interpretation of the Scriptures might have also been influenced by his self-realization as an apostle to the Gentiles.

1. Paul's Understanding of Apostleship

For the primitive church, the twelve disciples were the real apostles since the historical Jesus himself had chosen and called them to be 'apostles.' In return, 'apostleship' should be continuously linked with the Twelve, in other words, an 'apostle' should be someone chosen and appointed by the Twelve apostles.²⁶⁴ However, Paul's 'apostleship' is not successive because he has not been chosen and appointed by the Twelve apostles. Paul understood apostleship as originating from the resurrection appearance of the risen Christ to his disciples (1 Cor 15:5ff.).²⁶⁵ Paul, according to his letters, was convinced of himself as an apostle of Christ (Rom 1:1, 11:13; 1 Cor 1:1, 9:1, 2, 15:9; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1, 2:8). Luke also mentions Paul as an apostle (Acts 14:4, 14).²⁶⁶ Paul describes himself as the last apostle who has seen the risen Christ (v. 8). 'Seeing the risen Christ' is, for Paul, the first and basic test for being an apostle (1 Cor 9:1ff.).²⁶⁷ Although Paul himself rarely mentions his call unless forced to do so (Gal 1:15-16; 1 Cor 15:9-10; Phil. 3:4-11),²⁶⁸ it is generally agreed that Paul's call to apostleship can be traced back to his experience on the Damascus road. For Paul the claim to be an apostle of Christ, as Beker asserts, 'authorises him to be an authentic, Christ-appointed interpreter of the gospel.'²⁶⁹ Paul mostly uses the term 'apostle of Christ' in order to safeguard the truth of the gospel he preaches rather than to enforce his or others' authority.²⁷⁰ Paul also uses the term 'apostle' to refer to those messengers, who were sent on a mission (2 Cor 8:16-24; Phil. 2:25; 1 Thess 2:6,7). Thus, it is necessary to consider first how Paul understood his call.

Luke dramatically describes Paul's call and commission in terms of visionary and revelatory experience (Acts 9:3-19; 22: 6ff.; 26:12ff.), which is closely associated with the prophetic calls and commissions in the Scriptures (Isa 6; Jer 1; Ezk 1-2; Dan 7:9ff.; 1 Enoch 14:8-16:4).²⁷¹ Nowhere does Paul extensively describe his encounter with the risen Christ on the Damascus road in his letters in the way that Luke describes it. But Paul often describes Christophany as the

²⁶⁴ Evans and Porter 1995, 14.

²⁶⁵ Beker 1980, 5.

²⁶⁶ Beker 1980, 5.

²⁶⁷ Hawthorne 1993, 48.

²⁶⁸ Beker 1980, 4.

²⁶⁹ Beker 1980, 5.

²⁷⁰ Evans and Porter 1995, 23.

²⁷¹ Hill 1979, 113.

origin of his call (Gal 1:16, 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8). Paul briefly mentions his call in the apologetic defence of the gospel (Gal 1:1-16). He mentions that his call to be an apostle came not from men but Jesus Christ and God the Father (Gal 1:1). In Rom 1:1, he describes himself as 'the servant of Christ (Gal 1:10; Phil. 1:1), called to be an apostle (1 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1), set apart for the gospel' (Acts 13:2; Gal 1:15-16). In the Scriptures, the prophets are described as 'the servants of the Lord' (2 Kgs 9:7; Isa 20:3; Jer 7:25; 29:19; 44:4; Ezk 38:17). However, whether or not Paul intentionally chose 'the servant of Christ' in order to identify himself with the Scriptures prophets is not certain. What is certain is Paul's claim that 'he is called to be an apostle of Christ (1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; 1 Thess 2:6) to preach the gospel to the Gentiles' (Rom 1:1, 11:13).

In order to understand how Paul regarded himself and his role as an apostle, it is necessary to look back at possible concepts of the word 'apostle.' The Greek noun, ἀποστολος comes from the verb, ἀποστέλλω which simply means 'send away' or 'send off.' The Hebrew word corresponds ἀποστέλλω is πָלַח which means 'to send', 'to send away' or 'to stretch out.' In the Scriptures, πָלַח emphasises the essential purpose of sending, in other words, the authorisation of the messengers (Jos 1:16; 1 Kgs 20:9; 21:11; 2 Kgs 19:4; Jer 34:3 [27:3 in LXX]). The one who is sent has full power and is regarded as a personal representative of the one who sends him. (1 Sam 25:40; 2 Sam 10:4,6).

In the LXX the noun ἀποστολος is found only in 1 Kgs 14:6 where there is no mention of the question of sending, but of the commissioning and empowering of the prophet Ahijah with a hard message for Jeroboam's wife. The word ἀποστέλλω can be described as denoting 'the authorisation of someone to fulfil a particular function or a task, which is normally clearly defined. And the attention is always given to the one who sends rather than the messenger (Isa 6:8).'²⁷² In the New Testament, unlike the LXX, the noun ἀποστολος is frequently used to denote the primitive apostolic office, particularly the twelve disciples of Jesus.²⁷³ Agnew suggests that 'the connection of the ἀποστολος and πָלַח lies in their common relationship to the sending-convention expressed in the πָלַח/ἀποστέλλειν word group.'²⁷⁴

For Paul, the word ἀποστολος designates the divine call and commissioning to lifelong service (Rom 1:5; 1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Gal 1:1). It comes through confrontation with the risen Christ, who himself gives his apostles the message of the Gospel (1 Cor 11:23; 2 Cor 4:6; Gal 1:12). The power of the Holy Spirit plays a very important role in preaching the Gospel of Christ (1

²⁷² Brown 1986, 126-7.

²⁷³ Brown 1986, 128.

Thess 1:5; 1 Cor 2:4; Rom 15:18-19). The apostles are the ‘ambassadors’ of Christ to preach the gospel (2 Cor 5:20). Paul understands the call to Christian apostleship as bound with the duty of mission among the Gentiles (Rom 10:15, 11:13; 1 Cor 1:17; Gal 2:8). Special signs and wonders attended the apostles’ work (Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12). Their main task is to preach the gospel (1 Cor 1:17). Suffering and rejection are an unavoidable part of the apostles’ ministry and service (1 Cor 4:9-13; 2 Cor 4:7-12). The apostles possess a special insight into the mystery of Christ (1 Cor 4:1). Paul knew that his authority was not derived from some special quality in him (2 Cor 3:5), but from the gospel itself in its truth and power to convict (Rom 15:18; 2 Cor 4:2).²⁷⁵ Paul, himself as mentioned above, claims to be an apostle of the risen Christ (1 Cor 9:1). Moreover, he himself regarded his conversion experience as a commission from the risen Christ (Gal 1:15-16). Dunn asserts that ‘so far as Paul himself was concerned, the purpose of the revelation of the risen Christ (Gal 1:12) on the Damascus road was to appoint him as apostle, apostle to the Gentiles.’²⁷⁶ As a matter of fact, Paul was probably the first to connect apostleship with consciousness of being sent by the glorified Christ, the idea influenced by the call and commission of the classical prophets of Israel.²⁷⁷

Paul’s language in his description of apostolic calling (Gal 1:15-16), of receiving of revelations and visions (1 Cor 15:8; 2 Cor 12:1-4; Gal 1:12, 16; 2:2), and of his manner and ministry (Gal 1:6-9; 1 Thess 2:2-4; 3:4; 5:3; 2 Cor 11:23-27) is similar to the language of Hebrew prophets.²⁷⁸ Particularly, Evans insists that ‘Paul’s understanding of the apostolic obligation to proclaim the gospel is informed by the prophetic voice of Deutero-Isaiah’²⁷⁹ when he cites Isa 52:7; 53:1 in Rom 10:14-17. Moreover, his claim ‘woe to me’ (1 Cor 9:16) echoes the exclamations of the prophets (Isa 24:16; Jer 13:27; Hos 9:12) and his anguish (Rom 9:2) is also reminiscent of Jeremiah’s anguish (Jer 14:19).²⁸⁰ How did Jews in the first century CE depict a true prophet? Did Paul view his apostleship as similar to those of classical prophets? Was he regarded as a prophet? Did he think of himself as a prophet?

Sandnes has done thorough research on how the Hebrew prophets were depicted in Paul’s time by concentrating his research on Sirach 44-50 (ca. 200 BCE).²⁸¹ The prophets are described as proclaiming prophecies (44:3), and as those who see and know everything in the past and the future (48:24). They also have God’s power to look into the future and ‘reveal the hidden things’

²⁷⁴ Agnew 1986, 94.

²⁷⁵ Brown 1986, 129-130.

²⁷⁶ Dunn 1998, 259.

²⁷⁷ Brown 1986, 131.

²⁷⁸ Evans 1999, 118-9.

²⁷⁹ Evans 1999, 120.

²⁸⁰ Evans 1999, 120.

²⁸¹ Sandnes 1991, 21-43.

(48:25). They were formed from the womb to be prophets (49:7). Prophets are depicted as men of both words and visions. The prophetic words are regarded as effective and powerful because they were the word of Yahweh (48:1, 2; 49:6). A true prophet is marked by the reliability of his predictions (46:15, 20). The prophetic call or commission is received by means of visions (48:22; 49:8). The prophets are proclaimers of judgement (48:5) or comfort (48:24,25; *2 Apoca. Bar* 10:2), and preachers of repentance (48:15) and eschatological restoration of Israel (49:7). They are also marked by their miraculous deeds (48:2 ff.).

In the first century CE main stream Judaism believed that the end of the true prophets began after the death of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (*Tosefta Sotah* 13:2). In Lam 2:9 the prophets of Israel are described as no longer seeing visions from Yahweh and Ps 74:9 also mentions that there were no prophets among Israel for a long time. Josephus also mentions his time as a time without an exact succession of prophets among Jewish communities (*Against Apion* 1.8, 41). However, evidently, there were prophets who uttered the ‘oracles of judgement’ in the great revolt (ca. 66-70 CE) even though they were not recognised as true prophets (*Wars of the Jews* VI. 5. 2-3).²⁸² The Jews are depicted as waiting for the coming of the eschatological true prophet among them (1 Macc 4:46; 14:41; *T. Benj.* 9:2).²⁸³

According to Luke, the first century Christians seemed to believe that they were living ‘in the time when God finally pours out the Spirit on his people.’²⁸⁴ The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost in Acts 2:14-21 is understood as the fulfilment of Joel’s prophecy (Joel 2:28-32). Particularly Joel 2:28 says, ‘*And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit on all flesh; your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions.*’ Thus, ‘the pouring of the Holy Spirit’ can be understood to be the mark of a call to prophesy. In this respect, Paul’s realisation of the power of the Holy Spirit in his proclamation of the gospel can be understood as his prophetic consciousness, which has undoubtedly influenced his understanding of apostleship.²⁸⁵

Paul never calls himself a prophet although he recognises the existence of Christian prophets (1 Cor 12:28; 14:37). Paul however clearly understood his apostleship in terms of being ‘sent and given authority to preach the gospel’ (Rom 10:15). He mentions prophecy as having second place among the spiritual gifts (1 Cor 12:28). However, he indirectly mentions that he occasionally uttered prophetic oracles in the community (1 Cor 14:6f. 14:19). In Acts chapter 21, Paul was compared by the crowd (Acts 21:38) with the Egyptian, who claimed to be a prophet

²⁸² Sandnes 1991, 43-47.

²⁸³ Sandnes 1991, 44.

²⁸⁴ Sandnes 1991, 1.

(*Wars of the Jews* II. 13. 5). Luke therefore indirectly presents Paul as one among the prophets like Judas and Silas (Acts 13:1; 15:22, 32). For Luke, the apostles, prophets and teachers seem, unlike Paul, to bear the same task of being sent for the sake of the Gospel of Christ. However, whether or not Paul perceived his call in the same terms as the classical prophets should be traced from his own use of the words from the calls of the prophets and their oracles in his letters.

Paul's own testimony of his call in Gal 1:15-16 can be seen parallel to the call of God's servants, the prophets. Especially, the terms or phrases such as 'set me apart', 'before I was born', 'called me', and 'reveal' are commonly used in the calls and commissions of the prophets (Isa 49:1-6; Jer 1:4ff.). Paul's description of the apostles 'being sent as messengers to preach the Gospel of Christ' in Rom 10:13 assimilates to 'the sending of the prophets' as 'messengers of God' in the Scriptures (2 Sam 7:4-5, 8; Isa 6:3; Jer 1:7; 8:17; Ezk 2:4). Paul also associates 'the messengers of good tidings' (Isa 40:9; 41:27; 52:7; 61:1) with 'the preachers of the gospel' (Rom 10:15). The prominent function of the Scriptures prophets can be seen as 'interpreters of contemporary situations in light of Israel's sacred or torah traditions.'²⁸⁶ Thus, it is possible to conclude that Paul might well have considered his call to apostleship as similar to those of 'the prophets' in the Scriptures.

2. Paul's Understanding of the Nature of Scripture

Paul obviously knew the whole of Scripture as γραφή, though he sometimes uses the words, 'the law', 'the writings' or 'the law and the prophets' to refer to it. Generally, his understanding of the Scriptures as divinely inspired agrees with Jesus Christ in the Gospels (Mt 19:4f.) and the other New Testament writers (e.g. Rom 15:4; 2 Tim. 3:16; 2 Peter 1:21). He also shares with his contemporary Jewish writers in their conception of the purely supernatural origin of the Scriptures in its strictest form.²⁸⁷ He shares with both Jews and Christians in their employment of Scripture as worthy of reverence and as authoritative.²⁸⁸ It constitutes the very oracles of God τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom 3:1-2) and so holy, (Rom 7:12) and prophetic (Rom 1:2).²⁸⁹ The Scripture is the expiration of God, and therefore, the instigator of Scripture is God, not man. As Childs asserts, 'Scripture, for Paul, is a living word which speaks and confronts its hearers now.'²⁹⁰ Thus, whenever Paul introduces an explicit Scriptural quotation, he can confidently say, 'as God said' (2 Cor 6:16) because he believes Scripture is the Word of God.

²⁸⁵ Sandnes 1991, 1.

²⁸⁶ Evans 1984, 560.

²⁸⁷ Ellis 1957, 81.

²⁸⁸ Longenecker 1975, 114.

²⁸⁹ Ladd 1974, 394.

²⁹⁰ Childs 1962, 241.

3. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Authoritative

What Paul knew as Scripture, *γραφὴ* in his time was not merely, what Christians now call 'the Old Testament.' Scripture, *γραφὴ* and law, *νόμος* both signify the revealed will of God (Rom 7:14). His concept of *γραφὴ* is bound up with his use of two other words; letter or script, *γράμμα* which signifies 'written and prescribed ordinances', and Spirit, *πνεῦμα*. For him, the whole Scriptures understood and applied without the illumination of the Spirit often resulted not in Scripture, *γραφὴ* but only in letters or script, *γράμμα*. In Paul's view, Scriptures had become mere *γράμμα* - 'letters' for Jews when the union of *γραφὴ* and *πνεῦμα* is lost. Without *πνεῦμα* the Law would become an end in itself rather than a means to evoke faith in God's grace. Thus, Scripture can remain meaningful only if it remains entirely bound together with the Spirit. Paul saw the Word of God as being made ineffectual through false interpretations by his kinsfolk (Rom 2:25-29). In order to understand Scripture, one must have the Spirit because it is through the Spirit the meaning of Scriptures is given. For example, in 2 Cor 3:6 and 7, Paul describes Moses' law written on the stone as 'letters' that kill but through the Spirit it gives life. Ladd therefore rightly asserts that 'this may be the reason why he does not hesitate to give his Scripture citations an interpretive rendering; and he is convinced that he conveys the true meaning best in this way through the Spirit.'²⁹¹

According to Hays, 'the Scripture is, for Paul, not just a history of revelation in the past but a living voice that speaks to the community of believers who have turned to God through faith in Christ.'²⁹² For Hays, 'the Scripture could be sometimes construed metaphorically so that it signifies far more than it says.'²⁹³ In 2 Cor 3, Paul claims that the believers have uncovered the veil to see the truth that was hidden from the time of Moses (Ex 34). For Hays, 'Paul's reading of Scripture is transformative, that is, by correlating God's word to Israel with the new circumstances of his churches and the content of his kerygma, he generates novel interpretations that nonetheless claim to be the true, eschatologically disclosed sense of the ancient texts.'²⁹⁴ For example, Paul's reading of Dt 30: 11-4 presents a new meaning. For Paul, the meaning of Dt 30:11-4 had been concealed which Moses could not have guessed. Paul himself could never have imagined this before his own conversion. In Rom 10:8, that latent meaning becomes revealed. 'The word is near you, in your mouth and in your heart,' is understood as 'the word of

²⁹¹ Ladd 1974, 26-28.

²⁹² Hays 1989, 165.

²⁹³ Hays 1989, 154.

²⁹⁴ Hays 1989, 155.

faith, which the apostles preach'. Paul regards the Gospel that Paul preaches as the hidden meaning of the Word that was always near to Israel described in Dt 30:11-4.²⁹⁵

'If the gospel is hidden in Scripture, Hays suggests, Scripture must be understood as richly allusive in character, hinting at the kerygma, prefiguring it metaphorically. Most often, a Scriptural text is used as an echo into the text of Paul's letter and gives new meaning wider than its own plain meanings.'²⁹⁶ For instance, in his quotation of Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17, Paul let Habakkuk's theodicy question echo into his proclamation that the righteousness of God is now definitely revealed in the Gospel of Christ. In the Hebrew text of Habakkuk, God's answer to the prophet is an exhortation to keep the faith: 'The righteous one shall live by his faithfulness'. Hays also asserts that 'when Paul allows Hab 2:4 to echo into his preaching Habakkuk speaks for Paul's two main formulations of the gospel: in the Gospel God's own righteousness is revealed; and the gospel is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes.'²⁹⁷

Paul also cites Scriptures sometimes in order to defend his apostolic authority by appeal to a higher authority. For example, in 2 Cor 3:1-3, concerning the letters of recommendation *συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν*, he evokes echoes of a series of scriptural texts (Jer 31:33; Ex 31:18; Ezk 36:26) to assert his apostleship by identifying the Corinthian community itself as the visible fruit or letter of his apostolic labour.²⁹⁸ Paul mostly quotes Scriptural passages to counter arguments advanced by his opponents, Judaisers, directly (especially in Romans). Sometimes he cites the Scriptures to give an account of his understanding of the gospel that will do justice both to it and to his own Jewish heritage and tradition which he is not of a mind to repudiate.

In Rom 3:10ff, Paul argues about the universal sinfulness of humankind before God by quoting Ps 14:1-2; 53:1-2; 5:9; 140:3; 59:7-8; 36:1 and Prov 1:16. At the same time, he expounds the manifestation of the righteousness of God apart from the law although he knew that the law and prophets (i.e., Scriptures) bear witness to it (Rom 3:21). He used Hab 2:4 in Rom 1:17 to support his thematic assertions of 'justification by faith' in Rom 1:16-17 although he makes some changes in his use of Hab 3:2.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Hays 1989, 155.

²⁹⁶ Hays 1989, 155.

²⁹⁷ Hays 1989, 40-41.

²⁹⁸ Hays 1989, 126-7.

²⁹⁹ Carson and Williamson 1988, 274.

4. Paul's understanding of Scripture as Christological

For both Paul and the Christians of Jerusalem like Peter and James, as Longenecker rightly asserts, 'the relation between the revelation of God in Jesus of Nazareth and the revelation of God in the Scriptures are complementary, as well as supplementary' (1 Pet 1:20; Rom 16:25-26).³⁰⁰ They believed the essence of the prediction in Scripture is that it expects the fulfilment of what is predicted. According to the New Testament, this fulfilment occurred in Jesus Christ, who applied the term 'Son of God' to himself and accepted the title 'Christ' from his followers, so linking himself directly with the Scriptural hope for the future. The Scripture constantly points to something beyond itself, and it looks forward to something, which follows it. The New Testament writers look back to the Scriptures as offering the answer to their expectation, the response to their faith and hope, and the fulfilment of God's promises. Furthermore, the Christian community takes up the mission and message of the former covenant with the historical Israel and makes them its own. For example, Israel was called to be a light to the nations (Isa 9:2; 42:6; 49:6), and Jesus Christ as the suffering Servant takes this task upon himself when he describes himself as 'the light of the world' (Jn 8:12) and passes it on to his followers (Mt 5: 14). For Paul, the rock, which gave water to the Israelites in the wilderness (Ex 17:6) was Christ, who gives the living water for all those who believe in Him (1Cor 10:4).

Thus, for Paul, the Scriptures of Israel and his Gospel preaching are interrelated and belong together so that neither can be fully understood without the other. For him, the revelation of God's righteousness to historical Israel in Hebrew Scripture was 'progressive revelation', which is completed in Jesus of Nazareth. Without the coming of Jesus, the revelation of God in His people would not be fully attainable because of the unfaithfulness and disobedience of the people (Rom 3:9-22). The Law prefigures Jesus as the Christ in whom God's righteousness is revealed (Rom 10:4-10) and the earthly life of Jesus and his resurrection confirm the promise of God to Abraham as true (Gal 3:16). According to 2 Corinthians 3, Paul also sees the coming of Jesus as not only the turning of the ages but also the turning point for understanding Scripture. He apparently understands the veil over Moses' face (3:13) to have been removed by Jesus Christ (3:14). Thus, when one turns to the Lord, to Christ, the veil is removed (3:16). Thus, Paul is not hesitant to claim that the Scriptures point to Christ (2 Cor 1:20).³⁰¹

For Longenecker therefore 'Paul, together with the earliest Jewish Christians understood Scriptures Christologically. For Paul the Scripture is central for every argument he makes about the gospel of Christ. With reference to Lindars, Moody Smith asserts that 'Paul's general

³⁰⁰ Longenecker 1975, 105. See also, Carson and Williamson 1988, 279.

reference to Scripture as supporting a Christian interpretation of Christ's death and belief in his resurrection in 1 Cor 15:3-4 (κατὰ τὰς γραφάς) shows that he knows a primitive christological testimony tradition.³⁰² In 1 Cor 15:25-7, for example, he alludes to Ps 110:1 and Ps 8:6 as prophecies of Christ's enthronement at the right hand of God and ultimate authority over all creation. This christological reading of these psalms seems to have been widely influential in the early church (cf. Mk 12:35-37 and parallels; Acts 2:33-36; Heb 1:13, 2:5-9; Eph 1:20-22). For Paul, Scripture as God's Word has a new and peculiar importance in the light of the coming of the Messiah. His initial statement about the gospel of God in Romans is typical and telling: it was 'proclaimed beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures'. So when Paul quotes Hab 2: 4 in Rom 1: 17 he has already prepared the reader to understand that the truth of the gospel is to be found in the Scriptures of Israel. He also interprets the promise to Abraham's seed in Gen 13:15 as a promise made to the Messiah (Χριστός), who is to be the heir of God's promised blessing.

Thus, Paul placed the Scriptures as central within a larger context of christological awareness although in his own experience a true understanding of Christ preceded a proper understanding of Scripture. In this aspect, Paul also understood the Scriptures historically. He appreciated its pastness, temporality and successiveness. For him, narratives are historical, 'these things happened' (τυπικῶς) (e.g. 1 Cor 10:1-13). Paul, therefore, regarded not just the texts, but the events and persons of which the texts speak as prototypes of God's revelation in Christ.³⁰³ Thus, while the early Christian leaders at Jerusalem characteristically began with Jesus as the Messiah and moved on to an understanding of the Scriptures from this Christocentric perspective, Paul usually started with the text itself and sought by means of a midrashic explication to demonstrate christological significance. Smith, by citing Luz, states that 'for Paul, the Scripture is not primarily something to understand; rather, the Scripture itself creates understanding.'³⁰⁴ Scripture makes the gospel clear. In his missionary speech in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch, Paul is portrayed as speaking of the fulfilment of prophecy in the death of Jesus (Acts 13: 27, 29). For Paul, the meaning of the Scriptures was not understandable until the fullness of time had come and God sent forth his son (Gal 4: 4). For in Jesus, 'the righteousness of God was revealed apart from the law, although the law and the prophets bear witness to it' (Rom 3: 21).³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Carson and Williamson 1988, 282.

³⁰² Carson and Williamson 1988, 274.

³⁰³ Smith 1988, 278.

³⁰⁴ Smith 1988, 281.

³⁰⁵ Smith 1988, 281.

5. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Soteriological

In Rom 9-11, Paul argues that the call of Gentiles together with the 'remnant' of Israel to be God's people is God's way of dealing with the salvation of all humanity through the instrument of His chosen people, the historical Israel. Especially, in Rom 10:11-13, by citing Isa 18:16. Paul asserts that the salvation of everyone either Jew or Gentile is assured by believing in Christ. Scriptures confirm the manifestation of the saving righteousness of God in Jesus Christ on the basis of faith rather than the law. According to Lindars, Paul never adduces Scripture to prove that Jesus is the Christ or reproduces the christological texts to argue that Jesus is the Messiah.³⁰⁶ In Romans 4, the story about Abraham is not only regarded as an example of faith but also of the basis of God's righteousness and consistency in dealing with humanity. Here, Paul understands the call of Abraham in terms of God's revelation and salvation in history (Gen 12:3). Thus, Smith asserts that 'Vielhauer has correctly observed that Paul's use of the Old Testament is mainly soteriological rather than Christological.'³⁰⁷

6. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Ecclesiological

Richard Hays asserts that 'in his reading of Scriptures, Paul operates with an ecclesiocentric hermeneutic.'³⁰⁸ Hays insists that Paul found foreshadowing of the Church as the people of God in the Scripture. According to his letters, Paul might have used Scripture primarily to shape his understanding of the Christian community - composed of Jews and Gentiles together – of faith in Jesus Christ. Hays sees Paul's reading of Scriptural traditions of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar as ecclesiological. For example, Isaac as a prefiguration of the Church (Gal 4:28) and the Christian community as 'children of the free woman' (Gal 4:31). Hays asserts that 'Christ is not even mentioned in Paul's interpretation.'³⁰⁹ Thus, according to Hays, Paul's understanding and reading of the election of the people of Israel and things happened to them in the Scriptures are a 'type' for the Church (1 Cor 10:1-22). The true meaning of Scriptures has been hidden, and is now made plain to believers in Christ. For Paul Scriptures were written with a view to the Church (Rom 4:23; 15:4).

³⁰⁶ Carson and Williamson 1988, 275.

³⁰⁷ Smith 1988, 275.

³⁰⁸ Hays 1989, 86.

³⁰⁹ Hays 1989, 84-87.

7. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Theocentric

In response to Hay's argument that Paul's hermeneutic is eccleciocentric, Sanders argues that 'Paul's interpretation of the Scripture is theocentric.'³¹⁰ In Sanders' view, Paul understood and read the Scriptures as the record of God's work in the history of humankind. Sanders puts it this way, 'all Paul's arguments are from theological history. Paul turns to the Scriptures to discern a pattern of divine activity and speech and to seek light on what is going on in his own day.'³¹¹ For example, in Dt 10:16; Jer 4:4, the circumcision of the hearts is required by God for His chosen people. 'Circumcision of the heart' was a metaphor for 'repentance' and 'return' from sinful ways to God's ways. It was used for the people of Israel to turn to God. However, the people could not do it themselves. Thus, God himself would transform His people (Hos 6:1; Isa 51:7; Jer 30:12-13, 31:31-34; Ezk 36:26-27). God's transformation would be carried out in terms of judgement that would destroy the old Judah and Israel. The destruction would be a punishment for sin. However, it would result in a new people by a divine restoration (Dt 32:39). Both judgement and restoration were, for Paul, the work of God.³¹²

In 2 Corinthians 3 Paul seems to set letter against the spirit by using the idea of 'circumcision of the hearts' although Ezk 36: 26-27 is a vital passage for Paul's argument. Paul understood that letter, ἐπιστολή lives in their hearts because God's spirit has been put inside the people during God's act in the Judgement/ salvation event (Jer 31:33; Ezk 36:27). For Paul, as in the Jeremiah passage, 'God's Torah/Word is no longer only commandments written by God on stone tablets, it is written by God's spirit on the people's hearts.'³¹³ Thus, Sanders asserts, 'it is in this sense that the letter (γράμμα) kills and that God kills (ἀποκτείνειν / κτείνειν), and it is in this sense that God brings to life (ζῆνποιεῖν / ζωοποιεῖν- Dt 32:39; 2 Cor 3:6). God is the God of death and life.'³¹⁴ Smith also asserts that 'Paul attempts to interpret the history of Israel was the stadium where God has really spoken and been working out His purpose by means of election.'³¹⁵ Indeed, God is the author of all the events including the coming of Jesus in human history and the calling of the Gentiles to be His people.³¹⁶

³¹⁰ Sanders 1993, 54.

³¹¹ Sanders 1993, 54.

³¹² Sanders 1993, 55.

³¹³ Sanders 1993, 55.

³¹⁴ Sanders 1993, 56.

³¹⁵ Smith 1988, 279.

³¹⁶ Evans and Sanders 1993, 54-56.

8. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Eschatological

Paul believed that the End had come with the calling of Gentiles into God's people (1 Cor 10:11) but the End was yet to come for its consummation (Rom 8:18-27).³¹⁷ His concept of the eschatological understanding of the Scripture is clearly described in 1 Cor 10:11, which says, *'Now these things happened to them as a warning, but they were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come.'* Paul sees Christians as the eschatological community foretold by the Scriptures (Isa 45: 14, 15; 49:23; 60:1-16).³¹⁸ He claims that 'the gospel of God was promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures' (Rom 1:2). For him, the gospel is 'the righteousness of God and has been revealed through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe both Jews and Gentiles as attested by the law and the prophets' (Rom 3:21-22). He also saw that gospel as being 'preached beforehand to Abraham, saying, 'In you shall all the nations be blessed.' (Gal 3:8). For Paul, God's promise of blessing to Abraham through his offspring (Gen 15:4-6) refers to 'Christ' (Gal 3:16). Paul's basic claim, as Dunn rightly asserts, is that 'the gospel is the contemporary or eschatological form of God's original choice of Abraham and promise to Abraham's offspring.'³¹⁹ Paul sees the mission or destiny of Israel to be the 'Messiah' to the nations. Paul's use of Jesus' title, 'Christ' that is 'Messiah' signifies that 'Israel's destiny has reached its fulfilment in Jesus.'³²⁰

Paul therefore considers the 'inclusion' of the 'Gentiles' or 'nations' into the community of God on the basis of faith as representing the fulfilment of God's word to Abraham.³²¹ Paul's allusions to the traditions of the 'patriarchs' and to 'several episodes narrated in Exodus and Numbers also clearly inform his reading and application of Scripture as eschatological (1 Cor Chap. 10). He regards Israel's history as the history of Christian community, which has become part of Israel (1 Cor 10:1).³²² Thus, the churches composed with both Jews and Gentiles together in praising God must be, for Paul, the eschatological fulfilment of the scriptural vision (Rom 15:9-12).³²³ What the Scriptures said beforehand refers to both Jews (Dt 32:20; Isa 1:9; 29:10; 65:1-2) and Gentiles (Hos 1:10; 2:23; Isa 8:14; 28:16; 60:1-12; 65:1) as being the people of God.

The conversion of Gentiles and the minority of Jews to the Christian gospel became, for Paul, the main reason to see and interpret Israel's sacred traditions eschatologically. Paul mentions that 'the righteousness of God is revealed through faith in Christ' (1 Cor 2:10; Rom 1:17). He

³¹⁷ Wright 1992, 406.

³¹⁸ Hays 1999, 400.

³¹⁹ Dunn 1988a, 264.

³²⁰ Wright 1992, 407-8.

³²¹ Aageson 1993, 80.

³²² Hays 1999, 398.

also mentions that the mystery as hidden for long ages has now been revealed in the gospel of Christ (Rom 16:25-26). Thus, he also understood Scripture as mystery, which is now revealed in Christ. In this respect, Paul obviously reads and interprets Scripture apocalyptically. For example, Paul interprets 'the hardening of the hearts' as now falling upon the historical Israel (Rom 11:25-26), and that indicates that the mystery, particularly mentioned in Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10, has been revealed in the rejection of the gospel by the majority of the Jews of his days.

9. Paul's Understanding of Scripture as Prophetic

Paul believed that the Gospel of Christ has been promised beforehand through the prophets in Holy Scriptures (Rom 1:2). For Paul, the prophetic oracles in Holy Scriptures have revealed Christ as the Gospel of God. Paul also believed that the Gospel of Christ which was the mystery kept secret for long ages but now disclosed and through the prophetic writings is made known to all nations (Rom 16:25). In this sense, Paul agrees with the traditional Jewish view that all the authors of scriptures were prophets who were inspired by the Spirit of God. The prophetic writings that are the Scriptures have made Christ known as the Son of God. For Jews, the prophets were revealed the mysteries or hidden things (Dan 2:22-23; Ezek 28:3). Thus, the mysteries were revealed in prophetic oracles. For Paul, the mystery hidden was revealed in his Gospel preaching of Christ. He also believed that the Scriptures (the Law and the Prophets) witness that the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the Law that is Christ (Rom 3:21). Thus, Scriptures are prophetic which has revealed the mystery that Christ is the revelation of God's righteousness apart from the Law.

Rom 11:25 is a good example for Paul's understanding of Scriptures as prophetic. For Paul, from human point of view, it was not comprehensible that the majority of Jews have rejected Christ. But Paul saw it as mystery which was told beforehand to Moses and David but now revealed in the situation of Paul's days. For him, the mystery which has been revealed through the Scriptures was that the hardening of the majority of Jews was God's plan to call the Gentiles to be His people until the full number of them come in. Paul understood this mystery as God's means to bring His historical Israel back to Himself by arousing their jealousy. Thus for Paul, Scripture was prophetic which were written in order to instruct and encourage its readers at any age to be steadfast and have hope (Rom 15:4). Hope, for the Jews, means confidence or trust in God. Most prophetic oracles in the Scripture of Israel call for repentance from wrong doing and having confidence alone. Paul's reading of Scripture as prophetic can be seen later in his reapplication of Scriptures as his prophetic oracles, particularly, his prophetic reapplication of

³²³ Hays 1999, 71.

Isaiah in Romans 9-11. Nevertheless, Paul's use of Scripture with a 'prophetic' dimension needs to be explored from previous research.

C. A Survey of the 'Prophetic' Dimension in Paul's Use of Scripture

Several recent scholars have explored the possibility of a 'prophetic' dimension in Paul's use of the Old Testament in order to tease out whether or not Paul was a Christian prophet. Some scholars like Evans and Ben Witherington III start from the fact that Paul was a Christian prophet and then try to prove that the way Paul used Scriptural texts was influenced by his prophetic call. Others like Hull and Sandnes start from the Scriptural texts and how Paul used them. They try to prove Paul was a Christian Prophet from the way he used the Scriptures. However, this thesis will not try to prove whether or not Paul was a Christian prophet, even though it is possible that Paul might have regarded his call as being on the same level as that of the Old Testament prophets. This thesis intends to investigate how Paul re-works and manipulates the Scriptural texts he cites in order to produce new meanings and new prophetic words, which are nevertheless continuous with the old ones. In other words, this thesis investigates the function of the old prophetic oracles in Paul's redefining the identity of the people of God.

Evans regards Paul as a prophet by exploring Paul's use of prophetic language in describing his call (Gal 1:15-16a), receiving revelations and visions (1 Cor 15:8, 2 Cor 12:1-2, Rom 11:15-16), in the way he speaks about himself and his ministry (Gal 1:6-9, 1 Thess 3:4), and in his understanding of apostolic obligation (Rom 10:14-17, 1 Cor 9:16).³²⁴ According to 1 Cor 14 and Acts 11:27-30 and 21:10-11, Christian prophets were spontaneously inspired with fresh and intelligible messages from God by means of the Holy Spirit just like the prophets of old (Isa 61:1; Ezk 11:5). Both false and true prophets, Evans asserts, 'appealed to Israel's sacred traditions in order to interpret the contemporary situation.'³²⁵ A true prophet was someone who was convinced that 'the contemporary situations informed Israel's sacred traditions, and sacred traditions, in return, give meaning to contemporary situations.'³²⁶ Evans differentiates true prophets from false prophets in terms of blessing and judgement. For him, the same sacred traditions can be interpreted both positively and negatively. Evans classifies false prophets as those who always interpret Israel's sacred tradition as God's assurance for His people, whereas

³²⁴ See the discussion on Paul's understanding of Apostleship in pp. 62-65. See also Evans 1999, 118-120 and Hill 1979, 111-5.

³²⁵ Evans 1984, 560.

³²⁶ Evans 1984, 560.

true prophets, through revelation, interpret sacred tradition in terms of judgement and warning for His people.³²⁷

From the study of Paul's use of Scripture in Romans 9-11, Evans asserts that Paul's reading of Scripture as the hermeneutics of prophetic criticism is also one of the pointers which testifies to Paul as a prophet. In Rom 4; 9:6-8, Paul's discussion about who are the real descendants of Abraham is a strikingly shocking message for the historical Israel. Evans asserts that Paul's hermeneutic of prophetic criticism manifests itself in his declarations: '*For not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel*', (Rom 9:6b-8)³²⁸ and '*What if God, desiring to show his wrath and to make known his power?*' (Rom 9:22). By citing Gen 21:12, Paul makes the point that not all those of physical descent from Abraham are genuine Israelites, but only those who have responded to the Gospel of God through faith in Christ.³²⁹ Moreover, according to Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11, Paul believed that Abraham was reckoned as righteous because of his faith. Thus, Paul's reading of Abraham traditions, as Evans asserts, is similar to that of Old Testament prophets, particularly, Habakkuk (2:4). Paul interprets Israel's sacred tradition about Abraham with a new meaning. For him God's promise to Abraham is prophetic and is fulfilled in Jesus Christ so that through him all the nations are blessed. For the historical Israel, Abraham's tradition was the most important tradition for their identity as the people of God. Paul enfolds this sacred tradition with a new meaning which threatens the popular view of his day of what it means to be the people of God. He turned the popular concept of the identity of the people of God upside down. For him, according to the Abraham tradition, faith is what lies at the heart of being the people of God, rather than physical descent. Paul can, therefore, be regarded as a true prophet from his reading and interpretation of Abraham tradition as a warning, instead of assurance, for his kinsmen as being God's people. Thus, Evans is right when he asserts that 'Paul's employment of the hermeneutic of prophetic criticism attests an important aspect of the apostle's understanding of his calling as being placed in the tradition of the prophets.'³³⁰

Evans, by referring to J A. Sanders, also asserts that 'hermeneutics of prophetic criticism refers to the prophets' respective interpretations and applications of Israel's sacred tradition to highlight God's freedom and sovereignty over His creatures.'³³¹ Evans argues that by reworking Abraham traditions Paul firstly 'established his theology of election as based on promise.'³³²

³²⁷ Evans 1999, 121.

³²⁸ Evans 1999, 123.

³²⁹ Evans 1999, 124.

³³⁰ Evans 1999, 128. Evans uses examples from the classical prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel who also interpreted Israel's sacred traditions in terms of judgement rather than the assurance or security of Israel as God's chosen people (Isa 28:21-22; Jer 7:4, 14-15, 23:17; Ezk 33:24-29). (Evans 1999, 123-4)

³³¹ Evans 1999, 121.

³³² Evans 1999, 124.

Paul's implication of Ishmael, Esau, and Pharaoh to unbelieving Jews in his days is, for Evans, also a manifestation of the hermeneutic of prophetic criticism.³³³ Evans also sees Paul's citation of Dt 32:21 and Isa 65:1,2 from the hermeneutic of prophetic criticism. The calling of Gentiles to be God's people in order to provoke Israel to jealousy was God's sovereign choice.³³⁴ Thus, bearing in mind that 'theocentrism is what lies at the heart of prophetic criticism',³³⁵ Evans' exploration of Paul's prophetic criticism in Rom 9-11 can be summed up in a statement he made that 'the ultimate purpose of God's election was God's glory.'³³⁶

However, Evans fails to discuss the criteria of the hermeneutic of prophetic criticism and the question of whether or not it was commonly used by Paul's contemporaries. If 'theocentrism' is supposedly the criterion for prophetic criticism, then Paul's reading of sacred tradition about Abraham was 'christocentrism' rather than 'theocentrism.' In Rom 9-11, Paul interprets Abraham tradition mainly from 'christological' and 'soteriological' perspectives. For Paul, only children of promise are true descendants of Abraham. The promise was traced back to Abraham's faith in God in the Abraham tradition (Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6). Paul stresses that Abraham's faith in God's promise has resulted in him becoming the father of a great nation and in the blessing of the Gentiles (Gen 12; 15). Paul's interpretation goes further than what Evans describes as 'prophetic criticism' because faith in God's promise for his days refers to faith in Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness. The Gentiles and the remnant of Israel were called (Rom 9:22-33) to be God's people through faith in Christ (Christological). The hardening of the rest of Israel (Rom 11:26) was intended to save the historical Israel by saving the full number of the Gentiles (Soteriological). Moreover, Paul seems not only to be interpreting the Scriptural traditions as prophetic criticism but also to be re-applying the old traditions with a new meaning as his new prophetic words to his Roman readers. Paul's interpretation of Scriptural traditions in Rom 9-11 can be understood as Paul's prophetic warning for the Roman Christians who were seemingly boasting of being God's new chosen people just like the historical Israel had done before (Rom 11:13-27). For Paul, being God's people was less important than believing in Christ as God's Son who came to save God's whole creation until the full number of Gentiles and all Israel will be saved (Rom 11:25,26). For Paul, not only does the old sacred tradition speak prophetically to the situation of his day with new meaning but also the same sacred tradition with new meaning can be regarded as his prophesy for the future of the Jewish and Gentile Christians (Rom 15:4). Just like the historical people of Israel, the role reversal from vessels of mercy (Rom 9:23) to vessels of wrath (Rom 9:22) can happen to the Christians who claim themselves as the new chosen people of God.

³³³ Evans 1999, 124.

³³⁴ Evans 1999, 126.

³³⁵ Evans 1999, 125.

Ben Witherington III has raised the possibility that ‘since Paul rarely identified himself as a prophet, it could be argued that he simply used Old Testament prophetic language to characterise his call to be an apostle, which is a rather different role from that of a prophet.’³³⁷ He also pointed out that ‘it is not enough to note the spirit-inspired authority of both apostles and prophets as the mouthpiece of God or the risen Christ, since the same could be said of Jewish sages and teachers.’³³⁸

However, from his study of Paul’s discussions on resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15, on Israel in part of Rom 9-11, and on the return of Christ in 1 Thessalonians 4-5, Witherington describes Paul as ‘an eschatological prophet’ and ‘an apocalyptic seer.’³³⁹ For him, ‘Paul was an eschatological prophet in both the character and the content of his prophecy. For Paul, the eschatological age had already dawned through the death, and especially resurrection, of Jesus. The promise of the imminent return of the Lord Jesus is also the assurance for the resurrection of the believers in the future. In 1 Thess 3:13, Paul’s reference to the Parousia is, Witherington asserts, most likely an allusion to Zechariah’s prophecy about the coming of Yahweh with His angels (Zech 14:5).³⁴⁰ In 1 Thess 3:13, Paul describes the coming of the Lord Jesus with all his saints whereas Zechariah prophesied the coming of the Lord with all the holy ones. Thus, Paul’s language of Parousia with its similarity to that of Zechariah marks him as an ‘eschatological prophet.’

For Witherington, Paul knew these things since he believed that he was conveying mysteries hidden from normal view (Rom 11:25).³⁴¹ However, according to 2 Kgs 13:14ff, true prophecy needs to be attested with its fulfilment in the near future. But, Witherington fails to discuss this idea of attesting Paul’s prophecy about Parousia and its fulfilment. He fails to consider the Old Testament prophets’ idea about the future that was generally not in the far distance, but imminent, and in the near future. In this respect, Paul’s prediction about the imminent return of the Lord seems to present him as a false prophet. However, Isaiah’s prophecy concerning new heavens and a new earth in Isa 65:17-66:24 has not yet come true either. Thus, the Jews might have considered the prophecies concerning the socio-political situations as fulfilled in a near future yet the prophecies about the Day of the Lord would be expected to be eschatological.

³³⁶ Evans 1999, 125.

³³⁷ Witherington 1994, 134.

³³⁸ Witherington 1994, 134.

³³⁹ Witherington 1994, 132-156.

³⁴⁰ Witherington III 1998, 144.

³⁴¹ Witherington 1994, 154.

However, Witherington failed to discuss how Paul as an eschatological prophet had used the Scriptural quotations with a prophetic dimension in his eschatological prophecy. Witherington explores Paul's preaching and teaching concerning the Parousia, rather than Paul's use of Scriptural texts, in order to find support for his view of Paul as an eschatological prophet.

From his study of Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament in Romans 9-11 with the comparison of the charismatic exegesis in Qumran, Hall also argues that Paul's re-reading of the Old Testament as a charismatic exegete enabled him to preach a new prophetic word to his communities. For Hall, the so-called *peshar* interpretation of the Scripture of Israel in Qumran was done by means of charismatic exegesis. For example, in 1Qp Hab 7:1-5, the Teacher of Righteousness is described as the one to whom God made known all the mysteries hidden from Habakkuk (Hab 2:1-2).³⁴²

Hall asserts that, 'for the Christian prophets, like Paul, the Old Testament prophets were regarded as having an incomplete understanding of their predictions, and the Christian prophets supplied the necessary touches by way of charismatic adaptation.'³⁴³ Unlike Evans, Hall presents three criteria for what he means by charismatic exegesis: 'First, the introductory formulae like 'the Lord says' or 'that it might be fulfilled' indicates the inspired nature of the oracle or text, which is quoted. Second, a tendentious alteration, which moves forward the application of Scripture to the prominent history of the charismatic exegete is a mark of charismatic exegesis. Finally, when the application of the text speaks directly to illumine Christian experience, charismatic exegesis is involved.'³⁴⁴ For Hall, the way Paul introduces his scriptural quotation and gives his own interpretation or application of the text is the criterion of 'form' in charismatic exegesis. For example, Paul introduces his discussion about God's unfailing faithfulness towards His chosen people that is the historical Israel with a question which is answered by a Scriptural quotation. Paul asks his readers, 'what is God's reply to him (Elijah)?' Then he quotes '*I have kept for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal*' (1 Kgs 19:18). Then Paul applies the text to the situation of his days by giving a comment, 'so too at the present time there is a remnant' (Rom 11:5). Paul has made many tendentious changes in 1 Kgs 19:18 in order to suit his point that God's is still faithful to His chosen Israel by selecting the remnant through faith in Christ. For Paul, the remnant which is left in 1 Kgs 19:18 refers to the Jewish Christians. In 1 Kings, the remnant will be left because they had not bowed their knees to Baal, but the remnant of his days, for Paul, is left because they have believed in Christ and confessed

³⁴² Wise 1996, 119.

³⁴³ Hall 1982, 133-156.

³⁴⁴ Hall 1982, 157-298.

him as their Lord (Rom 10:13). Hall sees Paul's interpretation and application of 1 Kgs 19:18 to his own day as a mark of charismatic exegesis which the Christian prophets also used.

Hall also asserts that Paul is using 1 Kgs 19:18 from the existing combined scriptural quotations used by Christian prophets concerning the persecution of Christian prophets by the Jews (1 Thess 2:15). Hall names it as the criterion of content which Paul shares with other Christian prophets in relation to the suffering they faced from the Jews. He also sees Paul's application of the destiny of the historical Israel described in 1 Kgs 19:18 to the Christian Gospel and the Church as the criterion of function in charismatic exegesis.

It might be argued that Hall's three criteria of charismatic exegesis have not necessarily covered what he meant by Paul as a Christian prophet because other apostles also offered a Spirit-inspired interpretation of the Scriptural texts (Heb 3: 7-11; Jas 4:6; 1 Pet 2:6-8). Sandnes, therefore, rightly points out that 'the charismatic exegesis in the early Church was not necessarily the product of the prophets, and the identification of 'charismatic' and 'prophetic' is also questionable. Furthermore, the application of the Old Testament texts to the setting of actual Christian experience is not necessarily a prophetic function.'³⁴⁵ Hall also fails to explore how the Old Testament texts work or function in Paul's hands in order to give new meanings to new situations. Hall considers Paul's Spirit-inspired interpretation, that is his application of the Old Testament texts to the setting of Christian experience as God's new chosen people, as a mark of Christian prophets. For him, by the inspiration of the Spirit, Paul was able to interpret the message of the Old Testament texts with new meaning which was relevant to the situation of his days. He also neglects to consider whether or not Paul changed the original meaning of the Old Testament texts. He does not give any suggested answer to the question of how Paul thought of the Old Testament Prophets and their prophecies and how he re-works and lets their message function themselves as his own message with new meaning.

Sandnes has also done intensive work on Paul to prove Paul as a prophet. His main emphasis is on the question of whether Paul's call includes the communication of God's message to His people. Sandnes pursues his work by means of traditio-critical aspects of Paul's quotations from Isa 52:7 in Rom 10: 15-17.³⁴⁶ Paul was convinced that he was living in God's final age. He regarded himself as a messenger who proclaimed the good news, 'Your God reigns' (Isa 52:7). He identified the good news of 'God's reign' with the Gospel he was commissioned to preach. Sandnes concludes that 'Paul's concept of Gospel preaching is in its structure similar to the

³⁴⁵ Sandnes 1991, 12.

³⁴⁶ Sandnes 1991, 166

authorised prophetic proclamation of the Old Testament³⁴⁷ by identifying the messengers in Isa 52:7 with the prophets in their proclamation of God's eschatological salvation through the outpouring of the Spirit.³⁴⁸

Moreover, the way Paul presents himself as receiving the revelation of a mystery is, for Sandnes, similar to the way other Old Testament prophets had revealed the mystery. Sandnes examines Paul's discussion in Rom 9-11 with regard to the future and final salvation of his kinsmen in their relationship to the gospel, which starts with an intercessory prayer (9:1-3; 10:1) and ends with doxology (11:33-36). He asserts that the form and structure of Paul's whole argument in Rom 9-11 is identical with the pattern used by the prophets who had received the revelation of mystery. Sandnes uses Daniel as an example for this type of oracle. In Dan 2:19-22, Daniel blesses God with a thanksgiving song for revealing the mystery to him.³⁴⁹ Sandnes considers Rom 9-11 as Paul's prophetic oracle, starting as it does with an intercessory prayer or a lament about the future of his kinsmen who have rejected the Christian Gospel. Paul's intercessory prayer was, for Sandnes, the response to a revelation of the mystery (Rom 11:25-26a) that all Israel will be saved after the coming-in of the full number of the Gentiles. Paul after receiving the revelation gives thanks to God by means of a doxology.³⁵⁰ Thus, the hymn functions as a response of praise and thanksgiving for the revelation.³⁵¹ Sandnes also explores the extent to which Paul's mystery was derived from his inspired insight into the meaning of the Scriptures. Thus, he concludes that 'in Rom 11:25-26a, the apostle utters a revelatory prophetic mystery which lends him insight to re-read the Scriptures on the issue of the Jews' future.'³⁵² In other words Paul's 'prophetic oracle was dependent upon Scriptural material.'³⁵³

Sandnes' exploration of the question of how Paul can be regarded as a prophet through considering Paul's conception of Gospel preaching (Rom 10:15-17) and his prophetic oracle concerning the future of the historical Israel (Rom 9-11) was well discussed and informative with regard to Paul as a prophet. He also sees Paul's use of Scriptural texts with a prophetic dimension. For him, his prophetic oracle was related to the Scriptures. Paul, with his inspired insight, re-reads the Scriptural texts and finds new meanings. Thus, Sandnes rightly sees a connection between Paul's oracles and the Scriptural texts. He agrees with Cranfield who asserts

³⁴⁷ Sandnes 1991, 171

³⁴⁸ Sandnes 1991, 170.

³⁴⁹ Sandnes 1991, 178.

³⁵⁰ Sandnes 1991, 179.

³⁵¹ Sandnes 1991, 177.

³⁵² Sandnes 1991, 181.

³⁵³ Sandnes 1991, 182.

that 'the contents of this mystery are to be discerned in the Old Testament seen in the light of the Gospel events.'³⁵⁴

It might be argued that for Paul the mystery in Rom 11:25-26a was not the mystery to be discerned in the Old Testament but the mystery to be discerned in the present situation. Thus, the mystery revealed to Paul was the purpose of God in the rejection of the Christian Gospel by the majority of Jews and the reliability of God's promise to His covenant people rather than the future of Israel's salvation and the relationship between Gentiles and Jews. In Romans Paul deals with many questions such as why did not the majority of Jews accept the Gospel of Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness as the Law and the prophets witness to it? Are they going to be rejected or cast out from God's covenant people because they had rejected the Christian Gospel? If so, has God's promise to His covenant people (Isa 45:17, 25; 60:21) failed? Where did Paul's Gentile mission fit in such a situation? These questions were raised from the situation of Paul's days. In other words, the Gospel events have probably highlighted these questions in Paul's mind.

Paul therefore goes to his Scriptures by following the footsteps of the Old Testament prophets to find the answers for all the questions. With the Spirit-inspired interpretation, he uses the Scriptural materials to speak for him as a response to his questions. In Rom 9-11, the Scriptural texts he cites have revealed the mystery of his days. He goes back to Abraham tradition first with the inspiration of the holy Spirit in order to let Gen 21:12 speak to his readers as his prophetic message that not all historical Israel belong to Israel (Rom 9:16). Thus, Gen 21:12 not only highlights the fact that God's promise does not cover for all physical descents of Abraham but also implies that the promise is absolutely based on Abraham's faith in God's promise. Through a Spirit-led insight, Paul applies the term 'children of promise' to Christians who have been called to be God's people through faith in Christ. Moreover, Paul also reapplies Gen 21:12 prophetically as a warning to his Gentile readers that God's election is always selective. Thus, Gen 21:12 not only functions as a response to Paul's question as to why all Israel have not been called in Christ but also operates as prophetic words with new meaning for the Christians, who are now the children of promise. For Paul, Gen 21:12 reveals the mystery of his present situation. Furthermore, Paul transforms the contents of the revelation of the present mystery into his new prophetic message for his readers.

Thus, one can read Paul's discussion in Rom 9-11 as the revelation of the mystery of Paul's days through the insights of Scriptural texts. In this view the doxology of Rom 11:33-36 serves as

³⁵⁴ Sandnes 1991, 181. Quoted from Cranfield 1979, 574.

Paul's thanksgiving hymn for revealing the purpose of the situation of the majority of his kinsmen in his day. For Paul, there was always a continuity between the historical Israel and his own day. Thus, the same Scriptural materials speak relevantly to different situations both with the same and with new meaning.

In summary, previous studies on 'prophetic dimension' in Paul's use of Scripture stress mostly the question of whether Paul saw himself as a prophet like those prophets in the Scriptures of Israel. Evans and Sandnes suggested that Paul's use of the Scripture with 'prophetic criticism' (Evans) and 'traditio-critical' (Sandnes) perspective points to him as a prophet like those of the classical Hebrew prophets. For Hall, Paul's use of the Scriptural quotation with 'charismatic exegesis' can be regarded as marking Paul as a Christian prophet. Witherington suggests that the way Paul teaches about the 'Parousia' points out Paul as an eschatological prophet. However, neither Evans nor Sandnes explored enough of how the prophets of old had used the 'prophetic criticism' and 'traditio-critical' aspects by using old traditions or earlier scriptural texts. Thus, it is not clear enough to assert that Paul saw himself as a prophet like those of the classical prophets in the Scripture of Israel. In fact, interpretation of the Scriptural texts relevantly and critically according to the situation required was very common for the rabbis. Witherington's assertion that Paul was an eschatological prophet required a thorough study on how the prophets of old had prophesied the 'Day of the Lord' in order to compare Paul way of teaching about it. Hall's investigation is very interesting but fails to affirm the fact that 'charismatic exegesis' was the pattern of prophecy among Christian prophets. Thus, the previous studies concentrate on the question of whether or not Paul might be regarded as a Christian prophet and so do not go far enough to find out Paul's peculiar way of reading the Scriptural texts. In fact, Paul did not seem to recognise himself as a prophet even though the question of whether or not Paul thought of the role of an apostle as similar to that of the prophets of old is not clear. Thus, this study intends to make an assertion that Paul not only uses 'charismatic exegesis', 'prophetic criticism', and 'traditio-critical aspect' in his reading and interpreting of the Scriptures but rather he reads and applies the scriptural texts to his contemporary situation. Moreover, he produces new 'prophetic words' by re-working the prophetic texts to re-apply to his readers with a new meaning.

D. Conclusion

From the survey of the studies on Paul, six views of Paul's understanding of Scripture can be drawn. However, it is noteworthy that how he understood and interpreted the Scripture is totally dependent upon the context in which Paul was making a discussion. Hays' view can be quite acceptable because Paul's concern in his letters was to deal with ecclesiological affairs in his own days, especially, concerning ethical as well as doctrinal issues. However, the Church was

firstly composed of the Jewish believers whose Scripture was still the Hebrew Bible. According to the Gospels, Jesus Christ, the founder of the Church, has identified himself as the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Scripture. The Evangelists present him as the one who never claims to establish either a new religion or a new sect of Judaism except finding the lost sheep of Israel. According to their writings, Jesus himself mostly reproduced or interpreted the Scripture in terms of a christological approach. This view Paul also shares with the historical Jesus in the Gospel, and other apostles and early Christians. Longenecker's view that Paul understands the Scriptures Christologically is also undeniable even though Hays found some evidence to show that Paul did not use some Scripture narratives with Christological intention. Just like Hays' view, Vielhauer's soteriological view is partly true when he asserts that the saving righteousness of God has been manifested in Jesus Christ on the basis of faith rather than the Law. But it does not cover all of Paul's view of Scripture and so one can regard Vielhauer's view as a limited one because it seems to lessen the redemptive power of God in the history of Israel.

And last, but not least, what Sanders insists is, that Paul's hermeneutic is theocentric. This is true because Paul believes in one God, who chose the people of Israel and is always at work through Scripture, that is, for Paul, both the Scriptures and Jesus Christ (Dt 30:11-14 // Rom 10:8). God is the Creator of all things (Rom 11:36; 1 Cor 8:6; 11:12) and creation is said to reflect the work of the Creator (Rom 1: 20). According to his reported responses and sermons in Acts 14:15-17 and 17:22-31, he did argue his case for God's providential care from the evidence in his creation and its preservation. In Rom 1: 18-25, God's revelation in his creation and his providence for it is met by the human tendency of idolatry and perversion and that placed a vast distance between the Creator God and the world. God was removed so far from his own creation that he needed some intermediary to maintain contact with the world. In this way, while Paul starts from the Scriptural view of God as transcendent over his creation, as the holy one, he is able to relate God immanently to the world through the divine presence located in the figure of Jesus, supremely in Jesus' death and resurrection (Gal 4:4-5).³⁵⁵ Thus, in Paul's understanding the Scriptures can be considered as the record of God's works in which God himself is speaking and working for the salvation of his creation as a whole and with this understanding he uses the Scriptures in his writings. Moreover, the introductory formulas he uses when he cites Scriptural passages also show his understanding of the authority of the Scriptures.

Concerning the prophetic dimension of his Scriptural citations, he not only applies them to the situation of his own day as an inspired message with new meaning but also reapplies them as his own prophetic message by letting them speak for him to his respective readers. Having

³⁵⁵ Hawthorne 1993, 345-55.

recognized the function of Scriptural materials as the revelation of the mystery, this thesis will particularly concentrate on how Isaiah's oracles became inspired message with new meaning for Paul's discussions and how they function as new prophetic message for Paul and his readers. It will be explored in chapter seven.

Chapter Five: Paul's Methodology in His Scriptural Quotations: A survey of Scholars' Views

A. Introduction

Paul's use of Scripture is not only dependent on his understanding of the Scriptures but also the texts and methods he used differentiate him from his contemporaries who also used the Scriptures. There are several studies on Paul's use of Scriptures.³⁵⁶ Most studies have generally emphasized how Paul uses Scriptures, the texts he uses, the methodology he uses and the differences between Paul and his contemporaries. There are at least four lists of Paul's use of Scriptures: 107 citations in Silva's list;³⁵⁷ 102 in Smith's list;³⁵⁸ 83 in Longenecker;³⁵⁹ and 93 in Ellis' list.³⁶⁰ It is obvious that there are disagreements between these studies in defining the quotation or identifying the Scriptural text. There is some disagreement in defining whether Paul quoted from the LXX, the MT or other materials that are non-canonical or even his own memory. However, although the intention of this research is to find out and uncover more detail about Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans in particular, it is also necessary to notice the list of Paul's Scriptural quotations from the Hebrew prophets in Romans.

B. The Nature of Paul's Quotations

When the Introductory Formula (IF) is not used, it is very difficult to distinguish between quotations, allusions and language colouring from Scriptures because of the style and vocabulary of the apostle. There are materials that range from verbatim quotations from the Greek Septuagint (e.g. Rom 3:4, 8:36, 15:10) to texts that show clear signs of Pauline adaptation (e.g. Rom 9:25-6, 10:11, 11:8). There are disagreements in deciding the original texts of some of Paul's citations (1 Cor 2:9, 9:10; 2 Cor 4:6) although explicit quotations are normally introduced by an Introductory Formula. Paul sometimes quotes the Scripture virtually word-perfect with no indication to his readers that a citation is even present (e.g. Rom 2:6, 1 Cor 5:13, 15:32; 2 Cor 13:1).³⁶¹ Furthermore, Paul seems to exercise great freedom as well, to delete whole phrases, to change words, and indeed to change the subject (e.g. Rom 10:6-8// Dt 30:12-14).³⁶² Paul also

³⁵⁶ Carson and Williamson 1988, 268-72. (D. Moody Smith's list of Paul's quotations); Ellis 1957, 150-52 [See, Appendix (A)]; Hawthorne 1993, 631. (M. Silva's list of Paul's quotations); Longenecker 1975, 108-111.

³⁵⁷ Hawthorne 1993, 631.

³⁵⁸ Carson and Williamson 1988, 268-272.

³⁵⁹ Longenecker 1975, 108-111.

³⁶⁰ Ellis 1957, 150-152.

³⁶¹ Stanley 1992, 33.

³⁶² Carson and Williamson 1988, 266.

occasionally uses the Scripture allegorically (e.g. Gal 4:21-31).³⁶³ The texts appear in several forms although mostly they reproduce Scriptural passages with occasional variations in conformity with new contexts (e.g. Rom 3:18; 10:5, etc.). In some cases, the source of quotations can only be conjectural. Some texts suggest that they may have been used as a teaching or catechetical device.³⁶⁴ Most often he engages in ethical application, typology, and allegory, and thinks in the categories of promise and fulfilment when he cites the Scriptures.³⁶⁵ Thus, there is no unanimity concerning the task of defining “quotations” in Pauline literature. Ellis points out that Paul’s use of Scripture appears in three distinct forms: quotations proper, intentional and casual allusions, and dialectic and theological themes.³⁶⁶

In defining the “citations” in Pauline literature, Stanley suggests two approaches: ‘a “reader-centred” approach and an “author-centred” approach. In a reader-centred approach, the explicit IF, interpretive comments, or a literary style that differs markedly from the surrounding verses (e.g. a section of poetry in the midst of a prose discourse), would be counted as indicators for “citations.” In an author-centred approach, any verse that exhibits substantial verbal agreement with a known passage of Scripture, whether marked or not, would be counted as “citations.”’³⁶⁷ Stanley defines three criteria for the normal citations of Paul such as ‘those introduced by an explicit quotation formula (IF), those accompanied by a clear interpretive gloss (e.g. 1 Cor 15:27), and those that stand in demonstrable combinative strain with their present Pauline surroundings (e.g. Rom 9:7, 10:18; Gal 3:12).’³⁶⁸ Following Fox, Stanley notes,

“If there is no marking at all, we must start with the assumption that there is no quotation, or at least that the quotation is an expression of the speaker’s viewpoint and sentiments.”³⁶⁹

According to these earlier studies, over half of Paul’s quotations are either absolute or virtual reproductions of the LXX, with almost half of these at variance with the MT. In four passages, Paul’s language is closer to the MT against the LXX. Again, there is a disagreement in listing those four passages. In Longenecker’s list, they are Job 41:11; 5:13; Ps 112:9; and Num 16:5³⁷⁰ whereas Moody Smith and Ellis found them as Job 41:3; 5:12-13; Ex 16:18 and Num 16:5. According to Ellis, Job 41:3 is used in Rom 11:35 whereas Moody Smith mentions it as used in

³⁶³ Carson and Williamson 1988, 177.

³⁶⁴ Ellis 1957, 12.

³⁶⁵ Carson and Williamson 1988, 279.

³⁶⁶ Ellis 1957, 11.

³⁶⁷ Stanley 1992, 34.

³⁶⁸ Stanley 1992, 37.

³⁶⁹ Stanley 1992, 37.

³⁷⁰ Longenecker 1975, 113.

Rom 11:34.³⁷¹ In the RSV, Rom 11:34 echoes Job 41:3 whereas Rom 11:35 is quoted from Job 41:11. Thus, one can conclude that Rom 11:34-35 contains the echoes of Job 41:3 and 11.

There are also approximately forty times when Paul diverges from both the LXX and the MT to a greater or lesser degree.³⁷² Combined quotations show a much greater variation than the others; there also seems to be a relation between the variations and the particular book cited.³⁷³ Sometimes, Paul's quotations agree with neither the MT nor the LXX. According to Longenecker, 'it is probable that the combination of (1) Paul's Gentile interest, (2) his rabbinic training, (3) his wider knowledge of variant readings, and (4) his incorporation of early Christian pesher text-forms, accounts most adequately for this rather peculiar mixture of textual readings in Paul's quotations.'³⁷⁴

Ellis, referring to Henry Owen and Swete, writes that 'the common desire of early Christian missionaries to use a translation acceptable to Hellenistic Jews was the reason the LXX became the principal source from which the writers of the New Testament derived their Scriptural quotations.'³⁷⁵ Ellis asserts that 'even where the quotations vary from the LXX, parallel phraseology is often apparent (e.g. Rom 2:27; 9:26; 1 Cor 2:16; 6:16) and so closeness with the LXX extends to his general style and vocabulary as well (e.g. 2 Cor 3:4-18 // Ex 34:29-35).'³⁷⁶ Probably it is better to conclude that Paul's usage, as Carson describes, is, therefore, 'septuagintal than to say that he uses the LXX, since the latter comes to existence only through Christian hands in manuscripts no earlier than the fourth century.'³⁷⁷

Variations between the LXX and the MT suggest the probability of misunderstanding the Hebrew text or presuppose a Hebrew text, different from the MT (e.g. the Aramaic Targum or proto-Masoretic MSS).³⁷⁸ It was also natural for Paul to frame his Greek on the analogy of the existing theological vocabulary of the LXX while retaining in his mind Hebrew concepts and thought-forms.³⁷⁹ Paul's quotations also show considerable distribution among the LXX text-forms, none of them being followed consistently.³⁸⁰ Differences between Paul and the LXX are

³⁷¹ Ellis 1957, 272.

³⁷² Longenecker 1975, 113.

³⁷³ See Ellis' Appendixes I, II and III.

³⁷⁴ Longenecker 1975, 113.

³⁷⁵ Ellis 1957, 12.

³⁷⁶ Ellis 1957, 13.

³⁷⁷ Carson and Williamson 1988, 173.

³⁷⁸ Hawthorne 1993, 632.

³⁷⁹ Ellis 1957, 13.

³⁸⁰ Ellis 1957, 13.

regarded as significant primarily if they appear to reflect a different Greek version of the Scriptures of Israel (e.g. septuagintal versions) or a different understanding of the Hebrew.³⁸¹

It is also possible that Paul quotes from his own memory. “Memory quotation” should be understood, Ellis asserts, ‘as a free rendering in accordance with literary custom (e.g. the ten ‘Words’ in Ex 20 and Dt 5) or for an exegetical purpose (e.g. in 1 Cor 3:20 σοφῶν for ἀνθρώπων), rather than “memory lapse.”’³⁸² By referring to J. Bonsirven, Ellis suggests that ‘the importance of scriptural memorisation for the Jew, especially for the rabbis who can recite the entire Bible exactly and therefore become the living concordances of Scriptures and Paul’s rabbinic training are good reasons for Paul’s memory quotations.’³⁸³

A number of allusions also occur in Pauline letters. The category of “allusion” itself can cover a rather broad range of scriptural uses: loose quotations, references to events, intentional appeals to specific passages, verbal similarities used (perhaps unconsciously) to express a different idea, broad undercurrents of themes, even totally unintentional correspondences.³⁸⁴ For example, the treatment in Rom 5:12-14 of the entrance and reign of sin (Gen 2:16ff.; 3:1ff., etc); the warnings in 1 Cor 10:1-15 drawn from Israel’s disobedience in the wilderness (Num 11:1ff.; Ex 32:1ff.; Num 25:1ff.; 21:5ff.; 14:1ff.); the contrast in 2 Cor 3:7-18 between the ‘ministry of death’ and ‘condemnation’ and the ‘ministry of righteousness’ and the ‘Spirit’ (Ex 24:29-35); and the lesson in Gal 4:21-31 based on the relations between Hagar and Sarah, and their sons (Gen 16:1ff.).³⁸⁵

However, some of Paul’s quotations and allusions are not confined to Scriptural texts. For example, ‘the workman is worthy of his pay’ (1 Cor 9:14), probably reflects the teaching of Jesus in Mt 10:10 and Lk 10:7 rather than any Scriptural text. 1 Cor 11:23ff allude to the words of Jesus in Mt 26:26-28.³⁸⁶ In spite of internal evidence that Paul was not only a Hebrew³⁸⁷ but also a Pharisee,³⁸⁸ who was trained under Gamaliel in Jerusalem³⁸⁹ and so speaks in the Hebrew dialect,³⁹⁰ the question of Paul’s knowledge of the Hebrew text and language is, therefore,

³⁸¹ Hawthorne 1993, 632.

³⁸² Ellis 1957, 14-15.

³⁸³ See Ellis’ discussion on J. Bonsirven. (Ellis 1957, 14-15)

³⁸⁴ Hawthorne 1993, 634.

³⁸⁵ Longenecker 1975, 111.

³⁸⁶ Longenecker 1975, 111.

³⁸⁷ 2 Cor 11:22; Phil. 3:5

³⁸⁸ Phil 3:5

³⁸⁹ Acts 22:3

³⁹⁰ Acts 21:40; 22:2

raised.³⁹¹ Discussion of this question requires consideration of Paul's methodological approach to Scriptures.

C. *The Introductory Formula (IF)*

Most of Paul's explicit quotations are introduced by an Introductory Formula (IF) such as "it is written" γέγραπται, "the Scripture says" ἡ γραφή λέγει, "David says" λέγει, "the law says" or "God said", etc. Particularly "As it is written" καθὼς γέγραπται and "it is written" γέγραπται appear most frequently, though references to "God" (2 Cor 6:16), "Moses" (Rom 10:5,19), "David" (Rom 11:9), "Isaiah" (Rom 9:29; 10:20; 15:12), "Hosea" (Rom 9:25f.), and others, as speaking are common.³⁹² According to Deissmann, in the Hellenistic world in Paul's day, the IF "it is written" was the formula used when people referred to the terms of an unalterable agreement.³⁹³ However, in Jewish literature, the use of IF signifies "the unalterable Word of God". Ellis, quoting Weizsacker, mentions that "the written word is equivalent to Providence, so certainly is it the declaration of the Divine will."³⁹⁴ For Paul all his IF are only the different ways of expressing the same thing that the Scripture is the Word of God which is authoritative, holy and prophetic for the Christian community.³⁹⁵ In Rom 15:4, and 1 Cor 10:11, he highlights the continuing relevance of the Scriptures. In Rom 9:17 and Gal 3:8, the Scripture is personified and viewed as speaking to someone or foreseeing certain events.

Romans 9:17

For the Scripture says to Pharaoh: "I raised you up for this very purpose, that I might display my power in you and that my name might be proclaimed in all the earth."

Galatians 3:8

The Scripture foresaw that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, and announced the gospel in advance to Abraham: "All nations will be blessed through you."

According to 1Cor 6:16, Paul identifies the Scriptures with the voice of God.

1Corinthians 6:16

"Do you not know that he who unites himself with a prostitute is one with her in body? For it is said, "The two will become one flesh."

Genesis 2:24

For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and they will become one flesh. (*Here the statement is made by the author rather than God's command for male and female.*)

³⁹¹ Carson and Williamson 1988, 273.

³⁹² Longenecker 1975, 114.

³⁹³ Deissmann 1926, 101.

³⁹⁴ Ellis 1957, 23.

³⁹⁵ Ellis 1957, 23.

This identification of Scripture with the voice of God demonstrates Paul's unquestioned belief in the Divine origin of Scripture. Further confirmation of Paul's regard for the authority of Scripture is found in such an expression as "*then the saying that is written will come true*" (1 Cor 15:54), which is akin to the fulfilment formulae of the gospels.³⁹⁶ His peculiar IF can also be also regarded as an important indication of his attitude toward Scriptures. As Ellis asserts, for Paul, 'the Scripture is adduced as a final authority and one divinely planned, whole, whose significance is bound up inseparably with the New Covenant Community of Christians.'³⁹⁷ Therefore, with these understandings of the Scripture, as a leader of the New Covenant Community of Christians, Paul uses the Scripture in his writings to encourage, correct and teach the members of the churches.

D. Paul and Jewish Exegetical Methods

Previous studies have concluded that Paul clearly shares in the affinities of exegetical methods with the rabbinic and intertestamental literatures like the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo's writings and other rabbinical writings.³⁹⁸ He cites Scriptural passages literally. His use of Ps 51:4 in Rom 3:4 shows that he agrees with the Psalmist that God is true, just and prevailing in his judgements. He quotes the fifth through the tenth commandments quite literally as applying to various ethical situations (Rom 13:9// Ex 20:12-17; Dt 5:16-21). He also accepts Lev 19:18 as the summary of divine principles which cover human relations (Rom 13:9; Gal 5:14). In 1 Cor 6:16, he cites Gen 2:24 to warn against immorality. He uses Dt 19:15 as having validity in the case of three witnesses for establishing a matter (2 Cor 13:1).³⁹⁹

Pauline quotations can also be seen as midrashic expositions in various passages. In particular, one that points up his midrashic heritage is the Pharisaic practice of "pearl stringing", that is, of bringing to bear on one point of an argument passages from various parts of the Scripture in support of the argument and to demonstrate the unity of Scripture. In "pearl stringing", the analogous words or expressions from the various passages serves as the basis for their union.⁴⁰⁰ For example, in Rom 3:10-18, Paul claims that "Jews as well as Greeks are equally 'under sin,' by citing Pss 14:1-3; 5:9; 140:3; 10:7; and 36:1. All the Psalms presuppose an opposition between the righteous (the faithful members of the covenant) and the unrighteous. Paul's

³⁹⁶ Guthrie 1981, 969.

³⁹⁷ Ellis 1957, 25.

³⁹⁸ Carson and Williamson 1988, 276-77.

³⁹⁹ Longenecker 1975, 115.

⁴⁰⁰ Longenecker 1975, 116.

implication, for Dunn, is that ‘when that presupposition of favoured status before God is set aside, the Scriptures serve as a condemnation of all humankind.’⁴⁰¹

In Rom 5:15-21, Paul seems to be practising the first hermeneutical rule of Hillel (קל וחומר). Paul argues that if death is universal through Adam’s disobedience and sin, much more (πολλῶ μᾶλλον) shall God’s grace and the gift of grace supremely abound [ὑπερ] ἐπερίσσευσεν and reign to life eternal by Jesus Christ. In Rom 4:1-12, גזירה שוה (analogy) can be found where Paul, by citing Gen 15:6 and Ps 32:1f, discusses God’s imputation of righteousness to Abraham (ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην) and God’s non-imputation of sin to the “blessed man” (οὐ μὴ λογίσηται ἁμαρτίαν). כלל ופרט (general and particular) can be seen in Paul’s discussion of love in action in Rom 13:8-10. Rule seven, דבר הלמד מצינו (context), is probably most aptly illustrated by Paul’s observations in Rom 4:10f, that Abraham was accounted righteous before he was circumcised and in Gal 3:17 that the promise was confirmed by God four hundred and thirty years before the giving of the Mosaic law.⁴⁰²

Paul also used peshar interpretation in his quotations. As an example of Peshar in terms of mystery, Paul employs μυστήριον twice in Romans (11:25, 16:25). Without scriptural quotations, in his use of the term he seems to be definitely involving himself in a peshar understanding of the unfolding of redemptive history. In his doxology of Rom 16: 25-27, according to Longenecker, ‘Paul identifies “my gospel” as “the preaching of Jesus Christ according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept for long ages (χρόνοις αἰωνίοις), but now is disclosed and through the prophetic writings is made known to all nations.’⁴⁰³ For Paul, the Scriptures are prophetic and so sometimes he uses “prophetic writings” to refer to the whole of Scripture. Thus, he understood that the hidden gospel in the Scriptures is now revealed in the gospel of Christ. He also shares in the formula of the peshar interpretations, “this is that”, found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Rom 10:6-8 is a good example for the peshar interpretation of Dt 30:12-14.

Dt 30:12-14

It is not up in heaven, so that you have to ask, "Who will ascend into heaven to get it and proclaim it to us so we may obey it?" Nor is it beyond the sea, so that you have to ask, "Who will cross the sea to get it and proclaim it to us so we may obey it?" No, the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart so you may obey it.

⁴⁰¹ Dunn 1988a, 145.

⁴⁰² Longenecker 1975, 117-8.

⁴⁰³ Longenecker 1975, 131-2.

Rom 10:6-8

But the righteousness that is by faith says: "Do not say in your heart, 'Who will ascend into heaven?'" (that is, to bring Christ down) "or 'Who will descend into the deep?'" (that is, to bring Christ up from the dead). But what does it say? "The word is near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart," that is, the word of faith we are proclaiming.

By using the words "that is" (τοῦτ' ἔστιν), Paul interprets Scripture passages as revealing or foreshadowing Jesus and his gospel which the apostles preached. In Gal 4:22-24, Abraham's two sons are interpreted as two covenants by using the words 'these are' (τοῦτο . . . ἐστίν).⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, the peshet interpretation can be called an eschatological exegesis because it reveals the hidden meanings or mysteries of the Scriptural passages as being disclosed. Rom 9:7-9 can be also treated as one of Paul's peshet interpretations.⁴⁰⁵

Rom 9:7

Nor because they are his descendants are they all Abraham's children. On the contrary, "It is through Isaac that your offspring will be reckoned." In other words, it is not the natural children who are God's children, but it is the children of the promise who are regarded as Abraham's offspring. For this was how the promise was stated: "At the appointed time I will return, and Sarah will have a son."

As far as allegorical interpretation is concerned, Gal 4:21-31 can be seen as a highly allegorical representation of the Abraham tradition because Paul goes beyond the literal and primary sense of the story to insist upon hidden and symbolic meanings in the words.⁴⁰⁶

Tell me, you who want to be under the law, are you not aware of what the law says? For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by the slave woman and the other by the free woman. His son by the slave woman was born in the ordinary way; but his son by the free woman was born as the result of a promise. These things may be taken figuratively (ἀλληγορούμενα), for the women represent two covenants. One covenant is from: Mount Sinai and bears children who are to be slaves This is Hagar.

Now Hagar stands for Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present city of Jerusalem, because she is in slavery with her children.

But the Jerusalem that is above is free, and she is our mother. For it is written: "Be glad, O barren woman, who bears no children; break forth and cry aloud, you who have no labour pains; because more are the children of the desolate woman than of her who has a husband."

Now you, brothers, like Isaac, are children of promise.

At that time the son born in the ordinary way persecuted the son born by the power of the Spirit. It is the same now.

But what does the Scripture say? "Get rid of the slave woman and her son, for the slave woman's son will never share in the inheritance with the free woman's son."

Therefore, brothers, we are not children of the slave woman, but of the free woman.

⁴⁰⁴ Marshall 1985, 206-7.

⁴⁰⁵ Marshall 1985, 207.

⁴⁰⁶ Longenecker 1975, 127.

The apostle begins the Sarah/Hagar tradition with the introductory formula “it is written.” Then, he interprets the Scriptural tradition as allegory by using the word ‘allegory’ (ἀλληγορούμενα). He allegorises Abraham’s two sons as referring to “two covenants.” He therefore uses the Scriptural story of Sarah and Hagar as allegory in order to support his view that the believers in Christ are no longer under the bondage of the old covenant that is the Law. 1 Cor 9:9f is also allegory where Paul interprets Dt 25:4 with a new meaning that is beyond its literal meaning.

Dt 25:4

“You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain.”

1 Cor 9:9-10

For it is written in the Law of Moses, “You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain.” Is it for oxen that God is concerned? Does he not speak entirely for our sake? It was written for our sake, because the plowman should plow in hope and the thresher thresh in hope of a share in the crop.

According to 1 Cor 9:9-10, Paul seems to neglect the primary meaning of the injunction in Dt 25:4, “You shall not muzzle the ox that threshes”, to insist that these words were written for a reason not obvious in the passage itself.⁴⁰⁷ For him, the text has a symbolic or secondary connotation that any kind of worker should be given the benefits of their work, in other words, the missionaries, particularly, Barnabas and Paul themselves, deserved some support from the Corinthian Church because Paul had founded the Church. Paul eagerly believed that the events that happened to God’s people in the Scriptures were true historical events. For him, those events happened and were recorded in Scripture in order to provide ‘types’ for the eschatological community, namely, Christian community.

E. Conclusion

From the survey of Paul’s use of Jewish methodologies, it appears that Paul generally shares with Jewish Rabbis and also with his contemporaries like Philo and the Dead Sea Scrolls writers, their attitude toward Scriptures and its exegetical presuppositions. However there are some differences between their hermeneutical approaches and practice.

In addition to Jewish methodologies, his choice of scriptural quotations is free and selective. Most of all, Paul does not seem to quote from a written text but from different traditions or different scriptural verses which he or his scribe probably memorised. Thus, the differences

⁴⁰⁷ Longenecker 1975, 126.

between his Scriptural quotations and the original text (LXX) also indicate that Paul might have used his scriptural quotations from memory. The contemporary Greco-Roman way of thinking and communicating could also be another factor, which might have influenced his relating of the gospel to his readers using the support of Scripture. However, every suggestion requires a detailed study. Thus, the next chapter will concentrate on Paul's use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11.

Chapter Six: Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11

A. Introduction

This chapter examines Paul's prophetic re-application of methodologies in his reading, translating and interpreting of the Scriptures of Israel in the light of his message concerning the Christian gospel. Romans 9-11 has been selected with interest because most of Paul's reading of the Prophets and particularly of Isaiah is found in these chapters.

The prophetic re-application in this thesis means that Paul reads the prophetic oracles, particularly Isaiah in this study, as dynamic and prophetic words which can be reapplied as his own prophetic oracles to his readers. In his prophetic reapplication of Isaiah, he lets Isaiah speak to his readers again.

In Romans, most of Paul's scriptural quotations are found in Romans 9-11 where he deals with the relation of Israel to the Church as God's people and mainly with the theological issue of the redemption history of God.

Ten sub-topics have been chosen in light of the previous chapters. The different texts, methods, and ideology Paul uses in his scriptural quotations will be re-examined.

B. Romans 1-8 and 9-11 as a Unity

Although Romans 1-8 is not included in our main considerations, there is a need to survey the unity of Romans 1-8 and 9-11 as a whole unit. Among scholars, there have been two major areas of argument concerning Romans 9-11. The first argument concerns the unity of Romans 1-8 and 9-11. Two different proposals have been made. The first one proposed Romans 9-11 as a separate section that is the exposition of a dogma of predestination in relation to the individual,⁴⁰⁸ which was added as a postscript to Paul's doctrinal discussion in chapters 1-8.⁴⁰⁹ In particular, Dodd had suggested that Romans 9-11 was a sermon, which Paul had used occasionally for Jewish questions, which he kept and inserted after chapter 8.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸ Dunn 1988a, 520.

⁴⁰⁹ Dahl 1977, 138.

⁴¹⁰ Dodd has argued that the discussion in Rom 9-11 is not quite the same as earlier in chapters 1-8 even though a close parallel can be found in chapter 4 giving to a detailed exposition of a particular passages of Scripture. Again, as Dodd described, the style of 9-11 is that of a so-called diatribe or philosophical conversation rather than an epistle (Dodd 1932, 148-9).

The second proposal is concerned with the unity of Romans 1-8 and 9-11. Recent scholars have disagreed over the existence of a discontinuity between Romans 1-8 and 9-11 and have argued for the unity of Rom 1-8 and 9-11. Some regard 1-8 as a prelude to 9-11.⁴¹¹ Ellis has proposed that the discussion in 9-11 'should be understood not as an arbitrarily inserted section but as an integral part of the preceding argument.'⁴¹² Dahl's proposal is more specific when he suggests that, 'Romans 9-11 is the answer to the question Paul has raised in 3:1-5.'⁴¹³ Wright expresses a clear view when he suggests that 'Romans 1-8 creates the problem to which 9-11 is the solution ... 1-8 is ultimately incomprehensible without 9-11, and vice versa.'⁴¹⁴ Bowen agrees with Wright when he writes that in 9-11 'Paul continuously discusses the promises and purposes of God mentioned in 8:28-30 by considering the questions he has asked before in 3:1-8.'⁴¹⁵ The question of Israel's salvation discussed in 9-11 comes out of Paul's argument in 1-8. Earlier themes are reconsidered and discussed through detailed exposition of the scriptural passages. The general themes found are Jews and Gentiles (1:16-17 / 11:1-32), ethnic versus spiritual Israel (2:28-29 / 9:6), the advantage of Israel (3:1ff. / 9:4-5), salvation for all (3:21-26 / 10:5-13), God's faithfulness (8:31-39 / 11:25-32), and doxologies (8:38-39 / 11:33-36).⁴¹⁶ Stendahl, therefore, holds Romans 9-11 as 'the climax of the letter,' everything discussed before leads up to this critical discussion.⁴¹⁷

The second major argument has been concerned with Paul's main discussions in Romans 9-11. Two suggestions are given. The first is concerned with the historical people of Israel, her God, her salvation, and her relation to the nations. Several titles are given for this proposal: 'the failure of Israel to accept the gospel',⁴¹⁸ 'the destiny of the ethnic Jews and God's fairness, the destiny of the universe'⁴¹⁹ and 'God's plan for Jews and Gentiles'.⁴²⁰ The discussion in Rom 9-11 is generally suggested as 'the place of Israel as God's elect people in God's saving activity in Christ',⁴²¹ 'the covenant faithfulness of God as seen in its outworking in the history of the people of God',⁴²² and 'the righteousness of God and the problem of Israel.'⁴²³

⁴¹¹ Ellis 1957, 122 (n.1).

⁴¹² Ellis 1957, 121-2.

⁴¹³ Dahl 1977, 139.

⁴¹⁴ Wright 1980, 220.

⁴¹⁵ Bowen 1975, 125.

⁴¹⁶ Edwards 1992, 228.

⁴¹⁷ Stendahl 1976, 85.

⁴¹⁸ Barrett 1957, 175.

⁴¹⁹ Sanders 1991, 118.

⁴²⁰ Bowen 1975, 125; see also Ellis 1957, 121.

⁴²¹ Morris 1988, 345.

⁴²² Wright 1991, 236.

⁴²³ Käsemann 1973, 253.

The second suggestion puts the emphasis on divine faithfulness as Creator in dealing with the salvation of his creatures individually. Thus, the suggested themes are: ‘the divine purpose in history’,⁴²⁴ ‘a thematic focus of the righteousness of God applied specially to Israel’s enduring place in salvation history’,⁴²⁵ and ‘the unbelief of men and the faithfulness of God.’⁴²⁶ Käsemann sees Romans 9-11 as a discussion of God’s dealing with individual salvation. Israel’s unfaithfulness to God as God’s elected people, for Käsemann, is used as an example for the discussion of God’s faithfulness and man’s unfaithfulness in conflict.⁴²⁷

Paul’s argument in Rom 1-8, in fact, reflects the character and deeds of God who is the source of salvation for individuals. According to Barrett, Rom 9-11 also deals with ‘the character and deeds of the God who elected Israel and now calls the Gentiles.’⁴²⁸ The language and terms of Rom 9-11 lay emphasis, Morris states, ‘on the sovereignty of God rather than on Christ in his saving activity.’⁴²⁹ Wright states that ‘although the term δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ itself does not occur until 10:3, . . . the question throughout the section has to do with the character and purposes of God, and particularly his faithfulness to his promises, and hence the justice of his dealing with Israel and the world.’⁴³⁰

In 9:1-3, Paul expresses his concern for his kinsfolk by race, Israel rather than the recipients of the letter. In this respect, Paul is thinking of his kinsfolk who have rejected the Gospel. If Rom 1-8 is concerned about God’s sovereignty over the salvation of the individual, it can also be understood as an introduction to Paul’s discussion about the salvation of his kinsfolk who are God’s people through physical relation to Abraham. In 9:4-5, Paul reminds the Jews who the Israelites really were. 9:6 is the main theme for the whole section, ‘the unfailing character of God’s word’. The rest of the section, 9:7-11:36, is concerned with the question of God’s character, which is reflected in selecting ‘the vessels of mercy’ and ‘the vessels of wrath.’ For Paul, each vessel, whether a ‘vessel of mercy’ or a ‘vessel of wrath’, was made to make God’s name known. God’s righteousness is revealed by calling the Gentiles to be His people and at the same time by re-electing a few from His own chosen people. For Paul, everyone who believes in Christ as the revelation of God’s righteousness becomes a true chosen child of God. In Christ,

⁴²⁴ Dodd 1932, 148.

⁴²⁵ Edwards 1992, 228.

⁴²⁶ Cranfield 1979, 445.

⁴²⁷ Käsemann 1973, 256.

⁴²⁸ Barrett 1957, 175.

⁴²⁹ According to Morris, there are 26 places where Paul speaks of God whereas Christ is only mentioned seven times and the Spirit once. ‘Jew’ is mentioned twice whereas ‘Israel’ 11 times. There is a continuity with the rest of the letter in the use of terms like righteousness (9 times), believe (8 times), and faith (6 times.) Particularly important is, Morris states, the concept of ‘mercy’ (7 times in 9-11 but only once in the rest of the letter). (Morris 1988, 345)

⁴³⁰ Wright 1991, 235.

God's promise to Abraham as a light to the Gentiles is fulfilled. Thus, the main discussion in Rom 9-11 is 'God's saving righteousness towards both his covenant people and his created world.'

C. The Context and the Problems of Romans 9-11

In the beginning of Romans Paul introduces his Gospel as 'the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes (i.e., in Christ) first for the Jew, then for the Gentile' (1:16) and as 'promised beforehand through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures' (1:1-2). In particular, Paul was, from the beginning, convinced that his call from the risen Christ was a mission to the Gentiles. When he wrote the letter to the Church in Rome Paul would probably have thought that his work in Asia Minor and Greece had been finished, and so he wanted to continue his mission in Spain. Thus, regardless of the fact that the majority of Jews had rejected the gospel, Paul had probably thought of his Gentile mission in the East as being accomplished whereas the Jewish mission of the other apostles had been less successful.⁴³¹ Thus, he had decided to move his Gentile mission on to Spain through the help and support from the Roman Christians. Rom 1:13, 9:24 and 11:13 suggest that the Roman Churches were made up of a majority of Gentiles with a minority of Jews.

New Testament scholars have suggested that the reason why Paul wrote the letter to the Romans is to argue the consistency of 'theodicy' in dealing with both Jews and Gentiles and at the same time to explain the reason for his coming to Rome. The fact that the majority of the Jews have rejected the gospel had probably raised doubts and questions regarding the validity and authority of the gospel for the Christians in the East and the West alike. Perhaps this doubt had led some into confusion. If the gospel is truly the revelation of Israel's God, the question of why the Jews who claimed themselves to be God's chosen people refused to accept it, has been unavoidably raised. Can they be saved? If the answer is 'no', why did God choose Israel as his people through Abraham in the first place?

In fact, God himself initiated the choice of Israel as His covenant people by giving them the law. If God sent his son, Jesus, to call everyone to be God's people, as Wright proposed, 'God's constancy towards His covenantal promises to Israel as His people is called into question.'⁴³² Sanders also asserts that 'the loss of Israel means God's election of Israel was in vain. Paul, therefore, faces what Sanders calls the 'existential' problem of the future of Israel who had rejected the gospel.'⁴³³ He thus puts the whole problem in this way:

⁴³¹ Sanders 1991, 118.

⁴³² Wright 1992, 268.

⁴³³ Sanders 1991, 118.

'Doubts about God's constancy led to the theological problem called 'theodicy', the 'righteousness of God'.... So the lead question is whether or not the word of God, when he called Israel, had failed (Rom 9:6). Has God been fair, honest, just, reliable, and constant? The two dispensations seem to indicate not. Only if Paul can hold them together can he save God's reputation.'⁴³⁴

In particular, in Rome the majority of Christians were Gentiles who regarded themselves as the true people of God. Thus, there was probably a general idea that the ethnic Jews in the Roman Church were no longer regarded as the chosen people of God on the basis of keeping the law unless they believed in Christ. For Roman Christians, the ethnic Jews were heading for automatic damnation for their rejection of the gospel.⁴³⁵ Presumably, when they heard that Paul initiated coming to Rome to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, the Gentile Christians would wonder and question why Paul did not first try to reach all his kinsmen in Asia Minor rather than coming to Rome. It is still a custom for the people in the East to think that any kind of leader should win his or her family first, his kinsmen second and then others. It was also probably true in the first century CE in Palestine (Rom 1:16-17; 1 Tim 3:4; Acts 13:46). However, Paul would probably have thought that his kinsfolk had already heard of the gospel but they refused to accept it. Thus, he has decided to extend his gentile mission to Italy. Paul probably wrote the letter as an explanation for his future coming to Rome.

Paul ponders these two major problems in Romans 9-11: The rejection of the gospel by the majority of Jews, and the superior motive of Gentile Christians toward the historical Israel. Within the framework of the problems of the future of the historical Israel and the wrong motive of Gentile Christians, Paul discusses 'the theodicy' that is the consistency of God's righteous and faithful purpose in dealing with the salvation of both Israel and the world. By doing so, he tries to hold together God's election of Israel on the one hand and his offer of salvation to all who have faith in Christ, on the other. His discussion is developed step by step as he reuses and expounds earlier traditions and the scriptural passages.

D. The Structure of discussion in Romans 9-11

Jews in the first century CE understood the biblical traditions and stories as a whole, and always sought their proper conclusion. The foundational part of their traditional story was the election of Israel as a race for God. This tradition was told again and again together with God's promises to Abraham and the purpose of God for his people.⁴³⁶ Since Isaiah's time, the idea of Israel's call as a light to the nations had been a widely spread idea (Isa 2:2-4; 11:9-10; 42:1,6; 49:6; Mic 4:1-4). However, Israel will be a light to the nations only when she obeys what her God requires of

⁴³⁴ Sanders 1991, 118.

⁴³⁵ Wright 1991, 234.

⁴³⁶ Wright 1992, 218.

her, and only then the Gentiles will come in and hear the word of Yahweh through her. In this sense, the Gentiles will become God's people only when Israel fulfilled God's intended purpose for her as his chosen people.⁴³⁷

However for Paul, God's people have not reached His purposes for them, to be a light to the nations. However, without Israel's effort Gentiles were called into God's people through faith in Christ. Thus, Paul is facing a dilemma: the Gentiles have, on the one hand, been called to be God's people through faith in Christ whereas the majority of God's chosen Israel had rejected faith in Christ. Meanwhile, Paul might have believed that his Gentile mission, which was 'almost completed' and possibly making him consider the Lord's return to be imminent. Paul would perhaps worry that his kin by race who did not accept Christ might be lost when the Lord returns (9:1-5).

Dunn has thoroughly researched the form and structure of Romans 9-11. It is, he states, 'a carefully composed and rounded unit with a clear beginning (9:1-5) and end (11:33-36).'⁴³⁸ The main argument in 9-11 is built up on the question, 'Has God's word failed? (9:6). In order to give the answer 'no' to the question, Paul considers, for Sanders, seven major assertions by recalling the old traditions and expounding the scriptural passages:

- (1) Despite appearances, God is just;
- (2) Israel was elect and remains so;
- (3) The election was always selective and never covered every descendant of Abraham;
- (4) Israel, at least at present, has 'stumbled';
- (5) God will save only those who have faith in Christ;
- (6) All Israel will be saved;
- (7) Everyone and everything will be saved.⁴³⁹

The scriptural exposition, Dunn describes, 'is developed step by step with each claim regarding God's saving purpose as revealed in his word having the two-sided character which builds up to the solution of the problem.'⁴⁴⁰ Dunn lists a two-sided character of God's saving purpose as reflected in the sequence and structure of the discussion in Rom 9-11 as follows:

- (1) Election of mercy // purpose of wrath (9:13-23);
- (2) Gentiles called too // only a remnant of Israel (9: 24-29);
- (3) Righteousness from the law // righteousness from faith (9:30-10:21);
- (4) A remnant according to grace // the rest hardened (11:1-10);
- (5) Jewish failure--- the reason // Gentile failure—a warning (11:11-24);
- (6) Israel hardening--- Gentile incoming // Gentile fullness---- Israel salvation⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁷ Wright 1992, 267.

⁴³⁸ Dunn 1988a, 518.

⁴³⁹ Sanders 1991, 118-9.

⁴⁴⁰ Dunn 1988a, 518.

⁴⁴¹ Dunn 1988a, 518-9.

According to Dunn's analysis and Sanders' proposals, the structure of Romans 9-11 can be developed in this way:

1. The historical people of Israel were indeed originally called by God to be his chosen people through Abraham's faith.
2. The Gentiles were also included in God's salvation history when God called Abraham to be the father of the nations.
3. However, not all the descendants of Abraham were begotten by God's promise.
4. Furthermore, not all the children born by the promise were chosen and blessed by God.
5. In fact, the choice of God's people depends, totally, on God's absolute free will and his mercy.
6. Thus, the incoming of the Gentiles as God's children is God's choice. The Gentiles have sought the righteousness of God through faith in Christ while the historical people of God sought it by works of the Law. Thus, they failed to accept the Gospel.
7. The prophets have, in fact, predicted the rejection of the gospel by the historical Israel as God's revelation. According to the prophecy, Israel will stumble over the gospel and the Gentiles will benefit from their stumbling.
8. However, the Gentiles must not be arrogant in their election as God's people and must not think that God has rejected the historical people of Israel because God will, by his mercy, save all Israel when the Gentiles come into fullness.
9. Finally, all things in the world will praise God for his saving activity for the whole world.

Since this thesis intends to look at the scriptural quotations in Romans, particularly Paul's quotations from Isaiah in Romans 9-11, the detailed discussions made of scholars on the issues of the form and structure of Romans 9-11 will not be thoroughly considered here.

This study, therefore, will consider Paul's use of the Old Testament prophetic materials, especially from Isaiah, in Romans 9-11 through the investigation of its main discussion and how Paul uses passages from Isaiah in his argument. Strikingly, in Paul's scriptural exposition, more than half of the OT quotations in Romans can be found in 9-11, and about 40 percent of the quotations in 9-11 are from Isaiah. The OT passages hence become the basis from which Paul argues his main discussion of God's righteousness in his saving purpose for both Israel and the whole world. Paul's exegesis of the Scriptural texts as a whole can be seen in Romans 9-11.⁴⁴² There are 15 texts from Isaiah: 6 quotations in Chapter 9, 5 in 10 and 4 in 11.⁴⁴³ A Chart can be drawn as follow:

⁴⁴² Carson and Williamson 1988, 278.

⁴⁴³ Isa 28:16 is quoted twice in 9:33 and 10:11.

Key to Agreements⁴⁴⁴

LXX/ MT = agrees with Septuagint which apparently agrees with underlying Hebrew (Masoretic text)

LXX = agrees with Septuagint only

MT = agrees with the Masoretic Text only.

N = agrees with neither Septuagint nor Masoretic text.

N (LXX) = agrees exactly with neither, but is close to Septuagint

<u>Romans</u>	<u>Isaiah</u>	<u>IF</u>	<u>Agreement with</u>
9:27-28	10:22-23	“Isaiah cried out concerning Israel”	N
9:29	1:9	“as Isaiah said before”	LXX
9:33	28:16; 8:14	“as it is written”	N
10:11	28:16	“the Scripture says”	N
10:15	52:7	“as it is written”	N
10:16	53:1	“Isaiah says”	LXX
10:20	65:1	“Isaiah is so bold as to say”	N (LXX)
10: 21	65:2	“but to Israel he says”	LXX
11:8	29:10; Dt 29:4(MT = 29:3)	“as it is written”	N
11:26-27b	59:20-21; 27:9	“as it is written”	N (LXX)
11:34	40:13	“for”	N (LXX)

⁴⁴⁴ It is from D. Moody Smith’s list mentioned in Carson and Williamson 1988, 268-272.

Chapter Seven: Redefinition of the People of God

A. Introduction: Who are the People of God?

It has been generally agreed that Paul's Scriptural quotations are from the Septuagint, the Greek version of Scriptures of Israel. However, as discussed above, there were at least three different textual traditions of Isaiah texts available for Paul: the proto-MT Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint translation and other texts now found in Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, all three texts will be analysed as the textual basis for Paul's use of Isaiah's texts. In addition to these texts, texts from Targum Isaiah will be included in this research as the reference for the oral transmission of the Scriptural texts in Paul's days even though the Targum was later than Pauline letters. In the study of textual problems, the following symbols will be used in the consideration of each text.

[] The Hebrew words which are altered by the LXX.

[] The words left out by Paul in his quotation.

Underline- Places where Paul makes changes.

Bold italic- Different from MT but identical with LXX

Underline italic- Different from LXX but similar to MT

Bold- Similar usage between Paul and MT

Paul starts his discussion by expressing his emotional pain for his own people, the Jews (9:1-5). Paul chooses the term Ἰσραήλ instead of the term Ἰουδαία for the Jews. In Romans 9-11, the term Ἰσραήλ is found eleven times, whereas Ἰουδαῖος is used only twice (9:24, 10:12). Paul uses the term Ἰσραήλ to designate 'the historical people of God.' In 9:4,5a Paul describes the privileges of the people of Israel as having the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the law, the service, the promises, the fathers, and the Messiah. In Romans 8, Paul has already mentioned these privileges as belonging to Gentiles who believe in Christ (Rom 8:14, 16,17, 13, 19, 30). Thus, the main problem that arose for the discussion seems to be the redefinition of the identification of the people of God. Who are the true people of God? Were they the Jews, the historical chosen people of Israel, or Jews and Gentiles who believed in Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness? In order to answer these questions, Paul turns to the old traditions and Scriptural passages.

B. Called not only from the Jews but also from the Gentiles

In Romans 9, Paul is seen to be trying to find the solution for the conflict between the elected and the rejected among the people of Israel. Paul might well have found it difficult to accept the current situation in which most of his kinsmen rejected the Gospel. Not all the Gentiles accepted it either. Presumably, Paul struggled with some serious questions, 'if the Gospel is the genuine revelation of the God of Israel, then why did the majority of Jews not accept the Gospel? If God calls His people through the Gospel, then what about the validity of the righteousness of the God

who had taken the initiative to make a covenant with Israel so that they would be His people? Why does God call the Gentiles to be His people when He had already chosen Israel to be His people? Why do Jews need to accept the Gospel in order to become God's people when they are already God's children by race?

Paul was convinced that God's promise to His people had never intended to cover all the descendants of Abraham. Thus, he argues that the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews in his day was indeed God's way of dealing with His people from the beginning. However, Paul was also convinced that God never fails His chosen people even though they have failed to live as His chosen people. God has usually preserved a 'remnant' by His mercy. God's calling of the Gentiles to be His people was, for Paul, God's original plan when he called Abraham. Paul's main emphasis in Romans 9 appears to be the fact that God's election absolutely depended upon God's free will and mercy. In order to argue his main theme, 'chosen only by God's mercy and free will' Paul, as usual, turns to the old traditions and Scriptural passages as primary sources.

Firstly, Paul recalls the Abraham tradition. For Paul not all of the descendants of Abraham are 'God's covenantal people' but only those who were born according to 'God's promise.' In this sense, Isaac was born through 'God's promise' (Gen 21:12). Ishmael, even though he was Abraham's son, was never mentioned as the descendant of Abraham. The Jews believe they are 'the true Israel', the descendants of Isaac who was born by God's promise. Thus, Paul reminds his readers, by retelling the Abraham tradition, of the fact that all those who descend from Abraham physically are not necessarily the children of promise or the covenant children.

However, Paul does not stop his discussion concerning Isaac because every Jew knew that they were the descendants of Abraham through Isaac. So, Paul goes a step further to his second argument. He recalls the Jacob tradition that was also recalled and used by the Old Testament prophets.⁴⁴⁵ According to the tradition, Esau and Jacob, twin sons were born to Isaac (Gen 25:23), but Jacob was loved and called by God (Mal 1:2f) whereas Esau was hated by God before they had done anything good or bad (Rom 9:11). God, for Paul, has absolute free power to choose anybody he wants. Paul insists on the fact that the election only depends on God rather than man's action. Thus, he cites Ex 33:19, with the introductory formula, 'for he (God) says to Moses, *'I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy'* (Rom 9:15).

⁴⁴⁵ Carson and Williamson 1988, 43.

Paul applies the patriarchal traditions about Abraham and Jacob to the freedom of God in selecting Gentiles to be His people. He cites Gen 25:23 and Mal 1:2f, as an example of God's way of election in His saving work. According to Käsemann, Paul sees 'the antitheses Isaac-Ishmael and Jacob-Esau as the character of God's salvation history.'⁴⁴⁶ God's saving work, for Paul, is absolutely based on His free power. By using the patriarchal traditions, Paul, therefore, divides the historical Israel into two groups between those who believe in Christ and those who reject Christ. Käsemann has suggested that 'salvation history is always determined by the conflict between the elected and the rejected.'⁴⁴⁷ The word 'the rejected' seems to be a strong word because Paul never calls those who have rejected Christ as 'the rejected.' For Paul God's free power carries out His promises and purposes by electing some like Moses (Ex 33:19), and at the same time hardening some like Pharaoh (Ex 9:12, 10:1) to glorify His name (Ex 9:16). Paul was not interested in what Käsemann called, 'the elected' and 'the rejected.' For Paul, those who have rejected the Gospel of Christ were those, whose hearts were hardened by God but not rejected by God.

Paul also finds further Scriptural supports to point out such a free decision of God by alluding to Isaiah's metaphor of 'the potter and the vessel.' In Jewish thought, 'the potter with the clay', was a metaphor used to describe God as the Creator (Ps 2:9; Isa 29:16, 41:25, 45:9; Jer 18:1-6; Sir 33:13; *T. Naph* 2.2, 4; 1QH 11.22)⁴⁴⁸ with an emphasis on 'God's right' to make and put vessels to different uses. God's purpose of making vessels, whether they are nobly (vessels of mercy) or commonly used (vessels of wrath), is to glorify His name. Thus, there is no ground for boasting or raising questions not only about God's choice for the vessels but also the way He uses them. For Paul, the historical Israel was chosen only by God's mercy to glorify His name. However, the historical Israel has not only failed to fulfil her responsibility to glorify God's name (Rom 2:24) but also failed to respond to God's call through faith in Christ. Thus, God's dealing with Israel required a new way in order to meet His purpose of choosing Israel as 'vessels of mercy' to make His name known among the nations. For this very purpose, God has chosen the Gentiles as 'the vessels of mercy' by calling them to be 'His people.'

C. Re-election without rejection

Obviously, Paul was aware of the danger of saying the 'Gentiles are called to be God's people' instead of his kinsmen who always believed that 'Israel alone is the chosen people of God.' He therefore turns to a Scriptural passage where God says, '*Those who were not my people I will*

⁴⁴⁶ Käsemann 1973, 267.

⁴⁴⁷ Käsemann 1973, 267.

⁴⁴⁸ Dunn 1988a, 557.

call my people,' and her who was not beloved I will call my beloved' (Rom 9:25 cf. Hos 2:23). By citing Hosea's message to the people of Israel, Paul makes clear his conviction that God calls his people not only from the Jews but also from the Gentiles (9:24). He quotes, *'And in the very place where it was said to them, You are not my people, they will be called sons of the living God'* (Rom 9:26). This quotation is also from Hosea 1:10b which says, *'...and in the place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' it shall be said to them, 'Sons of the living God.'*

By quoting Hosea 1:10b, Paul affirms the fact that the Gentiles who were once not God's people are now called to be 'sons of the living God.' In his use of Hos 2:23 and 1:10b, Paul reads Hosea's messages as a prediction that God has already intended to call Gentiles to be His people. Paul surely sees Hosea's message as bearing witness to Israel's God as a God who reaches out to call even those who are not His people. Thus the inclusion of the Gentiles as recipients of the promise to Abraham is, as Hays writes, 'an act thoroughly consistent with the character and purposes of the God of Israel.'⁴⁴⁹

However, Paul only identifies the people of God as those who heard, accepted and believed in the Gospel, that is Christ. Unfortunately, not all Jews accepted the Gospel. Thus, the question, whether God, on the account of the Gospel, will reject his covenant with the historical Israel or not, was no doubt raised among the Jewish Christians. Paul argues that God has not forsaken the historical Israel as His people. From the beginning, there were evidences where God, for Paul, divides 'Israel within Israel.'⁴⁵⁰ God has chosen Isaac instead of Ishmael, and Jacob instead of Esau. God did not call all descendants of Abraham as His people. God's choice is based on his mercy. God's mercy towards the children of promise or the descendants of Abraham would never fail even though he would divide Israel within Israel on the account of trust and faith in him. Meanwhile, God calls a 'remnant' from the 'number of the historical Israel' together with the Gentiles through faith in Christ. The 'remnant of the historical Israel' has been preserved by God's mercy. Paul, therefore, seems to argue that God is faithful to his promises to Abraham to be a blessing to the nations. Paul also points out the ability of God to do new things and open new possibilities for those who are not His people by using His own people as an instrument. He cites four Scriptural passages as the climax of his argument about 'the inclusion of the Gentiles into God's people'⁴⁵¹ and the minority Jews who accepted the Gospel were the 'remnant of Israel' being preserved by God's mercy and of whom the prophets foretold.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ Hays 1989, 120.

⁴⁵⁰ The phrase is taken from Campbell's usage in "Israel" in the *'Dictionary of Paul and His Letters'*. (Hawthorne 1993, 442)

⁴⁵¹ Hos 2:23; 1:10 in Rom 9:25, 26

⁴⁵² Isa 10:22-23; 1:9 in Rom 9:27- 29

In Rom 9:25-26, on the one hand, Paul uses the combination of Hos 2:25 and 2:1b (MT & LXX) as evidence that God's call to the Gentiles to be His people was already predicted by Hosea.

Hos 2:25 (MT)

וְרָעַתִּיהָ לִי בְּאֶרֶץ וְרַחֲמֹתַי אֶת־לֵן
וְחַמָּה וְאֶמְרֹתַי לְלֵא־עַמִּי אֶת־הָהוּא
יֹאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי פִּ:

Hos 2:25 (LXX)

[καὶ σπερῶ αὐτήν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ] ἐλεήσω τὴν
Οὐκ-ἠλεημένην καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ Οὐ-λαῶ-μου λαός
μου [εἶ σύ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ κύριος ὁ θεός μου εἶ συ].

Hos 2:1b (MT)

וְהָיָה מִסְפָּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם
אֲשֶׁר לֵא־יָמֵד וְלֵא יִסְפָּר וְהָיָה בְּמִקְוֹם
אֲשֶׁר־יֹאמְרוּ לָהֶם לֵא־עַמִּי אֲתֵם יֹאמְרוּ לָהֶם
בְּנֵי אֶל־הֵי:

Hosea 2:1b (LXX)

καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαός μου
ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Romans 9:25-26

Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου καὶ τὴν οὐκ
ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην·

καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς, Οὐ λαός
μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

Paul seems to be giving the Scriptural evidence to support his Gentile mission. On the other hand, Paul reminds his kinsfolk of the fact that God's way of dealing with His people has been changed beyond their limited understanding of Him as His covenant people. In the day of the Prophets, God has always used the Gentile nations as His instruments to discipline and educate His people. God has called and chosen Gentiles to be His own people through faith in Christ. However, Paul seems to be neglecting what Hosea's message meant. It was meant for the people of Northern Israel who were disobedient to God but God offered promises to His rebellious people that He would call them as His people if they repented. But Paul applies Hosea's message as meant to Christian Gentiles of his day. Paul might have thought his kinsfolk were still in need of repentance.

D. Only A Few or the Remnant of Israel are called

As discussed above, Paul was convinced that in the Gospel not only the Jews but also the Gentiles are called to be God's people (Rom 9:24). He also claims that Scripture witnesses to his conviction. He tries to affirm the assertion with selective Scriptural texts. In Romans 9:24, Paul raises a question, *'even us whom he has called, not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles?'* Paul seems to expect the affirmative answer, 'yes'. For him, even he has been called and therefore the call of the Gentiles is also very possible and acceptable. He expects his readers to have thought of the possibility of the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God, and to still be struggling with the fact that only the minority of historical Israel has accepted the Gospel. Thus, in Rom 9:25-26, he tries to explain his assertion that God also calls His people from the Gentiles, saying, *'As indeed he says in Hosea, 'Those who were not my people I will call my people,' and her who was not beloved I will call my beloved'. 'And in the very place where it was said to them, You are not my people,' they will be called sons of the living God.'* God's call to the Gentiles who were once not His people but now are His people was already predicted by Hosea. It must be noted that Paul uses Hosea's texts in a literal sense without considering the background context of the passage because in Hosea 'not my people' refers to Northern Israel rather than the Gentiles. However, for Paul and Jews in the first century CE, the Gentiles were 'not God's people' whereas all the Jews regarded themselves as 'God's own chosen people.' And then Paul moves to affirm the fact that the acceptance of the Gospel by only the minority Jews was also one of God's purposeful activities in His calling the historical Israel and the redemption of His creation. In Rom 9:27-29, he quotes Isaiah to confirm his assertion, *'And Isaiah cries out concerning Israel: 'Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will be saved; for the Lord will execute his sentence upon the earth with rigor and dispatch' Hos 1:10a; Isa 10:22-23; 22:28b). And as Isaiah predicted, 'If the Lord of hosts had not left us children, we would have fared like Sodom and been made like Gomorrah' (Isa 1:9).*

For Paul, God has already declared through Isaiah that by His grace, only a remnant (a few) will be saved among historical Israel. Paul seems to focus on only two phrases: 'a remnant will be saved' and 'the Lord of hosts had not left us children.' For him, 'a remnant' predicted in Isaiah refers to the 'minority of Jewish Christians' who were called only by God's mercy and grace. In his use of Isaiah 1:9, he also seems to focus on God's selectivity in His calling even among the historical Israel. However, the language of judgement in Isaiah, *'the Lord will execute his sentence upon the earth with rigor and dispatch'*, seems to be ignored by Paul in his discussion. Thus, first of all, how Paul uses Isaiah's text needs to be considered.

1. Which Text Did Paul Cite?

Isaiah 10:22-23 (MT)

כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם שְׂאֵר [יְשׁוּב] בְּו כְּלִיּוֹן :
חֲרֹץ שׁוֹטֵף צְדָקָה
כִּי מְלָה וּמְחֻרָצָה אֲדַנִּי יִהְיֶה צְבָאוֹת עֹשֶׂה בְּקֶרֶב כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:

Translation:

For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness.

For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the Land.

Hosea 2:1a (MT)

וַיְהִי מִסְפָּר כְּנִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם

Translation:

And *the number of the sons of Israel* will become as the sand of the sea

Isaiah 28:22b (MT)

וַנְּחַרְצָה שְׂמֵעֵתִי מֵאֵת אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:

Translation:

For I have heard from the Lord God of hosts a consumption, even determined, *upon the whole earth.*

LXX – Isaiah 10:22-23

[Και] ἐὰν [γένηται] ὁ [λαὸς] Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ κατάλειμμα [αὐτῶν] σωθήσεται.

Λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων [ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον] ποιήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ [ὅλη].

Translation:

And though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be saved.

He will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because God will make a short work in all the world.

Hosea 1:10a

Καὶ ἦν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης

Translation:

Yet the number of the sons of Israel was as the sand of the sea, which shall not be measured nor numbered.

Isaiah 28:22b

διότι συντετελεσμένα καὶ συντετμημένα πράγματα ἤκουσα παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ, ὃ ποιήσει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν

Translation:

Because I have heard of works finished and cut short by the Lord of hosts, which he will execute upon all the earth.

Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, [] Ἐὰν ἦ ὁ ἀριθμὸς
 τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης,
 τὸ ὑπόλειμμα [] σωθήσεται·
 λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων [] ποιήσει
 κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Translation

But Isaiah cries concerning Israel: though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant will be saved;
 For he will finish the work and cut it short; the Lord will execute upon all the land.

Paul introduces his quotation from Isaiah 10:22,23 with the unusual introductory formula, Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. The word κράζει literally means, ‘cry out’ but figuratively it refers to the urgent speech of the prophets. Thus, Paul probably puts emphasis on Isaiah’s passionate message for his people. Thus, Paul’s introduction, ‘And Isaiah cries out about or concerning Israel’ marks the importance and urgency of Isaiah’s message. In 9:24, Paul uses the word, Ἰουδαίων to emphasize the Jews of his day. But in his introduction of Isaiah’s message, he chooses the word, Ἰσραήλ again to focus on the historical chosen people of God.⁴⁵³

Paul’s use of Isaiah 10:22-23 evidently differs from the MT but is significantly similar to the LXX. Paul probably chose Isaiah’s text from the LXX because of its reading σωθήσεται, meaning, ‘preserved or saved’ for כִּשְׁׁרָא which means ‘shall return.’ Paul obviously reads τὸ ὑπόλειμμα σωθήσεται as the minority of Jews who are saved by faith in Christ. However, there are minor changes in Paul’s use of the LXX text of Isaiah 10:22-23. He not only abbreviated Isaiah’s text but also conflated it with the first part of Hosea 1:10a (2:1a in MT). Paul omits the introductory particle καὶ in order to create a smoother transition from introduction to quotation.⁴⁵⁴ Paul substitutes Isaiah’s usage of, ‘the people of Israel’ (10:22a) γέννηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραηλ with ἦ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, Hosea’s usage of, ‘the number of the sons of Israel’ (1:10a). The substitution can possibly be understood as a word play on υἱός ‘son’ in connection with υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶητος ‘sons of the living God’ (Rom 9:26), who are called not only from the Jews but also from the Gentiles (Rom 9:24). Paul has already used Hosea 1:10b in connection with the call of the Gentiles to be among the ‘sons of the living God’ (V. 25), but there he left out the first part of Hos 1:10. Presumably, Paul deliberately left it out in v. 25 in order to conflate it with Isaiah’s message concerning the ‘people of Israel.’ With the

⁴⁵³ Stanley 1992, 114-5.

⁴⁵⁴ Stanley 1992, 114.

conflation, he clearly makes the point that ‘only the remnant of the historical Israel’ is saved by the Gospel from number of Israel as predicted by Isaiah. The substitution of ὑπόλειμμα for κατάλειμμα is insignificant because the meanings of both words are the same. The omission of the pronoun αὐτῶν does not change the meaning of Isaiah.⁴⁵⁵

In Rom 9:28, Paul uses Isa 10:23 conflated with the last part of Isa 28:22 at the end. It is possible to understand that Paul chose the word λόγον to connect with his previous discussion about ‘God’s word’, which had not failed in His selectivity among the descendants of Abraham (Rom 9:6ff.).⁴⁵⁶ The use of the verbs, συντελῶν and συντέμνων together can also be found in Dan 5:26-8 (LXX) and 9:24 (Theod) where the combination of the two compounds is interpreted as ‘the ending of the kingdom will be accomplished.’ The use of the two verbs συντετελεσμένα and καὶ συντετμημένα together can also be found in Isaiah 28:22 where the combination seems to imply ‘the end or execution or the destruction of the whole land.’⁴⁵⁷ The word συντετμημένα can also be understood as the ‘cutting short’ which is the means to fulfil God’s word. It reflects double meanings: the shortening can be thought of as referring either to God’s promise to Israel, which will be fulfilled only to a limited degree, or to the ‘remnant’ of Israel who were trimmed and cut down to enter into salvation.⁴⁵⁸ Perhaps, the latter meaning is a more relevant meaning for Paul’s main discussion because the remnant was reserved by God’s mercy from the rest of the historical Israel through cutting or reducing. For Paul, the remnant, Jewish Christians were saved by God’s grace for their response in faith to the revelation of God in Christ.

However, one cannot certainly say that Paul uses the language of ‘judgement’ from Isa 28:22 even though the idea that the ‘destruction in the whole land’ is obvious in Isa 28:22. Paul, by citing Isa 28:22b at the end, seems to be reminding his readers of the failure of historical Israel to obey God’s word then and now in Christ, and therefore is reminding Christians of the responsibility to be faithful and obedient to the Gospel. Paul’s choice of κύριος instead of ὁ θεός can probably be understood as due either to Paul thinking of Christ who has accomplished God’s word through his death and resurrection, which calls the Gentiles but reduces the limit of the people of Israel, or that Paul takes it from Isa 28:22.

⁴⁵⁵ Stanley 1992, 116

⁴⁵⁶ Motyer 1989, 80.

⁴⁵⁷ Gingrich 1957, 812.

⁴⁵⁸ Gingrich 1957, 812.

One can therefore understand that Paul, on the one hand, would have probably understood 'the accomplishing of God's word' as referring to 'the calling of the Gentiles' to be 'His people' through 'Christ, His word'. On the other hand, Paul would have understood the language of 'shortening and cutting off' as referring to the minority 'Jewish Christians.' The Hebrew text speaks of the absolute finality of Yahweh's decree to 'cut off' rebellious Israel until only a 'remnant will return.' But the LXX translator has read the same text as a promise that God will finish his judgement in order to save 'the remnant' as an accomplishment of His word. Paul's emphasis is apparently on the fact of 'the remnant who are saved.' Thus, he does not follow the original Hebrew text which describes 'the returning of a remnant.' He chose to follow the LXX text literally for his main theme of 'the remnant who are saved.' Furthermore, for Paul, 'the remnant are saved by grace through faith in Christ.' Paul was convinced that God's saving act has not finished and been completed yet. He expected all Israel to be saved when the full number of the Gentiles come into God's people (Rom 11:25,26).

However, Paul strangely omits one of his favourite words, δικαιοσύνη. 'Ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ is also absent in Isa 28:22. It is unlikely that as Moo put it, 'Paul's Greek text did not have these words.'⁴⁵⁹ It is possible that Paul was influenced by Isa 28:22 where the idea of divine judgement is included without using δικαιοσύνη. The similarity between συντέμνων and συντετριμμένον might also be a possible reason for Paul to miss out this phrase from his quotation. It is possible therefore that Paul might have missed the phrase out without noticing it.

In his earlier discussion (Rom 3:21-31), he has used δικαιοσύνη to describe divine action which comes out from His nature as a righteous God.⁴⁶⁰ According to Rom 1:16-17, Paul assumes God's righteousness and the Gospel as practically identical because in the Gospel the righteousness of God is revealed. For Paul, as Silva states, 'the Gospel is the historical manifestation of divine redemptive power and in that Gospel God's righteousness is revealed.'⁴⁶¹ The omission can therefore be regarded as accidental. If Paul did not omit it, his quotation would make more sense and be more powerful by the fact that 'with Christ' God's word is fulfilled and cutting short is accomplished, too. Thus, Stanley does not seem correct when he states, '... to use the phrase ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ to describe the execution of the divine verdict against a

⁴⁵⁹ Moo 1996, 614.

⁴⁶⁰ Hawthorne 1993, 831

⁴⁶¹ Hawthorne 1993, 832

rebellious people would be highly uncharacteristic of Paul.⁴⁶² Paul believed Christ to be the end of the law when he proclaims believing in Christ as the mark of being God's people (Rom 10:4).

The substitution of ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς for ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη can also be understood as a Pauline modification. Paul seems to borrow ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς from Isaiah 28:22. Perhaps by removing the universalising ὅλη and replacing the broader τῇ οἰκουμένῃ with γῆς⁴⁶³ Paul makes clear that his emphasis was on γῆ 'the land' which only belongs to the historical Israel rather than τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη 'the whole inhabited earth.' So, Paul probably, adapted his quotation in Rom 9:28 under the influence of Isa 28:22.⁴⁶⁴ Cranfield notes, 'both the LXX rendering and Paul's abbreviation of it, though differing considerably from the MT, give the general idea of the original text quite correctly.'⁴⁶⁵ Thus, Paul's wording is more assimilated to the LXX than to the original Hebrew text.

In Romans 9:29, Paul cites Isa 1: 9 to make two points first, that historical Israel are also included in God's judgement if they sinned, regardless of being God's chosen people and second that, 'the remnant of Israel' are saved by God's mercy through the Judgement.⁴⁶⁶ Isa 1:9 says, '*If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we should have been like Sodom, and become like Gomorrah.*' And Paul cites it, '*And as Isaiah predicted, 'If the Lord of hosts had not left us children, we would have fared like Sodom and been made like Gomorrah.*' The major difference is seen between the words 'a few survivors' and 'children' even though there are some minor changes in using the verbs. Thus, the consideration of a different translation of the original text is again needed.

Isa 1:9 (MT)

לֹאִלֵּי יִהְיֶה צָבָאוֹת הַתְּיָר לָנוּ שְׂרִיד כְּמַעֲט כְּסֹדֶם הָיִינוּ
לְעַמְרָה דְּמִינוּ:

Translation:

Except that Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

Isaiah 1:9 (LXX)

καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα,
ὡς Σοδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γομορρα ἂν ὠμοιώθημεν.

Translation

Unless the Lord of hosts had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been made like Gomorrah.

⁴⁶² Stanley 1992, 117, n100.

⁴⁶³ Stanley 1992, 119.

⁴⁶⁴ Stanley 1992, 119

⁴⁶⁵ Cranfield 1979, 502.

⁴⁶⁶ Motyer 1989, 79.

Romans 9:29

καὶ καθὼς προεῖρηκεν Ἡσαΐας, Εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαώθ
ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν
καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὠμοιώθημεν.

Translation

And as Isaiah said before, unless the Lord of host had left us a seed, we should have been as Sodom and we should have been made like Gomorrah.

Except for omitting the conjunction καί Paul follows the LXX translation word for word. The LXX reads the word σπέρμα (seed) for the Hebrew word שְׂרִידִים (survivors), but otherwise both the LXX and Paul seem to follow the wording of the Hebrew text.

2. Isaiah 10:22-23 and 1:9 in other Writings

Dead Sea Scrolls Isaiah 10:22-23⁴⁶⁷

כִּי אִם יִהְיֶה עַמֶּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּחֲלוֹל הַיָּם שֶׁאֵין יָשׁוּב בּוֹ
כְּלִיזֵן חֲרוֹץ שׁוֹטֵף צְדָקָה
כִּי כֻלָּה וְנִחְרָצָה אֲדוֹנֵי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹשֶׂה בְּקֶרֶב כּוֹל הָאָרֶץ

Translation

For though your people, Israel, were like the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return. Destruction is decreed, overwhelming victory.
For my Lord, the Lord of hosts will execute the decree annihilation, throughout the land.⁴⁶⁸

Wise translates Isa 10:22 according to the Dead Sea Scroll commentary as:

‘Even if your people, Israel, were as many as the grains of the sand by the sea, only a remnant would return; for destruction is assured, righteous judgement is about to overflow, it is completely determined. The Lord God of Hosts is about to act within the whole land’ (4Q161 Frag. 2+3+4).⁴⁶⁹

The remnant refers to the few who are left of Israel in the last Days.⁴⁷⁰ Presumably, that refers to the ‘sons of Israel’ which Paul uses at the beginning of his quotation of the same text. In this case, ‘the phrase’- the sons of Israel- could probably have been used interchangeably to describe the ‘people of Israel.’

The Targum of Isaiah 10:22-23

For though your people, Israel, be many as the sand of the sea, a remnant that have not sinned and that have repented from sin, for them there are done prodigies which are mightily wrought and carried out with virtue. For the Lord God of hosts is accomplishing the extirpation and destruction of all the wicked of the earth.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁷ Burrows 1950, Plate X.

⁴⁶⁸ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 287.

⁴⁶⁹ Wise 1996, 212.

⁴⁷⁰ Wise 1996, 212

⁴⁷¹ Chilton 1987, 26.

It is clear that the oral tradition has gradually altered the original text to give the reason why the remnant were left and the earth had to be destroyed.

The terminology of Isaiah 10:22-23 is also found as a reference in the book of Daniel. The phraseology of destruction, כלה ונחרצה,⁴⁷² and the verb, שטש⁴⁷³ are found in Daniel chapters 9 and 11 as prescribing the desolate days of Antiochus IV. The terms are used to suggest the coming of military loss like a flood.⁴⁷⁴ As stated above, in LXX translation the verbs used in Isaiah 10:22 συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων, are also found in Daniel's interpretation of the writing on the plaster of the wall of King Belshazzar's house (Dan 5:26-8). Daniel interpreted the verbs as having meant the end or desolation of the kingdom of Belshazzar as already decreed by God. This may be a precedent for Paul's choice of a phrase or term from the prophetic writings in order to make the prophetic message relevant for the current situation. It is also possible that Isaiah 10:22,23 might have been commonly used among Jewish groups concerning the judgement of God upon either Israel or the nations.

In Isaiah 1:9, the Hebrew word שְׂרָד is used in a collective sense although the singular noun is used. The LXX translator substitutes the Greek word σπέρμα 'seed' for the Hebrew word שְׂרָד. The author of Wisdom also uses the term σπέρμα for the 'survivors' left by God from his punishment. Wisdom 14:6 says, *'For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world governed by thy hand escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation.'* Presumably, σπέρμα has been used figuratively among the Greek speaking Jews to apply to 'a few survivors from whom a new generation will arise.' The term 'seed' or 'descendent' seems to be more suitable and relevant than 'survivor' in the situation of the 'scattered Israel.'

Targum of Isa 1:9 reads,

Had the abounding goodness of the Lord of hosts not left us a remnant in his mercies, then our sins would have been with us, so that as the men of Sodom we should have perished, and as the inhabitants of Gomorrah we should have been destroyed.⁴⁷⁵

Thus, the Targumist seems to emphasize specifically 'the abounding goodness of the Lord' rather than 'a remnant.'

⁴⁷² Dan 9:26-27; 11:36

⁴⁷³ Dan 9:26; 11:10, 22, 26, 40.

⁴⁷⁴ Fishbane 1985, 490

⁴⁷⁵ Chilton 1987, 2

Isa 1:9 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Marks's Monastery)

לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד
כמעט כסודם היינו לעומרה דמינו

If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we would have become like Sodom, we would have been like Gomorrah.⁴⁷⁶

This agrees with the MT. Thus, it can be said that the MT and the Isaiah scroll from St. Mark's monastery follows the same proto-MT text.

Philo also uses Isaiah 1:9 as an interpretative key for his reading of Genesis 8:11. In the *'questions and answers on Genesis, II'*, on account of the exceeding kindness of God the Father, Philo cites Isaiah 1:9. He writes, '...a certain prophet, the kinsman and friend of Moses, uttered an oracle of this kind, *'If the omnipotent Lord had not left us a seed, we should have been like a blind and barren people'* able neither to know the truth nor to generate it.' However, for Philo, 'a seed' means 'a seed of previous virtues' that have been done from the beginning and remained as some relics of antiquity in human society.⁴⁷⁷

Thus, it can be seen that in Paul's day, there was more than one version of the translation of Isaiah's text in which the Hebrew word, 'survivor' is changed into 'a seed.' Both Paul and Philo may have read the word σπέρμα from the LXX translation. One can therefore conclude that Paul's quotation is from the LXX. However, whether or not Paul is faithful to the original Hebrew meaning also needs careful consideration. So, consideration of the original meaning of the text is required.

3. The Concept of the 'Remnant' in Isaiah

The Hebrew verb, שָׁאַר literally means 'to remain', 'to be left over or be left behind' whereas the noun means 'rest, residue, remainder, or remnant.' In the Ancient Near East, the term implies 'an amount of produce, which is left over from a larger whole.'⁴⁷⁸ In the Old Testament, the term is used with the motif of 'remnant' with both negative and positive emphasis. In a negative sense, it is used to express the idea of total loss and meaninglessness (Ex 6: 31; Joshua 8:17; II Kgs 24:14). Whenever the term שָׁאַר is used together with the words אָרָה⁴⁷⁹ or קָרָה⁴⁸⁰ (both mean,

⁴⁷⁶ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 271

⁴⁷⁷ Yonge 1993, 827

⁴⁷⁸ VanGemeren 1996, 11.

⁴⁷⁹ In Gen 7:23, the term אָשַׁר is used together with the word עָל to describe 'Only Noah was left, and those that were with him in the ark.' Only Noah and his household were left from the flood because of Noah's righteousness.

‘only’), **בלת אם**⁴⁸¹ (meaning, ‘except if’) and **כי-אם**⁴⁸² and **עד אשר אם**⁴⁸³ (meaning, ‘until if or when’), the expression seems to emphasise the negative aspect. If the term **שאר** is used with the combination of the words, **שם**⁴⁸⁴ (name) or **שרש**⁴⁸⁵ (root), the positive aspect of the term is significantly expressed.⁴⁸⁶

The remnant terminology is, in the Old Testament as a whole, found implying either an historical or a theological meaning. Historically, ‘the remnant’ refers to the ‘survivors’ who were left from war catastrophes (Gen 14; Neh 1:2-3). Wherever the noun **שארית** is used to designate the remnant of a foreign nation, the notion is of utter destruction or painful decimation with emphasis on complete insignificance,⁴⁸⁷ although it is generally used for the positive aspect of the salvation of God’s people, in connection with the remnant of Israel. Theologically, the ‘remnant’ refers to those who were left by the deliverance of God because of their loyalty to God’s covenant (Dt 7:20; 1 Kgs 19:18).

In Isaiah, there are at least 15 places where the use of the concept of ‘remnant’ can be found.⁴⁸⁸ Both negative and positive aspects of remnant motif are used to imply both judgement and salvation for the people of Israel but total destruction for the nations. Isaiah seems to apply the concept of ‘remnant’ to two types of groups. The first type is made up of a historical remnant left from war catastrophe (1:9; 14:22, 30; 15:9; 16:14; 17:3; 37:4, 31, 32; 46:3)) whereas the second group refers to the eschatological ‘remnant’ of Israel who will turn to Yahweh (10: 20, 21, 22; 11:11, 16).

4. The context and meaning of Isaiah 1:9

Isaiah 1:2-9 describes the external situation of Judah after having been invaded by foreigners. The people were, internally, sinful and corrupt. They have rebelled against Yahweh and forsaken Him (1:2-4). Thus, Yahweh has already punished them for their rebellion. The people are described as having ‘bruises, sores, and bleeding wounds’ (1:5-6). Their country is desolate, their cities are burned, and their land is being stripped by foreigners and laid waste (1:7). Only

⁴⁸⁰ 2 Kgs 17:18 says, ‘Therefore the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; none was left but the tribe of Judah only.’ Thus, the term **שאר** is followed by the word **רק** to emphasize the negative aspect.

⁴⁸¹ Gen 47:18; Am 3:3,4

⁴⁸² 2 Chr 21:17

⁴⁸³ Gen 28:15; Isa 6:11

⁴⁸⁴ According to Isa 14:22, If there is a name and survivors, there would always be possibility for existence or living.

⁴⁸⁵ The root is the main source for growth and life.

⁴⁸⁶ VanGemeren 1996, 11-12.

⁴⁸⁷ 1 Chr 4:43, Isa 15:9; Am 1:8; Jer 25:20.

Zion and the people in it are left but like a city under siege (1:8). Zion might have been destroyed and become like Sodom and Gomorrah unless Yahweh had left a few ‘survivors’ (1:9). Isaiah might have adopted the ‘remnant’ idea from an oral tradition now found in the Pentateuch about God’s curse for His people for their disobedience and unfaithfulness (Dt 28:62). He was the first prophet who saw the concept of ‘remnant’ from a positive aspect. For him, ‘the remnant’ or ‘Zion’ was left not because they ‘seek Yahweh’ as Amos has proclaimed, but because of Yahweh’s faithfulness toward His people.

The situation of Isaiah 1:2-9 probably refers to the situation after the siege of the city by Sennacherib in the year 701 BCE (2 Kgs 18:13-16). In 705-701, there was a general rebellion against the Assyrians in Syria-Palestine. Hezekiah king of Judah was also involved in the revolt even though Isaiah denounced it. Isaiah urged the king to give up (1:5). So Sennacherib came to crush the rebels. After having dealt with Judah’s neighbouring Philistine cities and then defeated an Egyptian force at Elteke, Sennacherib had taken forty-six Judean cities deporting most of the population. Jerusalem was left because of Hezekiah’s surrender before Sennacherib stormed in. For Isaiah, the city was left because of God’s faithfulness to His city and his covenant to David. Thus, he declares *‘If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we should have been like Sodom, and become like Gomorrah.’*

Yahweh’s name, ‘The Lord of hosts’ is found fifty-three times in Isaiah 1-39. The term is used as a fixed formula to designate the ‘God of Israel’ in the description of the theology of Zion, particularly, in Jeremiah (74 times). But, Isaiah seems to use the term only in those places where he makes use of elements of holy war traditions where the term is primarily associated with the ark (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2).⁴⁸⁹ For the people of Judah, the ark, as Seitz puts it, ‘stands as a concrete symbol of God’s presence’.⁴⁹⁰ The term is used with the conviction that Yahweh is ‘the God of the armies of Israel’ (1 Sam 17:45). For the Israelites, God became actively involved, along with his heavenly hosts, in the battles of those who belonged to him (Jos 5:14).⁴⁹¹ The ark had played an important role to ensure victory in wars (Jos 6:6ff; Jdg 20:27). But, Isaiah 1:8 describes Judah as being defeated. Only a few survivors were left (Isa 1:9). Isaiah seems to reinterpret the war traditions in an unusual way. Presumably 1 Sam 4 is a precedent for Isaiah’s view that Yahweh, the Lord of hosts is indeed ‘the God of the armies of Israel.’ Isaiah was convinced that all the people of Judah deserved was total punishment like Sodom and Gomorrah. Presumably, the use of Yahweh’s name ‘the Lord of hosts’ indicate that Yahweh has been, for Isaiah, involved in the siege as ‘the God of the armies of Israel.’ But, this time ‘the God of the

⁴⁸⁸ Isa 1:9; 10:20, 21, 22; 11:11, 16; 14:22, 30; 15:9; 16:14; 17:3; 37:4, 31, 32; 46:3.

⁴⁸⁹ Wildberger 1991, 29-30.

⁴⁹⁰ Seitz 1993, 32.

armies of Israel' has fought from Assyria's side rather than Israel's until a few survivors were left. In other words, the God of the armies of Israel has surrendered His army into the hands of their enemy.

As far as 'a few survivors' are concerned, Isaiah might have, as noted above, taken the idea from Mosaic tradition used in the Pentateuch concerning God's curse for His people for their unfaithfulness to Him and disobedience to His commandments. Deuteronomy 28:62 says '*Whereas you were as the stars of heaven for multitude, you shall be left few in number; because you did not obey the voice of the Lord your God.*' For the Deuteronomist, Israelites are called to be blessed and multiply as the stars in heaven. Thus 'left few in number' means degrading because it is God's curse, and so to be taken negatively. Isaiah also uses the term, 'left' in a negative aspect in verse 8 where he says, '*And the daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard, like a lodge in a cucumber field, like a besieged city.*' However, Isaiah interpreted 'a few survivors' in 1:9 from a positive point of view that the 'survivors' were left by God's mercy even though they also equally deserved punishment like Sodom and Gomorrah. For him, a 'few survivors' were left by God's mercy (Isa 1:9). Isaiah seems to expect the 'survivors' to repent and turn to Yahweh because of the saving activity of Yahweh for them from total destruction. He expects the 'survivors' to realize the faithfulness of Yahweh's covenant, and then turn their loyalty towards Him (Isa 1:17). It is not wrong to say that Isa 1:9 is, as Watts puts it, 'the first contribution to Isaiah's doctrine of the remnant.'⁴⁹²

Sodom and Gomorrah are probably used as an example pattern for corruption and total destruction (Gen 18-19).⁴⁹³ Philo uses 'blind and barren' instead of 'Sodom and Gomorrah' and then explains that 'the Chaldeans in their native language call blindness and sterility Sodom and Gomorrah.'⁴⁹⁴ Thus, it can be said that the two cities had probably become a proverbial archetype of the reality and fearfulness of divine judgement⁴⁹⁵ for human iniquities even though they were not destroyed in war. Apparently the people of Jerusalem did not seem to recognise what God was doing. Instead, they seemed to be satisfied with the situation in which their city and themselves were not included in the destruction. Thus, it is possible that the 'survivors' may have thought that they were saved because of the ark. They would possibly believe that what they do or how they live does not matter, they will be safe as long as the ark is in the city. The Lord of hosts who is the victorious Lord of battles and wars will save them from destruction. As

⁴⁹¹ Wildberger 1991, 29-30.

⁴⁹² Watts 1987, 19.

⁴⁹³ Miscall 1993, 23.

⁴⁹⁴ Yonge 1993, 827

⁴⁹⁵ Clement 1980, 32.

usual, they therefore celebrate seasonal festivals with offerings and sacrifices without changing their attitude towards God or to the unfortunate ones (1:13).

Nevertheless, for Isaiah, the deeds and way of living of the people are important because as Seitz put it, Israel was expected 'to fill certain roles that nurture and sustain the life of Israel.'⁴⁹⁶ Isaiah saw the desolation of his country as parallel to the situation of Sodom and Gomorrah. He particularly saw that the corruption of the rulers, as Ceresko put it, were 'doomed to failure'.⁴⁹⁷ The political power-game the king of Judah and the ruling classes were engaged in, and their futile attempt to gain advantages for themselves by playing off Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon against one another, revealed their own inner attitudes of pride, selfishness, and greed. Their lust for power and wealth has resulted in the exploitation and suffering of the poor, fatherless and widows. Thus, for Isaiah, they were just the same as the people of Sodom and Gomorrah in deserving God's judgement. However, a few 'survivors' that is 'the people of Jerusalem' were kept from catastrophe because of God's faithfulness to his covenant.

5. The context and meaning of Isaiah 10:22-23

Different emphases on the concept of the 'returning of the remnant' can be seen in the book. Particularly, the idea of 'remnant' is linked with the idea of 'leaning' or 'trust' in God in Isa 10:20-23, which says,

In that day the remnant of Israel and the survivors of the house of Jacob will no more lean upon him that smote them, but will lean upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A remnant will return the remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God. For though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return. Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness. For the Lord, the LORD of hosts, will make a full end, as decreed, in the midst of all the earth.

The message seems to emphasise 'turning to God' or 'leaning upon Yahweh.' Isaiah identifies the remnant of Israel and all of those from the house of Jacob with those who lean upon Yahweh rather than on their attackers (Isa 10:20,21). Thus, depending upon Yahweh alone is the mark of the 'remnant of Israel.' The main message, therefore, seems to be a threat that 'the destruction, which was decreed by God, is definitely coming and *only* a remnant of them will return.' The destruction was decreed, flooded with God's righteousness. Destruction is unavoidable because it was God's intention to carry it out upon the whole land of Judah.

'In that day' probably refers to the day of God's judgement when the remnant of Israel who trust and lean only upon God would be delivered. The use of 'the remnant of Israel' and

⁴⁹⁶ Seitz 1993, 32.

⁴⁹⁷ Ceresko 1992, 191.

‘refugees of the house of Jacob’ definitely refers to the people of Northern Israel. Obviously, the author identifies the ‘remnant’ of Israel who survived the battles with the ‘remnant’ who will turn to Yahweh.

The message seems to reflect on the time when the Syro-Ephraimite coalition tried to force Ahaz the king of Judah to join with them against the Assyrians. With God’s command Isaiah accompanied by his first son יְשׁוּבָה, שָׁאֵר had confronted Ahaz. Presumably, Isaiah named his first son after his call. By bringing his first son, Isaiah would, probably, mean that the destruction of Northern Israel is definitely coming until only ‘a few people are left.’ It is possible that Isaiah might have heard of the message of Hosea about the destruction of the kingdom of Israel (Isa 27:8 cf., Hosea 113:15). He himself also foresaw the judgement of God as coming soon for His chosen people because of their disloyalty and unfaithfulness. What king Ahaz was asked to do was, therefore, to ‘be careful, keep calm and be not afraid’ (Isa 7:4). The ‘remnant’ echoes the Deuteronomic tradition that the promise and curse of Yahweh upon His people in regards to their loyalty to Him and obedience to His commands (Dt 28:62). Isaiah’s message about the ‘remnant,’ therefore, reflects an ill omen for both Ahaz and the people of Judah. Thus, at this point, ‘a remnant shall return’ can simply mean that the defeated and scattered Israel shall return to their homeland rather than ‘turning towards God’ or ‘repentance.’

The concept of the ‘remnant’ seems obviously to have been developed. The word ‘יְשׁוּבָה’ also means ‘repent’ when it is used in relation to God. The ‘remnant’ was identified with those who not only survive but ‘lean’ or ‘trust’ on Yahweh. This is true in Targum Isa 10:22-23 where the Targumist translated the remnant as both those who have not sinned and those who have repented from sin. However, Isaiah saw no hope of changing the hearts of the rulers⁴⁹⁸ even though they were left by God’s mercy. He therefore announced judgement for the ruling society and those who forsake Yahweh (1:28). At the same time, he proclaimed the restoration of Zion to be the ‘City of Righteousness’ and the ‘Faithful City’ after the destruction. Isaiah expresses the possibility for a society with justice and righteousness (1:26). He seemed to expect the ‘survivors’ to be the ‘establishers’ of that society.

The statement that ‘though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea’ was, for the Israelites, a reminder of God’s promise of blessing to Abraham (Gen 22:17). By referring to the name of his first son, ‘a remnant will return’, Isaiah might have had in mind that ‘even the people of God will not be spared in the imminent judgement of Yahweh measured by righteousness.’ The word,

⁴⁹⁸ Ceresko 1992, 192.

Only found in some translations is, as Motyer puts it, ‘an interpretative addition assuming that ‘remnant’ is used here in a threatening sense.’⁴⁹⁹

In 10:23, ‘destruction’ could be translated as ‘end’ or ‘consummation.’ Here, Isaiah saw Yahweh as the righteous God who would not exclude even His own people from His righteous judgements. It is noteworthy that Isaiah utters this message of ‘remnant’ as an encouragement to the people of Judah in his oracle of God’s judgement on the nations. However, whether or not Paul is faithful to Isaiah’s passages in their meaning and theological implication needs to be considered.

6. Paul’s Prophetic Re-application

Paul was convinced that the new way of God for the salvation of mankind through faith in Christ had opened the door so that the Gentiles, who were once not included in God’s people, but now become the ‘sons of the living God’ (Rom 9:26). It was God’s original intention to include the Gentiles in his promises from the beginning when he called Abraham to be the father of his people (Gen 22:18). However, concerning the rejection of Christ by the majority of Jews, Paul asserts that it has always been God’s way or plan to select and preserve only the minority of Jews to be his people (e.g. between Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau). In order to identify the minority of Jews who believed in the Gospel with the ‘remnant of the historical Israel’ selected and preserved by God’s mercy, Paul cites Isaiah’s passages dealing with ‘the remnant of Israel’ without any commentary or interpretation. Thus, it is clear that Paul let the Scriptural citations speak for themselves to his readers that only the Jewish Christians are the remnant of Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9. Many different suggestions and proposals have been given concerning Paul’s use of Isaiah 10:22-23 and 1:9 in Romans 9:27-29.

Chae seems to assert that Paul uses Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9 to ‘affirm his argument in 9:6, ‘Not all who are descended from Israel are Israel.’⁵⁰⁰ He states that ‘the call of Gentiles and the rejection of the majority of Jews has, for Paul, already been predicted in the Old Testament, and that is why (γάρ) God’s word has not failed (9:6a), despite the phenomenon of Jewish unbelief and Gentile faith.’⁵⁰¹ For Ziesler, Paul uses Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9 ‘to console and reassure that at least a remnant that is faithful will be saved. If not all the historical Israel is true Israel, nevertheless there is an element within it that is true to its calling. Thus, God’s word has not failed.’ (Rom

⁴⁹⁹ Motyer 1993, 117

⁵⁰⁰ Chae 1997, 238.

⁵⁰¹ Chae 1997, 238.

9:6)⁵⁰² Thus, both Chae and Ziesler seem to focus on the continuity and consistency of God's dealing with His people in the Old as well as in the New Testament times. In this respect, they are correct to assert that the minority of Jewish Christians, identified as the remnant in Isaiah's prophecy, affirms the fact that 'God's word has not failed.'

In his discussion about the future of Israel, Dahl asserts that 'the presence of a remnant proves that God has not rejected his people and remains committed to the promise granted to the whole nation.'⁵⁰³ As in the case of Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, so the Jews who believe in Christ, not the rest, are the children of the promise, chosen not by race but grace.⁵⁰⁴ Bearing his usage, 'the children of promise' (Rom 9:8) in his mind, Paul therefore chose the word 'seed'⁵⁰⁵ from the LXX rather than 'remnant' from the MT. For Paul, 'the remnant' and 'the children or seed' were reduced by grace with the elective activity of God. Dahl seems to emphasise 'God's mercy and grace' by which the 'remnant', that deserved punishment like Sodom and Gomorrah, were called and selected. The reduction of the people was, in fact, God's way of dealing with the whole nation in the Old Testament. Likewise, the minority of Jewish Christians were, Dahl seems to assert, called as God's tool in dealing with not only the historical Israel but also the whole world.

Moo correctly suggests that Paul's purpose in citing Isaiah's passages is 'to establish the truth that God is calling his 'vessels of mercy' from among Jews.'⁵⁰⁶ He therefore seems to suggest that among the historical Israel who were once called as 'vessels of mercy', God has now again divided into two groups: 'a remnant' that is 'vessels of mercy' and 'those whose hearts were hardened by God' to be 'vessels of wrath.' It was generally understood that 'Vessels of wrath' are prepared for destruction and usually refers to 'the nations.' Paul has just mentioned that God had hardened 'Pharaoh.' Thus, he puts part of the historical Israel on the same level with Pharaoh. Pharaoh was known as 'the vessel of wrath' for his resistance to God's command. The wrath of God, for Jews, means divine judgement for stubbornness, disobedience and unfaithfulness. Thus, Paul saw 'the hardening of the hearts' of the majority Jews as God's punishment for their rejection of the Gospel. They have rejected the Gospel first and so God in return has hardened their hearts. However, unlike the traditional view that 'the vessels of wrath' were predestined for damnation and destruction, Paul did not see 'the hardening of the hearts' as the end but rather the means for God's saving activity for both the Gentiles and the Jews.

⁵⁰² Ziesler 1989, 249.

⁵⁰³ Dahl 1977, 151.

⁵⁰⁴ Dahl 1977, 149.

⁵⁰⁵ Barrett 1991, 191.

⁵⁰⁶ Moo 1996, 615.

Hays seems not to have given clear thought to Paul's whole discussion when he asserts that Isaiah's oracles were used to 'support Paul's claim that God has called vessels of mercy from among Jews and Gentiles alike.'⁵⁰⁷ Paul readily accepted that Christians are 'vessels of mercy.' As far as the Jewish nation is concerned, Ellis says, 'the mercy given in calling Jews and Gentiles in Christ (Rom 9:22-26) apply only to a remnant, because the nation as a whole sought righteousness by works.'⁵⁰⁸ Thus, if one emphasises the fact that 'the remnant was those, who returned to God and found Him in Christ', Ellis' view might be right when he asserts that 'Rom 9:27-29 is speaking of both Jewish and Gentile Christians who were 'the regathered remnant of faith' irrespective of their lineage.'⁵⁰⁹

In fact, Paul does not seem to be dealing with the question of who are 'vessels of mercy' but 'why the majority of the historical chosen Israel rejected the Gospel.' For Paul, God has not yet rejected them from being His people but has hardened their hearts as a punishment or judgement for their rejection of His son. Thus, Paul might have used the term 'vessels of wrath' for his kinsfolk as a divine punishment rather than divine rejection. Paul was also convinced that both 'vessels of mercy' and 'vessels of wrath' were raised by God for His glory and to make His name known in all the earth.

Morris, without giving any explanation, asserts that Isaiah's passages are quoted to 'imply nothing about the fulfilment or otherwise of the condition, but point to the possibility that the Israelites would be very numerous but only the remnant will be saved.'⁵¹⁰ Morris seems to insist that Paul cites Isaiah's passages as a Scriptural support for the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews. But he does not explain why 'only the remnant will be saved.' Thus, his assertion can lead one into confusion about that why the same God blesses Abraham to be as numerous as the sand of the sea and yet destroys his offspring until only a 'remnant' is left.

Evans states that 'unbelief will reduce Israel to a remnant.'⁵¹¹ According to his statement, Evans seems to emphasise the 'unbelief' of the Jews in the Gospel. Here, 'believing' seems to be the mark of being the people of God. Thus, Evans seems to insist that Paul reapplied Isaiah's remnant prophecy to the Jews in his own days. He also seems to read Paul's quotation of 'remnant' as referring to the Jewish Christians as called by God's mercy. Similarly, Cranfield states that 'Paul regarded the words of Isaiah's oracle which referred to what was happening at the time of its utterance as a foretelling (*προείρηκεν*) of the circumstances in which, in his own

⁵⁰⁷ Hays 1999, 68.

⁵⁰⁸ Ellis 1957, 122.

⁵⁰⁹ Ellis 1957, 122

⁵¹⁰ Morris 1988, 371.

⁵¹¹ Wright 1992, 125.

time, a small number of Jews was included in the Church.⁵¹² Dunn also asserts the same line of thought when he writes, ‘Romans 9:27-29 is speaking simply of the fact that only a remnant of Israel believes in the Gospel.’⁵¹³ Paul saw, Dunn states, ‘Isaiah’s words as divine confirmation that the relatively poor response of his people was part of God’s overall purpose for the end time.’⁵¹⁴ Lindars also seems to insist that Paul reads ‘a remnant will return’ in Isaiah 10:22 as having applied to the Church which ‘is all those who are joined to Christ by repentance and faith, regardless of whether they are Jews or Gentiles.’⁵¹⁵ Guerra asserts that Paul quotes Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9 with apologetic intention that ‘Isaiah foretold the current situation of the few Jewish Christians and the majority of non-believing Jews.’⁵¹⁶ Romans 9:27-29, for Guerra, ‘provides a biblical covering for the real situation of the relatively few Jews who have become Christians and the great majority who reject Christ.’⁵¹⁷ Byrne insists that Isaiah 10:22-23 and 1:9 are used by Paul as Scriptural warrant for the existence of only a certain number within the Christian community because Isaiah’s texts speak of the reduced numbers of Israel.⁵¹⁸ By using them, Paul can claim, Byrne continues, that ‘the Christian community, composed of Gentiles and the Jewish ‘remnant,’ (Isa 10:22) corresponds perfectly to the eschatological ‘seed’ (LXX Isa 1:9) promised by God to Abraham.’⁵¹⁹

7. Conclusion

From all the different views of scholars, it is clear that Paul has read Isaiah’s two ‘remnant’ passages ecclesiologically to affirm that ‘the minority of Jewish Christians’ were ‘the remnant’ foretold by Isaiah. His introduction of the quotation *καὶ καθὼς προείρηκεν Ἡσαΐας* reflects Paul’s conviction that ‘the reduction of the historical people into a few’ in Isaiah’s prophecy has now been fulfilled in the minority Jewish Christians.

Paul’s reading of Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9 can be understood as a Peshet interpretation in his identification of Jewish Christians with Isaiah’s ‘remnant.’ He also makes a prophetic criticism of the situation of his time. By quoting Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9, Paul, on the one hand, wants his Jewish readers to realise the parallel situations of Isaiah’s day and his day. The people of Judah in Isaiah’s day had put their trust in a political alliance. Likewise, Jews as a nation in Paul’s day

⁵¹² Cranfield 1979, 502.

⁵¹³ Dunn 1988a, 574.

⁵¹⁴ Dunn 1988a, 575.

⁵¹⁵ Lindars 1961, 243.

⁵¹⁶ Guerra 1995, 149.

⁵¹⁷ Guerra 1995, 149.

⁵¹⁸ Byrne 1979, 137.

⁵¹⁹ Byrne 1979, 138.

put their trust in the Law and the privilege of being the chosen people of God. Isaiah was convinced that there would be only a remnant left not because they deserved to survive but God left them through His faithfulness and mercy. Similarly Paul reminds his fellow Jewish Christians of an important factor that they were called only by God's mercy. The choice was not theirs but God's. Thus, there is no reason for them to boast about their privileges of being re-elected among God's children. Isaiah was also convinced that the mistrust of the people of Judah meant that they deserved to be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah. Paul also seems to be criticizing his kinsfolk as deserving the destruction as in Isaiah's day for their self-righteousness. By reminding his kinsfolk of the parallel between the two situations, Paul applies the same theological meaning of Isaiah's message that 'trusting in God's righteousness and faithfulness' alone is required of the people of God.

However, Paul's theological interpretation goes a little further than what Isaiah meant. For Paul, 'trusting in God's faithfulness' means 'believing in His righteousness revealed in Christ' whereas for Isaiah, 'trusting in God' meant 'relying upon His faithfulness' during a political crisis. For Paul 'believing in Christ' alone is the 'measuring line' in order to 'be saved.' Thus, in this aspect, Paul's interpretation of Isaiah's message does not seem to be faithful from Judaism's point of view. However, this can be understood as Paul's Christological understanding of Isaiah's message. For him, Isaiah's requirement of 'trusting in God' applies to 'trusting in God's revelation in Christ.'

On the other hand, Paul also seems to be reminding his Gentile Christians of the fact that 'what had been predicted in Isaiah's day is now happening in the present time.' He may be prophetically reapplying Isaiah's message as his own prophetic message to his fellow Christians in Rome that the same thing can or will happen in the future unless they put their trust in God's revelation in Christ alone. If they do not put their 'trust' totally in God by faith in Christ, there will be another 'reduction' among God's people again in the future as the Scripture says. There is none who deserves to be 'God's child' unless he or she believes in Christ and trusts him alone (Rom 10:13). For Paul, it is only by God's mercy and grace that the Christian community is called to be 'vessels of mercy.' However, there can still be a possibility for another re-election among these 'vessels of mercy' unless they 'trust in Christ' alone.

Thus, Paul's use of Isa 10:22-23 and 1:9 can be summarized as eschatological and ecclesiological. He believed that what Isaiah had predicted is now fulfilled in calling God's people through faith in Christ. In spite of many textual traditions Paul's choice of wording follows the tradition of the present LXX. By using the peshet interpretation, Paul reads Isaiah's 'remnant' as identical with the Jewish Christians. Paul understood Isaiah's call to 'trust in God

alone' as applying to 'believing in Christ.' Thus, he read Isaiah's prophecy from a Christological point of view. Paul prophetically reapplies Isaiah's prophecy to the situation of his own day. As in Isaiah's day the majority of his kinsfolk were wrongly putting their trust in the Law rather than God's righteousness and faithfulness which is now revealed in Christ. Paul also borrows Isaiah's prophecy as his own prophetic oracles to warn Christians, God's newly chosen people not to fall in the same way in which the historical Israel has fallen.

E. Many who had stumbled

According to Rom 9: 8-18, Paul seems to be thinking and talking about the elect by faith in Christ and the rejected who refused to believe in Christ within the people of Israel. For Paul, the rejection of the Gospel by the majority Jews was God's own purpose for His saving work for the world. It is God who hardens their heart in order to carry out His purposes. Paul sees, as Morris describes, the hardening of Israel as 'God's means of bringing the Gospel to the Gentiles.'⁵²⁰ Paul is making the point that God has always worked out His purpose even though it sometimes requires the hardening of some people's hearts in order to attain His purpose.⁵²¹ In each case whether in electing or hardening, God's purpose is based upon his mercy. Paul mentions no destruction of any vessels. Instead he simply points out that each vessel was made for use of different purposes. Paul seems to be attacking the superior attitude of the Jewish Christians who thought that they were chosen to be the vessels of honour. However, in Rom 9: 19-21, Paul, with the consciousness that his discussion on God's free power in His choice of 'vessels of mercy' and 'vessels of wrath' for His saving work might create confusion among his readers, finds Scriptural support which portrays God as the Potter to close his discussion.

Paul's main point in this argument is, therefore, the fact that God does everything according to his will and purposes but based on his mercy and compassion. For Paul, the Gentiles are also now included in God's people through faith in Christ. Only by God's mercy, for Paul, the Gentiles are included in God's people. It was, indeed, God's intention to include the Gentiles among His people when He first called Abraham to be a blessing to the nations. Moreover, it was also prophesied by the prophet that God would call people who are not his people (Hos 2:23). They are also the descendants of Abraham not by flesh but by the promise. Thus the people of God are both Jews and Gentiles who are called by God's mercy through faith in Christ.

For Paul, God's righteousness was revealed in the crucified Christ and those who believe in him are put right with God. Thus, Paul talks about the importance of faith in Christ and confession of 'Jesus' as 'Lord' as the means to be saved (Rom 10:9,10). Paul identifies the word of God with

⁵²⁰ Morris 1988, 364.

⁵²¹ Morris 1988, 364.

Jesus who is the end of the law (Rom 10:4). In all his discussion, Paul is, obviously arguing for the inclusiveness of Jews and Gentiles alike in God's family with a reference to the Scripture. In other words, God's righteousness can be obtained only by faith in Christ. Thus, the Gentiles who, on the one hand, believe and confess Jesus as Lord become the children of God whereas Israel who, for Paul, sought righteousness through the law has not attained but stumbled over the 'stumbling-stone' (Rom 9:32). Paul finds the Scriptural support partly from Isa 8:14 and partly from Isa 28:16 which says, *'Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men to stumble, a rock that will make them fall; and who believes in him will not be put to shame'* (Rom 9:33).

For Paul, the Israelites were zealous for God (Rom 10:2). But their zeal was based not on knowledge but on the law. They sought God's righteousness by the Law and so failed to see Jesus who is as near as in their mouth and in their heart (Rom 10:5-8). For Paul, there is no difference between Jews and Gentiles if they believe in Christ because 'the one who believes in him will not be put to shame' (Rom 10:11 quoted from the last part of Isa 28:16). There is only one Lord and 'every one who calls on his name will be saved' (Rom 10:12,13 cited from Joel 2:32). Isa 28:16 has been used twice; in one place only the last part (10:11) and in another place (9:33) conflated with Isa 8:14. Thus, it is necessary to consider Isaiah's two passages together in order to find out whether or not Paul follows the original meaning of the prophet. Thus, firstly, the contexts of the two texts and then their meanings in their own immediate situation will be considered.

1. The Context of Isaiah 8:14

Isaiah of Jerusalem was called and commissioned in the year when Uzziah, the king of Judah died. Isaiah 7:1-17 and 8:1-18 vividly portray the political and social changes in Judah. But when Uzziah died, his son 'Jotham' (742-735), was approached to join the Syro-Ephraimites' coalition to resist the Assyrians. However, Jotham, preferring to pursue an independent policy, refused. So, Judah was threatened with an attack by the coalition when his son, Ahaz succeeded the throne after his death. Thus, both Ahaz and his people were so frightened that they were as the trees of the forest shaken before the wind (Isa 7:2). If the king and his people need a 'conspiracy', Yahweh, the Lord of hosts is, for Isaiah, the only one with whom they can 'conspire', not with any human nations. But king Ahaz and his people had failed to do that. They had conspired to ask help from Assyria regardless of Isaiah's warning not to take such a step but to trust in the promises of Yahweh given to David (2 Kgs 16). Ahaz, incapable of the faith that the prophet asked of him, refused the advice, sent an enormous gift to Tiglath-pileser and so

gave away his country's independence. Thus, now, the destruction of Judah by the Assyrians was approaching as God's own 'conspiracy.'⁵²²

According to 6:9-13 there seems little hope for both nations because of their separation and alienation from the true purpose of God. The Assyrians were actually coming to destroy Israel and Syria. For Isaiah, God is controlling the history of his people. Judah did not need to ask any human help, because the prophet foresaw the destruction of both Israel and Syria. Trusting and relying on God was the most important need for the people of Judah. God is with them even in this kind of crisis. However, Ahaz and his people did not obey the prophet. Thus, in 7:18-8:10, Isaiah prophesied the destruction of Judah and that the remnants of Judah who would return to Zion. In 8:11-15, Isaiah was told by Yahweh not to walk in the way of the people of Judah. God is going to be a stumbling block both to Israel and to Judah. Many people will stumble upon it and be broken. Presumably, the whole nation was in fear of the Assyrians' coming. It was, therefore, possible that the king and his people would approach Isaiah for another 'conspiracy.'

But Yahweh commanded him to stay away from their 'conspiracy'. Yahweh identified Himself with a 'conspirator'. Thus, for Isaiah, the people of Judah should 'fear' and be 'in dread' of Yahweh alone because He is the One who made conspiracy to destroy His people.⁵²³ Presumably, at the same time, the people of Judah might still have thought that Yahweh's Temple and Zion would not be destroyed. They would probably expect that God would not break His covenant with David. Perhaps, they might be praying Psalms of David, particularly, psalms which describe Yahweh as the 'Rock' of refuge.

However, it seems that Isaiah's message was the least expected message for the situation of the time. It was a harsh and uncomfortable message for the people of Judah. In his message the prophet says, *'And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem'* (Isa 8:14).

In Isaiah, the use of metaphors such as sanctuary (60:13), stone (28:16) and rock (26:4, 30:29) usually indicates stability and support. Ironically, the Lord will become immovable like these objects for both houses of Israel to crash into and stumble over.⁵²⁴ It is, therefore, obvious that Isaiah's message was absolutely contradictory to the cultic theology of Jerusalem in which the people of Israel believed that God's messengers protected the pious from striking against a stone

⁵²² Wright 1964, 41-42.

⁵²³ Watts 1985, 121.

⁵²⁴ Miscall 1993, 39.

(Ps 91:12). The pious are those who take refuge in God who is their Rock of salvation (Ps 89:27). Isaiah also describes Yahweh as the rock of Israel (30:29). The Hebrew word צור is used 33 times in the Old Testament as a title for the God of Israel as the support and defense of his people (e.g. Ps 62:8; 95:1; Dt 32:15, 31; Is 17:10; 30:29). Rock is personified as the God of Israel (Dt 32:4, 18; 2 Sam 22:3, 47b; Ps 19:15, 28:1; Is 26:4). God can rescue his people from the trapping net which is used by a fowler or snare of the fowler (Ps 91:3, 124:7).⁵²⁵ Isaiah, therefore, seems to be applying the cultic Jerusalem tradition to his message from a negative perspective. However, the metaphor of God as a 'sanctuary' does not seem to be a parallel term to 'stumbling stone' and 'rock of offence.' The wordplay and the alliteration between the Hebrew words⁵²⁶ in Isa 8:12-14 has caused problems in reading and translating the text.

It is generally suggested that the Hebrew word מקדש (sanctuary) should be read as מקשיר (conspiracy) because of the parallel words אבן נגף (stumbling stone) and מכשול צור (slipping rock). In fact, the word קשר seems to be the main term for Isaiah's message in 8: 12, 13 and 14 even though Isaiah Targum reads פורען (retribution or recompense).⁵²⁷ The 'conspiracy' of Syro-Ephraimites had threatened Judah's security and so King Ahaz and his people had, in return, 'conspired' to approach Assyria for help. Yahweh warns Isaiah not to regard their (the king and his people) 'conspiracy' as 'conspiracy' (8:12) because Yahweh himself is the conspirator for what has happened and is happening (8:13, 14a). Thus, the word 'sanctuary' seems to be an inappropriate word for the situation. The word 'conspirator' seems more meaningful and relevant for the message which follows, that God will be the 'stumbling stone' and 'rock of offence' (8:14b).

The two popular metaphorical images of God – a rock and a stone – as Israel's refuge, security, and strength (Dt 32:4; 1 Sam 2:2; Ps 18:2; 62:2) will, for Isaiah, become a stone or a stumbling block, which will lead her way into destruction. Yahweh will become not only a stumbling stone for both the people of Judah and Israel but also a trap and snare of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. If the people were trapped, broken and taken into captivity, it was because of Yahweh's decision and action rather than the victory of Assyrians. For Isaiah, the Assyrians were only 'God's instrument' for his judgement on his people's lack of faith in him (Isa 8:6-10).⁵²⁸ Thus, in Isaiah 8:14, Isaiah seems to be putting emphasis upon the fact that Israel's failure to trust God alone

⁵²⁵ Wildberger 1991, 359.

⁵²⁶ According to Wildberger, the wordplay can be seen between קשר, הקשיר, and מקשיר; מורא and ירא; מערצ and העריצ; מכשול and כשל; מוקש and נוקש. The alliteration between מורא, מוקש, and נוקש; between מערצ, מעשר, מכשול, and מוקש; and between ונלכדו, ונוקשו, ונשברו, and ונפלו can also be noted (Wildberger 1991, 356; and also see, Watts 1985, 119).

⁵²⁷ Wildberger 1991, 355 and Watts 1985, 119.

⁵²⁸ Kaiser 1974, 192-3.

has turned God from a Rock of security to a stone to stumble over. For Isaiah, God's sovereignty cannot be measured in terms of human conception. Naturally, the people of Judah would never have thought of God as a stone to stumble over because He is their Rock in which they can always take refuge and security and God as a Rock will, they believed, always protect them from stumbling. God, through Isaiah, has turned the view of his people upside down. However, Isaiah also speaks of another kind of stone, particularly, a precious, costly cornerstone in Isaiah 28:16.

2. The Context of Isaiah 28:16

The oracle was probably uttered during the reign of another king of Judah, Hezekiah son of Ahaz. Through the reign of Ahaz, Judah remained submissive to Assyria. The internal situation of Judah under his reign was worse even though she had escaped the calamity that overtook Israel and Syria. Since the king himself was without real faith in or zeal for Yahweh religion, native pagan practices flourished together with all sorts of foreign fashions, cults, and superstitions (Isa 2:6-8, 20, 8:19f.; Mic 5:12-14; 2 Kgs 16:3f.) Nevertheless, there were undoubtedly patriotic people or loyal Yahwists who had resented Ahaz's policy. Probably, his son, Hezekiah was one of them. Thus, when he succeeded the throne, Hezekiah sought to get free from Assyria. In the midst of this situation, the prophets began to emphasise God's covenant with David and Zion.

Externally, on the one hand, Philistine towns were drawn into the revolt against Assyria who was busy with the rebellions in Midas and Syria. Sargon, the new Assyrian emperor who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser III had not conducted a major campaign in Palestine. Judah (Isa 18 and 20), Edom, and Moab were invited to join in the revolt. According to Isa 14: 28-32, the Philistine envoys, and particularly the ambassadors of the Ethiopian king himself seem to be waiting on Hezekiah, hoping to enlist his co-operation.⁵²⁹ Meanwhile, Egypt, on the other hand, began to restore her power again. Thus, the question arose in Judah whether to join in the revolt or not. However, Isaiah did not see the co-operation in terms of peace and security of Jerusalem. Instead, he saw it as a covenant with death. For him, everything that had happened or was happening in Zion was God acting according to his purpose and will. He reminded the people of Judah who were putting their trust and confidence in the treaty they had made with Egypt that God has laid a stone in Zion as a foundation stone for the people of Judah (28:16). The stone is, therefore, used as a metaphor for God to refer to the security, refuge and protection that Yahweh always offers to the people.

⁵²⁹ Bright 1960, 261-4.

In Hebrew, יָסַד means ‘to support’ and could יָסֵד be understood as ‘the one who builds a sure or supported structure.’⁵³⁰ In the Old Testament it implies ‘to be true, reliable, faithful’ and can be applied both to men and God.⁵³¹ When it is applied to men, by quoting Epstein, Ellis asserts that it has a two-fold connotation- theological and human. It signifies alike faith- trust in God, and faithfulness- honesty, integrity- in human relations.⁵³² It also implies that God entrusted something to someone (Num 12:7; 1 Sam 3:20; Hos 11:12⁵³³). When it is applied to God, God’s faithfulness and dependability to His covenant is stressed.⁵³⁴ Mostly it is applied to men’s trust on God as ‘the true ground of security’ (Jer 39:18; 2 Kgs 18:30; Isa 7:9).⁵³⁵

Thus, in Isa 28:16, the prophet seems to be urging the people of Judah to recall their memories about king Ahaz’s treaty with the Assyrian. During Ahaz’s reign the people of Judah had also refused to trust in Yahweh. Thus, Yahweh has decided to become a stumbling block for his own people. Their mistrust has actually led them into subjection to the Assyrians. Now, they are doing the same thing again without trusting Yahweh. Thus, it makes sense when Isaiah calls the stone a foundation stone which is also a tested stone. Thus, the prophet affirms that ‘anyone who believes or trusts in God’s words through the prophet will not be in haste.’ The message seems to have a double meaning. Positively, on the one hand, if one believes or trusts God’s act, he will be in peace and calm regardless of the political instability of the time because he knows what God has done and is doing in every event of the history of Israel. However, on the other hand, if one does not trust or believe in the message but relies on foreign alliances, he will, as Yahweh has done before, be put into destruction. Thus, here again, Isaiah seems to be basing his message upon the cultic tradition of Jerusalem. He is also seen recalling his earlier message in 8:14.

3. Paul’s Use of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14

After discussion of the probable original meanings of Isa 8:14 and 28:16, the next step is to consider Paul’s use of these two Isaiah passages. In Rom 9: 33, Paul says, ‘*As it is written, ‘Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall: and he who believes in him will not be put to shame.*’

 From the passage, it is obvious that Paul uses the idea of God as a stone and a rock by combining the two passages of Isaiah that were delivered in different times but similar situations. Was it an already existing combined text when Paul used it? If not why did Paul make the combination? Did he follow the original meaning?

⁵³⁰ Watts 1985, 367.

⁵³¹ Brown 1986, 595.

⁵³² Ellis 1957, 117-8.

⁵³³ Hos 12:1 in MT and LXX.

⁵³⁴ Brown 1986, 596.

⁵³⁵ Brown 1986, 596.

All these questions lead to the need for consideration of the situation Paul was in and the argument he was making.

As mentioned above, Paul uses Isaiah's passages in his discussion about who the people of God are. For Paul, Jesus is the stone that God has laid in Zion and everyone who believes in him will not be put to shame. However, everyone who does not believe in him will stumble over him. Paul understood that Isaiah's prophecy was fulfilled in God's saving works for all nations by faith in Christ. The Gentiles who now believe in him become the heirs of God but the majority of Jews rejected him and stumbled over him (9:30-32). Concerning the majority of Jews who have neither recognised nor believed in Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness, Paul regards them as being stumbled by the stone. How did the people of Israel stumble? For Paul, the people of Israel have failed to recognize Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness because they sought righteousness not on the basis of faith but on the basis of the law (9:32). Seeking the righteousness by the law, in Paul's view, is seeking one's own righteousness rather than God's righteousness (10:3). God's righteousness has been revealed in the person of Christ. But Israel had refused to recognise it. The people of Israel were, as Paul saw it, putting their trust in the wrong security just as the people of Judah has put their trust on the wrong security in Isaiah's day. The people of Israel have been stumbled by seeking God's righteousness through their works rather than believing in Christ. Paul expresses his understanding of Israel's mistake of having the wrong emphasis by a paraphrase from Isaiah 8:14 which he then cites in combination with Isaiah 28:16.

4. Which Text did Paul Use?

Isa 28:16 (MT)

לֵכֶן כֵּן אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הַנְּגִי יִסֵּד בְּצִיּוֹן אֶבֶן אֶבֶן בְּחֵן
פְּנֵי יְקָרָת מוֹסֵד מוֹסֵד הַמְּאֲמִין לֹא יִחְשָׁוּ

Translation:

Therefore thus says the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believes shall not make haste.

Isa 28:16 (LXX)

[Διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος κύριος,] ἴδου ἐγὼ
ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών [λίθον πολυτελεῆ ἐκλεκτὸν]
ἀκρογωνιαῖον [ἐντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς] καὶ ὁ πιστεύων
ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθῆ.

Translation:

Therefore thus says the Lord, even the Lord, behold, I lay for the foundation of Zion a costly stone, a choice, a corner-stone, a precious stone, for its foundations; and he that believes on him shall by no means be ashamed.

Isa 8:14 (MT)

וְהָיָה לְמִקְדָּשׁ וְלִאֲבָן נִגְזָר וְלִצְוָר מְכֹשֵׁל לְשָׁנִי
בְּתֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְפָלַח וְלִמְלֶכֶת לְיִשׁוּב יְרוּשָׁלַם׃

Translation:

And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Isa 8:14 (LXX)

[Καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς ᾦς ἔσται σοι εἰς ἀγίασμα καὶ οὐ ὡς] λίθου προσκόμματι [συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς] πέτρας [πτώματι ὁ δεοῖκος Ἰακωβ ἐν παγίδι καὶ ἐν κοιλάσματι ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Ἱερουσαλμ]

Translation:

And if you shall trust him, he shall be to you for a sanctuary; and you shall not come against him as against a stumbling stone, neither as against the falling of a rock: but the houses of Jacob are in a snare, and the dwellers of Jerusalem in a pit.

Romans 9:33

Καθὼς γέγραπται, Ἴδου τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνηθήσεται.

Translation:

As it is written: Behold, I place in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence, and everyone that believes on him shall not be ashamed.

Generally, Paul's quotation from Isa 28:16 and 8:14, with some alterations, follows the language of the LXX. However, his conflation of the two texts makes impossible a clear picture of the text he actually chose. It seems that Paul chooses the last part of Isaiah 28:16 as the basic thought for his argument because he uses it twice in the same letter (9:33, 10:11). In both passages he uses his usual introductory formulae 'as it is written' (9:33) and 'the Scripture says' (10:11). Thus, Paul presumably thinks of Isaiah 28:16 as a prediction which is fulfilled in his day. Paul seems to refer to the stone laid in Zion to Jesus Christ. However, a careful consideration is required for that reference because there are several differences between Paul and the original text.

Before Paul, the LXX translators have already made several alterations of the Hebrew text of Isa 28:16. They read the Hebrew שִׁב (be ashamed) instead of שִׁח (haste) and so rendered the Geek words, οὐ μὴ καταισχυνηθῆ. They also added ἐπ' αὐτῷ (in him) where the Hebrew means simply 'he that believes.' Nevertheless, in both texts, there is an element of promise for those who believe in God's plan of laying a foundation stone (MT) or in the foundation stone itself

(LXX). However, Paul's use of Isa 28:16 follows the language of the LXX translators by using the phrases, 'in him' and 'will not put to shame.'

The addition of ἐπ' αὐτῷ 'in him' to ὁ πιστεύων 'he who believes' (Isa 28:16) in the LXX is probably one of the examples of interpreting the 'stone' image as a 'messianic' figure. Moreover, in the LXX, Isa 8:14 has possibly been interpreted with a messianic expectation when it says 'if you shall trust him' which sounds more promising and less threatening than the original text.

Moreover, Paul has replaced, as Cranfield states, part of Isa 28:16 with some words from Isa 8:14, and thus the general meaning of Isa 28:16 that is the promise for the one who believes has been radically altered.⁵³⁶ By adding the words 'stumbling' and 'offence', Paul conflated a foundation stone (Isa 28:16) with a stumbling stone (Isa 8:14) together. Thus, the foundation stone placed by God in Zion becomes a figure bearing both promise and threat for those who believe and those who reject. Paul's quotation, therefore, appears to consist of the opening line of Isa 28:16 (I lay in Zion – MT),⁵³⁷ a fragment of Isa 8:14 (a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence - MT),⁵³⁸ and the last line of Isa 28:16 (he that believes on him shall by no means be 'ashamed' – 'καταισχυθη' - LXX).⁵³⁹ The foundation stone (Isa 28:16) is, therefore, identified with a stumbling stone (Isa 8:14).⁵⁴⁰

As far as the 'stumbling stone' is concerned, Paul's idea is closer to the Hebrew text than to the LXX⁵⁴¹ because in LXX Isa 8:14 expresses a challenge with conditional clause 'if' which suggests the possibility of averting judgement. In the MT it is a prediction of judgement on Israel, warning that they would stumble and fall over the Lord himself.⁵⁴² However, the major difference, obviously, appears to be the last part of Isa 28:16. שִׁיֵּן אֵלַי אֶבְנֵי מְצֻלָה means 'shall not make haste' is changed to οὐ μὴ καταισχυθη which means, 'shall by no means be ashamed.' The omission of μὴ in Paul does not change the original meaning.

⁵³⁶ Cranfield 1979, 511.

⁵³⁷ Paul substituted the LXX first line of Isa 28:16, which says, ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιων for ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιών. Thus, Paul has obviously taken the first line of Isa 28:16 from the MT in order to emphasize the fact that the stone, which is Jesus for Paul, was placed by God himself in Zion as a foundation stone.(Stanley 1992, 121)

⁵³⁸ The idea of the stone having a 'negative' role is taken from certain key words like 'stumbling' and 'offence' from Isa 18:14 because Paul's concern here is to bring out Israel's stumbling. (Morris 1988, 376)

⁵³⁹ Evans 1984, 565. Dunn insists that the ground for the combination of two passages of Isaiah was the mention of λίθος and of trust ἐπ' αὐτῷ in each passage.(Dunn 1988a, 584)

⁵⁴⁰ Evans 1984, 565.

⁵⁴¹ Moo 1996, 629.

⁵⁴² Käsemann suggests that both passages from Isaiah 'deviate considerably for the LXX and are closer to the original, which the LXX has altered.' (Käsemann 1973, 278)

Koch insists that Paul's preference of the word 'ashamed' to 'haste' and the use of 'in him' make it clear that Paul's base text is the standard LXX.⁵⁴³ However, Paul's selection of limited words from the LXX seems less obvious than his main idea about the stone which, according to God's intention, has both a negative as well as a positive role in relation to Israel. Stanley proposed that 'Paul's quotations of Isaiah's passages as being drawn from a LXX version that has been revised toward a 'proto-Masoretic' Hebrew text.'⁵⁴⁴ However, it is also possible that Paul as a Pharisee who knows the Hebrew texts very well has modified the wordings of the LXX to be closer to the original Hebrew text in order to make more sense to his argument.

Paul also uses the last part of Isa 28:16 in Rom 10:11 where he says, '*The Scripture says, 'No one who believes in him will be put to shame.'*' In both passages, Paul seems to be talking about two ways of seeking the righteousness of God, namely, through faith in Jesus and through works of the Law.⁵⁴⁵ Moreover, the same two passages are used in 1 Peter 2:6-8 together with Ps 118:22 in the middle. In 1 Peter 2:6-7, the three passages about stone (Isa 28:16; Ps 118:22; Isa 8:14) are used from a positive point of view that the stone is described as a chosen and precious cornerstone (that is Christ) on which the believers are built as living stones (1 Peter 2:4-5).⁵⁴⁶ Thus, it is generally suggested that the stone and rock metaphors in the Scriptures of Israel refer, for both Paul and Peter, to Christ and his Church. Whether or not this suggestion is possible, the use of the same Isaiah's passages found elsewhere other than the New Testament needs to be investigated.

5. The Different Interpretations of the 'stone' passages

Isaiah 28:16 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery)

לכן כה אמר אדוני יהוה הנני מיסד בציון אבן בחן
פנת יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לוא יחיש

Translation

Therefore thus says the Lord God, behold, I am laying in Zion a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious cornerstone of sure foundation; whoever believes will not be in panic.

The Targums of Isaiah 28: 16 says,

Therefore thus says the LORD God, 'Behold I am appointing in Zion a king, a strong, mighty and terrible king. I will strengthen him and harden him,' says the prophet, 'and the righteous who believe in these things will not be shaken when distress comes.'

⁵⁴³ Stanley 1992, 125. n 125.

⁵⁴⁴ Stanley 1992, 119-125.

⁵⁴⁵ Evans 1999, 91.

⁵⁴⁶ Michaels 1988, 103.

Isa 8:14 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery)

והיא למקדש ולאבן נגף ולצר מכשול לשני
בתי ישראל לפח ולמוקש ליושב ירושלים

Translation

He will be a sanctuary but also a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

The Targum of Isaiah 8:14 says,

And if you do not attend, his Memra will become among you an avenger, and a stone of smiting and a rock of stumbling to the two houses of the princes of Israel, a breaking and stumbling, because those of the house of Israel have been divided against those of the house of Judah that dwells in Jerusalem.

From reading all the above texts, the differences in different translations of each text are obvious although Paul alone was the one who mixes them together as a quotation. Dinter has suggested the reason for Paul's mixture of Isa 28:16 and 8:14 is Paul's 'textual and thematic association (known as 'tallying') of the 'stone of stumbling' (8:14) and the 'chosen stone' (28:16).'⁵⁴⁷ In agreement with Dinter, Evans states that because of the catchword 'stone', Paul links the two passages together to clarify 'both Israel's unbelief and stumbling, on the one hand, and the Gentiles' faith and righteousness, on the other.'⁵⁴⁸ He also adds the phrase, 'whoever believes in him [or it] will not be put to shame' (Isa 28:16). In fact, Isa 28:16 plays an important part in Paul's argument about how Gentiles become righteous by believing in 'the stone' because that stone, which God has laid in Zion, is the crucified and resurrected Christ whom many Jews have rejected.⁵⁴⁹

As far as the conflation of the two Scriptural texts is concerned, two views have been proposed. The first view suggests that the conflation of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 has been already in use in the oral tradition of the Church.⁵⁵⁰ This view came out of the investigation of the use of the mixture of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14 elsewhere in the New Testament. The nearest example is found in 1 Peter 2:4-8 where the author of the book uses Isaiah 28:16, Ps 118:22 and Isa 8:14 and identifies the stone with Christ. However, unlike Paul, the author of 1 Peter does not combine the two passages from Isaiah. He combines Isaiah 28:16, in fuller form, with 8:14 but puts Ps 118:22 in the middle. The combination of Isaiah 28:16 with Ps 118:22 can also be found in Barn. 6:2-4. In

⁵⁴⁷ Dinter 1983, 49.

⁵⁴⁸ Evans 1999, 125.

⁵⁴⁹ Evans 1999, 125.

⁵⁵⁰ Stanley 1992, 52. And also see, Dunn 1988a, 593.

Lk 20:17-18, Ps 118:22 is combined with Isa 8:14. Thus there was probably a collection of 'stone' testimonies made early and used in Christian circles for apologetic use.⁵⁵¹

In the post-exilic period, Zechariah has read Isa 8:14 as referring to the 'representative figure' who will become the foundation of Israel's renewed life. According to Zech 12:3, Jerusalem being commissioned by God will become a stone of offence to the Gentiles, in the same way as God himself was once already an offence to the people of God.⁵⁵² Thus, the 'stone' as referring to a 'representative figure' for the salvation of the people of God but the offence of the Gentiles has been used before Christian times. It is also obvious that the readers of Isaiah 18:16 and 8:14 had made alterations and adaptations when they used them.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, by referring Isa 28:16, the council of the community or the eschatological Qumran community is described as 'tried wall, the precious corner-stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place' (1QS 8: 7-8).⁵⁵³ 1QH 6,26-27 also identifies the eschatological community with the building which is founded on rock and tried stones.⁵⁵⁴ Obviously, the Qumran community has, therefore, interpreted the 'stone' image in Isa 28:16 as referring to itself and so regarded itself as the eschatological Israel, as God's true temple.

The eschatological interpretation of the 'stone' can also be found in the Old Testament literature, particularly, in the book of Daniel. In Dan 2:34f, a 'stone' is, in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, identified with an eschatological kingdom without any human agency. Again, in Dan 2:44f, the dream is interpreted as the establishment of God's kingdom.

In the Targum of Isaiah 28:16, 'a stone' seems to refer to either 'a historic king' or 'a messianic king.' In his notes on Isaiah 28:16, Chilton writes 'the 'strong, mighty and terrible king' through whom the exile comes is, no doubt, the Roman Emperor, perhaps Vespasian in particular.'⁵⁵⁵ However, the phrase, 'a cup of cursing', which is commonly used to refer the final judgement of God upon the Gentiles is similarly used to refer to the 'retribution of Israel' in Targum Isa 28:13. Thus, one can also assume that 'the king' mentioned in Targum Isa 28:16 would refer to the

⁵⁵¹ Dunn 1988a, 584; See Lindars 1961, 169-183, for more detail about the Christian apologetic use of the Old Testament 'stone' metaphor.

⁵⁵² *'On that day I will make Jerusalem a heavy stone for all the peoples; all who lift it shall grievously hurt themselves. And all the nations of the earth will come together against it'* (Zech 12:3). Knight 1969, 177-79

⁵⁵³ Vermes 1997, 109.

⁵⁵⁴ Vermes 1997, 273.

⁵⁵⁵ Chilton 1987, 57.

messianic king.⁵⁵⁶ Evans asserts that ‘the stone’ in both Isa 28:16 and 8:14 in Targum refers to ‘the messianic figure’⁵⁵⁷ even though there is no certain evidence to support his assertion. However, in the original Hebrew text, it is clear that ‘the stone’ refers to Yahweh himself (Isa 8:14) and the trust and faith of the people of Judah was the requirement of Isaiah in Isa 28:16. Thus, usage of the ‘stone’ image and interpretation of Isa 28:16 and 8:14 indicate that the identification of stone with a ‘messianic’ figure or an eschatological event or with a ‘historical’ figure was common before, during and after Paul’s day.

6. Paul’s Prophetic re-application of Isaiah 28:16 and 8:14

In Romans 9:30-10:13, Paul explains the reason his kinsfolk failed to recognise Jesus in whom God’s righteousness has been revealed. Paul accepts the fact that his kinsfolk were very zealous in seeking God’s righteousness through the law. But that same law was, for Paul, all along leading to faith in Christ. Christ is the end of the law. The real inner meaning of the law is, for Paul, Christ. Thus, those Gentiles who believe in Christ have sought the righteousness, which the Jews are seeking but failed to find. The meaning of righteousness here refers not to moral righteousness but to the righteous status in God’s sight. Thus, for Paul, believing in Christ is the only way to obtain the ‘righteous status’ before God (9:30).⁵⁵⁸ And Paul asserts that,

‘Israel who pursued the righteousness which is based on law did not succeed in fulfilling that law. Why? Because they did not pursue it through faith, but as if it were based on works. They have stumbled over the stumbling stone, as it is written, ‘Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall; and he who believes in him will not be put to shame.’ (Rom 9:31-33)

Romans 9:31-3 has been understood as Paul’s accusation of his kinsfolk as a race of self-righteousness. Many suppose that ‘if it were based on works’ means ‘the righteousness could be earned by effort. The Jews have thought that they all made the effort and so had succeeded. Thus, the Jews have regarded themselves as righteous.’⁵⁵⁹ However, it sounds as though Paul is blaming his kinsfolk for obeying the law. Did he really mean obeying the law as negative as self-righteousness? Paul does not seem very negative about his kinsfolk’s zeal for the Law. In fact, Paul accepts the fact that the law was given to the historical people of Israel to help her in her seeking for righteousness before God (Rom 7:7-23). The law is therefore the law of righteousness because it leads them in the life of righteousness before God and furthermore

⁵⁵⁶ Targum Isa 28:13a says, ‘And this will be the cup of their retribution, because they transgressed the word of the Lord, even because they were commanded to perform the law and what they were commanded they did not wish to do; therefore they will be handed over to the Gentiles, who do not know the law.’ (Chilton 1987, 55.)

⁵⁵⁷ Evans 1984, 565, n 18.

⁵⁵⁸ Cranfield 1979, 505-7.

⁵⁵⁹ Sanders 1991, 120.

shows them the way to this righteousness in 'faith.' Thus, pursuing the law is, for Paul, not wrong because it points out the way to be righteous before God. Unfortunately, the majority of his kinsfolk have somehow failed altogether to grasp the real meaning of the law and to render to it true obedience even though they have zealously pursued it.⁵⁶⁰ It is, therefore, clear that Paul was not accusing his kinsfolk of pursuing the law earnestly. What he blames was the way in which they pursue the law. They have pursued the law as 'if it were based on works' rather than 'through faith.' For Paul, if his kinsfolk had pursued the law 'through faith', they would truly grasp it.⁵⁶¹ In 9:30-33, Paul, therefore, seems to be dealing with 'faith' versus 'works' in Romans. His kinsfolk have not pursued righteousness according to 'faith' but according to 'works.' For Paul, faith in Christ is distinguished from works of Law. His kinsfolk had failed to distinguish two approaches to righteousness. Christ has brought to expression the true approach to the law and righteousness. Apart from Christ, for Paul, the righteousness they have found is the wrong righteousness.⁵⁶² Paul's kinsfolk have failed to recognise Christ who is the real meaning and the goal of the law, and have rejected him. Thus, they have stumbled over the 'stumbling stone' that is, for Paul, Christ (1 Cor 1:23).

For Paul, his kinsfolk stumbled on the stumbling stone, which God placed in Zion. If they had believed in him, they would not have been put to shame. In Romans 9:32b, it is clear that 'stumbling stone' means, for Paul, 'Christ.' The stone in Isaiah's passage, as Barrett writes, refers to 'Jesus Christ himself, who has the double effect of creating both offence and faith.'⁵⁶³ Thus, in Romans 9:32b-33, Paul adds an explicitly Christological dimension to the definition of the disobedience of majority Jews and of the obedience of some Gentiles which he has discussed in Rom 9:30-32a.⁵⁶⁴ The relationship to Christ is the means for both obedience and disobedience: those who have believed in him would not have been put to shame whereas those who have rejected have stumbled over him. In fact, as Ziesler describes, 'the stone over which the majority of Jews have stumbled is the same stone that the Christian have taken as their foundation stone.'⁵⁶⁵ However, how Paul understood and reapplied the prophetic message into his message requires the study of each word in his quotation.

The 'stone of stumbling' was no doubt the idea behind Paul's selection of Isaiah's passages. 'Zion' was a highly regarded term for the Jews because it recalls God's covenant with David that his throne shall rule Zion forever (2 Sam 7:13,16; 1 Kgs 9:5). According to Isaiah 2:3 many

⁵⁶⁰ Cranfield 1979, 508.

⁵⁶¹ Cranfield 1979, 509.

⁵⁶² Evans and Porter 1995, 90-1.

⁵⁶³ Barrett 1957, 194.

⁵⁶⁴ Cranfield 1979, 512.

⁵⁶⁵ Ziesler 1989, 254.

people (nations in LXX) will come and seek the word of the Lord from Zion in order to be taught the way of the Lord so that they may walk in the paths of the Lord. Whether or not Paul had this idea in mind is not clear. If he had, he would probably have understood Jesus as ‘the foundation stone’ which is laid by God to be His word that is the law. If so, Paul’s use of the term ‘Zion’ can be understood as an eschatological interpretation of the law. However, there is no clear evidence which proves what was Paul’s idea behind his use of the term ‘Zion.’ Paul had, presumably, in mind the importance of the term ‘Zion’ for his kinsfolk for their call to be God’s people as well as the inclusion of the Gentiles in God’s mountain or city.

The Greek word, προσκόπτειν, means ‘to strike against’, and πρόσκομμα means ‘offence, obstacle, hindrance.’ σκάνδαλον, means ‘that which gives offence and causes revulsion, that which arouses opposition, an object of anger or disapproval.’ The stone, which was laid in Zion as a ‘foundation and corner stone,’ has become a ‘stone of stumbling.’ Dunn asserts that ‘the same image of stone has different and even opposing meanings is precisely what Paul needs for his apologetic at this point of his argument.’⁵⁶⁶ For Paul, the stone is not only a ‘stumbling stone’ but also a ‘foundation stone’ that gives the assurance that ‘the one who believes in him (‘in it’ in MT) will never be put to shame. Thus, Paul probably means that the Gentile Christians who build on the sure foundation of Christ are delivered from shamefulness whereas the majority who have stumbled over Christ would be ashamed when they stood before God.’⁵⁶⁷

The same quotation from the last part of Isaiah 8:14 is used again in 10:11. Thus, Isaiah’s two passages provide a significant christological basis for Paul’s discussion of Israel’s failure to recognise the Gospel and the inclusion of the Gentiles in God’s people even though Paul changed the literal meaning of the ‘stone’ in Isaiah. Paul identifies ‘the one who believes in Christ will not put to shame’ with ‘the one who believes will be saved’ in 10:13 which reflects a soteriological dimension.⁵⁶⁸ In Isaiah, ‘the stone’ in 8:14 refers to ‘Yahweh’ himself and Isaiah’s main message was the need for ‘trusting’ or ‘faith’ in God. This is also the theme of Isa 28:16. In Romans, ‘Christ’ becomes ‘the stumbling stone’ for the Jews whereas he is ‘the foundation stone’ and ‘corner stone’ for the Gentiles who believe in him. Thus, literally, Paul does not follow what Isaiah really meant. He changes the aspect of the people of Judah’s faith in Yahweh to the faith of both the historical Israel and the Gentiles in Christ.

Furthermore, in Rom 10:11, Paul quotes the last part of Isa 28:16 which says, ‘Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυθήσεται.’ The word, πᾶς is neither

⁵⁶⁶ Dunn 1988a, 585.

⁵⁶⁷ Morris 1988, 376.

mentioned in Isaiah's text nor in Romans 9:33. Paul adds the word 'everyone' to emphasize the inclusiveness of the Gospel in his argument in Rom 10:12f. Thus, 'the one' in Isaiah's passage has been changed to 'everyone'. By doing so, Paul has altered the original meaning of the prophetic message where 'the one' was meant for someone in the historical people of Israel. For Paul, 'everyone' means 'no distinction' among human beings. There is, for Paul, 'no distinction' between Jews and Gentiles if they believe in Christ who is the same Lord for all (10:12).

7. Conclusion

There is a continuity and consistency in Paul's discussion on who are the people of God and on what ground they become the people of God based on his reading and interpreting of Isa 10:22-23, 1:9 and 28:22 in Rom 9:27-29 and a mixture of Isa 28:16 and 8:14 in Rom 9:33 and Isa 28:16 in Rom 10:11.

According to Scriptures, particularly the prophecies have clearly foretold that not only Jews but also the Gentiles were called to be the people of God (Rom 9: 14). Not all the descendants of Abraham are called to be God's people. There would be only the remnant, a few who were actually left from the rest (Isa 10:22-23, 1:9). Then by using a midrashic interpretation Paul explains the reason why the rest were not chosen. Paul reuses Isaiah's prophecy as his explanation that they have stumbled over the stone that is Christ.

Hosea had also predicted that God would call those who are not His people, that is the Gentiles. Paul also clarifies how Gentiles are included among the people of God. For Paul, Isaiah's prophecies have not only foretold about those who were stumbled but also those who would believe in the stone. Thus, for Paul, 'faith in the foundation stone' is the only access to becoming the people of God.

Theologically, Paul, therefore, follows the original meaning of the two texts in which Isaiah calls for his people to turn to God in 'faith' and 'trust.' In Romans, 'turning to God' means 'faith in Christ.' In order to be saved from total destruction, in Isaiah, 'trusting in God' is the only means. Likewise, 'faith in Christ' is, for Paul, the only means for 'salvation.' Thus, by using a 'midrashic interpretation', Paul contemporised Isaiah's two messages for two different situations in order to reapply them prophetically for his current situation.

God's people were, in Isaiah, the historical people of Israel who trusted in God whereas Paul reapplied the prophetic meaning as referring to the ecclesiological community of the Church for their trust or faith in Christ. By using a 'pesher interpretation, Paul applies the 'stumbling-stone'

⁵⁶⁸ Evans and Porter 1995, 91.

in Isaiah's prophecy to 'Jesus' whereas in Isaiah 'the stumbling stone' refers to God himself. Thus, it is clear that Paul interprets Isa 28:16 and 8:14 eschatologically and Christologically. Furthermore, he appropriates or reapplies Isaiah's prophetic oracles as his own to remind his kinsfolk who put their trust in the Law instead of trusting in Christ, 'the foundation stone' laid by God himself.

In Rom 10:11, by quoting Isa 28:16 Paul claims that Christ is the true ground of security for salvation. In his choice of the word, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ Paul shows how Isaiah's message makes clear Hosea's message of the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God. For Paul, God's words are ever faithful and dependable. God has laid a foundation stone that is Christ for 'everyone' and 'everyone' who believe in him will be saved. God is the Initiator. He has revealed Himself in the person of Christ. 'Trusting in Christ' is the only access to be the people of God.

F. Many, who were disobedient and obstinate people

As far as the majority of the Jews, who had rejected the Gospel, were concerned, Paul was convinced they were a disobedient and rebellious people (Rom 10:21). Because of their disobedience and rebellion, they could not find God. Instead, God was found by those who did not seek him (Rom 10:20). For Paul, his kinsfolk were actually seeking God but could not find him. Here, Paul might have been thinking of his previous discussion where he accused his kinsfolk of pursuing righteousness by works, rather than by faith (Rom 9:32). For that reason his people could not find the righteousness of God revealed in Christ, and one cannot obtain it by works but only by faith in Christ. For Paul, 'every one who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved' (Rom 10:13). Then, Paul points out the importance of 'calling on', which comes from 'believing in', which is from 'hearing the proclamation of the Gospel.' The Gospel that is Christ has been proclaimed, preached by the apostles and so heard and probably understood by his kinsfolk yet they denied it (Rom 10:16-19). For Paul, there are two reasons why his kinsfolk have stumbled over 'Christ.' On the one hand, they were a 'disobedient and obstinate' people as foretold by Isaiah (Rom 10:20-21//Isa 65:1-2). On the other hand, God has hardened the majority of Jews so they neither see nor hear the Gospel (Rom 11:8// Isa 29:10).

Paul reads Isa 65:1 as referring to the Gentiles but 65:2 to the Jews of his day. He introduces Isa 65:1 with an unusual introductory formula, 'Ἡσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει 'Isaiah was so bold as to say that.' Paul remarks that 'Isaiah was so bold as to say that Yahweh was sought and found by the people who neither asked nor sought him.' Paul regards, 'the people who neither asked nor sought' as referring to the Gentiles of his day even though Isaiah meant the people of Israel who were seeking Yahweh in the wrong way.

Cranfield asserts that the term, ἀποτολμα indicates ‘the psychological state of Isaiah’⁵⁶⁹ but Dunn insists that the term probably indicates ‘the boldness of Isaiah’s prediction.’⁵⁷⁰ Chae has proposed a different view that ‘the boldness is to be attributed to Paul himself’ because it is Paul ‘who makes an assertion offensive to Jews by strikingly modifying the context of the quotation for his own argument.’⁵⁷¹ For Hall, the use of the term ἀποτολμα expresses one of Paul’s ways of reading the Scriptural texts as a charismatic exegete. Hull insists that the terms, κραζει, προείπηκεν and ἀποτολμα are the emphatic exclamation or charismatic ‘aha!’⁵⁷² Steve Motyer asserts that ‘the term ἀποτολμα is used to point out the contrast between Isaiah and Moses, although Isaiah puts the point more forcefully that Paul has just been making from Dt 32.’⁵⁷³ For Paul, Scriptures predicted that ‘God would make Israel jealous through those who are not a nation’ (Dt 32:21). Thus, Paul’s remark about Isaiah’s ‘boldness’ is attributed to his interpretation of Isaiah’s message in 65:1 as a fulfilment of Dt 32:21. For Paul, the Gentiles’ acceptance of the Gospel was God’s plan to make historical Israel jealous as described in the law (Dt 32:21), and confirmed by the prophet Isaiah when he says ‘Yahweh was found by those who did not seek him’ (Isa 65:1). Käsemann, agreeing with Motyer, also asserts that ‘the intensifying of what has been said in v. 20 (cited from Dt 32) is indicated by ἀποτολμα.’⁵⁷⁴ Paul’s unusual introductory, therefore, indicates not only the intensifying of the fact that Gentiles are called to make the people of Israel jealous but also the seriousness of how Isaiah interprets the Deuteronomic tradition into the contemporary situation. Presumably, Paul is pointing out the shocking fact that God has revealed Himself to Gentiles who were not seeking Him but hidden Himself from His own people who zealously sought Him.

1. Which Text Did Paul Cite?

Isaiah 65:1-2 (MT)

נְדַרְשָׁתִי לְלוֹא שְׁאַלוּ נִמְצָאתִי לְלוֹא בְקִשְׁנִי
 אֶמְרָתִי הִנְנִי [הִנְנִי] אֶל-גּוֹי לֹא-קָרָא בְשִׁמִּי:
 פִּרְשָׁתִי יָדִי כָל-הַיּוֹם אֶל-עַם סוֹרֵר הַהֲלֹכִים 65:2
 הִדְרֹף לֹא-טוֹב אַחַר מַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם:

Translation

I am sought of them that asked not for me; I am found of them that sought me not: I said, behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was called by my name. I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walks in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts.

⁵⁶⁹ Cranfield 1979, 540.

⁵⁷⁰ Dunn 1988b, 626.

⁵⁷¹ Chae 1997, 35.

⁵⁷² Hall 1982, 193.

⁵⁷³ Motyer 1989, 120.

Isaiah 65:1-2 (LXX)

ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν εὐρέθην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν [εἶπα ἰδοὺ εἰμι τῷ ἔθνει οἱ οὐκ ἐκάλεσάν μου τὸ ὄνομα]
ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα [οἱ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ ἀλλ' ὀπίσω τῶν ἀμαρτιῶνά των]

Translation

I became manifest to them that asked not for me; I was found of them that sought me not: I said, behold, I am here, to a nation, who called not on my name. I have stretched forth my hands all day to a disobedient and obstinate people, to them that walked in a way that was not good, but after their sins.

Romans 10:20-21

Ἡσαΐας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει, Εὐρέθην [εν] τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶσιν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει, Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα..

Translation

Then Isaiah is so bold as to say, 'I have been found by those who did not seek me; I have shown myself to those who did not ask for me.' But of Israel he says, 'All day long I have held out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people.'

Paul's emphasis in Rom 10:20-21 is on the 'stubbornness of his kinsmen' even though he reads Isa 65:1 as implying the Gentiles. Then, in order to make clear his point, Paul introduces Isa 65:2 πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει with an emphasis 'to Israel.' In Romans 10:20, except for the insertion of the preposition ἐν, Paul's quotation follows the LXX of Isaiah 65:1a, with a reversal of verb order. In LXX, the verbs ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν 'the manifestation of God to those who did not seek him' comes first whereas Paul starts with the verb, Εὐρέθην 'I was found' without moving the verb ζητοῦσιν 'seek.' In the MT, 'revealing to those who did not ask' comes together first, and 'found by those who did not seek' comes later. In the LXX, the order of the text had already been inverted, 'inquiring and asking' first and then 'finding and seeking followed.' In the LXX, the verb 'revealed' is put together with the verb 'sought' and the verb 'found' with 'asked for.' But in the MT and Paul, 'revealed and asked for', 'found and sought' are used together. Thus, Paul's verb order seems to be closer to MT than LXX in a logical sense even though he starts with 'finding and seeking' first, followed by 'revealing and asking.' It has been suggested that there was possibly another Greek version,

⁵⁷⁴ Käsemann 1973, 297.

which has already restored the text according to the Hebrew Text, which was disrupted in the LXX. But there is no evidence so far for this assertion.⁵⁷⁵

Cranfield asserts that in Romans ‘the verbs have probably been transposed for the sake of a more satisfactory progression, since that which is manifest does not need to be found, while that which is found is not necessarily manifest.’⁵⁷⁶ Paul seems to reverse the order of the verbs to suit his whole argument in which his kinsmen were seeking God’s righteousness but did not find him because they were seeking to establish their own righteousness (Rom 10:3). For Paul, God’s righteousness is revealed in the person of Jesus Christ. In believing in Christ, God is found by those who did not find him. God has revealed himself in Christ for those who do not ask for him. By faith in Christ, God is found and revealed. For Paul, the Jews were seeking God in the wrong way through the law. They did not realise that Christ is the end of the law. Christ is God’s true revelation and only in him can God be found. Isaiah 65:2 describes a disobedient people as those who walk in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts. Thus, Paul probably chose the verbs ‘seeking/finding’ first in connection with what he had just said about the Jews seeking God’s righteousness to establish ‘their own’ (10:3) and Isaiah 65:1-2 where the idea of ‘seeking/finding’ according to ‘their own way’ is also found. Nevertheless, the reversal of verb order does not change the meaning of the original Hebrew text.

The Hebrew root word **ררס** means ‘rebellious’ and ‘stubborn’ and these words are interchangeably used with the word ‘disobedient’ to describe the character of the people of Israel toward Yahweh (Isa 1:23, 30:1). Thus, it is possible that the LXX translator deliberately used two verbs at the same time to reflect the original Hebrew word. In Romans 10:21, except that **“Ολην την ημεραν** has been placed forward at the beginning, agrees exactly with the LXX of Isa 65:2a. Paul may have moved the phrase to emphasise ‘all day long’ which refers to the continuing nature of Yahweh’s mercy towards his people who were continuously disobedient from the time of the prophets up to Paul’s day.

2. Isaiah 65:1-2 in other Writings

The Targum of Isaiah 65:1-2 reads,

I was asked of by my Memra by those who did not [truly] ask before me; I sought teaching of my law from those who did not seek my fear. I said, ‘Here am I,’ asked of continually all the day, to a people who did not pray in my name. I sent my prophets all the day to the rebellious people, who walk in a way that is not correct, following their own conceptions.

⁵⁷⁵ Stanley 1992, 145.

⁵⁷⁶ Cranfield 1979, 540.

Obviously, many changes have been made in the Targums. It seems that Targum Isaiah 65:1-2 is an interpretation of the original text to suit their own situations. There are omissions and additions, too. 'Memra' is substituted as 'a means of access to God.'⁵⁷⁷ It omits one of the 'here I am' phrases in v.1, and 'the spreading of God's hands' in v.2. 'I sent my prophets' is substituted in the place of 'I spread my hands' at the beginning of v.2.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery, Isaiah 65:1-2 reads,

נדרשתי ללוא נמציתי ללוא בקשוני אמרתי הנני הנני אל גוי לוא קרא בשמיא
פרשתי ידי כול היום אל עם סורה ההולכים הדרך לוא טוב אחר מחשבותיהמה

Translation

I let myself be sought out by those who did not ask me, be found by those who did not seek me. I said, 'Here I am, here I am,' to a nation that did not call on my name.

I held out my hands all day long to a disobedient people, who walk in a way that is not good, pursuing their own inclinations.

The Dead Sea Scrolls Isaiah does not seem to differ from the MT. Thus, it might have followed a different proto-MT text different from the one LXX follows. However, there is evidence of Isa 65:1a as applied to the Gentiles in the fourth century CE rabbinical writing, Str-B, 3:285, where R. Tanchuma (ca. 380 CA.E) cites Isa 65:1a as applying to Rahab the harlot and Ruth the Moabitess.⁵⁷⁸

3. The Context of Isaiah 65:1-2

Isaiah 65:1-2 is God's answer to the intercession of the prophet in chapters 63 and 64. The prophet describes the sins of his people and God's mercy upon them in the old days and presents the present situation that God has hidden his face from His people. He asks, '*Where are your zeal and your might? (63:15) 'Why, O Lord, do you make us wander from your ways and harden our hearts so that we do not revere you? (63:17)*

In 65:1-2, God gives the answer to all those questions, saying, '*I let myself be inquired of those who asked for me not, I was found by those who sought me not; I said, behold me, behold me, unto a nation that did not called on my name. I have spread out my hands all day unto a rebellious people, which walks in a way that was not good, after their own thoughts.*' And then idolatry is given as the reason why the people did not find God even though they sought him (65:3b-5). The author of Isaiah 65 describes what went wrong in the relationship between Israel and her God. The cultic rites of paganism such as 'offering sacrifices in the gardens', 'burning incense on bricks', 'eating swine's flesh and broth of abominable things' were described as commonly practised and 'provoked' God's face (v. 3ff).

⁵⁷⁷ Chilton 1982, 63.

The Hebrew verb **שׁוּר** literally means ‘care about’, ‘inquire or require of’, ‘consult’, ‘ask’, or ‘seek.’ In the Old Testament, the verb can be found in legal usage in which God ‘requires something’ from his people such as ‘shed blood’ (Gen 9:5), ‘offerings’ (Ezk 20:40), or ‘obedience to a prophetic word’ (Dt 18:19). In Micah 6:8, ‘to act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God’ is described as Yahweh’s requirement from his people. The verb is also found in a covenantal usage that described the people of God either seeking God or inquiring of him for a specific answer. In this usage, ‘seeking’ is regarded as ‘a privilege and responsibility of belonging to the covenant community.’⁵⁷⁹ Especially, in Dt 4:29, ‘seeking Yahweh’ is described as the key to recovery after forfeiting the land for apostasy. It also denotes ‘a way of identifying faithfulness’ (1 Chr 22:19) and the key to blessing (2 Chr 14:7; 17:5). The outcome of ‘seeking Yahweh’ is that ‘Yahweh is found’ (2 Chr 15:2, 15). Yahweh promises that he will be found when his people seek him with their whole heart (Jer 29:13).

There are at least nine Hebrew words that can be translated ‘seek.’ The most frequently used are **בָּקַשׁ** and **שׁוּר**. They are used in the sense of ‘seeking God/ Yahweh.’ The author of Isaiah 65:1 also uses both verbs. It is possible that Dt 4:29 was in the author’s mind because both verbs are also used there. Dt 4:29 says, ‘*But from there you will seek [בָּקַשׁ] the Lord your God, and you will find [מָצָא] him, if you search after [שׁוּר] him with all your heart and with all your soul.*’ In Jer 29:13, the two verbs are also used together to emphasize on ‘returning towards God with penitence.’ In Zeph. 1:6, the verbs are used together to emphasize ‘a person’s specific concern in the inquiry of Yahweh as associated with repentance. Generally, in the prophetic thought, ‘seeking God’ means to be in constant fellowship with God, to observe his commandments, and to practice love and justice. ‘Seeking God’ especially requires turning from one’s wicked ways and worshipping God alone in humility. Sacrifices cannot therefore be a means of access to God for those who do not turn from evil ways and repent.’⁵⁸⁰

The use of niphals **נִדְרַשְׁתִּי** (let myself be sought) and **נִמְצָאתִי** (let myself be found) indicates Yahweh as the speaker who expresses his eagerness and readiness to be sought and found of a nation that did not call on His name. Isa 65:1-7 can be regarded as Yahweh’s reply to the extended prayers of chapters 63-64 because it follows immediately after the questions at the end of chap. 64 where the prophet asks, ‘*After all this, O Lord, will you hold yourself back? Will you keep silent and punish us beyond measure?* (64:12) Those questions seem to echo a complaint that the people of Israel have been seeking their God but could not find him because it

⁵⁷⁸ Cranfield 1979, 540. See also, Dunn 1988b, 626.

⁵⁷⁹ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 995.

⁵⁸⁰ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 721-6.

was Yahweh who held himself back from his people as punishment for their sins. But God answers that He was not the one who held himself back but instead his outstretched hands are still held out with affection towards his people who turned their faces away from him by practising idolatry. He was always ready to be inquired of and sought by (even) a nation that did not call on his name.

The use of **הַגִּי** twice makes clear the intensity of God's willingness as well as readiness to be sought and found even by 'a nation' that did not call on his name. The Hebrew word **גִּי** is generally used to designate 'nation', 'people' or 'community' of both Israel (Ex 19:6) and non-Israelites (Gen 10; Isa 2:2-4). The use of **גִּי** for Israel often indicates the 'sinful and rebellious' nature of the people of Israel (Dt 32:28; Isa 1:4, 10:6; Jer 12:17; Ezk 2:3).⁵⁸¹ It is therefore possible to read **גִּי** in Isa 65:1 as referring to the 'community of Israel' or 'Gentile community.' Preferably, it probably indicates 'some of Israel' who did not call on Yahweh's name.

Two different views have been suggested in connection with **לֹא-קָרָא בְשִׁמִּי**. Many commentators read 'a nation' as referring to the people of Israel by reading 'that did not call on my name'⁵⁸² whereas a few commentators, following, 'that did not call on my name' have suggested that 'a nation' was meant to be the Gentiles.⁵⁸³

The use of the Hebrew verb **קָרָא** in combination with **בְּשֵׁם** 'on the name' or 'by the name' indicates an expression of worship of Yahweh or 'Yahweh worship' (Gen 12:8; 26:25; Ps 79:6; Jer 10:25).⁵⁸⁴ Thus, the phrase, 'a nation that did not call on my name' probably indicates either 'a Gentile nation' that did not practice 'Yahweh worship'⁵⁸⁵ or 'Israel who failed to worship Yahweh' (Isa 64:7; 64:7[6=MT&LXX]). The combination of the verb **קָרָא** with **בְּשֵׁם** also expresses the meanings: 'to ask Yahweh's help' (1 Kgs 18:24; Zech 13:9) or 'to intercede with Yahweh' (2 Kgs 5:11; Ps 99:6).⁵⁸⁶

J A Motyer asserts that 'the words to a nation that did not call on my name could not at any point be used as a description of Israel, for there were always those who did call.' He also declares that 'the MT text, which reads 'to a nation not called by my name' excludes a reference to Israel. ... a reference here to Gentiles fits the pattern of the whole.'⁵⁸⁷ However, if one takes Isa 65:1 as a

⁵⁸¹ Brown 1999, 156.

⁵⁸² Miscall 1993, 144. See also, Dunn 1988b, 342. Smart 1967, 276. Hanson 1995, 243.

⁵⁸³ Motyer 1993, 523.

⁵⁸⁴ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 972.

⁵⁸⁵ Motyer 1993, 523.

⁵⁸⁶ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 972.

⁵⁸⁷ Motyer 1993, 523.

response to the prophet's intercession (Isa 63:15-64:12), then 'a nation' was probably meant for 'some of Israel' who did not ask for Yahweh's help like the prophet and others who did. Yahweh's invitation, 'I said, here I am, here I am' also indicates that 'a nation' also knows 'who Yahweh is.' It is unlikely that someone would say 'here I am, here I am' to a person who has never known him or her before. It is only possible to say, 'I said, here I am, here I am' to a person who has already known him before and is now looking for him or her but cannot find him or her. Thus, Motyer could be wrong to read Isa 65:1 as referring to the 'Gentiles.' Instead, 'a nation that did not call by my name' probably means 'some of Israel', those who knew Yahweh but did not ask for Him. The combination of 'calling' with the 'name' is also used in 63:19 and 64:7 (6 in the MT&LXX). In Isa 63:19, the author describes the people of Israel as those 'over whom Yahweh has never ruled, like those who are not called by Yahweh's name.' But, in 64:7, the author says that 'no- one calls upon Yahweh's name' among Israel. Thus, 'a nation that did not call by my name' in 65:1 might have been meant to refer to the same people of Israel just mentioned in chapters 63 and 64. This view is affirmed by the next verse, where the people of Israel are described as a 'stubborn and obstinate' people to whom 'Yahweh's hands are held out all day long.'

The Hebrew verb, פָּרַשׁ literally means 'spread out.' The combination of the verb פָּרַשׁ with the object יָד 'hand' indicates 'praying with uplifted hands'⁵⁸⁸ and so is used to describe 'a gesture of supplication.'⁵⁸⁹ The Hebrew phrase כָּל-הַיּוֹם literally means 'all the day' or 'all day long' which probably indicates 'Yahweh's continuous longing' for 'a response' from His people.⁵⁹⁰ Thus, it was not Yahweh, who silently hid His face from His people but He is instead begging them to return to Him.

The description אֶל-עַמֵּי סוֹרֵר 'to a stubborn people' probably refers to the 'community of Israel' whom the author has just mentioned in 63:19, 64:7 and 65:1. The Hebrew word עַם literally means 'kinsmen' or 'people from the same family.'⁵⁹¹ The Hebrew word סוֹרֵר means 'stubborn' or 'rebellious.' In the Old Testament, the term is used to describe the 'rebellious attitude' of the people of Israel rather than the 'rebellious deed.'⁵⁹² Isa 65:2 therefore indicates that 'Yahweh is spreading out His hands and pleading for His stubborn people to come back or turn to Him.' But his people's stubbornness has been just as long-standing regardless of Yahweh's 'longsuffering patience'⁵⁹³ (59:1-2). They did not walk in Yahweh's way but made their own plans and

⁵⁸⁸ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 700.

⁵⁸⁹ Oswalt 1998, 636.

⁵⁹⁰ Motyer 1993, 524.

⁵⁹¹ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 429.

⁵⁹² VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 298.

⁵⁹³ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 700.

followed their own ways with their stubbornness (30:1). The people of Israel have known what Yahweh's way is and what His will for them is but stubbornly chose to go their own way. It is not that Yahweh is unresponsive but His people have, with their stubbornness, chosen their own ways planned by their own thoughts, which continually provoke Him to His very face (65:3a).

4. Paul's prophetic reapplication of Isaiah 65:1-2

In Romans 10:16-19, Paul gives three reasons for the fact that 'not all Israelites accepted the Gospel. First, it has already been predicted in Isaiah's prophecy when he asked, 'Who has believed what we have heard?' (Isa 53:1a). Isaiah's question reflects the fact that not all Israelites believed in what the prophets proclaimed in Old Testament times. Second, the rejection of the majority of the Israelites was not because they did not hear and understand the message but because of Yahweh's purpose to 'stir His people to jealousy by those who are not His people' (Dt 32:21; Isa 65:1). Third, the majority of Israelites were 'stubborn and obstinate' people as Isaiah has prophesied in his time (Isa 65:2). For Paul, the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of his kinsmen was the fulfillment of the prophecy in which the stubbornness of the people of Israel became a new instrument for Yahweh in dealing with His covenant with Abraham to be the blessing of the nations.

For Paul, his kinsmen have heard and understood the Gospel but they refused to accept or believe it as predicted both in the law (Dt 32:21) and the prophets (Isa 65:1-2). Paul obviously reads Dt 32:21 and Isaiah 65:1-2 as referring to his current situation in which the majority of Jews have rejected the Gospel whereas the Gentiles have accepted and believed in it. For Paul, the Gospel had been proclaimed to his kinsmen and they have heard and understood but refused it. Paul understood the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews as God's plan to use the stubbornness of the Jews as a means of calling the Gentiles to be His chosen people. Thus, the same answer to the question of why Yahweh cannot be found by His own people became relevant again as an answer to Paul's situation in which most of Yahweh's chosen people cannot find Him in Christ. For Paul, his kinsmen as Yahweh's chosen people should have known the Gospel since the Gospel had already been preached to them first. But they refused to accept it. Thus, God has called the Gentiles to be His people in order to make the Jews jealous. Through Moses, God has already told Israel that He will make her jealous of those who are not 'a nation.' For Paul, what Moses predicted came true in his day. For him, 'a nation' mentioned by Moses refers to the Gentiles. The inclusion of the Gentiles in God's people aroused the Jews to jealousy and caused them to respond in wrath against Paul's Gentile mission. Paul cites Isa 65:1a where

God describes Himself as being found by those who did not seek Him, and He revealed himself to those who did not ask for him in order to support his argument.

Thus, Paul chooses Isaiah 65:1 as a witness to the fact that Moses' prediction, that the Gentiles will be called was also confirmed more forcefully by the prophet, particularly Hos 2:1a and Isa 65:1. The word connection between 'not a nation' (Dt 32:21), 'not my people' (Hos 2:1) and 'a nation' (Isa 65:1) could be another reason why Paul chose to bring Deut 32:21 and parts of Isa 65:1-2 together. For Paul, both prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah have been fulfilled in 'God's calling of Gentile Christians' even though in both Hosea and Isaiah, the message was meant to warn about 'the disobedience of the people of Israel.' Especially, in Isaiah's prophecy, 'Yahweh was telling His people who did not ask for him or seek him anymore (Isa 64:7) that He is continuously holding out His hands to them (Isa 65:1b). By citing Dt 32:21 first followed by Isa 65:1a, Paul is making his point clear that 'those who did not seek or ask for Him' refers to 'the Gentiles.' Thus, 'Israel must, Paul suggests, have known since God has actually been found by Gentiles who were not seeking Him.'⁵⁹⁴ For Paul, the Gentiles did not consciously look for God as the Jews did. But they have found God because He has revealed Himself in the Gospel to the people of faith.⁵⁹⁵ Paul's quotation (Isa 65:1a) can, therefore, be understood as a prophetic reapplication to warn the 'Jews of his own day that 'they should have recognised what is happening and how God was at work in the Gospel as foretold in their Scriptures.'⁵⁹⁶

The Greek word, εὕρισκω means 'find' or 'discover.' It is used both literally and figuratively to describe some one who 'finds something by chance or discovery' or who 'found something after seeking.' In the New Testament, 'Seeking and finding' or 'asking and revealing' are mostly used to indicate people's relationship to God. It seems that Paul uses the word in Romans 10:20 with a sense of 'discovery.' For him, the Gentiles had discovered the righteousness of God by faith in Christ without seeking for it like the Jews did. Isa 65:1-2 is used in reference to the response to preaching.⁵⁹⁷ Paul views his contemporary situation, in which many Jews have actively opposed the Gospel and even more Jewish Christians have simply failed to join in his Gentile mission, from the perspective of paradigmatic narratives about Israel in the Scriptures. So the question was raised that at times when Israel was on a course diametrically opposed to God's will, what happened? Paul therefore tries to answer this question from the perspective of God's agency.⁵⁹⁸ Paul raises the historical irony that indeed the Gospel has been preached but

⁵⁹⁴ Cranfield 1979, 541.

⁵⁹⁵ Morris 1988, 395.

⁵⁹⁶ Moo 1996, 663.

⁵⁹⁷ Lindars 1961, 244.

⁵⁹⁸ Stowers 1994, 299.

Israel, who was chosen to preach it as a light to the nations, did not even understand the message. The Gentiles have turned to God without Israel's lead but by faith in Jesus.⁵⁹⁹

The original prophecy had Israel in mind, but the language lends itself to being interpreted with regard to the Gentiles (cf. 9:30) and Jews who claimed themselves to be seekers of God (cf. 9:31; 10:2). Paul uses the text to show that the success of his own mission to the Gentiles falls within the prophetic traditions, even though it involves pulling Isaiah's text in different directions. Paul sees the Gentiles as those who do not seek and ask after the God of Israel.⁶⁰⁰ For Paul, the fact that Israel has heard the Gospel and understood it but rejected it, is proof that God's saving power works through faith.⁶⁰¹ For Paul, Isaiah foresaw the Gentiles' discovery of God despite their previous history of ignorance of God and of failure to seek him out.

Regardless of Jews' hatred towards the Gentiles, it must be noted that within the wider context of the Scriptures and 'intertestamental' literature as a whole, the expectation of the eschatological incoming of the Gentiles with the recognition of the God of Israel as the only God was well established.⁶⁰² The same prophet has also spoken about the disobedience and stubbornness of Israel and God's continued persistence in appealing to His unfaithful people. Thus, Israel ought to have recognised the perfect match between such a Scripture and the situation at present resulting from the Gentile mission of the believers in Jesus as Messiah. Those who knew the Scripture could not put forward the excuse that they never knew nor heard the word of faith in Christ.⁶⁰³ Paul's application of Isa 65:1 to the Gentiles could be based on the language of 'those who did not seek me.' The wording of the quotation refers back to the very beginning where Paul insists that 'Gentiles who did not pursue righteousness have attained it, that is, righteousness through faith' (9:30). Paul uses Isa 65:2 to refer to God's constant offer of grace to His stubborn people and stresses particularly God's continuing concern for Israel.⁶⁰⁴ By citing Isa 65:2, Paul reminds his kinsfolk of their part in the responsibility for their stubborn unbelief in the Gospel. At the same time, Paul seems to refer to the unfailing concern and faithful love of Yahweh upon His unfaithful people. Paul does not insist that because of the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews they were no longer the people of God. For Paul, the Christians composed of the 'remnant of Israel' and 'the Gentiles' were chosen by grace. Particularly, the Jewish Christians, for Paul, neither displace the Jewish people nor represent their fullness. Instead, they are the symbol of the continuing faithfulness of God to Israel and

⁵⁹⁹ Stowers 1994, 312.

⁶⁰⁰ Dunn 1988b, 626.

⁶⁰¹ Dunn 1988b, 627.

⁶⁰² Dunn 1988b, 631.

⁶⁰³ Dunn 1988b, 632.

⁶⁰⁴ Moo 1996, 669.

thus of Israel's priority in salvation-history and of its future eschatological deliverance as God's chosen people.⁶⁰⁵

Hays asserts that 'Dt 30:12-14 must for Paul somehow support an explanation – or at least a description – of how Israel and the Gentiles came to switch roles in the drama of election, and how Israel, despite its advantages and its intentional pursuit of the 'law of righteousness,' failed to grasp the law's real message.'⁶⁰⁶ For Paul, the Jews had heard the Gospel clearly (v. 18). The Gospel was, as Moses first indicated and later Isaiah indignantly explained, not difficult for the Jews to understand because the Gentiles, who were neither informed by a previous revelation nor trained by thinking about an insight into new truth,⁶⁰⁷ had understood and believed in it. However, the Jews themselves refused to believe (v. 21).⁶⁰⁸ It is not that Israel has not heard the Gospel but rather it has remained disobedient (10:21) while the Gentiles had also heard and obeyed it (10:20).⁶⁰⁹

Thus, as far as the Gospel is concerned, Israel, with its long line of prophets, its religious privileges and its divine teaching, has acted in ignorance. For Paul, the people of Israel have been the recipients of God's special self-revelation, and yet they have been uncomprehending. The ignorance which is blameworthy has been characteristic of them, but the ignorance which would have constituted an excuse they cannot claim. For Paul, as foreseen in Scripture, Israel must not only have known the Gospel, since Gentiles have found Israel's God through it and received His self-revelation even though they were not seeking Him but also must have recognised the Gentile mission in which Paul himself is engaged.⁶¹⁰ Dahl sees Romans chapter 10 as an explanation of the argument Paul has just made in chapter 9 that Gentiles who did not seek God have found him whereas Israel who sought Him has not found Him. He sees Paul's use of Dt 32:21 and Isa 65:1-2 as a confirmation of those factors.⁶¹¹ Guerra sees Paul's use of Isa 65:1-2 as Scriptural warrant for the Gentile mission (10:20) and Israel's current rejection of the Gospel (10:21).⁶¹²

Paul probably thought his situation was the same as the situation in which Moses was. Thus, his citation of Dt 32:21 allows him to warn both the Gentile Christians and non-Christian Jews. Calling the Gentiles was God's response to Israel's rebellion. Israel has broken her covenant

⁶⁰⁵ Elliott 1990, 269.

⁶⁰⁶ Hays 1989, 75.

⁶⁰⁷ Moule 1992, 186.

⁶⁰⁸ Bowen 1975, 143.

⁶⁰⁹ Longenecker 1991, 254.

⁶¹⁰ Cranfield 1979, 541.

⁶¹¹ Dahl 1977, 148-9.

⁶¹² Guerra 1995, 152.

relationship with Yahweh by her stubbornness to obey His word. Thus, God, in return, has called the Gentiles to be His people. Thus, the calling and blessing of the Gentiles is a warning for the Jews of their rebellious nature and at the same time it is a call to repentance which means returning towards God through faith rather than works of the Law.

Paul's description of the Gentiles as 'no people' and 'foolish people,' seems to remind his Gentile Christians of the fact that their calling was absolutely based on God's grace. They have discovered God although they neither sought Him nor asked for Him but because God has revealed Himself to them through Christ. Their calling is totally God's, and it is one of God's ways in dealing with His chosen people, Israel. If both Jewish and Gentile Christians thought of themselves as chosen to be the 'New Israel' to replace the historical chosen people of Israel, they needed to think again. The Jewish Christians were, for Paul, 'the remnant of Israel' left by God's mercy to prove God's unfailing love and faithfulness towards His people whereas the Gentile Christians were called to provoke the historical people of Israel to jealousy so that they might repent and come back to their God.

By citing Isa 65:1-2, Paul also seems to give warning to the historical Israel that 'the calling of the Gentiles' was foretold by the prophets in the Scriptures as God's judgement upon Israel's rebellion and stubbornness. By calling the Gentiles, God is, therefore, stretching out his hands to Israel and appealing to them to see what He is doing according to what He has told them before through the prophets. For Paul, the Gospel is intelligible because even foolish people like the Gentiles comprehend it but Israel does not want to understand it. Paul seems to assume that what Moses and Isaiah foretold about Israel was presently happening in his time. In the Gentile Christians, Jews saw the power of the Gospel, yet it provoked them to anger and jealousy and so they rebelled against and opposed it.

Furthermore, Paul prophetically seems to point out the fact that what was happening to the historical people of Israel will also happen to Christians as the new chosen people of God, unless they are faithful and obedient to the One who called them through Christ.⁶¹³ God's call to individuals totally depends on God's free will and choice but the one who is called needs to respond in faith.

Paul also seems to point to the fact that the callings of the Gentiles and the minority of the Jews were part of God's eternal purpose.⁶¹⁴ Paul understood 'calling' as 'the word of divine power' by which God calls into being the things that do not exist and by which He works what he

⁶¹³ Edwards 1992, 258.

⁶¹⁴ Barrett 1957, 206.

commands (Rom 4:17; 9:11, 25). This divine calling takes place through the Gospel in which God's electing grace is realised, not on the ground of human works and merit, but of his antecedent saving purpose (Rom 8:29ff; 9:12). However, the divine calling does not eliminate man, but demands of him obedience to the Gospel even though God is the one who, elects and is glorified, is the First and the Last (Rom 11:36).⁶¹⁵ Thus, the rejection of Christ in the Gospel by Jews indicates that they had failed to grasp the genuine message of the Torah and prophets. Their zeal for the law has missed the mark (Rom 10:1-3; 9:30-33; 11:6).⁶¹⁶ Through the 'works of the Law', the Jews were seeking the righteousness of their own, in other words, their seeking of righteousness through the works of the Law became the basis of their claim to have an exclusive relationship with God.⁶¹⁷ Their claim of possessing God's law and having an inclusive relationship with God, according to Beker, have construed the Law as a domain of segregation from the rest of mankind and as a tool that isolates God's grace as if it is a possession of a special people.⁶¹⁸ Instead, for Beker, 'they were chosen to be a manifestation among the nations through observing the Law as promise in faith just as their forefather Abraham did when God called him.'⁶¹⁹ Thus, for Paul God's call in Christ includes not only Jews but also the Gentiles and requires a response of obedience (Rom 1:5).

5. Conclusion

Paul again relates his use of Isa 65:1-2 to the discussion he has made before that 'not only Jews but also Gentiles are called' (Rom 9:14). For him, Gentiles were called to be the people of God by faith in Christ. However, Paul makes clear that their calling was the result of God's grace and mercy alone. Paul was convinced that Gentiles did not seek for God in Christ but God Himself let them find Him in Christ. Thus, there is no reason for the Gentiles to boast as being chosen by God. For Paul, the inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God indicates God's faithfulness to His covenant with Abraham. For Paul, as Isaiah foretold, Gentiles are privileged by God's mercy and faithfulness to His covenant people. God has stretched out His hands to His covenant people of Israel but they did not see Him. The Gentiles found Him instead by believing Christ as His revelation. However, God's covenant people of Israel did not see him because they were disobedient and stubborn. They walked in their own way that is 'the works of the Law' rather than seeking God's righteousness revealed in Christ. Thus, by citing Isa 65:1-2, Paul prophetically warns the Gentile Christians and at the same time accused his kinsfolk for their rejection of the Gospel.

⁶¹⁵ Ridderbos 1966, 235-6.

⁶¹⁶ Beker 1980, 336.

⁶¹⁷ Boers 1994, 136.

⁶¹⁸ Beker 1980, 336.

⁶¹⁹ Beker 1980, 336.

G. Many who were Hardened and Isa 29:10 in Rom 11:8

In Romans chapter 11, Paul asks a question, ‘Has God rejected His people?’ (9:1) Then he gives the assuring answer that ‘God has not rejected His people whom He previously chose’ (9:2a). For Paul, it is impossible for God to reject His chosen people regardless of their ‘rebellion and stubbornness’, which has resulted in their rejection of His revelation in Christ. The Scripture proves that God has never totally rejected His people (Rom 11:3-4). Paul regards the Jewish Christians as ‘a remnant’ left by God’s grace and an analogy with seven thousand men kept by God in Elijah’s days (1 Kgs 19:10-18). He identified the Jewish people who rejected the Gospel as ‘the rest who were hardened’ (Rom 11:7b). The Jewish Christians were kept by God’s grace for Himself not by their works. He then continues his explanation of the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews as ‘the plan of God’ by quoting Isaiah 29:10 together with Deuteronomy 29:4 (LXX, 3) as a Scriptural confirmation.

1. Which Text Did Paul Use?

Dt 29:3 (MT)

וְלֹא־נָתַן יְהוָה לְכֶם לֵב לְדַעַת וְעֵינַיִם לְרִאּוֹת
וְאָזְנִים לְשָׁמֹעַ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

Translation: Dt 29:4

But the Lord has not given you a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, until this day.

Dt 29:4 (LXX)

καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι
καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα ἀκούειν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

Translation:

Yet the Lord God has not given you a heart to know, and eyes to see, and ears to hear until this day.

Isa 29:10 (MT)

כִּי־נָסַף עָלֵיכֶם יְהוָה רוּחַ תְּרֵדָה וַיַּעֲצֶם אֶת־עֵינֵיכֶם
אֶת־הַנְּבִיאִים וְאֶת־רְאֲשֵׁיכֶם הִחֲזִים כֶּסֶף:

Translation:

For the Lord has poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and has closed your eyes; the prophets and your rulers, the seers has he covered.

Isa 29:10 (LXX)

ὅτι πεπότικεν ὑμᾶς κύριος πνεύματι κατανώξεως
καὶ καμύσει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν προφητῶν
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτῶν οἱ ὁρῶντες τὰ κρυπτά.

Translation:

For the Lord has made you to drink a spirit of deep sleep; and he shall close their eyes, and the eyes of their prophets and of their rulers, who see secret things.

Romans 11:8

καθάπερ γέγραπται, Ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως,
ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν καὶ ὠτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, ἕως
τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

Translation:

As it is written, ‘God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that do not see, and ears that do not hear until this very day.’

The Introductory Formula indicates that Paul’s argument about ‘Israel’s hardening’ as ‘the plan of God’ is supported by the Scripture that is the Law, the prophets and the writings (Ps 69:22-23 in Rom 11:9). The underlined words in bold type show that Paul’s Scriptural quotation is a conflation of words from Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10 by replacing ὑμῖν καρδίαν εἰδέναι καὶ with πνεῦμα κατανύξεως from Isa 29:10. The phrases, ‘the spirit of stupor or deep sleep’, ‘eyes that do not see’, ‘ears that do not hear’, and ‘until this day’ can be seen as appropriate words for Paul’s discussion about ‘hardening of hearts.’ The quotation also seems to be freely cited from Dt 29:4 but interpolated with the phrase πνεῦμα κατανύξεως from Isa 29:10. Paul uses ὁ θεὸς for κύριος ὁ θεὸς. He shifts the negative from the main clause οὐκ to the subordinate clauses μὴ ... μὴ. He also converts the personal pronoun from second-person plural ὑμῖν to third-person plural αὐτοῖς. He then substitutes σήμερον for ταύτης.⁶²⁰ All these changes do not seem to change the idea of ‘the spiritual insensibility’⁶²¹ of the people of Israel mentioned both in Deuteronomy and Isaiah.

However, the situation of the people in the message has changed. Originally, Dt 29:4 refers to the Israelites’ inability to perceive the meaning of Yahweh’s revelation, which was accompanied by ‘signs and wonders’, given to Moses.⁶²² For Moses, the people of Israel should have known such signs and wonders, which Yahweh has done to save them. He has delivered them from the bondage of Egyptian slavery and then kept them safe and provided whatever they needed in the wilderness for forty years. However, the people of Israel were still blind to what Yahweh has done for them. They were ungrateful to Yahweh with a resentful and rebellious manner. Thus, Moses reasoned that the stubbornness and disobedience of the people of Israel was God’s own plan. The people of Israel have experienced and seen what Yahweh has done but they did not understand its significance. The people of Israel did not understand because Yahweh has not

⁶²⁰ Stanley 1992, 158-63.

⁶²¹ Cranfield 1979, 550.

given them a mind to ‘understand’ or ‘perceive’ as a response to their lack of discernment. Yahweh has made their eyes not to see, and their ears not to hear. Obviously, ‘Seeing’ and ‘hearing’ take an important place in ‘perceiving’ what God has done and is doing.

Although the wording in Deuteronomy and Isaiah is different, it is possible that both of them follow the same tradition. The wordings such as ‘the spirit of deep sleep’ or ‘the spirit of stupor’ and the ‘hardening of the hearts’ of the people in Isaiah reflect the same idea of using the negative particle, which says ‘God has not given a mind to perceive’ in Deuteronomy. ‘Closing eyes’ and ‘covering heads’ have been substituted in the place of ‘seeing’ and ‘hearing.’ Wording such as ‘the rulers’ and ‘seers’ might have been originated from Isaiah himself because they were playing an important leadership role of the time.

However, in Rom 11:8, Paul seems closer to Dt 29:4 in his wordings. He chose to borrow only the words, πνεῦμα κατανύξεως from Isa 29:10 as the main support for his argument, ‘the hardening of the heart.’ His conflation of the texts follows, as seen, the LXX wording. Regardless of a few changes, Paul does not seem to betray the meaning of either Deuteronomy or Isaiah.

2. The concept of ‘Hardening of the heart’ in Isaiah

In his commission, Isaiah was told to initiate ‘the hardening of the hearts of the people of Israel.’ In his vision, God says, ‘*Go, and say to this people: Hear and hear, but do not understand; and see, but do not perceive.*’ *Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed*’ (Isa 6:9,10). Isaiah was sent to speak to the people of Israel who could actually ‘hear’ and ‘see’ but neither ‘understood’ nor ‘perceived.’ It probably means that they have a stubborn heart and moreover they do not want to listen (Isa 28:12, 30:9, 15). They do not regard the deeds of the Lord, or see the work of his hands (Isa 5:12b). Isaiah was commanded to make ‘the hearts of the people’ fat, their ears heavy, and to shut their eyes. As Wildberger describes, ‘the heart is the residence of insight and understanding.’⁶²³ Making the hearts of the people fat, their ears heavy, and eyes shut, obviously, means that God does not want His people to turn to Him. Thus, the concept of the ‘hardening of the heart’ is, for Isaiah, caused by God himself to His people in return for their ‘hardness and stubbornness’ to acknowledge God’s activity among them.

⁶²² Lindars 1961, 164.

The Greek word πώρωσις ‘hardening’ comes from πωρόω, which means ‘harden’ or ‘petrify.’ The word can be used figuratively to refer to the condition of the heart made ‘dull, undiscerning or blind.’⁶²⁴ In the LXX, πώρωσις is used interchangeably with πήρωσις which means ‘disabling’, or ‘short-sightedness’ or ‘blindness.’⁶²⁵ These terms are usually used to describe the ‘hardening’ of someone or a group of people from other nations for the benefit of God’s chosen people (Dt 2:30; 2 Chr 36:13). Thus, ‘the hardening of the heart’ caused by Yahweh for the people of Israel, was commonly understood. But Israel used to believe that only non-Israelites were hardened by Yahweh to fulfil His purpose for Israel even though she is described as ‘stiff-necked people’ (Ex 2:30; Dt 9:6,13; 31:27). For instance, the hardening of Pharaoh’s heart (Ex 7:13, 22; 8:15) is regarded as Yahweh’s act ‘to show His power to Pharaoh, so that Yahweh’s name may be declared throughout the earth’ (Ex 9:16).

Later in the time of the prophets, Israel is described as a ‘hardened people.’ Generally, ‘the hardening of the heart’ is understood to be ‘resulting from the fact that men persist in shutting off themselves to Yahweh’s call and command.’⁶²⁶ It indicates a state in which a person is no longer able to hear or see what Yahweh is doing. For Isaiah, the ‘hardening of Israel’s heart’ is, therefore, one of Yahweh’s ways of dealing with His people who were a ‘stiff-necked’ people (Isa 48:4). Thus, Yahweh’s word became a word of judgement by making them unable to hear, see and understand. Yahweh’s word will still be uttered but they will not be able to hear, see and understand it⁶²⁷. It is Yahweh’s punishment for His people for their ‘spiritual insensibility’ but this does not mean that it is the end of Yahweh’s dealing with His people. Rather, Isaiah seems, as Von Rad asserts, ‘to look at the hardening of the hearts of the people as an event, from which he looks out into the future.’⁶²⁸ It shows that Yahweh can also use a negative means in dealing with the salvation of His people.

The Hebrew word, רוּחַ תְּרִדָּה ‘the spirit of deep sleep’ is usually used as a means by which special revelation (Gen 15:12-21) or prophetic messages (Dan 8:18; 10:9) come from the Lord. Sometimes, Yahweh is described as the one who causes a deep sleep to fall upon the people in order to do His work without any interference (Gen 2:21; 1 Sam 26:12).⁶²⁹ However, the ‘spirit of deep sleep’ in Isaiah 29:10 bears a negative meaning of inducing the ‘seeing and hearing’ of the people to ‘blindness and deafness’, in other words, ‘hardening of the hearts.’

⁶²³ Wildberger 1991, 272.

⁶²⁴ Gingrich 1957, 739.

⁶²⁵ Gingrich 1957, 662.

⁶²⁶ Brown 1986, 154.

⁶²⁷ Brown 1986, 154.

⁶²⁸ Von Rad 1968, 126.

⁶²⁹ VanGemeren 1996, Vol.1. 1057.

Probably, the prophetic message in Isaiah 29:10, as Kaiser asserts, was ‘a reaction on the part of the prophet against the policy of alliance with Egypt.’⁶³⁰ It was uttered to the rulers of Jerusalem concerning their rebellion against Assyria in the period of 705-701.⁶³¹ In spite of Isaiah’s advice not to make an alliance with Egypt, the rulers of Jerusalem had carried out their policy. Yet, the danger, which Isaiah had predicted, has not come true. Thus, the rulers of Judah mocked him (Isa 28:9-13,14). Because of the ‘spirit of a deep sleep’, the people, for Isaiah, would not see, hear or know what is coming up ahead. Even the seers and prophets would not know because Yahweh had shut their eyes and covered their heads. The irresponsible action of the rulers and the leaders has made the people insensitive towards Yahweh’s message as though they can hear nothing and see nothing.⁶³² However, there will still be a time when Yahweh will open His people’s ears to hear new hidden things which they have never known or heard before for His name’s sake (Isa 48:6-11).

3. The ‘Hardening’ in other Writings

The Targum of Isaiah 29:10 says,

For the Lord cast among you a spirit of deception, and has hidden himself from you, the prophets, the scribes and the teachers who were teaching you the teaching of the law he has hidden.

Isaiah 29:10 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s monastery)

כי נסך עליכמה יהוה רוח תרדמה ויעצם את עיניכם
את הנביאים ואת ראשיכם החוזים כסה

Translation:

For the Lord has poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and has closed your eyes, you prophets; and he has covered your heads, you seers.

In the Targum Isaiah 29:10, the words and idea have been changed. It does not reflect the concept of the hardening of the heart. The prophets, scribes and teachers were told that the Lord cast among them the spirit of deception rather than ‘the spirit of a deep sleep.’ God has hidden the law from those who teach it. Thus, Targum Isaiah 29:10 reflects ‘the hidden-ness of God rather than ‘the hardening of the heart.’ The Dead Sea Scrolls Isaiah 29:10 of St. Mark’s monastery agrees exactly with the MT, and so reflects the idea of ‘the hardening of the heart.’

The concept of ‘hardening’ can also be found in intertestamental writings such as 2 Macc 6:12ff.; Wis 12:19ff.; Sir 5:4, and 4 Ezra. 7:17-25; 9:11, 14: 32 where God’s inactivity in current situations is explained as a ‘disciplinary period’ which allows His people to repent and turn back

⁶³⁰ Kaiser 1974, 271.

⁶³¹ Wright 1964, 70.

⁶³² Wright 1964, 71.

to Him.⁶³³ ‘Hardening’ is, for the apocalyptic writers, what happens when people refuse the grace and patience of God, and is the prelude to a final judgement, which will be seen to be just.⁶³⁴ Thus, the ‘hardening of the heart’ can be understood as a necessary means by which God ‘strengthens’ and ‘disciplines’ His people for their ‘spiritual insensibility.’⁶³⁵ In this way, the divine hardening of one part of Israel serves for the benefit of others.⁶³⁶ The idea of ‘the hardening of the heart’ is found in several places in the New Testament writings.

Isaiah’s call to make the hearts of the people ‘hardened’ is cited in Acts and Matthew. In Rome, Luke reports, there were ‘some, who were convinced by Paul’s Gospel whereas others would not believe’ (Acts 28:24). Luke cites Isa 6:9,10 as quoted by Paul, as his own comment on the response of the people of Rome to his preaching (Acts 28: 23-27). According to Matthew, Jesus also cites the same passage (13:15) as the fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy about the unbelief and unresponsiveness of the people of Israel to God’s word. The evangelist finds in Isaiah’s words an analogy of the rejection of Jesus.⁶³⁷ In John 12:39, the evangelist cites Isa 6:10 in order to point out the fact that ‘the Jews did not believe in Jesus, because they could not believe, as the Scriptures foretold in Isaiah.’⁶³⁸ The evangelist believed that it was Jesus Christ, whose glory Isaiah saw in his vision and who spoke to him to make ‘the hardening of the hearts of the people’ (Jn 12:40).

In 2 Corinthians, Paul attributes the failure of the Jews to recognize Jesus as the Christ to their failure to perceive the real meaning of the Law from the beginning.⁶³⁹ Thus, he says, ‘*But their minds were hardened; for to this day, when they read the old covenant, that same veil remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away*’ (2 Cor 3:14). In Exodus 34:34-5, the minds and hearts of the Israelites were, as Murphy-O’Connor states, ‘veiled because of their failure to perceive the significance of the fading glory of Moses’ face.’⁶⁴⁰ For Paul, Jesus is the only one who is able to lift the veil of spiritual blindness. Thus, Jews, who rejected the Christian Gospel, were still veiled with a spiritual blindness that is another way of saying that ‘their hearts or minds have been hardened.’⁶⁴¹ Thus, Isaiah’s ‘hardening of the heart’ is commonly used in the NT to explain the rejection of the Christian Gospel by the majority of Jews.

⁶³³ Wright 1992, 271.

⁶³⁴ Wright 1991, 247.

⁶³⁵ Nanos 1996, 262.

⁶³⁶ Longenecker 1991, 254.

⁶³⁷ Hagner 1993, 374.

⁶³⁸ Beasley-Murray 1987, 216.

⁶³⁹ Lindars 1961, 163.

⁶⁴⁰ Murphy-O’Connor 1991, 36.

⁶⁴¹ Witherington 1994, 53.

4. Paul's Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah's 'Hardening'

For Paul, 'spiritual insensibility' refers to 'the blindness and deafness' of Israel to the Christian Gospel in which the calling of the Gentiles to be God's people. God's original plan for calling the Gentiles to be His people was to make the ethnic Jews jealous of what God is doing with the Gentiles and that they might turn to God. Thus, Paul saw 'the calling of the Gentiles to be God's people' was the means for the salvation of Israel (Rom 11:11). For him, the 'spiritual insensibility' of his kinsfolk was part of God's plan in dealing with them concerning their disobedience and rebellion. The majority of Jews have rejected the Gospel because of 'their blindness' to what God was doing among the Gentiles. If they were sensitive enough, they would understand that the inclusion of Gentiles as God's people was the fulfilment of prophecy in Scriptures. However, they did not understand as they were supposed to. It was also, for Paul, God's doing among His people. It is God, who has hardened the majority of Jews by giving them 'the spirit of deep sleep' or 'the spirit of stupefaction' and who closes their eyes.

Paul's reconstruction from τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης to τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας probably indicates that Paul reads Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10 prophetically as still speaking to his present generation. For Paul, until the present day Israel still cannot see or hear and so they cannot perceive the essence of God's revelation in Christ.⁶⁴² By applying Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10 to the unbelieving Jews, Paul prophetically points out the judicial blinding of the Jews⁶⁴³ and warns them as well to realise the situation they are in. Paul identifies the unbelieving Jews with past generations, who lacked faith in God and constantly refused to listen to God's words uttered by the prophets.⁶⁴⁴ Nanos asserts that 'part of Israel have chosen not to believe and so God has strengthened them in their unbelief in order to call the Gentiles with the intention of making them jealous.'⁶⁴⁵ Sanders might be wrong in saying 'salvation, he (Paul) proposes, has come to the Gentiles first, in order to make Israel jealous. And so the plan of salvation has been reversed that the Gentiles may enter the people of God first.'⁶⁴⁶ In fact, salvation through faith in Christ has come to the Jews first. Only part of them (although they were the majority) refused it. Their refusal of salvation transferred salvation to the Gentiles. The reversal is not who receives salvation first but rather who is 'hardened' in order to 'strengthen' the 'rest' in God's salvation history. Here, Paul's prophetic reapplication obviously goes beyond Isaiah's message. In Isaiah, the people were 'hardened' because of their inability to recognize what God had done for them (Isa 29:10). Thus, the 'hardening' could be understood as God's impatience or even punishment for their

⁶⁴² Chae 1997, 257.

⁶⁴³ Ellis 1957, 87.

⁶⁴⁴ Soderlund 1999, 127.

⁶⁴⁵ Nanos 1996, 263.

‘blindness.’ For Paul, part of Israel were ‘hardened’ in a similar way to ‘pharaoh’ in order to save the ‘Gentiles’. Thus, the unbelief of ‘part of Israel’ is used as an instrument in calling the Gentiles to be God’s people.

For Paul, God himself has hardened part of Israel from seeing and discerning what God is doing with them by letting the Gentiles overtake Israel as God’s people in order to arouse their zeal and fidelity for Him.⁶⁴⁷ Paul saw that the inclusion of the Gentiles through faith in Christ among God’s people was God’s original plan when He called Abraham. Thus, the hardening of the hearts of the majority of Jews affirms God’s sovereignty and direction from the past to the present time.⁶⁴⁸ If God is sovereign over His creation (Rom 9:20-21), then everything must ultimately be shaped according to His will including the fate of certain Jews who have rejected His revelation in Christ.⁶⁴⁹ For they were very enthusiastic at seeking the righteousness of God. But they stood outside of grace because of their rejection of Jesus. In fact, the more they seek righteousness, the further they fell away from it. Thus, Paul reaffirms that it is God’s will that certain Jews would not comprehend God’s work in Christ by quoting Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10.⁶⁵⁰ For Paul, God’s word and will, proclaimed by the prophets as the division between the ‘remnant of Israel’ and ‘the rest’, are being fulfilled in his present situation.⁶⁵¹ But unlike in the old days ‘the hardening of the rest’ now becomes God’s tool for the salvation of the Gentiles.

Dahl asserts that ‘for Paul, however, this does not mean that God’s promise of salvation is taken from Israel and given to the Gentiles, but only that the order of events has been reversed.’⁶⁵² The distinction within Israel between the ‘elect’ and the ‘rest’, implicit throughout the discourse, is here explicitly reversed: the ‘Christians’ become ‘the elect’ and ‘Israel’ becomes ‘the rest.’ Thus, the religious distinction, which for Paul has a social manifestation in the present, is placed in a theological context by citing Dt 29:4 and Isa 29:10.⁶⁵³ Paul seems to affirm the Scriptural truth that God always does His work as He pleases by choosing some and hardening the hearts of some in order to fulfil his salvation action for His creation.⁶⁵⁴ Paul’s citations therefore reinforce the point that what is happening to the rest of Israel in the present is no different from what has happened more than once in the past. From past experience, Israel cannot deny that there have been times, when God Himself has prevented part of Israel from recognising the course and character of His purpose. Dunn also asserts that ‘Israel’s misunderstanding of and

⁶⁴⁶ Sanders 1991, 123.

⁶⁴⁷ Stowers 1994, 305.

⁶⁴⁸ Guerra 1995, 153.

⁶⁴⁹ Motyer 1989, 131.

⁶⁵⁰ Barrett 1957, 210.

⁶⁵¹ Motyer 1989, 132.

⁶⁵² Dahl 1977, 150.

⁶⁵³ Evans and Porter 1995, 89.

disobedience to the word of faith is the continuation and eschatological climax of a sustained lack of perception on Israel's part.⁶⁵⁵ For Paul, the word of faith is from the beginning the vital requirement for the people of God but Israel failed to meet. Some scholars suggest the hardening of the hearts as God's fair and just punishment for the rejection of His righteousness revealed in Christ.⁶⁵⁶ 'The spirit of deep sleep' suggests the positive idea that the divine hardening is not 'God's last word for his rebellious people'⁶⁵⁷ because there would naturally be a time to wake up after a deep sleep.

The divine hardening in Rom 11:7 is clearly intended to echo the equivalent language of Rom 9:18 where the description about the divine hardening of Pharaoh in dealing with His people is mentioned as 'whom he wills he hardens.' In 11:7, in the mysterious working of God's purpose of election, Israel itself is now experiencing the dark side of election.⁶⁵⁸ Paul maintains fully the human responsibility of both believers and unbelievers with regards to the Gospel. For him faith in Christ is identical with obedience whereas unbelief means a contradiction and disobedience. He also speaks of unbelief as a blinding and qualifies it as a consequence of God's righteousness and hardening, which functions as a means in God's redemptive history.⁶⁵⁹ In Rom 9:16-17, Paul reminds his readers of the fact that part of the historical Israel is responsible for their stubbornness in rejecting the Gospel of Christ⁶⁶⁰ by using an analogy of Pharaoh, whose heart was hardened by God because of his stubbornness to let Israel go (Ex 8:15). At the same time Paul seems to be warning his readers not to be stubborn in obeying the will of God, that is to do what is good and right without conforming to the world (Rom 12:2).

5. Conclusion

Paul's use of Isa 29:10 presents the reason why the majority of Jews did not accept the Gospel. Paul understood that most of his kinsfolk rejected the Gospel because their hearts were hardened. Paul was convinced that the hardening of their hearts was the result of their disobedience and stubbornness towards their God. They emphasized the practice of the Law (probably food laws and circumcisions!) to seek their own righteousness rather than recognizing and believing in Christ, the revelation of God's righteousness. Regardless of their disobedience and stubbornness, God has revealed Himself in Christ Jesus. Still, they refused to see it. Thus, Isaiah's prediction was fulfilled in them that they became the ones whose hearts were hardened by God to see no more of what God is doing among the Gentiles.

⁶⁵⁴ Bowen 1975, 147.

⁶⁵⁵ Dunn 1988b, 649.

⁶⁵⁶ Hays 1989, 163. See also Morris 1988, 403.

⁶⁵⁷ Cranfield 1979, 550.

⁶⁵⁸ Dunn 1988a, 522.

⁶⁵⁹ Ridderbos 1966, 352.

⁶⁶⁰ Hawthorne 1993, 228.

By using a peshar interpretation, Paul identifies those who rejected the Gospel with those who had chosen to be disobedient to Isaiah's message. Paul understood the hardening of the hearts of most of the Jews in his day as a theological one. Paul was making a point that the faithfulness of God to His covenant people would never fail. The present refusal was the result of God's response to their disobedience towards him. Thus, God used their rebellious and disobedient nature as an instrument in calling the Gentiles to be His people. Paul also indirectly identifies his call for apostolic preaching with Isaiah's call to preach to the people of Judah so as to harden their hearts. And then, Paul reminds his fellow preachers of the reality that not many of the hearers would reject the Gospel.

H. The Messengers of Good Tidings and Apostolic Preaching

In Rom 10:14-17 Paul discusses the significance of 'the apostolic preaching' in the process of believing in Christ with a sequence of four rhetorical questions and answers from the Scripture. The questions are raised in reverse order: '*How are men to call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how are they to believe in him of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without a preacher? And how can men preach unless they are sent?*' The rhetorical questions indicate that believing necessitates hearing of the word, which in turn needs to be preached by someone who also has to be sent by someone. For Paul, as Fee has suggested, 'Christian life begins with the hearing of the Gospel, which both precedes faith (Rom 10:14) and is accompanied by faith.'⁶⁶¹ In order to focus on the one who preaches the Gospel of Christ in the process of hearing, Paul, by using his usual Introductory Formula, 'as it is written', paraphrases Isa 52:7 as a foreshadowing of the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Rom 10:15).⁶⁶²

1. Which Text Did Paul Use?

Isa 52:7 (MT)

מה-נָאוּוּ עַל-הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מְשָׁמֵיעַ
שְׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב מְשָׁמֵיעַ יְשׁוּעָה אֹמֵר לְצִיּוֹן
מִלֵּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ:

Translation:

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that brings good tidings,
that publishes peace, that brings good tidings of good, that publishes salvation,
that says unto Zion, Your God reigns!

⁶⁶¹ Fee 1994, 848.

⁶⁶² Hays 1989, 45.

Isa 52:7 (LXX)

Πάρειμι ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρέων ὡς πόδες
εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος
ἀγαθὰ [ὅτι ἀκουστὴν ποιήσω τὴν σωτηρίαν σου λέγων Σιων
βασιλεύσει σου ὁ θεός.

Translation:

I am present, as a season of beauty upon the mountains, as the feet of one preaching glad tidings of peace, as one preaching good news: for I will publish your salvation, saying, O Zion, your God shall reign.

Rom 10:15

πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν; καθὼς γέγραπται,
'Ὡς ὠρῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων [τὰ] ἀγαθὰ..

Translation:

And how can they preach if they are not sent? As it is written, 'How beautiful are the feet of the one who brings good news!'

Paul's quotation of Isaiah 52:7 is seen as closer to the MT than to the LXX.⁶⁶³ Ellis argues that Paul would supposedly have direct resort to the Hebrew for this quotation.⁶⁶⁴ Others have posited reliance on an early Aramaic Targum.⁶⁶⁵ Presumably, Paul would also have Nahum 1:15 (LXX 2:1) in his mind.⁶⁶⁶ Nahum 1:15 says, '*Behold, on the mountains the feet of him who brings good tidings, who proclaims peace! Keep your feasts, O Judah, fulfil your vows, for never again shall the wicked come against you, he is utterly cut off.*' But Stanley argues that 'Paul has relied on a revised Greek text for his quotation of Isaiah 52:7, including the initial substitution of ὠραῖοι for ὥρα.'⁶⁶⁷ However, omission and substitution of words can be understood as Paul's own idea to suit his arguments.

2. The Messengers in Isaiah 52:7

In the original context, the people of Israel were in Babylonian Exile. They were desperate and depressed by the fact that they were under the control of a foreign nation. However, for Deutro-Isaiah, the time of stress was over and the good news was that Yahweh has achieved his victory over Babylon, and so a messenger of good tidings approaches the Holy City with the news that the King is on his way, soon to make his entrance. In Rom 10:15, Paul refers the passage to the preachers of the Christian evangel.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶³ Barrett 1991, 190.

⁶⁶⁴ Ellis 1957, 14 n.5.

⁶⁶⁵ Toy 1884, 150.

⁶⁶⁶ Dunn 1988b, 621.

⁶⁶⁷ Stanley 1992, 137.

⁶⁶⁸ North 1952, 126-7.

In the Old Testament, there is a relation between the word ἀποστέλλω or πλῶ ‘sent’ and the call of the classical prophets. Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were ‘sent’ by Yahweh to speak for Him (Isa 6:8; Jer 1:7; Ezk 2:3).⁶⁶⁹ In the Gospels, the apostles are ‘sent’ by Jesus to preach (Mt 10:5; Mk 3:14; 6:7,12; Lk 9:2; Jn 20:21). Luke even records Jesus as describing his mission as ‘sent, by God the Father into the world to preach about ‘the kingdom of God’ (Lk 4:18, 43). He also uses ἀπόστολος and προφήτης in tandem (Lk 11:49).

In the Old Testament, the word πλῶ is used to describe ‘the sending of a messenger.’⁶⁷⁰ It is commonly used in the visions of prophetic calls or commissions and in the introduction of many of the prophetic oracles (2 Sam 7:4-5; Isa 6:8; Ezk 2:4).⁶⁷¹ It is also used for an ordinary messenger who carries the news of births and of battles. The authority of a messenger is to be found in the one who sends him (Gen 16:7-13; 48:15-16; 1 Sam 8:7).⁶⁷²

The exile is over, and the people were called to return to Jerusalem. The return to Zion is described in terms of a great pilgrimage to the Holy City as well as a great victory of God over all those who have oppressed His people. Deutero-Isaiah was convinced that during the pilgrimage of the people to Zion the Lord will go before them and will also be their rear guard as he was in the wandering through the wilderness in the days of Moses.⁶⁷³

In fact, Isaiah 52:7-10 is recognised as a joyous celebration of the Lord’s salvation of Zion in which Deutero-Isaiah gathers many of the positive themes and images of 40-51. Especially, in 52:7, Deutero-Isaiah probably cites Nahum 1:15 (LXX 2:1), which ‘celebrated the defeat of Nineveh by Babylon in 612 BCE. Nahum’s similarity to Deutero-Isaiah in circumstances and theme render it quite amenable for adaptation.’⁶⁷⁴ Nah 2:1(LXX) says ‘*Look, there on the mountains, the feet of one who brings good news, who proclaims peace! Celebrate your festivals, O Judah, and fulfil your vows. No more will the wicked invade you; they will be completely destroyed.*’ Isa 52:7 expands on the first line of this announcement: ‘*How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of those who bring good news, who proclaim peace, who bring good tidings, who proclaim salvation, who say to Zion, ‘Your God reigns!’*’

⁶⁶⁹ Soderlund 1999, 117.

⁶⁷⁰ Anderson 1962, 99.

⁶⁷¹ Anderson 1962, 100.

⁶⁷² Anderson 1962, 101-105.

⁶⁷³ Wright 1964, 128.

⁶⁷⁴ Miscall 1993, 123.

According to Willey, Deutero-Isaiah ‘enlarges on Nahum by repeating each of the two participles, מְבַשֵּׂר (‘messenger’) and מְשַׁמְּיעַ (‘proclaimer’).⁶⁷⁵ Willey asserts that ‘the additional objects, טוֹב (‘good’) and יְשׁוּעָה (‘salvation’) that arise step by step from the first object, שְׁלוֹמִים (‘peace’), are supplied as the culmination of the good news that was the content of the message itself: מַלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ (‘your God reigns’).⁶⁷⁶ Willey regards מְבַשֵּׂר as the common usage for Nahum and Deutero-Isaiah when he asserts, ‘the term מְבַשֵּׂר itself occurs only three times outside of Deutero-Isaiah and Nahum. Both of their messages celebrate the announcement of the defeat of conquering cities.’⁶⁷⁷

The feet of those who ‘herald good tidings’ in Nah 1:15, and Isa 40:9 are described as beautiful. The beauty resides in action, in announcing peace and salvation.⁶⁷⁸ Like Nahum’s messenger of peace, who once proclaimed Assyria’s defeat in 612 BCE, the messenger of good tidings now proclaims Babylon’s forthcoming defeat. The messenger’s arrival is announced as if he were already visible (‘look!’) although the deliverance is still beyond the horizon, seen only with prophetic expectation. For Isaiah, the then historical event of the replacement of Assyria by Babylon in 612 BCE had proved the vulnerability of world power. For Isaiah, this historical event may therefore have supplied hope for the exiles’ future. If Nineveh was no greater than Thebes, the strong city that fell (Nah 3:8-10), surely Babylon was no greater than Nineveh. For Isaiah, the fall of Nineveh, as Willey asserts, had given ‘an historic significance on the new events.’⁶⁷⁹ However, Isaiah’s main message seems to be the fact that ‘Zion’s God reigns.’

‘God reigns’ may signify that the restoration of Jerusalem inaugurates the reign of Yahweh; possibly, however, the phrase echoes a cultic refrain, which will be renewed in the restored temple.⁶⁸⁰ These same themes were central in certain Temple services of worship in pre-exilic Jerusalem.⁶⁸¹ Whether the prophet identifies himself with the messenger of good tidings is not clear; it seems that he envisages others who will announce the event when actually it arrives. The messenger in Isa 40:9 was Zion-Jerusalem. Thus, for Isaiah, he sees the most beautiful sight in the world, the feet of a messenger running with good news, with the greatest news in the history of Israel.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁵ Willey 1997, 117.

⁶⁷⁶ Willey 1997, 117.

⁶⁷⁷ Willey 1997, 118.

⁶⁷⁸ Miscall 1993, 123.

⁶⁷⁹ Willey 1997, 119-20.

⁶⁸⁰ Mckenzie 1968, 124.

⁶⁸¹ Miscall 1993, 123.

⁶⁸² Mckenzie 1968, 124.

The word, 'נאה' 'fitting', is used only here and in Songs 1:10 and Ps 93:5. The exhortation to 'get up on a high mountain' is here an accomplished reality. It was a messenger, who carries a message of 'good tidings, peace, and salvation.' It is possible that the messenger came from Babylon to proclaim good news to the people of Jerusalem because the mountains are round about Jerusalem (Ps 125:2). He arrives breathless, all the way from Babylon- breathless with news, finally blurting out the only thing that matters: 'Your God reigns.' The message is an encouraging one, a good one, and most welcome. The content of the message was defined: peace, goodness, and salvation. Your God reigns! Peace has returned to the empire and so to Jerusalem.

According to Isa 44:28 and 45:1, Yahweh has chosen Cyrus to be his servant in order to save His people from exile. For Isaiah, by choosing Cyrus, Zion's God has shown that he does in fact reign.⁶⁸³ In the ancient world, the victory and defeat of a particular nation were equally regarded as the victory and defeat of the god of that particular nation. Thus the whole point of the glad shout on Israel's watchtowers after the defeat of Babylon is that that event will demonstrate Israel's God to be the true king, and Babylon's to be a mere idol.⁶⁸⁴ Moreover, the messenger's good news would encourage the people of Judah to hope for the renewal of the covenant relationship between Yahweh and themselves. Yahweh has overcome the god of Babylon and will rule His people as King Himself. Thus, the message of the messenger brings a great joy to the people.

3. The Messengers in other Writings

Paul was not the only person who used Isa 52: 7, it also can be found in the Targums as well as in the Dead Sea Scroll.

Isa 52:7 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery)

מה נאוו על ההרים רגלי מבשר מבשר
שלום משמיע טוב מש ישועה אומר לציון מלך אלוהיך

Translation

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the one who brings news of peace, who announces good things, who announces salvation, who says to Zion, 'Your God reigns!'

In 11Q13: 15, it is also used:

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger, who announces peace, who bring good news, who announces salvation, who says to Zion: Your divine being reigns.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ Watts 1985, 216-7.

⁶⁸⁴ Wright 1992, 473-4.

⁶⁸⁵ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 457.

Then the author gives the interpretation of Isa 52:7 like this:

‘This Scripture’s interpretation: ‘the mountains are the prophets’, they who were sent to proclaim God’s truth and to prophesy to all Israel. The messenger is the Anointed of the spirit, of whom Daniel spoke, ‘after the sixty-two weeks an Anointed one shall be cut off’ (Dan 9:26). The ‘messenger who brings good news, who announces salvation’ is the one of whom it is written ‘to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour, the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all who mourn’ (Isa 61:2). . . ‘Zion’ is the congregation of all the sons of righteousness, who uphold the covenant and turn from walking in the way of the people. ‘Your divine being’ is Melchizedek, who will deliver them from the power of Belial.’⁶⁸⁶

The Targum of Isa 52:7 says:

How beautiful upon the mountains of the land of Israel are the feet of him who announces, who publishes peace, who announces good tidings, who publishes salvation, who says to the congregation of Zion, ‘The kingdom of your God is revealed.’

Paul’s reading which is different either from the Targum or the commentary of Dead Sea Scrolls indicates that Paul might have cited from merely his memory rather than any written text at hand. In 11Q Melch 15-17, the messenger is explicitly ‘designated ‘the Anointed of the spirit’⁶⁸⁷ but in Targum, the prophets were identified with the messengers.

4. Paul’s Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah’s Messengers

The Greek word, εὐαγγελιζομένων comes from εὐαγγελίζω which means ‘proclaim glad tidings’ or ‘bring good news.’ The Hebrew word רַשָׁא has the same meaning of ‘bring good tidings’ or ‘herald of glad tidings’ or ‘preaching the salvation of God’ (Nah 1:15; Isa 40:9). In Isa 61:1, it is used to describe one of the functions of a prophet sent by Yahweh. In the Targums, one of the functions of a prophet is explicitly described as ‘announcing good tidings to the poor’ (Tg Isa 61:1-2).⁶⁸⁸ Paul uses Isa 52:7 when he describes the messengers being sent to preach the Gospel of Christ (Rom 10:15). The apostolic preachers are, for Paul, those through whom Christ’s own word of salvation is spoken, otherwise faith in him is impossible. But those who ‘make proclamation’ must come not of their own choice or their own authority. Men call on the Lord because they hear; they hear because others preach; those preach because they are sent-by the Lord, with whom the whole process begins and ends. From Isaiah’s message, Paul was convinced that if there had been no preachers, Israel could not have been blamed for unbelief but Scripture itself shows that there are those who preach good news about the salvation of God.

⁶⁸⁶ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 457.

⁶⁸⁷ Wise 1996, 455.

⁶⁸⁸ Chilton 1987, 118.

Like Deutero-Isaiah, Paul interprets Israel's tradition of the call of the prophets to be messengers of God in the light of new divine eschatological acts of history and applies it to the apostolic preaching as the impending fulfilment of Deutero-Isaiah's eschatological promise of liberation.⁶⁸⁹ If the apostolic preaching is truly the fulfilment of the prophecy, then it is attested as a true κηρύσσειν, and this must mean that the preachers have been duly authorised and commissioned.⁶⁹⁰ Paul seems to use Isa 52:7 with a double meaning: that you cannot hear about Jesus Christ unless someone preaches the Gospel, and that no one can preach the Gospel unless he is sent by Christ. Thus for Paul since the existence of the messengers is noted in Scripture with approval, it cannot be doubted that they are true apostles.⁶⁹¹

Paul uses the term, 'messengers' only once in 2 Cor 8:23 to address representatives who accompanied the apostles in carrying the offering (2 Cor 8:18-24). But he does not identify the messengers with his own apostolic ministry or the preaching of other Christian evangelists. However, by appealing to Isa 52:7 he seems to point indirectly to it and at the same time be giving Scriptural approval to the true significance of apostolic preaching and its Gospel. Preaching denotes the action of a herald, someone who was given a message and told to proclaim it. The notion of a higher authority is thus implicit in the concept. Paul is saying that the preaching of the Christian message is impossible without divine commission.⁶⁹²

For Paul, preachers are spokesmen for Christ. The link between κήρυξ and ἀποστέλλειν is not accidental, since κήρυξ and the ἀποστολος are largely overlapping concepts. Paul's use of εὐαγγελιζέσθαι refers to the good news of Jesus Christ. This is perhaps then another case where Paul consciously sees the apostolic mission as sharing and completing that of the Messiah.⁶⁹³ Beker asserts that 'the 'Gospel' refers both to the content of preaching and the act of preaching.'⁶⁹⁴ Wright argues that 'in Rom 10:15, Paul also argues for the nature of his Gentile mission with the firmest possible theological basis by using Isa 52:7 where the return of Jerusalem and the renewal of the covenant was expected as in the gathering of the Gentiles.'⁶⁹⁵ The good news about the restoration from captivity in Isaiah's message is changed to the good news about the salvation through Jesus Christ. Thus the function of the quotation is to make a

⁶⁸⁹ Beker 1980, 116.

⁶⁹⁰ Cranfield 1979, 535.

⁶⁹¹ Barrett 1991, 190.

⁶⁹² Morris 1988, 390

⁶⁹³ Dunn 1988b, 622.

⁶⁹⁴ Beker 1980, 116.

⁶⁹⁵ Wright 1991, 245.

statement that the apostles have already been sent and preached the Gospel. Thus, for Paul, his kinsfolk have heard the Gospel but most of them refused to believe it.⁶⁹⁶

Paul's reading of Isa 52:7 can be understood as eschatological. He identifies the messengers in Isaiah with the apostles of Christ. He also read Isaiah's good news of freedom from captivity as referring to the Gospel of Christ, which he preached. It has been suggested that Paul's use of Isa 52:7 indicates Paul's understanding of his call to be a prophet. He clearly identifies himself with Isaiah's messenger who brings and proclaims good news. However, it is obscure whether Paul sees the Gospel as the good news about the restoration of the people of God. It might be possible that Paul was convinced of the need for the restoration or redefinition of the people of God.

5. Conclusion

Paul's use of Isa 52:7 is probably from memory. However, his interpretation was purely prophetic and eschatological although the interpretation was approached from a christological perspective. Paul identifies Isaiah's messengers of good tidings and salvation with the apostles, particularly, with himself. The good tidings refer to the Gospel of Christ. He identifies himself with the messenger who proclaims the salvation of the people of God.

I. *The Response to Messengers*

In Romans 10:12-15 Paul argues about the importance of 'the messengers' who are sent to proclaim the 'good news' that is the word of Christ. For Paul, every Jew and Gentile who calls on Jesus will be saved. Confessing, believing, and calling on Jesus as Lord is, for Paul, dependent upon sending the messengers to proclaim the message and hearing and responding to their proclamation. Paul asserts that this process of sending messengers to preach the good news has already begun with the apostles' preaching of the Gospel. Paul also recognises the reality that 'not all of the people of Israel accepted the Gospel' (v. 16a). He seems to be thinking of what he just said about the failure of the Jews to grasp the genuine meaning of the law (v. 1-4). Thus, Paul identifies those who rejected the Gospel with those who failed to grasp the meaning of the Law. For Paul, Isaiah had foretold that 'not all his people accepted the Gospel' when he says, 'Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?' (v. 16b). Paul's Scriptural quotation seems to be taken from Isa 53:1a which says, '*Who has believed our message?*' (NIV) or '*Who has believed what we have heard?*' (RSV).

According to Hanson, the background situation of Isaiah was 'the central tragedy of Israel's history: the refusal of the people to obey God's will that has led to a web of sin that degrades not

⁶⁹⁶ Cranfield 1979, 535.

only the life of the offending generation but the life of their posterity as well.⁶⁹⁷ The question, ‘*Who has believed what we have heard?*’ or ‘*Who has believed our message?*’ is an exclamation uttered from hearing the unbelievable message, as North describes it, ‘what they have heard is something they would have supposed utterly incredible.’⁶⁹⁸ The question itself gives a hint that ‘what we have heard’ must have been the most incredible news or events for the ‘we,’ the messengers. The messengers confessed that no one would believe what they have heard. The news that they have heard was truly, as Westermann describes, ‘something new and unheard of, and so against tradition and all men’s settled ideas.’⁶⁹⁹

Many scholars have tried to identify who the ‘we’ in the question are. North argues that ‘the speaker was the prophet Isaiah and the words are from the Holy Spirit.’⁷⁰⁰ According to Smart, the speaker was ‘the repentant sinner who does not seem to have been one of those who beat and abused the Servant, but rather, to have been an observer of all that happened, yet one who let it be done.’⁷⁰¹ Obviously, the ‘we’ is the speaker. For Whybray ‘the ‘we’ are those who were astonished at the news about the servant.’⁷⁰² It is also easy to identify the ‘we’ with the Kings and the nations. Black confirms this view when he states that ‘...in one of the servant songs, the Kings of nations are thought to express their amazement over the servant’s restoration, saying: ‘who [ever] believed what we have [just] heard.’⁷⁰³ Watts has raised a possibility with his question of whether or not the ‘we’ are identifiable with the messengers of peace and salvation in Isa 52:7-10.⁷⁰⁴ For Wilson, the ‘we’ are ‘the representatives of the divine council composed of the nations and Israel.’⁷⁰⁵ But Miscall has made another suggestion of ‘whether the ‘we’ are Israel as a whole or part of Israel as mentioned in 1:9; 2:5; 42:24.’⁷⁰⁶ Oswalt confirms the suggestion that ‘the ‘we’ are the people of Israel who fail to recognise the ‘arm of the Lord’ when it is revealed to them.’⁷⁰⁷ Bright also states, ‘Israel was by her very existence not only to witness Yahweh’s status as the one true God (Isa 43:8-13) through worshipping Him alone and keeping His covenant faithfully, but also to bring His law to the nations in history.’⁷⁰⁸ Thus, Isaiah was, probably, the speaker who identifies himself with his people and speaks for them.⁷⁰⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Hanson 1995, 157.

⁶⁹⁸ North 1952, 133.

⁶⁹⁹ Westermann 1991, 260.

⁷⁰⁰ North 1952, 133

⁷⁰¹ Smart 1967, 204

⁷⁰² Whybray 1983, 68.

⁷⁰³ Blank 1958, 40.

⁷⁰⁴ Watts 1985, 230.

⁷⁰⁵ Wilson 1986, 310.

⁷⁰⁶ Miscall 1993, 124.

⁷⁰⁷ Oswalt 1998, 381.

⁷⁰⁸ Bright 1960, 339.

⁷⁰⁹ Oswalt 1998, 381.

The 'we' exclaim, 'who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?' 'Believed' is used in the sense of 'believing facts and what is said.'⁷¹⁰ The Hebrew word, שמועה means 'the trustworthy 'report' of things ascertained.'⁷¹¹ 'What we have heard' emphasises 'the report' or 'the message' which the 'we' have heard. In the Ancient world, 'message' is equivalent for 'what has heard.' A messenger would only announce 'what he has heard' as 'the message.' Thus, שמועה can be translated into 'report' or 'what has been heard' or 'message.'

The 'report' or 'the message' is unbelievable and incredible because the arm of the Lord has been revealed in a person, particularly, in God's servant. The arm of the Lord' is used as a metaphor for God's power of deliverance and judgement. It is usually used to describe the act of God for the salvation of Israel. It is frequently used to recall God's mighty acts in creation and Exodus tradition. Watts insists that 'the arm of the Lord was predicted in Isa 52: 9-10.'⁷¹² According to Isaiah 52: 9-10, 'the arm of the Lord' signifies 'the Lord himself in all his power.'⁷¹³ Oswalt insists that 'God has promised to act for the salvation of Israel through His mighty arm, and that same arm would be the means by which the nations could also share in the reconciliation of God that Israel would enjoy.'⁷¹⁴ The messengers have heard that 'the arm of the Lord' has been revealed. The incredible and unbelievable news was how and to whom 'the arm of God' has been revealed.⁷¹⁵ God's promise of salvation has been revealed in the humiliation and exaltation of a particular person (Isa 52:13-15). Who was that person? According to Isaiah, he was the servant of the Lord and in his suffering and exaltation God's salvation act has taken place (Isa 52:13-53:12). Especially, the servant's faithfulness to God's word and self-giving service without counting the cost has broken through, as Smart asserts, 'every barrier to achieve man's salvation.'⁷¹⁶ As Motyer asserts, 'now at last the arm has come, not simply a person behind and through whom the Lord's power is at work, but 'the Arm' himself, the Lord has come to save.'⁷¹⁷ As regards the identification of the servant, there is no need to go into a detailed discussion here because the main focus is on the incredible and unbelievable message of the messengers.

The 'we' were shocked when the news about the servant reached them because 'they had always believed that the servant was a wretch afflicted by God with a particular punishment but now he

⁷¹⁰ Motyer 1993, 427.

⁷¹¹ Torrey 1928, 417.

⁷¹² Watts 1985, 230.

⁷¹³ Motyer 1993, 427.

⁷¹⁴ Oswalt 1998, 282.

⁷¹⁵ Smart 1967, 205.

⁷¹⁶ Smart 1967, 206.

⁷¹⁷ Motyer 1993, 427.

has been rescued from danger by the arm of the Lord.’⁷¹⁸ The ‘we’ have never thought that his suffering was caused by a divine purpose to save them. Isa 52:13-53:12 as a whole is, for Hanson, ‘Isaiah’s contribution to the spiritual quest for an answer to the question of how the tragic pattern of sin and punishment could be broken and replaced by the wholeness that accompanies a hearty embrace of God’s compassion and righteousness.’⁷¹⁹ That hearty embrace of God’s compassion and righteousness has taken place in such a startling new way (Isa 43:19). This is God’s way of dealing with the salvation of His people.

1. Which Text Did Paul Use?

Isa 53:1 (MT)

מִי הָאֵמֵן לְשִׁמְעָנוּ וְזָרְעַ
הָאֵלֹהִים עַל־מִי נִגְלָה?

Translation

Who has believed our message (or what we have heard)? And to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed?

Isaiah 53:1 (LXX)

Κύριε τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ βραχίον κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη

Translation

O Lord, who has believed what we have heard (or our message)? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?

Romans 10: 16

‘Ἄλλ’ οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.’ Ἡσαΐας γὰρ λέγει,
Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;

Translation

But not all obeyed the Gospel. For Isaiah says, ‘Lord, who has believed our what we have heard?’

Paul introduces his Scriptural quotation with the introductory formula, ‘for Isaiah says.’ This usage is ‘one of four Scriptural passages taken from Isaiah with explicit acknowledgment’ (9:27, 29; 10:16, 20).⁷²⁰ The word, ‘Lord’ κύριε is lacking in the Hebrew whereas it is added in the LXX. The wording of Paul’s citation agrees precisely with the LXX. The word ἀκοή can mean both ‘[act of] hearing’ and ‘that which is heard’ that is ‘the message’ or ‘report.’

⁷¹⁸ Whybray 1983, 68.

⁷¹⁹ Hanson 1995, 156.

⁷²⁰ Dunn 1988b, 622.

2. Isaiah 53:1 in other Writings

Numerous allusions to and some actual quotations of Isa 53 in the New Testament are, for Lindars, a witness to the fact that ‘it belongs to the earliest thought of the primitive Church.’⁷²¹ Early Christians regarded the prophecy about the suffering servant in Isa 53 as having been fulfilled in the person, life and resurrection of Jesus Christ. In John 12:38, Isa 53:1 is used for the same purpose.

Jn 12:38

ἵνα ὁ λόγος Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου πληρωθῇ
ὃν εἶπεν, Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;
καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη;

Translation

That was to fulfill the word of the prophet Isaiah: ‘Lord, who believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?’

In the Gospel of John, Isa 53:1 is cited to confirm the fact that the people have heard Jesus’ preaching and seen the miraculous signs performed by him but still would not believe in him. According to Beasley-Murray, ‘the message refers to the word of Jesus Christ and the arm of the Lord designates God’s powerful action in Jesus’ miraculous signs and the ‘we’ represents ‘the believing remnant.’⁷²² He also suggests that the speaker can also be understood as Jesus himself. In this sense, the message refers to what Jesus has received from the Father’ (3:11, 34: 7:16-17; 8:26; 12:49).⁷²³ However, it is less likely that the Evangelist would apply the ‘we’ to ‘Jesus’. The Evangelist seems to identify Jesus with the Servant of the Lord in Isa 52:13-53:12. The ‘we’ in Isaiah were those who at first did not notice God’s purpose in the servant’s humiliation. In the Gospel, Jesus is portrayed as knowing his mission as the servant of the Lord knew his. Thus, the evangelist would probably apply the ‘we’ to his fellow apostles and himself.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s monastery, Isa 53:1 reads,

מי האמין לשמועתנו וזרוע יהוה אל מי נגלתה

Translation

Who has believed our message? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?⁷²⁴

The Dead Sea Scrolls Isa 53:1 agrees with the wording of the MT. However, in the Targum of Isaiah, it reads,⁷²⁵

Who has believed this our report? And to whom has the strength of the mighty arm of the Lord been so revealed?⁷²⁶

⁷²¹ Lindars 1961, 87.

⁷²² Beasley-Murray 1987, 216.

⁷²³ Beasley-Murray 1987, 216.

⁷²⁴ Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich 1999, 359.

⁷²⁵ Stenning 1949, 179.

In the Targum, a few modifications have been made to the original text although the meaning does not seem to be altered. However, the insertion of ‘the strength of the mighty’ can be understood as midrashic interpretation of ‘the arm of the Lord.’ Thus, ‘this our’ probably refers to the nations and Kings who were silenced by what they have seen revealed (*Tg Isa* 52:13-15). Chilton claims that the alterations in *Isa* 52:13-53:12 can be understood from the messianic point of view in the Targum. The Targumic Messiah is believed to be a zealous victor, a guardian of the righteous (*Tg Isa* 11: 8,9).⁷²⁷ Thus, it is clear that in the Targums the messiah was not identified with the servant of the Lord. However, for the Christians, Jesus has taken the role of the servant in Isaiah.

3. Paul’s prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah 53:1

In *Rom* 10:12- 13, Paul argues that Jesus is Lord of all and so whether Jews or Gentiles those who call on him will be saved. He points out the importance of hearing, confessing and believing in calling on the name of the Lord. Hearing requires the messengers who will preach or proclaim the message. As far as the Gospel is concerned, for Paul, the process has already been done. The apostles were sent to preach the word of God that is Christ. The Jews have already heard it but ‘not all’ have obeyed it (*Rom* 10:16a). However, ‘not all’ means there were ‘some’ who responded to the Gospel. Why not all? For Paul, it has happened according to Scriptures. The prophet Isaiah has foretold that not all would believe in the Gospel of Christ by saying, ‘who has believed our message?’

His use of ‘for’ in his introduction of Isaiah’s passage, for Morris, ‘shows that the fact, that ‘not all’ have obeyed the Gospel is logical and so should not seem strange to anyone who knows the prophecy.’⁷²⁸ Käsemann suggests that ‘by adding *κῦριε* *Isa* 53:1 takes on the character of a lament.’⁷²⁹ It is true that the insertion of *Κύριε* has changed the text from an exclamation to a lament and even a disappointed remark. In the original text, one can sense the speakers’ disbelief in the incredible and unbelievable news whereas in *Rom* 10:16, the disappointment of the speaker is reflected. Presumably, Paul cites *Isa* 53:1 with double intentions. Paul, on the one hand, seems to be expressing his disappointment of the rejection of the Gospel by many and so he let Isaiah 53:1(LXX) lament on his behalf. On the other hand, Paul seems to be trying to justify the fact that ‘not all’ have obeyed the Gospel with Scriptural proof.

⁷²⁶ Chilton 1987, 103.

⁷²⁷ Chilton 1987, 105 notes.

⁷²⁸ Morris 1988, 391.

⁷²⁹ Käsemann 1973, 295.

Käsemann suggests that ‘the destiny of Israel is prophetically foreseen.’⁷³⁰ It was possible that the non-Christians might also have been in Paul’s mind. Moreover, there is no clue that Paul reads Isa 53:1 as a prophecy of Israel’s destiny. Rather, it was prophecy concerning the response to the word of God by the people. According to Barth, ‘it has been prophesied beforehand that the messengers bringing the good news of the fulfillment of all the promises will meet with unbelief. It has also happened before when the message about the servant has been proclaimed.’⁷³¹ Isaiah’s prophecy therefore foresaw that ‘not all’ have obeyed the Gospel that is Christ. Moo argues that the word οὐ πάντες is used to echo the remnant theology he introduced in 9:6b which says, ‘not all those who belong to Israel are Israel.’ But Dunn’s assertion is that πάντες picks up directly πᾶς in v. 13 which says, ‘everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved.’⁷³² Whether or not both discussions are right is not important here except the actual fact that the Gospel is not obeyed by all.

The Greek word ἀκοή can be translated as either ‘[act of] hearing’ or ‘that which is heard’. In Rom 10:16, ἀκοή does not mean ‘hearing’ but ‘what is heard’ that is ‘the message of the preaching.’⁷³³ The Greek word for obedience is ὑπακούω, which is derived from ἀκούω meaning, ‘hear’ or ‘give ear to, answer, heed.’ The Greek word ὑπακούω renders the Hebrew word שמע which means ‘hear.’ Jewish understanding of שמע designates the obedient response of faith to hearing of the word of God.⁷³⁴ Paul often uses the Greek word πιστεύω as equivalent to ὑπακούω.⁷³⁵ According to Rom 1:5 ‘believing’ is identical with ‘obedience.’ ‘Faith’ required by the Gospel is ‘obedience of faith.’ To obey the Gospel therefore means to believe in it. Thus when Paul claims that not all have obeyed the Gospel he means not all have believed in the Gospel.

For Paul, ‘believing’ comes from ‘hearing the message.’ (1 Thess 2:13). Thus, for him, ‘the message’ is identical with ‘what has been heard.’ In the original text, the message was about the servant of the Lord and so it was incredible. The message was, for Paul, the word of Christ. The quotation does not sense the credibility of the message of Christ. Rather, it reflects a lament that ‘Lord we have preached your word and they have heard it, but they did not obey it.’ Best asserts that ἀκοή brings out the point that the failure of the Jews was no other than their disability to

⁷³⁰ Käsemann 1973, 295.

⁷³¹ Barth 1959., 131.

⁷³² Moo 1996, 664.

⁷³³ Käsemann 1973, 295. See also (Dunn 1988b, 623)

⁷³⁴ Nanos 1996, 222.

hear properly.’⁷³⁶ Lindars also states that ‘by his quotation of Isa 53:1, Paul points out that the present unbelief of many Jews was not because they have not heard the message but because they have refused to believe what they have heard.’⁷³⁷ Thus, by citing Isa 53:1 Paul confirms that ‘Israel has become guilty in relation to the Gospel.’⁷³⁸

As far as Paul’s use of Isa 53:1 is concerned, Lindars asserts that ‘Paul uses Isaiah 53:1 as a warrant for preaching to the Gentiles in general.’⁷³⁹ Lindars argues that Isaiah 53:1 together with Isaiah 6:9f were applied to the unbelief of the miraculous signs of Jesus first and of the preaching of the apostles, second. Since the time of Jesus, the Jews have heard of the Gospel but they refused to accept it. According to Lindars, Paul would probably have thought that the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews has already been complete. What needed to be done was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles who have not yet heard of it. Thus, Paul was thinking of the unbelief of the Gentiles rather than of the Jews when he cites Isa 53:1. Thus, Lindars asserts that ‘the present unbelief of the Gentiles is only due to the fact that they have not yet had the opportunity to hearing the Gospel, in contrast to the Jews, who have heard it and yet have refused to believe.’⁷⁴⁰ However, Lindars’ assertion does not seem to be entirely right because ‘who has believed our message’ seems to refer to those who have already heard and yet refused to accept it. Paul might be thinking of everyone both Jews and Gentiles (Rom 10:12) who refused the Gospel. Preaching, for Paul, is not only for the Gentiles but also for the Jews. Particularly, Paul makes clear that the purpose of his Gentile mission was to make the Jews jealous and then repent and return to their God. Lindars should therefore add that Paul’s argument is about the preaching to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. In this respect, the unbelief of the Gentiles was due to not hearing it whereas for the Jews it was because of their refusal to believe in it.

By citing Isa 53:1, Dodd maintains, ‘the proof is complete: Israel has been rejected, not because God did not give them the opportunity of salvation, but because they refused it when it was given.’⁷⁴¹ Dodd’s view seems a bit severe because Paul does not seem to discuss the rejection of the Jews by God. For Paul, the fact that God has rejected Israel is difficult to take in. By citing Isa 53:1, Paul would probably think that ‘not all have obeyed’ is what God intended. Furthermore, Paul will be seen discussing the future of Israel positively by claiming, ‘all Israel will be saved’ (Rom 11:26).

⁷³⁵ Cranfield 1979, 536.

⁷³⁶ Best 1967, 122.

⁷³⁷ Lindars 1961, 87.

⁷³⁸ Käsemann 1973, 295.

⁷³⁹ Lindars 1961, 87.

⁷⁴⁰ Lindars 1961, 87.

⁷⁴¹ Dodd 1932, 170.

Dunn asserts that ‘the possibility of belief was open to Israel when the word, which brings forth faith had been widely preached, but ‘not all have obeyed the Gospel.’⁷⁴² Guerra also asserts that ‘the necessary preconditions for believing have been fulfilled by God and His ministers. Thus it is not Paul and certainly not God who has ignored His people but the people who have turned away.’⁷⁴³ Both Dunn and Guerra seem to emphasise the fact that believing comes from hearing and hearing comes from the preaching of the Gospel. Although neither of them mentions the word apostles, they both seem to be thinking of the apostolic preaching as already done. Thus, their views are probably similar to the views of Evans and Aageson.

Evans sees Paul’s use of both Isa 52:7 and 53:1 as ‘eschatological prophecy which plays an important role in defining the early Christian concept of ‘apostle,’ and underscores the need for faith and at the same time anticipates an unbelieving response on the part of many.’⁷⁴⁴ Aageson also regards Rom 10:14-18 as ‘a discussion focused on hearing and believing the ‘word of Christ’⁷⁴⁵ and sees ‘the theological argument in 10:14-18 as a result of the missionary work of the early Christian evangelists.’⁷⁴⁶ Thus, he asserts that ‘the argument in 10:14-16, in particular, his quotation from Isa 53:1 presumes that for Paul faith comes from the message being heard and the message comes through the word of Christ.’⁷⁴⁷

Similarly, in Isaiah, the emphasis that hearing a certain message and believing in it always required a messenger or the messengers is stressed. ‘Unbelief’ occurs whenever the message was beyond reason. In Isa 52:13-53:12, the message was beyond logic because of the fact that ‘God has revealed His power and might in the suffering of the servant. There was a paradox that God’s power was manifested in human suffering. Because it seemed illogical, the ‘we’ marvelled and were amazed when it really happened. Deutero-Isaiah’s message is reapplied to the situation in which Paul was one of many messengers. Paul therefore seems to be reminding his readers that, like Isaiah’s days, those who have not obeyed the Gospel will one day in the future confess and exclaim what God has done unbelievably through Christ. Paul’s use of Isa 53:1 can therefore be concluded as prophetic re-application about the messengers and the response they would receive from their hearers.

⁷⁴²Dunn 1988a, 518.

⁷⁴³ Guerra 1995, 152.

⁷⁴⁴ Evans 1999, 126.

⁷⁴⁵ Aageson 1995, 87.

⁷⁴⁶ Aageson 1995, 88.

⁷⁴⁷ Aageson 1995, 88.

4. Conclusion

By using midrashic and peshet interpretations, those who have rejected the Gospel of Christ were identified with those who, in Isaiah's passage, disbelieved the message of what God has been doing. Thus, Paul understood Isa 53:1 as eschatological and applied it to the Jews of his day.

It is uncertain whether Paul was looking for a justified reason for the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of Jews in his day. However, he was convinced that Isaiah had already predicted the situation of his day concerning the message of the Gospel. Thus, he understood Isaiah's passage eschatologically and then applied it to his kinsfolk's failure to believe in the Gospel.

J. The Message of the Messengers: The Deliverer from Zion

In his redefining of the people of God in Rom 9-11, Paul seems to focus on historical Israel in the first two chapters. He asserts that not every physical descendant of Abraham is the child of promise. He identifies Christ with Abraham's 'seed' whom God promised. Then he concentrates his argument on the fact that every one who has heard the Gospel of Christ through the preaching of the apostles and obeyed it, will be saved. By saying this, Paul also understood the reality that not every one who has heard their message has obeyed the Gospel. For Paul, there is always a reason for God as far as His chosen people are concerned. However, his concern for his own people is obviously expressed throughout his discussion. Sometimes, he does not seem to overcome his racial consciousness as a Jew who strongly believed God's covenant with his race and sorry for the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of his kinsmen. Thus, he desperately looked for the way by which his own people can be saved in the Gospel of Christ. Regardless of their present rejection of the Gospel of Christ, he patiently hopes for the salvation of his people in the future. He was convinced that God was the one who had hardened the hearts of part of his own people so that He could save the Gentiles. The present situation as Paul sees it is the Jews' loss and the Gentiles' blessing. For Paul, God will save His historical chosen people when the full number of the Gentiles is completed. As usual, he went back to the Scripture to prove that he is right. His Scriptural quotation this time is from Isa 59:20,21 which is also conflated with a phrase from Isa 27:9.

1. Isaiah's context and the meaning of his message

Isaiah 59 seems to be giving the answer to a complaint, 'Why has the salvation for Israel not come?' If the cry of complaint goes unanswered, it is, the prophet answers, not because God is

deaf, but because the people are separated from God by their disobedience (Isa 59:1,2).⁷⁴⁸ The coming of Israel's salvation is, for the prophet, delayed by the sins of the People (Isa 59:1-2). Isaiah accused the people of Israel of their iniquity by using the second person pronoun 'you' to his kinsfolk (vv. 2-3). The sins of the people are dramatically described as 'hands stained with blood, fingers with guilt, lips with lies, tongues which mutter wicked things' (v. 3).

Then, Isaiah changes the use of the pronoun to 'they' which refers to people in general (vv. 4-8). For the prophet, no part from head to toe is free from sin among the people. The people are described as full of violent deeds and mischief-making thoughts. The land is described as lacking peace and justice.⁷⁴⁹ It seems that there were those, who were taking advantages of the misfortune of others to their profit while concealing their callousness behind a façade of piety (Isa 58:1-12). Westermann insists that 'the passage is not intended to indicate specific characteristics of the transgressors, but with as great a variety of words and phrases as possible to give a picture of their disgraceful wickedness.'⁷⁵⁰ However, as Hanson asserts,

'Reference to lying, wickedness, shedding innocent blood, and running to do evil are not empty generalities. They describe the disintegration of social order as people embrace deceit and brutality to promote their own power and wealth at the expense of others.'⁷⁵¹

The people's criminal tendency results in desolation and destruction on the highways. Watts describes the situation that 'because of insecurity on the high ways, there was no travel and trade and so the land fell into economic depression and poverty.'⁷⁵² There was probably concern about safety on the highways for the pilgrims who come to Zion's temple.

For the prophet, God saw all these social injustices and disintegration and was displeased (59:15). God also saw that there was no one to intervene and so He himself, as the God of justice, would be the one to repay what the people deserved according to their deeds (59:16-18). This would be the divine judgement for their social disintegration. However, God was the one who upheld justice by opposing the wicked. God's mercy would be available for those who turn from their wickedness through accepting God's invitation to come back to Him. Thus, Isaiah claimed,

'And he will come to Zion as Redeemer, to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the Lord' (v. 20). 'And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: my spirit which is upon you, and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, or out of the mouth of your children's children, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore' (v. 21).

⁷⁴⁸ Windward 1968, 207.

⁷⁴⁹ Watts 1985, 281.

⁷⁵⁰ Westermann 1969, 348.

⁷⁵¹ Hanson 1995, 210.

⁷⁵² Watts 1987, 283.

Three possible interpretations have been proposed concerning the meaning of Isaiah 59:20-21. From the historical point of view, Watts' asserts that 'the redeemer, who will come to Zion, is the Persian. He will rescue the population from the social disintegration.'⁷⁵³ For Watts, 'repent' means 'turning against the rebellion' in a broader area.⁷⁵⁴ However, God is the One who gives the promise and makes the covenant. 'My covenant' in v. 12, for Watts, 'refers to v. 20 and God's promise to Zion.'⁷⁵⁵ He also insists that 'my words' in v. 21 'refers to the decrees for the good of Jerusalem that is either the letter given to Ezra (Ezra 7:11-26) or those written for Nehemiah (Neh 2:7-9).'⁷⁵⁶

However, from a theological point of view, Miscall asserts, 'the one, who will come as redeemer, is God himself (Isa 54:5, 8) and He is coming for those who repent (58:12,13; 48:18-19).'⁷⁵⁷ Thus, 'the mighty act of redemption, as Motyer asserts, works morally through repentance.'⁷⁵⁸ The coming of the redeemer to Zion, as Westermann suggests, therefore gives 'a double meaning: a warning to the transgressors and a promise to those who repent.'⁷⁵⁹ Repentance from transgression will be the means for God's covenant. The transgression of the people can be seen as social injustice and disintegration among them and their rebellion against God.⁷⁶⁰

For Hanson, Isa 59:20-21 expresses the 'eschatological hope of Israel.'⁷⁶¹ For him 'God is the One, who will come to Zion to save those who repent. God saw none to intervene in the situation and so He himself will come to intervene in that disgraceful situation.'⁷⁶² For Blank, the phrase 'I have put my words in your mouth' refers to Israel as 'having God's law in their hearts.'⁷⁶³ Fishbane also seems to agree with Hanson and Blank when he asserts, 'beginning with the new age, that is the redemption of Zion and the spiritual renewal of Israel, all Israel will speak as prophets forever.'⁷⁶⁴ The future tense of the verbs clearly indicates Isaiah's message as a future event whether historical, theological or eschatological. However, the theological and eschatological interpretations are more convincing because the transgressions of Jacob

⁷⁵³ Watts 1987, 287.

⁷⁵⁴ Watts 1987, 287.

⁷⁵⁵ Watts 1987, 287.

⁷⁵⁶ Watts 1987, 287.

⁷⁵⁷ Miscall 1993, 136

⁷⁵⁸ Motyer 1993, 492.

⁷⁵⁹ Westermann 1969, 352.

⁷⁶⁰ Oswalt 1998, 530.

⁷⁶¹ Hanson 1995, 213.

⁷⁶² Hanson 1995, 213-4.

⁷⁶³ Blank 1958, 148.

⁷⁶⁴ Fishbane 1985, 374.

mentioned were moral rather than rebellion against the rulers. Moreover, ‘the giving of God’s words into their mouth’ expresses the prophetic role of the people of Israel in the future.

Isaiah 27:9 seems to refer to the exile period to God’s disciplining period for His people. Watts asserts that ‘Isa 27:9 seems to reflect a time after exile when idol-worship has been ceased.’⁷⁶⁵ Thus, it seems that abolishing idolatry is identified with the taking away of the transgressions of the people. Widyapranawa maintains that ‘the exile was also meant to be the expiation for Israel. It had led Israel to a new spiritual understanding and to repentance.’⁷⁶⁶ Stacey also asserts that ‘Isa 27:9 is not concerned with the question of how the expiation of Jacob’s iniquity takes place, but rather with its practical results such as the destruction of syncretistic shrines and religious reformation.’⁷⁶⁷ Thus, Isa 27:9 probably refers to the time when Israel will worship Yahweh alone and obey Him as the only God.

2. Which Text Did Paul Use?

Isa 59:20,21 (MT)

וּבֹא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וְלִשְׁכְּבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב נְאֻם יְהוָה:
וְאֲנִי זָנֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם אָמַר יְהוָה רֹחַל אֲשֶׁר עָלֶיךָ וּדְבָרֵי
אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמַתִּי בְּפִיךָ לֹא-יִמְאֹשׁוּ מִפִּיךָ וּמִפִּיזְרַעֲךָ
וּמִפִּי זֶרַע זֶרַעֲךָ אָמַר יְהוָה מֵעַתָּה וְעַד-עוֹלָם:

Translation:

And the redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, says the Lord.

As for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord; my spirit that is upon you, and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, nor out of the mouth of your seed, nor out of the mouth of your seed’s seed, says he Lord from henceforth and for ever.

Isa 27:9 (MT)

לְכֵן בְּזֹאת יִכָּפֵר עֲוֹן-יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה כָּל-פְּרִי הַסֵּר
חֲטָאתוֹ בְּשׁוֹמְרוֹ כָּל-אֲבָנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ כְּאֲבָנֵי-גֵר מִנְּפֻצוֹת
לֹא-יִקְמוּ אֲשֵׁרִים וְחַמְגָּנִים:

Translation:

By this therefore shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit to take away his sin; when he makes all the stones of the altar as chalk stones that are beaten in sunder, the groves and images shall not stand up.

Isa 59:20,21 (LXX)

[καὶ] ἤξει ἕνεκεν Σιων ὁ ῥυόμενος [καὶ] ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας
ἀπὸ Ἰακωβ
καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ’ ἐμοῦ διαθήκη [εἶπεν κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ ἐμὸν ὃ ἐστιν ἐπὶ σοί καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἔδωκα εἰς τὸ στόμα

⁷⁶⁵ Watts 1985, 350.

⁷⁶⁶ Widyapranawa 1990, 162.

⁷⁶⁷ Stacey 1993, 165.

σου οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος
του σπέρματός σου εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα]

Translation:

And the deliverer shall come for Zion's sake, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.

And this shall be my covenant with them, says the Lord; My spirit which is upon you, and the words which I have put in your mouth, shall never fail from your mouth, nor from the mouth of your seed, for the Lord has spoken it, henceforth and for ever.

Isa 27:9 (LXX)

[διὰ τοῦτο ἀφαιρεθήσεται ἡ ἀνομία Ἰακωβ καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἡ
εὐλογία αὐτοῦ] ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι αὐτοῦτὴν ἀμαρτίαν [ὅταν θῶσιν
πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν βωμῶν κατακεκομμένους ὡς κονίαν
λεπτὴν καὶ οὐ μὴ μείνη τὰ δένδρα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ εἰδωλα αὐτῶν
ἐκκεκομμένα ὡσπερ δρυμὸς μακράν]

Translation:

Therefore shall the iniquity of Jacob be taken away; and this is his blessing, when I shall have taken away his sin; when they shall have broken to pieces all the stones of the altars as fine dust, and their trees shall not remain, and their idols shall be cut off, as a thicket afar off.

Rom 11:26,27

Καὶ οὕτως πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται· καθὼς γέγραπται, [] Ἦξει
[ἐκ] Σιών ὁ ρυόμενος, [] ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβ·
καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι
τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν.

Translation:

And so all Israel will be saved, as it is written: 'the deliverer will come out of Zion; he will turn away impiety from Jacob.

And this will be my covenant with them when I take away their sins.'

Concerning Isa 59:20 (MT), changes and modifications have been made both in the LXX and in Paul. Both MT and LXX start with the conjunction 'and' ἠ and καὶ. However, Paul drops it all together (twice). Thus, Stanley asserts that 'it seems likely that the omission of καὶ in Rom 11:26 goes back to Paul.'⁷⁶⁸ In the LXX the Hebrew word יְיָצֵי 'to Zion' has been translated into ἕνεκεν Σιών 'for the sake of Zion.' Paul follows neither the MT (to Zion) nor the LXX (for the sake of Zion) but alters it (out of Zion) with his choice of the preposition ἐκ which means 'from, out of, away from.'⁷⁶⁹ Suggestions have been made of 'an early correction of the LXX reading to the MT'⁷⁷⁰ and 'the misreading of the Greek word εἰς (into, toward, to) as ἐκ

⁷⁶⁸ Stanley 1992, 166.

⁷⁶⁹ Gingrich 1957, 233.

⁷⁷⁰ Stanley 1992, 167.

(from, out of).⁷⁷¹ However, Dunn's assertion that 'a deliberate alteration by Paul'⁷⁷² is the most possible and acceptable for the argument Paul is making. Because Christ, for Paul, was the foundation which was laid in Zion (Rom 9: 30-33) and now come out of Zion to save all those who call on his name. וְלִשְׁבֵי פְשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב 'and to them who turn from rebellion in Jacob' is changed into καὶ ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ἰακωβ 'and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob' in the LXX. Thus, Paul's citation of Isa 59:20, generally follows the wording of the LXX text.

In Rom 11:27, Paul only cites the first part of Isa 59:21. He omits the second part and conflates the first part with Isa 27:9. Paul follows the LXX text for his citation from Isa 59:21. Concerning Isa 27:9, Paul only uses the middle part by ignoring the first and last part of the text. There are also obvious modifications that Paul has made in his use of the middle part of Isa 27:9. He made a conversion of the singular τὴν ἁμαρτίαν to the plural form τὰς ἁμαρτίας. He not only changes the pronoun from αὐτοῦ to αὐτῶν but also the position of the pronoun from the beginning to the end. However, the idea and theme of the original text is significantly expressed in Paul. Thus, Paul's conflation of part of Isa 59:21 and part of Isa 27:9 can generally be regarded as consistent with the main theme of both the MT and the LXX.

3. Isaiah 59:20,21 in other Writings

Isaiah 59:20-21 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery)

ובא אל ציון גואל ולשבי פשע ביעקוב נואם יהוה
ואני זואת בריתי אתם אמר יהוה ורוחזי אמר עליכה
ודברי אשר שמתי בפיקה לוא ימוש מפיקה ומפי זרעכה
ומפי זרע זרעכה מעתה ועד עולם

Translation:

And a Redeemer will come to Zion, to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the Lord.

And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: and my spirit that is upon you, and my words that I have put in your mouth, will not depart from your mouth, or from the mouths of your children, or the mouths of your children's children, from now on and forever.

The Targum of Isaiah 59:20-21

And he will come to Zion as Redeemer, to return the rebels of the house of Jacob, says the Lord.

And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord, my holy spirit which is upon you, and the words of my prophecy which I have put in your mouth, shall not pass out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your sons, or out

⁷⁷¹ Dunn 1988b, 682.

⁷⁷² Dunn 1988b, 682.

of the mouth of your son's sons, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore.

Isaiah 59:20,21 in the Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery is very close to MT. Thus, it is possible that both the MT and the Isaiah Scroll of St. Mark's monastery have been copied from the same proto-MT tradition. For the Targumist, God is described as a redeemer who will come to return the rebels of the house of Jacob. Thus, God is portrayed as a Judge for the rebels although He is coming as a redeemer.

4. Paul's Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah 59:20,21

Paul's long speech in Rom 11:14-32 is directed to the Christian Gentiles who, according to the message, seem to be arrogant about their calling as God's children while the Jews were rejected. All the way from v. 14, he explains the privileges of historical Israel as God's chosen people. He then concludes his speech with the claim that 'all Israel will be saved' (v. 26a).

For Paul, the Gospel is 'to the Jews first, but also to the Gentiles' (Rom 1:16; 2:10). Thus, he never misses Israel's priority regardless of the rejection of the Gospel by the majority of the Jews. Paul seems to believe that 'at the end, the election of historical Israel will be confirmed when the full number of the Gentiles comes in.'⁷⁷³ Thus, Beker asserts that 'there will be no final eschatological deliverance without the salvation of all Israel.'⁷⁷⁴ For Beker, 'Israel remains a distinct entity in the future of God's purpose.'⁷⁷⁵

Concerning Paul's use of the word 'all Israel' $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'Ισραήλ, many different suggestions have been made. Dunn suggests, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'Ισραήλ must mean 'the corporate identity and wholeness of Israel as a people.'⁷⁷⁶ For Dunn, 'Paul has stressed the power of his Gospel to *all* who believe (1:16), and his apostleship was for the obedience of faith among *all* the Gentiles (1:5), and also the promise to Abraham was meant to *all* the seed (4:16). Thus it was clearly important for him to be able to say *all* Israel' (11:26).'⁷⁷⁷ Dunn seems to be suggesting that Paul's usage of 'all Israel', follows the linguistic similarity of his whole argument in Romans. Cranfield gives four suggestions:

All the elect, both Jews and Gentiles,
All the elect of the historical Israel,
The whole historical Israel, including every individual member.
The historical Israel as a whole, but not necessarily including every individual member.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷³ Beker 1980, 87.

⁷⁷⁴ Beker 1980, 330, 335.

⁷⁷⁵ Beker 1980, 333.

⁷⁷⁶ Dunn 1988a, 681.

⁷⁷⁷ Dunn 1988a, 681.

⁷⁷⁸ Cranfield 1979, 576.

According to the Mishnah, there might have been a tradition that ‘ (the historical) Israel as a whole is destined for eternal life in the Age to Come.’ In the fourth division of Mishnah. *Sanhedrin* 10:1 says,

All Israelites have a share in the world to come,
As it is said, Your people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever; the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.
(Isa 60:21)
And these are the ones who have no portion in the world to come.⁷⁷⁹

From *Sanhedrin* 10:1, D, there are many people who are not included in the world to come such as Sadducees, heretics, magicians, the licentious, and many more.⁷⁸⁰ Thus, there are exceptions in the use of the term, ‘all Israel.’ According to tradition in the Mishnah, it is also possible that Paul might have been thinking of Israel in terms of the children of promise, which God has given to Abraham for his faith. Most modern scholars agree with the fourth view in Cranfield’s list that is ‘historical Israel as a whole, but that does not necessarily include every individual member.’⁷⁸¹ Wright however seems to agree with Cranfield’s first view when he asserts that ‘it is greatly preferable to take ‘all Israel’ as a typically Pauline redefinition of the Messiah and his people, that is, the Christians’⁷⁸² (Gal 6:16; Phil. 3:2ff). Thus, ‘all Israel,’ for Wright, is all the elect both Jews and Gentiles.

However, two important factors from Paul’s previous discussions-why part of Israel was hardened and how long it will be- need to be considered in order to define who are included in ‘all Israel.’ According to Paul, God’s purpose of hardening part of Israel was, on the one hand, to call the Gentiles to be His people as He has promised to Abraham. On the other hand, by calling the Gentiles into the covenant relationship, God intends to arouse Israel’s jealousy so that Israel would come back to her own God (Rom 10:19). As we discussed above, the hardening of the hearts means ‘undiscerning or blind to see what God is doing.’ Thus, part of Israel is now, for Paul, unable to see or understand the revelation of God’s righteousness in Christ. However, according to Rom 11:25, their lack of discernment will take place only until the full number of the Gentiles comes in. Thus, Paul probably hopes that ‘all Israel’ will be released from ‘hardening’ when the full number of the Gentiles come into God’s covenant relationship.

Barrett suggests that ‘Paul might be thinking of ‘all Israel’ in representative terms.’⁷⁸³ Who is in Paul’s mind when he says ‘all Israel?’ First, the historical Israel was definitely in his mind

⁷⁷⁹ Neusner 1988, 604.

⁷⁸⁰ Neusner 1988, 604-6, See also, (Barrett 1957, 223).

⁷⁸¹ Cranfield 1979, 577.

⁷⁸² Wright 1991, 250.

⁷⁸³ Barrett 1957, 224.

because he was mainly discussing the future of his kinsmen, who have rejected the Gospel (Rom 11:13-25). Second, perhaps, ‘Christians’ are also in his mind because Paul regards them as ‘Israel’ and the ‘true circumcision.’ It is possible that Paul’s claim is purely based on his hope for the salvation of the whole humanity. There would be a time when the full number of Gentiles would be called as God’s children, and when all Israel would also realize the true meaning of the Law. That time will be the time when, for Paul, the redeemer will come out of Zion. Thus, Paul probably had in mind ‘the salvation of the whole humanity.’ Paul does not make up the fact that ‘all Israel’ will be saved. It is rather what Scripture says in the old days through the prophet Isaiah (Isa 2:3, 11:10; 49:7; 49:22). Paul, as usual, finds Scriptural support for his argument from Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9. He introduces his quotation with καθὼς γέγραπται ‘as it is written.’

Cranfield claims that ‘Paul’s substitution of ἐκ for the ἕνεκεν of the LXX was perhaps under the influence of Ps 14:7; 53:6 or 110:2.’⁷⁸⁴ Wright also seems to claim that ‘Paul might have been influenced by Micah 4:2 where the Torah is mentioned coming out from Zion.’⁷⁸⁵ However, it seems more possible that Paul deliberately substitutes ἐκ for ἕνεκεν because of his understanding of the ‘deliverer’ in Isaiah’s message. For Paul, the ‘deliverer’ refers to Jesus who is the foundation laid in Zion (Rom 9:32-33) and thus comes from Zion. Thus, there is no reason to deny that Paul’s substitution of ‘out of Zion’ for ‘for the sake of Zion’ was not his own idea. Thus, with the intention that ‘the deliverer mentioned in Isaiah’s message refers to Christ’, Paul deliberately altered ‘for the sake of Zion’ to ‘out of Zion.’

Dunn argues that ‘in using ἐκ Σιῶν, Paul will have been thinking of his eschatological appearance in Jerusalem or of his coming from heavenly Jerusalem rather than of his origin as a Jew or of his incarnation.’⁷⁸⁶ However, it is possible that Paul, for the sake of Israel’s priority in God’s salvation, identifies the ‘redeemer from Zion’ with ‘Jesus’ origin as a Jew’. If one takes ‘the coming of redeemer from Zion’ as referring to only Jesus’ Parousia, Paul’s discussion about the relationship between Israel and the Gentile Christians with the analogy of ‘the root and branches of the olive tree and the grafting of wild olive branches’ does not make any sense. Paul probably wanted to remind his Gentile Christians of the fact that Christ was a Jew who came from Zion and saved them. Paul not only identifies the deliverer with Christ but also reapplies it to his ‘Parousia.’ Thus, in this respect, Dunn is probably right to assert that ‘it was specifically Christian faith in Jesus as God’s eschatological agent that would give Paul his particular messianic interpretation of the passage.’⁷⁸⁷ Käsemann also maintains that ‘Paul’s quotations

⁷⁸⁴ Cranfield 1979, 577.

⁷⁸⁵ Wright 1991, 250.

⁷⁸⁶ Dunn 1988a, 682.

⁷⁸⁷ Dunn 1988a, 682.

from Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 confirms Paul's hope that all Israel will be saved when the exalted Christ returns from the heavenly Jerusalem.⁷⁸⁸ For Paul, God's saving activity of 'all Israel' is realised in the death and resurrection of Christ. But the consummation will be complete in the Parousia.

Unlike any other scholar, Wright proposed that 'Paul's composite Scriptural quotations are from Isa 2:3; 27:9; 59:20f and Jer 31:34. However, Paul's quotation does not seem to include Isa 2:3 and Jer 31:34. Furthermore, he uses only the main idea of Isa 27:9 that 'God will take away the sins of His people.' For Wright, Paul's quotations refer not to the Parousia but to the gentile mission; v. 26b is explaining v. 26a, and is doing so with reference to covenantal promises of Gentile inclusion in the blessings of the people of God.⁷⁸⁹ With the view that 'all Israel' refers to the Christians, Wright maintains that 'God's method of saving 'all Israel' is to harden historical Israel with the intention of saving the Gentiles, for the cause of which the Jews might become jealous and finally led to faith in Christ.'⁷⁹⁰ Wright is probably right in asserting that God has hardened the hearts of historical Israel with the intention of saving the Gentiles. But his interpretation of 'all Israel' as referring to 'Christians' seems to be extremely inclined to Christian interpretation.

Lindars argues that 'in Rom 11:26f, Paul expresses the missionary hope in apocalyptic form with the help of Isa 59:20f, conflated with Isa 27:9.'⁷⁹¹ He also asserts that 'even the Jews will be saved after the Gentiles have been gathered in, when 'the deliverer' comes from Zion.'⁷⁹² Thus, it seems that Lindars regards 'the Jews' as less worthy people to be saved. Unfortunately, Paul does not give any clue about the fact that 'even the Jews will be saved after the Gentiles gather in.' Lindars also agree that Paul reads Isa 59:20-21 from an eschatological point of view and so applies to the 'Parousia of Christ.'⁷⁹³

Aageson asserts that 'Paul's application of Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 in Rom 11:26-27 involves a correspondence between ὁ ῥυόμενος and Christ and between Ιακώβ and contemporary Israel.'⁷⁹⁴ He therefore argues that 'the future tense of the verbs ἔξει, ἀποστρέψει, and αὕτη in Isa 59:20-21 (LXX) enables Paul to project the message of the text into the future: 'the deliverer will come... and will turn ungodliness... this will be my covenant.'⁷⁹⁵ However, in the

⁷⁸⁸ Käsemann 1973, 314.

⁷⁸⁹ Wright 1991, 250.

⁷⁹⁰ Wright 1991, 250.

⁷⁹¹ Lindars 1961, 245.

⁷⁹² Lindars 1961, 245.

⁷⁹³ Lindars 1961, 245.

⁷⁹⁴ Aageson 1995, 92.

⁷⁹⁵ Aageson 1995, 92.

original text, the people were those who turn from rebellion or transgression in Jacob rather than the redeemer will come and turn the transgressions of the people in Jacob. Again, the LXX translation enables Paul to express what he presumably had in his mind that was, as Dunn asserts, 'the revelatory impact of Christ's second coming, which would open Israel's eyes to recognise the nature and climax of God's saving plan.'⁷⁹⁶ In his statement that 'all Israel will be saved', Paul, Dunn claims, 'would probably not be thinking in terms of conversion from Judaism to Christianity, but of the recognition by the Jews of the final or true form of their own religion.'⁷⁹⁷

In Isa 59:20-21, the prophet predicted the coming of the redeemer. In Rom 11:26, Paul reapplies Isaiah's message prophetically to the salvation of all Israel in the future. Aageson also states that,

'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.'⁷⁹⁸

The reason for choosing the two passages as a composite quotation was, for Barrett, that 'the two verses make the same point: God has not done with Israel, but He is preparing a new covenant of salvation in which Israel's sins will be done away.'⁷⁹⁹ For Barrett, 'it is because Scripture itself affirms this that Paul can predict that 'all Israel will be saved.'⁸⁰⁰ Thus, Paul's use of Isa 59:20 can be understood as eschatological. Furthermore, he prophetically reapplies Isaiah's passage to his own situation where the mystery of Isaiah 59:20 is fulfilled but not complete yet. Paul, with the aid of Isa 59:9, boldly predicts again the salvation of 'all Israel' or 'all humanity.'

In Rom 11:27, Cranfield asserts that 'the composite of Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 makes it clear that historical Israel's final salvation will be a matter of the forgiveness of her sins by the sheer mercy of her God.'⁸⁰¹ In the original text, Isa 27:9 seems to refer to 'the complete removal of sins.' Thus, in Rom 11:27, Paul seems to be making the point that 'the coming of the 'redeemer' will be the time when God will take away the sins of Israel and then make a new covenant. Wright asserts that 'believing in Christ is identical with the complete removal of sins or the forgiveness of sins.'⁸⁰² In the original text, the transgressions (particularly, in Isa 27:9) are identified with disobedience of God's word. Paul seems to focus on the removal of sins rather than to define the characteristics of sins in his day.

⁷⁹⁶ Dunn 1988a, 683.

⁷⁹⁷ Dunn 1988a, 683.

⁷⁹⁸ Aageson 1995, 92.

⁷⁹⁹ Barrett 1957, 244.

⁸⁰⁰ Barrett 1957, 244.

⁸⁰¹ Cranfield 1979, 579.

⁸⁰² Wright 1991, 251.

5. Conclusion

As far as Paul's use of Isa 59:20-21 and 27:9 is concerned, Paul clearly read them as eschatological but reapplies them to his own situations prophetically. For him, the salvation of the whole of humanity is included in God's call to Abraham to be the Father of His people. Israel as chosen people is called to be the light of the nations. But they had failed. However, God has laid Christ, the foundation stone in Zion and he comes out of Zion for the salvation of Israel. Whoever believes in him is forgiven from his/her sins. His saving action is still proclaimed by his people until 'all Israel' that is 'all humanity' is saved as God has promised to Abraham.

K. All Power and Glory are to God

Rom 11:28-32 presents 'the summary of Paul's understanding of the divine plan for the salvation of humanity,' discussed in Rom 9:1-11:27.⁸⁰³ In his discussion, Paul presents the God of Israel as a 'righteous, faithful and just' God towards His covenantal people and His call and promise to Abraham. The historical Israel are, for Paul, God's beloved for the sake of the Patriarchs. As far as the Gospel is concerned, they are enemies of the Christians. However, the Jews become the enemies of the Christians because it was God's plan. For Paul, the disobedience of the Jews has opened the door for the Gentiles to receive God's mercy. At present, the hearts of part of historical Israel are, for Paul, hardened so that salvation or the Gospel of Christ can be transferred to the Gentiles. The righteous and just God has hardened their hearts. The inclusion of the Gentiles into God's family can be understood as God's faithfulness to His promise to Abraham to become the source of blessing for the nations. However, Paul seems to be making the point that the Gentiles are called only to make the Jews jealous. Paul probably thought that the Gentiles were called for the sake of Israel's salvation. However, as discussed above, Paul obviously hopes 'the full number of Gentiles' and 'all Israel' will be saved at the end. Paul concludes his whole discussion of the people of the righteous, just and faithful God and their salvation, directed to both the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians, with a doxology of Scriptural compilation. One of the Scriptural citations is from Isaiah 40:13 which says, '*Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him?*'

Isaiah 40 focuses on the questions concerning God's ability and desire to deliver His people from Babylonian exile. For nearly fifty years, Israel had been dispossessed of their accustomed ordinances of Yahweh religion because of the fact that the Temple and altar had been destroyed, and the national religious fellowship was impossible. Moreover, the common concept that the

⁸⁰³ Wright 1991, 249.

gods of the Babylonians have defeated Yahweh has successfully tempted some Israelites to worship the gods of their conquerors. For the Israelites who were still faithful to Yahweh, no answer had been given to their prayers, from Yahweh. Thus, they were convinced that Yahweh had forsaken them totally. Among these situations, the questions were raised as to whether or not God had forsaken His people or whether or not God was still the Lord of history. There was also doubt as to whether or not God would be actually able to defend His people from the pagan nations. The decline of Babylonians and the rise of Persia on the scene of world power had caused the prophet to revive the hope of Israel. The rhetorical questions- *'Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance? Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him? Whom did he consult for his enlightenment, and who taught him the path of justice, and taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?'*- seem to reflect the Israelite creation tradition and are addressed to both the idolatrous Israelites and those who doubted whether or not Yahweh is still Lord of history.

Isaiah's answer to all these questions was no! For him, God is the sole ruler of the universe. He is, as Bright describes, 'Creator of all things without assistance or intermediary, Lord of heavenly hosts and forces of nature, no earthly power could withstand him, or any likeness whatever represent him' (40: 12-26).⁸⁰⁴ Isaiah claims that God is unique and incomparably great and there is no one comparable to Him (vv. 12-14). In v. 13, Isaiah claims that *'Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counselor has instructed him?'* The questions seem to expect the answer, 'no one.' It expresses, as Watts claims, 'the infinitely impossible thought of evaluating God's ways and strategies.'⁸⁰⁵ Wilson also asserts that 'the questions illustrate God's sovereign and independent creative power, to act without anyone's help or advice.'⁸⁰⁶

The Hebrew word *יָצַח* can mean 'to direct' or 'to take the measure of.' For Motyer, *יָצַח* means 'either 'to adjust' the Spirit of the Lord so that he would be 'on course' to do his part, or 'to gauge' what the Spirit' was doing, 'to comprehend the mind of the Lord.'⁸⁰⁷ For Oswalt, the spirit of the Lord refers to the 'sum total of the interior life, including the volitional, affective, and cognitive aspects.'⁸⁰⁸ It includes, for Watts, 'mind, purpose, and plans, but moves beyond them to include motivation and implementation.'⁸⁰⁹ Motyer asserts that 'the Spirit/mind was the

⁸⁰⁴ Bright 1960, 336.

⁸⁰⁵ Watts 1987, 90.

⁸⁰⁶ Wilson 1986, 140.

⁸⁰⁷ Motyer 1993, 303.

⁸⁰⁸ Westermann 1969, 58.

⁸⁰⁹ Watts 1987, 90-91.

executive of God in creation: in Genesis 1:2 hovering in readiness; in Ps 33:6 the agent of his expressed will.⁸¹⁰ Westermann also asserts that ‘the Spirit of Yahweh refers to the power of God which works miracles.’⁸¹¹ In Babylonian mythology, apparently Ea, the god of all knowing had conceived the heart of the creator god Marduk that mankind should be created.⁸¹² ‘In Babylonian creation myth, the creator must overcome opposing forces before the way opens for the work of creation.’⁸¹³

Isaiah 40:13 reflects Israelites, who thought they knew what God could and could not do. The question is asked to ridicule them. For Isaiah, it is impossible for men to know the mind of Yahweh (Isa 55:6ff).⁸¹⁴ Isaiah reminds his hearers that unlike the gods of the Babylonians there was no one who had counseled or directed the Spirit of the Lord when He created the universe. As Mckenzie rightly asserts, ‘just as no one has exercised the creative power, so no one has comprehended the Spirit of Yahweh, or instructed Him how to carry on His providence.’⁸¹⁵ God is absolutely independent and free in whatever He plans or does. According to Westermann, Isa 40:13 refers to ‘the divine incomparability and immeasurability consist of the fact that nobody possesses the measures for pronouncing judgement on divine planning and acting.’⁸¹⁶ In 45:9ff., Isaiah therefore announces the same thing about the incomparability of Yahweh’s work and thoughts. For him, ‘Yahweh is the almighty and all-wise Creator.’⁸¹⁷ Thus, Deutero-Isaiah, who was convinced of the coming ruler of the Persians as God’s tool to save His people, challenged his countrymen for their suspicion of Yahweh as the sole Creator of the universe.

1. Which Text Did Paul Use?

Isa 40:13 (MT)

מִי־תִכַּן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה וְאִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ יוֹדִיעֵנּוּ:

Translation:

Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord? and as his counsellor has instructed him?

Isa 40:13 (LXX)

τίς ἐγνώ νοῦν κυρίου καὶ τίς αὐτοῦ σύμβουλος
ἐγένετο ὃς συμβιβᾶ αὐτόν

Translation:

Who has known the mind of the Lord? And who has been his counsellor, to instruct him?

⁸¹⁰ Motyer 1993, 303.

⁸¹¹ Westermann 1969, 50.

⁸¹² Mackenzie 1915, 140, 148.

⁸¹³ Motyer 1993, 303.

⁸¹⁴ Smart 1967, 56.

⁸¹⁵ Mckenzie 1968, 23.

⁸¹⁶ Westermann 1969, 51.

⁸¹⁷ North 1952, 43.

Romans 11:34

Τίς [γὰρ] ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;

Translation:

For who has known the mind of the Lord? Or who has become his counsellor?

The LXX seems to paraphrase the original text slightly.⁸¹⁸ Paul adds γὰρ as a conjunction to relate Isa 40:13 and his previous exclamation of doxology and also as an Introductory Formula for his combined Scriptural quotations. Paul's quotation verbally agrees with the LXX Isaiah 40:13 except for some small modifications. Paul replaces the καὶ in the LXX with ἦ. He also reverses the order of the words αὐτοῦ and σύμβουλος. However, both the LXX and Paul seem to follow the meaning of the original text.

2. Isaiah 40:13 in other Writings

Isaiah 40:13 (The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's monastery)

מִיָּא תִּכְזוּ אֶת רוּחַ יְהוָה וְאִישׁ עֲצָתוֹ יוֹדִיעֵנָה

Translation:

Who has directed the Spirit of the Lord, or as his counsellor has taught him?

Isaiah 40:13 of the Dead Sea Scrolls agrees exactly with the MT. But unlike the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Targum Isaiah 40:13 reads differently from the original text, probably because of the long period of transmission of the interpretation and translation of the text into Aramaic from orality to literacy.

The Targum of Isaiah 40:13

Who has directed the holy spirit in the mouth of all the prophets? Is it not the Lord? And to the righteous who perform his command (Memra), has he made known the things (or, words) of his good pleasure.⁸¹⁹

The Targum translation of Isa 40:13 reflects the different meaning. It talks about the oracles of the prophets directed by God rather than the inscrutability and unapproachableness of God's mind in the MT and LXX. Paul also cites the same quotation in 1 Corinthians 2:16 which says,

τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν κυρίου, ὃς συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;
ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.

Translation:

'For who knew the mind of the Lord? who will instruct him?' But we have the mind of Christ.

⁸¹⁸ Moo 1996, 742 n 18.

⁸¹⁹ Stenning 1949, 132, 133.

Paul cites Isa 40:13 to ‘celebrate the privilege of having been given insight into the depths of God and into the mind of the Lord.’⁸²⁰ Paul seems to emphasise the fact that Christ has the mind of God and through Christ Christians also have known the mind of the Lord. But, ‘who’ here seems to refer to non-believers who were judging Paul’s Gospel as untrue. ‘The mind of the Lord’ probably means ‘the Holy Spirit’ through which the understanding of God’s wonderful gifts bestowed on Christians (1 Cor 2:12). For Paul, all believers can understand spiritual truth and wisdom in the way Christ understood them.⁸²¹ Thus, unlike in Romans where his emphasis seems to focus on, ‘the depths and inscrutability of God’s counsels’⁸²², Paul’s emphasis seems to be the fact that ‘the believers have the mind of Christ through the Spirit and so they have the wisdom to interpret spiritual truth’ (1 Cor 2:16 –RSV).

3. Paul’s Prophetic reapplication of Isaiah 40:13

Paul’s Scriptural citations are obviously rhetorical, expecting the answer ‘no one.’ His citation from Isa 40: 13 ‘stresses that no human being can understand what God is doing in the world.’⁸²³ ‘The plan of God for man’s salvation far surpasses anything man could think out for himself.’⁸²⁴ Through his quotation Paul expresses the ‘transcendent wisdom and self-sufficiency of God’⁸²⁵ and ‘celebrates the mysteries of God’s purpose which mere humans can never hope to understand.’⁸²⁶ Moo asserts that ‘the question, “Who knows the mind of the Lord?” expresses the inscrutable ways of God whereas “who has been his counsellor?” draws out the implications of his unsearchable judgements, and “Who has given to him in advance, so as to give back to him?” (v. 35 cited from Job 41:3) suggests an implication of God’s riches in his kindness and mercy.’⁸²⁷

In the ‘wisdom’ tradition, ‘wisdom’ is personified as the one who knows what God has done in the past and what He is doing in the present (Sir 1:4; Prov 3:19; Wis 9:9,11). For Paul, Christ is both the power of God and the wisdom of God (1 Cor 1:24, 30). According to Moo, Paul probably intends his readers to know that ‘no one, except Christ knows the mind of the Lord nor has been His counsellor.’⁸²⁸

⁸²⁰ Dunn 1988a, 703.

⁸²¹ Mare 1976, 203.

⁸²² Barrett 1957, 228.

⁸²³ Moo 1996, 743.

⁸²⁴ Best 1967, 134.

⁸²⁵ Cranfield 1979, 591.

⁸²⁶ Dunn 1988a, 703.

⁸²⁷ Moo 1996, 743.

⁸²⁸ Moo 1996, 743.

In Romans 11:34 in particular, Paul, therefore, seems to emphasise ‘the unsearchable way of God in dealing with the salvation of all humanity.’ ‘Who knows the mind of the Lord?’ seems to refer to the fact that there is no one, who knows the mind of the Lord. Paul reapplies ‘the mind of the Lord’ to ‘the mercy of God’ which is expressed in calling the Gentiles through faith in Christ to be His people without rejecting His chosen people Israel. ‘Who has been his counsellor’ refers to the freedom of God in choosing ‘the vessels of mercy and the vessels of wrath.’

It is also possible that Paul was thinking of the context of Isaiah’s passage in which Isaiah was proclaiming the greatness and power of Israel’s God as the creator and controller of human history who enabled an alien king to save His people from Babylonian exile. Paul would probably think that the situations of his day are the same as that of Isaiah’s day. The historical people of Israel have again disobeyed her God and rejected His revelation in Christ. For Paul, God as a faithful and merciful God, could not let the covenant relationship between Himself and His people Israel be broken. Thus, God is again using the Gentiles as instruments for the salvation of His historical people. The only difference is the fact that God saved the Gentiles before He used them whereas in Isaiah, God, the Controller of human history already knew of the rise of the Persian kingdom and used its Kings as mere instruments. By saving the Gentiles, God intends His people Israel to know that now they are not the only chosen nation.

4. Conclusion

By citing Isaiah 40:13, Paul reapplies Isaiah’s message as his prophetic message to warn his kinsfolk and Gentile Christians. In Isaiah, the message was delivered as an encouragement for the exiles. But in Romans 11:34, Paul transforms the prophetic meaning from promise and encouragement to a warning. For Paul, Isaiah’s eschatological message was not meant for first century Jews and Gentile Christians but still speaks as a prophetic message to them. It is a warning for historical Israel that their disobedience has led God to call the Gentiles to be his people. Now he has established a new covenant relationship with both Jews and Gentiles through faith in Christ, his son. Thus, there is no way for them to boast of the fact that they are the only chosen nation. Because they are no longer the only chosen people of God.

Paul warns the Gentile Christians that the disobedience of the Jews was used as an instrument, in order that they might be called and saved by God through faith in Christ. So there is no reason for them to be proud of being the new chosen people of God, because God has called and saved them to be used as an instrument in order to save his historical people of Israel. By referring to both the Jews and the Gentile Christians as God’s instrument for the salvation of humanity, Paul has reversed the role of the Gentiles and the people of God in Isaiah’s message. In the Old

Testament, the Gentiles are mostly described as God's tool for both the salvation and judgement of His chosen people. In Romans, both the people of God and the Gentiles are described as God's instruments in the saving history of God for the whole of humanity. Paul therefore seems to understand Isaiah's message (40:13) as an eschatological message meant for his day, and read it prophetically again and prophetically reapplied it to the situation of his Roman readers.

Conclusion: Paul's Prophetic Reapplication of Isaiah in His Redefinition of the People of God in Rom 9-11.

Paul's use of Isaiah in Rom 9-11 shows that Paul was dealing with the question how the people of God called and chosen by faith in Christ should live and behave in their daily lives. For Paul, the identity of the people of God has been redefined on the basis of faith in Christ. Paul reminded Israel, the historical people of God of the need to consider where their security lies. For Paul, Jews as a nation would no longer be secure to be the only chosen people of God unless they put their emphasis on God and His way of dealing with the salvation of humanity. By citing selective texts from Isaiah, Paul discloses the Gospel events of his days in which the majority of his kinsmen have rejected the Gospel but his Gentile mission was more or less successful. Paul also delivers prophetic messages by letting speak Isaiah's oracles to remind his readers of what had happened to the historical people of God in Isaiah's day when they as a nation lacked faith and disobeyed God. By doing so, Paul let Isaiah's message speak prophetically to his readers as his own prophecy of warning of what will happen to the Roman Christians if they imitate the historical Israel in their boast of being the 'people of God.' Especially, by citing Isa 59:20ff. Paul warns Gentile Christians not to be arrogant or complacent as the historical Israel has done before. If they do, all Isaiah's prophecies of judgement will surely fall upon them like they did to the historical Israel. Thus, it is possible to assume that the climax of Romans 9-11 is 11:16-24, which is the mystery revealed prophetically to Paul as a warning for his Gentile Christians.

For Paul there were not only 'messianic oracles' in the Scriptures that were fulfilled in Christ but also all the prophetic oracles which were once meant for the historical Israel could be understood as having relevant meaning and continuously speaking with prophetic message to the new people of God. In order to clarify how Isaiah's oracles became Paul's prophetic oracles by means of prophetic reapplication, a chart has been drawn up based on the discussions of these oracles in the previous chapter.

Isaiah	Romans	Use of Text	Method	Application
<p>10:22 For though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return. Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness.</p> <p>10:23 For the Lord, the LORD of hosts, will make a full end, as decreed, in the midst of all the earth.</p>	<p>9:27 And Isaiah cries out concerning Israel: "Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will be saved;</p> <p>9:28 for the Lord will execute his sentence upon the earth with rigor and dispatch."</p>	Paul's wordings are similar to LXX but the combination of two texts indicates to Paul himself	Pesher interpretation is used. Jewish Christians were identified with the remnant in Isaiah	Paul ecclesiologically and eschatologically applies Isaiah's remnant to Jewish Christians and at the same time the prophetic reapplication was obviously made for the Jewish Christians that they were saved only by God's grace through faith in Christ. Paul also seems to foresee that destruction or God's judgement for Israel, the historical people of God has already come in God's call to Gentiles to be His people.
<p>1:9 If the Lord of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we should have been like Sodom, and become like Gomorrah.</p>	<p>9:29 And as Isaiah predicted, "If the Lord of hosts had not left us children, we would have fared like Sodom and been made like Gomorrah."</p>	Follows LXX	Pesher interpretation by identifying the Jewish Christians with the remnant in Isaiah.	Paul not only seems to apply Isaiah's remnant to Jewish Christians in Rome but also reapply it as his own prophecy to warn Jewish Christians to recognise their own situation apart from the Gospel of God.
<p>8:14 And he will become a sanctuary, and a stone of offense, and a rock of stumbling to both houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.</p> <p>28:16 Therefore thus says the Lord God, "Behold, I am laying in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation: He who believes will not be in haste."</p>	<p>9:33 as it is written, "Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall; and he who believes in him will not be put to shame."</p> <p>10:11 The Scripture says, "No one who believes in him will be put to shame."</p>	Follows LXX with a few modifications	Both Pesher and midrashic interpretations are used.	Paul reads the passage Christologically in his identification of the stone with Christ. He also reads it eschatologically in his application of 'those who believes will not be in haste' to the 'Christians as eschatological community of faith' through Christ.

<p>52:7 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings, who publishes peace, who brings good tidings of good, who publishes salvation, who says to Zion, "Your God reigns."</p>	<p>10:15 And how can men preach unless they are sent? As it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach good news!"</p>	<p>Similar and closer to the MT than the LXX. Paul also adapts Isaiah's text with Nahum 1:15. Or Paul might follow an existing text similar to his quotation.</p>	<p>Both Midrashic and Peshet interpretations are used in his identification of messengers in Isaiah with the Christian preachers and the message with the Christian Gospel.</p>	<p>Paul's application of Isaiah's messengers to the apostles like himself and the good tidings to the Christian Gospel indicates Paul's eschatological application of the message.</p>
<p>53:1 Who has believed what we have heard? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?</p>	<p>10:16 But they have not all obeyed the Gospel; for Isaiah says, "Lord, who has believed what he has heard from us?"</p>	<p>Follows the LXX text with a few changes.</p>	<p>Midrashic and Peshet interpretations are used.</p>	<p>Applies the message to the Christian Gospel, those who proclaim the message to the apostles and those who have not believed to the Jews who have rejected the Gospel. Thus, his applications might be regarded as ecclesiastical.</p>
<p>65:1 I was ready to be sought by those who did not ask for me; I was ready to be found by those who did not seek me. I said, "Here am I, here am I," to a nation that did not call on my name.</p> <p>65:2 I spread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people, who walk in a way that is not good, following their own devices.</p>	<p>10:20 Then Isaiah is so bold as to say, "I have been found by those who did not seek me; I have shown myself to those who did not ask for me."</p> <p>10:21 But of Israel he says, "All day long I have held out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people."</p>	<p>Follows the LXX with different word order. Particularly, Paul reverses the verb order.</p>	<p>Midrashic and Peshet interpretation are used.</p>	<p>Paul applies Isa 65:1 to the Gentile Christians and Isa 65:2 to the Jews who has not obeyed the Gospel. Thus, Paul's application can be regarded as eschatological and a prophetic re-application of role reversal of the people of God.</p>
<p>29:10 For the lord has poured out upon you spirit of deep sleep, and has closed your eyes, the prophets, and covered your heads, the seers.</p>	<p>11:8 as it is written, "God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that should not see and ears that should not hear, down to this very day."</p>	<p>Paul borrows only two words πνεῦμα κατανόξεως 'spirit of stupor' as the main support to his argument, 'the hardening of the heart.'</p>	<p>Midrashic and Peshet interpretations are again used.</p>	<p>Paul applies those whose hearts were hardened to the Jews who have rejected the Gospel. And he uses Isaiah's warning as his own prophecy to warn Gentile Christians about their boasting.</p>

<p>59:20 "And he will come to Zion as Redeemer, to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the Lord.</p> <p>59:21 "And as for me, this is my covenant with them, says the Lord: my spirit which is upon you, and my words which I have put in your mouth, shall not depart out of your mouth, or out of the mouth of your children, or out of the mouth of your children's children, says the Lord, from this time forth and for evermore."</p>	<p>11:26 and so all Israel will be saved; as it is written, "The Deliverer will come from Zion, he will banish ungodliness from Jacob."</p> <p>11:27 "and this will be my covenant with them when I take away their sins."</p>	<p>Generally follows the wording of the LXX.</p>	<p>Pesher interpretation is used.</p>	<p>Paul applies the Redeemer to Christ and reapplies the whole passage prophetically to the Parousia. For Paul the covenant in Isa 59:21 is means the new covenant of God with his people called by grace through faith in Christ.</p>
<p>40:13 Who has directed the spirit of the lord, or as his counselor has instructed him?</p>	<p>11:34 "For who has known the mind of the lord, or who has been his counselor?"</p>	<p>Generally agrees with the LXX, with small modifications.</p>	<p>Midrashic interpretation is used.</p>	<p>Paul explains the inscrutability of God's dealings in the salvation of both the Gentiles and the historical Israel. By doing so he interprets the future of the historical Israel positively, even though at present they rejected the Gospel.</p>

As discussed above, Paul as a Jewish Christian in the first century CE believed that the Christian Gospel has a continuing link and consistency with that of the messages of the prophets of Israel. For him Christ, the Gospel of God, has been promised beforehand through the prophets in Holy Scriptures (Rom 1:2). He also believed that his message about ‘the righteousness of God manifested in Christ’ was borne witness to by the law and prophets (Rom 3:21). His use of Introductory Formulas indicates his attitude towards the Scriptures of Israel as ‘proceeding from God himself and therefore as enjoying ultimate authority.’⁸²⁹ He believed that the ‘word of God’ never fails (Rom 9:6). Thus, for him, ‘the Scriptures were intensely practical.’⁸³⁰ He says, ‘For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that by steadfastness and by the encouragement of the Scriptures we might have hope’ (Rom 15:4). However, for Paul, the Spirit plays a very important role in reading, interpreting, hearing and understanding of the meanings of Scriptures. For him, the sacred writings understood and applied without illumination of the Spirit often resulted not in Scripture (γραφή) but only in letters or script (γράμμα).⁸³¹ He seems to believe that ‘false interpretation of the word of God’ has made it ineffective and unproductive (Rom 2:25-19). By concentrating on Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11, this thesis has investigated Paul’s use of Isaiah’s oracles as his own prophecy by means of prophetic reapplication to a new community called the ‘people of God.’

It has been argued that 1 Cor 13:8-10 seems to suggest the ending of any continuing form of revelation after apostolic times and so has led many to question whether genuine prophecy exists at all today.⁸³² However, 1 Cor 14: 1 ff. seems to speak of the practise of prophecy in the early Churches. Paul, in particular, says ‘*Let two or three prophets speak, and let the others weigh what is said*’ (14:29). The Greek word διακρίνω literally means to separate thoroughly or judge. Thus, it may be understood that prophecy with testing or judging was, and perhaps can still be, acceptable.

However, it has been suggested that Paul’s use of the Scriptures of Israel is ‘idiosyncratic, fully time-conditional, and largely worthless as a contemporary model of Christian Theology.’ From the above table, the survey of Paul’s use of Isaiah in Romans 9-11 clearly shows that the prophetic reapplication was one of the methods or means for Paul in his reading and interpreting of Scriptures of his day. Thus, prophetic reapplication can perhaps be a model for modern Christian prophecies of today.

⁸²⁹ Silva 1993, 638.

⁸³⁰ Silva 1993, 639.

⁸³¹ See page, 67.

⁸³² Robeck 1993, 761.

Testing Prophecy

Paul spoke of the need for prophecies to be “weighted” or “tested” (1 Cor 14:29). In the Hebrew Bible two tests are given. A prophet whose words do not come true is not Yahweh’s spokes person (Dt 18:22). This is only applicable to a specific, predictive prophecy and when there is time to wait and see what happens. The second test is a “theological” one. Is the prophet faithful to Yahweh and does he promote much faithfulness (Deut 13:1-5)?

But these tests can be applied in a Christian context today. However, unlike the ancient Hebrews, Christians have a written, canonical scripture. Paul’s prophetic reapplication of the Scriptures of his day may provide us with a model of how Christians should let the Scriptural texts speak “prophetically” with the same emphasis (promoting faithfulness) but new meanings for today.

Therefore, Christian prophecies must be attested by Scriptural texts and their traditions. Christian prophets must read the Scriptures as prophetic oracles meant for the salvation of the whole of humanity. They must focus their prophecies on God’s sovereign power over His creatures and His faithfulness and mercy towards the people of God.

As Paul has read Scriptures of his day as speaking critically to the situation of his day, the current situation needs to be wholly looked at through the mirror of Old Testament prophecies. The Scriptural materials have revealed Paul the mystery of his days. He saw his people’s zeal in seeking God. The Scriptures have revealed what was wrong with his kinsmen, especially, in their zeal in seeking God. It was Scripture which points out that the Jews were seeking God from the wrong way. Paul not only saw Isaiah’s prophecies were eschatologically fulfilled in the situation of his day but also continuously speaking as a warning for the Christians. Like Paul, the Christian prophets need to let the Scriptural texts speak to the root of the problems in today’s situation in their reading, interpreting, and applying the Old Testament prophecies.

Paul thus redefined the people of God through evaluating the situation of his day through letting speak the Old Testament prophecies to the current situation with new meaning. He also reuses the prophetic materials as his own prophecy by letting them speak to his readers with exhortation, encouragement, comfort, and warning. According to Scriptures, for Paul, ‘believing and trusting’ in Christ in every situation is the only requirement for the people of God. Christian prophecies must be attested with that requirement. Likewise, the Christian prophets need to ground their prophecies on the prophetic materials or the Scriptures.

Appendix

A Survey of Scholars' Textual analysis on Paul's quotations from the Prophets in Romans

Romans	Prophets	Ellis	Smith	Silva	Agree or against
1:17	Hab 2:4	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX = MT	Ellis = Smith \neq Silva
2:24	Isa 52:5	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis \neq Smith = Silva
3:15-17	Isa 59:7-8	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
9:13	Mal. 1:2-3	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX = MT	Ellis \neq Smith \neq Silva
9:25	Hos. 2:23	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
9:26	Hos. 1:10	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX = MT	Ellis = Smith \neq Silva
9:27-28	Isa 10:22-23	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
9:29	Isa 1:9	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
9:33	Isa 28:16; 8:14	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
10:11	Isa 18:16	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Silva = Smith
10:13	Joel 2:32	Paul = LXX = MT	Paul = LXX = MT	Paul = LXX = MT	Ellis = Silva = Smith
10:15	Isa 52:7	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Silva = Smith
10:16	Isa 53:1	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Silva = Smith
10:20	Isa 65:1	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith \neq Silva
10:21	Isa 65:2	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
11:8	Isa 29:10	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith = Silva
11:26-27	Isa 59:20-21; 27:9	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Silva \subseteq Smith
11:34	Isa 40:13	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis = Smith \subseteq Silva
14:11	Isa 49:13; 45:23	Paul \neq LXX \neq MT	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis \neq Smith \neq Silva
15:12	Isa 11:10	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Ellis \subseteq Smith = Silva
15:21	Isa 52:15	Paul \subseteq LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX \neq MT	Paul = LXX = MT	Ellis = Smith \neq Silva

Symbols

= Similar

\neq Different

\subseteq Close to

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